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**PHI ALPHA THETA, THETA-PI CHAPTER
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DEDICATION TO GORDON MORRIS BAKKEN

As historians, we tease from the fragments of the past the stories of those who once lived, and hope in the effort we will reveal a greater understanding of the past and the world around us. In our pursuit of historical truth we become aware of our own humanity—and of the connections that link all people into a single mosaic across time. During this attempt we become immeasurably aware and indebted to those who, as Sir Isaac Newton acknowledged in a letter to Robert Hooke, "If I have seen further, it is by standing on the shoulders of giants." One of those giants was Gordon Morris Bakken. His keen intellect and

great love of humanity reflected in everything he did—and inspired others to do more than they ever imagined. While his book list and course requirements could instill terror in the hearts of the uninitiated, it is what he did behind the scenes that exemplify him as a historian. As the author of twenty-four books and countless articles, he understood the importance of writing and giving students the opportunity to publish their work—for that reason, he served as the faculty advisor for the *Welebaethan* for several years, and until his recent passing continued to be actively involved in its publication. Dr. Bakken understood the importance of belonging to an organization that strived for excellence and for that reason, he helped to revive Phi Alpha Theta until it became the organization it is today. While his accomplishments are extraordinary for anyone, for those of us at California State University, Fullerton, our greatest loss is the loss of our friend, mentor, and colleague—a loss we share with people around the country and the world. As an insatiably curious man whose love of humanity and devotion to his craft can hardly be matched, perhaps the best way we can honor Gordon Bakken's life and accomplishments is to continue the work he began. As one who drew the best from the people around him, this volume of the *Welebaethan* is dedicated to his memory. From all of us, Gordon, we wish you Godspeed.

Vanessa Ann Gunther, PhD

Faculty Advisor, *Welebaethan*

California State University, Fullerton

LETTER FROM THE EDITORS-IN-CHIEF

The production of an annual student-run journal requires a community's effort, and the composition of the 2015 *Welebaethan*, "Fragments of the Past" reflects this. We, the Editors-in-Chief, find ourselves indebted to every managing editor, editor, author, and professor for their flood of assistance and patience when working with us. This journal emulates a snapshot of the marvelous work these historians put forth daily, and when attempting to find a theme to represent the articles they submitted to the journal, it presented a challenge as taxing as the construction of the journal itself.

When creating the theme for this year's journal, we wrestled with numerous thematic approaches and initially settled on the idea of "Puzzles of the Past." The more we thought about that theme, the more flaws we found in its deeper meaning. As we perceived it, the construction of puzzle pieces implied historians could piece together a complete picture of history. We found the thought of history as a comprehensive picture disconcerting. For years, historians attempted to achieve a totalized picture of historical events only to find the construction of scientifically precise history unobtainable—often unfairly categorizing or ignoring individual experiences. Additionally, one must postulate the most renowned figures in history slid into darkness while holding closely guarded secrets, and as the events of their lives shifted into myth and lore, so too went the complete truth.

After deliberating with each other, we subtly shifted puzzles to fragments and it accurately conveyed the message we wanted. The title "Fragments of the Past," reconciles with and accepts a disjointed view of history, challenging the notion that one can view a historical event from every perspective in order to create a definitive and fully objective history. This year's *Welebaethan* builds on bridging the gaps of knowledge to amalgamating sorted fragments of historical events—presenting views hidden within the recesses of the historical consciousness. Each of the superb articles within the journal reflects this idea by reexamining questions of identity, perspective, and common knowledge.

On a deeper level, this journal also represents a link on the chain of an ever-growing tradition of greatness, and it is only possible due to the solid foundations previous *Welebaethan* staff laid. To those Editors-in-Chief who paved the way, allowing us to participate in a program that gives students a taste of the professional world, we sincerely thank you for the contributions. In particular, we would like to extend special thank you to Matt Snider and Ben Cartwright as they provided guidance and encouragement throughout this process.

For the 2015 edition, the authors have been an absolute pleasure to work with due to their willingness to engage all suggestions and their ability to retain a professional demeanor. Each article displays the countless hours of research that California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) history students put into their work. Without their solid commitment to the process of history, this journal could not exist. This year's group of editors exemplified editing skills with a critical eye for the grammatical nuances that make the papers they worked on flow effortlessly. Aside from their professional traits, this particular group of editors ensured every meeting carried lightheartedness to it, thus making the *Welebaethan* more than a place of work, but a home. The Managing-Editor team of Joey Hwang, Dane Royster, Sean Washburn, and Danielle Turner constructed this journal in multiple respects, and we appreciate the work they accomplished. Each member took on different tasks and

exceeded any expectations we set-up for them; the work they put into this journal truly stands out. Additionally, the professors of CSUF deserve most, if not all of the credit for this students produce journal. Not only does the faculty guide us in our research, they emit a passion for history that the student body attempts to reproduce. They keep their doors open and the student body appreciates their level of dedication.

One of the most continuously influential faculty members Dr. Jochen Burgtorf deserves a special thank you. His encouragement and willingness to ensure the *Welebaethan* receives proper recognition adds to the success of this publication. Dr. Gordon Bakken's multifaceted contributions to the *Welebaethan* cannot be overstated. Although this may be the first publication he did not read cover to cover, the pages of this year's journal reflect his spirit. The students and faculty already miss him dearly.

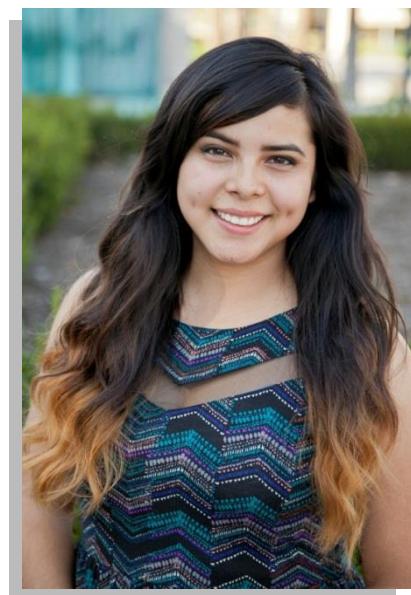
Without question, the most influential faculty member involved with the 2015 *Welebaethan* is Dr. Gunther. As the faculty advisor for this year's journal, her help, guidance, and support constructed the publication. The unfathomable number of hours she dedicates to her students and work helps create a positive image of the *Welebaethan* on and off campus. We admittedly could not have done this without her positive and constructive support, and for that, we extend our humblest thank you.

We hope this journal lives up to the high standard of its predecessors, and more importantly, it stands on its own as a quality publication. Obviously, with the tremendous efforts from both students and faculty, the journal aims to examine the fragments of the past. On behalf of CSUF, PAT, and the editorial staff, we present the 2015 *Welebaethan*.

Tim Barrette

Paulette Torres

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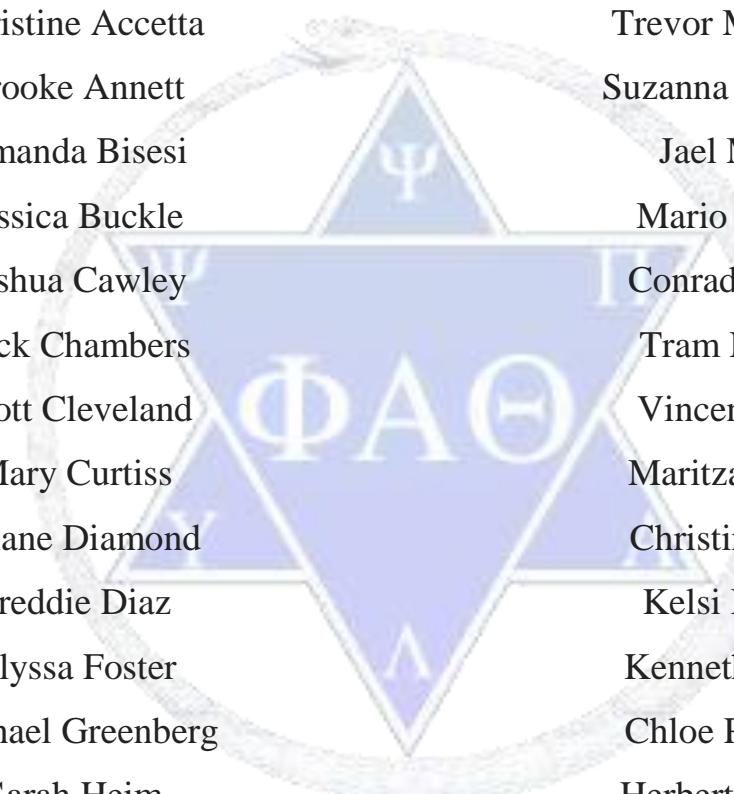
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Bridging the Gaps: The Development and Expansion of Early American Historiography, 1970-2014

Matt Snider



This painting depicts the bodily commodification and multifaceted abasement suffusing slave markets in the American South. Taylor, *Slave Market*, oil on canvas, 1852. New York: Lehman College.

Surveying a representative sample of monographs concerned with numerous aspects of American colonial history, **Matt Snider** contextualizes the historiographic terrain and argues that over the last half-century, researchers clarified potential dangers and persistent difficulties in regards to source use and methodology while also illuminating the substance of numerous incidental topics. Initially mired in narrow, restrictive frameworks of Euro-centric documents, esoteric ideas, and parochial notions of “American exceptionalism,” colonial American studies now include vivid, multidimensional phenomenological representations, wide-ranging discussions of scale in terms of historical causality and narrative scope, and innovative understandings of choice, agency, and individuality. These enhanced perspectives stem from the efficacious application of increasingly sophisticated theoretical paradigms to old and new sources.

Since the end of the 1960s, scholars concerned with early American history confronted a number of theoretical and methodological challenges, a process that eventually yielded a much more representative and thoroughly improved historiographic sphere. Initially mired in narrow, restrictive frameworks of Euro-centric documents, esoteric ideas, and parochial notions of “American exceptionalism,” studies in this field now include vivid, multidimensional phenomenological representations, wide-ranging discussions of scale in terms of historical causality and narrative scope, and innovative understandings of choice, agency, and individuality. Contemporary historians also utilize multifaceted theoretical paradigms to draw out previously obscured perspectives through reappraisals of older resources and the incorporation of untapped materials suggested by other disciplines. In the process, researchers helped clarify potential dangers and persistent difficulties in regards to source use and methodology while also illuminating the substance of numerous incidental topics, such as the rise and character of racialized American slavery and the contingent decisions of Native American communities. Future contributors to this body of literature need to build upon such material by continually searching for novel approaches to method, scale, and interpretation.

The Sieve of Reality: Choices, Lived Experiences, and Structured Agency

One of the most prominent aspects of recent works on early American history concerns the issue of agency, particularly for oppressed, exploited, or otherwise marginalized demographic groups. While historians debated notions of agency for Native Americans, slaves, and women since at least the mid twentieth century, such discussions now increasingly focus on the term and concept itself. Indeed, several contemporary monographs address the relevance and scope of the word “agency” within the contexts of slavery/servitude, Native Americans, and Brit-

ish-American women. Unsurprisingly, part of this historiographic shift entailed criticizing the inadequacy of prior analyses, but the development features many positive contours, as well.

Several modern historians question the legitimacy of earlier conceptions of “agency” in regard to enslaved Africans in British North America, suggesting their predecessors sketched an overly simple dichotomy of agency and power, such that “an increase in one meant a corresponding decrease in the other.”¹ Instead, researchers need to understand slaves’ agency and individuality functioned within the identical physical space and according to the same daily rhythms as the “formal” aspects of their bondage.²

nature of human existence and interaction. Moreover, recent contributors to this field stress the importance of representing the slave trade, slave rebellions, and the actions of transported Africans through the voices of slaves themselves, rather than just accounts from Europeans and Euro-Americans.³ This contrasts with the work of earlier scholars, who tended to explore the history of Atlantic-American slavery primarily through British-American sources and perspectives.⁴

1. Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press), 9.

2. Ibid.

3. Marcus Rediker, *The Amistad Rebellion: An Atlantic Odyssey of Slavery and Freedom*, updated ed. (New York: Penguin, 2013), 5-12. Rediker claims his monograph represents “a study from below,” illustrating the persistent influence of both Marxist paradigms and the “new social history” in contemporary historical research. Cf. Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams*, *passim*, as Johnson uses the writings of several ex-slaves in the composition of his narrative.

4. For example, see Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, paperback ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003). Morgan’s text examines tobacco growth, demographics, and the rise of racialized, hereditary African slavery in the American South, but does so almost completely through Euro-American perspectives. Still, he clearly issues a caustic

While Euro-centric studies can still offer insightful conclusions, they appear markedly inferior to more inclusive and representative research projects.⁵

In similar vein, the analysis of Native Americans and agency underwent significant changes in recent years. Granted, as far back as 1991, seminal historian Richard White highlighted the tendency of most researchers to place Native American agency within the restrictive and misleading dichotomy of obliteration/assimilation and persistence/survival, thereby “miss[ing] a larger process and a larger truth.”⁶ He pointed to the creative use of Catholic ideas about sexuality and the Virgin Mary by Illinois women, such that they “as-

sayed the religious powers … [of] prayer and Catholic doctrine against the powers the elders derived from visions and tradition.”⁷ More recently, historians of indigenous peoples described the manner in which certain Native Americans embraced aspects of Christianity due to the potential material benefits, while also forming “connections with revivalist ministers to secure greater legal leverage and improved social standing” within their own communities.⁸ Howev-

assessment of the degree to which racist Virginian slavery and its ideological infrastructure influenced later American institutions. See Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 386-87, 432.

5. For a recent text that depicts slaves mostly through Euro-American perspectives, see Bernard Bailyn, *The Barbarous Years: The Peopling of British North America: The Conflict of Civilizations, 1600-1675* (New York: Vintage Books, 2012), 174-77, where Bailyn discusses the increasing numbers of African slaves in the Americas, as well as their nebulous legal status in the late seventeenth century.

6. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*, Twentieth Anniversary ed. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001), xxv.

7. Ibid., 67. According to White, this use of European ideas to further female Native American agency “outraged both the young [Illinois] men, who found their own sexual opportunities diminished, and the elders and shamans who were directly challenged.” Ibid., 68.

8. Linford D. Fisher, *The Indian Great Awakening: Religion and the Shaping of Native Cultures in Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 104. Cf. Ibid., 106. Fisher also claims “Natives often became experts at milking the

er rare or anomalous, such instances indicate indigenous peoples utilized European modes of thinking to assert their own independence, thus problematizing over-simplified depictions of Native American agency as opposition to all European influences.⁹

Granted, most historians who study Native Americans insist episodes of cultural contact—even White’s “Middle Ground”—never involved “the achievement of a widespread mutual understanding

and appreciation between Europeans and Indian peoples.”¹⁰ Moreover, contemporary researchers tend to emphasize the contingency, vulnerability, and multidimensional pressures most Native Americans faced, thus exposing the personal and

public complexities of historical decision-making.¹¹ Many scholars now seem to recognize that every attempt to fight back, run, negotiate, complain to authorities, and/or barter represented a form of agency and resistance to obliteration or passive assimilation.¹² Of course, certain historians accentuate this perspective to the point of misrepresenting overarching historical processes. For example, Daniel Richter recently argued that “Native people not only resisted

system,” by which he means superficially or partially adopting Christian practices in order to receive immediate material benefits, such as clothing, blankets, rifles, and metal tools. Ibid., 56.

9. Ibid., 105. Fisher argues Native Americans created “increasingly indigenized version[s] of Christianity,” thus indicating deliberate, selective acculturation rather than passive assimilation.

10. White, *Middle Ground*, xxi. As such, the phrase “middle ground” does not necessarily mean “equal ground.”

11. For example, see Joshua Piker, *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler: Telling Stories in Colonial America* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2013), 105-31, where Piker claims the liabilities, support networks, and evolving needs of Creek leader Malatchi guided and constrained his political posturing.

12. See Fisher, *Indian Great Awakening*, 89. Of course, this line of interpretation also applies to slaves, indentured servants, women, and other oppressed/exploited demographic groups. For example, see Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams*, 188-89, where Johnson describes an incident in which a malnourished slave named Mason discarded dyspeptic food in a physical and symbolic display of his humanity, fought physically with his owner over the affair, and then negotiated the terms of his return after running away in the wake of the fight.

Indigenous peoples utilized European modes of thinking to assert their own independence, thus problematizing over-simplified depictions of Native American agency as opposition to all European influences.



Frederick Douglass offers a famous example of a slave resisting and eventually escaping bondage, but primary sources contain numerous accounts of creative, heartrending, and eminently human forms of slave resistance. *The Fugitive's Song*, lithograph, 1845, originally published by Henry Prentiss (Washington DC: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs).

European domination ... but, more often, manipulated Europeans as trading partners, military allies, and sources of political power," which, while not factually untrue, distorts the "grim realities" suggested by the overwhelming preponderance of evidence.¹³ Nevertheless, Richter rightly disabuses readers of romanticized notions of pre-contact Native Americans by describing the exploitative urban centers of Chaco and Cahokia, where archaeological remains indicate "armed gangs systematically employed terror and

13. Daniel K. Richter, *Before the Revolution: America's Ancient Pasts* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), 419. Still, Richter deserves credit for emphasizing the lack of passivity in Native American responses to European encroachment.

occasional mass executions to enforce the common people's support of the elite."¹⁴

Another issue affecting depictions of Native American agency relates to narrative function. To wit, the prominent historian Bernard Bailyn does a rare and admirable job of highlighting the cultural worlds of pre-contact Native Americans in his opening section, but fails to render native peoples as anything more than a literary foil in the following chapters.¹⁵ Understandably, not every scholar seeks to uncover Native American agency specifically, but studies that leave indigenous peoples in peripheral, supplementary roles necessarily present a narrow view of early American history.¹⁶ Future research projects need to characterize Native Americans in a manner congruent with their socio-cultural diversity and complexity,¹⁷ historical prominence, and wide spectrum of responses to European contact, rather than portraying them in a teleological, ancillary, and/or homogenous fashion.

Greater work remains necessary in the realm of women's agency in early American history. Women typically appear in the conceptual background of monographs and articles not specifically concerned

14. Ibid., 20. Richter also draws interpretive connections not recognized by previous historians in relation to a spike in violent conflicts between Native Americans and Europeans in the second half of the seventeenth century. Ibid., 264-65.

15. Bailyn, *Barbarous Years*, 3-31, where Bailyn outlines the material, religious, and sociocultural worlds of pre-contact Native Americans. Bailyn's monograph contains fifteen chapters, but only the first treats Native American agency and cultures independent of Euro-American actions and concerns; the remaining material refers to the former only insofar as it illuminates the latter.

16. See Kenneth A. Lockridge, *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years*, enlarged ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1985). Lockridge attempted to illustrate the establishment, crystallization and eventual disintegration of the New England township of Dedham, and Native Americans therefore do not play a major role in his text. Still, one can question whether two fleeting and mostly disconnected remarks about King Phillip's War—in which several residents of Dedham died—reasonably reflects the significance of that event and Native Americans.

17. White also proposed that villages—rather than tribes—served as the primary units of identity and affiliation for Native American families, thus complicating narratives representing tribes as more or less unitary and homogenous. White, *Middle Ground*, xxx.



The Mohawk sachem Hendrick selectively acculturated European forms and thus illustrates the complexity of Native American responses to colonial encroachment. *The Brave Old Hendrick*, tinted engraving, 1755 (Providence, RI: Brown University, John Carter Brown Library).

with gender and sexuality, though even this tendency can manifest in different forms.¹⁸ In fact, even tightly focused studies exhibit much the same trend, with oc-

18. Although Richter covers a tremendous amount of time and numerous aspects of early American history in his *Before the Revolution*, he fails to integrate women into his narrative to any considerable degree. By contrast, Bailyn includes a few episodes that revolve around females and their particular decisions in *The Barbarous Years*, most notably the statements and actions of Anne Hutchinson during the so-called “Antinomian Controversy.” Bailyn, *Barbarous Years*, 452-56. Still, apart from these few examples, Bailyn’s text does not significantly incorporate women. As for African-American women, Johnson offers a series of heartrending accounts of systematic and incidental sufferings of female slaves—both sexual and otherwise—yet women ultimately remain secondary in *River of Dark Dreams*. See, Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams*, 170-75.

casional insightful anecdotes about women and their agency appearing in larger sections otherwise bereft of females.¹⁹ Even books entirely dedicated to women’s history tend to highlight exceptional rather than representative women. Indeed, some of the most engaging studies on colonial American women explicitly declare the women under investigation “were highly literate, had household servants, and enjoyed some leisure time in which they could read and write.”²⁰ This development traces back to the relative dearth of source material describing actions and experiences of less extraordinary females—indigenous, African, or Euro-American—but nevertheless stands as a persistent deficiency in early American historiography.

Regardless, contemporary studies of exceptional women perceptively illuminate female agency, particularly within the temporal context of evolving socio-cultural attitudes. For example, Norton demonstrates that prior to the decades surrounding the turn of the eighteenth century, high-status British women regularly and unabashedly engaged in political and economic dealings, as public involvement related primarily to social position, not sex.²¹ She also uses spatial analysis and anthropological understandings of mate-

19. Piker’s *Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler* represents a highly sympathetic specimen of this type, as Piker documents the sociocultural context, actions, and ultimate influence of Mary Mathews/Musgrove/Bosomworth, a woman of mixed Creek/British ancestry. In one instance, Piker elucidates the manner in which Mary Bosomworth made a “long, passionate” speech to compel Malatchi to engage in political dialogue with British representatives. Piker, *Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler*, 111. Moreover, he describes “Creek women’s habit of integrating outsiders into society via marriage” as a way to explain the positive reception certain Creeks gave Thomas Bosomworth after his marriage to Mary, thereby illustrating the political impact of native women in colonial affairs. Ibid., 203.

20. Mary Beth Norton, *Separated by Their Sex: Women in Public and Private in the Colonial Atlantic World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), xii. Bailyn’s treatment of Anne Hutchinson falls into this same category.

21. For a general statement of this interpretation, see Norton, *Separated by Their Sex*, 2-3. Norton charts the emergence and evolution of the dichotomy of masculine/public and feminine/private in British North America. She notes the ironic likelihood that “women’s creation of tea-table society constituted their own contribution to the construction of the feminine private,” despite the fact “both men and women recognized that the tea table was a feminine location, one that women dominated and controlled even when men were present.” Ibid., 146.

rial culture to explicate the manner in which affluent women utilized tea tables to choose and guide topics of conversation and thus assert a form of cultural control; in the process, these women created networks of information, camaraderie, and agency within an increasingly restrictive and gendered social system.²²

Compared to monographs from the middle of the twentieth century, recent studies in early American history seem far more attune to identifying and colorfully representing the various forms of agency exhibited by male slaves and Native American men, a positive development of considerable value and importance. Still, researchers need to continue to explore the perceptions, experiences, and actions of “common” women, female slaves, and indigenous women so as to better understand the decisions of those marginalized individuals.

Space, Time, Physicality, and Sounds

In general terms, notions of space, time, physicality, and sounds saturate all works on early American history, no matter how old. In recent years, however, novel theoretical approaches to these fundamental concepts yielded a variety of rich perspectives on several aspects of indigenous, colonial, Atlantic, and imperial societies.²³ Such historians now interpret and represent tactile forms, spatial dimensions, and temporal frameworks as constructs that channel and constrict human choices and actions in a manner far exceeding earlier depictions of agency and causality.

One historiographic skein in this mode relates to geological environments and their roles in shaping human processes and events, and thus traces back to Annalist scholars of the twentieth century. In fact, these interpretations illuminate multiple levels of early American history, with the largest pertaining to global climatic trends. For example, Richter uses en-

vironmental data related to the Medieval Warm Period and Little Ice Age to analyze widespread changes in agriculture, social structures, and political policies on both sides of the Atlantic during the corresponding centuries.²⁴ Other scholars describe drastic changes in regional geography to contextualize the options, experiences, and understandings of historical individuals, such as the impact of a radically altered Mississippi Valley ecology and landscape on the lives of enslaved Africans.²⁵ Studies in this vein integrate shifting climate patterns, provincial ecosystems, and physical landforms into an already complex tapestry of early American history, and thereby enhance scholarly understanding of external pressures and underlying motivations.²⁶

Recent monographs illustrate the relevance of space, time, sounds, and physicality on a daily/personal level, as well.²⁷ These works draw upon the the-

24. See Richter, *Before the Revolution*, 4, 12, 32, and 36-37. Perspectives emphasizing the role of geography, geology, and/or climate in human history owe a debt to Fernand Braudel, Marc Bloch, and other seminal Annalist historians of the twentieth century.

25. Johnson offers a particularly instructive example in this regard, as he describes the wide-ranging effects of deforestation and eradication of native flora and fauna on slaves’ basic survival and support networks. The construction of the contrived ecosystem Johnson labels “the Cotton Kingdom” eliminated many species of game and wild plants earlier slaves depended on to supplement their always-too-meager diet, while also diminishing opportunities for escaped slaves, as slaveholders and overseers gained better physical sightlines with every removed forest. Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams*, 228-34. In this way, “self-provisioning slaves and the nodal geography of illicit interracial commerce intersected in the woods and swamps bordering the cotton fields” became increasingly rare. *Ibid.*, 231.

26. In contrast to modern research projects that effectively incorporate geological and/or climatic perspectives, many older works tended to view the environment as more or less inert background. In some cases, historians depicted natural environments as the conceptual “wilderness,” and contrasted it with established territories of Euro-American settlers. For example, see Lockridge, *A New England Town*, 16, but esp. 21, where Lockridge speculates that “the catalyst was the American wilderness, whose frightening presence turned [the residents of Dedham] back upon the old ways engrained in them and their forbears.”

27. Johnson insightfully explicates the class elements of the physical architecture of Mississippi Valley steamboats, harkening to his utilization of Marxist paradigms in conjunction with poststructuralist viewpoints. Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams*, 129-31. Cf. Rediker, *Amistad Rebellion*, 52-54, and

22. *Ibid.*, 170-71. In other parts of *Separated by Their Sex*, Norton documents women submitting petitions, disrupting legislative sessions, and writing letters of reply to misogynistic authors in various publications.

23. Poststructuralist influences appear most clearly in recent historiographic literature, but one can also detect Marxist interpretations, gender foci, the Annalist school, and anthropological paradigms in numerous contemporary texts.

oretical framework of the late Michel Foucault and other poststructuralists, who heightened attention to the multifaceted control of human bodies, power-laden discourses, and the significance of particular spatial environs. Historians sensitive to these perspectives conceive of (1) horses, tracker dogs, writing, and sheer distance as physical extensions of slaveholder power, (2) relative positioning and body language as indicative of symbolic posturing, and (3) architectural dimensions as reflective of psychological values and cultural patterns.²⁸ Some historians add a further layer to this mode of inquiry, describing the saturation of certain spaces with gendered and/or racial connotations.²⁹ Such interpretations illuminate the material, spatial, and conceptual physicality of past decisions and events.³⁰

67-68, where Rediker uses contemporaneous textual and visual sources to highlight the human consequences of the physical dimensions of slave ships during the macabre Middle Passage. See also Fisher, *Indian Great Awakening*, 94, where Fisher illustrates the manner in which the space and arrangement of New England churches reinforced racial and socioeconomic hierarchies. As he explains, Native Christians found themselves relegated to “physical peripheries—rear, side, and galleries,” and “were [thus] treated with the same level of contempt and marginalization within the physical church spaces as they were without.”

28. See Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams*, 222-25, 234-38; Piker, *Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler*, 1-3, where Piker describes the implications of the location of a massacre, and 179-81, where he elucidates the significance of personal interactions, body language, and the physical transgression of sociocultural norms in the context of a diplomatic conference between Creeks and South Carolina Governor James Glen; and Norton, *Separated by Their Sex*, 166-67, where Norton conceptualizes the material dimensions and accoutrements of tea tables, relative positing between hostesses and guests, and ritualistic gestures in terms of their physicality and cultural context.

29. Norton, *Separated by their Sex*, 162-64, where Norton connects the structural layout of colonial American homes and increasingly gendered room design to evolving American attitudes about domestic space. Cf. Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams*, 186-87, where Johnson outlines the “surplus of social meaning” expressed by “the conditions under which enslaved people ate and drank,” as slaveholders deliberately cultivated “structured competition of enslaved human beings and domesticated animals” to reinforce comprehensive racial hierarchy. While Morgan’s *American Slavery, American Freedom* contains numerous insights on racialized slavery, ironic British-American political terminology in the buildup to the Revolution, and the development of later public institutions, it does not feature the spatial and physical analyses that saturate works like *Separated by Their Sex* and *River of Dark Dreams*.

30. For an especially perceptive and vivid representa-

Placing these material dimensions within a temporal context, many contemporary scholars emphasize the multifarious implications of procedural time-spans and daily rhythms, rather than viewing time as an implacable yet invisible non-factor. For example, Johnson indicates “slaveholders used extreme speed-ups of the labor process to torture their slaves,” illuminating the material and psycho-emotional impact of a change in work-tempo for peoples whose lives remained inextricable from their labor.³¹ Granted, even older studies occasionally featured astute conceptions of time that transgress conventional notions of temporality, such as White’s use of the cognitive shift among Iroquois peoples in relation to static and dynamic time or Morgan’s attempt to contextualize relaxed Native American quotidian work schedules.³² Still, more recent inquiries represent the aural dimensions of historical processes in creative ways, as well. For instance, Johnson uses ex-slave narratives to portray the manner in which slaveholders “tried to cow slaves into submission by jamming their senses with the sounds of human suffering.”³³ He also documents the aural soundscape fugitive slaves needed to master in order to increase their chances of successful escape.³⁴ Another modern historian describes the Amistad rebels’ strategic use and omission of certain spoken words within the lexicon of “Christian language,” which they employed to garner maximum

tion of human strength, material environs, and vertical space, see Rediker, *Amistad Rebellion*, 1-2.

31. Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams*, 175. Johnson also outlines the “temporal complexities (advance purchase, termed obligations, multiple currencies) of the cotton economy.” Ibid., 260. Cf. Norton, *Separated by Their Sex*, 167, where Norton illuminates some of the temporal dimensions of ritualized tea drinking among colonial American women. These studies help modern readers comprehend the impact of time itself on historical actors and processes.

32. White, *Middle Ground*, 442; Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 51, 56.

33. Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams*, 171. Through a series of heartbreaking examples, Johnson demonstrates that for enslaved human beings in the Mississippi Valley, “sounds ... were as lasting as the scars on [their] bodies.” He also claims these noises of intense suffering formed “part of the nexus of body and landscape [that] defined the Cotton Kingdom.” Ibid., 172-73.

34. Ibid., 234-35.

sympathy and assistance—thus underlining the causal importance of auditory aspects of the past.³⁵

Collectively, these spatial, temporal, and aural interpretations enhance contemporary understanding of numerous sensory elements of early American history, while also pointing the way toward increasingly vivid representations of the constituent events and processes. As current and future historians continue to apply incisive theoretical perspectives to available sources within the field, causal connections and lived experiences will become even more apparent.

Metahistory: Scale, Source Use, and Voice

One longstanding debate within the field concerns the degree to which Native Americans, African slaves, and European-Americans factored into transatlantic networks of trade, commerce, shipping, ideas, and/or imperial military endeavors, and recent contributors weighed in on this multifaceted issue, as well. Several of these historians highlight the circulation of political ideas, social attitudes, and material fashions through print media and subsequent socialization in the British Empire, a process that facilitated an increasingly coherent British-American cultural identity.³⁶ One current researcher examined the prolif-

35. Rediker, *Amistad Rebellion*, 158-59.

36. See Richter, *Before the Revolution*, 342-44. Richter remarks that alongside imperial news and advertisements for clothing, tea tables, and other commodities, these publications contained “reprints of political essays and gossip from London.” This eclectic assortment of material comprised “the reading list of a British gentleman, or rather a citizen of the Atlantean World.” See also Ibid., 293-307, where Richter explores the multifaceted impact of news—transmitted primarily through textual means—of the Glorious Revolution on the various American colonies. Cf. Norton, *Separated by Their Sex*, passim, but esp. 109-35, where Norton describes the role of pamphlets, newspapers, and journals in creating and altering attitudes toward female political participation. According to Norton, publications like the *Tattler*, *Spectator*, *New-England Courant*, and *New-York Weekly Journal* offered misogynistic “satires on … courtship, marriage, and female gossipers” that denigrated the political capacity of all women; by the late 1730s and early 1740s, these missives provoked “a flurry of publications in England and America debating the issue.” Ibid., 121, 127. Cf. Ibid., 152. See also Rediker, *Amistad Rebellion*, 104-6, where Rediker charts the growth of abolitionist publications in the United States due to the internationalization of the corresponding movement, and 186, where he discusses negotiations between the US and Great

eration of consumer goods throughout the colonies, a development that further normalized social practices and understandings among British-Americans.³⁷ Other scholars with a transoceanic perspective emphasize the economic/capitalistic elements of these intercontinental systems.³⁸ As such, historians studying early American history must decide upon not only the temporal parameters and regional extent of their narratives, but also the scope of the causal matrix that actually led to particular events in the past.

In this respect, most recent historians seemingly acknowledge the influence of transatlantic and/or imperial forces in the development of British North America, even if some struggle to incorporate such perspectives into their representations. Modern studies that recognize these international systems tend to fall into three major interpretive categories—imperial, transatlantic, and cisatlantic—though other, less common frameworks like circumatlantic also exist.³⁹

Britain in the wake of the Amistad rebellion, thus illustrating the dynamic political contours of the Atlantic world.

37. Richter, *Before the Revolution*, 340-44.

38. For example, see Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams*, 10-12, 41-42, 80-81, and esp. 249-67. By cataloging the nature, rhythms, and volatility of global markets and the domestic landscape of North American cotton production, Johnson conceives of racialized slavery as thoroughly capitalistic. Indeed, he laments “the expenditure of so much ink in the service of so many circular arguments” among historians who debate “the question of whether the planters who owned slaves and lived by their labor were capitalists.” For Johnson, “there was no nineteenth-century capitalism without slavery.” Ibid., 252, 254.

39. Still, several monographs incorporate elements from more than one of these historiographic paradigms. For example, Bailyn’s *Barbarous Years* pays short shrift to Native Americans, using them more or less as the “border” for European empires in North America, and thus fits nicely with other imperial studies. However, he also describes “commercial ambitions, the search for religious perfection, environmental circumstances [and] transnational, intersecting trading networks,” concepts which harken to transatlantic understandings. Bailyn, *Barbarous Years*, 526, 528. For a more comprehensive transatlantic perspective, see Richter, *Before the Revolution*, esp. 344. Of course, Richter extends his analysis into the continental interior, an approach less common among likeminded historians. For an example of a cisatlantic perspective, where international systems produce hyper-specific local processes, see Piker, *Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler*, 75, where Piker connects Acorn Whistler’s tale to imperial matters by describing Glen as “a committed imperialist who was undone by his inability to transcend his provincial mind-set.” At the same time, he claims that for all its imperial connotations, the Acorn Whistler affair seems particularly



Walter Johnson infuses his historical narratives with insightful theoretical perspectives and vivid phenomenological representations, thus offering readers both intellectual insight and psycho-emotional depth. Photograph, 2013. Ogden, UT: Weber State University.

Several of these approaches seek to understand colonial development, but each explanatory paradigm views that process as operating on a different scale.⁴⁰

emblematic of colonial America's essential nature. *Ibid.*, 256. Ultimately, Piker's narrative makes clear that he conceives of Acorn Whistler's death as possessing local, national, and imperial relevance. Finally, see Fisher, *Indian Great Awakening*, 40, where Fisher stipulates that "most of the renewed evangelistic impetus [in New England at the turn of the eighteenth century] seems to have come from those outside Rhode Island and Connecticut, primarily from Boston and London," thereby illuminating the impact of numerous strains of English Protestantism among Native American communities.

40. For example, Bailyn proposes a three-stage process of colonization—marchland, development/integration, and

By contrast, many older works appear more limited in interpretive range, with a few seemingly advocating a sort of "American exceptionalism."⁴¹ Nevertheless, all future studies must grapple with the issues of appropriate scope and scale, both methodologically and in terms of interpretation.

Likewise, contemporary American historians necessarily explore issues of source use and historical voice, and recent monographs supply enlightening perspectives in this area, as well. Without question, earlier social historians like Lockridge—who sought to dislodge the then-dominant framework of intellectual and political history—infused American historiography with a newfound respect for "history from below," as well as the potential utility of local court records, tax lists, and election documents.⁴² These researchers sought to reexamine the relative balance in causality between public/intellectual ideas and "everyday" social practices—and thus, questioned which types of primary sources offer the most representative look at historical societies.⁴³ In more recent years, scholars creatively reappraised extant materials to yield keen insights into the evolution of British-American sociocultural forms.⁴⁴ Other current

creolization—while Richter charts successive layers of socio-political forms in colonial America and their influence on later institutions.

41. See Lockridge, *New England Town*, 188, 190, where Lockridge claims an "intense localism" produced "an aggressively democratic force [that leads] from the Dedham convent to the struggles within the revolutionary movement to determine the degree and nature of democracy in the new America." Cf. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, as Morgan's overarching argument suggests a political and sociocultural American exceptionalism built around the ironic dichotomy of African-American slavery and revolutionary political language.

42. Lockridge insists local documents like this—particularly when mixed with the scrupulous use of church records—can provide illuminative perspectives on "any New England town." Lockridge, *New England Town*, 210.

43. For the clearest explanation of the origins, terminology, and fractious evolution of social history and community studies during the latter half of the twentieth century, see Darratt B. Rutman, *Small Worlds, Large Questions: Explorations in Early American Social History, 1600-1850* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 16-54.

44. See Norton, *Separated by Their Sex*, 119-21, where Norton details the manner in which British and American newspapers provided much of the ideological and cultural substance

historians attempt to integrate methodological techniques and source-bases originally developed within other academic disciplines, such as anthropology/archaeology.⁴⁵

These diverse methods nurtured an enhanced appreciation for the concept of historical voice in the last few decades. However, improved understanding and deployment of primary sources also led to increased recognition of the possible dangers and ambiguities involved.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the best modern historical narratives on early American history represent the lives and experiences of Native Americans, slaves and servants, and women of all kinds in their own voices, rather than through the ideological and terminological lenses of male, British-American sources.

Improving the Historical Mosaic: Decisions, Dimensions, and Voices

In recent years, American historians utilized an impressive array of innovative methodological and interpretive approaches, thus invigorating a number of previously stagnant and/or constrained research subjects. Whether pointing the way to new source types or providing vivid phenomenological representations, current scholars creatively illustrate past lives, emotions, and lived human experiences. While certain studies offer more insightful conclusions than others, many works in this field now present instruc-

tive lessons and case-studies on agency, physical dimensions obscured by textual documents, and historical causality. In the process, modern researchers reveal hitherto untold depths of numerous historical topics, such as the disproportionate rise of racialized American slavery and the development of an explicitly feminine private sphere.

Future researchers must continue and expand these trends by reevaluating older sources, incorporating new and/or underappreciated materials, and applying subsequent theoretical developments and methodological advances to extant historiographic debates. Given the increasing clarity of multifarious international relationships and pressures during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, transatlantic and cisatlantic perspectives seem likely to dominate this academic niche for the foreseeable future, though imperial and circumatlantic inquiries can still prove useful. Regardless, the works in question suggest early American historiography will continue to represent one of the most dynamic fields in professional historical writing.

of eighteenth-century British America, and therefore offer virtually limitless opportunities for future research.

45. For example, Richter advocates moving “beyond archaeological evidence to oral histories.” Richter, *Before the Revolution*, 24. He also employs many visual primary sources in his monograph, from contemporaneous maps and sketches to modern photographs of cultural artifacts. Cf. Rediker, *Amistad Rebellion*, 72, where Rediker utilizes an African folk tradition to contextualize decisions of the Amistad rebels. He also visited Sierra Leone in 2013 in order to gather oral histories and cultural memory about the Amistad from local villagers. *Ibid.*, 246-51.

46. See Fisher, *Indian Great Awakening*, 240n38, in which Fisher laments the “poor record keeping, lost or missing records, and … lack of consistent ethnic designation” of source documents pertaining to Native Americans, which all limit the ability of historians to interpret indigenous/tribal experiences. Cf. *Ibid.*, 230n57, where Fisher discusses the complicated process of distinguishing between historical institutions with similar names and/or overlapping timespans.

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In the Image and Likeness of Man: White Masculine Agency and Civilized Identity in Colonial America

Raymond Ortiz



Institutionalized patriarchy influenced social hierarchy in colonial America. The white, male, hetero-normative identity exemplified the status quo of civility. Lisa Wilson, *Ye Heart of a Man: The Domestic Life of Men in Colonial New England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1999), cover jacket.

Between the early seventeenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries, white men created an identity for themselves that allowed them to uncritically assume a dominant position in the developing society. As a result, by the twentieth century, this white-male identity equated with political power and social privilege. **Raymond Ortiz** considers a comparative analysis of white masculine agency in colonial America, and reveals this representation acted as a standard of civilized identity within the public domain. By analyzing religious conformity, racial prejudice, and the creation of a public sphere, scholars have illuminated the ideal of “civility” as it correlated with the white-male persona. Conversely, a historical examination of social hierarchies within varying non-white demographics reveals these inferior figures within society shared a common trait—the presumed patriarchal superiority of white men.

Between the early seventeenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, social turmoil due to clashes between white elite privilege and class inferiority contextualized the American male identity. Colonial men positioned themselves above people who they considered constituted a lesser, uncivilized distinction. As a result, the white-male identity equated with political power and social privilege by the twentieth century. A comparative analysis of white masculine agency in colonial America reveals this representation acted as a standard of civilized identity in the public domain. From 1970 to 2013, the historical trajectory of this male agency evolved from earlier authors situating white men within a broader context of colonial studies to current and emerging scholarship focusing on a trend of “the other” voice—Native Americans, African slaves, and women marginalized due to their inferior status compared to white men. By analyzing religious conformity, racial prejudice, and the creation of a public sphere, scholars illuminate the ideal of “civility” correlated with the white-male persona. Religious, racial, and gender exclusion shaped what constituted white masculine agency. Despite historical examinations of social hierarchies within varying demographics, current trends by varying scholars reveal these inferior figures shared a commonality in their oppressors—patriarchal superiority of white men.

The complexity in defining the civil identity of colonial America draws from white-male distinctiveness in relation to race, religion, and social space. Edmund S. Morgan describes white patriarchal superiority as the foundation of civilized identity in his 1975 historical monograph, *American Slavery, American Freedom*. He holds “Gentlemen” as the standard of power, social privilege, and a model of masculinity.¹ In a similar manner, Walter Johnson delves into white agency in his 2013 book, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom*. Walter considers white men as part of the “ruling race,” stating this definition owes to “society’s stock of slaves through rituals of humiliation and violation...degrad-

Colonial men positioned themselves above people who they considered constituted a lesser, uncivilized distinction.

ing the women, patronizing the elders, [and] soliciting the children,” of inferior races.² Johnson expresses this idea of power and white-maleness, along with Morgan’s understanding, when he upholds “white-manism” as “a leviathan vision of white men at the head of a social body whose labor and reproduction were fed upward through interlocking circulatory networks that extracted life and energy from its blood-stained conquest of the rest of the world.”³ Historians studying colonial America reveal a trend to investigate this power struggle. Authors in the mid-twentieth century approach the subject from a

consensus theoretical approach to make sense of this identity in relation to imperial powers influence on colonists.⁴ In contrast modern scholars comprehend the discourse from a post-structuralist methodology to recognize the “history from below,”⁵ or the perspectives of marginalized people, and attempt to define white-manism by analyzing what it is *not*.⁶

Expected Outcomes from Religious Conversion

Religious identity embodied much of the white male identity, which influenced what society constituted as “civil.” From the eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries, religious conversion allowed colonists to exert control over Indians. European settlers

2. Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 372-73.

3. Ibid., 418.

4. The colonialist methodology analyzes history from the perspective of imperial powers and authoritative figures. For more information, see Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, eds., *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-Century History and Theory* (New York: University Press, 1999), 277-78, 281.

5. Poststructuralist theory involves the reconstruction of histories previously centered on European or American accounts. Scholars detail the perspectives of the colonized people in order to understand their roles in society. For more information, see Alan Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006), 32-33.

6. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 62-64; Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams*, 338, 372-73, 388, 418.

1. Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom* (New York City: W. W. Norton, 1975), 63.



Early European settlers established relations with indigenous Indians through trade. C. 1602, this image illustrates a reined representation of European men, while relegating native people as lesser than their counterparts. *John Guy meeting the Beothuk people*, drawing, 1634. In Matthaeus Merian, *Decima tertia pars Historia Americae*, (Frankfurt, DE: 1634), 5.

used Christianity, Catholicism, and Protestantism, among other beliefs, to reform natives into the ideal of a Euro-American man. In Daniel K. Richter's 2011 publication, *Before the Revolution: America's Ancient Past*, he discusses the relationship between Catholicism and the Spaniards' views toward Native Americans. "God's cause," as he refers to their reasoning of expansion into the Americas, justified Spanish authority over Indians. The author claims, "Natives were responsible to *submit* to the pope and the Catholic monarch and threatened a well-deserved death should they rebel."⁷ Richter's narrative of conformity parallels Linford D. Fisher's argument in his 2012 publication, *The Indian Great Awakening: Religion and the*

Shaping of Native Cultures in Early America. Fisher maintains European colonists envisioned religious conversion led natives to reject their way of thinking to embrace colonial ideals. He explains colonists expected a godly and civilized lifestyle would perhaps bring Indians to European Christianity.⁸ Richter and Fisher detail the main goal of civilizing Indians; both authors demonstrate this development by regarding the indigenous peoples as primitive and in need of civility, white-male superiority came to fruition.⁹

Colonists asserted religious conformity through land and separation of social realms. Richter details

8. Linford D. Fisher, *The Indian Great Awakening: Religion and the Shaping of Native Cultures in Early America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 5, 23.

9. Richter, *Before the Revolution*, 77-88; Fisher, *Indian Great Awakening*, 5, 21-23, 52.

7. Daniel K. Richter, *Before the Revolution: America's Ancient Past* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), 81.

that planters and farmers developed land for their capital interests, further, they needed to remove Native Americans from open spaces. Richter exemplifies this notion by arguing that Protestant beliefs coalesced with the plantation system in the seventeenth century. “Planting patriarchy” specifies how God served as a means for settlers and planters to exert their power over the land and force Indians from their settlements. This quest for religious *purity* called for social organization and hierarchy in order to regulate the diverse communities in colonial America. Men owning land and holding power over populaces deemed inferior confirmed the Protestant outlook of the world.¹⁰ Similarly, Fisher illustrates the imposition of Christian beliefs on Indians in his discussion of New England boarding schools. Colonists intended for these schools to implement a complete cultural transformation of native students by weaning them from the indigenous cultural traditions taught by their tribes. Fisher notes that colonists expected natives to *sufficiently* Christianize to the standards of missionaries who led these schools and worked on Indian territories.¹¹ Richter and Fisher elucidate that New England men created a civilized society based on religious doctrine. By using Christianity to justify the natives’ imagery of inferiority and servitude, religion provided European settlers with agency over people deemed uncivilized.¹² Like Indians, Africans in America found themselves pressured to Christianize in order to meet the ideal of civility. In his 2012 historical monograph, *The Amistad Rebellion: An Atlantic Odyssey of Slavery and Freedom*, Marcus Rediker explores the 1838 *La Amistad* slave ship rebellion and ensuing 1841 United States Supreme Court Case, *United States v. La Amistad*. African prisoners worked closely with American abolitionists in the former’s defense. Abolitionists wanted the captives to conform to American standards; they educated the Africans on Christianity and the English language. Rediker illuminates that abolitionists expected the African captives to

conform to these ideals in order to demonstrate their “improvement.”¹³

Rediker upholds the same understanding of religion as a means of power and civility as Richter and Fisher. Abolitionists saw civilizing the Africans by means of religious conversion as the key to their freedom. In turn, Rediker demonstrates abolitionists saw the Africans’ indigenous identity as uncivilized in comparison to their own. Abolitionists focused on stripping away the uncivilized imagery of the prisoners for an “improved” public face. Rediker calls attention to the lack of concern abolitionists had in preserving the Africans’ culture and heritage, viewing them as lesser than the Christian persona.¹⁴

The authors use a multitude of documents to construct the relationship between power and religious conformity. Richter relies on religious doctrine and first-hand accounts to show the idea of civility in *Before the Revolution*. He relies on personal letters and papers of prominent leaders such as English Puritan John Winthrop and New England Admiral John Smith. Additionally, Richter incorporates scriptures from the Holy Bible to exemplify the beliefs English settlers lived by in the public. In *Indian Great Awakening*, Fisher analyzes manuscripts and letters of leading English men. His use of accounts from Stockbridge, Massachusetts, parallels Richter’s study. Both authors build on social expectations of colonial America and how their studied figures viewed Native Americans who did not fit these religious norms. Lastly, Rediker relies on records from organizations such as the American Anti-Slavery Society to focus on abolitionists reveals they viewed Africans as uncivilized.¹⁵ Despite the differences in periods and between Indians and Africans, the authors give insight into why white colonists and American men marginalized these figures with religion.

Questions asked by these historians exemplify an emerging trend to reconstruct histories of popu-

10. Richter, *Before the Revolution*, 171, 186, 191-93, 201.

11. Fisher, *Indian Great Awakening*, 52-54, 140, 222.

12. Richter, *Before the Revolution*, 202; Fisher, *Indian Great Awakening*, 23, 93, 145.

13. Marcus Rediker, *The Amistad Rebellion: An Atlantic Odyssey of Slavery and Freedom* (London: Viking Penguin, 2012), 152-53, 198-99, 204.

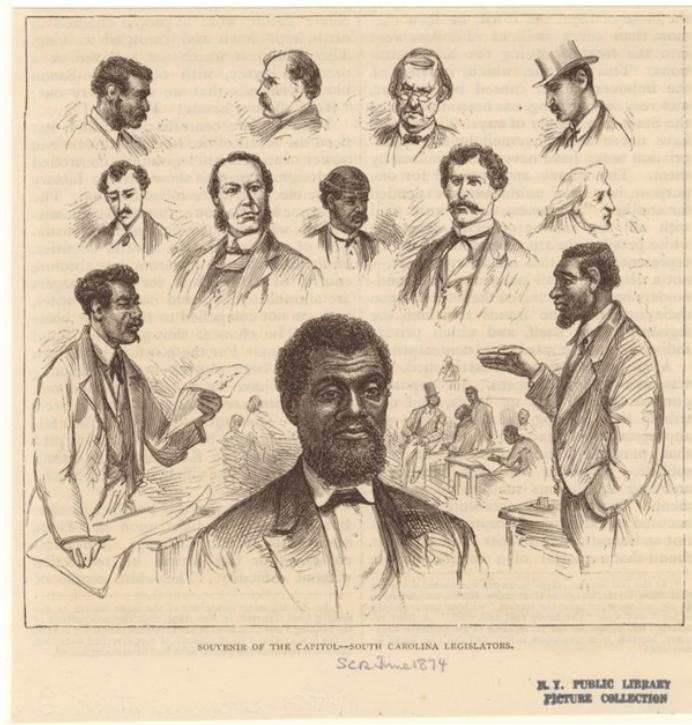
14. Ibid., 153, 155-59, 199, 214-20.

15. Richter, *Before the Revolution*, 425-49; White, *Middle Ground*, xxv-xxvii; Rediker, *Amistad Rebellion*, 246-76.

lations subjugated by theology. Accordingly, these three scholars reflect the poststructuralist methodology in the historical trajectory. Richter and Fisher address how Englishmen justified the oppression of native Indians with religion, how religion correlated with civility, and what the civilized identity did not encompass. Rediker inquiries into the abolitionists' attempts to educate and Christianized the Africans; furthermore, he analyzes how Americans perceived the African culture and identity. These questions demonstrate the "history from below" approach as the authors illuminate the experiences and voices of those who *did not* meet the standards of civility. Richter, Fisher, and Rediker consider theology as a divide between the civilized and uncivilized, further exposing a conflict of race as white men defined the civilized identity in the public while indigenous and non-white races embodied "the other."

Exclusion by Color and Race

Racial background and ethnic origin acted as forms of "otherness" in contrast to ideals of civility. "The desire for power, status, and authority—fantasies of becoming a modern-day patriarch...undergirded the vast expansion of slavery in the eighteenth century,"¹⁶ said Richter in *Before the Revolution*. He adds, "For such white Atlanteans, ownership of a slave was primarily a symbol of power."¹⁷ Exemplifying the black slave market, Richter explicitly upholds the whiteness as an agent of power between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Civilized identity in the public sphere of colonial America correlated with *white* maleness. Native Americans and African peoples found themselves oppressed by an inferior status based on their racial identities and cultural backgrounds. Along with religious conversion, Euro-American whiteness determined what constituted a civilized identity. Scholars from the late twentieth to the early twenty-first centuries examine the implications of this racial hierarchy to non-white communities. Historians of the late 1900s approach the subject



The white male identity served as the standard for civility in the public domain. Ergo, as the picture depicts, African American men modeled themselves after this "civil" imagery. *Souvenir of the Capitol*, South Carolina legislators, 1874 (New York: Mid-Manhattan Picture Collection, New York Public Library).

matter from a colonial methodology—situating elite white men at the center of the story. In contrast, modern scholars continue a trend of considering the "history from below" by analyzing non-white civilians.

Europeans and Native Indians regarded each other as alien and non-human upon first contact in colonial America. In his 1991 publication, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*, Richard White delves into the mindset of French and British settlers in northeastern America. According to the author, French colonists viewed Algonquian Indians with disdain through a "savage" ideology. Savage specifies "wild men embodying either natural virtue or ferocity," when compared to *real* Europeans.¹⁸ "Savagism," as White refers to the concept, pertains to the outlook of settlers on local Indians. Despite the political alliance between Frenchmen and Algonquian Indians, especially to combat Britons who encroached

16. Richter, *Before the Revolution*, 350.

17. Ibid.

18. Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge, GB: University Press), 51.

their land, the French still viewed the natives with disgust, further supporting the imagery of the latter as an “other.”¹⁹ In comparison to White’s concept of savagism, Bernard Bailyn’s argument parallels this notion in his 2012 history *The Barbarous Years: The Peopling of British North America; The Conflict of Civilizations, 1600–1675*. Bailyn investigates the first group of Englishmen who arrived in 1607. Englishmen structured the American colonies as a patriarchal, socialized, and political organization, placing Indians at a lesser status compared to the English. Bailyn maintains Englishmen perceived Native Americans as contemptible. English settlers viewed Indians as wild, unsophisticated, and in need of *civility*. For example, in Maryland colonies, English people wanted to civilize natives by bringing them to God and thus preserve English manners, in native bodies, and souls. Bailyn, like White, contends that Englishmen viewed Indians as inferior because of alleged lack of social development and their complete alienation from English values.²⁰

Forging a social hierarchy based on racial identity granted white colonists patriarchal authority throughout the land. Much of this power drew from exploitation of goods and religion to justify the racial prejudices towards Native Americans. White claims British and French authorities, despite their disputes, sought control over all Indian land. Colonizers used gifts to establish their dominance over Algonquians. In turn, the author states this exchange of power allowed the European settlers to permeate all communities with a patriarchal governing system. For instance, General Jeffrey Amherst envisioned a world with Indians as servants. White states, “General Amherst’s new vision...was a simple one: the British were conquerors; the Indians were subjects...the politics of villages no longer mattered. Only the politics of empire mattered.”²¹ White reveals British-Indian diplomacy did not rely on a *common* life, and there existed no actual concern for maintaining Indian civilization.

19. White, *Middle Ground*, xxxvi, 51, 78, 245.

20. Bernard Bailyn, *The Barbarous Years: The Peopling of British North America; The Conflict of Civilizations, 1600–1675* (New York: Vintage Books, 2012), 35–39, 128, 175.

21. White, *Middle Ground*, 256.

Likewise, Bailyn claims Englishmen used God to justify racial subjugation. Through his discussion of Powhatan and English settlers, Bailyn asserts the colonists strived to bring the “savage people” out of “darkness.” Religion, as White and Bailyn maintain in their respective writings, acted as a means for colonial men to assert patriarchal power over deemed lesser in status based on race.²²

African slaves in colonial America faced racial subjugation in the form of servitude, which differed from Indians. Colonial slave relations stemmed from economic development and the need for labor in American settlements. European settlers brought Africans to colonial America as slave labor. Since their arrival, the majority of colonists never viewed them as equals. Furthermore, the term “slave” acted as a means to distinguish the legal and social status of black people—which attributed to a derogative and inferior identity based on servitude.²³ Edmund S. Morgan considers how the flourishing economy in Virginia influenced the identity of white men versus black slaves in *American Slavery, American Freedom*. According to Morgan, colonists saw Africans as “not quite human” and brutish, alluding to their alleged inferior status compared to white citizens. White planters and farmers of all socioeconomic classes distinguished themselves from black slaves as a result of economic interests. By the 1700s, Africans dominated positions of indentured servitude and slavery.²⁴ Morgan argues that social hierarchy in Virginia became white against black because of the changing demographic in all forms of servitude.

In *River of Dark Dreams*, Walter Johnson expands on Morgan’s argument on the dichotomy between white and black identities. Johnson defines the agency of white slaveholders as “slaveocracy.”²⁵ He explains that slaveholding specifically defined white privilege as a result of the cotton market in southern colonial America. White slaveholders dehumanized

22. Ibid., 145, 223–24, 318–23; Bailyn, *Barbarous Years*, 76–77, 97, 108–13.

23. Bailyn, *Barbarous Years*, 174, 177, 189.

24. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 223, 308, 325.

25. Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams*, 5.

Africans because of this system, stating, “[Slaves] were the human hosts for the speculative loans that haunted the cotton trade.”²⁶ This viewpoint ultimately established two distinct classes of slaveholders in the public domain and slaves. Moreover, Johnson elucidates that divisions existed in the realm of the white-male identity. Slaveholding defined a social persona of elitism; non-slaveholding men *needed* slaves in order for other men to see them as *proper men* in their communities. White manhood equated with mastery and domestic patriarchy because of the slave trade. From his assessment, Johnson demonstrates that white-male power depended on the existence of African slavery for white men to elevate their social standing.²⁷

The materials used and the questions asked by the authors in these historical monographs shifted between 1970 and 2013. Morgan approaches the subject matter from a colonial historical methodology. Basing his discourse on records and written correspondence of Virginians, he focuses on white colonists and establishes a narrative with Africans secondary to them. Questions he asks pertain to the capital interests of Europeans settling in Virginia and considers black slaves as catalysts for the settlers’ endeavors. However, the historical trajectory shifts beginning with the texts written in the 1990s after the United States witnessed many cultural movements. The Black Civil Rights Movement, Gay Rights Movement, and Feminist Movement serve as a few of many social upheavals that combatted oppression towards minority groups.²⁸ Modern scholars approached the topic from a postcolonial perspective to reconstruct the perspectives of the colonized and indigenous people in America.²⁹ Bailyn and White use

similar sources as Morgan to understand what constituted civilized identity in seventeenth century America. Yet, Bailyn and White situated Native Indians and Africans, respectively, at the center of these histories to convey the atrocities that ensued from white privilege. Johnson expands this approach from a Marxist method that analyzes the cotton market *itself* as the primary stimulus for the dichotomy between white Americans and slaves.³⁰ He notably uses black slave Solomon Northrup’s *Twelve Years a Slave* memoir to present the devastation white power brought to those seen as inferior. Despite the differing narratives, these four historians make known that white-male agency correlated with what constituted civility and power.

The Black Civil Rights Movement, Gay Rights Movement, and Feminist Movement serve as a few of many social upheavals that combatted oppression towards minority groups.

The authors demonstrate an emerging development in scholarship to illustrate the inhumane nature of the colonial white identity in relation to indigenous races. Specifically, White, Bailyn, Morgan, and Johnson reveal a trend to *not* depict Native Americans and African slaves as submissive victims merely based on their races. Throughout their texts, the authors present examples of slave rebellions, Indian attacks on colonial settlements, and conflicts that existed with Indian tribes and African communities. Nevertheless, these scholars explain that defining what the public domain composed of in colonial America relied on clarifying “the other,” which included white men who did not meet these ideals as well. Viewed in its entirety, a civilized identity in the public sphere consisted of a paragon based on exclusion and racism. The use of space shaped the domain for white-male privilege to flourish as a standard of civility. However, if these interrelations defined the public, then who or what embodied the *private*?

The white male imagery depended on its dichotomy with the female sex. From 1970 to 2013, historians study how the public and private spheres affected gender relations in colonial life. Women lived

26. Ibid., 279.

27. Ibid., 5-6, 72, 173, 207-10, 226, 279, 390-95, 402.

28. For more information on these social movements, see Alan Brinkley, *The Unfinished Nation: A Concise History of the American People*, 5th ed. (Boston, MA: Columbia University Press, 2008), 850-913.

29. Postcolonial theory questions imperialism and colonial life. It focuses on the experiences of the colonized people. For more information, see Green and Troup, eds., *Houses of*

History, 278.

30. Marxism considers economic development and capital interest as catalysts of human struggles. For more information, see Green and Troup, eds., *Houses of History*, 34.

in a world permeated with institutionalized patriarchy. Male colonists structured a male-dominated power system that gave them complete authority in society; in turn, daily life in colonial America left women inferior to men. Men viewed women as servants and limited them to the domestic, or private, realm to fulfill their expected roles as wives and mothers. The white-male identity in colonial America depended on its differentiation of the private domain—a space that symbolized womanhood and femininity.³¹

Separating from Women and Femininity

In the 1970 publication, *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years, Dedham Massachusetts, 1636–1736*, Kenneth A. Lockridge argues social life in Dedham, Massachusetts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reflected the livelihood in many towns across colonial America. Agency in the public domain went beyond religious conformity and racial prejudice. Lockridge maintains the public vicinity served as a domain for white men, which excluded women as well as indigenous people and African slaves.

Local hierarchy in Dedham placed men on top based on their age, service, estate, and hours of labor. Communal authority consisted of selected townsmen and suffrage granted only to male citizens. Additionally, clergymen, who also held legislative authority, composed solely of men as well. The author explains that the community's founders envisioned an ideal hierarchy of social privilege and legislative participation limited to men. Lockridge claims the founders intended to build a “city upon a hill” that would serve as an example for all *men* to grow and flourish in.³²

From the established masculine domain, men limited women to act as subjects to their husbands and servants to the home. The author explains male participation in politics and civic roles embod-

ied male prerogatives—defining it as the power of “selectmen.”³³ This concept of masculine agency in the public sphere continues in Mary Beth Norton’s 2011 publication *Separated by Their Sex: Women in the Public and Private in the Colonial Atlantic World*. Norton approaches the subject of division of spheres from the perspective of women, who found themselves marginalized by male agency. She considers “the process by which masculine and feminine characteristics came to be mapped onto the existing ungendered [sic] binary public/private,” that dominated colonial life.³⁴ Norton further states, “Conceptually gendering the *public* as exclusively male required that gendered manhood, rather than ungendered [sic] status, define appropriate wielders of political powers.”³⁵ The author argues men instructed women to uphold their femininity, which proved more vital than participation in the public. Gender became the primary determinant of political and public participation. She details that, in contrast to women, men embodied “civility” in society.³⁶

Drawing from personal diaries of colonial women, as well as governing documents and news articles written by men, Norton questions the social order that divided men and women. Men ultimately stood against women in the public in order to protect their manhood. They feared women would control their inherent male sexuality. The author maintains that if women entered politics and held municipal positions, then they *inverted* authority and *unsexed* both male and female citizens. Male colonists used these reasons to exclude women from the public. Men limited a woman’s role to the household and insisted the division of positions would maintain order in the state and home. In turn, men assumed handled all government matters and served as state actors in all capacities. Norton notes that male sentiment against women’s involvement in politics

31. Bailyn, *Barbarous Years*, 87; Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 373-74, 386.

32. Kenneth A. Lockridge, *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years, Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636 – 1736* (New York City: W. W. Norton, 1970), 4-7, 11, 15-18, 23.

33. Ibid., 30, 42, 47, 53.

34. Mary Beth Norton, *Separated by Their Sex: Women in the Public and Private in the Colonial Atlantic World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), xiv.

35. Ibid., 3.

36. Ibid., 3-8, 25.



The Devonshire Amusement satirical cartoon illustrates the “reality” of women holding positions in the public domain. The Duke of Devonshire, pictured in the right, tends to the children, while his “political mad wife” assumes his municipal position. *The Devonshire Amusement*, colored print, 1784 (New Haven, CT: Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University).

permeated colonial America as a result. Norton expands on Lockridge’s assessment with the female perspective of the public/private division of spheres. Both authors explain that men and manhood equated with public participation and politics. Their questions differ because Lockridge structures his narrative from the male perspective while Norton inquires into the female viewpoint. Her analysis elaborates on the male-exclusive realm discussed in *A New England Town*, revealing a consistent trend to illuminate female agency existed within the limited confines of the domestic realm.³⁷

In studying white-male agency in colonial America, modern scholars consider women who ventured into public positions and the reaction they faced. Joshua Piker delves into this occurrence in his 2013 historical monograph *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler: Telling Stories in Colonial America*. The author explores events surrounding the death of

Creek Indian Acorn Whistler in eighteenth century in South Carolina and Georgia. Piker uses first-hand accounts and documents of various figures directly involved in the affair to illustrate the lives of colonists in the years leading up to the American Revolution. Specifically, the author focuses on British colonist Mary Bosomworth. As a powerful upper-class woman with ties to local Indian tribes who came from an elite family, she sought power, influence, and wealth on the colonial periphery. According to Piker, Bosomworth, and her husband Thomas, wanted to elevate their so-

cial status in America. She held official roles in her local community, maintained commercial investments, and overshadowed her husband in the public. However, the author notes she relied on Thomas’ name for many of her endeavors. Thomas served as a nominal agent in order for colony leaders to take into consideration their agenda, but many disregarded Bosomworth because of her sex. Piker illuminates that Bosomworth defied a woman’s proper role and undermined civil men. Her actions exemplify the separation of the public and private spheres.³⁸

Emerging questions regarding gender and sexuality in colonial studies aim to consider female agency on its own merit compared to male privilege and power. Current studies of gender roles in colonial America dramatically shifted between 1970 and 2013. Scholarship changes with the cultural

37. Ibid., 59-60, 70, 90, 99, 114-15, 118, 125-29, 150.

38. Joshua Piker, *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler: Telling Stories in Colonial America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 10, 13, 193-94, 202, 209-10, 225-26, 237-39.

movements that permeated the United States in the late twentieth century. Lockridge approaches it from a traditional colonial methodology. He situates the narrative from the perspective of elite, higher-class men positioned atop the contemporary social hierarchy. In contrast, modern writings by Norton and Piker focus on people marginalized by such elite men. Both Norton and Piker detail the role of women at a time of patriarchal authority. These two authors reconstruct the perspective of women previously obscured by the male voice. In spite of these differences, Lockridge, Norton, and Piker successfully demonstrate that white-male agency depended on the exclusion of women.

Future trends in colonial American history will continue to study minority groups oppressed by white masculine privilege. Furthermore, today's scholars will perhaps construct narratives that focus on these perspectives with their own agencies. For example, White and Fisher analyze Indian tribes and chiefs equal in power with white colonists. These authors specifically note the numerous instances of Indian attacks and warfare. Likewise, Rediker illustrates the African captives as agents of their own emancipation. He proposes that abolitionists only facilitated their court proceedings. Norton portrays women as individual agents in a similar manner as White, Fisher, and Rediker. She discusses the power that women held in the domestic sphere and how they still maintained influence over men in the public. As seen in the arguments of these authors, future scholars will analyze women and non-European indigenous populaces as central characters with colonial men acting as catalysts in their stories. White-male agency influenced power struggles in colonial America between figures seen as civilized and outsiders subjugated and under-privileged because of their lesser statuses.

Existing studies and developing trends on how religious, racial, and gender exclusion formed white-male agency in colonial America shifts from the 1970s compared to monographs written after the 1990s. Lockridge and Morgan, who wrote their texts in the 1970s, define what constitut-

ed a civilized representation from the perspective of white-male colonists and establish narratives based on elite men of higher social status. The approach to the subject matter changes following a multitude of cultural movements in the United States between the late 1960s and 1990s. Thereafter, current historians and future studies reconstruct voices of people oppressed by the standards of civility. Richter, Fisher, and Rediker explain that religion acted as a determinant of civility by focusing on the oppressed subjects of religious conversion. White, Bailyn, and Johnson demonstrate that racial identity contributed to the definition of civility. They reveal that civility correlated with the exclusion of non-white people. Similarly, Norton and Piker make clear that civil privilege and agency did not pertain to the female population as women found themselves limited to the domestic realm. The historiography illustrates existing and future trends in understanding the binary between white masculinity and civilized representation explore the standards, people, and spaces that *did not* fit this ideal image and likeness. In the end, these scholars equate civility with white-male colonists and reconstruct the unrecognized voices.

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The Founding Fathers and their Thoughts on Public Assistance for the Poor

Samantha Spawton



Tea Party activist William Temple protesting against the Affordable Care Act at the Supreme Court. Chris Maddaloni, photographer, *William Temple*, 2013 (Seattle, WA: Getty Images).

Samantha Spawton questions the Tea Party and other right wing conservatives' claim that the Founding Fathers did not support public assistance for the poor. She takes a scholarly historical approach to answer a question historians have failed to thoroughly discuss. By analyzing several early government documents and personal letters from the Founding Fathers, Spawton contends they overwhelmingly supported public assistance for the poor. The Continental Congress, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, John Adams, and Alexander Hamilton all supported various forms of public assistance because they believed the government held a responsibility to improve the public good of those who needed it most, and by investing in the impoverished, the entire nation benefitted.

Today, right-wing conservative groups, including the Tea Party, use the memory of the Founding Fathers as leverage against social welfare and particular public programs that help poor Americans. More recently, these groups utilized the Founders as the centerpiece for political debates focusing on the Affordable Care Act (ACA). When referring to the law, Tea Party members from across the nation predominately cited an article published on their own website, “#ObamacareMadness: Final Four Thoughts on True Reform,” which declares, “it’s hard to imagine these are the values our Founding Fathers embraced.”¹ It asserts that “Obamacare” does not align with the ideals of men like Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. In addition, the Tea Party’s official statement affirms they serve alone as the “light illuminating the path to the original intentions of the Founding Fathers.”² Therefore, by taking this position against social welfare, these conservatives believe they embody the same political ideals as the generation responsible for the founding of the nation.

Contrary to the straightforward ideas of the Tea Party and others on the right, the debate on social welfare remains complicated and not so one-sided or absolute. Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, John Adams, and Alexander Hamilton all supported public assistance in assorted capacities because they believed a government remained responsible for improving the public good by investing in the poor, this benefited the entire nation as a whole. Documents related to this subject require two distinct methods of analysis. The first includes an examination of the recorded actions of the Founding Fathers while they held positions of power. This includes both proposed and passed legislation, as well as political debates. The second type of document analysis centers on statements made away from the public eye, which

primarily consists of personal letters to other politicians. The latter provides a more persuasive type of evidence because these sources illustrate their personal beliefs, and not the compromises made while in office.

The Tea Party, for the most part, does not support social welfare, but instead embraces a spectrum of ideas on an acceptable level of government interference. Although many such conservatives view government aid as unacceptable, others view “earned” public assistance as a reasonable form of involvement. Supporters of right-wing conservatism back welfare programs for those who contributed to funds or the nation in some meaningful way. For example in *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism*, Theda Skocpol and Vanessa

Williamson argue a portion of Tea Party affiliates believe Americans who paid into Social Security “earned” that level of assistance. Also, veterans who received benefits “earned” public aid because they fulfilled a service to their nation.³ In contrast, some Tea Party members view programs targeting the poor or young as “unearned” because these groups do not pay enough into government coffers to receive public assistance.⁴

[T]he Tea Party’s official statement affirms they serve alone as the “light illuminating the path to the original intentions of the Founding Fathers.”

Historiography and Methodology

Few scholarly works discuss the founding generation and their role in assisting the poor through government-funded social welfare programs. Most sources that address this topic originate from journals, newspapers, and online news media. For example, journalists Rick Unger of *Forbes* magazine, Greg Sar-

3. As shown throughout *The Papers of George Washington: The Revolutionary Series*, George Washington only discussed public assistance for the poor when it applied to soldiers and veterans. He failed to provide any evidence for or against welfare for the general poor. George Washington, *The Papers of George Washington, Revolutionary War Series*, ed. Philander D. Chase, Frank E. Gizzard Jr., David R. Hoth, and Edward G. Lenger (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010).

4. Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson, *The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 60.

1. “#ObamacareMadness: Final Four Thoughts on True Reform,” *Tea Party Patriots*, www.teapartypatriots.org.

2. The Tea Party’s CEO, Steve Eichler, claims that the 1773 Boston Tea Party marks the founding of their movement. Steve Eichler, “About Us,” *Tea Party Patriots*, www.teaparty.org.

gent of *The Washington Post*, and Daniel Cluchey of *The Huffington Post* thoroughly discussed this politically charged debate in 2011.⁵ Analysis of the availability of state assistance during late colonial times through the revolutionary period and the biographies of the Framers and other prominent politicians provides evidentiary support to rebuke Tea Party rhetoric.

Scholars specializing in the colonial era emphasize the availability of public assistance for the poor in the thirteen colonies instead of the attitudes of the Founding Fathers. Recently, in Billy G. Smith's anthology *Down and Out in Early America* and Ruth Wallis Herndon's *Unwelcome Americans: Living on the Margin in Early New England*, he discusses the lives of the underprivileged in Early America.⁶ Smith asserts the poor embodied a significant portion of the population in the colonial period and considers the different ways the colonies provided aid. One of his contributors, Gary Nash, described by Smith as "the premier student of poverty in early North America," provides a historiography on not only the destitute, but also the welfare programs available. Nash asserts the most common method of assistance came in the form of almshouses and poorhouses. These public and private institutions provided housing for the disadvantaged, but only poorhouses required labor as a form of payment. His argument centers on how colonists embodied conflicting ideas about the concept of "self-created poverty," where those afflicted share the blame for their condition, and the "philanthropic impulse" or helping the poor, remained the morally right thing to do.⁷ Ruth Wallis Herndon also attempts to

bring more awareness to poverty as it existed in the colonies throughout the eighteenth century by examining the recorded stories of the indigent population in Rhode Island. Overall, these scholars discuss the poor during the transition from the thirteen colonies into the fledgling United States; however, they fail to mention how the Founding Fathers fit into this narrative.

Biographies written about members of the Continental Congress and other prominent figures during the era remain silent on the matter as well. Few authors include vital information on the relationship between the poor and these well-known leaders. Benjamin Franklin stands out as the only exception, because he embraced the concept of private philanthropy and funded the first hospital in Philadelphia. Therefore, his relationship with the impoverished remains an obvious and well-recorded counter to those progressing the narrative of conservative groups. For Thomas Jefferson, few biographies and other published works include information about social welfare. Frank and Francis D. Cogliano's *Companion to Thomas Jefferson* and James Gilreath's anthology on Jefferson's ideas about public education, *Thomas Jefferson and the Education of a Citizen* stand out as excellent examples.⁸ In light of the relevance of the topic, further research and analysis of the prominent political figures during the colonial period and their treatment of the poor remains a timely and important topic.

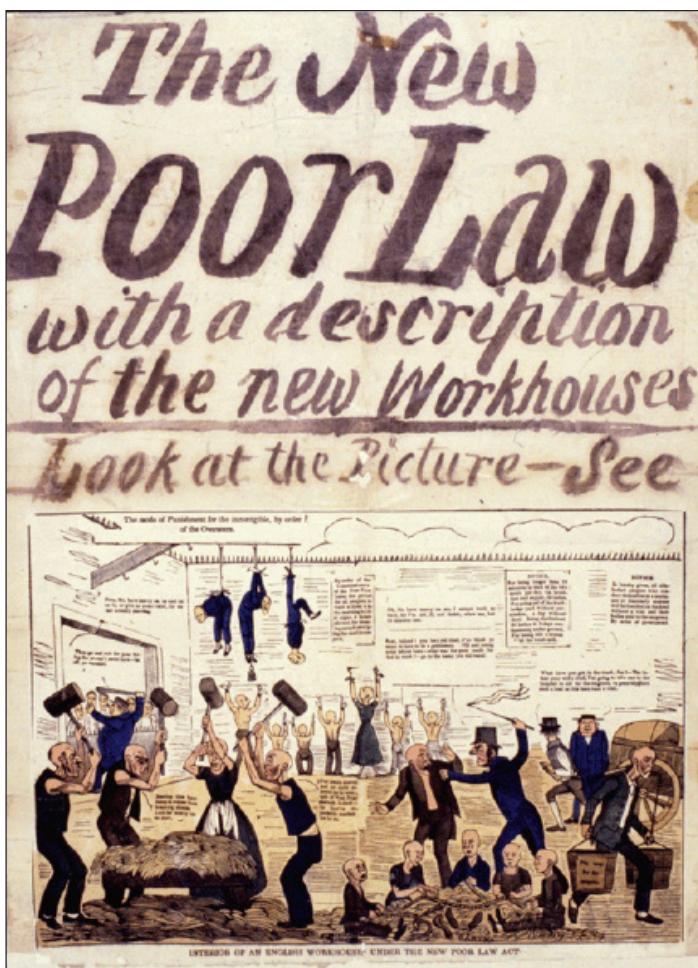
In the broader context, this discussion fits largely into the Republican versus Liberal debate engaged in by modern historians specializing in the early republic. Some historians take the position that the Founders supported Liberalism—the belief that responsibility for serving the public good depended on private philanthropy. Others argue political leaders supported Republicanism—the idea that the government held the obligation to improve the lives of its citizens. This debate rose in popularity during the 1960s and continued through the 1980s. The discus-

5. Rick Ungar, "Congress Passes Socialized Medicine and Mandates Health Insurance—In 1798," *Forbes*, January 17, 2011; Greg Sargent, "Newsflash: Founders favored 'Government Run Healthcare,'" *The Washington Post*, January 20, 2011; Daniel Cluchey, "The Founding Fathers Were Not Libertarians," *The Huffington Post*, February 15, 2011.

6. Billy G. Smith, ed., *Down and Out in Early America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004); Ruth Wallis Herndon, *Unwelcome Americans: Living on the Margin in Early New England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

7. Gary Nash, "Poverty and Politics in Early American History," in *Down and Out in Early America*, ed. Billy G. Smith, (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2004) 16-17.

8. Frank Cogliano and Francis D. Cogliano, *Companion to Thomas Jefferson* (Somersert, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell Press, 2011); James Gilreath, *Thomas Jefferson and the Education of a Citizen* (Honolulu, HI: University Press of the Pacific, 2002).



This New Poor Law poster from 1834, encouraged the reform of workhouses. *New Poor Law*, poster, 1834 (London: National Archives).

sion moved into the mainstream after the publication of Bernard Bailyn's *Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* and Gordon S. Wood's *Creation of the American Republic*. Both authors believed Republicanism motivated the Founding Fathers to reject public assistance. Their position contrasted historian Joyce Oldman Appleby's extensive body of work centering on Liberalism in colonial America.⁹ More recently, Melvin Yazawa, contributed an essay to *A Companion to the American Revolution*, in which he argued poor relief remained part of the broader formula of the Founding Fathers when they established Republicanism as the principal political ideal for the new nation.¹⁰ This indicates that the generation re-

sponsible for the Constitution overwhelmingly believed the government should provide some form of public services to those who arguably contributed the least to public funds—the poor.

British Public Assistance versus American Public Assistance

Although England created public assistance programs during the eighteenth century, the Founding Fathers chose to alter this system during and after the Revolutionary War. England's earliest welfare program began with the establishment of the Old Poor Laws (OPL) in 1536, which lasted through 1834 when the New Poor Laws replaced them. Over the course of nearly three hundred years, the government amended the OPL in response to national needs. Just as in the United States, the British also supported parish run poorhouses and almshouses that received funding through local taxes.¹¹ Although the Founders adopted laws similar to the OPL, significant differences existed. For example, in 1775, Thomas Jefferson encouraged the government to provide public assistance for the able-bodied poor in Virginia. The United Kingdom did not assist this particular population until the passage of the Steenhamland Law of 1795.¹² Furthermore, three years after Thomas Jefferson wrote, *A Bill for Support of the Poor*, the English Parliament passed Gilbert's Act, which shadowed the public assistance programs outlined in the Virginia Act, but with one noteworthy modification. Both acts created a network of parish-run poorhouses, but Jefferson required every county to enforce it, while Gilbert's Act only empowered parishes to create poorhouses. Therefore, the burgeoning United States did

Education," in *A Companion to the American Revolution*, ed. Jack P. Greene and J.R. Pole (Maldin: Blackwell Publishing, 2000), 435-37.

11. A parish refers to "a township or cluster of townships under the control of a ministry." These public services received funding and administration from local sources. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. "parish."

12. George Boyer, "English Poor Laws," Economic History Association, www.eh.net; Thomas Jefferson, "A Bill for Support of the Poor, 18 June 1779," in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd, vol. 2, 1777-June 1779 (Princeton, NJ: University Press, 1950), 419-24.

9. Alfred H. Young, "The Transforming Hand of Revolution," in *Whose Revolutions was It? Historians Interpret the Founding*, ed. Alfred F. Young and Gregory H. Nobles (New York: University Press, 2011), 74-75.

10. Melvin Yazawa, "The Impact of the Revolution on

not just inherit the British public relief system—they pushed it further. The legislation that developed into law did not simply continue English tradition, but rather adapted and developed it into a system the Founding Fathers deemed fit.

Personal Opinions of the Founders on Public Education

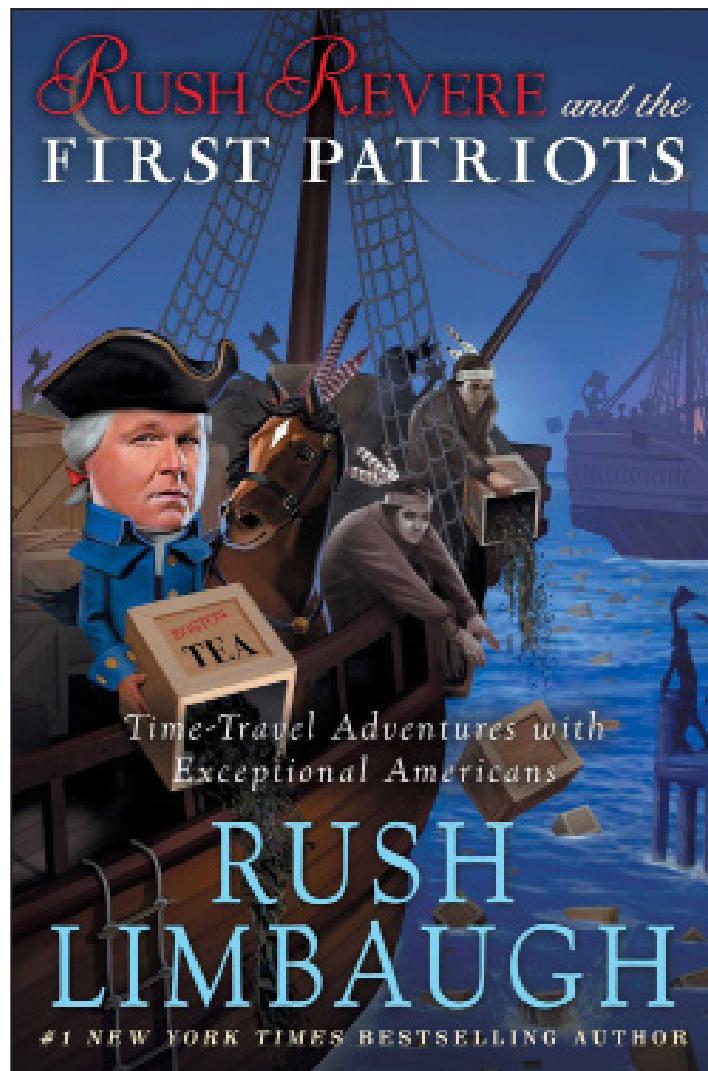
The Tea Party and other right-wing conservatives often use Benjamin Franklin to defend their position on social welfare. Several prominent members quote him as they formulate their arguments against the ACA, especially after Nancy Pelosi made the claim that the Founding Fathers would support the legislation. The Tea Party argues that, “Obamacare is precisely the type of overbearing government policy the Founding Fathers would have fought against.”¹³ Conservative right-wing radio talk show host, Rush Limbaugh, otherwise known as “Rush Revere,” made similar comments while invoking Franklin’s words to support his contentions.¹⁴ Franklin supported private over public charity, mainly due to his fear that public assistance would cause the disadvantaged to rely on the government to improve their financial status. He believed government assistance for the poor promoted “laziness,” “idleness,” and “extravagancy.” As a result, he concluded the government needed to make the impoverished work for public services—in other words, no “handouts.”¹⁵

Franklin’s recorded beliefs appear to run counter to the modern ACA and today’s definition of social welfare; however, his opinion does not represent the Founding Fathers as a whole. Interestingly, he advocated and financially supported both private and charter schools and helped to implement a system of free education for the poor in the Academy Building,

13. “Pelosi: The Founding Fathers Would Totally Support Obamacare,” *Tea Party Patriots*, www.teaparty.org.

14. Rush Limbaugh, “Nancy Pelosi Bastardizes America’s Founding-And Rush Revere Corrects Historical Record,” *The Rush Limbaugh Show*, www.rushlimbaugh.com.

15. Benjamin Franklin to Peter Collinson, 9 May 1753, in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Leonard W. Labaree, vol. 4, July 1, 1750, through June 30, 1753 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), 477–86.



One of “Rush Revere’s” children’s books that interprets the Boston Tea Party. Rush Limbaugh, *Rush Revere and the First Patriots* (New York: Threshold Editions, 2014) coverpage.

a private school he established.¹⁶ Other political leaders supported public education even though it failed to represent an obvious form of government assistance for the lower class. The justifiable reason for supporting free public education always returns to the idea that it overwhelmingly benefits the poor. However, an educated populace benefits society as a whole.

Like Franklin, Thomas Jefferson supported public education. In 1779, as Governor of Virginia, he drafted, *A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge*. This dramatic piece of legislation laid

16. “Benjamin Franklin to Samuel Johnson, 2 July 1752,” in *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 4, 34–37, 324–26; “Proposals for Preparing the Academy Building,” December 1749, in *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 3, January, 1745–June, 1750, 435–36.

out how to manage and organize a public school system. Jefferson proposed that children who showed promise and potential should complete a government-funded education. Even poor children could go to a university and obtain a college degree.¹⁷ Jefferson also supported the creation of a financial aid system for state schooling in Virginia. His ideas regarding merit and need remain determining factors for financial aid today. Due to the radical nature of A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge, it lacked bipartisan support and therefore underwent a number of edits and rewrites, which diluted much of Jefferson's original content. James Madison prominently supported the bill and in a letter to Thomas W. Gilmer he referenced the pending legislation and encouraged Congress to consider it at the federal level. He continued to argue his stance in a personal letter to the Lieutenant Governor of Kentucky, W.T. Barry, where he commented about public education:

It is better for the poorer classes to have the aid of the richer by a general tax on property, than that every parent should provide at his own expense for the education of his children, it is certain that every Class is interested in establishments which give to the human mind its highest improvements, and to every Country its truest and most durable celebrity.¹⁸

Contextually, Madison envisioned a system funded primarily by tax revenue from upper class citizens who owned a significantly larger percentage of property. Madison, like Jefferson, strongly believed in redistributing wealth to create a public education system as part of a necessary investment for the nation as a whole.

First and Second Continental Congress

In 1774, the First Continental Congress addressed the colonies' opposition towards Britain's Coercive Acts. They responded by forming a representative body for the thirteen colonies and adopted a

"non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement" against England. This covenant and others exist as part of the *Journals of the Continental Congress* that effectively encouraged the colonies to boycott all goods from Britain and suspend a majority of trade with the British West Indies.¹⁹ The Continental Congress also set up provisions for those impoverished citizens most affected from the halt in trade. In addition to the boycott, Congress established a set of policies that served as laws meant to govern the colonies. In the tenth rule, Congress authorized the seizure of private goods belonging to anyone caught importing cargo during the conflict. Confiscated trade goods remained inaccessible until the boycott expired or the government sold the contraband, whichever came first. The person received compensation for their losses and any additional money would help benefit the "poor inhabitants of Boston." Later, the economic impact of the Boston Port Act, part of the Coercive Acts, which closed the harbor, resulted in a significant increase in poverty. Clearly, the Continental Congress made proactive decisions in an effort to make the colonies more independent and self-sufficient.²⁰ In the seventh rule, Congress called on citizens to improve American bred sheep. This would improve commerce but tellingly included the provision that surplus livestock would go to the "poorer sort" on "moderate terms." Therefore, the Founders supported a form of wealth redistribution to benefit and improve the lives of the disadvantaged.

In 1775, with the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, members of the Second Continental Congress continued the tradition of providing for the poor. Since Parliament failed to repeal the Coercive Acts, the Continental Congress made good on their resolution to continue their boycott, and halted all exports. As a result, the international trade many colonists relied on for income decreased.²¹ The Continental

17. Thomas Jefferson "A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge," in Boyd, Julian P., Charles T. Cullen, John Catanzariti, Barbara B. Oberg, et al, eds. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol.2 (Princeton, NJ: University Press, 1950), 526-27.

18. "James Madison to W.T. Barry, August 4, 1822, James Madison Papers, Library of Congress.

19. Ann Fairfax Withington, *Towards a More Perfect Union: Virtue and Formation of American Republics* (Oxford: University Press, 1991), 7.

20. The following extracts from, "Votes and Proceedings of the American Continental Congress," manuscript, 1774, *Continental Congress Broadside Collection 1774-1789* (Washington DC: Library of Congress, 1774).

21. Gordon S. Wood, *The American Revolution: A His-*

Congress understood this and provided methods to help ease the burden. For example, New York delegate R. R. Livingston, who helped draft the Declaration of Independence, understood how the boycott disadvantaged the colonists, especially merchants and those who worked in the trade and shipping industry. He, therefore, proposed the Continental Congress relieve some of the financial burden on the colonists. He insisted laborers—as much as one quarter of the population in Rhode Island, New York, and Pennsylvania—would lose their jobs. Livingston proposed the six northern colonies “must” raise nine million dollars to help aid the poor.²²

His ideas contrasted with the locally run parish system, and encompassed a system similar to today’s federal social welfare, because he asked states to unite and contribute to a single fund for redistribution to areas that needed it most. Thus, Livingston viewed cooperation as an investment for all colonists and the young nation as a whole.

In October 1775, as the Second Continental Congress shifted its focus to the war effort, they also found time to develop a system for collecting taxes as a means of funding assistance to the poor. In one provision, Congress passed a resolution allowing a portion of the funds from a penalty system to help the disadvantaged. To assist the war effort, the Continental Congress also ordered judges to have officers give warrants to colonists who possessed carriages and drivers, and have those items conscripted for use by the army. In return, the owners received compensation for their contribution. If an officer or a judge failed to issue a warrant or if a colonist failed to abide by the warrant, they would then pay a ticket between ten and forty dollars. The fines collected were divided with half going towards “the use of the poor of the Parish, or County, hundred, City or town, where such offence shall be committed.”²³ This resolution

illustrates that political leaders of this time actually required the distribution of public funds to help the poor, especially in time of need.

Jefferson and the Creation of the Social Welfare State

Founder Fathers like Thomas Jefferson mirrored the efforts of the Continental Congress at the state level during this time. During the Revolutionary War, Jefferson served as the Governor of Virginia and after one month in office, he helped draft A Bill for Support of the Poor. This, in effect, expanded on Parliament’s 1775, Act for the Employing and Better Maintaining the Poor, by switching responsibility for poor

relief from the Anglican Church to the local government. It also discontinued the practice of requiring the poor who received help to wear colored badges that identified what county they originally received services in.²⁴ Jefferson helped reduce the negative social stigma involved with being underprivileged by freeing the population from the need to declare their financial status in society. The legislation made every Alderman responsible in caring for the poor in his county, requiring poorhouses in each area. In addition, it also stipulated that every county have a poorhouse, a requirement many counties already met. These poorhouses served not only as a shelter for the poor, but also as a workplace. Inhabitants maintained the building and manufactured goods, such as wool, cotton, and flax. Even the able-bodied who refused to work, abandoned their spouse and children, or “loitered or wandered,” could still receive some form of assistance. Such vagabonds could live and work at a poorhouse for a maximum of thirty days. Furthermore, Jefferson mentions that all Aldermen

tory (New York: The Modern Library, 2003), 47-53.

22. “October 27, 1775,” in *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1771-1789* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress), 503-04.

23. “February 22, 1777,” in *Journals of the Continental*

Congress, 1771-1789 (Washington, DC: Library of Congress), 144-45.

24. This tradition began from a 1967 English Poor Law. Martha W. McCartney, “Richman, Poorman, Beggarman, Thief: Down but Not Out in Colonial Virginia,” *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* (Autumn 2000).

in the county “shall raise competent sums of money for the necessary relief of such poor, lame, impotent, blind, and other inhabitants of the county as are not able to maintain themselves” through local taxation of persons and property. Even “bastard” children and widows could receive public funds from the Aldermen.²⁵

Although the law mirrored English laws at the time, such as requiring labor from those living in the poorhouses, it did differ in many ways from Britain’s oppressive poor laws. One major difference includes the reduction of the social stigma tied to those who needed help. Jefferson’s legislation predicated England’s Gilbert’s Relief of the Poor Act of 1782, which also created a network between parish run poorhouses.²⁶ However, Jefferson’s influential bill *required* local governments to provide assistance, while Britain’s law only *suggested* it. The Virginia law’s overall purpose helped the able-bodied poor and gave some, such as orphans and widows, “outdoor relief.” This form of aid included organizations that gave money or materials to individuals to prevent their admission to an almshouse or poorhouse. Gilbert’s Act only suggests outdoor relief and does not require the government to act upon it. In England, able-bodied citizens did not receive widespread poor relief, until the Speenhamland Law of 1795.²⁷ Jefferson’s progressive



The Jefferson County Alms House, also known as Snow Hill and the Poor Far, was built in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, soon after Jefferson enacted his bill. *Jefferson County Alms House*, c. 1813 (Jefferson County, WV: Jefferson County Historic Landmarks Commission).

bill did not just continue public welfare practices from England, but made deliberate changes and expanded the use of public assistance.

Jefferson furthered his support for poor relief with another law that helped those traditionally not deemed worthy of assistance. Three years prior as a delegate from Virginia, Jefferson proposed a bill that included the treatment and procedure of prisoners. In the Bill for Establishing a General Court, Jefferson stipulated prisoners held the responsibility for paying for their own meals while in prison. He believed if prisoners could not afford to do so, one shilling a day from state accounts would go towards subsistence for those poor prisoners.²⁸ This made the Virginia government responsible for the general well-being of prisoners despite the negative social stigma surrounding them. In Jefferson’s mind, a prisoner’s life deserved just as much assistance from the state.

Later in his career, Jefferson continued his ad-

25. Jefferson, “A Bill for Support of the Poor, 18 June 1779,” 419-24.

26. Local sources, not the federal government or the states, governed poorhouses already in existence.

27. George Boyer, “English Poor Laws.”

28. Thomas Jefferson, “Bill for Establishing a General Court, 25 November 1776,” in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 1, 1760-1776, 621-44.

vocacy towards public assistance in his self-published book, *Notes on the State of Virginia*. The book contains his ideas on public assistance services designed for the state. In one passage, Jefferson mentions those who are homeless and do not have contacts or cannot work, can stay at farmers' houses. In return, those providing the care received necessary compensation. Jefferson envisioned services very similar to those provided by the federal government today, including a provision that if individuals could not fully maintain themselves, they should receive a form of outdoor relief called "supplementary aids."²⁹ His ideas parallel the contemporary Child and Adult Care Food Program or Temporary Assistance for Needy Families. Jefferson also believed the state could use "extra lands," or property not in use, to maintain those without housing. Further along in his assessment of Virginia, Jefferson estimated an annual state budget of \$460,000.³⁰ He stated that \$200,000 or almost half of his entire state budget would go towards "parish levies for maintenance of the poor."³¹ This fact alone demonstrates the importance he placed on the government's role in providing for the disadvantaged.

Redistributive Taxes and Healthcare

Despite the proactive laws and proposals, the Founding Fathers also rejected certain policies that they reasoned hurt those they sought to protect. With these rejections, they favored the more important task of protecting the poor over the wealthy, especially when it came to taxes. As with public education, tax reform may not be the most obvious type of public assistance for the poor, but their decisions always returned to the idea that the underprivileged population would benefit most. For example, Alexander Hamilton, who assisted in creating the national financial system, believed the rich should pay more taxes than the lower class.³² Hamilton argued, "the rich must

29. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia 1781-1785* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society), 81-83.

30. Jefferson excluded the military and defense budget in his estimate.

31. Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 82-103.

32. Alexander Hamilton, "Continental Congress Report

be made to pay for their luxuries; which is the only proper way of taxing their superior wealth."³³ Additionally, Hamilton insisted not everyone should have to pay taxes, a reference to those deemed destitute. He argued only in economic emergencies should every person pay taxes, because in an average economy, the poor endured most of the financial burden.³⁴

John Adams shared a view very similar to Hamilton's. In Jefferson's notes on the Continental Congress, he commented Adams argued against the "labouring (sic) poor" having to pay any more taxes than a slave did. He reasoned both groups, fundamentally shared every aspect of living except the state of their freedom. Overall, the "labouring poor" earned a low-income wage and worked in similar conditions.³⁵ Even though Adams does not discuss the poor in general, only the employed poor, he still believed a portion of the low-income population should be exempt from taxation. He assumed the government held a responsibility to prevent Americans from falling into poverty. This idea extends to the very core of John Adams's values and by 1765 he wrote, "We should preserve not an Absolute Equality.—this is unnecessary, but preserve all from extreme poverty, and all others from extravagant riches."³⁶ Because of Adams political influence, the idea of the government being responsible for its citizen's economic status reads as a necessary role for government, but critically he fails to mention how to do it.

As the second United States president, in 1798, John Adams signed the law, *Act for the Relief of Sick*

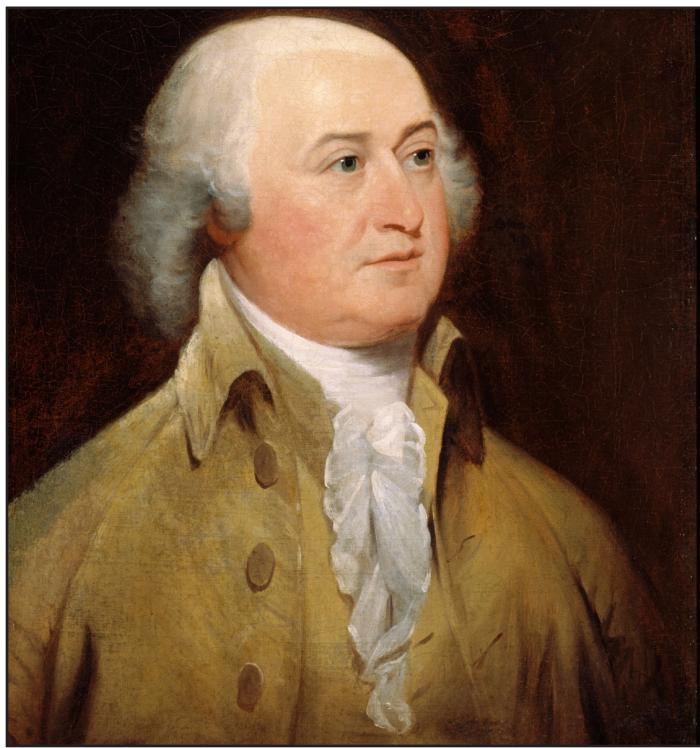
on a Letter from the Speaker of the Rhode Island Assembly, 16 December 1782," in *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, ed. Harold C. Syrett, vol. 3, 1782-1786, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), 213-23.

33. Alexander Hamilton, "The Continentalist No. VI, 4 July 1782," in *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, vol. 3, 99-106.

34. Alexander Hamilton, "Final Version of the Report on the Subject of Manufactures, 5 December 1791," in *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, vol. 10, December 1791-January 1792, 230-40.

35. Thomas Jefferson, "Notes of Proceedings in the Continental Congress, 7 June-1 August 1776," *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 1, 1760-1776, 299-329.

36. John Adams, *Papers of John Adams*, ed. Robert J. Taylor, Mary-Jo Kline, Gregg L. Lint, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2003) 106.



John Adams passed, “an Act for the relief of sick and disabled seamen,” which was the first mandated insurance bill in the United States. John Trumbull, painter, *John Adams*, 1793 (Washington, DC: National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution).

and Disabled Seamen, to help curb extreme poverty. This became the first mandated health insurance bill, and it deserves a permanent place in the current politically charged debate over the legality of the Affordable Healthcare Act. In particular, this law required every ship that entered United States ports to give an accurate number of the quantity of seamen employed since their last entry and to pay twenty cents for every sailor per month. The captain had the option to pay this fee through the sailor’s wages or from the overall ship funds. This money would then go towards, “[providing] the temporary relief and maintenance of sick or disabled seamen, in the hospitals or other proper institutions established.” The government used any money left over to purchase stock and when the value of that stock increased, the President withdrew the funds, and put them towards the purchase of buildings and amenities needed to create hospitals. He also used profits for the construction and the general maintenance of hospitals specifically for sailors.³⁷ Additionally, the federal government sought out physicians

37. Act for the Relief of Sick and Disabled Seamen, 5th Congress (1798).

who then received contracts to work these hospitals. In some cities and towns, the federal government directly operated them. Historian Gautham Rao believes the direct relationship between the Maritime commerce and the national economy constitute the major reasons why Adams’ legislation passed. The sailors who kept this sector of the economy running proved their value to the federal government, which helped with the decision to subsidize maritime healthcare.³⁸

Overall, Thomas Jefferson remains the most active of the Founding Fathers in stating his belief that the government should operate to protect the poor in the United States through public assistance and tax relief. For example, in Jefferson’s 1805 message to Congress regarding a tax on salt, he requested Congress help the poor, and that the tax “[fell] heavily on the poor, especially the farmer.”³⁹ In a letter to James Madison, Jefferson insisted a way to “silently lessen” the problem of property inequality, included the exemption from taxation of those who owned little property, while increasing taxes on those with more land.⁴⁰ He strongly believed narrowing the gap of inequality would allow a better chance for the poor to prosper. Then, the lower class could achieve upwardsocial mobility. In a personal letter to Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours, Jefferson stated the poor should benefit from the government at no cost. He declared:

Our revenues once liberated by the discharge of the public debt, & it’s surplus applied to canals, roads, schools Etc. and the farmer will see his government supported, his children educated, & the face of his country made a paradise by the contributions of the rich alone without his being called on to spare a cent from his earnings.⁴¹

Again, we see how Jefferson argues that the rich should pay for the infrastructure, insuring that all

38. Gautham Rao, “Administering Entitlement: Governance, Public Health Care, and the Early American State,” *Law & Social Inquiry* 37, no.3 (Summer 2012): 628-29.

39. Thomas Jefferson, “Fifth Annual Message to Congress, 3 December 1805,” (Washington, DC: National Archives.)

40. Thomas Jefferson, “To James Madison from Thomas Jefferson, 28 October 1785,” in *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 8, March 1784-1786, 385-88.

41. Thomas Jefferson, “Thomas Jefferson to Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours, 15 April 1811,” in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 3, 1810-1811, 559-61.

Americans benefit. These public services are not something “earned” by how much an individual American paid into public funds. Simply, they have the right to access these public services by simply being an American citizen.

In another letter to Madison written in October 1785, Jefferson told a story of his experience in Fontainebleu, France. During his trip, he met a young, poor, laboring mother. The two conversed, and the discussion led the woman to discuss the hardship of raising children on such poor pay. At the end of their conversation, he gave the woman some money, and she started to weep. In response, Jefferson reflected “on that unequal division of property which occasions the numberless instances of wretchedness.” Jefferson added:

Whenever there is in any country, uncultivated lands and unemployed poor, it is clear that the laws of property have been so far extended as to violate natural right. The earth is given as a common stock for man to labour & live on. If, for the encouragement of industry we allow it to be appropriated, we must take care that other employment be furnished to those excluded from the appropriation. If we do not the fundamental right to labour the earth returns to the unemployed. It is too soon yet in our country to say that every man who can not find employment but who can find uncultivated land, shall be at liberty to cultivate it, paying a moderate rent. But it is not too soon to provide by every possible means that as few as possible shall be without a little portion of land. The small landholders are the most precious part of a state.⁴²

Even though Jefferson mainly refers to his experience in France, his encounters caused him to consider the future of Americans and their fledgling country. He also bore witness to how Europe treated their poor and realized their faults—specifically their failure to provide economic opportunities for their citizens. Jefferson believed in the United States, every man should be able to own and care for land. Property equated wealth and land allowed men to make a living through agriculture.

Property and the Repercussions of Social Welfare

Even though the Founding Fathers overwhelm-

42. Jefferson, “To James Madison from Thomas Jefferson, 28 October 1785,” 385-88.

ingly and positively expressed their views on public assistance for the poor, the consequences of these beliefs often conflicted with their ideas about the role of government. Even though Madison does not target public assistance specifically, he remained mindful of how the government could not completely provide for the general welfare of all Americans. In an edited collection of Madison’s papers, he expresses this belief:

If Congress can apply money indefinitely to the general welfare, and are the sole and supreme judges of the general welfare, they may take the care of religion into their own hands; they may establish teachers in every state, county, and parish, and pay them out of the public treasury; they may take into their own hands the education of children, establishing in like manner schools throughout the union; they may assume the provision for the poor; they may undertake the regulation of all roads other than post roads; in short, every thing, from the highest object of state legislation, down to the most minute object of police, would be thrown under the power of Congress; for every object I have mentioned would admit the application of money, and might be called, if Congress pleased, provisions for the general welfare.⁴³

James Madison’s ideas about the “general welfare” came to include a loose interpretation and could potentially lead to Congress having absolute control. Madison did not individually attack public services, but insisted responsibility in maintaining society in its entirety did not rest solely with Congress. In another example, Jefferson commented that public assistance could create “the lazy lounger,” an individual “too proud to work” who would “eat on the surplus of other men’s labour (sic) which is the sacred fund of the helpless poor.”⁴⁴ Public assistance can create a stereotype often referred to as the contemporary “welfare queen.” Even though Jefferson’s statements share similarities to this modern perception, he does not declare care for the poor as a bad idea. Overall, even though the Founding Fathers did discuss the consequences of social welfare for the underprivileged poor, they still overwhelmingly defended the concept.

43. James Madison, “Bounty Payments for Cod Fisheries, 6 February 1792,” in *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 14, 1791-1793, 220-24.

44. Thomas Jefferson, “Jefferson’s Observations on DéMeunier’s Manuscript, 22 June 1786,” in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 10, June-December 1786, 30-61.

The Legacy of the Founding Fathers

In conclusion, the Founding Fathers overwhelmingly supported government assistance for the lower classes. Members of the Continental Congress, including Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, John Adams, and Alexander Hamilton, all in some capacity, expressed positive opinions about public assistance, with the possible exception of Benjamin Franklin. Generally, the Founding Fathers believed investing in the poor improved the well-being of the nation as a whole. When designing a new nation, the Framers used Britain's poor laws as a foundation for establishing their own policies. They did not just duplicate the British welfare system, but made intentional changes to provide services to a larger percentage of the population. The United States even predated the English in creating a welfare system intended to help the able-bodied poor. The Founding Fathers helped to draft legislation and created new tax systems that helped the disadvantaged. Simply, they not only passed or drafted laws that *happened* to help the poor, but *explicitly* declared their support for bills that helped the underprivileged. The members of the First and Second Continental Congress embodied the very essence of Republicanism in their beliefs that the government held a responsibility to help the people.

Though this is the case, additional research would right the relationship between the Founding Fathers and their views on public assistance. Arguments about their actions and thoughts on this topic thrive on small, biased political blogs, while extensive research on the subject by scholars and historians remains lacking. However, this may change because of the relevance of the topic. Additionally, the popularity of right-wing conservative groups, such as the Tea Party, may contribute to this lack of scholarship.

The primary source material shows a direct contradiction of the Tea Party and other right wing conservatives who insist fighting against poor relief equates to "taking back their country."⁴⁵ Their twist-

ed propaganda results in a misunderstanding of the Framers' actual beliefs and prompted historian Jill Lepore to state the Tea Party Revolution exists as an *antihistory*. She comments, "in *antihistory*, time is an illusion. Either we're there, two hundred years ago, or they're here among us. When Congress began debating an overhaul of the health care system, this, apparently, was very distressing to the Founding Fathers."⁴⁶ Our revolutionary founders lived by their philosophy, and the false statements made by Tea Party members reflect their personages to leverage contemporary politics. These misrepresentations of our past cannot serve as the means to determine our future. Today's society does not parallel the era, just as today's politicians fail to mirror the Founding Fathers.

45. This remains a common mantra by Tea Party pro-

testers.

46. Jill Lepore, *The Whites of Their Eyes: The Tea Party's Revolution and the Battle over American History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press: 2010), 8.

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The Harmless Figure:

Identity and Agency in the *Casta* System of New Spain During the Eighteenth Century

Caralou Rosen



This image displays the multifaceted nature of the *Casta* System. The artist dualistically displays sexual and racial hierarchy through physical domination. José de Alcibar, *De Negro y De India Sale Lovo*, oil on canvas, c. eighteenth century, (Mexico City, MX: El Castillo de Chapultepec).

During the eighteenth century, the discourse of *limpieza de sangre*—blood purity—determined an individual's status in Spanish society. The elites of New Spain feared that natives and mestizos would challenge their diminished place in society, so they turned towards imagery to express their apprehension toward racial mixing. The upper classes commissioned artists to create *casta* paintings as a method to determine one's racial status in society. This visual representation created a strict division among the lower classes, but the paintings also highlighted ways Africans and natives expressed their cultural identity in a racially dominated society. **Caralou Rosen** argues that an examination of eighteenth century *casta* paintings illustrates how individuals worked within a system that hindered their social mobilization based on race, class, and gender, while keeping their native culture alive.



This painting by Ramón Torres, entitled *De Español y Albina, Sale Torna Atrás* or *A Spaniard and Albino Which Makes a Return-Backwards*, depicts the different levels of racial mixing in New Spain. Ramón Torres, *De Español y Albina, Sale Torna Atrás*, oil on canvas. In Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 118.

Introduction

During the late eighteenth century, artist Ramón Torres created a *casta* painting—a visual display of racial mixing in colonial Mexico—entitled *De Español y Albina, Sale Torna Atrás*, or “Spaniard and Albino Makes a Return Backwards.”¹ This controversial artwork juxtaposes a mixed race family in a terraced environment surrounded by manicured woods. An albino woman appears to prevent a dark-skinned child from interacting with the nature that abounds behind her and instead focuses her attention on a cultivated flower. In the center of the painting, the child stands between her parents, who come from European lineage. The young girl reflects the lowered status of non-whites within the *casta* system—individuals who elites encouraged to turn away from their non-civilized past. Despite her lighter-skinned mother, in colonial Mexico, society considered the union bet-

ween a Spaniard and an Albino as a sign of racial regression because of *limpieza de sangre*—the concept of blood purity—which determined an individual's place within the racial hierarchy. This painting, and others like it, symbolizes a deep fear the Spanish elite held within a complicated class system. Elites feared the loss of their privilege and status, and they interestingly turned to imagery as a way to express their apprehension towards racial mixing.

Within a layered culture embedded in discourses of power and control, the upper class of New Spain indirectly exercised and broadcast their power through *casta* paintings.² Elites assigned racial values to class boundaries, which

allowed them to police minorities thus keeping them in subordinate positions. Indirectly, *casta* paintings visually manifested the struggles these minority groups faced in keeping their native cultures alive during the eighteenth century.³ Traditionally, scholars interpreted the paintings as reflections of the ideal Spanish society. However, the paintings also portrayed the existing ways Africans and indigenous peoples in New Spain cont-

2. Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton, NJ: University Press, 1997), 7.

3. The Spanish government commissioned *casta* paintings during the late seventeenth and eighteenth century. The artists and dates for most remain unknown, but some of the painters receive notoriety. Most came from a similar school that trained *casta* painters. Much debate focuses on actual context of the paintings, but general consensus agrees that the paintings reflect the elite's fear of racial mixing. According to Katzew, the paintings all originate in Mexico City during the eighteenth-century due to art schools and master-apprentice relationships. The Arellano family signed and dated the earliest set of paintings from the early eighteenth-century. The paintings acted as model for other *casta* artist, such as Juan Rodriguez Juarez. For a more detailed historiographical analyses see *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 5-37.

1. Ramón Torres, *De español y albina, sale torna atrás*, Illustration, From Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 118.

inued to express their cultural identity within a racially dominated society through subtle rebellious actions. An examination of eighteenth century *casta* paintings illuminates how individuals worked within a system that constrained them through race, class, and gender, in order to represent their native identities and exercise considerable agency despite their subjugation.

Limpieza de Sangre in the *Casta* System

As a genre, *casta* paintings spanned the entire eighteenth century in New Spain, but most emerged during the mid-century as the colony faced changes regarding racial identity formation.⁴ Many of these challenges suggest an internal power struggle took place among the different cultural groups. Identity within the *casta* system relied on the idea of *limpieza de sangre* to define an individual's status in colonial society and encouraged those in the lower classifications to reject their status in preference for more racially "pure" blood. For instance, Spanish Jesuit missionary José Gumilla described a "whitening" process that utilized marriage in order to move up in the *casta* system. This progression took four generations to complete, but if natives and blacks possessed the economic means, they could approach the government or church to buy their way to "whiteness" through the rarely used *Cédula de Sacar al Gracias*.⁵ However, machinations such as this caused many in colonial society to question an individual's blood purity.

Beyond this notion of blood-based racial identity, historians infer the upper class commissioned the paintings as a means of understanding the role of castes in a race based society. This popular form of art served as a way to express the elites' fear of a degenerate society, and they used the paintings as an outlet to illustrate their extreme anxiety over racial mixing. In 1788, for example, Jerónimo Marini protested the marriage of his son, Juan Marini, to Barbara Álvarez

This popular form of art served as a way to express the elites' fear of a degenerate society.

based on blood purity. She claimed her lineage came from free blacks, but without legal documentation, she lacked the empirical proof to convince her prospective father-in-law. Intriguingly, the case presented an interesting dynamic about the *casta* system. During the case, Álvarez's family argued Marini's heritage came from Turkish or Muslim ancestry. Jerónimo needed to provide the necessary evidence to counteract these claims to prove his blood purity.⁶ The court records do not mention the outcome of the case, but it demonstrates one of several instances where race dominated power and identity structures in New Spain.

During the colonial era, perceptions of race, class, and gender evolved into a tool to exert control and dominance.⁷ Scholars typically view *casta* paintings in the general discourse of Spanish imperialism, but issues regarding race also act a contributing factor

to agency—an individual's ability to maintain cultural power. Historian Deborah Poole astutely characterizes race as "autonomous but related [to] features of a broad epistemic field

in which knowledge was organized around principles of typification, comparability, and equivalency."⁸ She analyzes images as "instruments or reflection(s)" of a particular ideology such as imperialism, race, class, and gender that manifest as contributing factors for native and free blacks to exercise their own agency.⁹ Ultimately, race provided the language used to define the reasoning behind the *casta* system, but it did not justify Spanish control.

Elites—peninsulares and criollos—reinforced their fear of racial mixing through *casta* paintings, but these images also legitimized their cultural dominance.¹⁰ The paintings depict the mixing of Spanish, Asian, African, and native peoples. Bizarre categories emerged from these paintings such as the *lobo*,

6. Ibid., 53.

7. Serge Gruzinski, *Images at War: Mexico from Columbus to Blade Runner (1492-2019)*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 3.

8. Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity*, 15.

9. Ibid., 17.

10. Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 50-52.

4. Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 41-49.

5. Ibid., 56.



The Spanish elite commissioned numerous unknown painters to make the *casta* paintings starting in the seventeenth century. *De Lobo y India Sale Sambaiga*, painting, c.mid-seventeenth century (Mexico City, MX: El Castillo de Chapultepec).

or the wolf, that implied a semi-civilized state for non-Spaniards. For instance, the painting, *De Lobo y India Sale Sambaiga*, or the *Wolf and Indian Makes Zambaiga*, shows a mixed-race black and Indian man dressed in red rich clothing riding a horse, which signified wealth and rank in colonial society, approaching a house.¹¹ A non-white woman performs a domestic task in the foreground, while another serves the man. The background depicts a rural milieu, which suggests non-Spanish elite, such as the *zambaiga*, remained outside of urban settings since the dominant culture relegated natives and non-white individuals to agricultural work.¹² The placement of the characters within their assigned environment reflects their acquiescence to, and challenge of, their assigned place in Spanish society. This meant cultural and social interactions differed for everyone within the *casta* system, and played a major role in the development of identity.

Volatile cultural environments made it difficult to protect one's status due to the rapid rate of creolization within colonial society. This entangling of the cultures produced individuals who elites rated according to their degree of white blood. The pace of

11. *De Lobo y India Sale Sambaiga*, painting, c.mid-seventeenth century (Mexico City, MX: El Castillo de Chapultepec).

12. Non-Spanish elite refer to those individuals who are a part of the *casta* system.

race mixing occurred at different times in each territory of New Spain, but the overall intertwining of cultures likely started with religious syncretism.¹³ By the early sixteenth century, the introduction of Catholicism forced a change in indigenous culture and religious practices in New Spain. Natives adapted their interpretations of the missionaries' teachings to their established belief systems to create a hybrid religion, which evoked concern among Christian missionaries. In 1550, the *cabildo* of Tlaxcala issued the "Nahuatl Decree Against Dancing with Feathers Around the Crucifix" in an attempt to stop the native tradition of dancing in religious ceremonies.¹⁴ According to church officials, individuals involved in this sacrilegious ritual acted in a manner inconsistent with the reverence due to the relics of Christianity. Despite the indoctrination of Spanish Catholicism, this syncretism kept indigenous culture alive even as friars and monks adamantly fought to convert the natives. Conversion to Catholicism entailed more than the acceptance of new religious rites, religious authorities also expected neophytes to act like Spanish peons, which required removal from their traditional homes. This accelerated the destruction of native culture and isolated its recent adherents, but encouraged the rapid advance of Catholicism. During the conquest of the Yucatan Peninsula, the relocation of native groups caused massive population decreases, and thus endangered Mayan identity.¹⁵ However, despite the all out assault on their traditions, according to scholar Inga Clendinnen, syncretism actually maintained cultural practices and identities. Natives rebelled by integrating ancient customs into social institutions, such as the church that refused to acknowledge their own culture. Therefore, this conscious effort to keep their

13. Barnard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concepts and Contours* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 63.

14. "Nahuatl Decree Against Dancing with Feathers Around the Crucifix, Issued by the Cabildo of Tlaxcala," in *Mesoamerican Voices: Native-Language Writings from Colonial Mexico, Oaxaca, Yucatan, and Guatemala*, eds. Matthew Restall, Lisa Sousa, and Kevin Terranciao (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 186.

15. Inga Clendinnen, "Landscape and World View: The Survival of Yucatec Maya Culture under Spanish Conquest," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22, (July 1980): 374-75.



Within the *casta* system, those of a lower racial status attempted to marry into the elite classes to purify their bloodline. *De Español Con India Produce Mestizo*, painting, c. seventeenth century (Mexico City, MX: El Castillo de Chapultepec).

native identities alive allowed them to exercise their agency as the two amalgamated cultures.

As the imperial agenda evolved, indigenous identity became harder to express as racial mixing took place. The creolization of society further impaired native culture by ensuring those who mixed with other racial groups lost the unique cultural principles they previously enjoyed. In the context of the *zambaiga*, the ability to ride a horse—an illegal transgression for someone of a lower caste—demonstrated the expression of agency, albeit one that occurred outside of Spanish control. While, the paintings reflected Spanish gendered norms, the willingness of the *Zambaiga* to challenge notions of European dominance by riding a horse likely represented the reality that indigenous and mixed race people disobeyed colonial law whenever the opportunity arose. Therefore, the painting illustrates the complex, and contradictory, nature of the *casta* system in a society dominated by blood politics.

In order to rise in New Spain's social hierarchy, men and women of lesser status needed to marry

someone with purer *limpieza de sangre*, to overcome the repressive class system. During the eighteenth century, roughly twenty-five percent of the population identified as racially mixed.¹⁶ These hurdles grew ever higher when issues of gender entered the mix. Because of Spanish concepts of patriarchy, native women faced many unique challenges in their attempts to retain cultural identity. As such, the *casta* painting also reflect a gendered discourse and may suggest ways in which indigenous women navigated and maintained agency in a male dominated society. The *casta* painting *De Español Con India Produce Mestizo*, or *Spaniard and Indian Produce a Mestizo* highlights the method of social mobilization by amending the traditional role of motherhood.¹⁷ In this image, a dark-skinned mother, and light-skinned father, flank two young children. One child has a distinctly darker skin tone than his sibling. While the fa-

16. Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 39-42.

17. *De Español Con India Produce Mestizo*, painting, c. seventeenth century (Mexico City, MX: El Castillo de Chapultepec).

ther gently touches the lighter-skinned child, the other child peers reverently into the face of his father and appears to turn away from his mother. The distance between the two dark-skinned figures illustrates their rejection of their indigenous past. The mother refuses her dark-skinned son based on his *limpieza de sangre*, since the child occupies a lower caste. Instead, the mother embraces her new racial identity by directing her attention to her husband, who represents Western culture and thus maintains her personal power within the caste system.

Proper Cultural Environments and Communities

Casta paintings demonstrate the proper environments, such as urban and rural areas, where elites expected individuals in the caste system to thrive and survive. *De Español Con India Produce Mestizo*, depicts a family near an urban environment, typically where people had access to institutions and where the authority of Spanish culture remained strongest. The father stands in a light-painted area in front of the family dwelling and oversees the daily activities on his land, just as Spain oversaw the resources and people of her New World possessions. The dark and light tones replicate issues of dark versus light skin embedded in the colonial discourse. Skin color indicated whether an individual came from Spanish decent, and thus acted as a visual aid in assigning value within a racialized social system. The son illustrates his worth by standing in the light, indicating he possesses the potential to develop proper Western social mannerisms. Yet, the mother remains in darkness, hinting at the indigenous and savage element associated with the dark paint colors. Within the city, civilization appears idyllic and idealized, aloof from interference by native savagery, and a representation of the Spanish elite's attitudes toward race and power.

Conversely, in the painting a *Español y Castiza, Producir Español*, or *Spanish and Castiza, Produce Spanish* the artist depicts a family centered in

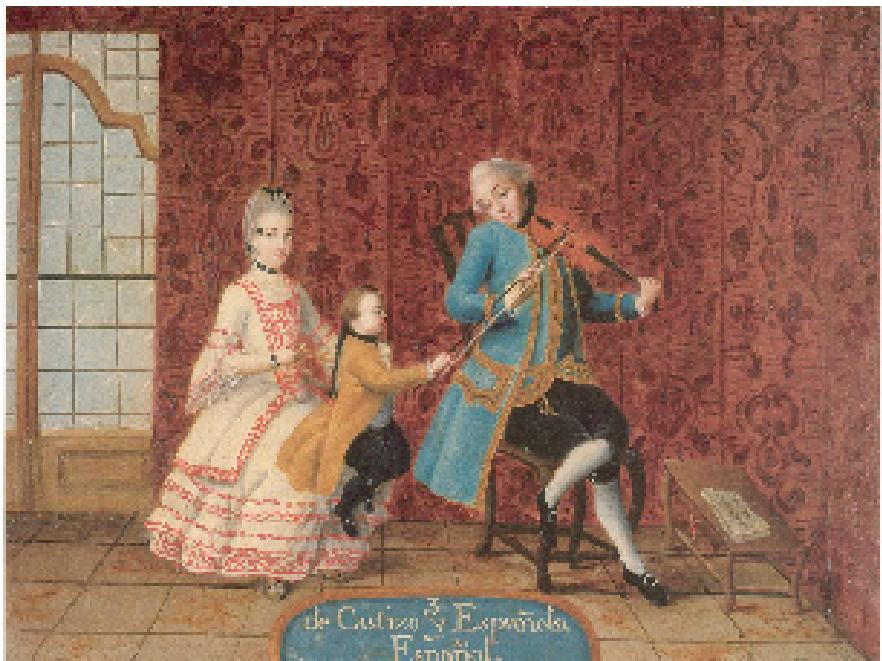


The *casta* system could also create ambiguity within identity. *Español y Castiza, Producir Español*, painting, c. seventeenth century (Mexico City, MX: El Castillo de Chapultepec).

a rural environment surrounded by mountains.¹⁸ The father stands proudly in front of the house looking onward as natives develop his land. The mountain acts as a barrier to the savagery beyond the ordered and civilized world created by the Spaniard. The male figure represents the power of civilization and patriarchial authority as he provides and protects his family, while maintaining social order.¹⁹ Here the *criollo* father upholds social order by directing the work that takes place around him. Thus, he symbolizes colonial order because he conquers—or in this case directs—the actions of native subjects. The indigenous mother looks adoringly toward the father; however, the *mestizo* child seems torn between her Spanish and native bloodlines. The artist portrays the *mestizo* child in light colors to note her connection to civilization and association with a Spaniard's pure blood. Her position in the painting suggests two possible interpretations: one of a budding colonist ready to assume a role over the indigenous population, or one of longing for a quickly fading past. According to historian Jeffery Auerbach, the placement of a figure or person's body alludes to themes of colonialism, subsequently the position of the child's body suggests the presence

18. *Español y Castiza, Producir Español*, painting, c. seventeenth century (Mexico City, MX: El Castillo de Chapultepec.)

19. Diana DiPaolo Loren, "Corporeal Concerns: Eighteenth-Century Casta Paintings and Colonial Bodies in Spanish Texas," *Historical Archaeology* 41, no.1 (2007): 24-26.



The paintings illustrate the elite's desire for a pure society in order to maintain control within a rapidly changing system. *De Castizo y Española Español*, oil on canvas, c. seventeenth century (Madrid, ES: Museo de América).

of conflicted agency.²⁰ Thus, the presence of native culture and identity remained active within the colonial enterprise, but emerge as distinct within the caste system.

In colonial society, individuals participated in contractual relationships to keep their respective cultures alive.²¹ In these relationships, individuals shared similar experiences by expressing their native cultural identity even as the colonial government enforced its cultural norms over them. Therefore, how a figure physically interacts with the environment, reflects their expression of this contractual relationship with their cultural heritage and the Spanish culture.²² As in *De Lobo y India Sale Sambaiga*, this contract appears as the individuals function within their environment. The presence of the historical actor reflects the persistent fear the Spanish elite may have felt as the lower classes rebelled against colonial law and traditional social

20. Jeffrey Auerbach, "Art, Advertising, and the Legacy of Empire," *Journal of Popular Culture* 35, no.4 (2002): 12-15.

21. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991), 1-15; John Locke, *Second Treatise on Government* (1698).

22. Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 222.

roles. He navigates within the colonial system since he resides in the expected rural environment of his caste, but also in defiance of the expectations based on his race.²³ *De Español Con India Producir Mestizo* shows a mother involved in the colonial community, yet sets herself apart from everyone else as she leans into the darkness. Thus, her relationship with her cultural heritage allows her to keep some fraction of her agency. Similarly, in *Español y Castiza, Producir Español*, the child points toward the fields, which identifies with her deeply rooted native heritage. However, her connection with native culture appears weak in comparison to the other figures in the

painting. The child seems compelled to lean towards her indigenous roots because the *criollo* elite denied her the gratification of understanding the native culture from which she descended.²⁴ Artists often re-defined children of the different castes in the paintings to illustrate how native culture remained prevalent in colonial society. Historian R. Douglas Cope contends ethnic identity survived through the community and adapted on many levels, but elites continued to categorize and define the system to maintain control.²⁵ In terms of *Español y Castiza, Producir Español*, the lost connection to the child's non-Spanish heritage indicates that race was not only a marker of social status, but it also suggests environment played a major role in socializing children into the their proper places in society.

Gender Roles within the *Casta* System

Colonial society adhered to rigid gender roles in order to maintain the imperial enterprise and male privilege. Therefore, stepping outside of one's assigned role meant chaos as shown in the painting *De*

23. Ibid, 222-23.

24. Ibid, 220-21.

25. R. Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico, 1660-1720* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 4-5.

Castizo y Española, Español, or *Castizo and Spanish Women makes a Spaniard*. This painting illustrates a wealthy racially mixed family, who place high value on European culture.²⁶ In the center of the image, a young boy reaches for his fathers' violin bow, seeking his attention. The father gazes at his son, slightly putting pressure on the bow so he may continue the task of playing the instrument. The mother's eyes focus on the viewer, avoiding the interaction between her husband and son.

The portrait seems at first to represent the proper gender roles for eighteenth century New Spain, but upon deconstruction, power relations become apparent in the scene between father and son. The patriarchal figure gently refuses the son's request of handing over the bow, a symbol of European culture. In other words, the father steps outside traditional male European gender roles by placing emphasis on the child's indigenous heritage.²⁷ In honoring his traditional native male gender role, the father enters into a surprising contractual relationship with his heritage, offering an alternative to the European perspective on life.

The painting *De Español y Negra Mulata*, or *A Spaniard and African make a Mulata* exemplifies how societal gender boundaries erase traditional notions of masculinity and femininity, and establish



Colonial elites and Africans participated in interracial relationships quite commonly, but this image illustrates the potential dangers of these affairs. *De Español y Negra Mulata*, oil on canvas, c. late-seventeenth century (Madrid, ES: Museo de America).

agency for the minority figure.²⁸ Centered in a homely atmosphere, the painting depicts a couple fighting, representing a microcosm of colonial upheaval. An African mother holds a blunt object above her head and moves to strike a Spaniard, presumably her husband. The Spanish father dressed in white, resists her blow by holding the mother while a young frightened child tries to stop her mother from abusing her father. The painting references not only social class, but

space and how and individual interacts within it.²⁹ The African mothers' rage towards the father identifies an alternative to how space reflected individuals in the casta system.³⁰ Within the home, the African woman attempts to transcend the authority of her husband, and by extension Spain, by raising her hand in anger. The white male attempts to reinforce his authority by holding the woman in place, and thus guar-

antee Spanish hegemony within society. As with the *zambiaga* painting, the character rejects the expected subservient role assigned to them.³¹

28. *De Español y Negra Mulata*, oil on canvas, c. late-seventeenth century (Madrid, ES: Museo de America). In Magail C. Carrera, "Locating Race in Colonial Mexico," *Art Journal* 57, no.3 (1998): 41.

29. According to Magail Carrera, material markers, such as clothing and jewelry indicated wealth and social standings in the *casta* system. For more information see Magali Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, Austin, 2003), 24-5.

30. Clothing and other symbols of wealth established gender roles and racial identity because only certain members of the caste system were allowed to have select items. See Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain*, 24-6.

31. McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 224-5.

26. *De Castizo y Española Español*, oil on canvas, c. seventeenth century (Madrid, ES: Museo de América). In Magail C. Carrera, "Locating Race in Colonial Mexico," *Art Journal* 57, no.3 (1998): 41.

27. Magail C. Carrera, "Locating Race in Colonial Mexico," *Art Journal* 57, no.3 (1998): 39-40.

Socio-economics also symbolized an individual's caste system and determined their racial value. This gave them access to better resources, helping them exercise greater control within society. According to Katzew, clothing emphasized colonial wealth and status in society.³² However, after 1750, clothing also indicated different classes, providing another means for natives and Africans to resist the colonial elites' expectations by reflecting their culture. In the case of the *zambaiga*, his arraignment in "proper" native limits his agency. However, in *De Español Con India Producir Mestizo*, the mother's economic privilege allows her access to refined clothing that reinforces her cultural status. Her bright white clothing, clearly indicates she would not labor in an outdoor environment.³³ In *Español y Castiza, Producir Español*, the bright skirt worn by the mother again elaborates how economics determined one's access to the finest clothing. In the painting, she rejects her heritage by gazing at her husband—a metaphor for western society. The red colored skirt also symbolizes the mother's connection to her native culture allowing her greater agency. Ultimately, clothing provided an outlet for women to express themselves within the system to retain agency without overthrowing the stratified system.

The domestic sphere remained a site where native and Africans individuals perpetuated agency on a community level and gathered a sense of cultural awareness. In this sphere, women retained the ability to define their agency within established gender roles. In *De Español Con India Producir Mestizo*, the mother operates the household through indirect control, acting as a submissive housewife. Within a Spanish dominated community, while women seemed powerless, they exerted control through their ability to build a community with other natives on the farm and thus retain some measure of independence. Community served as the foundational key for keeping traditional culture alive, while encouraging cultural integration. Because women had the advantage of working within the system on multiple levels, this theoretically lim-

ited the policies of the colonial body.³⁴ In *Español y Castiza, Producir Español*, the mother reflects this level of community development and only expresses her agency on a material level. Yet, the daughter leans towards the fields, illustrating how indigenous culture prevailed despite opposing forces. *De Español y Negra Mulata* illustrates a community where oppressive forces created conditions of rebellion. The African mother attacks her partner in an obvious display of a reordered gendered norm within the confines of a private environment.³⁵ A sexual relationship between the two parties meant that the man conquered the exotic, but birth of the children often skewed the dominant social norms into a sometimes contentious reality. Thus, physical violence manifests as the woman asserts her right to express her agency.

Working within a system of domination provided many obstacles for both native and Africans to overcome. These groups maintained a sense of agency by working within the system and using it to their advantage. *Casta* paintings reflected a segregated society based on the concept of race. Nevertheless, this racial identity became an advantage to those individuals who wanted to engage with their cultural heritage. From this point of view, a community developed among those with a shared culture, making the group extremely important to the maintenance of agency as new threats arose. Further research may highlight how paintings better reflected fissures in elite power than realities of racial relations. It may also illustrate that *casta* agency evolved over time in surprising ways. For instance, Inquisition cases provide another forum for discussion since minorities used their trials as a medium to directly establish agency and empower themselves against a religious and legal system set against them. Thus, many of these trials provide evidence of eighteenth century defiance against an oppressive colonial system. The idea of native culture represented in the paintings, despite attempts to control and define individuals in the colonial system based on race, shows how people overcame subjugation using the system that created their oppression.

32. Katzew, *Casta Painting*, 30-8.

33. Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain*, 24-6.

34. Loren, "Corporeal Concerns," 23-7.

35. Ibid, 31-2.

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German Rwanda:

The Overlooked Role of Germany in the Centralization of Authority in Rwanda from the 1890s-1919

Tim Barrette



Often downplayed by most historians, this image displays the significant impact German East Africa held on the communities within the protectorate's borders. Although only a handful of white faces show the direct impact of imperial forces, the militarized Africans under the direction of their foreign occupants speaks volumes to the sociopolitical power wielded by Germany. *Deutsch-Ostafrika, Askarikompanie*, photograph, c. 1914 (Berlin, DE: German Federal Archives).

This often overlooked epoch of German imperialism receives scant scholarly attention, especially when it pertains to German East Africa. **Tim Barrette**, however, sheds light on this neglected field of research by revealing the critical role Germany's colonial period held on the development of racial identity within Rwanda. By analyzing precolonial economic modes of production and monarchical authority, and comparing it with Germany's ideological foundations on expansion, Barrette ties together the complicated past of Rwanda in order to elucidate the European power's influence in centralizing their government.

Within Rwandan history, the clouded nature of German imperialism obscures their historical significance in centralizing governmental authority within the kingdom. However, a reinterpretation of overlooked research illuminates the irrevocable impact German colonial expansion held on the sociopolitical landscape of the east African nation. Scholars of the African Great Lakes region¹ traditionally point to the scant size of the colonial administration as evidence of Germany's limited impact in the region, but this fails to acknowledge the geopolitical importance of *Deutsch-Ostafrika* (German East Africa)—and more importantly, how Germans affected local Rwandan politics, economics, and ethnic divisions.² This oversight causes academics to refrain from focusing on Germany's role in resolidification and concentration of monarchical power through the involvement of the military and Catholic Church, which legitimized the Christian based *racial* categories of Tutsi, Hutu, and Twa.

Through a multilevel analysis of the characters—both precolonial and colonial—during the pivotal epoch from 1895-1918, a more complete picture of the local tensions and realpolitik that played out in Rwanda begins to emerge. Understanding Germany's need to centralize authority remains central to the this analysis and appears in three primary areas: (1) precolonial Rwanda's monarchy and the oscillating nature of governmental authority through economics; (2) Otto Von Bismarck's rational for supporting a German empire based on the successful British East India Company's model; (3) European explorers interpretation of ethnic hierarchy and Tutsi superiority.

1. Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, and Tanzania.

2. Throughout the time of colonial occupation in *Deutsch-Ostafrika*, only 2,500 soldiers resided in the region. Moreover, during German control of Rwanda, less than 100 administrators, soldiers, and missionaries inhabited the kingdom. Additionally, Tutsi and Hutu primarily comprise the Rwandan region. In the pre-colonial era, Tutsi held the narrowly homogenous role of cattle owners, in which the cattle acted as wealth. On the other hand, the Hutu population primarily farmed. Although modern thought of ethnicity implies that ethnic identity remains a constant, in Rwanda, it served as more of an economic or tribal identifier, which did indeed get intermingled. Villia Jefremovas, *Brickyards to Graveyards: From Production to Genocide in Rwanda* (Albany: State University Press of New York, 2002), 66.

When these points intertwine, it provides an explanation as to why colonialists exacerbated ethnic divisions through religion and by quelling challenges to the throne. This ultimately, sheds light on the crucial role that Germany played in centralizing authority in a newly colonized Rwanda.

Precolonial Rwanda (Local)³

Until the 1600s, the region known as Rwanda consisted of fragmented localities and independent tribes separated by hills. Formally established in the seventeenth century under the auspice of the first *Mwami*, (king) Ruganzu Nodri, the kingdom took its first steps towards the centralization of authority.⁴ The new administration integrated numerous tribal members into the freshly formed government and expanded military participation, which served as a unifying factor for once unaffiliated parts of the kingdom.⁵ Additionally, the creation of the two notable economic systems of *ubahake* and *ubukonde* established local control, while laying the foundation for a class-based society. The *ubahake* system consisted of two parties, typically the wealthier Tutsi cattle-owning patron and an impoverished Hutu agriculturalist client with land. The patron offered protection and sometimes the promise of a cow in exchange for the client's servitude. This tied the client's identity to their patron and eroded their tribal/local distinctiveness.⁶ Many Rwandan

3. This section only uses sources from anthropologists/historians who have cataloged and synthesized the oral history of Rwanda. Unfortunately, the oral history of Rwanda remains unwritten.

4. Jan Vansina, *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda: The Nyiginya Kingdom* (Wisconsin: University Press, 2004), 44-66; David Newbury, *The Land Beyond the Mists: Essays on Identity and Authority in Precolonial Congo and Rwanda*, (Athens, OH: University Press, 2009), 215-21; Frank K Rusagara, *Resilience of a Nation: A History of the Military in Rwanda* (Kigali, RW: Fountain Publishers Rwanda, 2009), 14-16; Christopher C. Taylor "Dual Systems in Rwanda: Have They Ever Really Existed?" *Anthropological Theory* 4, no. 3 (Sep., 2004): 359.

5. Newbury, *Land Beyond the Mists*, 228.

6. Cathrine Newbury, "Ubureetwa and Thangata: Catalysts to Peasant Political Consciousness in Rwanda and Malawi" *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 14, no.1 (1980): 97-111; Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda* (Princeton, NJ: University Press, 2001) 64-68.



Mwami Kigeri IV Rwabugiri wore this iconic headdress to indicate his royalty. In narrowly every drawing of the king, he wears this to indicate his elevated status. *Diadem belonging to Mwami Kigeri IV Rwabugiri*, photograph, 2013 (Tervuren, BE: Royal Museum for Central Africa).

dan historians and anthropologists furiously debate the extent in which *ubahake* client relationships permeated Rwandan society. Modern scholarship—most prominently Cathrine Newbury's *Cohesion of Oppression: Clientship and Ethnicity in Rwanda 1860-1960*—refutes the popular notion that the *ubahake* system provided Hutus the ability to move up classes through the acquisition of cattle. The more popular *ubukonde* system, on the other hand, permitted the agrarian population to hold onto some of their tribal identity. This lineage-based system centered on the distribution of land. The lineage head of a tribe allocated property first to those within his ancestry, and sometimes to individuals outside of the familial ties. In exchange, allottees expressed gratitude through voluntary gifts—mostly cattle and beer. *Ubukonde* fell outside the jurisdiction of the Rwandan court and thereby ensu-

red that authority remained largely local.⁷ Although these two systems wielded power in different ways, service in the military, along with linguistics, began amalgamating once hostile neighbors and set Rwanda up for a strong monarchy.

Authority within the Rwandan Kingdom remained partially diffused until 1853 when the infamous *Mwami* Kigeri IV Rwabugiri ascended to the throne. Known as the “quintessential military monarch” he aggressively expanded the boundaries of the kingdom and established a centralized authority around his rule.⁸ Rwabugiri exerted vigorous control over the foreign lands he conquered while tightening his rule over lands already within the Rwandan Kingdom. The monarch forcibly introduced the national practice of *uburetwa*, which quickly made *ubukonde* obsolete.⁹ In *uburetwa*, the militant king disbanded tribal power structures by decimating local governments and replacing the tribal heads with three representatives from his royal court. Then he coerced labor out of only the Hutu population, while the pastoral Tutsi population periodically donated cattle as a form of payment.¹⁰ This seriously challenged local identity and caused the populations to identify as Rwandan, and not as a member of their tribe. In an essence, he ensured everyone worked or fought for the Kingdom of Rwanda—and he violently reaffirmed his authority, most notably by publicly removing the testicles of truculent Hutu and other challengers to his crown.¹¹

7. Jamie Crook, “Promoting Peace and Economic Security in Rwanda through Fair and Equitable Land Rights” *California Law Review* 94, no. 5 (Oct., 2006): 1492; Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers*, 67; Vansina, *Antecedents to Modern Rwanda*, 132-34.

8. Newbury, *Land Beyond the Mists*, 149.

9. The only exemption came from those Hutu who established status elevating *ubuhake* relationships. Barrie Collins, *Rwanda 1994: The Myth of the Akazu Genocide Conspiracy and Its Consequences* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) 41-51.

10. This only heightened tensions between the Tutsi and Hutu within Rwanda. Although these populations sporadically lived together, intermarried, and shared governmental positions, this unfair distribution of labor caused animosity and revolt directed at the Hutu’s oppressor. David Anderson, Carolyn Brown, Johan Pottier, *Re-Imagining Rwanda: Conflict, Survival and Disinformation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, GB: University Press, 2002) 110; Cathrine Newbury, “Uburetwa and Thangata”; Taylor, “Dual Systems in Rwanda,” 362-68.

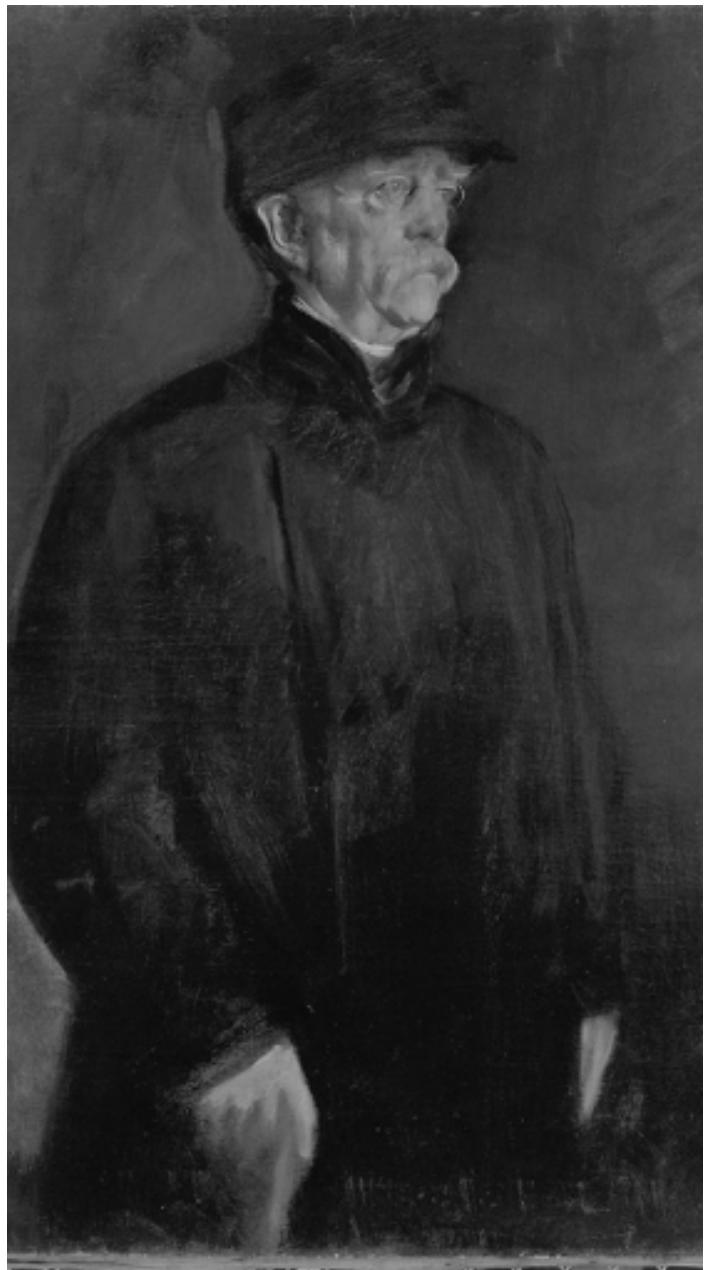
11. Newbury, *Land Beyond the Mists*, 155-56.

Following the king's death in 1895, monarchical authority fragmented under the new *mwami*, Mibambwe Ratalindwa. Two reasons caused the government to fracture, first, newly acquired territories refused to comply with the system the previous king thrust upon them. Second, during the Rwabugiri reign many of the court appointed officials entrusted with collecting tax revenues embezzled the funds and became extremely wealthy, and essentially bought support from outside the government.¹² These two factors, coupled with a lack of a response from the monarch, encouraged several wealthy suitors to vie for the crown. Less than a year into his reign, a *coup d'état* spearheaded by the Rwandan folk hero, Ranucunshu, led to the dethroning of Ratalindwa and in 1896 brought forth the only king to closely work with the German empire, *Mwami* Yuhi V Musinga.¹³

Pro-Empire (Macro)

During the time of disunity that plagued the Rwandan Kingdom, the Prussian Empire pursued a comparatively more successful, and less violent, solidification of their authority within Europe. In the wake of the Franco-Prussian war, the leader of the North German Confederation, Otto Von Bismarck, constructed a deal that unified the German Empire in 1871. Initially opposed to colonial ventures, Bismarck openly admired the ideas outlined in the liberal German economist Friedrich List's *The National System of Political Economy*, in which he argued, "England by her policy [protectionist policies in India] increased her naval power, and by means of her naval power enlarged the range of her manufacturing and commercial powers."¹⁴ In fact, when Bismarck

spoke of *Deutsch-Ostafrika*, he stated, "I certainly hope that we shall still be able to devise in Africa a system similar to the one which has made England so strong in the East Indies. There, the trader is the sole authority."¹⁵ Although Bismarck mused about an East Africa protectorate, he did not want to put forth the effort to obtain the territory.



12. Danielle de Lame, *A Hill Among a Thousand: Transformations and Ruptures in Rural Rwanda* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005).

13. Alison Des Forges, Roger Des Forges, David Newbury, *Defeat Is the Only Bad News: Rwanda under Musinga, 1897-1931* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011), 55-61.

14. Friedrich List, *The National System of Political Economy* trans. Sampson S. Lloyd (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1909) 37; for an detailed history of the influence of Friedrich List, please see, Matthew P. Fitzpatrick, *Liberal Imperialism in Germany: Expansionism and Nationalism 1848-1884*.

Prince Otto Von Bismarck's view on colonial expansion for Germany shifted from adamantly opposed to a proponent for imperial ventures. Little evidence exists to explain his shift on this viewpoint, but the territories under the German flag still feel the fallout of colonialism. Franz Seraph von Lenbach, painter, *Prince Otto Von Bismarck*, oil on canvass, 1896 (Chicago, IL: Art Institute of Chicago).

15. Hans-Ulrich Wehler, "Bismarck's Imperialism 1862-1890," *Past & Present* no 48 (Aug., 1970): 127.

In a somewhat fortuitous occurrence for Bismarck, a young explorer named Carl Peters took it on himself to traverse the Dark Continent to secure private investment and fame. Most known for his German Emin Pasha Relief expedition where he set out to rescue a trapped German official stuck at the head of the Nile river, Peters still receives relatively little acclaim for convincing Bismarck to change his mind about the acquisition of colonies in East Africa.¹⁶ In 1884, while under the backing of the German East Africa Company, he went to the region with two business partners to negotiate treaties and territorial rights between his company and local kings.¹⁷ Interestingly enough, he did this on the eve of the Berlin Conference and *without* Bismarck's knowledge. To complicate matters, no colonial power officially marked the boundaries of Africa *per se*, but Peters collected signatures in territories which both Britain and Belgium claimed as theirs. In 1885, much to the chagrin of Bismarck, Peters presented the treaties to him at the Berlin Conference, arguing that a power will hold East Africa and "that power must be Germany."¹⁸ The chancellor immediately recognized the political nightmare Peters caused and refused to approve the treaties. Peters first threatened to sell the treaties to Britain, and after meeting more disapproval from Bismarck, challenged him by attempting to give the treaties to Germany's continental neighbor, Belgium. Bismarck, known for his realpolitik, apprehensively acceded to Peters, and established territory that obstructed the British from obtaining a North-South African rail line, created a naval presence near India, and slowed the Belgian ivory trade.¹⁹

16. Carl Peters, *New Light on Dark Africa: The German Emin Pasha Expedition*, trans. H. W. Dulcken, (London: Ward, Lock, and Co., 1891) 19; Martin Reuss, "The Disgrace and Fall of Carl Peters: Morality, Politics, and Staatsrason Wilhelm II" *Central European History* 14, no.2 (Jun., 1981) 110-16.

17. This became a point of contention between Peters and his European challengers as he took an "X" as a legal signature. Many at the Berlin Conference seriously questioned if the local kings had any idea of what they signed.

18. H.P. Meritt, "Bismarck and the German Interest in East Africa 1884-1885," *The Historical Journal* 21, no. 1 (Mar., 1978): 105.

19. Reginald Coupland, *The Exploitation of East Africa 1856-1890: The Slave Trade and the Scramble* (Chicago, IL:

Now with all of the pieces in place, Bismarck signed the General Action on February 26th, 1885, which took East Africa as a German protectorate. The chancellor released a statement with one caveat, "having placed under our Imperial protection [over] the territories in question, reserving to ourselves a right of deciding hereafter respecting any further acquisitions in the same district."²⁰ At this point, Germany legitimized its exploration and seizure of the central Rwandan kingdom.

German Exploration (Micro)

In 1892, the Austrian cartographer, Oscar Baumann, became the first European to enter Rwanda—during the rule of the centralized Tutsi government of Rwabugiri. This gave Baumann's fellow scholar E. Heawood a false impression of the kingdom as he recounted the cartographers journey stating, "...[Baumann] should have found the country of the Warundi [Rwanda], to be known to the neighboring tribes as the 'land of the moon,' from a post ruling race, derived thence by tradition....Baumann thinks that an earlier greater extent of this kingdom may have led to the appellation being connected with the Nile sources."²¹ This statement reveals that not only did Baumann perceive the Rwandan government as having a permanent tradition of Tutsi centralized authority, but also he tied their vested authority to the theories of North African racial superiority, known as the Hamitic Hypothesis. In fact, this hypothesis suggested that the Tutsi population derived from the lost tribe of Ham during the Jewish exodus from Egypt. This dualistically implies the Tutsi came from a separate religious and economic class, and they are racially Caucasian, which genetically predetermined them to lead.²² Adolf von Götzen, the second explorer

Northwestern University Press, 1967) 398-402; Andrew Zimmerman, "Race and World Politics: Germany in the Age of Imperialism 1878-1914," *The Oxford Handbook of Modern German History* (Oxford, GB: University Press): 304.

20. Coupland, *The Exploitation of East Africa*, 402.

21. E. Heawood, "Dr. Baumann's Journey through East Africa," *The Geographical Journal* 4, no.3 (Sep., 1894): 248.

22. John H. Speke outlined a theory known as the Hamitic Myth, in which many explores lauded his romantic tales of adventure. John H. Speke, *The Discovery of the Nile* (Edingburg,

in Rwanda in 1894, echoed these statements when he witnessed proceedings in the Rwandan courts.²³ Götzen recognized Rwabugiri used ethnic categories as his primary distributor of authority within their economic system of *uburetwa*. This insight heavily affected the German colonial policies, especially when Götzen climbed administrative ranks and assumed the role of Rwandan governor.²⁴

By 1897, Germany sent a contingent led by Captain Ramsay and over two hundred military personnel to take Rwanda as a protected territory. When Captain Ramsay came to Rwanda to convince *mwami* Musinga to sign a deal, the monarch quickly acquiesced for multiple reasons, but primarily because the Belgians aggressively attempted to solidify their control over the region. Two years prior to Ramsay's entrance into the king's court, Rwanda's monarch, Rutarindwa, found himself losing authority after a portion of the Rwandan empire fell under an attack led by the Belgian Lieutenant General Georges Sandrart's.

General Sandrart spearheaded the assault, and successfully used guns against the rudimentary weapons of the Rwandans. After a limited struggle, he attempted to bring the defeated region into the Belgian-Congo Empire. Rwandans feared the unseen weapon and attributed their abilities to supernatural forces. Colonial Germany, however, interjected itself into the military operation, and negotiated a cease-fire. The Rwandan royal court, as a result, began to view whites as invincible—at least militarily. To those within the Rwandan government, when presented with the choice of succumbing to Belgians by authority, or working with the Germans who had saved them, they concluded that not only could the Germans protect them from other whites, but they

GB: William, Blackwood, and Sons, 1864); R. F. Burton and John H. Speke, "Explorations in East Africa," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 3, no. 6 (1858): 348-58

23. Ironically, these courts actually hoped Götzen would free them from their new overlord. Alison Des Forges, *Defeat Is the Only Bad News*, 65-9.

24. Thomas Turner, *Congo War: Conflict, Myth and Reality* (London: Zed Books, 2007), 53-57.

could also assist in reestablishing monarchical control.²⁵

Culmination of Factors

In order to understand how this newly formed German protectorate forced centralization within Rwanda, the answer revolves around Bismarck's call for a minimalist style administration. In order to achieve this, the colonial administration turned to the observations made by Baumann and Götzen to lay out their plan for governmental control. Both explorers held a deep reverence for the Hamitic Hypothesis and their writings implied that the most direct form of control came from co-opting existing ethnic/economic polarizations. The new colonial administration concluded that in order to reaffirm the socioeconomic power structures that defined Rwabugiri's Rwanda,

in this case the *uburetwa* patron-client system, an *unchallenged* centralization of authority needed to happen while the kingdom remained a German protectorate.

In order to execute this idea, Germany used two approaches, physical force and religion.

Mwami Musinga's now weakened authority over the central African kingdom continued for over a year with no major challenges to the throne, despite numerous local tribes' rejection of the Rwandan government and *uburetwa*. In 1900, the first rebellion during the German protection broke out, and the German Chief of Usumbura district, Werner von Grawert, stamped out the revolt immediately. The social leader of the Hutus, Rukara, attempted to annex a northern territory in Rwanda, but von Grawert caught and imprisoned him.²⁶ The German actions helped to legitimize the monarch's rule and he now wielded a power no previous *mwami* had held. Historically, this incident should not have proven unique, because throughout Rwandan history numerous challengers to the throne succeeded in rejecting its authority, include

[A]n *unchallenged* centralization of authority needed to happen while the kingdom remained a German protectorate...

25. Catharine Newbury, "Ethnicity and the Politics of History in Rwanda," *Africa Today* 45, no. 1 (Jan.-Mar., 1998) 23; Des Forges, *Defeat is the only Bad News*, 54-57.

26. Des Forges, *Defeat Is the Only Bad News*, 148-56.

Musinga. However, now the German military provided an almost unchallengeable monarch. The Rwandan monarch reaffirmed this point up until 1916, when he called for assistance numerous times to quell monarchial challengers and to collect tribute.²⁷ In 1912, the greatest challenge to Musinga's rule occurred when Ndungutse, a self-proclaimed son of Rwabugiri, garnered support from the largely Hutu north, claiming he would bring back the old system of labor.²⁸ Again, the German military's superior arms quickly subdued the rebellion, but in this case, the military killed over 50 rebels, which stands out as the largest killing of an unruly local population during the German regime. To dissuade further rebellions, the Germans publicly executed the opposition's leaders, and punished the local population by destroying crops and burning down houses.

This marked the last major challenge to central authority while under the colonial protection of Germany. As word of Germany's actions spread through the hillside, in spite of the rejection of the new systems of control, Germany now militantly coerced compliance from the local population.²⁹

27. Jean-Baptiste Mberahahizi, *Rwanda: Resolve the Main Contradictions of the Company*, (Johannesburg: Aug. 17th, 2008); Des Forges, *Defeat is the Only Bad News*.

28. Rene Lemarchand, *Rwanda and Burundi* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1970) 60.

29. Mberahahizi, *Rwanda*; Des Forges, *Defeat is the Only Bad News*, 120-26; Des Forges, Alison "The Drum



Archbishop Livinhac helped establish the White Fathers in Central Africa and proliferated the ideas of religiously based racial hierarchy between the Hutu and Tutsi populations. Located in Uganda since 1975, the Catholic population laid to rest the his remains. *Archbishop Léon-Antoine-Augustin-Siméon Livinhac*, photograph, 2007 (Kasubi, UG: Shrine of Nabugala).

Coinciding with this militancy, Germany expanded the social aspects of control through the Catholic Church when it sent Bishop Jean-Joseph Hirth of the Missionnaires d'Afrique (White Fathers) to establish missions in Rwanda. Since the Hamitic theory's foundations relied so heavily on Christian rhetoric, this made the acceptance of Christianity pivotal to the control the Germans established.³⁰ Initially both the Hutu and Tutsi populations rejected the Catholic Church, but the "White Fathers" quickly won acclaim from the impoverished and patronless as they offered them nourishment, medical assistance, and most importantly, protection. The Church offered these benefits with the intention of converting the population, despite the overt reason for their actions many Hutu grew warm to the missionaries.³¹ However, with the conversion the Hutu population, they tacitly accepted the Christianized racial categories as well, which included the acceptance of Tutsi author-

is Greater Than the Shout: The 1912 Rebellion in Northern Rwanda," *Symposium on Rebellion and Social Protest in Africa* (1982).

30. Phillip A. Cantrell, "The Anglican Church of Rwanda: Domestic Agendas and International Linkages," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 45, no. 3 (Sep., 2007): 335.

31. Timothy Longman, "Church Politics and the Genocide in Rwanda," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 31 no.2 (May, 2001): 168; Julius Adekunle, *Culture and Customs of Rwanda* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007), 32-34.

ity. Priest Jean-Joseph Hirth reaffirmed this sentiment when he wrote the Hutu initially rejected Tutsi authority, and stated missionaries should “speak highly of their authority and of the power of the king.”³² In this quote, Germany’s military represents authority, while the Tutsi population falls under the power of the king. Since the missionaries played such a pivotal role in the education of the Hutu population, they indisputably used this educational tactic of social control over the population, which only widened the divide within Rwanda.

Conclusion

Several historians point to the small numbers within the colonial administration as evidence of a nearly non-existent imperial force—but one must answer who suppressed challenges to the throne, and who legitimized racial authority? Historically, the Rwandan Kingdom’s borders fluctuated, along with the successful opposition to the sometimes unjustified authority of the monarch. The superior firearms of Germany, nevertheless, forced Rwandans to accept a *mwami* who significant portions of the population viewed as illegitimate. Even worse, the *mwami*’s economic system of *uburetwa* caused the poverty that made the Hutu population rely on the Catholic Church for aid and coerced acceptance of their religiously based ethnic divisions. The German protectorate planned on using socioeconomic discrepancies as a way to run a cost-effective empire, thus explaining the low numbers of colonial officials. However, many arguments focus on quantity as evidence of a strong empire, yet Germany ran a sharp, effective empire. Ultimately, it is erroneous to think that a small number of individuals did not permanently altered the Rwandan Kingdom, as they laid the foundation for some of the world’s worst tragedies.

32. Jean-Joseph Hirth, quoted by Ian Linden and Jane Linden, *Church and Revolution in Rwanda*, (Manchester, GB: University Press, 1977) 37.

Currently a graduate student at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), **Tim Barrette** assumed the role of Editor-in-Chief (EIC) for the 2015 *Welebaethan*. Barrette remains active within the CSUF history department by participating in Phi Alpha Theta, Theta-Pi chapter, History Students Association, European Society, and the Cultural and Public History Association. In narrow scope, his scholastic interests focus on the issues that arise from imperialism, especially within Rwanda. On a larger scale, he focuses on recurrent themes of power and control as they permeate every facet of history. Following his tenure as EIC for the *Welebaethan*, Barrette plans to pursue a PhD in the field of history. He ultimately aspires to teach world history at a university and share the impact that history has had on him.



Justice for Berém

Jessica Truckey



Melkites wrap their cross in an Israeli flag to display their allegiance to Israel. Micha Bar Am, *Youngsters on Roof of Church*, photograph, 1972 (New York Times, August 31, 1972), 3.

In the months prior to the Munich Massacre in 1972, over 1,500 Palestinians, Israelis, and internationals mobilized in a nonviolent movement for the return of the Palestinian Melkite Catholic communities of Berém and Ikrit. Led by Archbishop Joseph Raya, a Lebanese veteran of the American Civil Rights Movement, the campaign represents an early transnational collaboration for Palestinian rights that included members of various nationalities and religious backgrounds. The cooperative actions organized by, and on behalf of, the internally displaced communities forged a platform for negotiating divergent identities. This affected not only the Israelis and Palestinians themselves, but also American participants and audiences. **Jessica Truckey** analyses press coverage of the protest with the memoirs and articles from Palestinian, Israeli, and international actors involved in the debate to shed light on the role this nonviolent campaign had in expressing national identities in the post-1967 war political environment.

In the past, Palestinians have carried out acts of violence and terror in their relations with the nation-state of Israel. However, in the last decade, Palestinians and international Palestine solidarity activists ignited a campaign of nonviolent direct action to protest the creation of the West Bank wall. Observers of this resistance searched for a Gandhi-like leader for Palestinians—a unifying figure for the people to follow in a movement to end what they termed “the Occupation.” The world knows Mahatma Gandhi as a champion of nonviolence, his national resistance movement demanded and received sovereignty over India from a colonial power, and the success of his efforts became a beacon for other disenfranchised groups to follow. A generation later, Martin Luther King, Jr. launched his non-violent campaign, which aimed at reforming a national system that disenfranchised people of color. His methods stressed cooperation and inclusion, and sought a reordering of United States policy, instead of the destruction of the government. While the success or failure of each man remains open to discussion, their tactics influenced generations of people who found themselves in similar circumstances.

In 1972, Joseph Raya, a man more like King than Gandhi, attempted to organize the internally displaced Christian Palestinian villagers from Berém and Ikrit in Nazareth. Despite the distance in time and geography, Raya became a direct connection between the American Civil Rights Movement and Palestinian nonviolent action in Israel. In his capacity as a Melkite Catholic priest serving in Birmingham, Alabama, Raya marched with King against the injustice of segregationist laws in the Jim Crow South. After his promotion to Archbishop in Northern Israel, Raya adapted the civil rights leader’s inclusive model, and enlisted Israelis, Palestinians, and internationals to engage in nonviolent demonstrations against the unjust restrictions forced upon his congregation. The protests inspired by Raya not only contributed to the history of nonviolent Palestinian popular resistance, but also provided a vision for the still evolving identity of Israel and Palestine. As participants in these pro-

Raya became a direct connection between the American Civil Rights Movement and Palestinian nonviolent action in Israel.

tests, the Berém and Ikrit communities established the platform that allowed for the negotiation of identities, not only among themselves, but with American participants and audiences as well. These communities developed their collective character in much the same way American blacks formed an identity from the resistance marches of the Civil Rights Era and the people of India came to identify themselves as a sovereign nation. To understand the evolution of this process, American press coverage of the protest by the *New York Times* (NYT) and the *Los Angeles Times* (LAT)

along with memoirs and articles from Palestinian, Israeli, and international people involved in the debate, illuminates an overlooked part of identity formation in the Middle East.

Historiography

In *Violence, Nonviolence, and the Palestinian National Movement*, Wendy Pearlman offers another approach to the study of Palestinian groups engaged in nonviolence in what she terms her “Organizational Theory of Protest.” In this, she asserts the more “fragmented” a national movement, the more likely it will use violent resistance as unifying tool.¹ Pearlman’s observations concerning the national movement’s disconnected nature during much of the twentieth century remains valid, but her group organizational focus ignores identity development as a factor.

Additionally, in his seminal work, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, Gene Sharp explains the utility of nonviolent action in the struggle against political power.² Nonviolence communicates to and challenges authority. Likewise, for groups in conflict with those wielding power and influence, identity development requires negotiations to define a national character. The reasoning for nonviolence, whether rooted in morality or strategy, can double as an expression of indi-

1. Wendy Pearlman, *Violence, Nonviolence, and the Palestinian National Movement* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 11.

2. Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, 1973), 5.



This hillside church in Ikrit remains a symbol for the tragic events that occurred in the region. James Morris, *Ikrit, district of Acre*, photograph, c.2000 (James Morris Online Archive).

vidual identity. Between these two options, individuals may include themselves within an existing society, a redefined social order, or create a new definition of themselves. Nonviolent action, then, develops into a bargaining tool in the establishment of a national identity.

According to James Gelvin in *The Modern Middle East: A History*, Palestinian nationalism filled the vacuum of declining Arab and Syrian identity, and rose in response to the new presence of Israeli state.³ Additionally, Edward Said's *The Question of Palestine* addresses various factors in confirming Palestinian identity and the groups' interactions with outside powers. Said divides his discussion into three parts: the "remnants," or Palestinian Arabs within Israel—members of the Diaspora—and, those under occupation after the 1967 Six Day War. He explains that initially, physical separation stunted widespread recognition

support them in 1972.⁶ Several other scholars conducted research on the nature of Berém and Ikrit's displacement and their relationship with the Israeli Supreme Court. However, historians completely overlook other types of activism. The recent protests for the right to return to their ancestral homes and the recognition of their plight by scholars and journalists makes these two towns relevant to the story of the internally displaced Palestinians.⁷

The process of identity development plays out in relation with other groups. In this case, the residents of Berém and Ikrit negotiated identities among themselves, their Jewish-Israeli counterparts, and the

4. Edward Said, *The Question of Palestine* (New York: Times Books, 1980).

5. Ibid., 117.

6. Ilan Pappé, *The Forgotten Palestinians: A History of Palestinians in Israel* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 159.

7. Patrick O. Strickland, "Palestinian Refugees Mark One Year of Return to Destroyed Village," *Electronic Intifada* (Aug., 2014).

3. James Gelvin, *A Modern Middle East: A History* (Oxford: University Press, 2011), 222.

of a specific character.⁴ Said explains, "[T]he remnants tried to shape their lives...within the small space provided [to] them by Israel's domination."⁵ "Zionist hegemony" forced Palestinians into a confused identity, cut off from other Arab peoples and governments, but never truly Israeli. Jewish historian Ilan Pappé refers to these "Arab-Israelis" in his book *The Forgotten Palestinians: A History of Palestinians in Israel* and sheds some light on the residents of Berém and Ikrit, while giving credence to the cooperative coalitions formed to

Israeli government. Likewise, through either their agreement or objection to the villagers' demands, Jews sought to define, or redefine, the nature of their citizenship. Additionally, Americans, through press coverage, physical participation, and letters to editors, used the backdrop of the nonviolent protests to weigh in on the "Palestine" question.

Berém and Ikrit Villagers

In 1948, the two Christian villages faced a critical decision as Zionist military forces approached their homes. As Melkite Greek-Catholics,⁸ their religious practices revealed their Arab roots and reflected a deep attachment to their environment and community.⁹ However, their future under the new Zionist regime remained uncertain. When directly faced with the approaching Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), the village leaders welcomed the Jewish militants, and even offered their own homes as shelter for the soldiers.¹⁰ Despite the villagers' peaceable demeanor, the military soon declared their lands a "security zone," and coaxed the Melkite off their land with the assurance they could return. When the villagers learned the military did not intend to make good on their promise, they successfully petitioned Israel's high court for the right to reclaim their homes. Unfortunately, the Israeli military demolished their homes within days of their victory. With their households now rubble, the villagers joined the growing ranks of other internally displaced populations in Galilee.¹¹

When circumstances in 1973 changed the security zone status in Berém and Ikrit, the villagers saw

8. Melkite Catholics or "Greek Catholics," enjoy traditions that reflect the culture of the Middle East and trace their origins back to the church at Antioch.

9. Beth A. Macke, "Melkite Catholics in the United States," *Sociology of Religion* 54, no. 4 (Winter 1993): 413-20.

10. Elias Chacour, *Blood Brothers: The Dramatic Story of a Palestinian Christian Working for Peace in Israel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Chosen Books, 2003), 51.

11. Ilan Pappé, *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*: (Oxford: One World Publications, 2006).

an opportunity to return to their ancestral homes. As they had during their petition to the Supreme Court a generation earlier, they organized, and set up coalitions and committees to petition the government for their previously guaranteed rights. Within the Palestinian Arab-Israeli camp, two primary blocks formed to advocate their claims. The first, led by Archbishop Raya and priest Elias Chacour, gathered an exceptionally diverse crowd of supporters to engage in civil disobedience against the government of Golda Meir. Troubled by the leftist slant of Raya's campaign, a second group led by Mtanes Ayoub, a local businessman, also organized several members of the displaced communities from Berém and Ikrit into a committee to advocate for their return. As the Palestinians from the villages voiced their demands to the

government, whether by protest or committee, they also negotiated identities with each other, their fellow Jewish-Israelis, and the Meir administration.

"We are Israeli!"

Just as Martin Luther King Jr.'s voice reminded the United States of its claims as a democratic nation, so too did Raya and Chacour implementation of nonviolent tactics, which tested Israel's democratic image.¹² Throughout his campaign, Raya combined sit-ins, church closings, fasts, and marches, with cries for solidarity among all Israelis to agitate for justice for Palestinian citizens.¹³ Because of their prominence, Chacour and Archbishop Raya became representatives of the region's Palestinian character in the Berém and Ikrit debate. Their identity, and that of their people, reflected their communities' engagement in nonviolent activism for the right to return. As they grappled with the transition from an age of religious tolerance and communal life, to discrimination and

12. Harry Trimborn "Israel Divided Over Issue of Exiled Arabs," *Los Angeles Times*, August 20, 1972, G1.

13. *Los Angeles Times*, "Archbishop to Shut Churches," August 10, 1972, A8.; Henry Kamm, "18 Israeli Arabs Seized at Village," *New York Times*, August 8, 1972, 3; Chacour, *Blood Brothers*, 195; *New York Times*, "Archbishop in Israel Plans a Fast for Arab Villagers," July 16, 1973, 12.

dispersal, the communities' past and present experiences impacted the development of their character. In his memoir, *Blood Brothers: The Dramatic Story of a Palestinian Christian Working for Peace in Israel*, Chacour recounts his experience as an internally displaced Palestinian.¹⁴ Forced to leave his home in Berém as a child, his family moved to a nearby village in Galilee. However, as he pursued an education both locally and abroad, he struggled with his own identity and others' perceptions of it. Throughout the memoir, Chacour affirmed his Christian, Israeli, Arab, and Palestinian identities. In an early interview with the *LAT*, interestingly, he remained silent about his Palestinian identity. The article entitled, "Heart in 2 Worlds: Arab-Israeli Priest Can See Both Sides," describes Chacour as caught between identities. At twenty-seven years old, he defined himself as a *sabra* and "100% Israel as well as 100% Arab."

Generally, the term *sabra* referred to

Jewish individuals born in Israel. Chacour's internal conflict placed him in the often-confused category shared by many Jewish-Israelis. Although he admitted his Israeli and Arab identities "are sometimes in conflict, something [he has] to face," he aspired to embrace the various aspects of his identity to help bridge the relations between different communities. He used his position as priest and scholar to establish friendships with Jewish educators and students. Among Arab communities, he hoped to bridge the religious divide and establish both his personal and community identity.¹⁵

Raya, a Lebanese native and longtime American resident, viewed his identity, and the identity of his congregations, as a balanced, positive combination of characteristics. Where Chacour admitted his multiple identities sometimes conflicted with each other, the archbishop, rejected the claim that "Arab Christians are 'caught in the middle' in the national conflicts." Instead, Raya insisted he and his people remained "a bridge to heal the wounds that have come through in-

justice and dispossession."¹⁶ Although he identified as Israeli, it did not take precedence over his Christian Arab one. Raya lamented the efforts by the Western Roman Catholic church to add Eastern Christians to their ranks, and resisted the loss of tradition and culture that existed in the Melkite Catholic church for centuries. To him, the Orthodox Arab Christian identity persisted more deeply than through just political allegiances. He insisted the Catholic churches in the area took advantage of the economically precarious situations of his people, and robbed them of "their mentality, their culture—their soul."¹⁷

Raya's political identity also became a prominent factor in his public image. The archbishop provoked controversy when a mere two months after his

"I'm Israeli. We are proud to be Israelis in Israel. We are for. We are not against."

ordination, he revealed his plans to vote for a communist candidate running for a seat in the Israeli parliament. Certainly, during the Cold War, such an unapologetic, outspoken declaration

in support of the Communist Party turned heads, but Raya carefully combined his political sentiments with emphatic pro-Israel statements. Although he only recently arrived in the country, he described himself as an Israeli, telling reporters that, "I'm Israeli. We are proud to be Israelis in Israel. We are for. We are not against."¹⁸

Both Chacour and Raya reflect the "in-between" status of the Berém and Ikrit communities' identity, seeing themselves as Christian, Palestinian, Arab, and Israeli. Yet, as Said observed in *The Question of Palestine*, "Zionist hegemony" rejected Arab inclusion into the Israeli identity. Through their nonviolent tactics, the Berém and Ikrit residents challenged Zionist hegemony and aimed to include themselves in the Israeli national character while still maintaining their Christian-Arab personalities.

Micha Bar Am's photo in *NYT* poignantly illustrates the Palestinian activists' stance. Captured at an Arab-Israeli protest, the photograph features a large cross wrapped in an equally large Israeli flag that

14. Chacour, *Blood Brothers*.

15. *Los Angeles Times*, "Heart in 2 Worlds: Arab-Israeli Pries Can See Both Sides," January 21, 1968, G7.

16. *Los Angeles Times*, "Israeli Bishop Plans to Vote Communist," December 11, 1969, K5.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

towers over young children from the Berém and Ikrit communities. Just as the two towns embraced the Israeli soldiers in 1948, they presented the combination of the cross and flag to express their patriotism and to affirm both their Christian and Israeli identities. Furthermore, the presence of the children exemplifies the innocence of the Berém and Ikrit people and capitalizes on their nonviolent, peaceable intentions.¹⁹ Raya's suggestion to include Jewish-Israelis in the rally not only expressed his desire for reconciliation in the region, but also held strategic importance for communicating their message.²⁰ Projecting a multicultural image, men, women, and children from different ethnic backgrounds marched to advocate for justice on behalf of the communities. The demographic makeup of the protest itself provided an alternative vision of Israeli identity. It contrasted the government's unequal distribution of justice with a robust, diverse gathering of Jews and Arabs marching side-by-side. Lastly, the villagers' implementation of nonviolence contrasted with the violent reputations of the Palestinian and Arab guerillas who posed a security threat to the state. By acting nonviolently, the Berém and Ikrit residents redefined their political identity for a world audience. Additionally, with the image of IDF militarism after the 1967 war, the communities' nonviolence addressed the Israeli identity, as well. Their values of peace and nonviolence countered the colonialist reputation Israel created for itself.

“The Committee”

Despite their similar intentions, the two men faced discord within their own communities. While hundreds of Arab-Israelis marched with Raya in the protest another faction condemned his actions and distanced themselves from his activism. Although equally strong in their commitment to their divergent identities, members of Ayoub's Berém committee chose to differentiate themselves from the left-wing political image of the Raya protest.²¹ For some, the

controversial leftist and Communist political presence in the rallies overshadowed Berém and Ikrit's peaceful, pro-Israel stance. Organizing separately from Raya and Chacour, other former residents rejected the archbishop's “dramatic acts and words and his alliance with the extreme left.” Like Raya, they aligned themselves closely with Israel, and expressed their hope that the government would eventually allow them to return to their homes. In contrast to the protesters, Ayoub's committee clung to their Christian and Israeli identities, and downplayed their Arab character by appealing to their audiences' Orientalist stereotypes and sided with the government. For instance, one woman stated, “if the Maronites ever had to choose between the Jews and the Arabs, they should choose the Jews because they love education.” Also, where Raya and Chacour sought reconciliation with the Islamic communities in the Middle East, one villager, Geryes Ayoub, spoke harshly about his Muslim neighbors, and disparaged their lifestyle.²² Thus, while the committee members from Berém possessed similar goals as the protestors, they chose to express their identity in a distinctly different manner.

Meir's Negation of the Palestinian-Arab's Israeli Identity

Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir held her own views of Palestinian narrative and identity. In 1973, her *Foreign Affairs* article entitled “Israel in Search of Lasting Peace” rejected claims of Zionist aggression during the founding of the country. According to her, Zionism did not occur as a product of modern nationalism, but an ancient, heroic dream. In relation to Meir's stance, Palestinian nationalism remained in its infancy, a new movement based on a false memory. Meir's decision to refuse the right to return reflected this mentality. For her, confronting the reality of Berém and Ikrit's displacement meant questioning the Zionist narrative.²³ Despite evidence of years of peaceful coexistence with their Jewish neighbors,

19. Micha Bar Am, “An Unlikely Coalition Backs Israeli Arabs,” *New York Times*, August 7, 1972, 3.

20. Chacour, *Blood Brothers*, 194.

21. Henry Kamm, “For Arab Villagers in Israel, an

Intense Sense of Loss,” *New York Times*, August 31, 1972, 10.

22. Ibid.

23. Golda Meir, “Israel in Search of Lasting Peace,” *Foreign Affairs*, 51, no. 3 (Apr., 1973): 447-61.



Uri Avnery served in the Knesset, founded the peace-organization Gush Shalom, and continues to fight for an end to the Occupation. *Uri Avnery, Knes-set Portrait*, photograph, c. 1965. Government of the State of Israel.

Meir regarded the villagers' allegiance as uncertain. Thus she negated the villagers' Israeli identity, or at least put it on a lesser, unequal plane when compared to other citizens.

Like its declarations concerning Zionism, the Meir Government paired its discussion about an Arab-Israeli identity with a concern for security. Despite the villagers' frequent declarations, in word and deed, about their commitment to the state, the prime minister still doubted their loyalty. Summarizing her position, *NYT* staff writer, Henry Kamm explained, "Meir and her military advisors fear that even loyal Arabs can be pressured into giving aid and shelter to the Palestinian terrorists."²⁴ In her mind, the Jewish citizens near the border did not face the same possibility of "infiltration," and she painted terrorism as a con-

24. Henry Kamm, "A Tale of Two Villages," *New York Times*, August 27, 1972, 3.

tagion, in which only Arabs were susceptible. Hence, Meir's decision, as journalist Harry Trimborn of the *LAT* stated, "mocked Israel's professions of democracy and equality for all its citizens."²⁵ Indeed, her decision reaffirmed Jewish-Israeli hegemony.

Israeli Jews

The Jewish-Israeli presence in the 1972 protests represents early divisions in Israeli peace movements. In his article in the *Journal of Palestine Studies* entitled "Post-Zionist Critique on Israel and the Palestinians," Ilan Pappé differentiates between "the Zionist Left" and "the non-Zionist Left" peace movements. The former maintained their Zionist identity, but rejected "post-1967 Israeli policy." For many in the country and elsewhere, the 1967 war represented a shift in the politics and perceptions in the Middle East. Expanding its territories during the war, Israel gained control over the West Bank and Gaza, and placed a large Palestinian-Arab population under military occupation. Looking beyond 1967, non-Zionists, Pappé asserts, challenged Israeli memory regarding the Israeli state, illuminated the nation's "colonial past," and favored a multicultural, secular state. While Pappé's observations focus on groups active in the 1990's, these modern coalitions remain visible in the protests for Berém and Ikrit. The activism displayed by the villages played out in regional politics and as in the debate on the Israeli identity in the post-1967 environment. In effect, for Jewish-Israelis, the communities' internal debate put the Zionist identity on trial.

Writers, scholars, and students mobilized together throughout the summer of 1972, all affirming their own vision for Israel. Among the more prominent figures were Amos Elon, Abba Koyner, Amos Oz, Haim Hefer and Yoram Janiuk.²⁶ Uri Avnery, writer and member of the Knesset, marched next to Archbishop Raya in the demonstrations. Observing

25. Harry Trimborn, "Israel Divided Over Issue of Exiled Arabs," *Los Angeles Times*, August 20, 1972, G1.

26. Henry Kamm, "Village Issue Shows Rift in Israelis' Outlook," *New York Times*, August 20, 1972, 3.

the political diversity of the Jewish-Israeli presence in his “An Unlikely Coalition Backs Israeli Arabs” in the *New York Times*, Henry Kamm differentiated between the “moderate,” “extreme left,” and “New Left.” The moderates, or liberal Zionists like writer Amos Oz, advocated for the Berém and Ikrit villagers’ right to return while maintaining their Zionist identity. Most controversially, though, the protestors ascribed to the “extreme left” and the “New Left” a political position. This established a different issue for, as Prime Minister Golda Meir put it, “the Zionist faith.” According to Kamm, members of the New Left “condemn[ed] Zionism.”²⁷ Still, the various groups of Jewish-Israelis supported Israel as a presence in the Middle East. They collaborated to encourage a vision for their country that celebrated “justice” and called for an “Arab-Jewish brotherhood.” While both groups came together for the common cause of justice for Berém and Ikrit, the different expressions of their Israeli identities are worth examining.

The Liberal Zionists, Communist Presence, and The New Left

In the eyes of the Meir government, the coalitions that advocated on behalf of the Berém and Ikrit communities represented a threat to Zionism. However, Zionists also raised their voices to call for justice on behalf of the villagers. As Kamm described it, a current of “national self doubt” brought on by a “false sense of security” swayed these supporters after the 1967 war.²⁸ The prime minister considered the Berém and Ikrit’s Zionist allies as mistaken, swayed by emotional impulses instead of valid, rational reasoning. Yet, as Amos Elon, one of the “influentials” responsible for winning Israelis over to the villagers’ side, wrote the communities’ situation resonated with members of all sectors of society, even members of Meir’s own government.²⁹ This disagreement between Israeli Zionists divided the ultra-security conscious and the villages’ sympathizers. By expressing their

solidarity with the Arab-Israelis, the pro-Berém and Ikrit Zionist faction challenged Meir’s policy, and declared a more inclusive, less fear-based vision for their nation.

The Meir government also considered the “extreme left” and the communist presence in the debates as a threat to the stability and identity of Israel. In the Cold War environment, the rivalry between communism and democracy infiltrated world politics. Meir saw communism as an inherent threat to Zionism. Noting her opinions on the “extreme left” presence among Berém and Ikrit supporters, Trimborn wrote “her view is that Communists and those to their left have always been anti-Zionist.” Playing on dualisms popular in Cold War politics, she portrayed the left as dangerous to Zionism, and thus dangerous for the government and democracy.

However, the most puzzling faction for Meir, remained the New Left which both celebrated the presence of Israel in the Middle East, and challenged Zionism simultaneously. During the protests, the presence of Uri Avnery’s, Haolam Hazeh party best represents the faction. In his *Israel Without Zionists*, Avnery, who escaped from Germany to Palestine a few years before the Holocaust, admitted while “Zionism saved our lives,” he eventually “became a non-Zionist, perhaps an anti-Zionist.”³⁰ Interestingly, Avnery separated Israeli nationalism from Zionism.³¹ To him, a new nation, distinct from the Jewish Diaspora, formed in Palestine:

Avnery’s vision of Jewish nationalism included Israel in the Middle East. The Hebrews formed another

World Jewry is not a nation, while the Hebrew Israelis are. Thus, Zionism created something which it never consciously intended: a new nation. And by its very success, Zionism had become obsolete, by attaining its goals, Zionism provided for its own negation.³²

er member of the Third World, fighting the influence of a colonial power in the territory.³³ In the eyes of

27. Bar Am, “An Unlikely Coalition.”

28. Kamm, “Village Issue Shows Rift.”

29. Amos Elon, “Two Arab Towns that Plumb Israel’s Conscience,” *New York Times*, October 22, 1972, SM44.

30. Uri Avnery, *Israel Without Zionists: A Plea for Peace in the Middle East* (New York: MacMillan, 1968), 3.

31. Ibid., 158.

32. Ibid., 156.

33. Uri Avnery, *My Friend, The Enemy* (Westport, CT: L. Hill, 1986), 27.



Palestinian-Arab women participate in the sit-in on the ruins in Iqrit. Micha Bar Am, *Demonstration in Iqrit*, photograph, 1972 (Magnum Images Online Archive).

many regional and international audiences, the 1967 war confirmed the government's colonialist agenda. For New Left students and intellectuals involved in the protests, the Meir government's agenda contradicted with their idea of citizenship. While Zionism had run its course, Israeli nationalism required opposition to imperialistic ventures.³⁴

Avnery's claims resonated with many Jewish youths who marched with him in the protest. Trimborn painted an image of the Israeli youth that resonated with American readers; the "young Jews in long hair and beards, dressed in bright bell-bottoms and frayed jeans with peace medallions hanging from their necks" mirrored the progressive, anti-Vietnam war youth movements in the United States.³⁵ However, the youth who marched with Avnery declared a new type of nationalism, one that challenged Zionism, and potentially Western power and influence.³⁶ Not surprisingly, the Meir government and the American press looked at these

groups with a wary eye, labeling them "anti-government" despite their support and admiration of Israel.³⁷

Avnery's account of Zionist history falls short of Pappé's definition of "non-Zionists." Instead of recognizing its colonial history, he rejected the image of early Zionists as colonizers. As a young man in the *Irgun*, a nationalist, Zionist militant group that operated in Palestine during the 1930-1940s, he felt his struggle primarily targeted the British presence in Palestine.³⁸ However, he identified as a non-Zionist, and envisioned a "Semitic union" between Jews and Arabs in the Middle East. While Avnery's historical memory differed from Said and Pappé's accounts of Zionism, they shared the same goals for the future.³⁹

Golda Meir and her government, however, held their own view of Zionist identity. Her assessment of the Zionist position in the debate reflects her own in-

34. Kamm, "A Tale of Two Villages."

35. Harry Trimborn, "2,500 Arabs, Jews Hit Israeli Stand on Exiles," *Los Angeles Times*, August 24, 1972, A.4.

36. Bar Am, "An Unlikely Coalition."

37. Harry Trimborn, "Israel Cabinet Deals Blow to Arab Villagers," *Los Angeles Times*, July 28, 1972, A23.

38. The *Irgun* operated from 1931 to 1948, ending when the Israel Defense Forces absorbed its members into it, following Israel's gaining of statehood.

39. Avnery, *My Friend, The Enemy*, 27.

security over her hold on her supporters and government. While members of her own administration agreed with the protestors, Meir solidified a policy of Zionist hegemony.⁴⁰ Those who, in her eyes, sacrificed national security for the sake of the Arab-Israelis had willingly turned their backs on their country and people. The “erosion in Zionist faith” apparent in the debate, did not just represent a political position, but also a threat to the existence of Israel.⁴¹ Her definition, then, stood rooted in prioritizing security, and ignored democratic principles in equality, justice, and multiculturalism.

Americans Voice Opinions on Identity and On the Ground

As a Cold War superpower, America encouraged the survival of democracies worldwide. In such a political environment, Israel, regarded as a beacon for democracy and order in the Middle East by many in the United States and international community, persisted as strategically important. Americans, then, felt they had an invested stake in the country and the region. Like the Israelis and Palestinians, US Citizens passionately discussed the “security vs. justice” debate in Israel, and maintained their own views on national identity in the region. Whether through their physical participation in the protests or their articles in the press, Americans contributed to both sides of the nonviolent protest’s identity discourse.⁴²

Some Americans participated in the protest alongside a “smattering of European and American hippies.” Dwight Baker, a missionary in Nazareth, “set to wielding shovels and axes” and “removed the overgrowth of two decades” from the long-abandoned Berém village.⁴³ During his service in Israel, he dealt mostly with the Arab populations. While there, Baker developed a passion for protecting his Arab-Christian friends and defending

40. Trimborn, “Israel Cabinet Deals Blow”; Elon, “Two Arab Towns”; Kamm, “Village Issue Shows Rift.”

41. Bar Am, “An Unlikely Coalition.”

42. Ussama Makdisi, *Faith Misplaced: The Broken Promise of U.S.-Arab Relations: 1820-2001* (New York: Public Affairs, 2010), 273.

43. Bar Am, “An Unlikely Coalition.”

Bedouin rights. No wonder, then, he participated in this protest on behalf of the dispossessed communities. Like Raya and Chacour, he expressed his love for Israel, but critiqued it as “terribly security conscious.” Struggling to explain his stance, he stated, “I’m pro-Israel”... I’m pro-Arab, too...And we hurt right along with both Jews and Arabs.” In an act as practical as reflective of his ideas, Baker physically removed the shrubbery from the ruins near the Berém church. In doing so, he opened the way for the Melkite Catholic villagers to return to their homes, and confirmed Arabs as part of the fabric of Israel. By sharing his Christian identity, Baker acted on his commitment to religious rights in the Holy Land.⁴⁴

Other Americans, however, fiercely supported Meir’s decision, and even protested against Raya and his followers. Rabbi Meir Kahane from New York led these counter-protests, and recruited about thirty Americans to join him.⁴⁵ Shouting to the Jewish-Israelis in the protest, Kahane and members of his Jewish Defense League offered their own ideas about the Jewish participants, calling them “traitors,” “self-haters,” and “anti-Zionists.”⁴⁶ He insisted their opposition to Berém and Ikrit’s right to return lay in Israeli security concerns. With his militant style and extreme methods, Kahane clearly saw the Arab-Israelis as untrustworthy national residents who posed a threat to national security.

The American Press

The American press gave significant attention to Berém and Ikrit, even when American protestors were not featured in national stories. During the summer of 1972, the *LAT* and the *NYT* featured twenty articles about the two villages. Two journalists in particular, Henry Kamm of the *NYT* and Harry Trimborn of the *LAT*, covered the story extensively. As with the different approaches taken by

44. Dwight Leonard Baker, interview by David Stricklin, April 27-May 9, 1989, transcript, Baylor University Institute for Oral History, Waco, TX.

45. Henry Kamm, “Arabs and Jews Protest in Israel: 3,000 March in Jerusalem to Assail Policy on Two Villages Near Lebanon,” *New York Times*, August 24, 1972, 2.

46. Trimborn, “2500 Arabs, Jews Hit Israeli.”

the protestors, these two journalists also handled the subject differently.

Trimborn generally sided with the protestors, and his colorful description of Berém and Ikrit's story illustrated their journey from its inception. His piece entitled "Arabs Exiled since '48 Build Up Hopes Again" described the villagers' first encounter with Israeli soldiers as legendary, even biblical. Emphasizing their nonviolent character and ancient Christian faith, Trimborn noted the villagers brought peace offerings, a Bible, and the message "welcome, children of Israel."⁴⁷ Although he occasionally labeled the protestors as "anti-government," he hardly tried to hide his bias for their cause. In another submission, "Israel Deals Blow to Arab Villagers," Trimborn complained that Arab-Israelis, though "ostensibly bona fide citizens of a state which claims no special privileges on religious grounds," they still faced hardship as internally displaced persons.⁴⁸ While he never ignored the villagers' Arab characteristics, he often highlighted their religious identity. Appealing to American democratic principles, he challenged Israel's image as the stronghold for democracy, especially as it pertained to religious freedoms. Hence, Trimborn accentuated the villagers' religious identity in order to advocate their inclusion into a larger Israeli identity.

Kamm, on the other hand, painted a bleaker picture of the protesters. Focusing heavily on the Jewish-Israeli side of the debate, he frequently expanded on Meir's security reasoning and provided a skewed view of the Arab identity by highlighting the protest's left wing, anti-Zionist ties. His bias is most evident in his article "For Villages in Israel, and Intense Sense of Loss." Throughout the article, he relies on Orientalist stereotypes. The "Arabs" were depicted as anti-modern zealots who desired land without running water or gas.⁴⁹ Yet, despite his partiality, he covered the debate more extensively than any other American journalist.

47. Harry Trimborn, "Arabs Exiled Since '48 Build Up Hopes Again," *Los Angeles Times*, July 16, 1972, F1.

48. Trimborn, "Israel Deals Blow."

49. Kamm, "For Arab Villagers."

Additionally, in a *NYT* editorial entitled, "Back to Palestine," the declared the campaign for Berémand Ikrit reflected a sign of "the most remarkable and, over the long run, positive political development in Israel... the growing recognition that the Palestinian Arabs were wronged in the creation of the Zionist state." Interestingly, while Kamm's article frequently referred to the villagers as "Israeli Arabs," this editorial describes them as "Palestinian Arabs." Largely overlooked during the debate, the minimal switch in terminology gives greater recognition to the villagers' Palestinian identity.

Similarly, the *LAT* also printed an editorial that acted as a capstone for the debate in the United States. However, while the editorial approximated Trimborn's analysis of the events, the author presented the case more provocatively. Entitled "The Rights of Jews in Russia...and of Arabs in Israel," the *Times* effectively compared Israel, America's ally in the Middle East, to America's Cold War foe. Quoting the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights, the *Times* editor asserted the Soviet Union and Israel both violated the "free movement" clause by restricting their minority citizens, and called for the censure of Israel, "There is no justice here, nor honor either, only a high-handed wielding of authority that ignores human rights."⁵⁰ The editorial cut through the illusion of a democratic and noble reputation, and equated their actions with a totalitarian Russia.

The American Public's Response

Providing a glimpse of the American public's reception and participation in the debate, both the *NYT* and the *LAT* featured "Letters to the Editor" pieces that responded to the papers' news coverage and editorials about the events. Addressing Kamm's coverage in the *NYT*, Aileen Novick wrote a piece entitled "Public Protest." Despite the Israeli government's refusal to recognize the villagers' previously guaranteed rights,

50. "The Rights of Jews in Russia," *Los Angeles Times*, August 23, 1972, C6; "...And of Arabs in Israel," *Los Angeles Times*, August 23, 1972, D10.



The church ruins still stand today. The communities continue the legacy of activism in these Nazareth villages and still fight for their right to return. Oren Ziv, *Berém Church*, 2014 (The Electric Intifada, August 15, 2014).

Novick applauded the protests as Israeli democracy at work. “The most significant aspect of the protest,” she wrote, was “that Israeli Arabs have reached the political maturity to demonstrate publicly.” While viewing the protests in a positive light, Novick’s analysis reads as a backhanded compliment. Ignoring the villagers’ previous appeals, she implies the Palestinians were, somehow, politically immature prior to these events. The actions of the government persisted as mere side notes in relation to the high “standard of living” the villagers were offered in Israel.⁵¹

Not surprisingly, the *LAT* editorial received a significant amount of attention. Some readers sided with Meir, and affirmed her perceptions of the Arab-Israelis’ identity. J.W. Rider of Los Angeles, for example, echoed her fear of “infiltration” from their Arab minorities. To Rider, “24 years” of

51. *Ibid.*, 14.

52. J.W. Ridker, letters to the times, *Los Angeles Times*, September 2, 1972, A4.

dedication to the state meant little in the face of the “pressures from their Arab brothers.”⁵² Also upset with the editorial, Ira Zimmerman accused The *LAT* of denying “the existence of the Jewish state of Israel.”⁵³ Both comments portrayed the country’s Arab citizens as weaker patriots, and deemed them contradictory to the national identity. Other readers, however, applauded Trimborn and his colleagues’ work. Tom Sherwood described the editorial as “most magnificent,” asserting that “courage, honesty, guts are what we need to rekindle our hopes.” Similarly, Yoram Kahana praised his coverage of the villages and elaborated on the two towns’ history and current situation. He affirmed the villagers’ identity and described them as an asset to the state in both the past and present.⁵⁴

53. Ira Zimmerman, letters to the times, *Los Angeles Times*, September 2, 1972, A4.

54. Yoram Kahana, “Tragedy of Ikrit,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 2, 1972, D6.

Thus, while Israelis negotiated identities during the Berém and Ikrit protests, Americans debated Israeli and Palestinian identity among themselves. Baker, and the youth who joined him, advocated for Arab inclusion into Israeli identity. Though imperfect, the press created an awareness of the villagers' activism, and at times appealed to Americans on the villagers' behalf. Lastly, readers expressed a variety of opinions regarding Israeli and Palestinian identity. Thus, the discussion surrounding the communities' cooperative activism mirrored the participants' conversation.

Conclusion

Certainly, the cooperative activism on behalf of Berém and Ikrit gained audiences worldwide, and became an outlet for negotiating a shared identity. In addition to their Palestinian character, the internal refugees from Berém and Ikrit also considered themselves Christian, Arab, and Israeli. In a political environment favoring ethnic and religious Judaism, those identities often conflicted with each other. Faced with the reality of injustice on behalf of their government, Israeli Jews contemplated their commitment to Zionism. Americans also engaged in the discussion over identities in the Holy Land—whether through direct participation or debate through the press.

Tragically, the brutal murders of Israeli Olympic coaches and athletes by Palestinian terrorists in the Munich massacre extinguished the sparks of solidarity the villagers formed with their fellow-Israelis. Even the villagers' expressions of nonviolence and condemnation of the terrorist acts did not drown out the fear that engulfed the Israeli community after the massacre.⁵⁵ Berém and Ikrit disappeared from American newspapers for years. To this day, the 1972 non-violence campaign remains practically absent from historical scholarship. Berém and Ikrit communities still frequent the church—which still stands—and petition the courts to uphold the 1951 ruling that

ensured their right to return to the land. For some, the villages stand as a symbol of unsolved inequalities in the region.

Although the villagers lost the battle in 1972, their campaign did not conclude with complete failure. At the end of the protest, a dejected Chacour received a message of comfort from a professor at a local Israeli university. While the professor directed his eyes towards the diverse crowd, they gathered: "Christian, Jewish, Moslem, and Druze," he said, "You see, Elias. Change is here. It's happening in people's hearts. Even if slowly. 'righteousness and peace have kissed, and it was you who brought us together.'"⁵⁶

Chacour continues to work towards peace and reconciliation in the region. In his efforts to build a school in Galilee, the professor traveled to Washington DC to appeal to former Secretary of State, James Baker, and developed a lasting friendship with his family. He later took over Raya's position as the Archbishop in Northern Israel, though he insisted, "his whole parish is the state of Israel." His travels take him all over the world, representing the cause of peace and reconciliation in the Middle East.

55. *New York Times*, "Denunciation on West Bank," September 7, 1972.

56. Chacour, *Blood Brothers*, 199.

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Minamata Disease:

A Historical Perspective of an Environmental Disaster, 1932-1973

Rebecca Romero



This image depicts fisherman in Minamata Bay. Fish made up the largest part of their income and food intake. The release of chemicals into the bay drastically decreased the men's financial power and stability. Eugene Smith, *Fishing in Minamata*, photograph, 1971 (Minamata, JP: Magnum Photos).

Minamata disease emerged after the release of methyl mercury into the local water system by the Nitchitsu-Chosen Chisso Corporation in the early 1930s. **Rebecca Romero** examines the evolution and growth of the disease and its overall effect on the population of Japan. Various primary and secondary sources aid in forming a historical narrative that gives a voice to the victims and those who fought for monetary compensation. Romero argues, Minamata disease and the trials that followed helped establish a more concrete framework for environmental law in Japan.

Located on the Japanese island of Kyushu, the coastal village of Minamata thrived far away from the centers of power and industrialization until 1907. In that fateful year, however, the small fishing town faced economic disaster. In order to save the township, the residents sold land to different corporations, most notably the Nitchitsu-Chosen Chisso Corporation, which created chemical materials for military use.¹ The island attracted many of these companies because of the affordable land and labor costs. Over a short time, Minamata grew into a home for 45,000 factory employees, and ultimately reached 180,000 workers near the end of World War II.² The rise in population and subsequent expansion of the Chisso factory came at a high cost, as pollution slowly poisoned members of the local population with “Minamata disease.” This collection of maladies resulted in victims who eventually sought compensation from the corporation and spurred an environmental movement.

In order to understand the impact of the disease, an examination of emerging sources of newspaper clippings, photographic journals, and scientific documents provides various perspectives of the suffering endured. In this case, constructing a complete historical narrative relies on the medical effect of the disease, the government’s reaction to the outbreak, and the response from local grassroots environmental movements (LGEMs). Ultimately, by analyzing these sources, one can see the impact that followed Minamata disease, and helped establish a more concrete framework for eco-friendly law in Japan.

The Outbreak

Evidence of the disease originally appeared in the feline population and manifested in strange signs of infection and complications. Observers called what they witnessed the “dancing cat,” because felines

wobbled around the city in a state of delirium.³ One resident recalled the strange sight:

Then the cats started to go mad. We couldn’t believe our eyes when we saw them running around and around, or dashing head-on into rocks and trees...In the end they jumped into the sea and drowned...Then the people began to show the same symptoms. The poisoned fish did their job damn well.⁴

[E]xpansion of the Chisso factory came at a high cost, as pollution slowly poisoned members of the local population...

As later discovered, the animals displayed this derangement after ingesting contaminated fish. More specifically, the disease arose from the ingestion of methyl mercury within fish and shellfish, thus leaving fishermen and their families most susceptible to illness because they relied on seafood for sustenance.⁵ Predictably the disease then spread to humans. On May 1, 1956, Hamamoto Tsuginori became the first victim.⁶

As a neurological syndrome, Minamata disease caused a wide range of symptoms including numbness, muscle weakness, ataxia (lack of control of muscle movements), infertility in women, damage to speech and hearing, insanity, and in extreme cases, death.⁷ In 1985, researchers added the long-term health dangers of liver cancer, cerebral hemorrhage, senility, and in elderly patients, cerebral blood vessel atherosclerosis.⁸ It also affected fetuses via the umbilical cord dur-

3. Bret Walker, *Toxic Archipelago: A History of Industrial Disease in Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), 145.

4. Author Bret Walker documents a woman’s bout with insanity after contracting the disease when she got up from her hospital bed and clambered down to the floor. While crawling on hands and feet she said, “Come here darling. Don’t run away from your mama.” After a few moments, she reached for the filthy piece of fish and plopped it into her mouth. When she reached a point of clarity, the doctors informed her about her out of character episode, which she did not recall. *Ibid.*, 145-46.

5. Mikio Arakaki, Makoto Futatsuka, Hidehiko Tamashiro, and Eun Sul Lee, “Methylmercury Exposure and Mortality in Southern Japan: A Close Look at Causes of Death,” *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health* 40, no. 2 (1979): 181.

6. Walker, *Toxic Archipelago*, 145-46.

7. Mercury Poisoning, “The Minamata Story,” in *The Victims and Their World*, 1971.

8. The Department of Epidemiology at the National Institute for Minamata disease and the University of Texas Health Science Center at Houston conducted the research. Douglas

1. Timothy George, *Minamata: Pollution and the Struggle for Democracy in Postwar Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), 17.

2. *Ibid.*, 21.



This photo depicts Tomoko Uemura's mother bathing him. He acquired Minamata disease from his mother during fetal organogenesis. Eugene Smith, photographer, *Tomoko Uemura in Her Bath*, 1971 (Magnum Photos Online Archive).

ing fetal organogenesis, when the fetus' susceptibility to toxins inside the placenta heightens.⁹ Therefore, ingestion of mercury through the umbilical cord into the developing body of the baby causes the disruption of cell movement during the crucial moment of organogenesis, resulting in problems such as delayed mental development.¹⁰ These issues make up only a small percentage of the known effects of the disease.¹¹

Allchin, "The Tragedy and Triumph of Minamata: A paradigm for Understanding Ecological, Human-Environment and Culture-Technology Interactions," *The American Biology Teacher* 61, no. 6 (1999): 414; Arakaki, "Methylmercury Exposure and Mortality," 184. Cerebral blood vessels atherosclerosis describes the build-up of plaque within blood vessels in the brain.

9. Walker, *Toxic Archipelago*, 169. Fetal organogenesis denotes the process of creation of the limbs and organs that compose the human body.

10. Christine Dalgård, Philippe Grandjean, Poul J. Jørgensen, and Pal Weihe, "Mercury in the Umbilical Cord: Implications for Risk Assessment for Minamata Disease," *Environmental Health Perspectives* 102, no. 6/7 (1994): 549.

11. Peter Clark, "Environmental Destruction," *Economic and Political Weekly* 11, no. 36 (1976): 1445.

Silencing Emerging Research

Dr. Hosokawa Hajime, a Chisso physician, conducted his own investigation on the causes of Minamata disease in cats during the 1950s. He sent brain tissue samples of a feline specimen who exhibited the same signs as humans affected by the illness to Kyushu University. The test results showed a loss of brain cells corresponding with similar tissue samples taken from human patients. Hosokawa reported this information to the Chisso Corporation, but instead of acknowledging the validity of his research, the company ordered him to cease his investigation and remain silent. Because of this, scientists took nearly three years to determine Minimata's cause, ultimately concluding it resulted from organic mercury flowing into the ocean directly from the Chisso plant.¹²

12. Akira Babazono Tsuda, Toshihide, Takashi Yorifuji, Soshi Takao, and Masaya Miryai, "Minamata Disease: Catastrophic Poisoning Due to a Failed Public Health Response," *Journal of Public Health Policy* 30, no. 1 (2009): 57.

Between July and October 1959, the corporation produced four pamphlets in an attempt to discredit the organic mercury theory and research of Dr. Hosokawa Hajime.¹³ The first of the four pamphlets blamed the disease on the Japanese army, arguing “Minamata disease may be caused by explosives dumped into the bay by the defunct Japanese Army.”¹⁴ This claim played on the idea that bombs broke down in the bay and released toxins into the water. The fourth pamphlet insisted research conducted by major universities could not prove the process by which inorganic mercury compounds could form an organic element. However, once proved, university scientists determined the factory did produce the organic mercury.¹⁵ The company’s core argument then centered on the superiority of their medical staff, and thus downplayed the qualifications of the scientists researching the disease

Local resources such as the media continued to provide little information about the disease and its effect on the local Minamata population. The first news coverage came in early 1959 from a small article in the newspaper *Asahi*, announcing the Ministry of Health and Welfare planned to conduct further research on the disease. The article also falsely reported a ban on fishing in Minamata Bay, which helped allay concerns. The newspaper refrained from running a more in-depth story until November 1959, when it informed the public of a fishermen’s riot at the Chisso factory. Unfortunately, the article received scant attention due to its placement near the end of newspaper.¹⁶

The Food Hygiene Investigation Committee for the Minister of Health and Welfare placed further pressure on the Chisso Corporation by submitting a report on November 12, 1959. The report concluded, “Minamata Disease, resulted from the consumption of large quantities of fish and shellfish

13. Ibid., 58.

14. Keibo Oiwa, Masato Ogata, and Karen Taylor, *Rowing the Eternal Sea: The Story of a Minamata Fisherman* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001), 7.

15. George, *Minamata*, 59.

16. Ibid., 117.

from Minamata Bay and the surrounding areas, is a food poisoning that attacks mainly the central nervous system. The main cause is an organic mercury compound.”¹⁷ The ministry aimed to present the research to the public, but the Chisso Corporation, Governor Teramoto Hirosaku of Kumamoto, and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry blocked the distribution of the report, even though members of the cabinet widely accepted its findings.

A large part of the Japanese economy depended on the Chisso Corporation to provide everyday resources and crucial elements to growing industries. The Chisso plant produced most of Japan’s octanol and over a third of the nation’s aldehyde—essential ingredients in fertilizers, perfumes, flavorings, and many more products.¹⁸ The plant also produced acetylene, an important chemical utilized in fueling lamps, which made angling possible at night and therefore remained vital to the fishing community. In refer-

encing the factory’s role in making light, some fisherman called it, “the night less castle,” as it served as a beacon to help guide them home to their village at night.¹⁹ Due to the Chisso factory’s positive influence on the villagers of Minamata and its production of essential commodities for the nation as a whole, swaying groups to support the corporation proved relatively easy. The company, therefore, faced no repercussions for its business practices.

However, countermovements began collecting evidence of Chisso’s role in polluting the Minamata Bay. They blamed the factory for the emergence of the disease and brought about unwanted attention from the media and citizens. Dr. Hosokawa—the original whistleblower—resigned from his position in 1962, stating that he kept his letter of resignation in his pocket for weeks after the Chisso Corporation because of an overwhelming amount of pressure to influence him to remain silent.²⁰

17. Ibid., 61.

18. Ibid.

19. Walker, *Toxic Archipelago*, 158.

20. Ibid.

Rise of Local Grassroots Environmental Movements

The limited action taken by the government and the public's refusal to hold Chisso accountable caused a rise in Local Grassroots Environmental Movements (LGEMs). The families of Minamata involved in the fishing industry formed The Mutual Assistance Society (MAS) in 1958.²¹ By November of that year, the society began a month-long sit-in outside the Chisso factory gates and demanded the company offer a minor form of compensation to the infected. As the protest grew, thousands of local fishermen stormed the factory gates in an attempt to get a settlement and the corporation offered local fishermen and members of MAS a minor payout.

Financial compensation signified only the start of the battle, as those who sought reparations received a message from the government telling them to accept the amount offered because if they declined it, they would most likely receive nothing.²² After settling for a relatively small compensation, MAS aimed to reach out to other victims. The day after the settlement, an article published in the Japanese newspaper *Kumamoto nichinichi shinbun* stated, "Since the problem of compensation for fishing losses related to Minamata disease was fully solved on August 29, 1958, the focus from then on has been narrowed to aiding Minamata disease patients and to reducing the number of new patients."²³ The environmental groups found new patients emerging from other sections of the island, such as the Ashikita area to the north and Izumi, Komenotsu, Shishijima, and Nagashima to the south.²⁴

Chisso agreed to install a Cyclator and Sedi-

float—pollution-controlling equipment—in order to dredge the bay of pollutants and to ensure the stabilization of the area. The properties of the sediment removed from the bay unsurprisingly contained a high concentration of extremely toxic mercury. During the completion ceremony on December 24, 1959, members of the company drank a glass of water from the Cyclator in front of many assembled dignitaries including the Governor of Teramoto.²⁵ Most—including doctors—thought no more cases of Minamata disease would arise since the Chisso plant no longer dumped mercury into the vigorously cleaned bay. With an increase in publicity and governmental accountability, the search for new patients concluded. However, future research indicated the machines did not remove the organic mercury that dissolved in the water and the bay thus remained toxic to those who relied on it for food and water.²⁶

[T]hose who sought reparations received a message from the government telling them to accept the amount offered because if they declined it, they would most likely receive nothing.

Gaining Sympathy

The new goal of the grassroots movements pertained to gaining deeper public sympathy for victims. Before this point, virtually no uninfected citizen

of Minamata seemed to show compassion for the victims, and those that did, displayed minimal empathy.²⁷ Direct quotes and photos from those infected with the disease provided an emotional and visual representation of the struggle victims endured. Eugene and Aileen Smith documented the hardships of those suffering from the disease by taking photos that shocked and moved those unaware of the effects. These sources evoked emotional support and compassion for the victims. For example, the father of the well-documented Ikeda family became bedridden as the disease consumed him.²⁸ The pictures show the effect of the disease as his wife lifts him from bed so he can use the facilities. His gaunt frame betrays

21. Paul Almeida and Linda Brewster Stearns, "Political Opportunities and Local Grassroots Environmental Movements: The Case of Minamata," *Social Problems* 45, no. 1 (1998): 43.

22. Eugene Smith and Aileen Smith, *Minamata* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1975), 32.

23. George, *Minamata*, 81.

24. Tomoaki Imamura et al., "History of Public Health Crises in Japan," *Journal of Public Health Policy* 28, no. 2 (2007): 224.

25. George, *Minamata*, 116.

26. Ibid., 115.

27. Ibid., 154.

28. Smith, *Minamata*, 60-63.

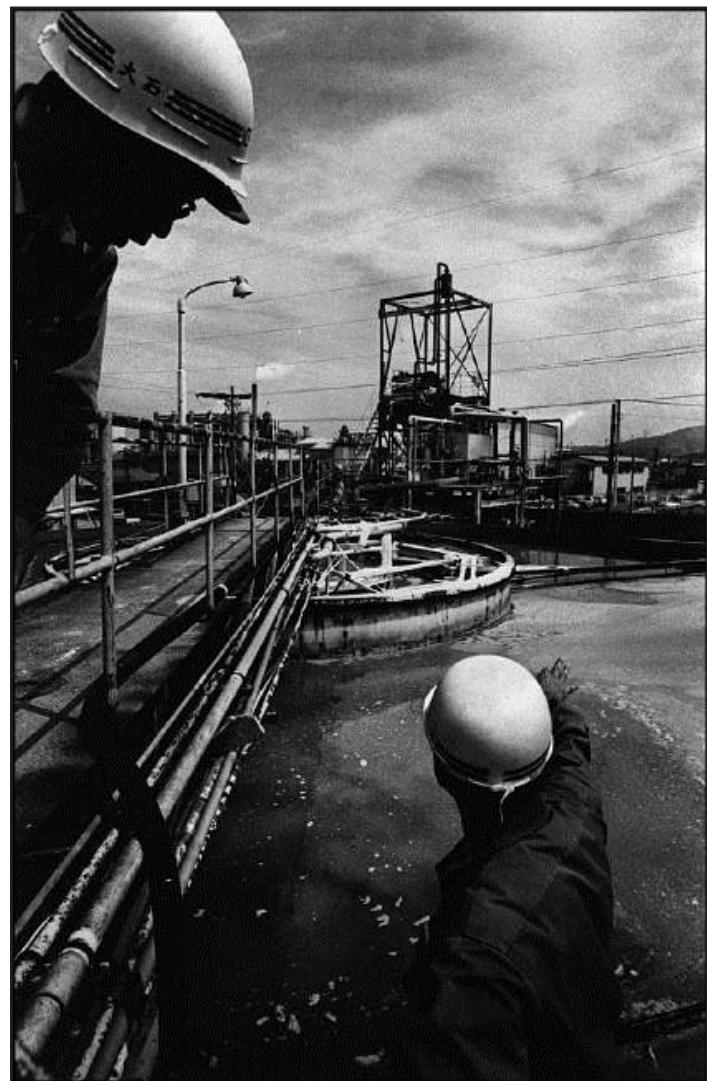
no emotion on his face, and his hands are grotesquely twisted and useless. In other pictures, the wife stands alone, although not infected herself, she wears an expression of profound sadness as her hands cover her tearful face and she appears overwhelmed with the burden of caring for her husband.

The Smiths also documented the Takako family from the village of Akasaki.²⁹ Their young daughter acquired Minamata disease while in the womb after her mother ingested contaminated seafood. Neighbors and friends urged the family to test her for the disease due to perceived abnormalities. The family's request lay in limbo for some time because their daughter was born in 1961, a year after the contamination supposedly ended. After confirming she had the illness, she underwent treatment, which slowly helped. She eventually regained her ability to speak, granting her a new apparatus of self-expression and liberation.³⁰ The images helped humanize the victims of Minamata disease by connecting them to a society that largely ignored them up until this point. Instead of reading about a strangers' struggle in the back of a newspaper, readers could see the first-hand pain and misery of the infected in these photo journals.

In addition to photographic journals, the work of Harada Masazumi and Ui Jun Harada also helped spread information about the plight of those inflicted with Minamata disease. Masazumi wrote many books on the subject, including a children's book, and frequently testified in court regarding the disease. Harada organized a large volume of material on the illness such as newspapers and company pamphlets, and eventually published the collection. His research criticized the Chisso Corporation and the central government for their lack of response. Harada later accepted work as a professor at Okinawa University and conducted an evening lecture series on pollution, informing many members of the middle and upper class about the plight of Minamata victims and the need for

29. Ibid., 64-67.

30. Yuko Kurahashi, "Creating a Tapestry of Voice and Silence in Michiko Ishimure's *Kugai jodo* ('Paradise in the Sea of Sorrow')," *Journal of Narrative Theory* 33, no. 3 (Fall, 2003): 315.



Two men work on the Cyclator in hopes of cleaning up the bay. Eugene Smith, photographer, *The Cyclator of the Chisso Plant at Minamata*, photograph, 1971 (Magnum Photos Online Archive).

environmental regulation.³¹ After gaining a large number of diverse supporters due to information presented through images and written material, the victims no longer felt alone. With this growth in support, they once again rallied together to push for another solution and a higher form of compensation.

New Wave of Protests

On August 30, 1959, the All-Japan Prefectural and Municipal Workers Union issued the "Declaration of Shame" or *haji sengen* regarding the Chisso Corporation and its role in the outbreak of Minamata disease:

31. Ibid., 161.

The company's actions toward workers are exactly the same as its actions regarding Minamata disease, and the fight against Minamata disease is also our fight. Even today, the company refuses to recognize that the cause of Minamata disease is the factory's waste, and it hides all of its documents. We resolve to devote all our energy to making the company admit responsibility for Minamata disease, to support the victims of Minamata disease, who even today are in the depths of suffering, and to fight against Minamata disease.³²

For many of the LGEMs involved, their objective did not involve a form of compensation, but rather, a resolution. Most people thought if the verdict sided with them, it proved the validity of their complaints and concerns. Although years passed since the first discovery of the disease, closure seemed quite close.

The negotiations began on March 22, 1973, at the company headquarters in Tokyo. Three main issues proved constant throughout the trial. The first related to negligence on behalf of the Chisso Corporation in discharging organic mercury that caused Minamata disease. The second dealt with the original contract signed on December 30, 1959, preventing the victims from demanding further compensation. The final issue concerned the question of what sort of compensation and how much the victims could receive from the corporation.³³

The trial took an odd turn. Executives of the company used extremely polite and soft-spoken language, while the once quiet and somber victims found their voices.³⁴ The tone of the trial presented the victims as superiors and the executives as inferiors. A wide range of individuals testified, among them workers, executives, and victims. One account came from a former factory manager who admitted methyl mercury in the factory's waste caused the disease. The testimony made it clear the company knew about the strong connection between their plant and the disease as early as 1954. The worker told the court that profit remained the most important principle, pursued irrespective of the safety and wellbeing of the envi-

ronment and population.³⁵ Another confession came from Governor Teramoto Hirosaku, who talked about the initial trial in 1958 and stated, "We put together the mediated settlement without knowing the facts. Looking back on it now, it was not enough."³⁶ The quote further shows the initial actions taken by local and national governmental leaders did little to benefit the local population.

The most damaging testimony came directly from Hosokawa Hajime, a physician and former Chisso employee. He spoke of his experiment on the local feline population and signs they exhibited that mimicked the disease found in humans. Testimonies from current Chisso employees aimed to refute the information that Hosokawa told to the court, but another doctor who previously worked with him confirmed the information. As a result of these two testimonies based on company-funded studies, the court ordered Chisso to submit the hidden documents on the 1,000 feline experiments conducted from 1957 to 1962. The defendants knew the evidence now stacked against them while sympathy for the victims grew.

As a result of the release of new information regarding the corporation's knowledge of the damaging effects of toxins in Minamata Bay, the verdict proved favorable for the victims. Although executives still defended their company and work, in the end, they admitted their part in the disaster, as they knew the Japanese court system tended to give lighter punishments to those who confess and show contrition. After finding the previous compensation agreement insufficient, the court ordered the Chisso Corporation to make one-time payments of eighteen million yen for each deceased patient and sixteen to eighteen million yen to each survivor.³⁷ With the case finally coming to a close, the victims and defendants reached a resolution the long-time struggle. The disease and court case affected more than the just individuals involved; indeed, it affected the Japanese population as a whole. The outcome in the case continues to reverberate in modern Japanese law, such as with the 1950s revisions of Water Pollution Control Law enforcing str-

32. Ibid., 184.

33. Ibid., 241.

34. Smith and Smith, *Minamata*, 125.

35. Walker, *Minamata*, 245.

36. Ibid., 246.

37. Ibid., 245-47.



Tomoko Uemura lies across a conference table and begs officials to touch him hoping to instilling sympathy during the trial. Eugene Smith, photographer, *Tomoko Uemura, Victim of Mercury*, photograph, 1971 (Magnum Photos Online Archive).

icter purity standards.³⁸

Although Japan's government slowly came to favor environmental regulation, there remains a lot to accomplish in this regard. German sociologist Ulrich Beck argues Japan resides in the "World Risk Society," in which a nation remains under threat from lack of environmental regulations and governmental control. This idea seemed particularly true after the 2011 disaster at Fukushima, which resulted in the spread of radioactive material after a nuclear meltdown.³⁹ A larger form of regulation still needs to pass to ensure environmental disasters involving man-made products do not occur with any frequency. The victims of

Minamata, Fukushima, and other environmental tragedies fell prey to lax regulations and governmental negligence, resulting in devastating outcomes for local populations.

After much dedication and organization, the victims of Minamata disease gained the recognition they deserved. Although it took many years, they succeeded in attaining compensation and stronger forms of environmental regulations. Likewise, it took many decades for people to realize what these individuals went through. Nevertheless, their struggle holds tremendous value. The victims of the disease and their supporters stand as a beacon of hope in modern times, by showing the world that through working together, individuals can make a huge impact on the environment and society.

38. "Water Pollution Control Law," Ministry of the Environment: Government of Japan. Article 14-3 of the law states: "The governor of the prefecture may, when he recognizes that damage has actually occurred to human health or is feared to occur because polluted water containing substances regarded as being harmful has percolated into ground at a Specified Factory, order the person who has set up the said specified Factory to take measures to improve the quality of the groundwater to the extent of rectifying such damage as provided for in the Order of the Prime Minister's Office, giving a reasonable time limit to do so."

39. Shoko Yoneyama, "Life-world: Beyond Fukushima and Minamata," *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*.

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Imagining Distant Lands: Geographical Otherness in Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddimah*

Gheorghe Gelu Pacurar



The world map of al-Idrisi in the *Oxford Pococke Manuscript* and in Ibn Khaldun's *Kitab al-'Ibar* depicts the southern hemisphere at the top and the climatic zones divided by circular lines. Muhammad al-Idrisi, *World Map*, 1553. In *Oxford Pococke Manuscript* (Bodleian Library, Oxford), Tabula Rogeriana, fols. 3v-4r.

Ibn Khaldun's work expresses some of the most controversial ideas in the medieval Muslim intellectual tradition. Current scholars usually characterize the work as extremely close to the modern disciplines of historiography, sociology, or anthropology. Accordingly, Ibn Khaldun appeared as a modern mind *avant la lettre*. However, Gheorghe Pacurar's cultural reading of the geographical narrative of *Muqaddimah* shows that, behind the rational approach employed, lies a pre-modern mentality centered on the distinction between the familiar and superior land of Islam and the strange distant lands that stretch toward the end of the world. This concept of "otherness" reveals a normative self that projected its ethnocentric imagination upon the geographical data dominates the narrative.

The medieval Muslim author Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) continues to receive attention from modern scholars because of the intense conflict between his public life and intellectual interests. He also garners attention due to his vast and original works, which consist of theological treatises, philosophical writings, and a historiography.¹ Ibn Khaldun penned his most significant work, *Kitāb al-‘Ibār* also known as *The Book of Examples*, or *The Universal History*, as an extensive history comprised of three major books: the *Muqaddimah*, or “Prolegomena,” a theoretical introduction to the whole work; *Kitāb al-Thānī*, a record of the Arabs and neighboring peoples; and, *Kitāb al-Thālith*, an account of the Berber and Muslim dynasties of North Africa.²

A cultural analysis of the *Muqaddimah* demonstrates he wrote the book according to what the historian of imagination, Lucian Boia, calls “the system of otherness,” an ideological representation of geographical reality based on the hierarchization of

[T]he space of Islam lies at the center of the world and represents earth’s climatic and topographic normality, while the gradient distribution of other countries follows an alterity based on their distance.

space.³ More precisely, in the geographical texts of *Muqaddimah*, the space of Islam lies at the center of the world and represents earth’s climatic and topographic normality, while the gradient distribution of other countries follows an alterity based on their distance. The methodology employed a concept of otherness—an expression of a historian’s imagination “and a mental tool,” which Ibn Khaldun used consciously or unconsciously as a means to define his identity in geographical terms.⁴ Reading *Muqaddimah* through the lens of dichotomization between concepts

of normal and abnormal, temperate and excessive, and known and unknown, reveals the foundation of the geography and relationship between the center and periphery. An in-depth and

thematical approach traces the patterns of otherness according to three essential narrative components: the shape of earth, the division of the cultivated part of the world according to their climates, and the topography of these climatic zones. The unusual character of *Muqaddimah*⁵ made it the object of study for many scholars who categorized it as either a historiography, philosophy of history, sociology, or, more recently, anthropology.⁶ Yet, strong evidence indicates Ibn

1. Ira M. Lapidus, “Khaldun, Ibn,” in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. Joseph R. Strayer, vol.7 (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1986), 232-34.

2. Nasr al-Din al-Hurini edited this impressive Arabic text into seven volumes with encyclopedic pretensions; see Ibn Khaldun, *Kitāb al-‘Ibār wa-dīwān al-mubtadā wa-l-khabar*, ed. Nasr al-Din al-Hurini, 7 volumes (Būlāq, EG: 1867-1868). No complete translation of this work exists in any of the Western languages. For a complete translation of *Muqaddimah*, see Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, trans. by Franz Rosenthal (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958). For the French translation, see *Les prolégomènes d’Ibn Khaldoun*, trans. William Mac Guckin Baron de Slane (Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1936-1938); Ibn Khaldun, *Le livre des exemples, I: Autobiographie, Muqaddima*, trans. Abdesselam Cheddadi (Paris: Gallimard, 2002). For a complete translation of *Kitāb al-Thālith*, see Ibn Khaldun, *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmans de l’Afrique septentrionale*, trans. W. M. de Slane (Algiers: Imprimerie du Gouvernement, 1852); Ibn Khaldun, *Le livre des exemples, II: Histoire des Arabes et des Berbères du Maghreb*, trans. Abdesselam Cheddadi (Paris: Gallimard, 2012); for a partial translation, see Ibn Khaldun, *Histoire de l’Afrique sous la dynastie des Aghlabides et de la Sicilie sous la domination musulmane*, trans. A. Noël des Vergers (Paris: n.p., 1841). For a partial translation of *Kitāb al-Thānī*, see Ibn Khaldun, *Peuples et nations du monde*, trans. Abdesselam Cheddadi (Paris: Sindbad, 1986).

3. Lucian Boia, *Omul și clima: Teorii, scenarii, psihoză* (București, RO: Humanitas, 2005), 20.

4. For the role played by the narrator’s imagination in the process of representing the world, see Lucian Boia, *Pentru o istorie a imaginarii* (București, RO: Humanitas, 2000), 157; Denis Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision: Seeing, Imagining, and Representing the World* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012), 15; Jacques Le Goff, “L’historie nouvelle,” in *La nouvelle histoire*, ed. Jacques Le Goff (Paris: Editions Complexe, 1988), 58.

5. Unlike the majority of historical works from the pre-modern period, Ibn Khaldun approaches issues regarding the nature and origin of civilization by examining geography, social organization, and political power. Through the *Muqaddimah* he reveals the underlying causes of political events as they transpired. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.85. All quotations from *The Muqaddimah* rely on the Rosenthal translation.

6. For a historiography see, David Samuel Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic Historians* (Calcutta, IN: University of Calcutta, 1930); Maya Shatzmiller, *L’Historiographie merinide: Ibn Khaldun et ses contemporains* (Leiden, NL: Brill, 1982); Yves Lacoste, *The Birth of History and the Past of the Third World* (London: Verso, 1984); Robert Simon, *Ibn Khaldun: History*

Khaldun intended to write a historical work conceived as an original science of civilization as both the general introduction of the *Kitāb al-‘Ibār*⁷ and the introduction of the *Muqaddimah* clearly show:

It should be known that history, in matter of fact, is information about human social organization, which itself is identical with world civilization ... Such is the purpose of this first book of our work. (The subject) is in a way an independent science. (This science) has its own peculiar object – that is, human civilization and social organization. It also has its own peculiar problems – that is, explaining the conditions that attach themselves to the essence of civilization, one after the other.⁸

Ibn Khaldun placed the main discussion of geographical conditions immediately after the introductory passages. Modern scholars give little attention to the role played by the first chapter in their studies of *Muqaddimah* and the *Kitāb al-‘Ibār*, citing that it only serves the function of setting the geographical background.⁹ They also do not explain Ibn Khaldun's

as *Science and the Patrimonial Empire* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 2003); for a philosophy of history see, Charles Issawi, *An Arab Philosophy of History* (London: John Murray, 1950); Nassif Nassar, *La pensée réaliste d'Ibn Khaldun* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1967); Shlomo Pines, "The Societies Providing the Bare Necessities of Life According to Ibn Khaldun and the Philosophers," *Studia Islamica* 34, (1971): 125-38; Zaid Ahmad, *The Epistemology of Ibn Khaldun* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003); Muhsin Mahdi, *Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy of History: A Study in the Philosophic Foundation of the Science of Culture* (Chicago: University Press, 1964); Krzysztof Pomian, *Ibn Khaldun au prisme de l'Occident* (Paris: Gallimard, 2006); Bensalem Himmich, *Ibn Khaldūn: un philosophe de l'histoire* (Rabat, MA: Marsam, 2006); for sociology see, Ernest Gellner, "From Ibn Khaldun to Karl Marx," *Political Quarterly* 32 (1961): 385-92; Svetlana M. Batsieva, "Les idées économiques d'Ibn Haldun," *Orientalia Hispanica* 1 (1974): 96-109; Fuad Baali, *Ibn Khaldun and Islamic Thought Styles: A Social Perspective* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1981); Fuad Baali, *Society, State, and Urbanism: Ibn Khaldun's Sociological Thought* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988); Fuad Baali, *Social Institutions: Ibn Khaldun's Social Thought* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1992); Fuad Baali, *The Science of Human Social Organization: Conflicting Views of Ibn Khaldun's (1332-1406) "Ilm al-Umran"* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2005); for anthropology see, Abdesselam Cheddadi, *Actualité d'Ibn Khaldun: Conférences et entretiens* (Témara, MA: Maison des artes, des sciences et des lettres, 2006); Abdesselam Cheddadi, *Ibn Khaldun: L'homme et le théoricien de la civilisation* (Paris: Gallimard, 2006).

7. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.6-68.

8. Ibid., 1.71, 77.

9. Both studies of al-Azmah and Abdesselam Cheddadi ascribe a secondary or auxiliary role to Ibn Khaldun's geogra-

decision to include a world map, "identical in nearly every detail with the map of the world in al-Idrisī's geographical work."¹⁰ However, he describes the general geographical conditions as "the historian's foundation" that gives "clarity" to historical information.¹¹ From a cultural point of view, historians argue that both the map and its detailed narrative describe Ibn Khaldun's worldview while setting the conceptual limits to his work. The boundaries and characteristics of his world show whether his *Universal History* presupposes a global geography and what this meant to him.

These modern interpretations of Ibn Khaldun's work focus on two major issues. Some scholars insist the sources he used relied entirely on previous Muslim writings and did not offer any new insights.¹² Others debate whether the relationship between the environment and humans could resolve the issue of geographical determinism.¹³ Although some of the latest studies explore his work from the perspective of cultural history, they approach the subject of geographical otherness only briefly.¹⁴

phy. See Aziz al-Azmah, *Ibn Khaldun in Modern Scholarship: A Study in Orientalism* (London: Third World Center For Research, 1981); Cheddadi, *Ibn Khaldun*, 254.

10. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.109, n.43.

11. Ibn Khaldun states that he follows the method of the historian al-Mas‘udī and the geographer al-Bakrī in founding his work on reliable geographical information, see Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.63-64. Al-Mas‘udī, who Ibn Khaldun considered one of the few reliable Muslim historians, conceived geography as a part of historiography and introduced his historical work with a geographical survey of the world. See Sayyid Maqbul Ahmad, "Djughrāfiyā," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. Bernard Lewis, Charles Pellat, Joseph Schacht, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 580. Moreover, Ibn Khaldun established a close connection between civilization—the object of history—and geography by using the concept of 'umrān, which refers to a place and its population. See Mahdi, *Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy of History*, 184-86, Mohamed Talbi, *Ibn Khaldun et l'histoire* (Carthage, TN: Editions cartaginoises, 2006), 54-55; Cheddadi, *Actualité d'Ibn Khaldun*, 71-73.

12. Nathaniel Schmidt, *Ibn Khaldun: Historian, Sociologist, and Philosopher* (New York: AMS Press, 1967); Mohammad Abdulla Enan, *Ibn Khaldūn: His Life and Works* (Kuala Lumpur: The Other Press, 2007); Issawi, *An Arab Philosophy of History*; Simon Heinrich, *Ibn Khaldun's Science of Human Culture* (New Delhi, IN: Adam Publishers & Distributors, 2004).

13. Heinrich, *Ibn Khaldun's Science of Human Culture*; Lacoste, *Ibn Khaldun*; Cheddadi, *Actualité d'Ibn Khaldun*.

14. Heather L. Ecker, "Ibn Khaldun and the Theory

Recent developments in the field show an increasing interest in the role played by imagination in mapping, and describing topographical data and environment. These advancements came out of the studies of Jacques Le Goff, who focuses on medieval perceptions of the desert, forest, and sea; Boia, who synthesizes human representations of climate and the other; and, Sylvia Tomasch, Sealy Gilles, and Suzanne Conklin Akbari who analyze the ways politics, religion, and culture inflect space and place. The area of medieval Islamic culture stands out in the work of André Miquel on human geographical placement with a similar trend emerging in the field of geography—especially in the writings of Denis Cosgrove.¹⁵

Imagining the global structure

Ibn Khaldun began his discussion of geographical conditions with a panorama of the global structure. He based this worldview on both Qur'anic religion and Greek geography. Accordingly, God created the earth and gave it a spherical shape. The world “is enveloped by the element of water. It may be compared to a grape floating upon water.” The part of earth withdrawn from water possesses a circular form and contains “one half of the surface of the sphere of

of the Marginal Man,” dissertation (Harvard University, 1986); Tahar Labib, “The Other in Arab Culture,” in *Imagining the Arab Other: How Arabs and Non-Arabs View Each Other* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2008), 47-91; Cheddadi, *Ibn Khaldun*; Cheddadi, *Actualité d'Ibn Khaldun*.

15. Jacques Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination* (Chicago: University Press, 1988); Boia, *Omul și clima*; Boia, *Pentru o istorie a imaginarii*; L. Boia, *Între inger și fiară. Mitul omului diferit din Antichitate până în zilele noastre* (București, RO: Humanitas, 2011); Sylvia Tomasch, Sealy Gilles, ed. *Text and Territory. Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100-1450* (London: Cornell University Press, 2009). André Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11e Siècle* (Paris: Mouton, 1967-1988); André Miquel, *Du monde et de l'étranger: Orient, an 1000* (Paris, Actes Sud, 2001); Denis Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision: Seeing, Imagining, and Representing the World* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2012).

Recent developments in the field showed an increasing interest in the role played by imagination in mapping and describing topographical data and environment.

the earth.” The equator divides this into two halves: the cultivated and habitable north, and waste areas in the south with “The Surrounding Sea,” bordering dry land on all sides.¹⁶ This worldview reveals a process of narrowing the geographical focus from the definition of land and sea—the essential cosmological components—to the description of the *oikoumene*, which set the physical boundaries of human history. It also details the mechanism of limning the known, familiar, and favorable conditions

for the development of human life in opposition to an alterity characterized by chaos and the unknown. Thus, the geographical other appears as part of two opposite pairs: the depiction of the protean sea versus the ocean set against dry land, which takes the form of vast areas of a wasteland and opposes the smaller portions of inhabitable and cultivated regions.

Muqaddimah’s geographical narrative first illuminates the fundamental distinction between land and water. This antithesis reflects a common theme in pre-modern cosmologies where the ocean and the sea appear as the opposite of firm ground. God ultimately created dry land, as he “wanted to create living beings upon it and settle it with the human species that rules as [God’s] representative over all other beings.”¹⁷ The idea recalls teachings in the Qur'an stating that God gave man the gift of dry land in order to provide the means for subsistence and comfort.¹⁸ Consequently, land appeared as a realm of order, symmetry, and geometrical division. For Ibn Khaldun, this mechanism of “ordering the earth” presupposes a detailed geographical description of the portion of land free from water.¹⁹

16. For the sources of Ibn Khaldun’s geographical material, see the comments of F. Rosenthal in Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah* 1.94 note 11, 1.3, 1.94-96.

17. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.95. See also Ibn Khaldun’s statement that “God’s plan for civilization and for the elemental generation of life resulted in making part of (the earth) free of water,” 1.110.

18. Malek Chebel, *Dictionnaire des symboles musulmans. Rites, mystique et civilisation* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1995), 418.

19. Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision*, 21.

One of the features of this rationalization of global structure includes the mathematical division between dry and water covered land. Ibn Khaldun rejected the ancient idea that the earth floated on water²⁰ and stated, “The natural ‘below’ of the land is the core and middle of its sphere, the center to which everything is attracted by its gravity. All sides of the earth beyond that and the water surrounding the land are ‘above.’” Scholars established a symmetrical relation between these two parts of planrt, stating each one represented “one-half of the surface of the sphere of the earth.”²¹

Circular form characterizes dry land in his book. Later depictions by geographers, Mesopotamian civilizations and Greek philosophers also schematically represented the world as a disc shaped island.²² The Muslim geographer al-Idrīsī, whose map Ibn Khaldun uses in his narrative, also represents the world as a circle surrounded by water.²³ Despite difficulties establishing a clear connection between the use of a geometrical figure and its symbolic meaning, both ancient Greek and Islamic traditions saw the circle as one of the most flawless and complete geometrical figures because it symbolized perfection, homogeneity, and the absence of distinction or division.²⁴ Thus, an interpretation of earth’s shape remains proof of God’s existence and the creation of a blessed world²⁵ that works according to established natural laws.²⁶

Ibn Khaldun further emphasizes this notion of symmetry and order in his discussion of dry land. He used a gradual division of the world that helped

20. In the Ancient Near East citizens commonly held this belief. See Leo Bagrow, *History of Cartography* (Chicago: Precedent Publishing, 1985), 31.

21. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.95. Additionally, on 1.96 Ibn Khaldun affirms that “[t]he part of the earth that is free from water is said to cover one-half or less of the sphere (of the earth).”

22. Bagrow, *History of Cartography*, 31-33.

23. Ibid., 56-58.

24. Jean Chevalier and Alain Gheerbrant, ed., *Dictionnaire des symboles* (Paris: Robert Laffont, Jupiter, 1982), 191-95; Chebel, *Dictionnaire des symboles musulmans*, 85.

25. For the texts from Quran, see *The Koran*, trans. Nessim Joseph Dawood (London: Penguin Books, 2006), 31.190-194, 15.16-30, 20.52-56.

26. Islamic tradition refers to these laws as *sunnat Allāh* or God’s rule. Cheddadi, *Actualité d’Ibn Khaldun*, 73.

him singularize the *oikoumene*. First, the imaginary line of the equator “divides the earth into two halves from west to east.”²⁷ Ibn Khaldun followed the Ptolemaic theory regarding the existence of land in the southern hemisphere,²⁸ though he did not provide any description of these realms. Instead, the equator symbolized a mental construct used to preserve a balanced geography between the known north and the unknown south, as Denis Cosgrove notes:

The clarity of spherical geometry so apparent in the Equator stimulates a desire for similar symmetry between the hemispheres on either side. Hemispheres are by definition equal: north and south balance each other. So long as recorded knowledge of the globe remained the preserve of the northern hemisphere alone, its southern equivalent...was imagined to resemble the northern in geography as well as in geometry. The Equator became effectively a mirror in which the northern part of the earth was reflected south.²⁹

However, this symmetry remains imperfect. Although unclear on the possibility of civilization south of the equator, Ibn Khaldun defined the southern hemisphere as opposite to the north and a place where water covered a bigger portion of land.³⁰ The equator also reflected the cosmic order established by God centered on earth. Hence, he affirmed that the equator “is the longest line on the sphere of (the earth) just as the ecliptic and the equinoctial line are the longest lines on the firmament.” Second, the logical architecture of the dry land includes the mathematical division of the northern hemisphere into a network of seven horizontal climatic zones successively distanced from the equator and ten longitudinal sections that divide from east to west. Third, Ibn Khaldun singularized the north, which represented the only geographical region favorable to human life, as a region measured from its geographical coordinates and its topographical components. Thus, his thought reflects the mathematical arrangement of the world expresses the familiar, normal, and known.

The opposite of the dry land remains elemental water, portrayed by the sea that borders the earth. Ac-

27. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.96.

28. Maqbul Ahmad, “Djughrāfiyā,” 578.

29. Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision*, 204.

30. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.96-115, 1.107-110, 1.196-97.

cording to Ibn Khaldun's geographical scheme, the liquid mass surrounded dry land and branched into two major seas, the Mediterranean in the west and the Indian Ocean in the east, both of which penetrate the inhabited regions. The scholar established a distinction between these two bodies of water and the surrounding ocean: he relates the seas with the cultivated regions of the world and describes them in detail, but the latter appeared as a totally unknown and unfamiliar realm. According to Miquel, medieval

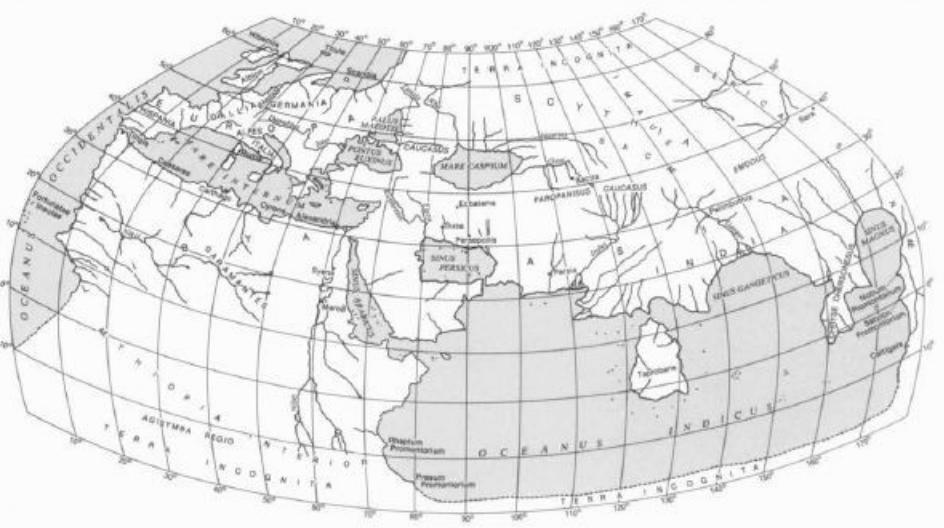
Muslim geography remained a "geography of terrestrials" and this determined their ways of approaching the sea, either as a familiar other or as a radical one.³¹

Pre-modern societies imagined the ocean and sea as elements characterized by strangeness, chaos, and instability, causing both fear and fascination.³² Although Ibn Khaldun did not take into account legendary stories about the ocean,³³ his narrative betrays a degree of unease when dealing with the mass of salt water. His omission of an exact definition for this

31. Miquel, *Du monde et de l'étranger*, 42: "This is the sea and these are the seas of Islam, around the year 1000. In whatever manner, a different world: it has, according to the Arab geographers, its mountains and its valleys, its beasts and its plants, in a word, its specific life. For this geography of terrestrials it was a dual world, appeasing or frightening, depending on its closeness to the shore or on its openness to the high seas." ("Telle est la mer, et telles sont les mers de l'Islam, vers l'an mille. De toute façon, un autre monde: il a, comme le disent les géographes arabes, ses montagnes et ses vallées, ses bêtes et ses plantes, sa vie propre en un mot. Monde double pour cette géographie de terriens, aprivoisé ou terrifiant selon qu'il borde la terre rassurante ou qu'il ouvre sur le grand large.") My translation.

32. Boia, *Între înger și fiară*, 26. Despite the negative perception of the sea/ocean in Islam, followers viewed the mass of salt water as the creation of God and worked according to the *sunnat Allāh*, God's rule. *The Koran*, 24.42, 16.4, 31.29-32; Cheddadi, *Actualité d'Ibn Khaldun*, 73.

33. For the mythical Muslim material about the ocean/sea, see Miquel, *Du monde et de l'étranger*, 32.



Here represents a reconstruction of the world devised by Greek geographer Claudius Ptolemy. Edward Herbert Bunbury, *A Reconstruction of the World of Claudius Ptolemy*, 1959. In Edward Herbert Bunbury, *A History of Ancient Geography among the Greeks and Romans* (London: William Clowes, 1959), 578.

natural element veils uncertainty and cognitive problems.³⁴ When he tried to define this realm, he included many names: *al-Bahr al-Muḥīt* or "The Surrounding Sea" and *lablāyah, okeanos*, which translates to either "the Great Sea" or "the Black Sea."³⁵ The last two names indicate Ibn Khaldun's possible confusion regarding the exact nature of this sea, since it appeared in medieval Arab traditions with reference to two distinct seas as part of the "Seven Seas" that border the *oikoumene*.³⁶ The non-Arabic word translating *lablāyah* presents difficulties and Rosenthal sees the most probable translation deriving from the Romance languages, perhaps *el mare*.³⁷ In any case, the use of the Greek term *oceanos* by Ibn Khaldun shows the Greek circumambient ocean enclosed the habitable world on all sides.³⁸ Thereafter, "the Surrounding Sea" set the limits for the environment favorable to

34. James Romm, "Continents, Climates, and Cultures: Greek theories of Global Structure," in *Geography and Ethnography: Perceptions of the World in Pre-Modern Societies*, ed. by Kurt A. Raaflaub and Richard John Alexander Talbert (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 218.

35. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.95-96.

36. Douglas Morton Dunlop, "Baḥr al-Rūm," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 935. The "Seven Seas": Green Sea or Eastern Ocean, Western Ocean, Great Sea or Indian Ocean, Mediterranean, Caspian, Black Sea, and Aral Sea.

37. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.95, note 15.

38. Dunlop, "al-Baḥr al-Muḥīt," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 934.

human life. All that passes this border belongs to the realm of unknown, uncertainty, and chaos, and thus the importance of this peripheral in relation to the dry land.

The opposition between the *oikoumene* and the wastelands characterized the second major separation of Ibn Khaldun's global structure. This imaginary geographical structure stemmed from the basic division between the protean Surrounding Sea and the geometrically divided land. Despite its derivative status, the argument remains that it plays an essential role in his theory and practice of history because it established the connection between the geographical and human factors in the historical process.

As previously stated, Ibn Khaldun defined history as a new science of human civilization. The originality of his perspective lied in the concept of '*umrān*', usually translated as "civilization" or "culture," as the object of this science.³⁹ This term comes from the Arabic root '*mr*', whose principal meaning expresses the idea of living, inhabiting, cultivating, or visiting a place. Prior to Ibn Khaldun, Muslim geographical literature used the term consistently in where it implied either the general meaning of a place favorable for the existence of life, or the more restricted meaning of a populated and well cultivated place as a result of mans' labor.⁴⁰ The notion of '*umrān*' presupposes both geographical and human elements. The opinion that Ibn Khaldun used this concept only in an abstract sense with reference to the arts and institutions of social life demands rejection.⁴¹ A close reading of the *Kitāb al-İbār* shows that the Muslim historian preserved the geographical dimension of this notion and utilized it in a double sense. He employed the concept of '*umrān*' as a means to denote the "part of the earth that is free from water (and thus suitable) for human civilization has more waste and empty areas than cultivated (habitable) areas."⁴² At the same time, Ibn

39. Rosenthal's translation renders '*umrān*' as "civilization," while Mahdi insists that "culture" expresses Ibn Khaldun's idea better.

40. Mahdi, *Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy of History*, 184-86.

41. Mahdi developed this interpretation. Mahdi, *Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy of History*, 186-87.

42. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.96.

Khaldun showed more precision in defining '*umrān*' as the part of dry land not including the waste areas. Cheddadi's work echoes Ibn Khaldun's study by incorporating people from all regions of the world.⁴³ Thus, in this limited sense, the notion of '*umrān*' implies both a geographical space and the population living there and thus translated according to its universal dimension as the inhabited part of earth.⁴⁴

Here, Ibn Khaldun explains that the cultivated or habitable area maintains clear boundaries, which separate it from wastelands and surrounding waters. The equator in the south and great chains of mountains in the north, east, and west mark these borders:

In the shape of a circular plane it extends in the south to the equator and in the north to a circular line, behind which there are mountains separating (the cultivated part of the earth) from the elemental water. Enclosed between (these mountains) is the Dam of Gog and Magog. These mountains extend toward the east. In the east and the west, they also reach the elemental water, at two sections (points) of the circular (line) that surrounds (the cultivated part of the earth).⁴⁵

43. Cheddadi, *Actualité d'Ibn Khaldun*, 71: "The '*umrān*' that Ibn Khaldun employs as object of his 'new science' has, according to its nature, a worldwide character. This is what comes forth from the title given by Ibn Khaldun both to the first book of *The Examples* – 'The nature of Civilization in Creation (*fī tabī'at al-'umrān fī al-khalīqa*)', and to the first chapter of this first book – 'Human Civilization in General (*fī al-'umrān al-basharī 'alā al-jumla*).' The geographical and ecological description of the inhabited land, which is the object of the second, third, fourth, and fifth prefatory discussions of the first part of *The Muqaddimah*, fully confirms this fact. [...] More precisely, the examples used by Ibn Khaldun to illustrate his theoretical statements, though essentially based on the realities of the Arab-Berber world, do not exclude *a priori* any region or any people of the world." ("Le '*umrān* qu'Ibn Khaldūn prend comme objet de sa 'science nouvelle' a par nature un caractère mondial. C'est ce qui se dégage du titre qu'il donne au premier livre des *Examples* – 'La nature de la civilisation dans la Création (*fī tabī'at al-'umrān fī al-khalīqa*)', comme de celui du premier chapitre de ce premier livre – 'La civilisation humaine en général (*fī al-'umrān al-basharī 'alā al-jumla*).' La présentation géographique et écologique de la Terre habitée, qui fait l'objet des deuxième, troisième, quatrième et cinquième préambules de la première partie de la *Muqaddima*, confirme amplement ce fait. [...] Plus concrètement, les exemples utilisés par Ibn Khaldūn pour illustrer ses propositions théoriques, bien qu'ils soient principalement puisés dans le monde arabo-berbère, n'excluent *a priori* aucune région ni aucun peuple de la Terre.") My translation.

44. Talbi, *Ibn Khaldun et l'histoire*, 51-53; Cheddadi, *Actualité d'Ibn Khaldun*, 71.

45. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.96. However, when Ibn Khaldun fully describes the configuration of the *oikoumene*

Although this region reaches the mass of water at some points, more importantly it borders the seas that branch from the *oceanos*, the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, and the smaller seas that connect with them. The geographical setting of this region remains precisely located in the northern hemisphere with its surface calculated exactly as one-fourth of the dry land.⁴⁶ The idea of order on the cultivated earth further symbolizes its geometrical division into latitudinal climates and longitudinal sections. However, the favorable climatic conditions for the existence of human life and civilization represent the essential characteristic of this part of earth.

The geographical antithesis of the *oikoumene*, the wasteland, maintains several features to emphasize its alterity. The desolate land, mainly situated toward the unknown south, especially beyond the equator, but also found toward the far north, at a great distance from Ibn Khaldun's known world, represents an impossible and remote place for people to reach. As a vast region, grasping it remained impossible for human thinking. Moreover, the waste areas, close to the elemental waters of the Surrounding Sea symbolize the radical geographical other. These "empty" areas remained unfavorable for the existence of human life and civilization. Thus, the barren land maintains the role of "the end of the world"⁴⁷ and represents the periphery of the inhabited and known world. Consequently, the world history of Ibn Khaldun remains limited to the study of what he considered "the world," the inhabited northern hemisphere.

Representations of Climatic and Topographic Alterity

The main geographical narrative in *Muqaddimah* deals with descriptions of the *oikoumene*. Ibn

oumene, the reader can contend that these borders played the role of buffer zones between regions where civilization can develop and waste lands and seas (1.116-166). Indeed, mentioning this in the text of the equator and the dam of Gog and Magog indicates this dual character of the borders.

46. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.96-101.

47. Boia, *Între înger și fiară*, 41.

[T]he barren land maintains the role of "the end of the world" and represents the periphery of the inhabited and known world.

Khaldun relied heavily on al-Idrīsī's book, *Nuzhat al-mushtāq*,⁴⁸ focusing on the outline of climatic and topographical conditions.⁴⁹ The inhabited world remains divided into seven climatic zones from north to south and ten longitudinal sections east to west. Climatic conditions, the amount of heat, cold, and temperate air, led the hierarchization of these zones by

their potential for providing the best conditions for the development of civilization. The forth zone, the most temperate, includes Iraq and Syria, while the less civilized remain in the first

and seventh zones, where extreme heat and cold made life almost impossible. The topographical descriptions of these areas also contain an ideological valuation of landscape that distinguishes between the well-known space of Islam and the "remarkable places" situated toward the borders of the *oikoumene*.

Ibn Khaldun's geographical vision bears characteristics of what historian Maqbul Ahmad calls "the period of consolidation" of Muslim geography from the twelfth to sixteenth centuries, whose major contributors included al-Idrīsī and Ibn Sa'īd. These scholars wrote geographical accounts that combined a focus on climatic theory with the description of both the *Mamlakat al-Islām*, the realm of Islamic rule, and other regions of the world.⁵⁰ Ibn Khaldun's writing also shows al-Mas'ūdī's influence, a major scholar of the Iraqi geographical school developed during the classical period of Islam.⁵¹ According to this tradition,

48. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.116. Also known as *The Book of Roger* because al-Idrīsī wrote it for Roger II of Sicily. Only partial translations exist, Idrīsī, *La première géographie de l'Occident*, trans. Chevalier Jaubert, revised by Anne-lise Nef (Paris: Flammarion, 1999); Idrisi, *Il Libro di Ruggero: Il diletto di chi è appassionato per le peregrinazioni attraverso il mondo*, trans. Umberto Rizzitano (Palermo, IT: Flaccovio Editore, 2008); For more, see Rosenthal, Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.94, note 11.

49. In discussing al-Idrīsī's map, Ibn Khaldun distinguishes between two types of geographical description: a "general" description that focuses on the climatic zones, and a "detailed" description that deals with topography (countries, mountains, seas, rivers); see Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.109-110.

50. Maqbul Ahmad, "Djughrāfiyā," 584-85.

51. Ibn Khaldun explicitly states that he intends to fol-

while geography must deal with the world as a whole, it must also treat the *Mamlakat al-Islām* in greater detail.⁵² Consequently, Ibn Khaldun's geography exudes a certain division between Islamic and non-Islamic lands.

The schematic representation of the *oikoumene* remained commonly used by geographers, historians, and travelers during the Middle Ages.⁵³ Within the Muslim geographical tradition, there existed three systems of dividing the inhabited world. In some earlier works, earth appeared in the form of a bird with the city of Mecca and the Hijāz at its center, or its heart.⁵⁴ Another system, likely of Indo-Persian origin, divided the *oikoumene* into six *kishwar*, or circular regions, arrayed around a central circle associated with the Iran and Iraq. The third system, derived from the Greco-Romans, arranged the *oikoumene* according to seven *iqlīm*, or longitudinal climatic zones, running parallel to the equator and underlined the centrality of the fourth zone where Iraq and Syria lie.⁵⁵

Iqlīm means both “climate” and “region” and comes from the Greek *klima*, which points to the inclination of the earth from the equator towards the pole, defined as “a zone extending, in longitude, from one bound to the other of the inhabited world and included, in latitude, between two parallels.”⁵⁶ According to Ibn Khaldun, the potential to generate life and provide favorable conditions for the development of civilization determined the quality of each climatic zone. This potential resulted from the position of the sun, temperature, and moisture in the air, and the “temperate” or “intemperate” climate.

low al-Mas‘ūdī’s method: “Therefore, there is need at this time that someone should systematically set down the situation of the world among all regions and races, as well as the customs and sectarian beliefs that have changed for their adherents, doing for this age what al-Mas‘ūdī did for his” (1.65).

52. Maqbul Ahmad, “Djughrāfiyā,” 579-80.

53. For a general view, see George H. T. Kimble, *Geography in the Middle Ages* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1968).

54. Zayde Antrim, *Routes and Realms: The Power of Place in the Early Islamic World* (Oxford: University Press, 2012), 96.

55. Antrim, *Routes and Realms*, 90-91; Sayyid Maqbul Ahmad, *A History of Arab-Islamic Geography* (Amman, JO: Al al-Bayt University, 1995), 281-84.

56. André Miquel, “*Iqlīm*,” in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1076.

Ibn Khaldun used “temperance” as a means to designate both the “temperateness of climate and living conditions, and the resulting temperance of moral qualities.”⁵⁷ In climatic terms, it remains the result of “the perfect blend of cold and heat.”⁵⁸ Hence, at the equator the sun peaks for a long time with plentiful light and its rays fall perpendicular on Earth, making the climate very hot and dry. In contrast, in the extreme north, the sun stays on the horizon, never ascends to its zenith, produces less light, and the climate stays cold and dry. These environmental conditions hinder the development of life and civilization and, consequently, the best climatic circumstances lie in the central zones.⁵⁹

Ibn Khaldun’s description of the inhabited world shows that he created a new differentiation within the concept of *‘umrān* itself. While defined as the inhabited world opposed to the wasteland, the detailed narrative of the *oikoumene* established a further gradation of the regions in the inhabited north. Here, the relation between the geographical and technical sense of the *‘umrān* remains essential, not all regions of the geographical *‘umrān* stay equally favorable for the development of civilization.⁶⁰ To show this, Ibn Khaldun used a rational critical approach to geographical data and clearly stated his intention to refute legendary materials, characterized as “fictitious fables” similar to “comic anecdotes.”⁶¹ Nevertheless, a reading of *Muqaddimah* shows that his mind operated according to medieval sensibilities that led him to distinguish between “our” space of Islam and “the

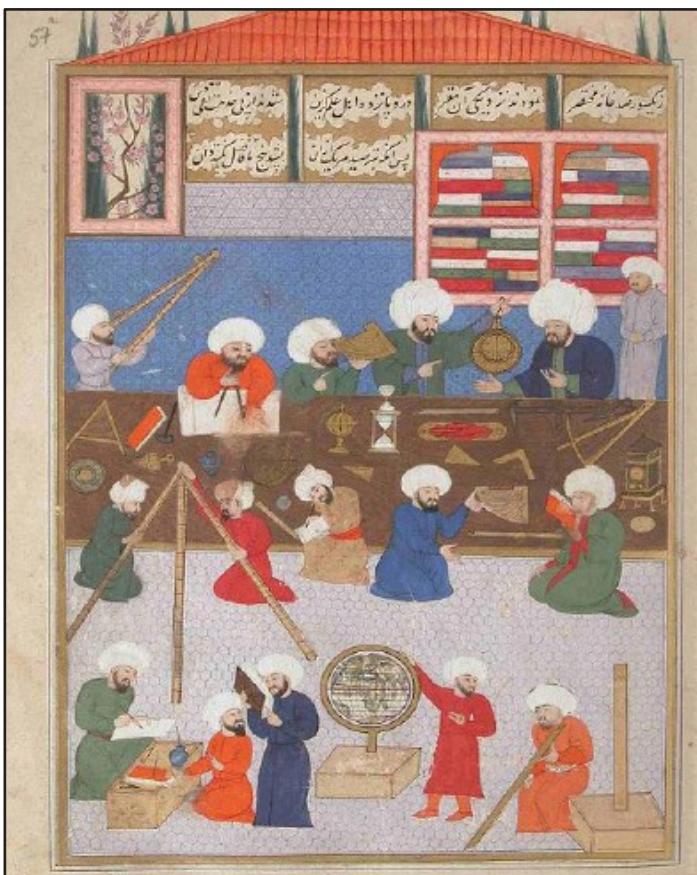
57. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.170, note 221.

58. Original text from de Slane, 1.171: “[...] le juste mélange du froid et du chaud.” My translation.

59. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.106, 1.167, 170.

60. See above the discussion of the meaning of *‘umrān*. Mahdi defines the technical or abstract sense of this notion.

61. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.27. Ibn Khaldun’s long discussion about the scientific basis of history and its relation to geography criticizes the Muslim scholars who included legends, myths, and fabulous material. Ibn Khaldun clearly tries to define himself as a different type of historian, who uses critical reason as a means to focus on the inner meaning of history, thus avoiding the surface of history based on events “elegantly presented and spiced with proverbs,” exaggerations, and sensationalism. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.6-85, 19.



An illustration from the *Shahanshahname* shows astronomers at work in the observatory built by Sultan Murad III in Istanbul, 1577. Ala ad-Din Mansur-Shirazi, *Ottoman astronomers at work*, c. 1574-1595, (Istanbul: University Library.)

other” far regions.⁶² Thus, the representation of the geographical other that exists within the borders of the *oikoumene* implied a threefold process: the tracing of the natural limits of the center of the inhabited world, the climatic differentiation between this center and its peripheries and, the emphasis of the strangeness of the other due to its marvelous character.

The discussion of the *oikoumene* began with a description of the most important seas and rivers. Ibn Khaldun focused on the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, the bodies of water that branch from them, and the Caspian Sea. Their location on the map revealed that they not only border the shores of the inhabited land, but also come closer to a particular region of the *oikoumene*, the Islamic space. Thus, the Mediterranean, also called the “Roman Sea” or “Syrian Sea,” marks the border between Islam and Europe,

while the Caspian Sea, or the Sea of *Jurjān* and *Tabaristān*,⁶³ demarcates the northern limits of Muslim presence. The Indian Ocean marked the southern frontier of Islam, which the Muslim geographers conceived as an immense gulf that separates Asia from Africa.⁶⁴ The same applies to the rivers Ibn Khaldun described in this narrative. He focused only on four rivers, the Nile, the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Oxus, which make up the major arteries that circumscribed the geography of Muslim civilization.⁶⁵

Obviously, Ibn Khaldun adopted a perspective based on the spatial centrality of the region enclosed by the Gibraltar in the west, the Oxus River in the east, the Mediterranean in the north, and the Indian Ocean in the south that identifies with the limits of the *Mamlakat al-Islām*. Ibn Khaldun affirmed that although there are many mountains, rivers, and seas treated by geographers “[we] do not have to go any further into it. It is too lengthy a subject, and our main concern is with the Maghrib, the home of the Berbers, and the Arab countries in the East.”⁶⁶ All other territories remain peripheral relation to this center and prompt his interest only when they somehow connect to Islam.⁶⁷

Ibn Khaldun further defined this center in terms of climatic conditions. Here he again used the logic of geometrical construction of space and arranged the seven climates in a symmetrical disposition around a center. The mechanism of successive gradation of otherness helped him to emphasize the unique character of the *Mamlakat al-Islām*: “...there must be a gradual decrease from the extremes toward the center, which, thus, is moderate.”⁶⁸

63. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.98, 1.101.

64. Ibid., 1.99-100. For the medieval Muslim geography of the Indian Ocean, see Maqbul Ahmad, *A History*, 296-300.

65. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.101-102.

66. Ibid., 1.103.

67. Ibn Khaldun dedicates the volumes of the *Kitāb al-‘Ibār* to the study of non-Muslim peoples dealing with only the neighbors of Islam. While Muslim scholars appreciated the history of distant peoples, such as the Chinese, they neglected them. Walter J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldun in Egypt: His Public Functions and His Historical Research* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967).

68. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.167.

62. For an analysis of this worldview, see Miquel, *La géographie humaine*, vol. 2, 483-513; Miquel, *Du monde et de l'étranger*.

According to the first level of this gradation, Ibn Khaldun placed the center of the world in the fourth climatic zone, which stretched from Gibraltar, through Syria and Iraq, to the Qūfāyā Mountains in the extreme east. He characterized it as “the most temperate cultivated region.” Since Iraq and Syria lie in the fifth and sixth sections of this zone, therefore in its middle, they remain “the most temperate of all these countries.” This “temperance,” the result of the perfect mixture of heat and cold, and dryness and moisture, creates the most favorable conditions for all types of life and civilization:

Therefore, the sciences, the crafts, the buildings, the clothing, the foodstuffs, the fruits, even the animals, and everything that comes into being...are distinguished by their temperate (well-proportioned character)...The ‘Irāq and Syria are directly in the middle and therefore are the most temperate of all these countries.⁶⁹

Miquel points out that the idea of the fourth central climate, defined by moderation, stayed one of the key topics of the Muslim geographical literature and expressed the need to affirm the superiority of Islam:

Here the old Babylonian tradition combines with preoccupation with the political and cultural pre-eminence of ‘Irak to produce the statement that in Mesopotamia are combined the most beneficial effects of a place’s position on the map, of the astral influences and of the general configuration of the contours, the whole ensuring to its inhabitants the most solid qualities of character, perfect balance and liveliest intelligence.⁷⁰

Of note, Ibn Khaldun lived in a period of gradual decline for Islam, when political power shifted from Baghdad toward the west, in Egypt. Therefore, it remains significant that he still preserved the centrality of Iraq and Syria in his narrative. His attitude exemplifies the persistence of the medieval sensibilities related to what Le Goff calls “slowly evolving structures” that remain until the modern times.⁷¹ Historically, Islam reached its apex under the Umayyads and Abbasids, who reigned from Damascus and Baghdad, respectively.⁷² The immense prestige of these cities

69. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.139-149, 1.167-168, 1.167. See also 1.170-171: “The fourth zone, being the one most nearly in the center, is as temperate as can be.”

70. Miquel, “Iklīm,” 1077.

71. Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, 10.

72. Alexandre Miquel, *L’Islam et sa civilisation: VII –*

and of the civilization they created explains Ibn Khaldun’s position. The centrality of Syria and Iraq expressed the ways geography stays religiously, politically, and culturally imagined, making the *oikoumene* structured according to Muslim values that governed the center’s discourse about periphery.⁷³

In the second place, there differentiation exists between the fourth zone and the adjacent third and fifth zones. Although Ibn Khaldun circumscribed the temperate climate to the third, fourth, and fifth zones, he nevertheless clarified this statement and characterized the weather conditions of the third and fifth zones as being inferior to those of the middle fourth zone:

The fourth zone is the most temperate cultivated region. The bordering third and fifth zones are rather close to being temperate...The third and fifth zones lie on either side of the fourth, but they are less centrally located. They are closer to the hot south beyond the third zone and the cold north beyond the fifth zone. However, they do not become intemperate.⁷⁴

In this climatic system, the third and fifth zones fulfill the role of buffer zones between the perfect composition of the air found in the fourth zone, and the extreme weather conditions of the remote south and north. These zones correspond to the northern strip, stretching from Spain, France, and Italy, to the steppes between the Caspian Sea and the Aral Sea and in the south from northern Africa to parts of the Middle East and Tibet. In other words, they correspond to the European nations that came into close contact with Islam and to the parts of the *Mamlakat al-Islām* not included into the fourth zone. Thus, the best climatic conditions of the world connected closely with the geography of Islam and possessed the highest potential to produce the most advanced forms of ‘*umrān*—civilization:

The inhabitants of the middle zones are temperate in their physique and character and in their ways of life. They have all the natural conditions necessary for a civilized life, such as ways of making a living, dwellings, crafts, sciences, political leadership, and royal authority. They thus have had (various manifestations of)

XX siècle (Paris: Armand Colin, 1977), 70-126.

73. Boia, *Pentru o istorie a imaginarii*, 118-19.

74. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.167-168, 171.

prophecy, religious groups, dynasties, religious laws, sciences, countries, cities, buildings, horticulture, splendid crafts, and everything else that is temperate.⁷⁵

This division of the *oikoumene* and the centrality of the third, fourth, and fifth zones directly resulted of the geographical and historical knowledge available at that time to Muslim scholars. Notably, out of the fifty pages that deal with the description of the seven climatic zones, no less than thirty-one pages depict these median zones in far greater detail and in a more reliable manner.⁷⁶ Thus, the opposition between center and periphery overlaps the antinomies between known and unknown, and familiar and strange, respectively.

Third, climate tends to become more extreme as the distance from the center increases and Ibn Khaldun explicitly characterized the remaining four zones as “intemperate.” As such, they are highly unfavorable for the development of life and civilization and they lie mostly outside history. Thus, the second and sixth zones appear “far from temperate” due to their closeness to the first and seventh. They include, in the north, parts of England, Flanders, central Europe, Russia, and the steppes of Asia, and, in the south, Saharan Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, India, and China.⁷⁷

Ibn Khaldun emphasized the second zone as he situates the holy cities of Mecca and Medina here, where Islam originated. The Muslim historian perceived the contradiction between his climatic theory, which placed Hijāz in the hot part of the world and in the history of this region, gave birth to the essential values of Muslim identity. The solution he chose revealed the power of symbolical thinking over empirical data. Consequently, the holy places where the Prophet Muhammad lived and where the sophisticated civilization of Islam originally appeared, against all reasoning, as a temperate region:

...the Arabian Peninsula is surrounded by the sea on three sides. The humidity of (the sea) influences the

humidity in the air of (the Arabian Peninsula). This diminishes the dryness and intemperance that (otherwise) the heat would cause. Because of the humidity from the sea, the Arabian Peninsula is to some degree temperate.⁷⁸

In this way, the Arabian Peninsula participates in the ‘*umrān* – civilization and to world history.⁷⁹

The first and seventh zones include the most distant regions of the inhabited world and both represent the borders between the *oikoumene* and the wastelands. Due to the closeness to the unknown, the climatic conditions are extreme and totally opposed to the temperate center. The contrast between the normality of temperate weather and the abnormality of excessive air becomes obvious. The south borders the equator and the extreme heat and dryness precludes the existence of life:

The perpendicular rays then fall heavily upon the horizon there (in these regions) and hold steady for a long time, if not permanently. The air gets burning hot, even excessively so...the excessive heat causes a parching dryness in the air that prevents (any) generation. As the heat becomes more excessive, water and all kinds of moisture dry up, and (the power of) generation is destroyed in minerals, plants, and animals, because (all) generation depends on moisture.⁸⁰

This apocalyptic depiction of the equatorial climate results from the fascination aroused by this imaginary line, which pre-modern mentalities perceived as the end of earth. Its characterization included not only fire, an expression of solar heat, strange life forms, if there existed any, and exoticism, but also by what Cosgrove calls “eschatological presence.”⁸¹

The northern counterpart of the equator remains the places where excessive frigidity dominates. The effects of this type of climate stay similar to those produced by heat; although Ibn Khaldun considered the latter more destructive “because heat brings about desiccation fast-

78. Ibid., 1.169.

79. The geographical centrality attributed to the Arabian Peninsula arises in the narrative an overt political shape. Ibn Khaldun argues that the best political regime on earth emerged only under the leadership of the Prophet and the first caliphs. See Cheddadi, *Actualité d’Ibn Khaldun*, 178-79.

80. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.106-107, 1.167.

81. Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision*, 205-212, 218.

“Like the poles, the Equator has an eschatological presence: it is a place of origins and endings, an ‘end of the earth.’ There we locate both myths of origin and fears of destruction: environmental, bacteriological, and social.”

75. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.149-158, for the northern part, and 1.128-138 for the southern strip, 1.172.

76. Ibid., 1.116-166 (the section 1.128-158 describes these median zones of the inhabitable earth).

77. Ibid., 1.124-127, 1.158-162, 1.167, 1.171.

er than cold brings about freezing." The position of the sun causes the great cold that characterizes the seventh zone and influences the sixth zone:

The sun is always on the horizon within the visual field (of the human observer), or close to it. It never ascends to the zenith, nor even (gets) close to it. The heat, therefore, is weak in this region, and the cold severe in (almost) all seasons.⁸²

Beyond the northern limit of the *oikoumene*, marked by the sixty-fourth parallel, lie the imaginary places of excessive cold and dryness that make the existence of life impossible; they fall outside of history.⁸³

The presence of the marvelous further emphasizes the geography of the otherness. The "scientific" and rational method employed by Ibn Khaldun throughout the *Muqaddimah* led many scholars to neglect the role of imagination in his narrative. Most recently, Cheddadi argued that Ibn Khaldun remains the first Muslim author to substitute the distinction between civilized and uncivilized regions for the usual antinomy between common and strange or familiar and marvelous. He stated that Ibn Khaldun showed little interest in data provided by ethno-geographic literature and referred to legendary places only in order to trace the border between civilized and uncivilized regions.⁸⁴

Yet, this interpretation is only partially acceptable. Comparisons between *Muqaddimah* and the Muslim literature of the marvelous reveal the rational critical approach of Ibn Khaldun, demonstrating that the fundamental distinction between civilized and uncivilized actually depends on the mechanisms used by medieval writers to signal the presence of the marvelous in their world.⁸⁵ The climatic opposition between the Islamic center and its peripheries underlines the geography of "remarkable places," or, the description of the topographical strangeness of the remote zones of the world. The geographical architecture of the

oikoumene built on the otherness of the far north and south, further complemented with the alterity of the distant east and west.⁸⁶

Ibn Khaldun's frequent mentioning of places regarded in medieval literature as fabulous remains an essential literary technique of describing geographical otherness. For example, he wrote of the Eternal Islands (the Canaries), also called the Fortunate Islands, usually thought to be the place of a delightful life, about the Hyacinth, or Ruby, Island, extremely rich in pebbles of the gemstone, or about the country of Wāq-wāq, one of the most common themes in the Muslim literature of marvelous. In a more negative manner, he also mentioned the land of Gog and Magog, where the apocalyptic nations that will plunder the earth at the end of time remain enclosed by the wall built by Alexander the Great, and the strange territories of the far north, such as the Stinking Land, the Sunken Land, and the Waste Country.⁸⁷

Ibn Khaldun expressed the marvelous character of these lands by means of exaggeration and unnatural phenomena. For example, the excess of cold and heat that characterizes the first and seventh climatic zones produce the perfect conditions for the existence of strange forms of lands and life. This fascination for the equatorial axis takes the form of strange and unique landscapes, as the topography of the Mountain of the Qumr, where the Nile springs, shows. The emphasis placed on the gigantesque size of the mountain and the non-natural arrangement of the natural element of water indicates the marvelous appearance of this place:

This mountain is called the Mountain of the Qumr. No higher mountain is known on earth. Many springs issue from the mountain, some of them flowing into one lake there, and some of them into another lake. From these two lakes, several rivers branch off, and all of them flow into a lake at the equator which is at the distance of a ten days' journey from the mountain. From the lake, two rivers issue. One of them flows due north.... This river is called the Egyptian Nile...The other river

82. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.107, 1.170.

83. Ibid., 1.105.

84. Cheddadi, *Ibn Khaldun*, 254-55; Cheddadi, *Actualité d'Ibn Khaldun*, 91-92.

85. For an analysis of this literature, see Miquel, *La géographie humaine*, vol. 2, 483-513; for an exposition of the essential features of the marvelous in medieval Muslim literature, see Miquel, *La géographie humaine*, vol. 2, 484-497.

86. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.165.

87. Alberto Manguel and Gianni Guadalupi, *The Dictionary of Imaginary Places* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2010), 231, 697; Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.138, 1.161-166. Apocalyptic themes in the Quran see The Koran 18.83-110.

88. Miquel, *La géographie humaine*, vol. 2, 483, 485; Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision*, 209.

er turns westward, flowing due west until it flows into the Surrounding Sea. This river is the Sudanese Nile.⁸⁸

In regards the colder north, a suggestive example is the Sunken Land:

a remarkable place. It is an immense opening in the earth, so deep that the bottom cannot be reached. The appearance of smoke during the day and of fire at night, which by turns flares up and disappears, leads to the conclusion that the place is inhabited. A river is occasionally seen there.⁸⁹

It is striking that these fabulous places always stay in close relation to the limits of the world. Ibn Khaldun employed what Miquel calls the “mobility of marvelous,” the use of geography in a free manner as a means to localize these mythical lands on the map.⁹⁰ With no reliable evidence for the existence of these territories and Ibn Khaldun insistence on finding a place for them on the map, he pushed them toward the extreme limits of the *oikoumene*: either in the first and seventh zones, or to the Far East or west. Consequently, the name of these lands became “simply the name given to the conceptual limit of the known world...”⁹¹

The geographical setting of these mythical places toward the end of the world remains a manifestation of their inaccessibility. Imagination, a faculty of the human mind, created the marvelous.⁹² Since it expresses the foreign and strange, it seems possible to see it as a mental tool used to define what looks different from the rational structure of the world. It maintains the cathartic role of purging the known realm from the elements that threaten its order and therefore appears in inaccessible regions that lie beyond the borders of Islam. One of the tools employed



Map of the Nile by Persian geographer al-Khwarazmi showing the river rising from the Mountains of the Moon, crossing climatic divisions depicted by vertical lines, and reaching the Mediterranean Sea. al-Khwarazmi, *Map of the Nile*, manuscript, c. ninth century (Strasbourg, FR: Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire.)

by Ibn Khaldun as a means to express the inaccessible character of this geography remained what Boia calls “the principle of insularity.” This method depicts the fabulous lands as islands surrounded either by the ocean, or as isolated regions on the continents that vast territories separate from the center.⁹³

The island is one of the most susceptible places to bear the mark of marvelous, because it lies in the liminal space between the unknown ocean and sea and known dry land. This ambiguous condition causes it to become the realm where the real and the imaginary meet.⁹⁴ Following a well-established tradition, Ibn Khaldun singled out the marvelous character of islands in different ways. For example, he stressed

89. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.101-102, 1.165-166.

90. Miquel, *La géographie humaine*, vol. 2, 484.

91. For the conclusion of the study of Shawkat M. Toorawa on the literature about Wāq-wāq. Shawkat M. Toorawa, “Wāq al-wāq: Fabulous, Fabular, Indian Ocean (?) Island(s)...,” *Emergences* 10, no. 2 (2000): 396.

92. Boia, *Pentru o istorie a imaginarii*, 13.

93. Miquel, *La géographie humaine*, vol. 2, 485; Boia, *Între înger și fiară*, 26-29. See also the comments of Charles W.R.D. Moseley regarding the use of the word “isle” in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*: “The word ‘isle’ can certainly mean ‘island;’ but often it suggests no more than ‘a group of people living as a recognizable entity somewhere in the uncharted wastes whose borders and juxtapositions to other groups are ill defined.’” Cf. *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, trans. Charles W.R.D. Moseley (London: Penguin Books, 2005), 193.

94. Miquel, *La géographie humaine*, vol. 2, 485-86.

the remoteness of the Eternal Islands by the means of resorting to an argument that combined what “we have heard” with a “scientific” explanation of the dangerous character of the Surrounding Sea:

We have heard that European Christian ships reached them...These islands can be reached only by chance, and not intentionally by navigation...Nothing of the sort exists for the Surrounding Sea. Therefore, ships do not enter it, because, were they to lose sight of shore, they would hardly be able to find their way back to it. Moreover, the air of the Surrounding Sea and its surface harbors vapors that hamper ships on their courses. Because of the remoteness of these (vapors), the rays of the sun which the surface of the earth deflects, cannot reach and dissolve them. It is, therefore, difficult to find the ways to (the Eternal Islands) and to have information about them.⁹⁵

Insularity also takes the shape of isolated regions separated from civilization by insurmountable obstacles. The trope of the land of Gog and Magog serves as a good illustration of this idea. It is worth noting that Ibn Khaldun rejected the legend of al-Wāthiq about the Muslim traveler who reached this fabulous country⁹⁶ and underlines its complete isolation: one of the greatest chains of mountains on the earth,⁹⁷ the dam built by Alexander, and the Surrounding Sea encircle it. Inside this vast and unknown area, a very different world that bears the sign of cataclysm, ruin, and disorder.⁹⁸ This way, Ibn Khaldun preserved the homogeneity and normality of the *Mamlakat al-Islām*, the most favorable locus of civilization and human history.

Conclusion

Ibn Khaldun interpreted the geographical data at his disposal in an imaginative way. The Muslim scholar followed the medieval tradition of representing the world in a highly schematic manner that eventually asserts the geographical centrality of the *Mamlakat al-Islām*. Interpreting this as an attempt to

define his identity from the perspective of a “normative self,” ideologically modulated by the religious, political, and cultural values of Islam, this concept sets itself against its antithetic other, which takes different forms according to its distance from the Islamic center.⁹⁹ From the perspective of the global structure, the other remains defined as the protean Surrounding Sea or as the unknown wastelands. When the narrative approaches climatic conditions and topography, the other takes the form of inaccessible, strange, and marvelous distant countries or islands. A more positive valuation of the geography of Islam’s neighbors—which the normality and temperateness that rule in the central zones of the *oikoumene* represent—balances these images of radical otherness.

It remains clear many scholars see Ibn Khaldun as a modern mind *avant la lettre*, but his writing still bears the mark of medieval sensibilities. The geography of *Muqaddimah* seems mostly dominated by exclusivism and the universality of Ibn Khaldun’s *Kitāb al-‘Ibār*, which remains restricted to the known world of Islam and the peoples that interacted with it.

95. Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*, 1.117-118.

96. This legend appears in the writings of Muslim scholars such as Ibn Hurdādbeh, Ibn Rusteh, or Muqaddasī; for its origins and summary, see Miquel, *La géographie humaine*, vol. 2, 497-98.

97. The Qūfāyā Mountains extend from the fourth zone to the seventh zone (1.149-166).

98. Miquel, *La géographie humaine*, vol. 2, 504.

99. Aziz al-Azmeh, “Barbarians in Arab Eyes,” *Past & Present* 134 (Feb., 1992): 17.

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Strength and Spirituality: Magic Weapons in the Viking Sagas

Matt Franklin



Vikings removed the animal-head posts at the front and rear of their ships to avoid scaring the native spirits as they approached the mainland. Oscar Wergeland, *Norsemen Landing in Iceland*, drawing. In Hélène Adeline Guerber, *Myths of the Norsemen from the Eddas and Sagas* (London: George G. Harrap and Company, 1909).

Ancient Viking sagas often focused on powerful warriors wielding magical weaponry, which gave them supernatural fighting prowess. Far from simple swords and axes, these weapons expressed their own autonomy and acted more as living entities than forged steel. They could bring either fame or ruin to those who wielded them depending on whether those warriors showed bravery, honor, and respect for the gods. Through these stories, magical weapons served as powerful literary devices that reinforced traditional Viking values to all who listened.

War characterized much of the Viking Age. Consequently, the most well-known medieval Scandinavian figures gained their fame on the battlefield. These “Northmen” pillaged—and later conquered—much of northern Europe while taking great pride in their prowess during combat. Although a portion of their cultural norms centered on war, their stories prominently featured a strict adherence to religious and spiritual beliefs. Scandinavian tales often portrayed warriors combating enemy troops throughout Europe, and more interestingly, fighting the native mythical creatures abhorred by their gods. Sagas, such as *Volsung*, *Laxdaela*, *Gisla*, and *Hervarar*, illustrate the struggles of men and kings, the most common targets for intervention from gods.¹ The line separating reality and myth blurred frequently in their epics; many stories depict real

Northern warriors or kings fighting fabled creatures using ancient, powerful magic weapons.² While these tools

of war possessed the power to inflict or protect their wielders from great harm, often times they expressed a limited consciousness or answered to the will of gods—in particular Odin. Characteristically, these arms preferred to serve a bearer deemed worthy and often behaved in a fickle manner. Far from simple literary devices, the use of magical weapons within sagas demonstrated the virtuous characteristics upheld in traditional Viking culture.

The Will of the Supernatural

Distinct from the stereotypical bloodthirsty Norsemen depicted in popular culture, real-life Vikings held a deep reverence for the spiritual and otherworldly. Scandinavians believed the real world held a strong connection to that of the supernatural.³ Fantastical creatures, from the mighty Aesir to dwarves and trolls, could use their influence to alter major

1. John Geir Hoyerstein, “Madness in the Old Norse Narratives and Ideas,” *Nord Psychiatry* (2007): 324-31.

2. John D. Martin, “Hreggvidr’s Revenge: Supernatural Forces in ‘Gongu-Hrolf’s saga,’” *Scandinavian Studies* 70, no. 3 (1998): 313-24.

3. Ibid.

events and impact people’s lives drastically.⁴ Although some powerful spirits could directly change the living world, often they required an intermediary—a person or device through which they could exert their influence. These legends frequently featured the trope of a mysterious benefactor presenting magical weapons to the protagonist. Through sheer inherent power, it often changed the course of a battle in the wielder’s favor. “The Legend of Gram,” in the *Volsung Saga* provides one of the most prominent examples of such intervention.⁵ In this story, an old, one-eyed man with a wide-brimmed hat challenged King Volsung’s warriors to pull a magical sword out of Barnstokkr, a mystical tree located in the king’s hall. Whomever pulled the titular sword out earned the right to wield it in battle. Though never stated outright, his description clearly designates this mysterious man as the Aesir Odin.⁶ Among the many brave men present, only the warrior Sigmund proved

worthy of claiming Odin’s prize. When offered gold for the blade, he replied, “You could have taken the sword from its place just as I did, if it had been fitting for you to carry it, but you will never do that now that the sword has come into my possession, even if you offer all the gold you possess.”⁷ Such a statement denotes the supernatural quality of the weapon and establishes its value beyond any amount of material wealth. Sigmund understands the gods chose him to receive an extraordinary item, and relinquishing ownership would defy those who entrusted him with such a power.

Gram imbued its bearer with enormous prowess in battle. Protected by “guardian spirits,” the warrior experienced no injury during battle and sliced through enemy armor effortlessly. Despite engaging a superior army, Sigmund and his forces fought valiantly,

4. Hoyerstein, “Madness,” 324-31.

5. Gudni Jonsson, ed., “Volsung Saga,” in *Fornaldarsogur Nordrlanda*, 4 vol. 9 (Reykjavik, IS: 1959), 133, 135-47, 150-56.

6. Majorie Burns, *Perilous Realms: Celtic and Norse in Tolkien’s Middle-Earth* (Toronto, CA: University Press, 2005), 97.

7. Jonsson, “Volsung Saga,” 133, 135-47, 150-56.

demonstrating the weapon's enormous effect. Odin, however, appeared in the heat of combat, this time to the detriment of the brave hero. With his spear, Odin broke the blade in two. Deprived of the supernatural abilities granted through the sword, the depowered fighter fell in battle due to overwhelming numbers. While lying on the battlefield on the brink of death, the princess Hjordis found him and asked if he would recover, to which he replied, "Many who are hardly expected to live survive, but my luck has deserted me, so I won't allow myself to be healed and Odin doesn't want me to raise the sword that has been broken. I won battles as long as it pleased him."⁸ This illustrates an enormous degree of trust towards the gods and their actions. He recognizes both the gods' power and fickle nature by stoically accepting his death. Examples of this occur throughout the sagas, displaying the importance in Viking society of respecting the supernatural and knowing one's place.⁹

"The tale of King Heidrek the Wise" in the *Hervarar Saga* offers another such example. Contrary to the respect afforded by Sigmund, in this tale, King Svafrlami coerces the dwarves Dvalin and Durin into forging Tyrfing, a weapon of immense power.¹⁰ In an interesting reversal, a member of the living world exerted his influence on otherworldly creatures.¹¹ The dwarves, rightfully angry, rewarded Svarfslami's irreverence by placing a threefold curse upon the blade. First, when unsheathed, it must kill before being resheathed; second, it must commit three despicable acts; last, King Svarfslami would receive his own death through the sword. Eventually, the curse came to fruition when he lost Tyrfing—and his life—in a duel against the berserker Arngrim, who gave the weapon to his strongest son, Angantyr. While his son used it to great effect, a devastating duel with the warrior Hjalmar resulted in the death of not only his ad-

8. Ibid.

9. James Graham-Campbell, *The Viking World* (London: Frances-Lincoln Publishers, 2013), 146.

10. Christopher Tolkien, trans., *The Saga of King Heidrek the Wise* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1960).

11. A. Leroy Andrews, "Studies in the 'Fornaldarsogur Nordrlanda II.' The Hervarar Saga," *Modern Philosophy* 25, no. 2 (1927): 149-61.

versary, but Angantyr's brothers. Arngrim recognized Tyrfing's caustic nature and buried it.

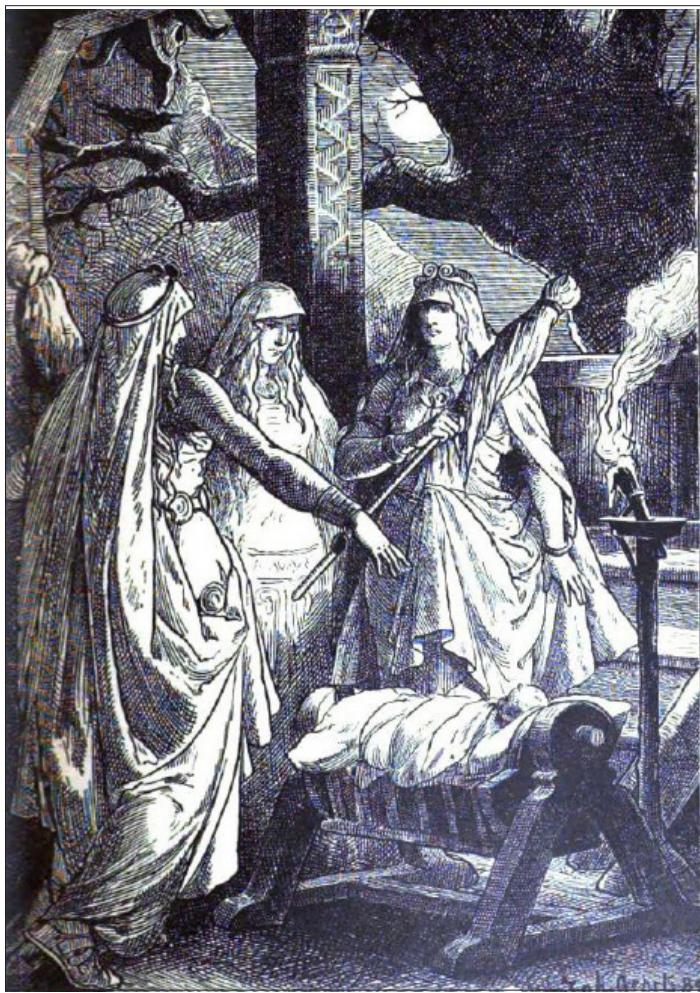
Following the death of the bereaved warrior, his daughter, Hervor, sought the sword for her own ends. This portion of the saga unveils another reversal, humans no longer exerted their power upon the supernatural. Angantyr, now a spirit, warned his daughter of the weapon's curse—shifting the supernatural as the assertive participant. Hervor, "who often did more harm than good" and "killed men for her gain," did not heed the warning that her children would suffer through her actions.¹² Although she successfully adventured for years, the curse ultimately resulted in calamity for her family. Tyrfing forcefully compelled her son Heidrek to slay his brother after he unsheathed it. Subsequently, he led a coup against his own father-in-law, King Harald, which caused Heidrek's wife to commit suicide. The vengeful sword, thus far having ruined three generations of the same family, sought to destroy the fourth. Heidrek's son, Angantyr, who shared the name of the original slayer, refused to split his inheritance with his brother Hlod. A large battle ensued, and Angantyr—while under the influence of Tyrfing's curse—ultimately killed his brother. Overall, this myth heavily moralized the concept of respecting elders and the supernatural. King Svarfslami's lack of respect for the dwarves Dvalin and Durin and his subsequent malfeasance caused not only his own death, but the tragic slaying of countless others.¹³ Tyrfing's retirement to Angantyr's crypt symbolized respect for the supernatural, later undone by the dishonorable Hervor.

This notion of piety and respecting the gods appears again in the epic poem "Beowulf." In the tale, the eponymous character famously battled the mother of the vanquished monster, Grendel. Though a skilled warrior, he proved unable to pierce the skin of Grendel's mother with Hrunting, his original weapon. Although defeat seemed imminent, he found "a huge ancient sword hanging in splendor on a wall."¹⁴ The sword, which the poet described as an ancient artifact

12. Tolkien, *King Heidrek the Wise*.

13. Ibid.

14. Lesslie Hall, trans., *Beowulf* (Boston, MA: DC Heath and Co., 1892).



The Norns tended the World-tree Yggdrasil and decided the fates of the gods and men alike. Johannes Gehrts, *Die Nornen*, c. 1889, illustration, in Felix Dahn, *Walhall: Germanische Götter-und Heldenägen. Für Alt und Jung am deutschen* (Leipzig, DE: Verlag von Breitkopf und Härtel, 1898), 161.

forged by giants, easily pierced the monster's flesh and Beowulf defeated Grendel's mother with ease. Interestingly, the excerpt remarks upon the interference of "the ruler of mankind" in the battle, stating, "he has often helped those without friends."¹⁵ Historians still debate whether this refers to either the Christian God or to the All-Father Odin, but more importantly, this passage indisputably turns a simple stroke of luck into an example of divine intervention.¹⁶

This small section of the epic reveals a concept that permeated Scandinavian culture at the time, luck. Contrary to the modern definition, it widely existed in

varying degrees within everyone.¹⁷ Luck could pass down through bloodlines and manifest in different ways, such as beauty, bravery, or skill.¹⁸ Far from random events of probability, Scandinavians viewed luck as a connection to the beings known as Norns—those who decided the destinies of men and gods alike.¹⁹ Due to the belief that supernatural influence pervaded every aspect of Viking life, the use of weapons as tools of moral influence within these tales served as a convenient rhetorical device, thus making supernatural persuasion far more apparent.

Viking Values

The positive traits afforded by extraordinary luck often made these heroes the focal points of the sagas. Bravery, charisma, and skill led these men through extreme adversity to glory. Their success did not depend solely on their physical and mental attributes, but their spirituality as well. Like Hervor and Sigmund's tales illustrate, honor and respect for traditions, rather than mere actions, determined the prosperity and honor of entire families.²⁰ The many tales of the sword Skofnung provide an excellent example of how the same weapon could lead one man to glory and the other to disgrace. In the *Vatndaela Saga*, the young warrior Kormak yearned for a blade to challenge the experienced fighter Bersi.²¹ Following the advice of his mother, Dalla, he sought out Skeggi of Midfjord in order to borrow the sword, Skofnung. The implications of Skofnung's extreme power counterbalance the set of rules and rituals required before its use. Skeggi spared no detail in describing the steps required, stating:

[T]here's a pouch attached to it, and you must leave that alone. The sun mustn't shine on the pommel, and you must never carry the sword unless you're getting ready

17. Bettina Sejbjerg Sommer, "The Norse Concept of Luck," *Scandinavian Studies* 79, no. 3 (2007): 275-94.

18. Vesteinn Olason and Andrew Wawn, "Dialogues with the Viking Age: Narration and Representation in the Sagas of the Icelanders," *Speculum* 75, no. 4 (2000): 967-69.

19. Robert Ferguson, *The Vikings: A History* (New York: Penguin Books, 2009), 23.

20. Graham-Campbell, *The Viking World*, 146.

21. Einar Ol. Sveinsson, ed., "Kormak's Saga," in *Vatndaela Saga* (Reykjavik, IS: 1939), 234-42.

15. Ibid.

16. Johann Koberl, "The Magic Sword in Beowulf," *Neophilologus* 71, no. 1 (1987): 120-28.

for a fight. When you get to the scene of the fight, wait until you are setting alone before drawing the sword; then hold the blade out in front of you, blow on it and a little serpent will wriggle out from under the pommel; then turn the sword over to allow the serpent to wriggle back under the pommel.²²

The fantastical description of these demands underscores the intersection between mysticism and warfare inherent in many Viking sagas. Much like removing the animal-head posts on their ships before approaching land, showing proper respect to the gods and spirits often proved as much a preparation for battle as sharpening their blades.²³

Despite Kormak's derision of Skofnung's requirements, he left for battle with the blade. He immediately failed to adhere to the sword's rules by letting sunlight hit the pommel and wearing it outside of his clothes. It refused to come out of its sheath, forcing the young fighter to stand on the hilt and pull it out by force. This caused the blade to come "out of its sheath groaning."²⁴ When the duel commenced, Kormak fought with Skofnung, meanwhile his adversary attempted to take advantage, using his own magic sword, Hviting. Despite the disarray, Skofnung proved stronger than the opposing blade, cutting the tip off the sword. Unfortunately for Kormak, a fractured point cut his thumb, which drew blood onto his cloak thereby ending the duel. Calling it a "shabby victory" owed to his bad luck, the impetuous Kormak relented and returned home with a large notch in Skofnung's blade and an injured hand that mysteriously deformed. In an attempt to cover up his mistake, Kormak and his mother smoothed the notch to the best of their ability, but unfortunately, the damage became far more noticeable. This act makes his irreverence for Viking tradition especially apparent. While a singular shameful action may have been unpleasant, attempting to conceal it proved a far greater offense. As such, the notch on Skofnung's blade signified a blemish on Kormak's honor, which his attempts to conceal only worsened.

Skofnung's abuse at the hands of Kormak conveyed a considerably different lesson as compared to

the next wielder, Thorkel Eyolfson. The new owner sought out the criminal Grim, a man guilty of drowning a Viking's brother. He eschewed the use of numbers to take down his foe, as he believed "[there isn't] much glory in taking a whole body of men against a single man."²⁵ Instead, he asked Skeggi for Skofnung to use in his fight. He gained the use of the sword with the caveat that he did the same rituals expected of Kormak. He vowed to show caution with the blade when he engaged Grim in combat. Surprisingly, the fight did not end with a death, instead the two men surrendered and walked away as friends. Eyolfson, in an act of magnanimity, nursed his former adversary's wounds with the healing stone affixed to Skofnung's hilt.²⁶ This designated him as an honorable man, willing to fight not only for justice, but for a man he barely knew. Skofnung served Thorkel faithfully until his death during a storm. Eventually, his son Grettir recovered the blade and used it until his death as well. In this way, the story served as a positive mirror image of not only Kormak's tale, but Hervor's as well. Much like Tyrfing, the blade served several generations of the same family.²⁷ However, whereas Tyrfing caused great tragedy, Thorkel and his son's experience wielding Skofnung undoubtedly stood out as more positive. The characteristics of the heroes predetermined their outcomes within the sagas, as strong and honorable men used the tools of war to their benefit, while men, such as King Svirfslami, faced ruin and death. Even among tales involving the same blade, the outcomes appear drastically different. Kormak faced disgrace, dishonor, and anonymity in his use with Skofnung, while Thorkel gained fame and allies with his struggles.

The Weapon Chooses the Wielder

These legendary instruments of battle, far from simple rhetorical devices within these stories, usually held some form of sapience. Skeggi described Skofnung as "slow and deliberate" at one point and as-

22. Ibid.

23. Ferguson, *The Vikings*, 33.

24. Sveinsson, "Kormak's Saga," 234-42.

25. Einar Ol. Sveinsson, ed., *Laxdaela Saga* (Reykjavík, IS: 1934), 176-74, 221-22.

26. Ibid.

27. Tolkien, *King Heidrek the Wise*.

serted that only a warrior with a complimentary personality could coax it into its fullest potential.²⁸ In the sagas, people treated the blades more as living entities than merely shaped steel. Despite mysterious forces selectively gifting these weapons, the arms appraised prospective partners on their own and selected those worthy enough through their own volition. Their insight did not stop there as they recognized the authority of their chosen wielder and granted their power to those they found deserving.

The duel between Gisli and the slave Kol in the *Gisla Saga* exemplifies such an occurrence. The protagonist, Gisli, borrowed the slave's magical sword, Greysteel. The powerful blade could pierce any armor effortlessly and remained completely immune to any wear or damage.²⁹ Kol requested Gisli return his blade, to which the borrower made generous offers for the weapon. The slave refused, stating, "I will not sell it a whit more for that." Eventually, Gisli admitted he broke his promise and will not return the blade, and the two men prepared to fight. Kol armed himself with an ordinary axe, while his adversary readied Greysteel. "Kol's blow fell on Gisli's head, so that it sank into the brain, but the sword fell on Kol's head, and did not bite; but still the blow was so stoutly dealt that the skull was shattered and the sword broke asunder."³⁰ With the sword used against its master, the inherent magic dispelled and the blade shattered instantly. Its indestructibility and piercing ability disappeared, and only through the sheer strength of Gisli's blow does Greysteel pierce the skull and kill its master. With his last breath, Kol curses Gisli and cites that tragedy will befall the members of his family after his death.³¹

The bonds these weapons forged with their wielders persisted well after their death. Hneiter, the Sword of St. Olaf, for example maintained the connection to its owner even after Olaf lost it in batt-

le where he lost his life. Eventually, the weapon found its way into the hands of a guard in Constantinople. Every night when the guard went to sleep, it disappeared from his side and appeared somewhere nearby. While Hneiter reacted far less drastically to its owner's absence than Greysteel, it illustrated the inherent magical connection these blades maintained with their partners, one that transcended time and space. When the Byzantine emperor became aware of the weapon's real identity, "he summoned the sw-

ord's owner, gave him three times its value in gold," and "had the sword carried to St. Olaf's church, which the Varangians supported."³² Judging further "adventures," Hneiter

by the lack of supported it as well.

Greysteel and Hneiter exemplify the extraordinary loyalty these magical blades showed for their chosen bearers if used against them or after death. Much like Sigmund and Gram, however, the warrior's skill and bravery coupled with the weapon's inherent power created a terrifying synergy on the battlefield. Hrolf Kraki provides an excellent example as the oldest known wielder of the legendary sword Skofnung:

Though many a mail-shirt has been shredded, many a weapon broken, many a helmet shattered, and many a brave horseman has been thrust from the saddle, our king is in great spirits, for he is just as happy now as when he was drinking his fill of ale. He always attacks with both hands, and he is very different from other kings in battle, for it seems to me he fights with the strength of twelve kings and kill many brave men. Now King Hjorvard can see that Skofnung bites, and that it clangs against their skulls, for it is Skofnung's nature to sing aloud whenever it tastes bone.³³

The short speech illustrates perfectly the Viking perception of the ideal warrior: a mighty king, as comfortable on the battlefield as in the mead hall, wielding a legendary instrument of battle alongside men who have given him their utmost trust.³⁴ Depictions

28. Sveinsson, "Kormak's Saga," 234-42.

29. G. W. DasSent, trans., *Gisla saga Surssonar* (London: 1866), 4.

30. Ibid., 6.

31. Ibid., 7.

32. Snorri Sturluson, "Hakonar saga heidibreids," in *Heimskringla*, ed. Bjarni Adalbjarnarson (Reykjavik, IS: 2002), 369-71.

33. Gudni Jonsson, ed., "Hrolf's saga kraka," in *Fornaldarsogur Nordurlanda* (Reykjavik, IS: 1959), 98-105.

34. Snorri Sturluson, "Olafs saga Tryggvasonar," in



Sigmund received a mortal wound after losing the sword Gram on the battlefield. Johannes Gehrts, *Sigmund's Death*, c. 1898, illustration, in Felix Dahn, *Walhall: Germanische Götter-und Heldenlegenden. Für Alt und Jung am deutschen* (Leipzig, DE: Verlag von Breitkopf und Härtel, 1898).

like these sent a powerful message to the Scandinavian listeners of these tales, marketing the ideal traits a warrior must possess to not only gain the loyalty of his fellow warriors but the ancient and legendary items themselves.

Modern instances, such as the 2011 Marvel movie *Thor*,³⁵ demonstrate this very same selective nature. Indeed, the concept of “the weapon choosing the wielder” proved a very important plot element within the film. Interestingly, the initial traits that evidenced the Norse god of thunder unworthy to wield Mjolnir—namely boisterousness and an appetite for battle—reflect exemplary Viking values. The criteria by which the hammer returns to Thor's use resonates with the popular modern sensibilities—humility and peacefulness.³⁶ This sheds light on the concept of the intelligent weapon as an effective literary device and a reflection of what society deems valuable. Much like the modern-day Thor used Mjolnir to progress the movie's theme of maturation and the meaning of duty, the epics used items such as Gram and Skofnung to assert the rewards of being a “good Viking”—fighting with bravery, honoring the gods, respecting ones family, and adherence to tradition.³⁷

Heimskringla, ed. Bjarni Adalbjarnarson (Reykjavik, IS: 2002), 333.

35. *Thor*, directed by Kenneth Branagh (Hollywood, CA: Paramount Pictures, 2011), DVD.

36. Ibid.

37. Sturluson, “Olafs saga Tryggvasonar,” 333.

Conclusion

The sagas served as more than just tales passed down through generations. Many of these tales—involving powerful weapons and valiant heroes—served as fables to educate the listener in “proper” ways. The use of these items as tools of influence for the supernatural underscores the intersection between the real and the spiritual that characterized Viking beliefs and culture. The struggle of the heroes with these tools of war, often with intervention of the gods, displayed the positive and negative traits necessary to excel or fail in Scandinavian society. The blades themselves transcended simple tools of war and developed into characters in these stories, often displayed as living creatures with their own personalities. Despite the narrow focus on weapons, the interaction of the real world with gods, elves, giants, and other creatures, affected every facet of Scandinavian life. Thus far, the focus of research gravitates toward only a few parts of this relationship. Given time, further research could uncover the full extent of this intersection, revealing the complete effect these beliefs had on their society.

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Rome's Spectacle of Power: Domination of the Alpha Predator

Mike Snyder



The ancient Romans considered hunting a sport that could condition the body and the mind. *Wild Beast Hunt*, 320 (Antioch, TR: Constantinian villa floor mosaic.)

In ancient Rome, especially during the time of the emperors, criminals suffered execution by fierce animals such as lions, leopards, and bears. The fear this spectacle unleashed aimed to show citizens what lay in store for those who broke the law. The ability to capture nature's most dangerous animals, ship them to Rome, and employ them as entertainment and law enforcement tools remained undeniable evidence of Roman power over both the inhabitants of those provinces and over nature itself. How the ancient Romans managed to capture and transport nature's fiercest animals to Rome, an accomplishment that proves impressive even today, prompted **Mike Snyder** to further investigate. While scholars assume natives did the brunt of the work in capturing the animals, Snyder's fresh interpretation of the relevant sources point to the Roman army as a major force in securing the alpha predators required for such violent spectacles.

Since time immemorial, a few animals have reminded humanity that they view us as little more than prey. These “alpha predators,” as David Quammen labels them in *Monster of God: The Man-Eating Predator in the Jungles of History and the Mind*, shared the landscape with humans. However, while they dominated the outdoor environment, they also became part of the psychological world from where the human identity arose. Subsequently, to control or successfully confront these beasts reflected humanity’s mastery over them and their environment. To prove this point, Romans of the late second century BCE took alpha predators into custody and transported them to their “eternal city” for the purpose of entertaining audiences in violent spectacles.

Before Rome came to dominate the ancient world, upper-class people in India, Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, and Greece trapped exotic animals. These individuals treated the animals as pets, exhibiting them in zoos to admire their beauty, training them to perform tricks, or showing them in processions during religious festivals. Excluding crocodiles, trappers caught and tamed exotic animals, but not alpha predators, which, as defined by Quammen included any species capable of killing human beings. The danger associated with these animals surrounded them with a mystique and fear unassociated with other animals.¹ Those animals occupied a distinct and separate realm in the world because of the power they represented over human beings. For that reason, pharaohs and kings hunted lions to demonstrate their own authority—and their right to rule. In ancient Rome they considered lions, leopards, crocodiles, tigers, and bears all alpha predators and the capture, transportation, and ultimate display of these animals in Rome created a logistical and geographical challenge that ranged from Germany to India to Africa.

Even with modern technology, trapping and transporting alpha predators presents a host of extremely difficult and dangerous obstacles. In the an-

cient world, those obstacles seemed insurmountable, which gives rise to the question; how exactly did they accomplish the task, and what motivated their actions? To investigate how they did this represents one level of understanding, but to know why requires an examination of the psychological impact this enterprise exerted on the minds of Roman citizens, both on the crowds watching and those condemned as food for these predators.

The term alpha predator has no taxonomic or ecological basis and its reality resides purely within the psychological realm. While elephants, rhinos, hippos, and bulls do kill people, they rarely eat them. These gargantuan mammals could easily kill humans simply by trampling, but alpha predators represent

[T]hese animals also served as executioners for criminals, thus demonstrating the preeminence of Roman law over even the laws of nature.

the few animal species that can, and do, kill and eat humans. Consequently, the Romans set out to trap precisely these animals to entertain the populace and show the world Rome ruled without peer or

challenge. Roman authorities pitted these fierce animals against each other, to demonstrate their strength and ferocity, or hunters killed them for the crowd’s entertainment, and to prove the mastery of Rome over nature. Additionally, these animals also served as executioners for criminals, thus demonstrating the preeminence of Roman law over even the laws of nature. In effect, Roman leaders—especially the Emperors—used these *venationes*, or competitions between humans and animals, as propaganda to demonstrate to its citizens and subjects, Rome’s inexorable control over the world.

Development of Conquest

Venationes developed later than gladiatorial fights, the first recorded display occurred in 186 BCE, almost sixty years after the first human combatants entered an arena to the delight and entertainment of Roman citizens.² Initially, wild beasts appeared in the amphitheater merely to demonstrate their innate strength and ferocity; however, by the imperial age,

1. David Quammen, *Monster of God: The Man-Eating Predator in the Jungles of History and the Mind* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2003), 6.

2. Livy, *Summaries*, 16. The first gladiatorial contest appeared in the historical record in 245 BCE.



The mosaic depicts a brutal execution by leopard. *Leopards Devouring a Criminal*, c. second century, Roman floor mosaic (El Djem, TN: El Djem Archaeological Museum of Tunisia).

crowds craved violent shows and the use of animals changed. The Roman historian Livy wrote of the games sponsored by Marcus Fulvius in 186 BCE. He reported the hunting of lions and panthers formed a novel feature, and that the whole exhibition presented almost as much splendor and variety as any previous spectacle.³

Despite its positive reception in 186 BCE, in *Natural History*, Pliny the Elder told of a Senate decree around 179 BCE that forbade importation of African beasts for *venationes* into Italy.⁴ Eventually, the protests grew until the Senate rescinded the decree, and by 169 BCE African beasts again appeared in the Circus Maximus. The reason for the ban remains unclear, perhaps the singular cost of trapping and transporting the animals, costs borne by those seeking to advance their prestige within society, proved too great. Whatever the reason, in 167 BCE, General Lucius Aemilius Paulus utilized elephants to trample deserters from the Third Macedonian War in Rome's first executions by animal.⁵ Publius Cornelius Scipio the Younger repeated this violent following his trium-

phant destruction of Carthage in 146 BCE. These actions led to two major changes in the Roman games: first, the destruction of Carthage made the North African region a province of Rome, thus making it easier to acquire alpha predators from the subcontinent. Second, the Romans used elephants to reflect their dominance in the Mediterranean world and to emphasize that execution by animal now appeared as an acceptable enforcement of law. Romans considered executions by beasts, or *damnitas ad bestias*, along with crucifixion and burning at the stake, as the crudest punishments meted out to enemies of the state. While the popularity of animals in Roman spectacles continued to expand, securing the necessary animals proved an ongoing issue.

Venatio Organization

A Roman who intended to give a *venatio* likely got all, or most, of his beasts from a region where he held special influence. For example, Sulla received 100 maned lions from King Bocchus of Mauretania—in modern-day Morocco—for his *venatio* in 93 BCE because of his close relationship with the king. According to Seneca and Pliny the Elder, Bocchus also sent specialized native spearmen to take part in Sulla's games, most likely to hunt the alpha predators in the Circus. For the games he hosted in 58 BCE, Scaurus likely acquired the 150 leopards he used from Syria, which he governed from 65 to 59 BCE. Indeed, the annexation of Syria by Pompey meant Rome now gained another source for lions and leopards besides Africa. However, the transportation from Syria to Italy entailed a more expensive and elaborate process than from Africa. At Scaurus' games, Romans also saw their first hippo along with five crocodiles, all of which likely came from Egypt.

The difficulty in obtaining animals for public displays required considerable effort, as evidenced in letters between Cicero and Caelius during the republican period in the first century BCE, and the letters of Quintus Aurelius Symmachus during the Imperial period more than 400 years later. Despite the distance of several hundred years, both sets of letters reveal the extensive plans these men made to acquire an-

3. Ibid., 39.22.2.

4. Ibid., VIII, 17-24.24.

5. Ibid., 36.

imals for their *venationes*, as well as the difficulties they encountered. Cicero left Italy in June, 51 BCE to become governor of Cilicia in modern southern Turkey. Before his arrival, Caelius wrote a letter to his longtime friend and political ally seeking aid in securing enough leopards for a *venatio*. Caelius anticipated Rome would elect him to an *aedileship*, a position which made him responsible for public displays. “As soon as you hear that I am elected,” Caelius wrote Cicero, “please attend to that business of the leopards.”⁶

On August 1, Caelius again reminded Cicero, “about the leopards—to set the people of Cibrya [a place in Cilicia] to work, and to see about their transport for me.”⁷ On September 2, soon after his election, Caelius wrote the following:

In nearly all my letters to you I have mentioned the subject of leopards. It will be a disgrace to you if, when Patiscus [a Roman knight in Cilicia] has sent ten to Curio, you don't get many more. Curio has made me a present of those ten, and another ten from Africa...If you will only remember to set the Cybrates to work...for they say that more are caught there...Do please see that you attend to this...I mean [for you] to issue orders officially and to give commissions...For as soon as the leopards are caught, you have my people...to look after the animals' keep and bring them to Rome.⁸

The pressure to obtain enough leopards for his *venatio* appears evident here, but so does the relentless drive of Caelius, which reveals the immense importance of organizing such a spectacle. In early October, Caelius still pleaded for Cicero’s help in collecting the animals.

Unfortunately for Caelius, Cicero wanted to project the ideal of a model governor, and he had no intention of harassing the people of Cilicia to collect leopards for Caelius. Apparently, Cicero acquired nothing for his friend until well after Caelius’ election. In the middle of February, Cicero wrote to a confidant concerning the leopards: “I said it was not consistent with my reputation that the Cybrates should hold a municipal hunt on official orders from

...which indicates he expected it would take him two years to collect and transport the animals to Rome.

me.”⁹ On April 4, Cicero wrote to Caelius and insisted, “About the leopards, the professional hunters are busy, acting on my commission. But there is an extraordinary scarcity of the beasts...Still the business is being carefully attended to, and particularly by

Patiscus.”¹⁰ While Caelius clearly hoped Cicero would give both official orders and commissions to secure the animals, Cicero only gave the latter. Additionally, the men-

tion of Patiscus, who previously supplied Curio, another Roman, with ten leopards, dualistically implies his expertise in supplying alpha predators for Roman shows, and that Cicero’s report of an extraordinary scarcity of leopards in his region could be due to overhunting.

With the rise of Augustus and the age of the Roman Empire at hand, Romans held gladiatorial games and *ventationes* multiple times annually. However, Emperors increasingly presented the games, as they alone wielded the power and means to accomplish such a massive and expensive task. The games in Rome put on by Quintus Aurelius Symmachus in the late fourth century are the only known exception. Symmachus, who became consul in 391, put on two sets of games honoring his son in 393 and 401. For the games of 401 he started making arrangements in 398, indicating he expected to take two years to collect and transport the animals to Rome.¹¹ The letters of Symmachus show he did whatever he could to procure beasts for his games, from sending agents out to trap the animals he needed, to writing friends and officials with appeals for assistance.¹²

Despite his preparations, on the day of the games in 393, only a few malnourished bear cubs led his alpha predators.¹³ For the games in 401, Symmachus believed he successfully addressed his supply issue and ordered an abundance of bears

9. Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, 5.21.5.

10. Cicero, *Ad Familiaries*, 2.11.2.

11. Symmachus, *Epistulae VI*, 35.

12. Ibid., 63; II, 46, 77; IV, 7, 8, 12, 58-60, 63; V, 56, 62, 82; VI, 33; VII, 48, 59, 82, 97, 105, 106, 122; IX, 15, 16, 20, 27, 117, 135, 144.

13. Ibid., II, 76.

6. Cicero, *Ad Familiaries*, 8.2.2.

7. Ibid., 8.4.5.

8. Ibid., 8.9.3.

from Italy and the countries east and north of the Adriatic Sea.¹⁴ Additionally, he added crocodiles from Egypt and proudly wrote the emperor about his desire “to exhibit to his fellow citizens’ crocodiles and other things from abroad,” thus revealing his intention to expand the number and type of animals used for the spectacle, no doubt for his own aggrandizement. Despite his ambitions, Symmachus ultimately failed to obtain lions, leopards, and especially bears for his games, in the end he could only exhibit Irish wolfhounds and crocodiles as rarities. The reason for the disappointment most likely came as a result of the acceleration of animal spectacles held over the previous four centuries throughout the empire.

Augustus proclaimed in *Res Gestae* that he personally “gave to the people 26 hunts of African beasts, in which about 3,500 beasts were slain,” an average of almost 135 animals killed per show.¹⁵ Suetonius claimed at the opening of the Colosseum in 80, the emperor “Titus provided a wild beasts hunt, where 5,000 beasts of different sorts died in a single day”—a likely exaggeration.¹⁶ In total, 9,000 beasts died over the 100 days of Titus’ *ventationes* to celebrate the completion of the Colosseum—a fittingly colossal number. The emperor Trajan celebrated his Dacian triumph in 107 by holding games for 123 days, during which 11,000 animals perished.¹⁷ These massive numbers of animals killed for the games lend credence to Cicero’s report of “an extraordinary scarcity” of leopards in his region, as well as Symmachus’ great difficulty in obtaining alpha predators. In fact, no evidence of any large number of leopards exhibited in Rome appeared from the middle of the first century until the end of the following century. In the reign of Augustus, Strabo told of the intensity of trapping wild animals for the games and how this promoted agriculture in Numidia, revealing a possible connection between exportation of wild beasts and an increase in agricultural production.¹⁸

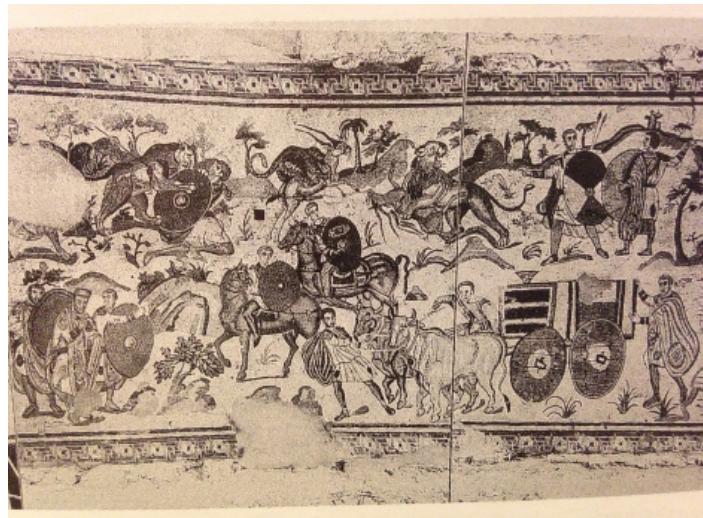
14. *Ibid.*, VII, 121; IX, 132, 135, 142.

15. Augustus, *Res Gestae*, 22.

16. Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, *Titus*, 7.

17. Dio *Epitome* LXVIII, 15.

18. Strabo, 2.5.33.



These men trap and transport beasts for the *venatio*. The man in the lower left corner appears as the organizer, not an easy job. *Dignitary, Attendants, and Horsemen*, carving, c. early-fourth century (Piazza Armerina, IT: Villa del Casale).

Capture

To capture an animal, a hunter needs to track it down or set a trap. While technological advances over generations improved the methods used to slaughter animals, the art of capturing a beast still depends upon guile and patience. Although the end products seem rather divergent, capturing an alpha predator nevertheless remains quite similar to killing one. Ancient Romans such as Cicero, Horace, Ovid, Pliny the Younger, and Julius Africanus considered hunting a sport that could condition the body and mind.¹⁹ They thought individuals’ senses became better attuned when they came into close proximity with beasts in the wilderness. During the late republican and Augustan periods, this usually meant going after a boar on foot with nets and spears and hunting hounds.²⁰ While boars can certainly pose a danger to hunters, they do not fit the category of alpha predators.

Most scholars conclude the men in charge of putting on a *venatio* used professional hunters and made contracts with the natives where the alpha predators lived or employed Roman soldiers to obtain

19. Cicero, *Nat. D.*, 2.64; Cicero, *Tusc.*, 2.40; Horace, *Epistulae*, 1.18.39-50; Ovid, *Cures for Love*, 199-206; Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, 1.6: Julius Africanus, *Cestes*, 14.

20. J.K. Anderson, *Hunting in the Ancient World* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), 93.

in the animals.²¹ Recently, researchers argued the organizations that supplied beasts and hunters for the amphitheaters in North Africa did not live on the fringes of the Roman world, but instead were entrepreneurs totally integrated into the fabric of Roman provincial society.²² Additionally, several African-based societies involved in the trade also exerted influence in India as early as the republican period.²³

Although Roman elites forced some civilians and natives to help capture alpha predators, their involvement rarely, if ever, appeared in Roman writings and arts.²⁴ King Bocchus of Mauretina sent specialized native spearmen to attend the games sponsored by Sulla in 93 BCE—famous for the 100 lions he displayed. The same spearmen who hunted the lions in the Circus, also trapped them. While ancient hunting represented an elite and dangerous activity, it entailed less danger than capturing and transporting exotic and mysterious alpha predators. Because of the danger involved, historian Michael MacKinnon concludes based on the extrapolation of modern sources natives likely did most of the work; however, little tangible evidence exists to verify this notion.²⁵ Additionally, the Roman army participated in trapping. As today, where natives track the animal for a paying hunter, native hunters did the tracking and Roman soldiers did the trapping. In the texts of Tacitus, Suetonius, and both of Plinys, they tend to focus on sensational conflicts between hunters and prey and only mention the use of nets and pits in passing, perhaps due to the routine nature of these devices.²⁶ However, the military used this equipment, and these instruments appeared in

various mosaics. As to the intensity of the Roman army's participation in the trapping of alpha predators, troops definitely played an important role in preparing for *venationes*.²⁷ A late first or early second century papyrus found in Egypt described Roman troops engaged in hunting and catching animals for about a year. The time frame coincides with how long Caelius and Symmachus planned it would take to trap animals for their spectacles. This also remains a strong indication that troops were trapping animals for a *venatio*, rather than food as these troops would not report activities such as hunting for food to their superiors.²⁸

Epigraphic evidence confirms the existence of specialist hunting soldiers in the Roman army. Two inscriptions, one dating to 155 in Montana—modern Bulgaria—and the other dating to 241 in Rome both mentioned *venatores immunes* indicate certain soldiers received immunity from specific soldierly work to allow them to go on hunting expeditions. While scholars remain undecided about what the *venatores immunes* hunted in Rome, those in Montana hunted bison and bears. Military inscriptions found on the German frontier near Trier at Xanten and Cologne represent evidence of *ursarii*, or specialized bear-hunters. In Egypt, several of the soldiers from the twentieth Palmyran Cohort in early-third century troop rosters at Dura-Europos appear with the notation *ad leones*, suggesting they either hunted lions in the area or looked after captured lions in the fort, possibly preparing them for a *venatio*. Another inscription from Agueneb in modern Algeria mentioned Roman troops brought in something related to lions, but the last word only shows the first letter “f.” While some argue it signifies *fecit*, meaning lion statues, others think it denotes *ferii*, making it live, “fierce” lions, Epplett sides with the latter interpretation.²⁹ While the guilds that existed in Africa caught alpha predators, so did Roman troops, only over a much wider distance, spanning from Africa to Asia and all the way to present day Germany.

The natives and Romans did not leave much

21. George Jennison, *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937), 140-41.

22. Kathleen Coleman, “The Contagion of the Throng: Absorbing Violence in the Roman World,” *Hermathena* 164 (1998): 78.

23. Ibid.

24. Michael MacKinnon, “Supplying Exotic Animals for the Roman Amphitheater Games: New Reconstructions Combining Archaeological, Ancient Textual, Historical, and Ethnological Data,” *Mouseion* 6, no. 3 (2006): 7.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid., 11.

27. Christopher Epplett, “The Capture of Animals by the Roman Military,” *Greece and Rome* 48, no. 2 (2001): 220.

28. Ibid., 211.

29. Ibid., 216-17.

other evidence as to how they performed their tasks. In the poet Oppian's epic on hunting *Cynegetica*—or The Chase—and to a lesser degree in *Halieutica*, he mentions the two primary strategies for capturing lions and leopards, the pit and the net. The pit featured a pillar in the center, on top of which hunters tied small prey so its cries would attract the larger animal, around the pit a wall or fence trapped the unwary animal. When the alpha predator leapt at the prey, it fell into the pit where the hunters then trapped the animal in a baited cage lowered by the hunters into the pit.³⁰ Oppian makes the process sound easy, despite its obvious difficulties:

When the bear had been marked to its lair, nets were placed at the end of a run or alley, which was lined on one side with groups of men in ambush, and enclosed on the other by a rope hung with colored ribbons and feathers. The bear was roused by a trumpet, and when it had left its lair, it was driven by beaters down the alley into the net, where upon men hidden on either side pulled the cords by which the mouth of the net was closed.³¹

Not much evidence exists for the trapping of crocodiles; however, hunters most likely used nets or possibly long wooden crates and likely came from Egypt. To capture a bear, Oppian revealed how the hunt played out in Armenia, where the immediate problem, pertained to whether the bear could rip through the net and escape. To address this, trappers piled on more nets as they attempted to catch the animal's paw in a noose and then tie it with logs, so it could fit into a strong wooden box for transport.³² While bears lived in Eurasia, the Roman leaders wanted to show the crowds the alpha predators from Africa as well.

The *Cestes* of Julius Africanus featured a section on how the army should trap lions. Epplett translates Africanus as follows: "the lion's lair must first of all be located by the trackers specializing in large felines," which implies that local trackers pursued the animals, and the Roman army captured them.³³

30. Oppian, *Cynegetica*, IV; Oppian, *Halieutica*, III.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid.

33. Christopher Epplett, "The Capture of Animals by the Roman Military," 217; Julius Africanus, *Cestes*, 14.



Trappers utilized goats as bait outside the lions' habitats to capture the beasts. *Roman Trappers*, drawing, c. fourth century (Carthage, TN: Carthage National Museum).

Pliny the Elder focused on the ferocity of African alpha predators rather than the tactics Romans used to trap them, though he mentioned using hidden traps to catch lions as "a method that was almost one to be ashamed of in the case of a wild animal of this nature."³⁴ Oppian mentioned one of the more obscure methods concerned leopards, which the hunters captured in Africa by drugging water holes with wine.³⁵ Pliny the Elder tells of another odd method: "an African herdsman who stilled by fright a lion, by throwing his cloak over its head, and that exhibitions of this trick were afterwards given in the arena at Rome."³⁶ This developed into a common way of taking lions, as Pliny seems to suggest, seems incredible, and it most likely served to calm a lion drawn out of a pit or net.³⁷

To confirm this, a fourth century mosaic depicts a lioness hunt in the Carthaginian Museum in Tunis. It shows a lion calmly walking toward a wooden box, while a lioness appears right behind, though only its head sticks out of an opening akin to a cave. Most likely, this cave represents the lion's lair, and the Romans set a trap using a goat to entice the lions into coming out. One soldier crouches on the wooden box and waits for the lion to lunge at the goat so he can either pull the goat further into the trap or close the

34. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* VIII, 21.54.

35. Oppian, *Cynegetica* IV, 320-353.

36. Pliny the Elder, VIII, 16.54.

37. Jennison, *Animals for Show and Pleasure*, 147.

device, thereby catching the lion. Another man hides behind what could be a trap door, though the item more likely represents a big shield. Determining the identity of this device remains extremely difficult due to missing chunks in the mosaic. Nevertheless, the shield seems like a more probable scenario because no weapons appear in the mosaic. In addition, even though the Romans already trapped one lioness, they still need to deal with the dangerous problem of the other lion.

Another mosaic of a leopard hunt in the Tomb of Nasonii, Rome, offers a depiction of a similar method. This one features a leopard creeping into a box. On top of it, a crouched man holds a spear hidden behind his shield so as to give the leopard nothing to strike at, but the box also exhibits an animal face visible inside of it. This could represent a baby leopard or leopard prey enticing the alpha predator to enter the trap, but because researchers only possess a fragment of the mosaic, it certainty remains elusive. However, observers can see at least six men with spears all hidden behind their shields just like the man on top of the box, with one of them fighting a leopard on its back. This depiction seems strange in the way the trap appears to close by pulling from the bottom up. This design would obviously work against gravity unlike the drop-down trap doors, making the efficiency of the trap debatable. Nevertheless, the sense of fear all the armed men feel toward these two leopards appears quite clearly and vividly.

Another part of the same mosaic depicts an incredibly difficult lion hunt. The mosaic shows a large fence or long net in the background along with seven men with massive shields but no spears, as well as two massive male lions. As a result of four men standing together, their shields create a barrier to stop one of the lions from escaping. The other lion appears on top of a man on the ground who only avoided death so far due to the fact his shield remains between him and the lion. Two other men crouch in anticipation of the lion lunging at them. The dramatic scene reveals the precise dangers involved in the capture of an alpha predator. The absence of spears seems intriguing indeed. This absence could stem from the fact the hunt for lions was for a *venatio*, which re-

quired healthy lions. If the Romans used spears, they would hurt the lions. This lack of spears could also indicate the soldiers used the lions to train, an idea many ancient sources confirm. The ability to handle the immense strength and speed of a lion with a shield would represent an undeniable feat of skill and represents a dangerous training exercise indeed, but one that no doubt instilled many positive military attributes, especially since Roman troops routinely fought close together as one unit, thereby emphasizing the strength of their shields. These men could also be *venatores*—or beasts-hunters—who fought the alpha predators in the *venationes* and are therefore simply getting to know their lions in the image.

Oppian mentioned the use of shields in trapping lions in the region of the Euphrates, where hunters captured the large cats in a curved line of nets, toward which the animals were driven by equestrians and men on foot who scared them with lit torches and a loud rattling of shields. Inside the net trap, the lions are continuously encircled, exhausted, and entrapped, mostly because they close their eyes due to fear of fire.³⁸ The mosaic “An African Drive for the Arena” remained in a Roman villa in Algeria and dated to around 300. This mosaic—also titled *Hippo Regius, domus di Isguntus: The Hunt for Feline*—shows three leopards, one mauling a man's face, as well as a male and female lion, almost trapped in a circle. A curved line of nets appears on one side, while the other depicts Roman troops holding shields and spears like objects sticking out below them. Three men on horses surround the outside of the enclosure as others—including the only dark-skinned African—look on with wooden boxes intended for the alpha predators. On the left near the opening where the big cats entered the enclosure, two gazelles and two tall birds flanked by two equestrians and one man holding his spear and shield on foot appear prominently. On the right, wooden boxes and shields sit in front of some smaller animals. The Romans likely used all these creatures as bait to bring alpha predators into the enclosure. The artist picked the moment of highest drama, when the fierce beasts prepared to attempt their escape, so

38. Oppian, *Cynegetica*, IV.

the capture remained far from complete and much could still go wrong.

Critical reading of primary sources remains necessary here, such a concentration of predators is quite rare and only occurs during fights over food; and even in that scenario, too many leopards appear, as they live as solitary animals. Artists emphasize the dramatic events and do not necessarily represent true wildlife patterns. Nonetheless, this picture represents a primary source, and comes across as engaging due to the numbers of leopards and lions used in the *venationes*, along with the fact the enclosure appears somewhat permanent. This suggests the hunters likely used small animals as bait, which drew some of the big cats into the trap, and then equestrians chased others into the trap later. After all the alpha predators were stuck inside, the troops slowly closed the circle of shields around the beasts and waited for their chance to ensnare them in nets. This process bore similarities to the capture of bears in Armenia, and even more closely resembled the manner in which Ethiopians caught lions by harassing them with whips until they weakened enough to be bound "like a tame sheep."³⁹ Catching lions like this bears similar traces to the process the Maasai tribe uses to hunt lions in East Africa, though no tangible evidence links the two strategies.

The last and the biggest mosaic, *The Great Hunt in the Piazza Armerino in Sicily*, offers pictures of the capture of all types of animals, as well as their transportation first in wooden boxes pulled by massive bulls and then on boats. At least three leopards appear to attack several gazelles. At the top of the mosaic a lioness attacks a man whose shield keeps him safe, at least temporarily. Intriguingly, part of the mosaic shows a scene quite similar to the mosaic of three leopards and two lions encircled by nets and troops with shields. Unfortunately, the *Great Hunt* mosaic exhibits considerable damage and objects are now difficult to discern. The undamaged parts depict a line of at least seven troops behind their shields, with one soldier holding a possible animal carcass as bait, as well as two others on horses and two large leopards chasing two gazelles. Based on these mosaics,

one can surmise the *venationes* represented massive projects. Romans seemingly first trapped gazelles and other small prey in semi-permanent enclosures, which lured nearby alpha predators. The men on horses needed to chase the alpha predators toward the enclosure, and even more specifically, toward the men with shields, who would then enclose the beasts until they could not escape. Many of the animals certainly attacked the troops, but eventually the soldiers wore them down and ultimately trapped the beasts. For these reasons, only the emperors could organize the spectacular and massive *venationes* that showed crowds Rome ruled the world.

Transportation to the Roman Amphitheater

After the troops trapped the animals, they transported them back to Rome. While scholars possess a good amount of information on the trapping of animals for a *venatio*, the much less exciting subject of animal transportation receives scant attention. Claudian revealed details of the transportation for the Vandal Stilicho's spectacle, remarking, "Some went on laden craft by sea or river: the pale rower's hands are numbed with fear, and the sailor dreads his own merchandise. Others are carried by land on wheels, and wagons full of the spoils of the hills block the roads in long files. Uneasy bullocks bear the captive beasts that once sated his hunger on their kind."⁴⁰ The men traveling with the alpha predators surely felt the same fears as the herbivores. The non-human animals did not always arrive healthy or even at all, as with Symmachus' bears. In writing to Valerius Maximus, Pliny the Younger lamented, "I am sorry for the African panthers you bought in such quantities and did not turn up on the appointed day . . . although bad weather prevented their arriving in time, it was not your fault you could not show them."⁴¹ His uncle, Pliny the Elder, reported the following:

Though with a favorable wind the sea-passage from Africa to Puteoli or Ostia might take only two or three days, and though it was not impossible to make the

40. Claudian, *De Cons. Stilicho*, III, 325-32.

41. Pliny the Younger, *The Letters of Pliny the Younger*, VI (Penguin Classics: NY, 1963), 34.

39. Oppian, *Cynegetica*, IV.

voyage from Alexandria to Puteoli in eight or nine days, yet with bad weather interrupting navigation or closing land-routes in the winter, and winds in summer blowing for days together so as to hold up sailings for Italy, months might elapse between capture of animals for the Roman shows and their arrival at Rome.⁴²

Transporting these dangerous animals represented a difficult task, and the health of both men and animals always remained in jeopardy.

The officials of the provinces in which a caravan of animals on the road to Rome passed held responsibility for the maintenance and safe transportation of animals.⁴³ This transportation proved quite expensive, most caravans therefore only stayed a few days. In fact, in 417, local authorities detained a transport of beasts in Hierapolis in Syria for three or four months, which annoyed the governor so much he wrote to Emperor Theodosius, who then issued an order forbidding caravans from staying in a town longer than seven days.⁴⁴

Travel by boat proved more desirable than land transportation. After Pompey eradicated the pirate problem in the Mediterranean, traveling became easier. This ease of mobility increased with the annexation of Egypt under Augustus and further opened up trade with the East. Along each of the Roman frontiers ran a strategic military road made primarily for rapid troop movements from the capital, but in time, these roads became an all-encompassing network linking the frontiers and provinces to the imperial administration and formed an essential part of the communications network that facilitated imperial control.⁴⁵ As Rome expanded through military aggression and came to control the Mediterranean world, it constructed army bases to help secure and govern its provinces, thereby opening up land for agriculture and enriching the residents. Rome's leaders collected the fiercest beasts from these provinces. The Romans used these alpha predators to execute those who broke



The ancients believed the tiger saw its cub in the rounded mirror, which they used to trap the exotic alpha predator. *The Great Hunt in the Imperial Villa* c. fourth century (Piazza Armerina, IT: Villa del Casale).

the laws of Rome, and the animals simultaneously presented the undeniable and far-reaching power of Rome. No alpha predator could emphasize Rome's dominion over nature, man, and the furthest reaches of the known world than the awe-inspiring tiger.

To this day, the tiger stands apart from the other big cats. As the biggest member of the cat family, they still kill and eat almost 300 people a year in India. Eastern Armenia, around Mount Ararat, seems to be nearest region where Romans could obtain these large cats.⁴⁶ From Pliny the Elder, we learn "the two lands generally reputed as tiger-countries were Hyrcania (bordering the southern part of the Caspian Sea) and India."⁴⁷ Tigers apparently never appeared in Rome during the Republic. As the Empire engulfed the Mediterranean, Emperor Augustus proclaimed, "Embassies were often sent to me from the kings of India, a thing never seen before in the camp of any general of the Romans."⁴⁸ In Samos during the winter of 20-19 BCE ambassadors from India brought

42. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, XV, 18.74; XIX, 1.4.

43. Konstantin Nossov, *Gladiator: The Complete Guide to Ancient Rome's Bloody Fighters* (Guilford, CT: Lyons Press, 2009), 141.

44. *Cod. Theod.*, XV, 11.2.

45. Christopher Scarre and Brian Fagan, *Ancient Civilizations* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2008), 313-15.

46. George Jennison, *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome*, 24.

47. Pliny the Elder, VIII, 18.66.

48. Augustus, *ResGestae*, 31.

Augustus some tigers, the first tigers in the Mediterranean since Seleucus sent one to Athens at the end of the fourth century.⁴⁹ However, Pliny remarked, “the first tiger shown at Rome was a tame animal, exhibited in a cage in 11 BC.”⁵⁰ Augustus would have undoubtedly presented tigers to Rome if they survived the journey, but he would need to wait eight more years to show off these unique beasts. Thus, the tiger Suetonius describes Augustus exhibiting on stage was likely the same one Pliny discussed.⁵¹

By the reigns of Claudius and Nero, many embarked on the risky undertaking of exploring the Bay of Bengal.⁵² This undoubtedly made transporting tigers to Rome much easier. Pliny told of an extraordinary event in which Claudius showed four tigers, possibly the first in the capital since Augustus put one on stage.⁵³ Trade between India and Rome increased during Domitian’s reign (81-96), bringing prices significantly down compared to the age of Nero. And instead of paying for all imports with Roman coins, payments now took the form of merchandise.⁵⁴

The effect this had on tigers appears in 93, when Domitian exhibited a number of tigers large enough to inspire Martial to declare “Rome has now seen more new tigers than the tiger-hunter by the Ganges had to fear, and that she could not count her treasures.”⁵⁵ Despite the passionate declaration, this claim could simply mean more than four tigers appeared. Domitian celebrated winning the Sarmatian War on the Danube, suggesting a possible place of origin for the tigers, as they might represent gifts from the Sarmatian chiefs; but since Martial did not emphasize any such submission, the tigers probably came from India. In the reign of Elagabalus (218-22), Dio tells of fifty-one tigers dying, by far the most tigers appearing at a *venatio* in Rome in the available sources.⁵⁶ Septi-

49. Dio, LIV, 9.8.

50. Pliny the Elder, VIII, 17.65.

51. Jennison, *Animals for Show and Pleasure*, 67; Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, Augustus, 43.

52. M. Cary and H. H. Scullard, *A History of Rome* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1975), 380-81.

53. Pliny the Elder, VIII, 17.65.

54. Cary and Scullard, *A History of Rome*, 457.

55. Martial, VIII, 26.

56. Dio, LXXIX, 9.2.

mius Severus’ campaigns in the East probably made connections allowing for easier transportation of tigers; in fact, he showed ten tigers on one occasion.⁵⁷

Of all the alpha predators Romans encountered, the tiger alone came from outside the empire. Therefore, stories of capturing the large cats remained as highly creative as they were gullibly accepted. The *Great Hunt* mosaic in the Piazza Armerino shows the entrapment of a tiger through the use of a small, rounded mirror. The tiger, when seeing its own small image in the mirror, supposedly thinks it is a cub, and comes rushing forward to save it, thus falling into the trap. The hunters may have used mirror-traps when capturing tigers, but the cats might have seen the reflection as an enemy instead of a cub as the ancients believed. One must note that in the mosaic immediately behind the tiger and on top of the trap sits the mythical griffin, a possible implication of the unrealistic method depicted in the scene.⁵⁸ Pliny the Elder reveals the favored way of trapping tigers, by stealing a mother’s cubs and then retreating by horse back to a waiting boat while dropping a cub in order to slow the ferocious mother.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, the hunters who brought alpha predators into Rome took them to the amphitheater at night, when transportation was easier.

The *Venatio* — The Spectacle — The Propaganda

In the exciting albeit gruesome games held in the amphitheater, one could see not only Rome’s domination over alpha predators, but also effects of the solidification of the Empire. No other structure dominated the landscape as the amphitheater did, and the classes of society appeared within its confines divided by their seating arrangements.⁶⁰ As Rome expanded, its people increasingly interacted with non-Romans, thus accelerating the need for self-defi-

57. Jennison, *Animals for Show and Pleasure*, 91.

58. Ibid.

59. Jennison, *Animals for Show and Pleasure*, 147; Pliny the Elder, VIII, 18.66; Martial, VIII, 26.1-2; Claudian, *loc. cit. Solinus*, 17.4-7.

60. Allison Futrell, *Blood in the Arena: The Spectacle of Roman Power* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997), 4, 7, 8, 45.

nition. The games and amphitheater provided this identity. It was in the amphitheater that the Empire fostered a sense of community for all true Romans.⁶¹ These games strengthened this bond even deeper by identifying an “other” and putting to death these foreign enemies or criminals through the carnage of alpha predators.

In the many mosaics of criminals about to die at the hands of a beast, most were bound and have the horrific misfortune of waiting for the beast to attack and kill them. For some of the condemned, Romans dressed them up like famous criminals from the past, but for the most part, their status equated to that of an animal, and at the moment of execution, society took its revenge upon these transgressors who broke the laws of Rome. One could easily imagine the crowds exhibiting great satisfaction with the demonstration of the Empire’s control of the natural world, specifically the way the world’s fiercest animals, the alpha predators, did its bidding. The beast hunts in the amphitheater represented something different. The Romans designed the *venatio* to show everyone Rome ruled all, for the whole world supplied the emperor with beasts. Many undeniably dramatic and gruesome mosaics exist showing heroic and horrid deeds by both alpha predators and humans in the arena, all to the crowd’s delight. For the most part, those dying in the arena were all criminals, but a pivotal difference existed. Those being executed by the alpha predators were supposed to show horrific dread at their approaching death, while the gladiators were expected to display the exact opposite.⁶²

The executions exemplified the unwavering authority of Roman laws through the terrifyingly gruesome death of the criminal.⁶³ The emperor emphasized his personal power and superiority through the purposefully cruel and unusual executions.⁶⁴ The crowd held no empathy for the victim, and instead

identified with the executioners, vicariously afflicting revenge upon the victim and exploding with excitement, even joy.⁶⁵ Essentially, when seen through this lens, the crowd participated in the punishment. As the Empire grew, so did the use of alpha predators as executioners, thereby enhancing the sense of spectacle and exaggerating the consequence for those who challenged Rome.⁶⁶ The man-eating animals needed to do their job though for everything to work. While the welfare of the beasts remained of little concern to the Romans and they only exploited them for profit, the propaganda behind their important inclusion in the games actually suggests the Romans treated the alpha predators much better than herbivores. Although starving the beasts to entice them to attack and kill those condemned to die is undeniably exploitative, it also seems quite likely.⁶⁷ Moving alpha predators represented an extremely difficult task, usually taking hours even when done quietly with great care. But moving them into the sunlight and screams of the amphitheater made it immensely more challenging and many undoubtedly refused to emerge. Therefore, starving the beasts seems the only way handlers could ensure success. If the alpha predator’s only food was the prisoners, the beasts would likely have attacked them with the ferocity they exhibited in the wild. That represents exactly the kind of spectacle the leaders of Rome wanted spectators to see.

Lions and Tigers and Bears, Oh My

As the plebs exchanged their traditional forum for a form of expression in the amphitheater, they came to love the games, and each leader wanted to outdo his predecessors by putting on bigger shows, leading to over-hunting of the alpha predators, especially in North Africa where no leopards or lions live today. Hunters tied the *annona*, the free grain handout to citizens of Rome introduced in 58 BCE, to the exportation of beasts for the games. Exporting the alpha

61. Ibid., 4-5.

62. David Potter, “Entertainers in the Roman Empire,” in *Life, Death, and Entertainment in the Roman Empire*, ed. D. S. Potter and D. J. Mattingly (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 308; Allison Futrell, *Blood in the Arena*, 47.

63. Futrell, *Blood in the Arena*, 47.

64. Ibid.

65. Ibid., 49.

66. Ibid., 51.

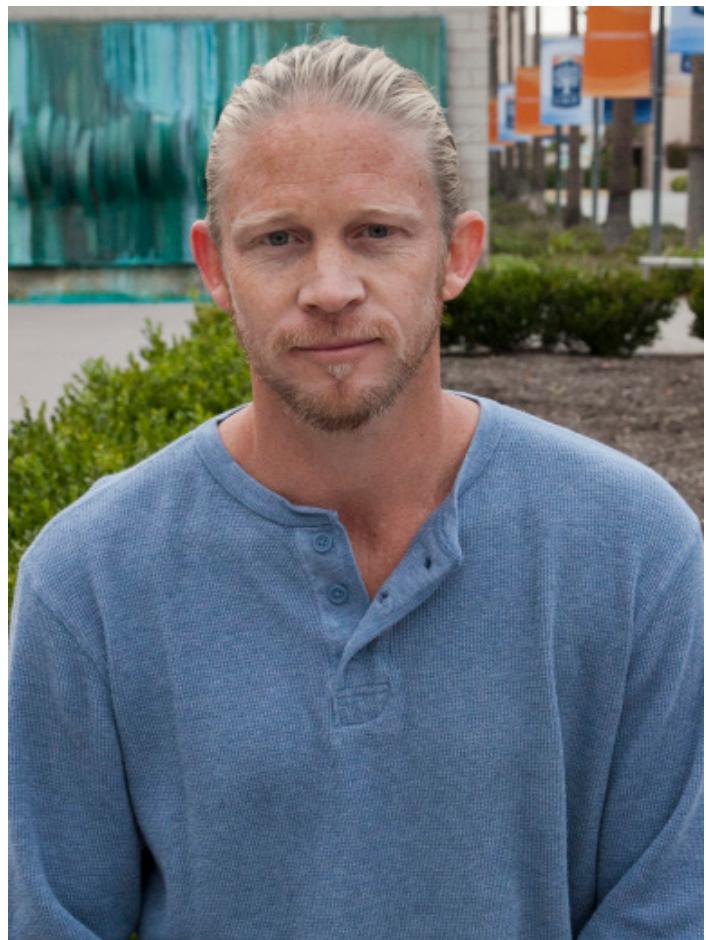
67. Jennison, *Animals For Show and Pleasure*, 169.

Michael MacKinnon, “Supplying Exotic Animals for the Roman Amphitheater Games,” 10.

predators and their prey made areas safer for humans and also opened up land for agriculture, which the *an-nona* required in order to meet the demands of the increasingly expanding population in Rome.

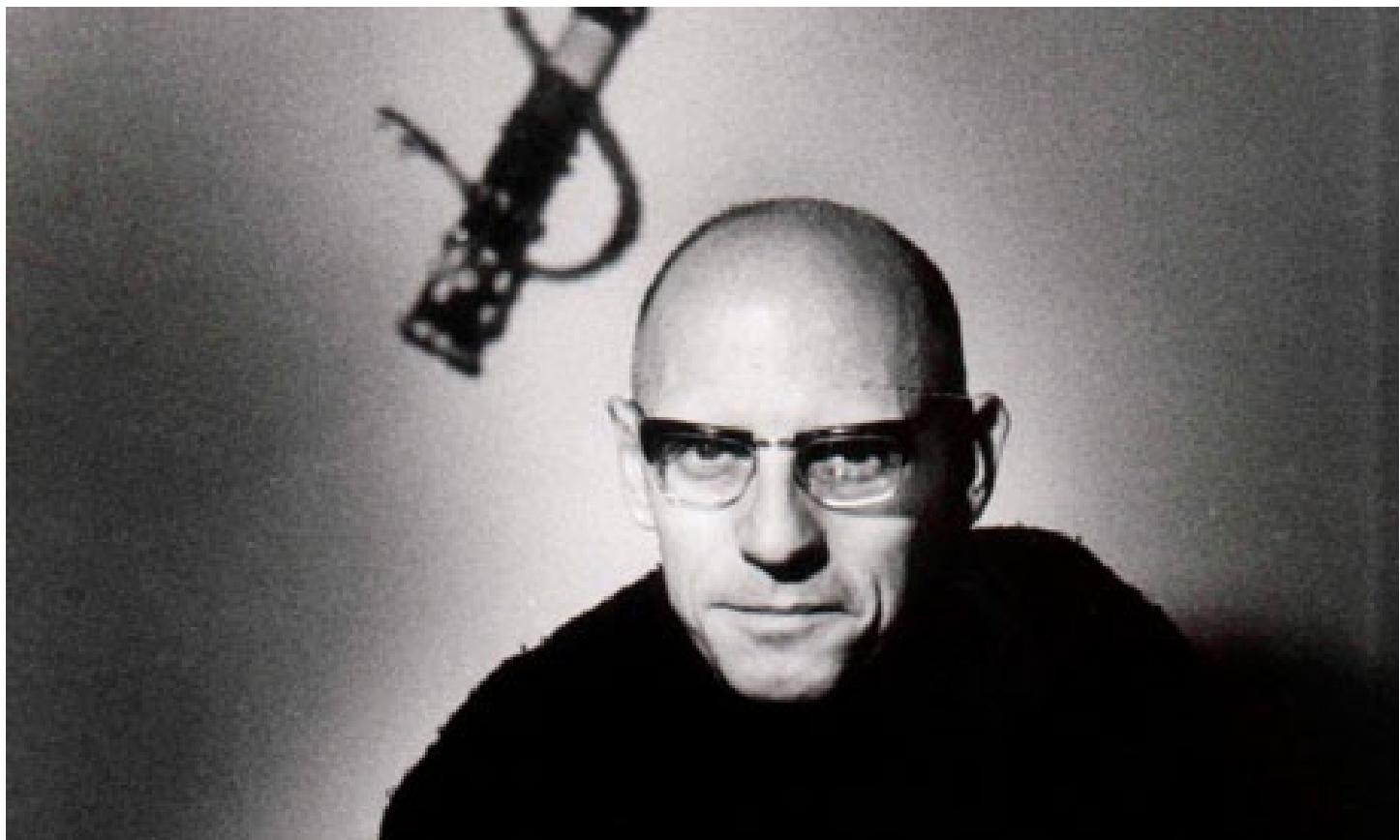
As Roman leaders came to dominate the Mediterranean world through military power, they set up bases to control various provinces, encouraging and enhancing trade. They also used these bases for troops who set out to trap the fiercest animals in nature, alpha predators. Once they trapped the beasts, the hunters transported the animals back to Rome in order to fight each other and humans for the crowd's entertainment. But more importantly, the Romans used the alpha predators to carry out executions on criminals who broke their laws. Authorities designed this spectacle to unleash fear by showing citizens what waited for those who disregarded the law. The ability to capture nature's most dangerous animals and bring them back to Rome to entertain and enforce the law provided undeniable evidence of Roman power over both the inhabitants of those provinces and nature itself.

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Power and Knowledge: A Nexus of Tension

Thomas E. Sprimont



Michel Foucault, an influential social theorist, shaped ideas on how discipline relates to authoritarian institutions. *Michel Foucault, photograph, 1968* (Sepia Press).

Intellectual history broadens traditional interpretations by leveraging other disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, economics, literary criticism, and philosophy, with the aim of elucidating the history of ideas and thinkers in contextual terms. Historians examine how and why shifts occur in society by identifying key abstractions, such as language and power, and define how these manifest as structures and actually influence or drive change. Historians explain how abstract ideas force change, but often fail to adequately clarify the actual mechanisms of power execution, and how these relate to other structures. The notion of power abstraction cannot be left unchallenged in terms of its execution because change is the result of concrete actions and therefore connected to the ideas behind them. **Thomas E. Sprimont** analyzes the Foucaultian notion of power, its shortcomings, and how this diffuse power often benefits society, rather than removing agency from citizens and subjects, which captures people into predetermined modes of behavior.

Historical perspectives continually evolve because of the incorporation of new models, methods, and tools, a process which represents differing aspects of the past. The movement away from deterministic theories, such as Marxism, opened new insights to causation and human agency through social and cultural history. The cultural turn demonstrated layers of human perspective that offered new interpretations of history by focusing on language and culture. This elucidated how people and societies interacted to create structures that instantiated history. These new arguments contend that human progress occurs whether triggered from a materialistic or human cross-cultural valuation; this infers that shifts in human structures alter existing power conditions, not necessarily for the betterment of individuals, groups, or society. Michel Foucault proposed a deconstructive approach that challenged the continuity of traditional narratives in favor of disconnected discourses.

Foucault contextualizes his argument about power structures with the development of the prison system. Within the opening chapters of *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Foucault, a trained and highly influential sociologist, at times lacked historical insight. For example, while focusing on France, he asserted that a dramatic shift occurred during the mid-eighteenth century from public torture and execution to one of rehabilitation where “one must punish exactly enough to prevent repetition.”¹ This new approach diverted punishment away from the body and focused on the criminal’s soul, and “carried [punishment] out as often as possible.”² However, the course of criminal punishment demonstrates an evolutionary process that began in the twelfth century with a movement towards rationalization in heretical inquisition, which established the sociopolitical direction.³ Inextricably woven together throughout

[A] dramatic shift occurred during the mid-eighteenth century from public torture and execution to one of rehabilitation...

Christendom, a shared authority between the community, secular rulers, and the Latin Church emerged with the paramount religious quest of saving souls. Foucault’s sociological perspective excludes historical context and subsequently lacks any notion of continuity and change, which limits the assertions he makes.

Power and Tension

In the thirteenth century, religious authorities replaced trial by ordeal with highly legalistic procedures ushering in an era of rational thought across diverse societal constructs. This required legal experts, a change in prosecutorial methods, and the establishment of continuity that continued throughout the modern

period.⁴ This important development removed God as a factor for determining innocence and replaced Him with tangible human concepts such as witness and evidence. Foucault’s argument implies that his version of prisons did not exist in the Middle Ages, even though heretics faced extremely proceduralized, ecclesiastical courts with the sole purpose of *reforming* sinners.⁵ The church and secular system, as Foucault

217–41. This shift required robust legal processes that included strong evidence to convict the accused, which forever changed the previous paradigm of prosecuting criminals.

4. In 1213, Pope Innocent III abolished trial by ordeal at the Fourth Lateran Council, which also produced canons to unify the Christian faith. See; Norman P. Tanner, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils: From Nicaea I to Vatican II*, vol. 1 (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 227–72. Trial by ordeal reflected the procedure *judicium Dei*, whereby the accused faced a dangerous task and the outcome determined innocence or guilt; God saved or healed those who did not commit the offense, and maimed or killed the guilty.

5. Procedures for processing and reforming heretics existed centuries before the mid eighteenth century. James Buchanan Given, *Inquisition and Medieval Society: Power, Discipline, and Resistance in Languedoc* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2001), 62–63; G. Geltner, “Social Deviancy: A Medieval Approach,” in *Why the Middle Ages Matter: Medieval Light on Modern Injustice*, ed. Celia Chazelle et al. (New York: Routledge, 2011), 37–38; Guy Geltner, *The Medieval Prison: A Social History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), 107; Trisha Olson, “The Medieval Blood Sanction and the Divine Beneficence of Pain: 1100–1450,” *Journal of Law and Religion* 22, no. 1 (Jan., 1, 2006): 63–64.

1. Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan, 2nd ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 93.

2. Ibid., 125.

3. Donald A. Nielsen, “Rationalization in Medieval Europe: The Inquisition and Sociocultural Change,” *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 2, no. 2 (Dec., 1988):

viewed it, sought to reform and save the condemned for the *same* reason, to bring the offenders back into their respective folds as valued members of the community. Although many factors contributed to shifts within this societal change, its overall arc started centuries before Foucault's position. In this instance, his rejection of continuity between historical periods (i.e. medieval and pre-modern Europe) becomes irreconcilable because of the evolutionary nature of the legal system.

How can the theories of Marx, poststructuralists, and schools such as *Annales*, reconcile in a world under continuous development driven by diverse factors such as people, culture, and landscape? These questions in the environment lead to a discontinuity of history, fracturing previous notions of societal development. Historian Judith Walkowitz and anthropologist Bernard Cohn offer numerous examples of how language directly influenced sociopolitical structures.⁶ Their arguments emphasize the creation, utilization, and practice of power in order to understand its implication from a humanistic view, as opposed to the grand structures of *longue durée*, or Marxian modes of production. In a philosophic approach Foucault presents his concept of power as a diffused entity in perpetual tension across civilization.⁷ This view displaced the idea of centralized nodes of power. If true, then a dynamic network affects power, whereby constant changes prevent focused execution, breaking the traditional notion of a centralized approach to implementation. Regardless of where control resides, an agent harnesses it for instantiation, such as the execution of a judicial sentence or carrying out court orders. The more important questions become: how this occurs, under what conditions, and can one describe this as a multifaceted structure, or does a specific locus exist?

Sociopolitical influence on power structures in modern times exemplifies how tension in society be-

came an agent of change. In both Walkowitz's and Cohn's studies, they examine tension manifesting in the formative nature of language in different ways. Walkowitz demonstrated the potential of language's use for social change, and focused on entities such as newspapers via investigative journalism and the nexus of literature, theatre, and pornography.⁸ Cohn's approach illustrates the necessity of authoritarian sociopolitical structures in colonialism by focusing on centralized administration through language, schools, and courts, concentrating them into distinct entities for practical purposes.⁹ Foucault contends that power exists in a constant state of flux, and at any one time, it shifts among the populace through interactions. These arguments suggest that any relationship, or sets of relationships, struggle for dominance. From another perspective, this does not seem detrimental to any entity, because power achieves a common goal. For example, hierarchical organizations dominate hospitals, schools, militaries, and businesses for the benefit of all. Through common objectives, discourse resolves for the betterment of all parties via this nexus of tension.

Beyond Prisons: Institutional Discipline

Several themes appear in *Discipline and Punish*. The most expansive one emerges through societal development, in which the compassionate treatment of the prisoner expands far beyond the prison walls and into society. For example, the reform of prisoners evolved into the shaping of citizens through disciplinary processes in other institutions.¹⁰ This approach reaches both the physical and spiritual and affects the body politic. The underlying precept of the prison strongly influences ideal disciplinary techniques that drove these practices into cultural systems whereby the authorities in public and private groups observe human interactions, ensuring compliance to institutional norms. The technology of punishment shifted to the compliance of rules, which occurred through

6. Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago, IL: University Press, 1992); Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (New Haven, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

7. Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 21-27.

8. Walkowitz, *Dreadful Delight*, 1-14.

9. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, 16-56.

10. Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 104-31.

guards continuously inspecting prisoners. Key questions arise from this transition, such as the use of power plays to how criminal reform principles propagate into a non-criminal context. Essentially, this treats all individuals the same by breaking down the language abstraction that distinguishes the incarcerated from the free, the mad from the sane, and the abnormal from the normal, because institutional control exists for all, regardless of their status in society. This manifests itself as power-knowledge, a similar structure to Cohn's view in the ability to control people, groups, societies, and cultures.¹¹

Criminal behavior targets something specific: a person, place, or group; therefore, Foucault's delineation of a transition from attacking the central authority of a sovereign to defending the realm remains immaterial from an abstracted perspective.¹² Regardless of the political structure, a perpetrator-and-victim relationship exists. His description of moving vengeance to rehabilitation modality mirrors the centuries old model of the Church. Due to the relevancy of core structures, Foucault states these in terms of a variety of organizations leveraging discipline to achieve specific types of conforming behaviors regardless of the nature of the institutions. He ignores the basis of these establishments such as religion, whether believing in their structural differences or not, because ultimately validating his theories requires transcendence from political, secular, and religious bodies. In reality, Foucault seeks to prove that an absolute state exists whereby the freedom of the individual constantly conflicts with the power-knowledge of control structures, dislocating institutionalized authority.

The Locus of Power

Tying law to negative power, Foucault discounts the value of rules brought to civilization. Law-abiding citizens subject themselves to these for their benefit, as well as for the stability of the society in which they live.¹³ The abstract philosophic perspec-

tive cannot directly link to the world of applicable laws because sometimes regulations manifest themselves as intents, causes, and results. The difference lies between whether institutional constraints on individuals are an acceptable alternative to the anarchy of metaphysical discourse where people are not subject to rules, regulations, and laws, but exercise free will as they see fit, free from the shackles of power-knowledge. Certain political cases, such as dictatorships, intentionally adjust negative power to favor the state. At some point, this totalitarian exertion reaches critical mass, triggering reform either through peaceful or violent change. In this form of progress, human values become a focal point that supersede previous cultural modes existing based on class, sex, religion, or ethnicity. While maintaining the egalitarianism inherited from the Enlightenment, laws provide a key component to balance stakeholders across all of their manifested forms: political, religious, social, and cultural constructs.

As Foucault posits, a shifting of power occurs over time, from the body of the individual sovereign to various forms of the state apparatus, but each wielding power over others. The victim of the crime makes the key difference: the ruler who both embodies the state and the public at large and who organizes as a variety of corporate entities. Foucault's concludes that no centralization existed in these forms, but authority manifested itself as diffused relationships. The embodiment of laws prescribes details, and accepting this principle acknowledges that legal power resides at execution points, even if agents (the criminal and judge, for example) instantiate authority over other people. Police officers, jurists, business executives, agents in regulatory bureaucracies, and other relevant actors connected to power structures execute authority in the context of well-defined processes. Foucault identified many levels of the power structure such as separating the execution of the legal process into distinct units across a multitude of bureaucratic organizations. Symbolic power rests in the organized body of the institution, whereas in reality the execution of authority occurs at the proce-

11. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, 16–56; Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 27–28.

12. Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 90.

13. "Negative power" refers to actions and structures

dural level between one or more individuals that represent two opposing positions. Foucault rejected the theory of its localization because it reflects antiquated political systems. In *Dreadful Delight* Walkowitz demonstrates this power structure existed in cultural and social constructs while Foucault sees this as the pervasive case. Furthermore, this paradigm actually caused change, which suggests a complete disconnection from a political body that presumes power. Cohn also rationalizes this body in *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge* because leaders of both economic and political institutions *used* command-and-control relationships to implement their goals. All three cases elucidate that this structure exists outside governing systems and challenges previously pervasive political theories that centralize power, thus discounting it as a set of relationships that span all of society.

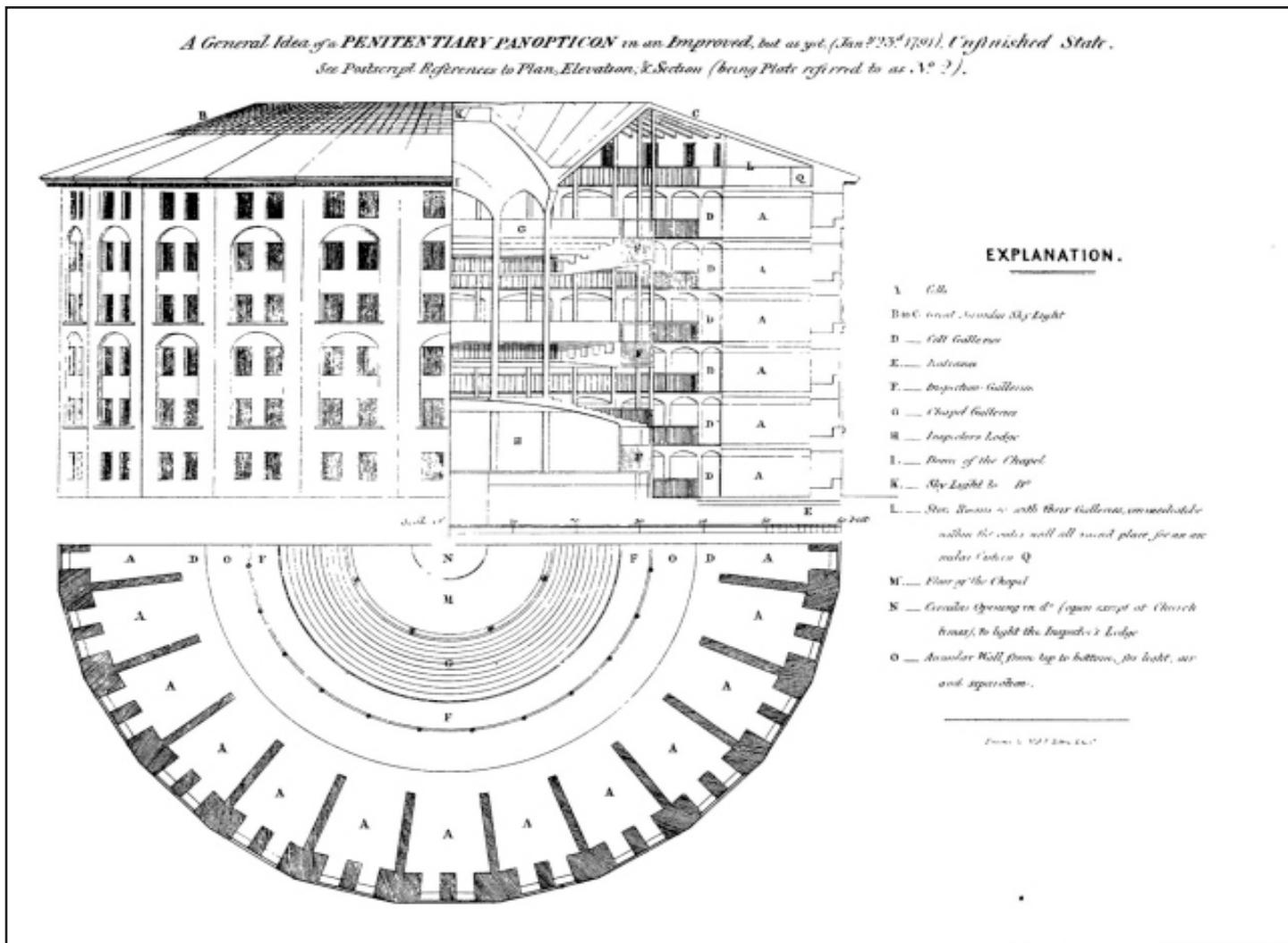
Foucault argued that the normalization of judgment enables institutions to homogenize society while simultaneously identifying gaps in individuals who deviate from the norm. This deviation took Cohn's view of institutions into a deeper discourse, which exposed the structure of actualized power. This dynamic created the "penalty of the norm," which through surveillance actuated corrective behavior via a variety of mechanisms. This process of standardization permeated schools, health care systems, and industry, defining normality and thereby revealing the variations of individuals and indicating the need for alteration by sociopolitical institutions. Cohn's application focused upon the colonization of India while Walkowitz sought to explain the particular agency of women's history in a male-dominated culture. Foucault addressed a more fundamental aspect of harnessing power that began with the birth of the prison, which arose due to behavior that deviated from laws. He then concluded that it embedded aberration, identification, and corrective actions into cultural constructs. Furthermore, the technology of rehabilitation effectively wove its way into many organizational structures, which helps to control populations through normalization processes and corrective techniques.

Although modalities vary over time and place, the history of civilization provides a plethora of law-related examples as well as remediation for transgres-

sions. This demonstrates the willingness of people to live within these boundaries, even to the point of replacing liberties for restrictions on freedoms. Penalties for breaking rules in the criminal context evolved from punishment to rehabilitation. Imprisonment necessitates a punishment where discipline changes behavior, institutions such as schools, medical practices, industrial production, religiosity, private and public organizations, and the military implemented this model. Individuals who subject themselves to power-knowledge remain aware of this relationship and in many instances, disapprove. However some do, such as a professional soldier, a nurse in a hospital, a member of a club, or even citizens willing submission to governmental observation. According to Foucault, this specialization led to the gathering of intelligence and its subsequent documentation. This "informational object" became the ultimate tool in his model because it carries both detailed personal data and normative or deviant behavior—a record of surveillance.

Many organized bodies use the collection of data to track citizens' medical records, progress in schools, and work performance—leading away from the traditional humanistic stories to the objectification and subjection of a population. However, the relationship between a person and his statistics create a single construct, regardless of its recordation, but Foucault conveys this fact to argue that it strengthens the dominion over a population. Although there is credence to his supposition, there is also usefulness, if not necessity because this objectification creates benefits for both society and individuals. For example, medical information aids in healthcare, certifications guarantee skill sets, examinations offer proof of competence, and governments use personal attributes such as residency, age, and licensing to confirm or revoke civil privileges. In these cases, the use of data seems more concerning than the actual information. Foucault implies authorities use this evidence *against* the populace, and beyond this, its capability of instilling the rigor of regulation into the very fabric of people's lives.

The technologies for recordation advanced rapidly in the nineteenth century in terms of its organization and exponentially during the age of the computer,



Jeremy Bentham conceptualized a penitentiary where the guards observed the inmates from a central tower. John Bowring, *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, vol. IV, illustration, 1843 (Edinburgh: William Tait), 172-73.

which extends fact collection capabilities far beyond personal attributes. Scientific knowledge and its availability broadened accessibility across all structures. Commercial use of information, such as purchasing patterns and credit histories, created new markets and enables businesses to leverage personal statistics for financial gain and customer benefit. This expansion of discipline affects relationships such as higher interest rates on loans for those who have lower FICO scores.

No longer is the state the sole purveyor and consumer of data on individuals, as markets and businesses developed technologies to offer this very same thing for profit.¹⁴ The panopticon acts as a col-

lective phenomenon where information serves as the coin of the realm, one in which the government comprises only one of the players, as corporations broker information to influence and direct consumer behavior. Even populations consume this, further extending power-knowledge.¹⁵ This broadening of power causes constant strife between laws and those who use information for their own goals, realized by the ever-changing regulations in the use of personal attributes, which render the legality of any act questionable in age of easy access to personal information. Fast-moving technology out paces legal boundaries enabling the construction of vast data warehouses for the development of new programs that target everyone alike: consumers, criminals, students, and even

14. Jean François Lyotard, *The Post-Modern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 4-5.

15. Examples are online search engines such as Google and the Freedom of Information Act.

employees in both the private sector and government.

The Panoptic Machine

Foucault portrays the continuous conflict between freedom and institutional discipline in negative tones because together, these seek to control behavior. The panopticon, a disturbing concept that imposes surveillance and a subversive change in behavior, forces people to consider freedom in the context of daily life. The previous paradigm of crime and punishment, whereby a person who commits an offense endures a penalty, no longer represents the only authoritarian option. Instead, sinister observation creates specific behavioral responses through faceless bureaucratic forces. The personification of institutionalized policies and schemas for regulation are self-perpetuating and do not tie to specific individuals. Considered an extension of the social contract, it may come into conflict with privacy laws, or other societal conventions associated with freedom. Power is diffuse as is its execution, threading their way across entities that normalize, monitor, track, and force conformance throughout a culture.

The tension becomes palatable when forces drive populations of democratic nations to yield to “higher priorities,” such as national security or economic stability, and submits to Foucault’s notion of discipline, which “becomes the principle of his own subjection.”¹⁶ The heads of sociopolitical institutions effectively applied this across cultures on individuals to impose work habits or particular behaviors. According to his model, resistance or rebellion no longer exists at a single point, but numerous ones at the points of contention in a diffused system. Although modern techniques facilitated this to a very effective level, its roots developed in the twelfth century where observation and documentation leveraged the identification and vetting of heretics put on trial to save their souls. This suggests an innate desire by communities

to keep populations stable through the enforcement of normalization regardless of any meta-narrative, which in the case of the Latin Church maintained a centuries-long continuity.

Foucault stated that this method of the panoptic machine ubiquitously spread throughout France and the western world, causing people and their information to become one in the same thereby investing its power. Metaphorically, civilization entombed itself through the conflict of freedom and institutionalized power-knowledge, which seeks to manage populations by co-opting not just language but by systematizing human behavior through a program of rules, restraint, surveillance, and use of information.

Populations require laws, rules, regulations, stability, equity, and other progressive characteristics to ensure safety because people can follow these

without direct intervention through the legal system—a paradoxical relationship to freedom because it grants a degree of it by definition. This

process both demonstrates and refutes Foucault’s position. Observing and enforcing through controls embedded in daily life leads to consequences for those that deviate from normative values; however, change may come swiftly replacing previously accepted paradigms through human agency. Foucault misses several points such as the evolutionary aspect of punishment, the value of a legalistic society which itself provides and prescribes freedom, the actual boundaries of organizational discipline and their effects, the dissemination of authority through accessible knowledge, and the new power which shed its role as subject, in order to *service* the subject.¹⁷

Other complications for Foucault’s argument arise through the rapid accumulation of data on vast scales. This enables non-governmental entities to construct and share their own panopticons, not through punishment, but toward wealth, influence, financial incentives, disincentives, and the creation of mutual benefits directly affecting behavior at both the indi-

16. Foucault, *Discipline & Punish*, 203.

17. Lyotard, *The Post-Modern Condition*, 36.



Presidio Modelo, a prison in Cuba built in 1926, exemplifies the panopticon with inmate surveillance by exposing all cells to a central watchtower. Friman, *Inside one of the prison buildings at Presidio Modelo, Isla de la Juventud, Cuba*, photograph December 23, 2005, (Artcentre Online Magazine).

vidual and community levels. No longer contained, access to this information levels and broadens the power-knowledge throughout civilization. He proved prescient in his view of data recordation, changing the very landscape of power relations in ways not even he could ever imagine back in 1975. Foucault's concept of historical discontinuity expresses itself in rendering obsolete his notion of the panopticon as negative-power due to new positive uses of information, yet the continuous expansion of surveillance across sociopolitical institutions reinforces his concepts of control, neither of which, if alive today, would not surprise him at all.

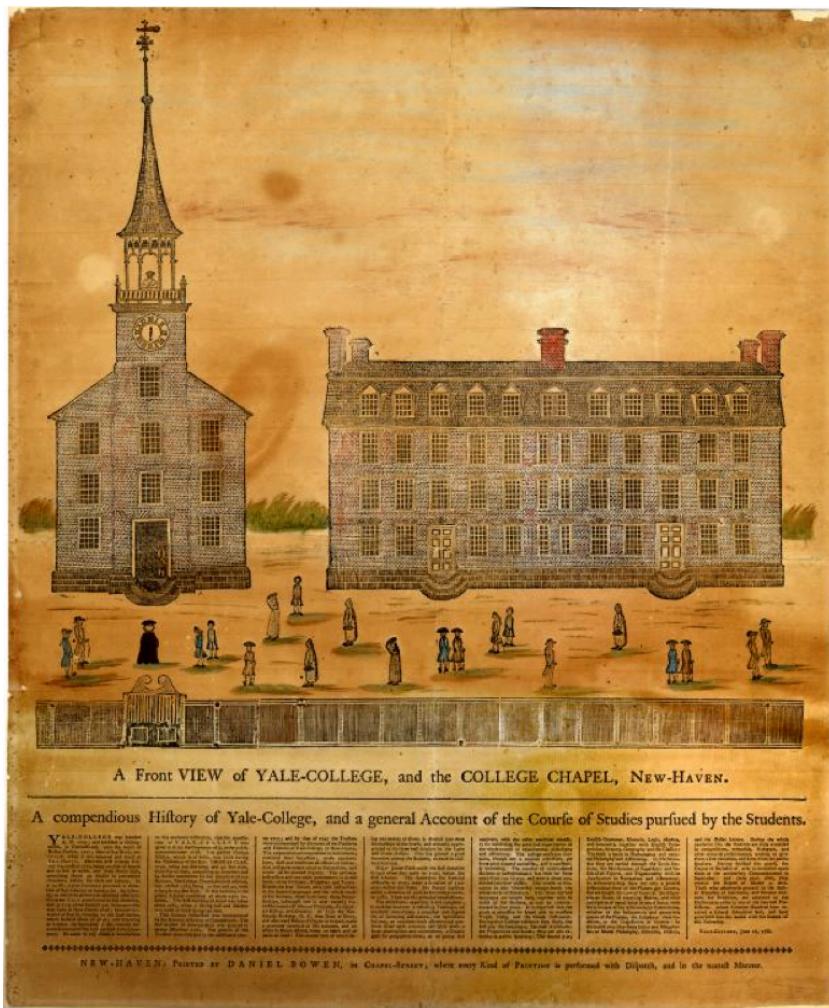
Thomas E. Sprimont works in software technology, with various employers ranging from Fortune 100 companies to startups. His publications include contributions to *CIM Review*, *Information Systems & Technology*, and the *International Journal of Applied Management of Change*, as well as proceedings from professional conferences. He was also reader for “The Responsible Business: Reimagining Sustainability and Success,” published in 2011. He is a two-time winner of the Welebaethan’s Lawrence B. de Graaf Prize for Best Overall Paper. Sprimont’s academic credentials include a BSCS and an MSSE, as well as memberships in Phi Kappa Phi and Upsilon Pi Epsilon honor societies. He is enrolled at California State University, Fullerton as a graduate history student.



The Facts Related:

The Great Awakening and Rationalism at Yale College Under Thomas Clap

Benjamin H. Cartwright



This picture depicts the intimacy of education and religion. The college hall and chapel both played crucial roles in the education of youth. *A Front View of Yale College, and the College Chapel*, lithograph, 1786 (New Haven, CT: Daniel Bowen).

Yale began as a religious institution aimed at training youths for the ministry. However, clashing ideals from the Enlightenment and the Great Awakening created a tumultuous environment on campus as students and faculty aligned themselves with conflicting ideologies such as rationalism, Calvinistic orthodoxy, and revivalism. **Benjamin H. Cartwright** examines the development of Yale College and the impact of the Great Awakening and rationalism had on the campus. Focusing on the college's first president, Thomas Clap and writings from students and faculty, Cartwright demonstrates the significance of the revival movement and rationalism and the shift away from Yale's original intention—preservation of orthodox Puritanism.

During the eighteenth century, the Great Awakening and the Enlightenment dominated the religious and intellectual climate of New England. Men like Gilbert Tennent, Jonathan Edwards, and George Whitefield formed the foundation of the revival movement that converted many colonists to a new religious belief and split churches to create separate denominations. These men shook the religious foundations of New England by defecting from the orthodox Puritan belief system grounded in earlier conventions. The Enlightenment began in the mid-seventeenth century and quickly gained a foothold in the colonies, well before the Great Awakening, which appeared in the early 1730s and lasted until 1745. Works from men such as John Locke, Isaac Newton, and Cotton Mather compelled readers to question their faith and reconcile religious beliefs with philosophical ideas. Math, science, and reason became new media for knowledge and understanding. Some used these subjects to justify various interpretations of the Bible—thus upholding orthodox beliefs—while others formed new ones, most notably Deism. These two ideological movements understandably created controversy throughout the colonies, but their largest impact occurred at colleges in New England.

Unsurprisingly, Yale College quickly grew into a hotbed of controversy. Yale's trustees initially envisioned the college as an institution for training ministers and professionals for civil service, but intended the primary focus to remain on the ministry. Within its first two decades, faculty integrated the curriculum with other belief systems and philosophical ideologies that ran counter to orthodox Puritanism. Subsequently, the trustees needed to insert an individual to oversee the university and combat these radical ideas; they chose a man who embodied their desired traits—Thomas Clap.

Louis Leonard Tucker's biography *Puritan Protagonist* offers the most detailed description of Clap's life.¹ Tucker outlines Clap's career as rector and president of Yale between 1739 and 1753, as well as his bouts with the revival movement, rationalism, and

Anglicanism. Tucker argues Clap vigorously fought the rise of revivalist beliefs, rationalist thinking, and Anglicanism and justified his actions as necessary to protect Yale's conservative Puritan ideology. However, Tucker underemphasizes the thematic similarities and natural progression inherent in Clap's fights with the revival movement and rationalism.

This paper builds on Tucker's research by offering three significant points of departure. The first explores Clap's handling of the revival movement and establishes a precedent for his actions against rationalism—this effectively grounded Clap in his particular religious convictions. His policies became more aggressive as time went on because of his experiences with dissent. His knowledge of the revival movement shifted his stance to oppose ideologies, which distorted the orthodoxy he aimed to maintain at Yale. The second point of departure focuses on his attempt to eradicate the movement toward rationalism after the Great Awakening. This overwhelmingly became Clap's primary purpose, purging Anglicanism and propagating Puritanism only existed as byproducts of his actions. Although Clap enacted harsh punishments and made rash decisions, for those who defied his mandates, these actions all served one primary purpose—to promote order. The final point of departure extends Tucker's timeframe of Clap's fight with rationalism to his death in 1767.

Humble Beginnings

The revolutionary ideas cultivated in Europe during the Scientific Revolution and Enlightenment gradually made their way to America in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Some viewed these movements as threats to the New England way of life, while others welcomed the alternative perspectives and reconciled their religious beliefs and philosophical understandings. The mainstream Christian culture of New England did not respond well to challenges that called into question the integrity of Puritanism. During these developments in New England, Harvard began leaning towards liberalism. In response, the colony of Connecticut sought to establish a college that maintained an orthodox Christian, Cal-

1. Louis Leonard Tucker, *Puritan Protagonist: President Thomas Clap of Yale College* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962).

vinist-Protestant stance. They succeeded on October 9, 1701, when the Connecticut General Court agreed to “An Act for the Liberty to Erect a Collegiate School.” The fundamental mandate for the institution included to “uphold and propagate the Christian Protestant Religion...wherein youth may be instructed in the arts and sciences...[and] may be fitted for publick [sic] employment both in church and civil state.”²

The newly established school served as the primary foundation for university instruction in the state until 1745, when the institution officially recognized its mandate to preserve Puritan ideals. Aside from the first paragraph in the act, no mention of religious instruction exists. The rest of the document details who would lead the institution, and what their roles entailed. One section even allowed a rector to use “their best discretion” to educate youth.³ The lack of specifics in the original act of 1701 and the “discretion clause” left the college open for manipulation from the start. This leeway became crucial once Clap took control of the college; he used it as justification for his actions when fighting the revival movement and rationalism.

In the early years of Yale, the trustees intended for faculty to uphold the Puritan integrity of the college, and to some extent, they succeeded. Until 1714, the school primarily educated future ministers. Science and mathematics existed in the curriculum, but studies in divinity remained a top priority. The Yale library did not contain nearly enough material to teach subjects outside of core fields like languages and divinity properly, but this changed beginning in 1713.

The First Spark of Light

Jeremiah Dummer, a colonial agent in London and a graduate of Harvard working on behalf of Yale, acquired nine boxes totaling “above 800 volumes of very valuable books” and donated them to the college library.⁴ Clap estimated 120 of these came from

2. *The Yale Corporation: Charter and Legislation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1976), 4.

3. *Ibid.*, 5.

4. Thomas Clap, *Annals or History of Yale-College*

PURITAN PROTAGONIST



Thomas Clap, First President of Yale College

Foreword by Edmund S. Morgan

by Louis Leonard Tucker

Tucker, the author of *Puritan Protagonist* remains the foremost contributor to the history of Thomas Clap. Louis Leonard Tucker, *Puritan Protagonist: Thomas Clap, First President of Yale College* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris Corporation, 2006).

Dummer’s own “cost and Charge,” and the rest “by his procurement from sundry principal gentlemen in England; particularly Isaac Newton,” who personally donated several of his books.⁵ Although many historians consider this the most significant donation, several others made large donations to the library. John Davie “sent a good collection of books to the library,” as well as Elihu Yale, who forwarded “above 300 volumes.”⁶ Soon thereafter, the trustees honored Yale by naming the institution after him.

In 1743, Clap cataloged the books in the library to make them more accessible to students.⁷ Predict-

(New Haven, CT: 1766), 15. See also Edwin Oviatt, *The Beginnings of Yale (1701-1726)* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1916), 298; Herbert Montfort Morais, *Deism in Eighteenth Century America* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1960), 29. Clap claims the collection exceeded 800 volumes, as opposed to Oviatt and Morais’ 700-volume estimate.

5. Clap, *Annals*, 15.; Oviatt, *Beginnings of Yale*, 299-300.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Thomas Clap. *A Catalogue of the Library of Yale-College in New-Haven* (New London, CT: 1743).

ably, the section under “Divinity” accounted for the largest portion of books. However, arts and sciences (such as “Logic,” “Mathematics,” and “Natural Philosophy”) made up nearly half the catalogue. Some of the more progressive works include John Locke’s famous “An Essay Concerning Human Understanding,” which focuses on the philosophy of human thought and understanding and its relation to knowledge and logic. Isaac Watts’ work on logic, which cites Locke, also found a home in the Yale library, as well as several examples of philosopher Jean-Pierre de Crousaz’s works.⁸ Although these works did not directly counter the religious ideology of the institution’s founders, they certainly undermined it to some degree.

Beyond philosophy, Yale’s library featured the works of several key figures in the field of mathematics and science. René Descartes, Isaac Newton, Henry Briggs, and Isaac Watts arguably remain the most notable with their works on geometry, optics, logarithms/trigonometry, and astronomy, respectively. Clap’s catalogue of non-religious texts also featured some of the same names found under the heading “Natural Philosophy”—the study of nature from a philosophical perspective, also known as the precursor to modern sciences such as physics.⁹

These works served as forerunners to a reason-based understanding of Christianity and also increased the study of mathematics and sciences. The surge of books encouraged students to read, but more importantly, for tutors to teach a variety of subjects. Although the trustees intended for Yale to remain a

religious institution, these new ideas began to blend with old ones. In the case of religious ideology, many believed mathematics and science explained the world, but more importantly, increased the understanding of the Word of God. The idea of supplementing studies in divinity with exposure to science and math later became a fundamental aspect of Clap’s reasoning for its propagation, serving to justify the university’s opposition to any threat to his or Yale’s religious ideology.

In the three decades before Clap became rector, several controversial incidents occurred that stemmed directly from the new books at Yale. In 1710, a student named Samuel Johnson began his academic career at the college. In his senior year, Yale’s library received a majority of the book donations, including Dummer’s collection. Two years after graduation,

Johnson became a tutor at Yale. Intellectually moved by the vast collection, he began incorporating Enlightenment ideologies into his curriculum with an emphasis on science.¹⁰

With this, Johnson became the first documented faculty member influenced by the book collection. He referred to languages and mathematics as “a necessary Furniture in order [for] the attainment of any considerable Perfection in the other parts of learning.”¹¹

As Johnson continued to read and discuss his findings, other faculty took an interest. Johnson left Yale in 1719, but Timothy Cutler, who served as rector at this time, carried on his legacy. As an advocate of the Enlightenment, Cutler emphasized science and mathematics within the curriculum. Even Jonathan Edwards, who later became a key revivalist figure, became a tutor at Yale, and taught math and science, albeit much less secular versions. As rectors and tutors changed, science and mathematics continued to gain momentum, even during Clap’s rectorship and presidency.

Initially, the rise of mathematics and science did not worry the trustees. In 1722, however, Cutler de-

8. Locke’s work remains significant in its relation to religious belief. He presents two chapters titled “Of Reason” and “Of Faith and Reason, and their Distinct Provinces.” John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (London: 1796). As the titles suggest, Locke argued faith and reason each dominated separate “provinces.” He claimed people should use reason to determine whether knowledge comes through faith-based revelation or conventional wisdom. This line of thinking eventually opened up religious beliefs for interpretation and analysis. Locke’s work encouraged people to apply philosophical ideas to religious beliefs in order to reveal a deeper understanding of their faith.

9. Clap, *A Catalogue of the Library*, 9-10.

10. Ibid., 398.

11. Samuel Johnson, *An Introduction to the Study of Philosophy* (New London, CT: 1743), Advertisement.

fected to Anglicanism.¹² This betrayal, developed into the first faith-based incident the trustees addressed. After much deliberation, they excused Cutler from office, and decided all future faculty—especially the Rector—must accept the Saybrook Confession, and “give satisfaction of the soundness of their faith in opposition to Arminianism and prelatical corruptions or any other of dangerous consequences to the purity and peace of our churches.”¹³

This represented the first instance of Yale's trustees coming out against rationalism. Their choice to use the term “Arminianism,” a precursor to Deism in their complaint speaks volumes. Arminianism maintains the belief that men can achieve salvation from their own efforts and rational conviction. Given Cutler's defection to another faith—Anglicanism, no less—why choose “Arminianism” as the defining term? Why not “Anglican?” In short, because the trustees viewed Arminianism, and a disposition to rational persuasion, as more threatening than other religious denominations at the college. Officials at Yale naively thought the college world remain unchanged after exposure to the ideas from other philosophical and religious traditions, but rationalism exposed Yale's Puritan beliefs to corruption through distorted interpretations of the Bible.

After the Cutler incident, the trustees realized they needed to reestablish control of the college. Even so, Yale policy continued to support the ideal of not excluding students because of their religious denomination. As such, officials did not require a religious test for admission. This enabled the conditioning of young men not firm in a religious belief system to sway toward the ideals of Yale. The studies in divinity emphasized in the curriculum would hopefully convert young men aligned with a different faith. Because of this potential, the college benefitted from leaving admissions open.¹⁴

12. Ibid.

13. Ebenezer Baldwin, *Annals of Yale College in New Haven* (New Haven, CT: Hezekiah Howe, 1831), 39; Oviatt, *Beginnings of Yale*, 409. The quote comes from a vote of the Trustees on October 17, 1722.

14. For other interpretations on colonial colleges opening admissions to students of many religious denominations, see Sloan, *Great Awakening and American Education*, 28.

However, this created an environment open to manipulation, which later manifested in the revival movements.

These incidents became a crucial point in Yale's history. The trustees did not want the school to become liberalized like Harvard with the addition of Enlightenment books, nor did they want rectors or tutors to belong to a faith other than their own. They aimed to preserve their puritan ideals and religious convictions. The trustees wanted a balance where students learned arts and sciences, but only as a supplement for their religious education. They could not force students to hold this view, but they certainly encouraged it. The trustees appointed Elisha Williams as Cutler's successor, believing he would not stress mathematics and science like his predecessor; he served the trustees until 1739.

The Revival Movement Gains Momentum

During Williams' tenure as rector of Yale, the revival movement began to escalate. Small revivals started throughout the colonies in the early to mid-1730s. Jonathan Edwards and William and Gilbert Tennent began giving revivalist sermons regularly between 1734 and 1737. However, this merely set the stage for the arrival of George Whitefield to New England in 1739. Nearly all scholars of the Great Awakening attribute its significant growth and zenith to him.

With New England colonists well-grounded in their religious beliefs, the revivalists found it difficult to essentially reeducate people. Several early revivalists attempted to establish their own institutions, with limited success. The Tennents founded the Log College and aimed to train revivalist ministers.¹⁵ Similar to Yale, the Log College admitted individuals who also looked for professional training outside the ministry, but the school focused on revivalist studies.¹⁶

15. One of the first descriptions of the Log College comes from Reverend Nathaniel Irwin in 1793. Thomas C. Pears Jr. and Guy Klett, eds., *Documentary History of William Tennent and the Log College*, Mimeographed MSS (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, 1940), 164-66, in Sloan, *Great Awakening and American Education*, 153-57.

16. Sloan, *Great Awakening and American Education*, 43.

In 1738, the Presbytery of Lewes in an attempt to counter the influence of revivalists, proposed all ministerial candidates should possess a degree from either a European university or a New England college.¹⁷ It passed, and essentially banned the Log College graduates from the ministry. Although this thwarted the cultivation of new ministers, according to the Tennent style, the revivalists soon focused their efforts on Harvard and Yale. In a 1740 sermon, Gilbert Tennent preached “On the Dangers of an Unconverted Ministry” partially in response to the new act. A year later, he gave a sermon extolling the new academies and their devotion to revival-minded ministers.¹⁸ With the Log College undone and revivalist ministers required to attend chartered colleges, the revivalists needed a way to recruit youth. They needed to gain a foothold in educational institutions if they could not establish their own. Harvard and Yale already experienced problems maintaining the purity of their founders’ religious beliefs, making them vulnerable to manipulation. With the arrival of George Whitefield in 1739, and the idea to infiltrate American chartered colleges, the revival movement appeared to gain momentum.

In the college’s thirty-eighth year, the trustees appointed Thomas Clap as fifth rector of Yale to counter this trend. The Cutler incident forced the trustees to rethink their strategy for upholding orthodoxy, and with the departure of Williams, an opportunity appeared. The trustees chose to appoint someone who shared their views. As a staunch supporter of the Congregational church, Clap fit well. He not only held the “proper” beliefs, he expressed motivation to uphold the school’s religious integrity.

The Great Awakening Overwhelms Yale

As a minister of the Congregational church, Clap knew about the initial revival movement of the

1730s, and he initially supported them in the early years.¹⁹ He appreciated their religious zeal. Some time between becoming rector in 1739 and mid-1740, George Whitefield visited New Haven where Clap welcomed him by inviting him to his home for dinner.²⁰ Some speculation reveals two probable scenarios: Clap likely did not know much about his beliefs, or he did not mind their religious differences. In either case, Clap treated Whitefield cordially.

Within Clap’s first year as rector, the revival movement expanded dramatically, and the university confronted another threat to its traditional orthodoxy. Dr. Samuel Hopkins, a Yale-graduate Congregationalist, noted the environment at Yale when the revival movement arrived:

In March, 1741, Mr. Gilbert Tennent, who had been itinerating in New England, in Boston and other places in the winter, came to New Haven from Boston, in his way to the southward. He was a remarkably plain and rousing preacher, and a remarkable awakening had been produced by his preaching, and many hopeful conversions had taken place under his preaching, where he had itinerated. On his coming to New Haven, the people appeared to be almost universally roused, and flocked to hear him. He stayed about a week at New Haven, and preached seventeen sermons, most of them in the meeting-house, two or three in the college hall. His preaching appeared to be attended with a remarkable and mighty power. Thousands, I believe, were awakened; and many cried out with distress and horror...members of the college appeared to be universally awakened. [Many] thought themselves Christians before the came to college...[Revivalist students] visited every room in the college, and discoursed...especially such whom they [considered] an unconverted state...²¹

Hopkins’ story vividly demonstrates how revivalist preachers inspired students to become active evangelists. This greatly benefitted revivalists, since they no longer required their presence to encourage religious enthusiasm; however, in the eyes of the Yale trustees, new converts could embrace the “wrong” ideas. This later came to a head with the ban on itinerants on campus. Regardless, this initial infiltration sowed the seeds of the movement on campus enough

19. Tucker, *Puritan Protagonist*, 124.

20. Ibid.

21. Chauncy Goodrich, “Narrative of Revivals of Religion in Yale,” *American Quarterly Register* 10 (1828): 290-91. In this article, Goodrich claims this represents “the fullest account I have ever seen of this revival. I shall extract from it more largely, because the book is now out of print, and is rarely to be met with.”

17. “The Establishment of the Synod’s School of the Presbyterian Church in America Two Hundred Years Ago as Found in Documentary Sources,” *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* 22, no. 2 (June 1944), 78-85. See also Sloan, *Great Awakening and American Education*, 23.

18. Sloan, *Great Awakening and American Education*, 25.

to render the ministers' role on campus essentially obsolete.

Complementing Hopkins' description, student David Brainerd noted in his diary that "a great and general awakening spread itself over the college." Jonathan Edwards agreed, stating "the awakening was for a time very great...and [Yale] had no small share in it: That society was greatly reformed, the students in general became serious, and many of them remarkably so, and much engaged in the concerns of their eternal salvation."²² Hopkins, Brainerd, and Edwards all describe a tumultuous time on campus with the beginnings of a student uprising.²³ In particular, Tennent's sermons to the students brought about the first insurrection of dissent at Yale under Clap's administration. The revivalists viewed educational institutions as powerful instruments and aimed to exploit them. They wanted students to cause a commotion on campus. Revivalists designed their sermons to inspire and motivate listeners to become zealous. These events compelled Clap to shift his attitude regarding revivalism, and immediately took a strong stance, beginning with Brainerd.²⁴

As a student, Brainerd fascination with revivalist sermons quickly grew. In his diary, he noted his feelings when he first experienced the revival movement: "I grew more cold and dull in matters of religion...but through divine goodness...I was much quickened, and more abundantly engaged in

22. Jonathan Edwards, ed., *An Account of the Life of the Reverend David Brainerd* (Worcester, MA: Leonard Worcester, 1793), 31-35, in Sloan, *Great Awakening and American Education*, 129-30. Jonathan Edwards published Brainerd's diary and added his own commentary. This represents one example of a diary entry and immediately following, Edwards presents his thoughts on the topic.

23. Although Brainerd and Edwards do not specifically note a student uprising, agitation was inherent in revivalist practices. The movement stressed evangelism; therefore, revivalist students became evangelists.

24. Tucker argues Tennent's sermons caused Clap to shift his attitude, specifically in terms of what he preached. However, Tucker underemphasizes the impact of student dissent on Clap's attitude toward the revival movement. The result of the preaching drove Clap, not the preaching itself. Tucker, *Puritan Protagonist*, 124-25.

religion."²⁵ Brainerd became involved with revivalist ideology through meeting and encouraging like-minded students, attending a separate meeting outside the college, and preaching to non-revivalist classmates.²⁶ Soon after getting Clap's attention, Brainerd and a few friends saw Mr. Whittelsey, one of the tutors, in the hall where he usually prayed. One of Brainerd's friends asked him what he thought of Mr. Whittelsey, to which he replied, "He has no more grace than this chair."²⁷ Word of the event made it to Clap, and he asked Brainerd to make a public confession—he refused. With his authority now challenged, Clap expelled Brainerd for attending a separate (non-sanctioned) meeting, and his disrespectful comments.²⁸

Within one year of Tennent's sermons and the Brainerd incident, revivalist enthusiasm continued to sweep through the student body. In spring of 1742, another uprising forced Clap to cancel classes temporarily and send students home.²⁹ Alarmed, the Connecticut General Assembly appointed a commission to investigate the events. They reported "that sundry of the students of [Yale], have...fallen into several errors in principle and disorders in practice, which may be very hurtful to religion, and some of them inconsistent with the good order."³⁰ Revivalist students participated in "the practice of rash judging and censuring" and refused to submit to the authorities of the

25. Edwards, *Account of the Life of the Reverend David Brainerd*, 31-35, in Sloan, *Great Awakening and American Education*, 129-30.

26. Examples of these happenings appear in Brainerd's diary, later published by Jonathan Edwards and Dr. Hopkins' in Goodrich's article. See Edwards, *Account of the Life of the Reverend David Brainerd*, 31-35, in Sloan, *Great Awakening and American Education*, 130-33; Goodrich, "Narrative of Revivals of Religion," 290-91.

27. Edwards, *Account of the Life of the Reverend David Brainerd*, 31-35, in Sloan, *Great Awakening and American Education*, 132.

28. Ibid., 132-33.

29. *Boston Evening Post*, April 26, 1742, in Franklin Bowditch Dexter, *Documentary History of Yale University: Under the Original Charter of the Collegiate School in Connecticut 1701-1745* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1916), 355-56.

30. Tucker, *Puritan Protagonist*, 140.

Hopkins' story vividly demonstrates how revivalist preachers inspired students to become active evangelists.



George Whitefield remains one of the most influential preachers of his time. John Russell, painter, *George Whitefield*, oil on canvas, 1770, n.p.

college.³¹ These students also preached “in the same manner” as the off-campus itinerants in New Haven.³² But worst of all, in the view of the Assembly, “much pains have been taken, to prejudice the minds of the students, against [the] ecclesiastical constitution and to persuade them to dissent and withdraw from the way of worship...in contempt of the laws and authority of the College.”³³

Soon after closing the college, it became clear Clap would not welcome the revivalists on campus. In response, revivalists created their own school similar to the Log College from the 1720s to train and con-

dition the youth in their belief system. James Davenport, a fiery revivalist, and Timothy Allen founded the Shepherds’ Tent.³⁴ However, the leaders cut the project short, and it dissolved within a few months because of budgetary shortfalls and concerted harassment by the established religious order. The General Assembly passed an act stating “no particular persons whatsoever shall...erect, establish, set up, keep or maintain, any college, seminary of learning, or any publick school whatsoever...without special license...obtained from this assembly.”³⁵ The Assembly made it abundantly clear they did not want the revivalist movement to grow and used their authority to hinder its expansion.

Despite the various attempts to eradicate revivalist sentiment on campus, it remained. In reaction to increased revivalist activity both on and off campus, Clap made a decision to discipline two students harshly, a controversial incident with irreparable repercussions. Brothers John and Ebenezer Cleaveland both attended Yale in 1745. Over a vacation, they “withdrew from publick worship...to attend upon a private separate meeting.”³⁶ Upon their return, the governors of the college who had already heard of the incident prepared to use the boys as an example—Clap immediately expelled them. He argued they “acted contrary to the rules of the gospel, the laws of this colony and of the college.”³⁷ A letter published in the *New York Post-Boy* commented on the event: “it is the utmost cruelty and injustice...[especially] for a crime not committed within their jurisdiction, and for which they had the least glimpse of authority.”³⁸

34. Richard Warch, “The Shepherd’s Tent: Education and Enthusiasm in the Great Awakening,” *American Quarterly* 30, no. 2 (1978): 181.

35. Charles J. Hoadley, ed., *The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, From October, 1735, to October, 1743, Inclusive* (Hartford, CT: Kockwood and Brainerd Company, 1874), 500-2, in Sloan, *Great Awakening and American Education*, 140.

36. Thomas Clap, *The Judgment of the Rector and Tutors of Yale-College, Concerning Two of the Students who were Expelled; Together with the Reasons of it* (New London, CT: 1745), 4.

37. Ibid.

38. “A Letter Concerning John and Ebeneezer Cleaveland, Expelled Students,” *New York Post-Boy*, March 17, 1745, in Dexter, *Documentary History of Yale University*, 371.

31. Connecticut General Assembly, “The Commission’s Report,” 1742, in Sloan, *Great Awakening and American Education*, 135.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid.

Clearly, Clap grew impatient with the budding rebellion, in the previous five years, he gradually escalated his disciplinary measures, a process that coincided with his increased involvement with revivalists. Now he acted decisively to stamp out the dissent.

In response, several of the Cleavlands' friends published John Locke's "Essay on Toleration," and then distributed it among the students.³⁹ In a gross misjudgment to maintain order and purity of Yale's religious ideology, Clap turned himself into an enemy of the students. He made it seem as if the revivalists were victims of the intolerable Orthodox Congregationalists, and instigated the spread of rationalist work. The expulsion of the Cleaveland brothers represented Clap's transition in his efforts against revivalists to proponents of rationalism.

Before fully committing himself to fighting rationalism, Clap released two letters denouncing George Whitefield. The first recalled a conversation with Jonathan Edwards more than a year earlier.⁴⁰ In this letter, Clap claimed Edwards agreed that George Whitefield attempted to displace the ministers in the country. He states that Edwards told him "it was [Whitefield's] design to turn the generality of the ministers in the country out of their places, and resettle them with ministers from England, Scotland and Ireland."⁴¹ Despite his assertions, Clap did not find support for his recollection of the conversation. According to Edwards, in a reply letter, he and Clap engaged in a "long dispute...about some things [Clap] found fault with...concerning the late revival of religion."⁴² Edwards claimed his daughter overheard the conversation and that Clap misconstrued Edwards' words. Edwards argued Clap "did not produce one person...who ever heard me say any such thing as you have reported."⁴³ He insisted Clap did not speak

39. Tucker, *Puritan Protagonist*, 140.

40. Thomas Clap, *A Letter from the Reverend Mr. Thomas Clap, Rector of Yale-College at New-Haven, to a Friend in Boston* (Boston: 1745). Clap wrote this letter on December 10, 1744, but it was not published until 1745.

41. Ibid., 4.

42. Jonathan Edwards, *An Expostulatory Letter from the Re. Mr. Edwards of Northampton to the Re. Me. Clap, Rector of Yale College in New-Haven* (Boston: Kneeland & Green), 4.

43. Ibid.

of the Whitefield incident with such passion at the time, but instead wrote a letter about it twelve months later. Edwards claimed he did not remember saying such things about Whitefield, but "it was not wholly impossible that I should mention it to you...therefore I can't absolutely deny that."⁴⁴ Edwards concluded that Clap embellished and exaggerated his words.⁴⁵

I am come to New England with no intention to meddle with, much less to destroy the order of the New England churches, or turn out the generality of their ministers, or re-settle them with ministers from England, Scotland, and Ireland, as hath been hinted in a late letter written by the Reverend Mr. Clap, Rector of Yale College.⁴⁶

Soon after the event, Whitefield published his own letter discussing the incident, where he stated, Edwards' compelling argument against Clap and Whitefield's commentary aids that defense. This incident with Clap remains important because it demonstrates the first time someone accused Clap of negligence—in this case, lying, or purposely twisting someone's words for his own benefit. Similar events continued to unfold throughout Clap's career at Yale as he became increasingly impatient with disorder.

Clap's second letter denouncing Whitefield came three months after writing about his conversation with Edwards. In 1745, Yale issued a declaration against Whitefield that accused Whitefield of replacing ministers in the colonies with those from Scotland.⁴⁷ Clap remains the most likely author of the screed as he used the same phrase in his previous denunciation of Whitefield: "First, It has always appeared to us, that you and other itinerants have laid a scheme to turn the generality of ministers out of their places."⁴⁸ The declaration lists the ways Whitefield contradicted himself by comparing the contents of his

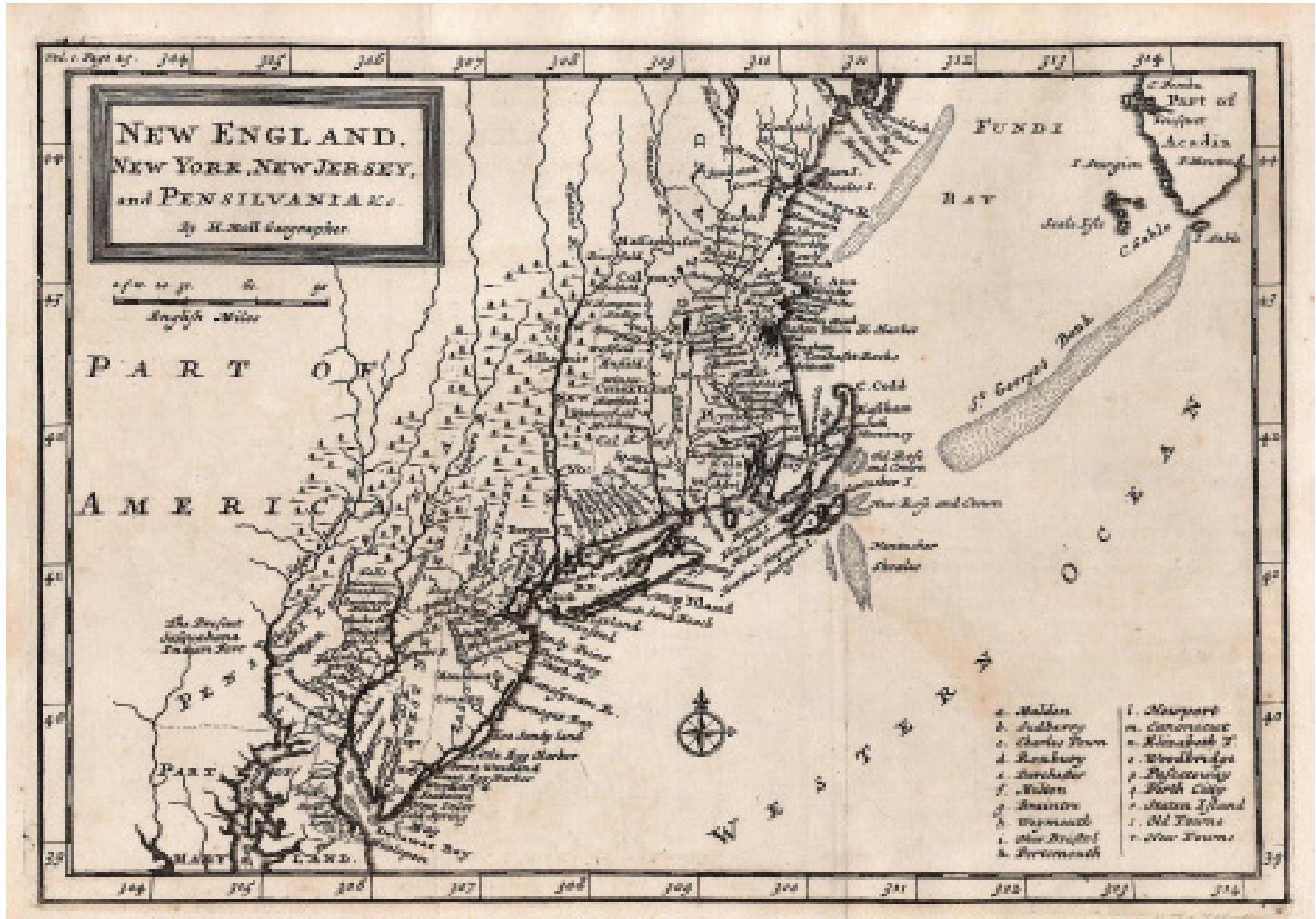
44. Ibid., 6.

45. Ibid., 10.

46. Edward Wigglesworth, *A Letter to the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield by way of Reply to his Answer to the College Testimony Against him and his Conduct* (Boston: 1745), in Hofstadter, *American Higher Education*, 66.

47. The letter was signed by several authors, one of which was Clap. The tone of the work resembles Clap's other writings as rector, and he almost certainly headed its conception.

48. *The Declaration of the Rector and Tutors of Yale-College in New-Haven, Against the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield, his Principles and Designs* (Boston: T. Fleet, 1745), 4.



This map shows New England in 1708. Herman Moll, cartographer, *New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pensilvania*. In John Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America Containing the History of the Discovery, Settlement, Progress and State of the British Colonies on the Continent and Islands of America*, vol. 1 (London: Printed for John Nicholson, 1708), 25.

letters and journals. Clap even provides page numbers and direct side-by-side quotes to show Whitefield's supposed hypocrisy. For example, he states that "in your *Journal*, Pag. 70 and 95, you say, that 'they don't experimentally know Christ, and preach an enfefted and unknown Christ.' And in the same *Journal* (Oct. 12) you say, that you 'will hereafter come to be more particular in your application to particular persons.'⁴⁹ Clap continues for nine pages, criticizing Whitefield and his views and referring to his way of preaching as "tending very much to the detriment of religion."⁵⁰ In a closing remark, Clap accuses Whitefield of using "good words and fair speeches [to] deceive the hearts of the simple."⁵¹

Unsatisfied with references to the unschooled, Clap and Yale's faculty thought Whitefield attempted to undermine the authority and legitimacy of the colonial colleges. They claimed Whitefield sought "to vilify and subvert our colleges" and incite a student uprising or general rebellion.⁵² Clap accused Whitefield of telling students "there was no danger in disobey-

letter against Whitefield in 1744, one year prior to Yale. See *The Testimony of the President, Professors, Tutors and Hebrew Instructor of Harvard College in Cambridge, Against the Reverend Mr. George Whitefield, and his Conduct* (Boston: T. Fleet, 1744). Harvard's letter comes across much harsher than Yale's declaration. For example, Harvard's letter refers to Whitefield "as an enthusiast, a censorious, uncharitable person." (12) However, Harvard's letter resembles Yale's in terms of pulling quotations from Whitefield's own sermons and journal entries to support the act of censuring him.

49 Ibid

50. *Ibid.*, 3.

51. Ibid., 14. Authorities at Harvard drafted a similar

52. *Declaration of the Rector and Tutors of Yale-College, 12*

ing their present Governors, because there would in a short time be a great change in the civil government, and so in the Governors of the College.”⁵³ This accusation seems unsurprising, since itinerants like tenant stirred up students in previous years and encouraged them to censure their tutors and withdraw from Yale to attend revival schools such as “that thing call’d the Shepherd’s tent.”⁵⁴ In mid-1745, Whitefield returned to New Haven, and a much-changed religious environment. With the reassertion of traditional theology and practice, the revival movement lost considerable momentum. Soon after, Clap drafted Yale’s charter and submitted it to the General Assembly. In May 1745, Yale became a fully chartered college. One month later, the trustees swore in Clap as president, both represented an act “for enlarging the powers and privileges” of the college.⁵⁵

The Rise of Rationalism and Anglicanism

The Dummer book collection initiated the exploration of new ideas as demonstrated by Timothy Cutler and Samuel Johnson; however, the trustees’ quick action to remove any “corrupted” faculty thwarted a significant rise in Enlightenment perspectives on campus. But Cutler and the enlightened faculty did manage to inspire a shift to incorporate more mathematics and science into the curriculum. As a man of science, Clap continued this legacy and encouraged studies beyond divinity. Simultaneously, Clap persisted in denouncing unorthodox interpretations regarding religion.

In similar fashion, Anglicanism made brief appearances at Yale, a fact demonstrated by the Cutler incident, although Anglicanism did not maintain a strong presence on campus. As Tucker states, there was an “absence of strife...between the college officials and Anglicans in the period 1740-1753...[and] S.P.G. missionaries of Connecticut offered no criticism of the college authorities in their letters and reports to superiors in London.”⁵⁶ The revival move-

ment overshadowed Anglicanism from 1740 to 1745. Overlapping with the declension of the revivalist movement, rationalism quickly became the new trend on campus and Clap promptly shifted his focus. With his experience handling the revivalists and student dissent, he implemented new strategies to maintain order and quell the rise of rationalism.

The distribution of Locke’s “Essay on Toleration” following the expulsion of the Cleaveland brothers sparked renewed interest in Enlightenment thought. Many of the incidents at Yale before 1745 demonstrate that not all students and faculty wanted the college officials, known as the Corporation, to define their beliefs. In particular, the students wanted intellectual and religious freedom. Because of this, Clap struggled to separate proper and improper applications of rationalism. He attempted to pigeonhole science, mathematics, and reason as instruments to understand God, but many used rationalism outside these parameters. In Clap’s 1754, *The Religious Constitutions of Colleges Especially Yale-College*, he essentially redefined the college’s purpose and emphasized the importance of training the youth for the ministry. Clap wrote, “The original end, and design of colleges was to instruct, educate, and train up persons for the work of the ministry.”⁵⁷ While technically accurate, Clap omitted any mention of educating the youth in arts and sciences, or training professionals for service in the civil state.

Clap’s European Idealization and Revealing Writings

Clap compared the colleges in the colonies to universities in Europe: “Yale-College in New-Haven, does not come up, to the perfection, of the Ancient established universities, in Great Britain; yet, would endeavor, to imitate them, in most things.”⁵⁸ Clearly, Clap strove for Yale to operate similar to Eu-

this information came from “a close search of materials in the S.P.G. Library.”

57. Thomas Clap, *The Religious Constitutions of Colleges Especially Yale-College in New-Haven in the Colony of Connecticut* (New London, CT: T. Green, 1754), 1.

58. Ibid., 7.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. *Yale Corporation: Charter and Legislation*, 8.

56. Tucker, *Puritan Protagonist*, 172. Tucker explains

ropean universities. He offers examples of the rules he attempted to implement at Yale, such as prohibiting students from attending separate meetings. He notes, “The University of Oxford, allow none of their members, to go from their own churchs, chappels, or places of worship, to any other church.” Clap insisted, “There are sundry places of worship, in the city, where a college is; if the students should disperse to all, and every one of them, this would break up all the order in the society, and defeat the religious design.”⁵⁹ Clap wanted orthodoxy, tradition, and above all uniformity—characteristics students at Yale strayed from during the Great Awakening.

Three years later, he reasserted the notion of Yale operating primarily as a religious institution with the publication of his 1757, *President Clap’s Defence of the Doctrines of the New-England Churches*.⁶⁰ In this, Clap describes the “pure religion” of “[our forefathers] did not undertake to make a religion, but to declare it from the Word of God.”⁶¹ Essentially, Clap believed the purest form of religion and understanding of God could only be attained through Jesus Christ and the Bible. Therefore, this document also opposed the application of rationalism on religious grounds. Reason and logic might explain the natural world, but Clap did not want students using it to reinterpret the Word of God.

Clap continues: “Among the various means they used to propagate this pure religion to their posterity, they esteemed erecting of colleges and subordinate schools, to be the principal.”⁶² Thus, Clap reiterates his idea of colleges as key institutions “with an especial design to maintain and propagate that pure religion.”⁶³ However, Clap once again omits the portion concerning arts, sciences, and training young men for civil work in this document. This omission

59. Ibid., 6.

60. Thomas Clap, *President Clap’s Defence of the Doctrines of the New-England Churches: A Brief History and Vindication of the Doctrines Received and Established in the Churches of New-England, with A Specimen of the New Scheme of Religion Beginning to Prevail* (Boston: Kneeland & Green, 1757).

61. Ibid., 7.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid., 8.

seems strange considering that in Clap’s final year as president in 1766, a letter written by a “friend of the college” defined Yale as “the nurse and parent of the liberal arts, and the grand source of science, [and] must be considered as of great importance and universal benefit to the commonwealth.”⁶⁴ Although Clap did not condemn liberal arts, he did not extol them, either.

In 1755, Clap revised his 1743 *Catalogue of the Library at Yale*.⁶⁵ Although both catalogues bear a striking similarity, several key differences reveal his distinctive tactics. The 1743 version began with “The introduction to philosophy will give you a general idea or scheme of all the arts and sciences and the several things which are to be known and learned: and this Catalogue will direct you to many of the best books to be read in order to obtain the knowledge of them.”⁶⁶ Clap removed this line in the revised version, which represents yet another example of his transition to an emphasis on religious orthodoxy away from rationalism.⁶⁷ It also accentuates Clap’s conviction that studies in topics such as mathematics, science, reason, and logic were supplementary to studies in divinity, hence, the emphasis on the religious portion of the introduction.

Clap, on the other hand, retained what he viewed as the most important aspect of a student’s goal at Yale by keeping the last sentence intact. “Above all, have an eye to the great end of all your studies, which is, to obtain the clearest conceptions of divine things, and to lead you to a saving knowledge of God, in his son Jesus Christ.” This line best illustrates Clap’s justification for all his actions against

64. Benjamin Trumball, *A Letter to an Honourable Gentleman of the Council-Board* (New Haven, CT: B. Mecom, 1766), 7.

65. Thomas Clap, *A Catalogue of Books in the Library of Yale-College in New-Haven* (New Haven, CT: James Parker, 1755).

66. Thomas Clap, *A Catalogue of the Library of Yale-College in New-Haven* (New Haven, CT: 1743).

67. The wording in both documents remained the same; however, some punctuation and spelling changed. For example, the 1755 version used a colon where the 1743 version utilized a period, and the spelling of “logic” became “logick.” Despite minor changes like these, the meaning remains virtually identical.

the revival movement, rationalism, Anglicanism, and any other perceived corruption of orthodoxy. Clap saw these new developments as distortions of the “clearest conceptions” and therefore would not “lead [students] to a saving knowledge of God, in his son Jesus Christ.”⁶⁸ He intended to emphasize this perspective by removing the “arts and sciences” portion of the preface.

Expectedly, the collection of Enlightenment works grew. Surprisingly, Clap even made them more accessible by reorganizing their sections. For example, Clap designated an entire section “Natural Religion.”⁶⁹ Most interestingly, this portion contained a deistically tinged manuscript written by William Wollaston, an Anglican Enlightenment writer.⁷⁰ In this work, Wollaston explained that “natural religion is grounded upon this triple and strict alliance or union of truth, happiness, and reason; all in the same interest, and conspiring by the same methods, to advance and perfect human nature: and its truest definition is, the pursuit of happiness by the practice of reason and truth.”⁷¹ This line of thinking directly contradicts the orthodox religious views Clap attempted to uphold, yet the topic possesses its own section of the library catalogue.

Even more peculiar, several other similar books were added to the library between 1743 and 1755. In the “Lives of Famous Men” section, the catalogue features Cotton Mather’s biography. Unsurprising considering Mather had a history with Yale and was the son of Increase—a well-known figure in early America. Cotton persuaded Elihu Yale to help build the college library that led to the various book donations and encouraged the school to name the institution “Yale” after Elihu. However, Cotton became innovative in his interpretations of religious doctrine. Nevertheless, his controversial work, *Christian*

Philosopher, held a place in the library.⁷² This book discusses the interplay between science and religion. Similar to Locke’s chapters on reason and faith, Mather assigns purpose to both topics.

These works served as precursors to the rise of knowledge regarding rationalism and even Deism at Yale.⁷³ Clap claimed, “Arminianism, Arianism and other errors approaching towards Deism, have more to prevail unless proper stand be made against them.”⁷⁴ The 1755 catalogue apparently featured several works that ran counter to Clap’s educational intentions and favored these new religious developments. In fact, several sections contained a higher book volume than the 1743 edition, including mathematics, sciences, and natural philosophy. The library even possessed two works on atheism.⁷⁵ Despite their obvious contradiction to orthodoxy, Clap undoubtedly saw a value in these books, as well as the other

controversial works. He likely intended and hoped readers would take heed of his preface when reading them. Considering Clap’s ban on itinerants, prohibition of students attending separate meetings, and implementation of strict disciplinary measures for proactively supporting the revival movement, one must ask,

These works served as precursors to the rise of knowledge regarding rationalism and even Deism at Yale.

72. His other, arguably more controversial work, *A Man of Reason*, praises rational thought. Cotton Mather, *A Man of Reason* (Boston: John Edwards, 1718). Although no documentation exists placing this work in the Yale library in the mid eighteenth century, the book demonstrates Mather’s thought process on the topic of rational applications to religious belief. In this work, Mather establishes his intention early on: “Men ought to hearken to Reason.” Mather continues and quotes the Bible in declaring reason an important aspect of humanity. (3) He frequently uses biblical passages to justify reason, and argues every man has spirit and “there is a faculty called reason” in that. (3) He continues, “The man who does not hearken to reason, does rebel against the glorious God, who has placed Man under the guidance of reason,” explaining “the voice of reason, is the voice of God.” (6-7) Throughout, Mather makes the case for Reason and its incorporation into religious faith. He does not consider it a contradiction of faith; he sees it as an important tool to uphold and deploy on behalf of God.

73. For more on the rise of deism at Yale, see I. Woodbridge Riley, “The Rise of Deism in Yale College,” *The American Journal of Theology* 9, no. 3 (July 1905): 474-83.

74. Tucker, *Puritan Protagonist*, 151.

75. Clap, *Catalogue of Books*, 20.

68. Clap, *Catalogue of Books*, ii.

69. Ibid., 20.

70. William Wollaston, *The Religion of Nature Delinated* (London: Samuel Palmer, 1746).

71. Ibid., 91.

why did he allow such works in the library?⁷⁶

Yale graduate and tutor, Thomas Darling wrote a document criticizing one of Clap's articles and answered this elusive question. Darling quotes Clap as claiming, "But I am free, that every Man should examine for himself, and then openly declare what he finds."⁷⁷ This statement seems surprising considering his actions to control the flow of knowledge only allowing "proper" views and beliefs. However, Darling quickly refutes Clap's claim by, arguing "People who know that Mr. President locks up a number of books from the scholars to prevent their reading of them will doubtless believe he is very sincere in this declaration."⁷⁸ He particularly despised Samuel Clarke's sermons.⁷⁹ Soon after, Rhode Island merchant Henry Collins offered several books to the Yale library, but recanted after hearing about Clap tendency to hide controversial works. Ezra Stiles, who eventually became Clap's successor, successfully made him reconsider his offer. Despite Stiles' efforts, however, Clap refused the donation because he did not agree with the contents.⁸⁰

Clap's Final Works

Clap's writings from his last days as president reveal arguably the most crucial insight about his policies. The first he titled, "An Essay on the Nature and Foundation of Moral Virtue and Obligation; Being a Short Introduction to the Study of Ethics."⁸¹ In this text, he claims the separation of ethics or moral philosophy from "the doctrines or principles of religion...has been the occasion of several mistakes...[but] others have, as it were, partly blended these

76. Clap assisted in the addition of over 4,000 new books during his tenure. Clap, *Annals*, 86.

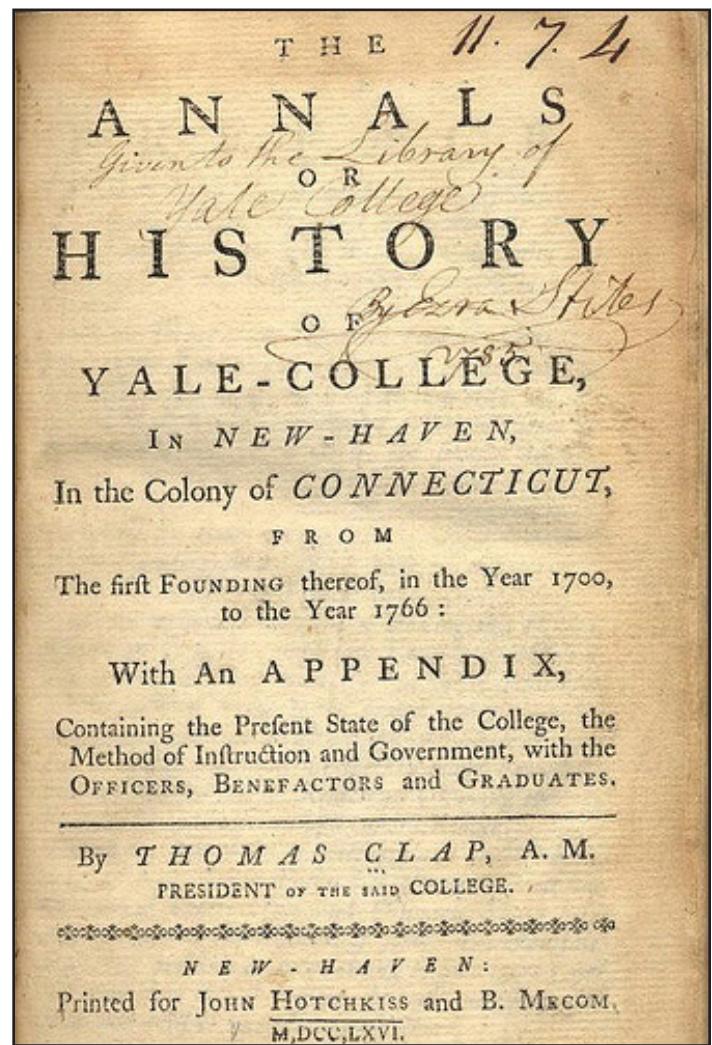
77. Thomas Darling, *Some Remarks on Mr. President Clap's History and Vindication of the Doctrines of the New-England Churches* (New Haven, CT: J. Parker, 1757), 40.

78. Ibid.

79. Ezra Stiles to Thomas Clap, 6 August 1759, in Isaac Woodbridge Riley, *American Philosophy: The Early Schools* (Ann Arbor, MI: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1907), 217.

80. Riley, *American Philosophy*, 216.

81. Thomas Clap, "An Essay on the Nature and Foundation of Moral Virtue and Obligation; Being a Short Introduction to the Study of Ethics" (New Haven, CT: B. Mecom, 1765).



This inscription read, "Given to the Library of Yale College by Ezra Stiles 1785." Thomas Clap, *The Annals or History of Yale College in New Haven, in the Colony of Connecticut* (New Haven, CT: Printed for John Hotchkiss and B. Mecom, 1766).

together, and from thence have formed a system of what they call the religion of nature." He explains that men who imbibed natural religion believe they can attain eternal happiness and salvation through their own powers rather than the help of God or any divine revelation. This difference is the main factor in Clap opposing rationalism. He viewed reason as a secondary means to understand the nature of God, not a substitute for him. Clap ends his thought by saying, "Ethics, in this view, have very much paved the way to Deism."⁸²

Evidently, Clap thought ethics must coincide directly with pure religion. He intended to "rectify these mistakes" by explaining the true nature of religious

82. Ibid. 1-2.

principles and how its interplay with ethics became necessary for a strong moral virtue. “Reason is but an imperfect guide” and Clap believed it did not lead to salvation: “Reason considered as a mere power or faculty in man, cannot possibly be the criterion of virtue or the standard to which human actions ought to be conformed.” The actions of man should conform to the laws of God, not vice versa.⁸³

Clap’s final document is a history of Yale from 1701 to his final year as president in 1766.⁸⁴ In it he reiterates Yale’s “original and primary design of the institution of colleges...was to educate young men for the work of the Ministry” later urging the Synod to “have some kind of influence in all future elections [of presidents]...to preserve Orthodoxy.”⁸⁵ However, he also refers to Yale’s secondary purpose regarding arts and sciences, but qualifies it with religious conviction: “[only] through the blessing of the almighty God, may [youth] be fitted for publick [sic] Employments both in Church and civil State.”⁸⁶ The only controversy Clap mentioned was the Cutler incident noting the new rule that Yale faculty needed to teach against Arminianism. And for students, Clap explained all denominations of Protestant Christianity were allowed, so long as they were not made known to other students. This undoubtedly originated from Clap’s experiences with the revival movement.

Aside from the formal political and economic events defining Yale’s history, Clap’s career remains unusually sanitized. At well over 100 pages, there is no mention of the revival movement or any of its key figures, student controversies, Anglicanism, rationalism or the Enlightenment, student dissent, or any controversies involving Clap himself. In fact, the only reference to anything relevant to the revival movement and rationalism resides in one line: “The college was in an agreeable and happy state in most respects, but had for many years been under, some difficulties and disadvantages with regard to religion.”⁸⁷

83. *Ibid.*, 1-2, 27-29.

84. Thomas Clap, *The Annals or History of Yale-College* (New Haven, CT: John Hotchkiss and B. Mecom, 1766).

85. *Ibid.*, 1-2.

86. *Ibid.*, 5.

87. *Ibid.*, 60.

This represents the most fascinating piece of evidence to suggest Clap aimed to uphold a specific image of himself and Yale, regardless of the truth. Having written an article on ethics and moral virtue just one year prior, Clap noted “men have had very different views of the ultimate end and design of ethics,” but he viewed the true religion as “the right foundation.”⁸⁸ He essentially rationalized “the ends justifying the means” in connection with the preservation of religious orthodoxy.

Conclusion

In Clap’s final years as President, students at Yale dissented more than ever. Many were caught in distasteful displays of revelry, stealing, vandalizing, and rioting. These rebellions reached a peak between 1764 and 1766. Finally, in early 1766, nearly all the students signed a petition listing their “grievances and intolerances” with Clap to the Corporation.⁸⁹ Soon after, Yale descended into complete chaos. Students vandalized several parts of the school, including Clap’s house.⁹⁰ Later that year, Clap asked to resign from his office. Tellingly, none of the events spanning these six years of turmoil made it into his history of Yale. Presumably, he sought to purge all negative publicity.⁹¹

Clap realized many successes and failures in thwarting the revival movement and the significant rise of Enlightenment ideology during his tenure at Yale. Ultimately, his handling of these influences served as a testament to his desire to maintain the purity of Yale’s religious ideals by adamantly opposing rationalism. Clap accomplished this by controlling the flow of knowledge, disciplining students and faculty for dissent, and emphasizing the importance of propagating Puritanism through various policies. On top of

88. Clap, *Essay on the Nature and Foundation*, 1-2.

89. Tucker, *Puritan Protagonist*, 256-57.

90. *Ibid.*, 257.

91. Clap’s tyrannical reputation preceded him. He successfully intimidated potential attendees. Yale graduated only 19 students from the 1766 class and the class after that—the lowest number of graduates in 16 years. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College*, vol. 3 (New York: 1885-1912), 167-68.

this, he punished students and faculty during his tenure for showing support for the revival movement, explicitly denounced rationalism, and successfully prevented a significant spread of reason and logic as replacements for faith. Moreover, he hid books in the library, refused book donations, expelled students for controversial reasons, omitted truths, and manipulated documents to portray himself and Yale as victims and heroes. He believed “the Calvinistic doctrines were the pure doctrines of the Christian religion” and justified his actions by saying he “endeavored by all Ways and Means in his Power, to bring [Yale College] forward towards a State of Perfection.”⁹² In retrospect, he failed. From 1701-19, nearly 73 percent of graduates became ministers. That number fell to less than 18 percent by the early nineteenth century.⁹³ Clap may have thwarted the Great Awakening and, to some degree, rationalism during his tenure, but it remained a futile effort. Yale eventually succumbed to progressive thinking and slowly drifted away from the original intent of training youth for the ministry and maintaining their religious orthodoxy.

92. Darling, *Some Remarks on Mr. President*, 8; Clap, *Annals*, 41.

93. Bailey B. Burritt, *Professional Distribution of College and University Graduates* (Washington, DC: 1912), 14, 22, 75, in, Richard Hofstadter and C. DeWitt Hardy, *The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1952), 7.

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Dysfunctional Movements

Juan Jesus Villa



Marina Ginestà, aged seventeen, overlooks Barcelona four days after the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. She represents women as equal participants and not as the victims portrayed by propaganda posters. Juan Guzman, photographer, *Marina Ginestà at the top of Hotel Colón*, photograph, 1936 (Madrid, ES: Agencia EFE).

Juan Jesus Villa explores the 1931-1937 socialist revolution in Spain that claimed to bring liberation and freedom, but the conflict over gender roles within the movement reveals otherwise. Villa uses the theories of critical historical materialism and gender oppression as established by Simon de Beauvoir's, *The Second Sex*, Emma Goldman's articles, and Lucia Sanchez Saornil's essays to expose the movement's gender conflicts. Beauvoir insisted although oppression an individual is conditioned and molded within a social structure. Furthermore, women and men need to "deschool" in order to avoid perpetuating the vicious cycle of oppression and making any form of movement dysfunctional.

Prior to industrialization, rich white men with a fondness for calling themselves historians demonstrated both their class and gender proclivities when they wrote about historical events. When a woman¹ appeared in the text, her absence of power reflected in her lack of strength and inability to control her destiny. In other words, women played a submissive role in the realm of history. Therefore, as argued by Simone de Beauvoir, when those with power wrote history prior to industrialization, they justified their treatment of women.² As society changed with the development of technology, she believed this shift rendered the concepts of power and strength irrelevant in terms of survival, stating, “[T]hus operating many modern machines requires only part of masculine resources; if the necessary minimum is not superior to women’s capacities, she becomes man’s work equal.”³

Unfortunately, control of material wealth replaced prior notions of need for physical supremacy. Ideally, the means of production should bring equality to all people, in particular the sexes, but in reality women suffered from exploitation within the industrial work force. In her article, “‘Separate and Equal?’ *Mujeres Libres* and Anarchist Strategy for Women’s Emancipation,” feminist scholar Martha A. Ackelsberg, contends that organizers within the woman’s anarchist movement, *Mujeres Libres*, “insisted that women’s dependence resulted from an extreme sexual division of labor that relegated them to the lowest-paying jobs, under the most oppressive conditions.”⁴ Even if women joined the work force, they still faced subordination by men. Beauvoir recognized this inequitable division as a constant. She focused

1. Throughout the text, the terms women and men appear heavily in order to refrain from using the degrading and derogatory terms of male and female. Describing people based on their biological sex stands out as sexist, misogynistic, transphobic, and ultimately attributes gendered characteristics (masculine and feminine) to those who may not necessarily reflect those traits. Using gendered terms dehumanizes the subjects.

2. Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010), 148.

3. *Ibid.*, 62.

4. Martha A. Ackelsberg, “‘Separate and Equal?’ *Mujeres Libres* and Anarchist Strategy for Women’s Emancipation,” *Feminist Studies* 11, no. 1 (Spring, 1985): 70.



Simone de Beauvoir wrote *The Second Sex* in 1949. Henri Cartier-Bresson, photographer, *Simone de Beauvoir in Paris*, 1945 (New York: Magnum Photos).

on ancient history, and argued this problem developed when human history changed from primitive societies to complex societies as constructed by newfound tools that contributed to its productive capabilities. New tools disrupted the division of labor and converted maternal rights and production into a purely male undertaking, thereby shifting society into a patriarchal one.⁵ By not considering a male dominated structure of labor, leftist movements found it difficult to divorce themselves from inequality because while they fought class-based oppression, they simultaneously embraced historic patriarchal social structures.

Beauvoir’s criticism of Marxism reveals gender inequalities within revolutions, the movements claiming to bring equality to the masses, seemed to neglect the wants and needs of women. By ignoring them, revolutionary leftists set themselves up for failure; the men contributed to further oppression within their socioeconomic classes by replicating repression. Emma Goldman, Margarita Nelken, Lucia Sanchez Saornil, Beauvoir, and other feminist scholars contended a movement that consisted of equality, anarchism, and

5. de Beauvoir, *Second Sex*, 63.

socialism, provided good ideas, but as according to Slavenka Drakulić,⁶ the movements dictated by male authoritative figures were flawed, because they ignored the status of women.⁷ Beauvoir elucidates the profound challenge of determining a woman's purpose within society during previous and future leftist movements as traditional gender roles bled into what men referred to as equality. The Spanish, during the revolutionary years of the 1930s, revealed these discrepancies within the leftist movements. What anarchist and socialist women experienced and saw within their country in that decade, reaffirms the feminist claims that gender inequality hindered leftist revolutions.

Addressing the neglect of women within the social and political movements remains of the utmost importance because their presence affects the direction in which a movement develops. This explains why right-wing movements appealed to them, because they created the illusion of giving agency to a disenfranchised gender. For example, Benito Mussolini politicized women in Italy to advance the Fascist Party's rise to power.⁸ This problem represents a deep complexity in understanding the Spanish revolutionary period and other leftist movements that need further exploration by activist scholars or those who desire freedom from social control.⁹

6. The creation journalist and cultural commentator Slavenka Drakulić wrote the book, *How We Survived Communism and Even Laughed*, where she details her experiences living in Yugoslavia under the former Soviet system. She criticizes how certain individuals exploited communism. However, she also critiques "democratic" nations and critics both sides in terms of their oppression of women.

7. Slavenka Drakulić, *How We Survived Communism and Even Laughed* (New York City: Harper Perennial, 1993), 23.

8. Victoria de Grazia, *How Fascism Ruled Women: Italy, 1922-1945* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1992).

9. The key sources from this period consist of the primary scholarship of Simon de Beauvoir's, *The Second Sex*, Emma Goldman's newspaper articles, and the assorted writings of Lucia Sanchez Saornil. By integrating their assertions with one another, it intertwines similar views on the issue of gender inequalities. In this case, the utilization of secondary sources complicates the Spanish scene, firmly rooting the primary source arguments.

[T]raditional gender roles bled into what men referred to as equality.

1930s Spain in Context

An understanding of Spain between the years 1930 to 1939 aids in comprehending the lost voices of the revolution. In the 1930s, Spain hosted a complex environment with multiple cultural and political identities that drastically differed from one region to the next. Simplistically, these conflicting identities exploded into civil war as families and friends fought amongst themselves. This type of internecine war historically plagued Spain, often compelling the factions to rally behind individuals or ideologies to restore peace and stability.

April 1931 marked the birth of the Second Spanish Republic. Although under socialist control,

the new republic intended to act as a bridge between Iberian societies, but the result only further solidified divisions among the masses.¹⁰ The tendency toward the exclusivity of the socialists and communists in Madrid resulted in their refusal to work with other left-wing movements, most prominently the anarchists, especially those coming from Catalonia.¹¹ While the left internally fought for the mantle of leadership, right-wing movements systematically built their power base by turning the left against itself. As noted by Paul Preston, from 1931-1933, "while the [leftist] government coalition was crumbling, the right was organizing its forces."¹² Among those forces, the right organized newly emancipated women. Acting on this momentum, the right retook power in the April elections of 1933—wom-

10. Among the many socialist movements in Spain, the one central to Madrid, *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE), directed and led by Largo Caballero, stood out as the strongest at the time. The PSOE, manage to survive the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera from 1922 to 1929, by complying with authority. Once de Rivera stepped down, the PSOE held the perfect position to take power. Consequently, many of the other leftist groups that received persecution during the dictatorship viewed the PSOE with great suspicion, causing dysfunction among the movements from the beginning of the Second Spanish Republic. Paul Preston, *The Spanish Civil War: Reaction, Revolution, and Revenge* (London: Harper Perennial, 2007), 38-39.

11. Ibid., 84-85.

12. Ibid., 61.

en in this case contributed with their votes.¹³ The divisions within the left produced only part of the issue, gender inequalities evidently created the other. Because the left disregarded a woman's role within the movement, women, more specifically those who identified as anarchists, created *Mujeres Libres* in 1936 to liberate themselves, as suggested from their doctrine, from the "triple enslavement of women, to ignorance, to capital, and to men."¹⁴ Movement leaders such as Lucia Sanchez Saornil insisted that *Mujeres Libres* gave women a social space within a man's world.

However, once the right gained power, they immediately dismantled the programs the socialists attempted to build.¹⁵ By 1934, many political groups lost faith in the republic and its inability to protect the people, which resulted in the withdrawal of participating groups from the national political dialogue. For instance, the Catalonians refused to engage with other regional groups and exclusively focused on their own locality. Infighting and bitter disputes arose, and by 1936, the tensions further divided left-wing groups. Leftist men still refused to accept women as active participants, and instead worsened divisions within the disjointed movement by excluding them from positions of power.

Simone de Beauvoir

Simone de Beauvoir's revolutionary book, *The Second Sex*, remains one of the most influential contributions to understanding the failure of leftist movements because of her analysis of historical materialism. In it, she highlights the flaws within Engels and Marx's explanation of the function of society. This crucial critique holds importance because many leftist movements within revolutionary Spain followed some variation of the idea that sought proletariat revolution, which undermined leftist movements in Spain from the beginning. Their patriarchal methods revolved around societies imagined and created by men. Beauvoir demonstrates why patriarchal society renders women submissive through a contrived illusion:

13. Ibid., 88.

14. Ackelsberg, "Separate and Equal," 64.

15. Ibid., 65.

Men's economic privilege, their social value, the prestige of marriage, the usefulness of masculine support—all these encourages women to ardently want to please men. They are on the whole still in a state of serfdom. It follows that women knows and chooses herself not as she exist for herself but as man defines her. She thus has to be described first as men dream of her since her being-for-men is one of the essential factors of her concrete condition.¹⁶

If men generated social constructions in order to manufacture the second sex, in this case women, then challenging this notion in order to liberate themselves became the next logical step. For women to confront patriarchy, they needed to defy years of oppression.

Spain revolved around economics, and in order for woman to rise up, they need to recognize that "social oppression is the consequence of her economic oppression."¹⁷ Under industrialization, tools replaced professional skills to determine an individuals worth. As a consequence of this trend, people developed into a tool of the industrial machine. Under such a structure, economic oppression enslaved large portions of the Spanish population who debased themselves in order to survive within industrialization.¹⁸ With the addition of patriarchal ideas, women's oppression only intensified. In order to solve this crisis, Beauvoir maintained that women's equal presence in the work force provided the solution. This would cause women to expand their role in the means of production, and inevitably, control their own destinies. Women simply needed to reject patriarchy, and abandon the confines of domesticity to freely enter the public sphere. Ideally, socialist movements would liberate people from oppression, but as Beauvoir points out, in reality a "women's fate is intimately bound to the fate of socialism as seen also in Babel's vast work on women."¹⁹ As in the Spanish case, socialism provided good ideas, but leftists poorly executed its implementation. In Beauvoir's critique of Marxism, she asserts that historical materialism's ability to simplify

16. de Beauvoir, *Second Sex*, 156.

17. Ibid., 63.

18. Issac Aviv, "The Madrid Working Class, the Spanish Socialist Party and the Collapse of the Second Republic (1934-1936)," *Journal of Contemporary History* 16, no. 2 (1981): 236.

19. Ibid., 64.

and predetermine societal stands out as its most egregious shortcoming. If society deemed the oppression of women as normal, then questioning their status remains counterproductive.²⁰ In this aspect, women are forgotten in the Marxist narrative since they themselves become willing participants within the conditions of society.

As societies evolve, people determine social conditions, which reveal problems in the traditional patriarchal values that forced women to participate within the structure. For example, the question regarding a woman's reproductive role derives from the concept of nation building that insists on an endless supply of births. To meet this demand society institutionalizes marriage and child-birth, as discussed by Beauvoir: "There is no way to directly oblige a woman to give birth: all that can be done is to enclose her in situations where motherhood is her only option: law or customs impose on her, anticonception measures and abortion are banned, divorce is forbidden."²¹

Instead of considering women as equals, men subjugate them to a role of production, and women's primary function turns into the pleasuring of men, taking care of his home, and finally producing an heir—all of which objectify women.²² Drakulić gives an example of how the male dominated communist state, dictated beauty standards to women when she described a shortage of hair dye and the dilemma women faced when this occurred.²³ According to Beauvoir, this common tactic of the Soviets essentially brought back paternalism from the grave.²⁴ Brian D. Bunk's *Ghosts of Passion* reveals through the propaganda that emerged in Spain in 1936, the right reinforced matrimony and gender roles. The women of



"We charge the rebels as assassins! Innocent children and women die. Free men, repudiate all those who support Fascism in the rearguard." This propaganda poster asks men to fight against fascism while depicting women and children as victims instead of equal participants. Propaganda editada por la confederación regional de Levante, lithograph, *¡Acusamos de asesinos a los facciosos! Niños y mujeres caen inocentes. Hombres libres, repudiad a todos los que apoyen en la retaguardia al fascismo. He aquí las víctimas*, ca. 1937 (Valencia: Control UGT-CNT).

marriage

Mujeres Libres created their movement as a means to challenge these gender roles. This unrecognized foundational element illuminates Spanish society's patriarchal nature because women challenged the men. Beauvoir concludes historical materialism remains flawed because it simply serves men and their roles within societies. These movements are traditional by nature and require education to break away from oppression and gender social constructions.²⁵ Knowledge provides women with the ability to mobilize, organize, and unionize, and once they partake in such a task, women can obliterate patriarchy.²⁶ Beauvoir, *Mujeres Libres*, and Margarita Nelken insist education remains essential to liberate and empower women.

In the case of Nelken, writing and teaching gave her the ability to support herself and raise her daughter, which provided her with a great sense of in-

20. Ibid., 64.

21. Ibid., 67.

22. Ibid.

23. Drakulić, *How We Survived Communism*, 24.

24. de Beauvoir, *Second Sex*, 67.

25. Brian D. Bunk, *Ghosts of Passion: Martyrdom, Gender, and the Origins of the Spanish Civil War* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), 11.

26. de Beauvoir, *Second Sex*, 133.

dependence. She wanted to spread her new sense of independence to others but when she tried, she met hostility for teaching orphaned children. She met opposition due to her status as a single mother, her independent nature, and her education. Because of these characteristics, the church felt she lacked the qualifications to teach since she did not meet their criteria of the ideal traditional woman. This encounter pushed her to protest against the church and demand equality and a quality education for the lower masses and not the propaganda the church taught. To reform the educational institution, teaching outside of the church's traditional rhetoric became a necessary goal for her.²⁷

Nelken's goal to move beyond the church's teaching standards in Spain during early 1930s matches Ivan Illich's present day arguments on education reform. In his book *Deschooling Society*, he argues education serves several aspects within society. First, it serves as an elite institution, and second, it serves as a form of social conditioning for both the rich and poor in order to function within the parameters of what those in power deemed normal.²⁸ If the power structure deem women inferior, then education conditions to the point that oppression becomes reality, rendering the population docile and under control



"What are you doing to prevent this? Madrid." This poster exemplifies the social constriction of women as damsels in distress. Augusto, halftone, *Que fais-tu pour empêcher cela? Madrid*, ca. 1937 (Madrid, ES: Ministerio de Propaganda).

Spain 1931-1936

In 1931 Spain, the elections of the second Republic intended to return normality within the country, especially after the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera.²⁹ Many citizens found themselves hopeful for change, including women. They massed together and applied pressure to force the newly elected government to emancipate them.³⁰ As a result, for the first time, three women were elected as members of parliament, including the socialist Margarita Nelken. By the elections of 1933, the nation became conservative once again because the right used propaganda so effectively it mobilized women more successfully than the socialists.³¹ Many Spanish feminists were educated and conscious of their environment, but too few in numbers to oppose the traditionalist leanings of the remaining uneducated female population. The right, through their usage of propaganda, appealed to uneducated and traditionalist women because they spoke of familiar things like marriage and God. For

this reason, Margarita Nelken felt the emancipated women needed more time, especially because they turned to institutions like the church, which controlled education to make sense of the world.³² Consequently, the government needed to restructure education

27. Paul Preston, *Doves of War: Four Women in Spain*, (New York: Harper Collins Publisher, 2002), 307-08.

28. Ivan Illich, *Deschooling Society* (London: Marion Boyars, 2002), 35.

29. Rosa M. Capel Martinez, "De Protagonistas a Represaliadas: La Experiencia de las Mujeres Republicanas." *Cuadernos de Historia Contemporánea*, (Jan., 2007): 35-36.

30. Ibid., 36.

31. Preston, *Spanish Civil War*, 88.

32. Preston, *Doves of War*, 308-10.

as a first step to enact social change but it never happened. Therefore, Nelken urged socialist movements to construct their own forms of education to reach out to women, and empower them, in order for them to make conscious choices in life.³³

In 1936, the *Mujeres Libres* among their many demands pushed for access to education since it contributes to women empowerment, something that Beauvoir definitely agrees with. With the power of education, one is less likely to remain oppressed. Yet, as Lucia Sanchez Saornil³⁴ mentions, the men within the anarchist movement refused to allow the participation of women in the public sphere.³⁵ By denying women access to empowerment, those men simply contributed to the divide, which allowed the right to conquer. Therefore, gender inequalities decided the elections of 1933. This made women nothing more than cattle to herd in one direction or the “Other.”

Due to the effects of the 1933 election, more educated women took action and appeared in the public sphere, leveraging them into political positions in order to further prevent the right from taking more power. However, by 1936, the Stalinist Popular Front excluded women from serving in any political position.³⁶ Instead of moving forward, the Republic went backwards, a sign of the conservative aspect of the Republic. While removed from the political sphere, women still severed in important positions in the movement. For example, while the left appealed for women’s rights, yet they still referred to women as wives, mothers, and sisters.³⁷ Essentially, the socialist men expected the statues of women not to change from the domestic sphere. Therefore, why appeal to women if men simply planned to oppress them? As

33. Ibid., 309.

34. Many remember Lucia Sanchez Saornil for poetry, writings, and above all, assisting in the creation of the feminist anarchist movement *Mujeres Libres*. Her creation intended to empower women while challenging patriarchy, and played a pivotal role in the Spanish revolutionary years of 1936-39.

35. Ackelsberg, “Separate and Equal,” 66.

36. The term “Popular Front” refers to a coalition of leftist movements, which put aside their difference to promote the greater good. However, in Spain, political leaders of each movement divided their Popular Fronts. Each leader tried to gain control, thus heightening tensions towards one another.

37. Martinez, “De Protagonistas a Represaliadas,” 40.

Rosa M. Capel Martinez describes, in 1936, women consisted of a large number of voters, so both the left and right entered a war of propaganda in order to appeal to women. Much how women became the decisive factor for the right in the 1933 election, this held true for the left in the election of 1936. Both sides simply made promises but failed to keep them; proving the election of 1936 a fraud.³⁸ These gender inequalities hindered the left more than the right. The right simply took advantage of women’s ignorance, which is why *Mujeres Libres*, Sanchez Saornil, and Margarita Nelken argued for the importance of providing access to education in order to avoid deceit.

Mujeres Libres

In 1936, the anarchist female movement, *Mujeres Libres*, pushed the hardest for true gender rights and equality. The anarchists of Spain, known as the anarcho-syndicalist movement *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* (CNT), sought proletariat freedom, and “articulated a vision of a nonhierarchical, communitarian, society in which women and men would participate equality.”³⁹ However, a problem arose with Spanish women not ready to accomplish this vision. Many of them still served in domestic roles and men simply did not do anything to bring them up to their level. Women in this case did not have a social outlet because men dominated social spaces. As a result of this frustration, the few educated women in Spain came together and created the *Mujeres Libres* in May of 1936. The movement based on anarchist theory meant to provide a space for women to empower them and allow them to challenge the men in their societies.⁴⁰

The *Mujeres Libres* movement established three main goals, which empowered women:

First, *Mujeres Libres* focused greatest attention on the problems that were of particular concern to women: illiteracy, economic dependence and exploitation, and ignorance about health care, childcare, and sexuality. Second, they insisted that engagement in struggle requires a change sense of self. Women could develop and re-

38. Ibid., 40-2.

39. Ackelsberg, “Separate and Equal,” 63.

40. Ibid., 68.

tain such a changed consciousness only if they acted independently of men, in an organization designed to protect new self-definitions. *Mujeres Libres* attempted to be the context for the development of such changed consciousness. Finally, they believed that a separate and independent organization was essential to challenge the sexism and the masculinist hierarchy of the CNT and of the anarchist movement as a whole. As an organization, *Mujeres Libres* took on that challenge.⁴¹

Fundamentally, socialist or anarchist movements that claim to liberate but still oppress women subject themselves to oppression, thus, flawed its struggle. How can men gain liberation from their oppression when they in turn oppress women and neglect their existence simply because they perceive women as the “Other”?⁴² *Mujeres Libres* challenged men, but also offered them the necessary tools to liberate themselves. Ultimately, *Mujeres Libres*’ three demands sought a way to provide freedom from oppression. Under two different arms of the anarchist movement, one male and the other female, women could intellectually develop and men could bring to question their biases. Women separating themselves from the norm contributes to the fact that there is a problem. This intended to force men to realize the problem so that they can begin to question their own environment and goals. For this reason, they pushed for independent organizations. They demanded education, health care, and childcare as humanistic rights in society. Denying such rights not only presented the problem of individuals working against women, but also working against society as a whole. If men do not realize this occurrence, then they miss an opportunity to gain freedom.

The *Mujeres Libres* strongly advocated for education, and at the same time, they asked for proper childcare facilities, health care, and equal pay.⁴³ By granting women these rights, not only is the movement treating them equally, but also acknowledging

41. Ibid., 69.

42. Lucia Sanchez Saornil, “The Question of Feminism,” in *Anarchism: A Documentary History of Libertarian Ideas, Volume I: From Anarchy to Anarchism (300CE-1939)*, ed. Robert Graham (Montreal, CA: Black Rose Books, 2005), 460-61.

43. Ackelsberg, “Separate and Equal,” 70-71.

their existence and experience within society. Nevertheless, the notion of getting men to acknowledge their role in oppression became a hard task to accomplish because of years of social conditioning. Ackelsberg mentions the difficulties behind this challenge, “[M]ost anarchists refused to recognize the specificity of women’s subordination, and few men were willing to give up the power over women they had enjoyed for so long.”⁴⁴ In this aspect, the anarchist struggle remained a flawed movement, because it still held onto traditional values of the oppressors. According to Sanchez Saornil, no difference exists between a fascist and an anarchist; they both display “the same old slavery.”⁴⁵ Essentially, they are simply victims of society, and as Emma Goldman describes, society incarcerates people to social constructions, and therefore, they blame the system.⁴⁶

If the system caused men to refuse to break away from the patriarchy and view women as equals, then the destruction of the system is necessary. However, eliminating it needs the approval of the majority of the people, which generates problems. Attempting revolution within the paradigm of a system where people feel complacent will inevitably fail. Principally, the

movement will merely utilize the same rhetoric of the old system but under new terms. A real revolution destroys the old. Therefore, if society conditions gender, then it can justify gender roles and society will never see its own oppression.⁴⁷

If society strives for change, then it must change women’s consciousness. Nelken realized this in 1931. She knew women’s conditioning under traditional values left any hope of emancipation doomed. In addition, *Mujeres Libres* made a similar analysis to Nelken’s. Both figures realized that the development of women’s consciousness needed to occur first in order to ensure the liberation of women. They believed political activism served as the best way to develop

44. Ibid., 66.

45. Saornil, “Question of Feminism,” 465.

46. Emma Goldman, “Anarchy and the Sex Question,” *New York World*, September 27, 1896.

47. Ackelsberg, “Separate and Equal,” 71.



“The fallen need help.” While this poster encouraged people to volunteer, the imagery shows how genders should participate: men as soldiers and women as the traditional caregivers. Eduardo Vicente, lithographer, *Els caiguts et necessiten!.. ajuda, 1937* (Catalonia, ES: Consell de Sanitat de Guerra).

consciousness, since it provided a new form of education. Such participation inspired two things, which Ackelsberg describes:

Such participation would empower women in two senses: first, to overcome the basic deficits of information that prevented them from active involvement; and, second, to overcome the lack of self-confidence that accompanied their subordination.⁴⁸

According to Ackelsber, empowering women is essential, and if society allow them to participate in the realm of organizational struggle success will follow. However, these movements need to allow women to participate at their own pace to serve best the interests and needs of both men and women. Since

48. Ibid., 74.

women have their own trials to deal with, they need to raise their consciousness to come to terms with their struggle. Once they accept this reality, they can then begin to challenge not only themselves, but also their fellow men. Even within the anarchist conflict lays another struggle, the struggle from within—a women’s struggle, and this can be true for the other leftist movements in the Iberian Peninsula.⁴⁹ In terms of Margarita Nelken, one of the main reasons why she wanted to reform education had to do with the fact that the Catholic church monopolized education and social life in Spain, which reinsured traditional patriarchal values.⁵⁰ Once empowered by knowledge, women needed to confront the movement and the world around them, just as “Mujeres Libres challenged the sexism of anarchist movement organizations.”⁵¹ Intelligence and experience will finally prepare women to take on the mantel of responsibility and unmask the shortcomings of their fellow men. Similarly enough, the biggest concern with the anarchist men is that they did not follow through with the actions they promised and unfortunately neglected half of their comrades because of their gender. As such, their neglect of women caused a lack of potential strength for the movement, which hindered their movement. Ackelsberg states:

Unless these practices ended—and anarchist men began taking women and their issues seriously—no anarchist strategy or program could hope to be successful, especially not in appealing to women.⁵²

For that reason, women seemed more likely to join other movements, those without an education likely join the right—a great problem that men needed to address. Thus, by not taking the needs of women into consideration the Spanish socialist and anarchist movements shoot themselves in the foot and failed to launch a meaningful revolution in the 1930s.

49. Ibid., 73.

50. Preston, *Doves of War: Four Women in Spain*, 308.

51. Ackelsberg, “‘Separate and Equal’? Mujeres Libres and Anarchist Strategy for Women’s Emancipation,” 75.

52. Ibid., 76.

Conclusion

This analysis started with the reading of Simone de Beauvoir's, *The Second Sex*. Sparking important questions about the nature of revolution, especially after reading her chapter about historical materialism. Of these questions, two seemed to need necessary and immediate exploration: what happens to revolutionary movements when they are oppressive towards the opposite sex? Furthermore, does this hinder the struggle, or better yet, can that endeavor be called a movement at all? Taking her criticism of historical materialism, a strong desire emerged in looking at how gender inequalities hindered both the anarchists and socialists movements of Spain during the country's most conflicting years, 1931-36.

After reading feminist critics of the Spanish left, such as Lucia Sanchez Saornil, leftist movements flaws arose out of obvious hostility towards women. Just because movements on the left preached for liberation, does not mean that they actually fought for freedom. Although they challenged elitist oppression and the outside world when it came to women, they were just as oppressive as those that they called oppressors.⁵³ This invokes ideas out of Paulo Freire's books *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and *Pedagogy of Freedom*. One of the most profound concepts Freire's in *Pedagogy of Freedom* concludes two types of students exist, those that regurgitate what has been presented to them and those that take the knowledge and apply it the world around them.⁵⁴ Those individuals that usually look at the world by regurgitation are the most disconnected to reality. While they apply theories and stay true to the theory, they do not realize that it is nothing more than a theory, and they fail to question it. *Mujeres Libres* challenged the theory around them, thus supporting Martha A. Ackelsberg's article in which she argues the left seems nothing more than a contradiction of itself. Therefore, their revolution had flaws. Therefore, people should not believe that such rhetoric will truly lead them to freedom.

53. Ibid., 75.

54. Freire, *Pedagogy of Freedom*, 34.

The movements in Spain not only neglected women, but the war itself took away a woman's ability to politically choose. Select elites along with those who challenge the oppressors lacked humanity as they rejected equality of women. A problem arises from society valuing patriarchy and power more than pursuing a humanistic approach to life; consequently, feminine equality seems irrelevant. There is no morality within an inequitable society. If there were, everyone would have medical care, access to education, contraceptives, a home, and no one would starve. Yet, people struggle with these basic and easily provable needs, but since it does not make a profit or empower the individual, those who hold these resources withhold such necessities. Furthermore, such a system deems women unnecessary, and they it uses them as nothing more than a tool to exploit.

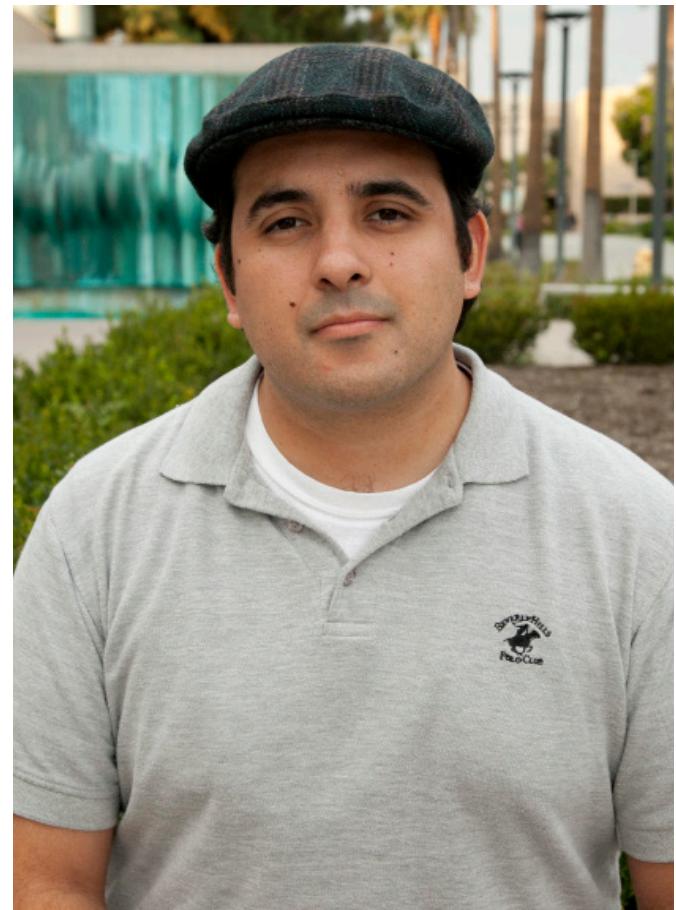
So where do we go from here, or where do we go at all? People seem incapable to change their surroundings, especially men. So perhaps education can help not just men, but women as well. Through education, people can liberate themselves from their oppression. While it may take time, the problem lies outside interferences, in social constructions placed among communities. So let us imagine what a movement would look like if we approached it through a feminine perspective, if we start from the ground in empowering women with knowledge, then educating men in the challenges of the sexes. Would this not truly challenge oppression if the movement were constructed from a feminine approach?

If challenging the system is the act of destroying it, then why would people work within the paradigms of the system they attempt to destroy? Working outside the system needs to happen starting with patriarchy. Since our system is patriarchal, truly contesting it challenges patriarchy. Therefore, men must come to terms with their oppressive role if they truly want freedom from oppression. This means they must interrogate their privilege within society and willingly step down to help their fellow women rise. Only then can change from the previous order happen.

By not including women to the conversation of liberation and freedom, movements then and now simply ask for dysfunction. Due to the previous struggles of the past being fought for today, such as access to education, medical care, and contraceptives, one must wonder if progression in society seems achievable. Furthermore, things like sexual abuse and patriarchal sentiments towards women remain today.⁵⁵ Since gender inequalities still reside within our society, it shows societies flaws. In modern times, oppression still holds the masses down. Exploring Simone de Beauvoir and looking at the movements within Spain shows that humanity still has to struggle in addressing oppression in its pursuit of liberation. We have yet to become humane, to become as one.

55. Judith Thurman, “Introduction” in, Beauvoir, *The Second Sex*, ix.

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The Devil in the Detail:

Piracy and Privateering in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

Garrison Giali

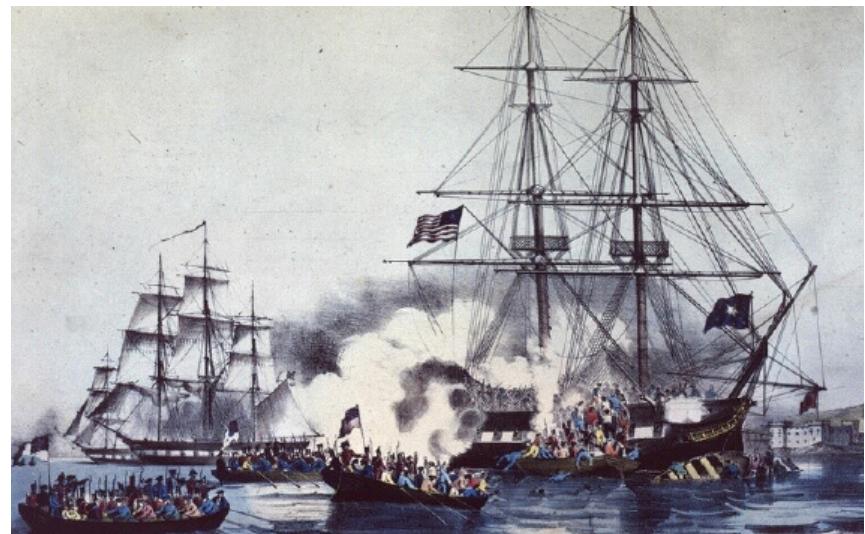


Queen Elizabeth I knighting Sir Francis Drake for privateering against her enemies. Jean-Léon Huens, artist, *Queen Elizabeth Knights Sir Francis Drake on Deck of Golden Hind*, oil on canvass, 1975 (Washington, DC: National Geographic Society).

During the Golden Age of Piracy, amidst a backdrop of cannon fire and the clashing of cutlasses, captains of unsuspecting merchant ships cared little for the legal statuses of predator vessels on the horizon. Once at sea, seafaring commanders regarded all foreign watercraft as hostile. However, upon return to port, minute distinctions between piracy and privateering made the difference between crews receiving death sentences or walking away with lucrative prizes. **Garrison Giali** analyzes the murky legality of both acts of plunder during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and unravels the historical distinctions between the two.

In an 1801 communique to his political confidante James Madison Jr., President Thomas Jefferson crassly remarked, “I am an enemy to all these douceurs, tributes and humilities...I know of nothing that will stop the eternal increase of demand from those *pirates*, but the presence of an armed force.”¹ President Jefferson, who had for the past decade actively campaigned against the idea of a standing military, finally lost his temper with the Barbary Pirates and their system of tribute and plunder in the Mediterranean. Jefferson soon approved a fleet of naval warships to cruise the North African coast, essentially commencing the First Barbary War. Ironically, twenty years earlier, pirate smugglers aided the American Revolutionary cause by importing illicit goods, while belligerent privateering outfits raided British ships in and around American ports. During the War of 1812, Americans once again relied upon “pirate-esque” merchant marines to combat the British navy. In review of the historical record, state sanctioned and private corsairs seem to play a decisive role in the naissance of the United States. Nevertheless, American dignitaries acted hastily to quash piratical activity around the Algerian coast.

Though piracy and privateering certainly existed as part of the early American experience, their histories are undoubtedly murky, and remain intertwined in a complex amalgamation of lawful and illicit plundering, violence, naval interaction, criminal and civil trials, and death sentences. Upon review of the primary source accounts from this era, the differences between these two practices seem diminutive at best and led some historians to consider these two activites as essentially one in the same.² An analysis of the differences in maritime



This image features the American privateer “General Armstrong” as he repels an onslaught of British sailors during the War of 1812. Nathaniel Currier, lithographer, *American Privateer “General Armstrong” Capt. Sam. C. Reid*, lithograph, 1835 (Washington, DC: Library of Congress).

law during the seventeenth and eighteenth century, includes an examination of the pertinent legal records, including statutes, court cases, judicial opinions, the sworn testimonies of deponents, and trial verdicts. The historiographical record seems relatively settled on the matter: during the nineteenth century, the actions of pirates and privateers often seem *more similar* than *dissimilar* in practice. Both groups captured other vessels for monetary gain, using comparable tactics while at sea.³ Fittingly, numerous historical works affirm and reinforce the similarities between illegal piracy and legal privateering.⁴

While both mauraders raided other ships for monetary gain, privateers did so with a basic respect and appreciation for the rule of law in their everyday lives. They attempted to maneuver their actions within the constraints of legal regulation and over time, began to use it to their advantage. Pirates, however, existed outside the breadth of law and attempted to escape it whenever possible.

3. David J. Starkey, “The Origins and Regulations of Eighteenth-Century British Piracy,” in *Bandits at Sea*, 69-71; Edgar Stanton Maclay, *A History of American Privateers* (New York: Appleton and Company Publishing, 1899), 41.

4. See Timothy S. Good, ed., *American Privateers in the War of 1812: The Vessels and Their Prizes as Recorded in Niles’ Weekly Register* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2012); Matthew Taylor Rafferty, *A Republic A loat: Law, Honor, and Citizenship in Maritime America* (Chicago, IL: University Press, 2013).

1. Barbara B. Oberg and J. Jefferson Looney, eds. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Digital Edition* (Rotunda online archive, 2014).

2. Marcus Rediker, “The Seaman as a Pirate: Plunder as Social Banditry at Sea,” in *Bandits at Sea: A Pirates Reader* ed. by C.R. Pennell (New York: University Press, 2001).

Accordingly, in the courts pirates met guilty verdicts and felt the noose tighten on their throats far more often than “villainous privateers,” even when both engaged in identical transgressions.

To assess the relevance of original material, the analysis herein diverges from the traditional theme accepted by some academics. As stated by the late Professor of History at California State University, Fullerton, Gordon Bakken, “historians are charged with findings truths and discerning historical falsehoods...in a culture where words have lost their meaning.”⁵ Such words ring especially true in today’s day and age, where historians have broadened piracy’s scope to include train robbers, cattle rustlers, and even the American Founding Fathers. In sum, primary sources may elucidate the different natures of the two, and prove their exceptional diversity.

In the modern world, centuries of legal consideration and international conformity defined piracy as a relatively settled concept. In a popular understanding, most people comprehend this as banditry *at sea*, whether stealing a sea-fairing vessel or its cargo, holding a crew for ransom, or forcibly boarding a vessel without consent.⁶ However, during Piracy’s Golden Age between 1650 and 1730, the concept did not have a uniform definition—a chaotic intersection of smalltime coastal thieves, notorious sea-villains, incorporated networks of commerce raiders, slave traders, and quasi-naval privateering outfits who operated under the auspices of monarchs. In this period, courts and juries struggled to distinguish piracy from privateering and reluctantly reconciled piracy with more amenable forms of sea-crime. Furthermore, the record suggests pirates acted as enemies only to select nation-states, religious groups, and ethnic classes, not all of *humanity* as later suggested.⁷

By 1801, during the time of Jefferson’s letter to Madison, American and English courts became entrenched in the process of untangling a massive legal

knot called piracy. During the War of 1812 and the advent of widespread naval impressment and privateering, Admiralty judges in opposing jurisdictions wrestled with an even greater onslaught of complex legal questions: Did privateers without valid licenses qualify as pirates? Were crews who mutinied to gain refuge from abusive captains considered pirates? Does the refusal to follow unreasonable orders on a sailing vessel qualify as mutiny? After great effort, the courts settled these questions of law and left behind volumes of briefs and judicial opinions which clarified elements of Admiralty law. Consistent with Common Law tradition, these written court records provide both an extensive and thorough look into aspects of piracy, privateering, and the development of maritime law in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Historiographical Review

Maritime historian David J. Starkey’s article, “Origins and Regulation of 18th Century British Privateering,” provides an excellent backdrop for historical assessment, as he correctly situates English privateering within constraints of state control.⁸ He argues the British government successfully established laws and regulations to prevent piratical activity amongst privately owned warships. Similar to Starkey’s review, Matthew Rafferty’s⁹ *The Republic Afloat*, offers an in-depth examination of American privateers during the Golden Age of Sail. The author delivers an effective assessment of the legal rights afforded to merchant marines during the foundation of the United States. He suggests the US legal system actively safeguarded and facilitated sailors’ rights in the early 1800s, which stands as a significant point while evaluating law that deals with privateering.

Additionally, David R. Owen and Michael C. Tolley’s, *Courts of Admiralty in Colonial Ameri-*

5. Gordon Morris Bakken, “Course Syllabus for History 480C” (unpublished manuscript, spring 2013).

6. R. Chuck Mason, Esquire, “Piracy: A Legal Definition,” *Congressional Research Service* (December 13, 2010).

7. Starkey, *Pirates and Markets*, 110. Starkey points to Muslim corsairs who deliberately and exclusively plundered Christian vessels.

8. David J. Starkey, “The Origins and Regulations of Eighteenth-Century British Piracy,” in *Bandits at Sea: A Pirates Reader*, 69-79.

9. Matthew Taylor Rafferty, *A Republic Afloat: Law, Honor, and Citizenship in Maritime America* (Chicago, IL: University Press, 2013).

ca, tender a thorough and exceptionally well-written summary of Maryland's Admiralty practice between 1634 and 1776.¹⁰ Their study clarifies the jurisdictional differences between the Admiralty and Common Law courts and who heard piracy cases during the early American experience. Moreover, this work illuminates the seemingly elusive body of Admiralty procedure, which governed *who, where, and how* early piracy cases proceeded through the trial process. It becomes apparent that a guilty verdict often depended on the location or timing of a trial. In addition, Edgar S. Malay's, *History of American Privateers*, offers a traditional history of the endeavors of merchant marines through the American Revolution and War of 1812.¹¹ While certainly dated, this 1899 study remains a helpful resource for finding privateering case law.

With regard to modern literature on English and American piracy law, three particular works stand-out: Alfred P. Rubin's remarkable history, *The Law of Piracy*, Joel H. Baer's *British Piracy in the Golden Age*, and James Lenoir's article "Piracy Cases in the Supreme Court."¹² Rubin's *The Law of Piracy*, published by the U.S. Naval War College in 1988, prevails as the most comprehensive work of the three. Throughout the study, Rubin focuses on the maritime developments, legal doctrines, and landmark cases that molded piracy law into its modern form, starting in the fourteenth century with Henry VIII's piracy codes. While painstakingly methodical in his investigation, the author mainly examines the development of piracy law by exploring political texts and court decisions, leaving behind more colorful or unconventional source materiel. Here, Joel H. Baer's work perfectly complements Rubin's study.

10. David R. Owen and Michael C. Tolley, *Courts of Admiralty in Colonial America: The Maryland Experience 1634-1776* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press).

11. Edgar Stanton Maclay, *A History of American Privateers* (New York: Appleton and Co. Publishing, 1899)

12. Joel H. Baer, ed. *British Piracy in the Golden Age: History and Interpretation, 1660-1730*, vols. 2-4 (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2007); James J. Lenoir, "Piracy Cases in the Supreme Court," *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 25, no. 4 (Nov.-Dec. 1934-1935); Alfred P. Ruben, *The Law of Piracy* (Newport, RI: Naval War College Press, 1988).

Joel H. Baer's four-volume collection offers a wealth of primary source documents, such as original court transcripts, jury verdicts, depositions, interrogatories, legal treatises, and newspaper articles relating to high profile piracy trials. Baer comments on each of the edited documents in the collection, and his annotations allow the reader to draw conclusions directly from the sources themselves. Lastly, maritime lawyer James Lenoir's study of piracy cases in the United States Supreme Court (USSC) examines the specific cases and legal doctrines that altered and codified maritime law in the United States between 1800 and 1900.

The Devil is in the Latin

A timeless dialogue between celebrated jurists and scholars like Marcus Tillius Cicero, Lord Edward Coke, Sir William Blackstone, and U.S. Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story sets up the theoretical framework to analyze this subject. Failure to acknowledge these foundational works

[T]he same Mediterranean winds that propelled fishermen and traders between the Greek Isles also propelled bands of *praedones* and *pirata*...

and philosophies, from which all modern maritime scholarship exists, stands out as academic treachery *in rebus*.

Humankind knew about theft and plunder long before we understood how to harness the wind to move about the sea because piracy existed as an ancient phenomenon, "as old as the sea."¹³ The same Mediterranean winds that propelled fishermen and traders between the Greek Isles also propelled bands of *praedones* and *pirata*, hoping to profit from unguarded coastal villages and unexpecting merchant biremes. Early Greek and Roman sovereigns familiarized themselves with piracy, as Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar endured notable squabbles with pirates in the Hellenistic period. Fittingly, references to sea-criminals and raiders appear in some of the earliest known law codes, like the *Lex Rhodia*, and the later *Lex Gabania*, a 67 BCE statute authorizing Pompey Magnus to wage war against Mediterranean

13. For an example of this phrase, see John S. Burnett, *Dangerous Waters: Modern Piracy and Terror on the High Seas* (New York: Plume Publishing, 2003), 22.

sea thieves.¹⁴ In fact, the earliest legal conceptions of piracy arise with the *Lex Gabania* and subsequent legal commentary from early Hellenistic jurists Marcus Tillius Cicero, Sextus Pomponius, and Plutarch.

While Cicero and his colleagues generally understood piracy as unlawful banditry and predation at sea, they wrestled to reconcile larger philosophical questions of law; particularly, whether or not Pompey Magnus required a formal declaration of war to suppress piratical societies living around the Mediterranean. Here, Roman diplomats recognized a critical theme, sea-raiding societies, though loosely organized and piratical in nature, commanded a substantial degree of political agency.¹⁵ Correspondingly, a review of the historical record shows that in practice, “Rome treated pirates not as outlaws, but as enemies to be met in war,” then merged into Roman hegemony via diplomacy and civility.¹⁶

Cicero, however, reasoned that in a legal sense Rome did not require a formal declaration of war when reprimanding sea-raiding societies. By their very nature, marauding societies waged constant war with all civilizations. They did not respect the bounds of “lawful warfare,” and therefore incapable of maintaining oaths or treaties. In essence, pirates occupied a caste of their own, lying outside the universal laws of society. Cicero viewed pirates as “*hostes humani generis*,” Latin for the common enemy of all mankind.”¹⁷ This phrase developed into one of the most important concepts in piracy law and later served as the foundation for English, and later American, criminal prosecutions.

14. Robert D. Benedict, “The Historical Position of the Rhodian Law,” *XVIII Yale Law Journal* 4 (1909): 223-42.

15. For example, see Ian W. Toll, *Six Frigates: The Epic Founding of the U.S. Navy* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2006), where Toll elucidates drawn-out political dealings between North African raiders, and both European and American dignitaries.

16. Rubin, *The Law of Piracy*, 7-8.

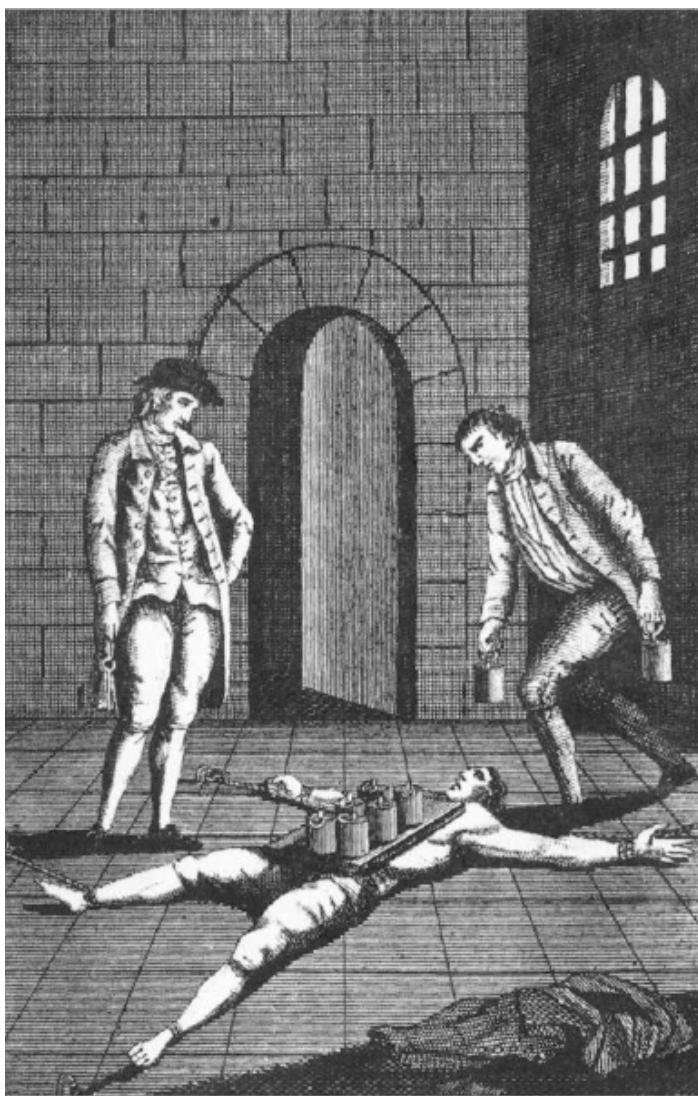
17. Jody Greene, “*Hostes Humani Generis*,” *Critical Inquiry*, 34, no.4, (Summer 2008): 683-705. This phrase is a timeless point of contention among jurists and legal historians, particularly with regard to whether or not Cicero talked about pirates themselves, piratical societies, or if Cicero spoke in a legal sense at all. For the original text, see Marcus Tillius Cicero, *De Officiis (On Duties)*, Book III, Ch. XXIX, 107.

Between the third and fourteenth centuries, the law of piracy became an obscure concept. Certainly, sea raiding churned in full gear in the North Atlantic and Eastern Mediterranean, but new conceptions relating to maritime law seem markedly absent in the historical record. In the remaining texts, specifically Justinian and Islamic codes, piracy appears rather ambiguously, void of the criminal and legal undertones it carries today. Medieval sailors and diplomats off-handedly used the term while depicting foreign or perceivably hostile sailing vessels from all corners of the globe.¹⁸ Similar to a contemporary use of the expression “thug,” ordinary people avoided medieval pirates, even if they did not expressly violate any laws. In truth, western European merchants and magistrates cared little for the legal statuses of Norse Vikings, Cretans, or Tunisian Corsairs—they all became pirates once at sea. By the 1500s, piracy made a stunning comeback in both dictum and practice. Consistent with the Renaissance-era breakthroughs in science, arts, philosophy, and jurisprudence, English scholars began to distinguish piratical behavior from that of state commissioned “privateers.” French sovereigns legally authorized private sailing vessels to harass British ships, acting under the binding authority of state endorsed Letters of Marque & Reprisal. In the aftermath of widespread hostility around the English Isles, the Tudor King Henry VIII initiated the Offenses at Sea Act of 1536, which defined piracy as general “Treasons, Felonies, Murders, Robberies, Manslaughters, or any such offenses...being done in or upon the Seas, or upon any heaven, river or creek.”¹⁹ This edict brought forth a radical shift in English criminal law.

For the first time, the Offenses at Sea Act codified “piracy” as a specific set of illegal actions, which cemented the concept into English legal

18. Rubin, *The Law of Piracy*, 14-21, 32-33. Throughout this passage, Rubin chronicles an evolution of the word “pirate” and its use as a pejorative to describe a myriad of different hostiles, like “Norse” seafarers, Turkish merchants, Sumatran-trading vessels, and Venetian slave-ships.

19. Joel H. Baer, ed., *British Piracy in the Golden Age: History and Interpretation, 1660-1730* vol.1 (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2007), xiii. For the statute see Rubin, *The Law of Piracy*, appendix 1.A, 359.



When the weight of a guilty conscience fails to evoke admission from a pirate on the eve of trial, consider adding a few extra pounds of lead. *Pressing a Pirate to Plead*, in Philip Gosse, *The Pirates' Who's Who* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1924), 142.

philosophy and into the repertoire of judges, prosecutors, and lawmakers. Secondly, Henry VIII amended the judicial process that brought pirates to justice. By implementing common law procedure instead of civil law standards, convicting pirates became rather effortless. In the common law courts, twelve-person juries indicted and tried accused pirates, wherein judges admitted even the most questionable evidence.²⁰ Under the new standards, prosecutors ostentatiously res-

urrected the phrase *hosti humani generis*, but this time with a new meaning and ferocity.

In his groundbreaking commentaries on English Law, sixteenth century jurist Sir Edward Coke boldly ascribed the phrase *hostes humani generis* in a new, wide reaching arraignment to sea-bandits of all kinds. In the *Institutes*, Lord Coke explains “for the crime of robbery on the high seas, is an offence against the universal law of society; a pirate being *hostis humani generis*.”²¹ In many ways, Coke’s synthesis borrows Cicero’s philosophy, in that once declared “pirate” man essentially relinquishes his ties to the state and the political and legal advantages therein. However, one *glaring* difference exists between their lines of logic. Even under the most open-ended interpretation, Cicero’s famous maxim *hostes humani generis* offers a vague understanding of which actions actually constitute “piracy,” or if his aphorism referred to pirate states rather than individual raiders. As detailed by Alfred Rubin, a close examination of the historical record reveals that Cicero likely constructed his phrase in reference to the logistics of property rights, *postliminium*, and the legal status of goods and slaves confiscated from *pirate societies*—not pirates themselves.²²

Coke’s interpretation, on the other hand, dealt with piracy on an individual basis. He accepted Henry VIII’s codified definition of piracy (e.g. sea robbers, traitors, and murderers) then applied Cicero’s diplomatic philosophy. Thus, common sea criminals, in contrast to large-scale pirate nations, became the enemies of all humankind. Regardless of its logical or interpretive correctness, this reasoning became a launch pad for judges and lawyers to prosecute pirates from the 1550s to the 1770s, in both English and American Courts. Tens of thousands of sailors “suffered the pains of death” under the weight of the *Hostis Huma-ni Generis* doctrine. Once in the courtroom, attorneys, and judges rendered pirates as rabid dogs undeserving of justice:

20. For example, see *A Full and Exact Account of the Tryal of all the Pyrates, Lately Taken by Captain Ogle, On Board the Swallow Man of War; On the Coast of Guinea* (London: Warwick Lane, 1723); Joel H. Baer, *British Piracy in the Golden Age*, vol. 3, 77. In the account, judges admitted not owning a bible as evidence of piracy.

21. Sir Edward Coke, J.H. Thomas ed., *A Systematic Arrangement of Lord Coke's First Institute of the Laws of England*, vols. 1-3, (Philadelphia, PA: A Towar Press, 1836). 421-22.

22. Rubin, *The Law of Piracy*, 11-13, 28-29.

Therefore, a Pirate is called Hosti Humani Generis with whom neither Faith nor Oath is to be kept. He can claim the protection of no prince, the privilege of no country, the benefit of law; he is denied common humanity, and the very right of nature, with whom no faith, promise, nor oath is to be observed, nor is he to be otherwise dealt with, than as a wild beast, which every man may lawfully destroy.²³

In the “Bonnet Trials,” King’s Advocate James Smith Esquire seamlessly deployed the *hostes humani generis* doctrine to a Boston Jury, effectively severing the accused from any possible due process the law afforded him. Seduced by the allure of the Advocate’s closing statement, the jury expeditiously returned guilty verdicts to a hoard of “pirate” sailors.

An Age of Inclusion

Between 1500 and 1760, English piracy law was inclusive in nature. In most circumstances, the law was constructed and interpreted extremely broadly, so that it acted as a dragnet for any and all piratical conduct. Once convicted, few persons ever escaped the noose, even if only charged on legal technicalities or mere speculation. During the peak of the Golden Age of Piracy between 1660 and 1730,²⁴ English diplomats appeared far less concerned with fair treatment of accused pirates and instead focused their attention on eliminating buccaneers in the Caribbean and American Colonies. In 1700, King William III introduced the Act for the more effectual Suppression of Piracy, which established criminal tribunals in Africa, The Caribbean, and the American colonies. Further, the statute extended Henry VIII’s definition of pirates to include “Any Master, Commander, Seaman, or Mariner...[who may] steal any sea-fairing related ordinances, endeavor to corrupt a commander, lay violent hands on his commander, prevent him defending his ship, or endeavor to make revolt of his ship.”²⁵ Under

23. *The Tryals of Major Stede Bonnet, and other Pirates* (London: Rose and Crown, 1729); Baer, *British Piracy in the Golden Age*, vol. 3, 325-80.

24. This date is a point of contention between historians, as widespread piracy continued even after 1730. For clarity’s sake; however, this essay relies upon Baer’s approximation, between 1660 and 1730.

25. *Act for the more effectual Suppression of Piracy*, 11 & 12 William III, c.7 (1700).

this new statute, escaping piracy once convicted became nearly impossible.

While Judges and juries did sporadically acquit accused pirates between 1500 and 1760, the law stayed set firmly against them. The 1726 criminal trial of John Baptist Fedre, his son John Baptist Jr, and a band of Indians perfectly illuminates this idea.²⁶ In this case, which took place in Boston, the accused John Baptist and his thirteen-year-old son caught the attention of a moored New England merchant ship from a canoe. Next, the captain of the Boston vessel invited the father and son to board the ship to relay news of “peace between the British and Indians at Boston and Annapolis.”²⁷ Once on board, Baptist Sr. signaled a band of Indians to attack, and then forcibly took command of the vessel. Days later, Boston authorities arrested Baptist and his gang, and brought them to trial. During the criminal proceedings, Defense Advocate George Hughes Esquire made a convincing argument on behalf of the teenage defendant, John Baptist Jr.

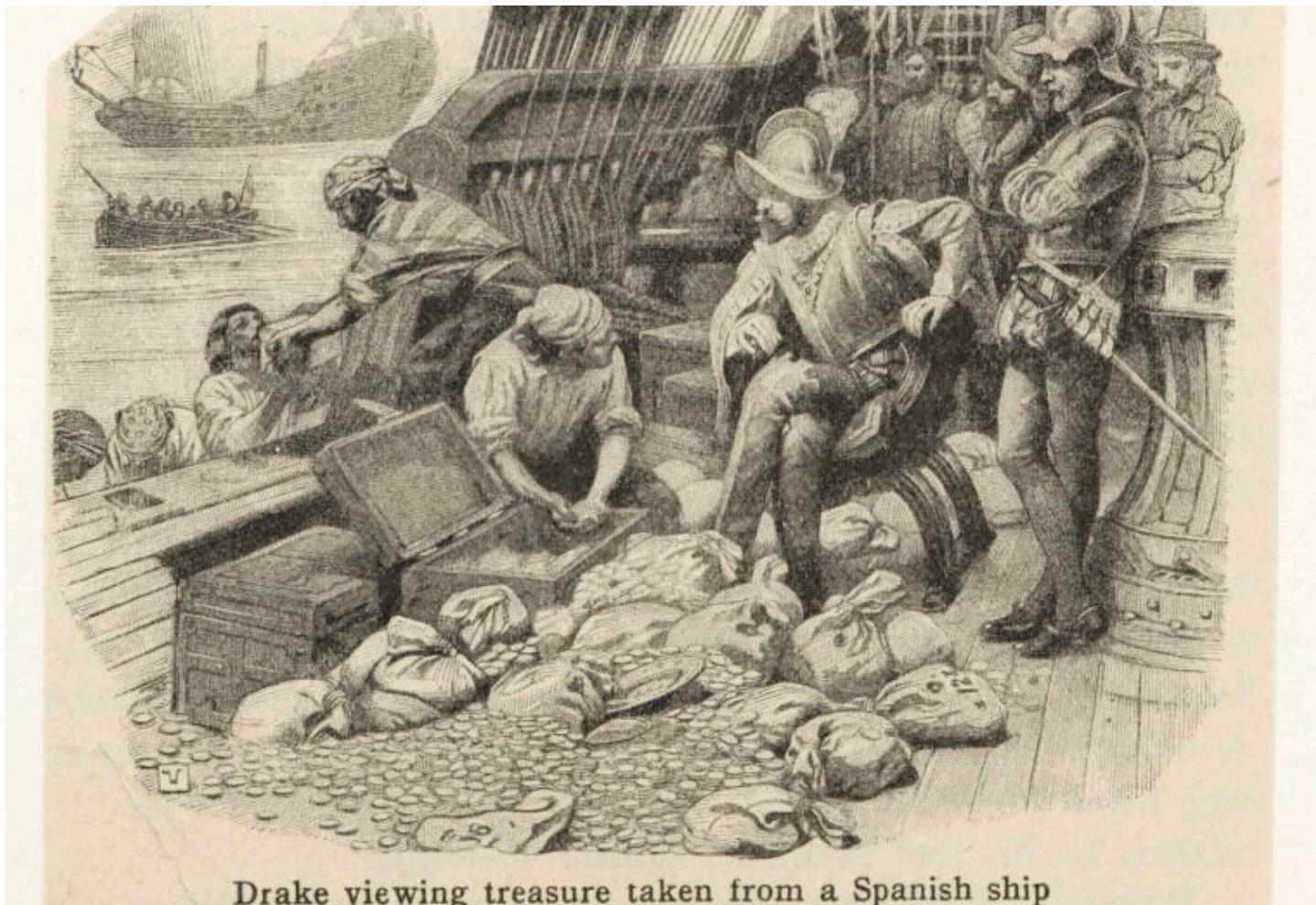
Hughes argued that under Coke’s *Institutes*, Baptist’s son acted without “sound of mind,” *Amens fine mente*, and instead operated under the strict manipulation of his father. At the early age of thirteen, counsel maintained that Baptist Jr. did not meet Coke’s *fine mente* requirement, and thus, could not have been susceptible to felony piracy charges. Hughes also appealed to Coke’s instruction that no person under fourteen should be put to death, “Your Honor will be pleased to consider the great influences a father hath upon his son...and give the balance in favor of life.”²⁸

The Honorable William Dummer rejected both arguments on the grounds that the defendant could not prove his age nor innocence under the *fine mente* challenge. Indeed, Baptist Jr. never received a Certificate of Birth and could not refute or verify questions of age. In this instance a reasonable and learned jurist may have interpreted the law strictly to spare the

26. *The Trials of Five Persons: For Piracy, Felony and Robbery* (Boston: T. Fleet, 1726), in Baer, *British Piracy in the Golden Age*, vol. 3, 197-230.

27. *Ibid.*, 204-06.

28. *Ibid.*, 201.



Drake viewing treasure taken from a Spanish ship

Captain Francis Drake viewing the booty of a Spanish ship. *Drake Viewing Treasure Taken From A Spanish Ship*, drawing, c.1923 (New York: New York Public Library).

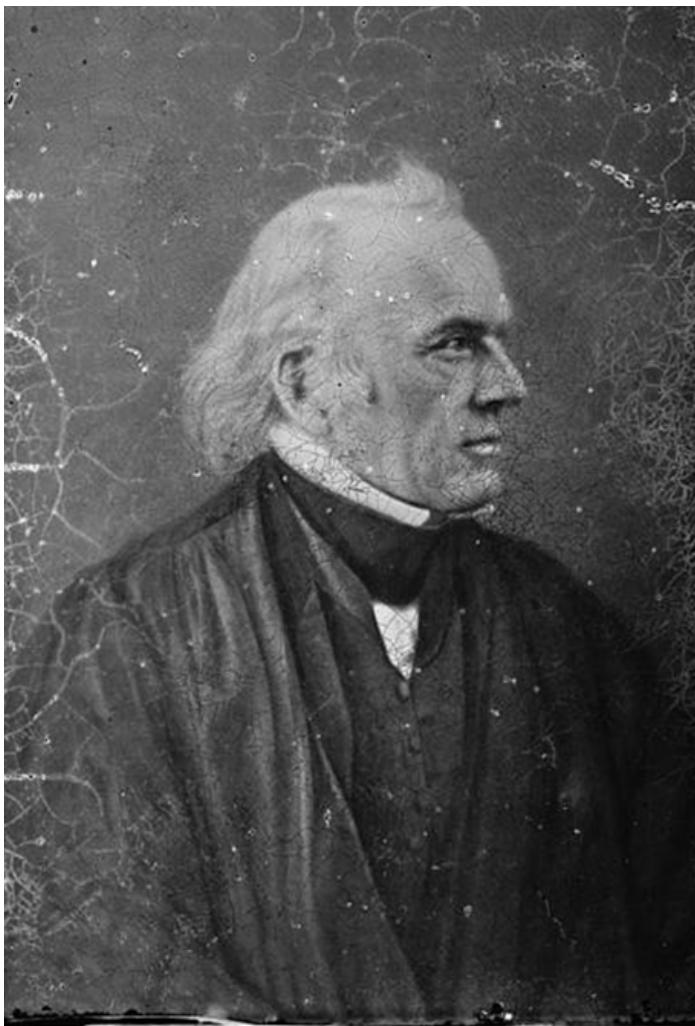
teen's life. Unfortunately, John Baptist Jr. found no such luck and later met a death sentence.

Further, the Honorable William Dummer interpreted the law to include any persons suspected of involvement in the case whatsoever. In their deposition testimony, the attacked crew confirmed that "Indians" helped capture the vessel. Once arraigned at the bar the crew could not distinguish between the Indians present during the attack and those uninvolved in the incident. In most circumstances, failure to identify the accused would warrant an acquittal. However, these Indians possessed no such luck, as the judge interpreted the law against them as well.²⁹ The reaffirmation of this idea appeared in a myriad of other cases too, as juries seemed reluctant to acquit any man removed from a ship deemed pirate.

This inclusionary trend continued all throughout the 1700s as American and British courts continued to try pirates en masse, and with high success rates. By the 1760s, however, new Enlightenment legal philosophies entered the fray, and began to challenge the prevailing "one size fits all" conception of piracy. Soon, lawyers and judges acquired new sets of legal tools and doctrines that helped determine piratical behavior. For instance, in 1777, English Theorist Richard Wooddenson cogently argued that in order for an act to be piratical, the capture must first be unlicensed, and second, done *Animo depredandi*, or "in the interest of personal motives." So long as defendants could prove that a sovereign licensed their actions, and/or acted outside the bounds of personal interest, the accused could go free.³⁰

29. Ibid., 206-07.

30. Rubin, *The Law of Piracy*, 110n158.



While stoic in demeanor, United States Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story avidly protected the rights of sailors throughout the Republic's early years. *Judge Joseph Story*, photograph, 1855 (Washington, DC: Library of Congress).

Two factors possibly attributed to the narowness in these changes. Firstly, by the 1760s, the British Navy—partnered with the American Colonies—successfully brought Caribbean piracy to rest, effectively ending its Golden Age. Here, the British government no longer needed to deal with hoards of pirates, and no longer saw reason to execute and make public examples of them. Secondly, during the 1750s Enlightenment ideals finally began to penetrate English Jurisprudence, which English jurist Sir William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* makes readily discernible.³¹ According to Rubin, “Blackstone’s social contract-naturalism” dealt with piracy in the ever-present realm of international law,

or “Law of Nations,” which probed and adjusted the obligations of competing states.³²

An Era of Partition

At the most fundamental, level privateers and pirates possessed more similarities than dissimilarities. They both sought fortune through plundering unsuspecting and vulnerable prey, and both used violence to accomplish this task. Moreover, privateers and pirates used the same ships, recruited sailors from the same pools, and the same laws of conduct governed them while at sea. However, privateers did not fall under *hostes humani generis* and could prove a direct association with the state, and with a body of law, “Privateers sought their fortunes in a manner consistent with the interests of a particular state, and in return received that state’s protection.”³³ Thus, under the most expansive interpretations of piracy law, they could not fit the paradigm constructed by Cicero and Edward Coke. With certainty privateers could commit theft, murder, rape, treason, robbery, and felony, and paid the price for those actions. Yet they commanded the basic rights and due processes afforded to citizens under the English and American legal systems—privileges often withheld from pirates.

In practice, privateers successfully captured other vessels through the possession of legal documents authorizing piratical conduct on behalf of the state collectively known as Letters of Marque. *Licentia Marcandi*, or Letters of Marque and Reprisal, appear in England as early as 1295 and served as a remedy for seafaring merchants to recover or reprise goods or cargo stolen by foreign vessels.³⁴ Such documents not only allowed sea traders to indemnify stolen cargo, but did so without disturbing treaties or truces between sovereigns. By the fifteenth century, however, Monarchs began to issue bulk reprisal commissions during wartime, which encouraged privateers to raid enemy mercha-

32. Rubin, *The Law of Piracy*, 110-11.

33. Eugene Kantorovich, “The Piracy Analogy: Modern Universal Jurisdiction’s Hollow Foundation,” *George Mason School of Law, Law and Economics Working Paper Series* 45, no.1 (summer 2004): 182-237.

34. Rubin, *The Law of Piracy*, 16.

31. Sir William Blackstone, *On the Laws of England*, 1723-1780 vol. 4. (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1965-1969).

nt ships and permitted captains to profit from the sale of legally captured vessels. Just like piracy, for unemployed sailors and fortune seeking adventurers privateering offered the opportunity for quick fortune and comradery.

By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the practice emerged as a wide-reaching phenomenon, with privately commissioned French, Portuguese, Spanish, British, and American ships operating directly under naval control during wartime.³⁵ With high numbers of privately outfitted warships roaming the seas, so too came high numbers of captured vessels, attained legally and illegally. In turn, American and British governments set up extensive and complicated networks of court systems to adjudicate the legality of captured prize ships, under a body of law called prize law. Once privateers captured a competing vessel, the law required that the captor bring it to port for “prize” proceedings. Failure to comply with prize laws could prove fatal, as one risked losing the captured prize ship to the government, and under a worst-case scenario, the captain and crew faced indictment under piracy charges.

Analogous to the law of estates, wills and trusts, prize law is rather lackluster and uninteresting. In short, both English and American prize statutes effectively determined the validity of the captor’s license during the time of capture, and if so, how much money belonged to the government once the ship was sold. Upon an unlawful capture verdict, the captor (both captain and crew) reported to the common law courts to face piracy charges, and the victim would then retrieve his stolen property from the court.³⁶

While this study does not reveal much about prize law itself, its implications in the laws of piracy and privateering are momentous. More so than the Letter of Mark and Reprisal, a privateer’s willingness to comply and inconvenience himself with the adjudication process separates him from conduct and ethos of a pirate. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they *did indeed comply* with these laws, and in some cases did so at great lengths. Each time a privateer brought a captured ship to port for adjudication, he ran the risk of facing piracy charges or losing his fortune in the wake of improper capture. The Maryland Admiralty Court Register affirms this idea in the case *Industry v. Duke of Marlborough* (1761), when the Admiral remanded a Privateer Captain Valentine Mulkere to the common law courts to face piracy charges in the wake of a botched capture where the

The Supreme Court began to accept challenges to the constructs of American piracy, privateering, and maritime law.

court deemed his Letter of Marque invalid.³⁷ Consistent with David J. Starkey’s analysis, court records show some imperfections, as they only reflect the cases that actually make it to the court. Unquestion-

ably, acts of privateering and piracy occur thousands of miles away from any courthouse, and historians must consider their limited scope accordingly. Yet, review of the Maryland Admiralty register suggests that a good number of Maryland mariners felt a realistic legal burden from the Admiralty.

In addition to privateers’ willingness to comply with prize adjudication, they used the law to their advantage when possible. In the 1820s, after widespread naval impressment during the War of 1812, British and American privateering outfits looked to the law to settle disputes of *all kinds*. Mathew Taylor in *The Republic Afloat* documents this point well, as both captains and crew sought remedy for everyday disputes such as unreasonable punishments, unpaid wages, unsafe working conditions, and more.³⁸ During the 1830s, under the direction of United States Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story, the Supreme Court began to accept challenges to the constructs of American piracy, privateering, and maritime law. Story recognized and appreciated the plight of the tens of thou-

37. This was not an extraordinary occurrence, and privateers did *indeed* find themselves facing piracy charges after prize hearings. For example, see the case *Industry v. Duke of Marlborough* (1761), in Owen and Tolly, *Courts of Admiralty in Colonial America*, 323-25.

38. Matthew Rafferty Taylor, *The Republic Afloat*, 54-55, 63-77.

35. Edgar S. Maclay, *A History of American Privateers* (New York: Appleton & Co., 1899), 13-17.

36. David R. Owen and Michael C. Tolley, *Courts of Admiralty in Colonial America: The Maryland Experience 1634-1776* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press), 23-34,39-41.

sands of abused mariners, first battered by their superiors, then accused of piracy thereafter. As perfectly noted by Henry Dana Jr., “Besides numbers, what is a sailor to do? If they resist, it is mutiny; and if they succeed and take the vessel, it is piracy; if they yield again, the punishment must come; and if they do not yield, they are pirates for life.”³⁹

Between the 1830s and 1860s, the Supreme Court began to deconstruct the inclusive nature of piracy law, and tightened the scope of piratical acts, versus that of other misdemeanors at sea. Instead, this time period survives as an era of partition and separation of the law. Here, through a monotonous and rigorous bout of cases, the American courts hashed out the individual and particular actions they deemed piratical, versus those acts that violated a ships’ internal protocol, or illicit acts not weighty enough to meet a piracy charge. For example, during the American Civil War Confederate privateers who sailed under Confederate Commissions *were* technically piratical and treasonous in nature, as they sailed without a recognized commission. Consistent with the trend, the courts recognized such privateers as belligerent vessels. While still criminal, their national ties afforded legal rights and privileges withheld from pirates. The sting of Colonial piracy faded long before the end of the Civil War and the European Nations outlawed privateering warfare by its commencement as well. To the west, the United States Supreme Court continued to expand the rights of sailors and limit the abusive tendencies of their captains, and continued the legacy of partition and separation.

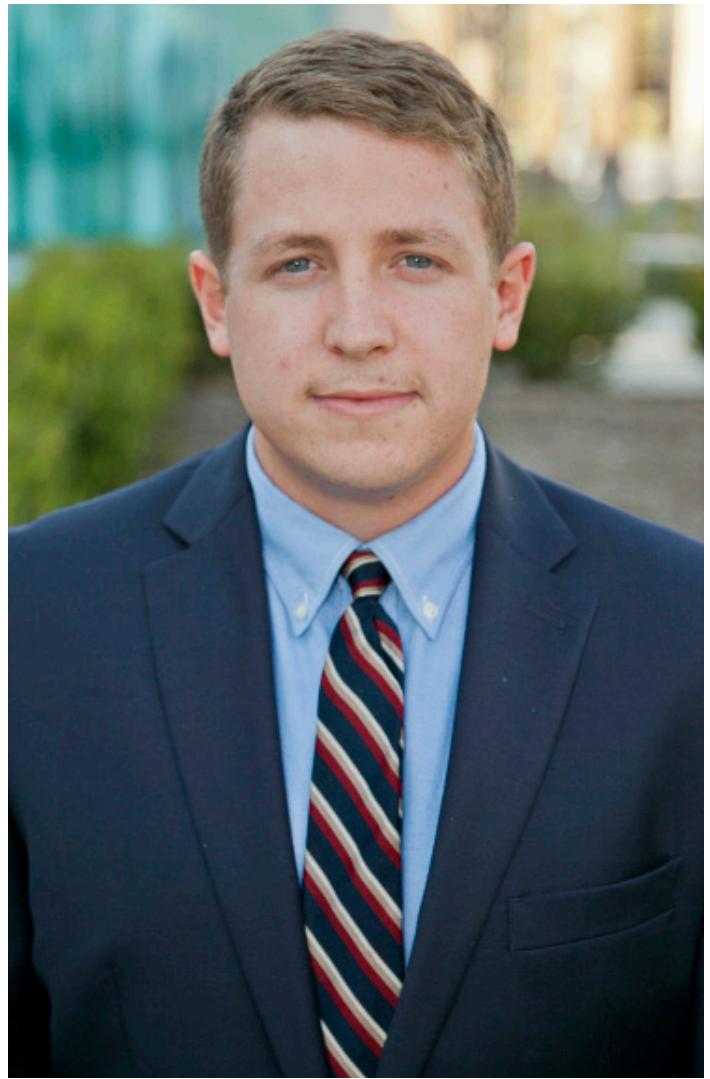
Concluding Thoughts

In an aggregate view of piracy and privateering during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they seem markedly similar, if not the same. Yet, under a closer review of relevant laws and legal doctrines from this time period, the two seem noticeably distinct, separated by a respect and appreciation for the rule of law. As future historians continue to study maritime history, they must consider and appreciate

the differences between piracy and privateering. Such awareness will promote true and correct history, and preserve the integrity of maritime scholars that Admirals and jurists have so jealously guarded.

39. Ibid., 80n81.

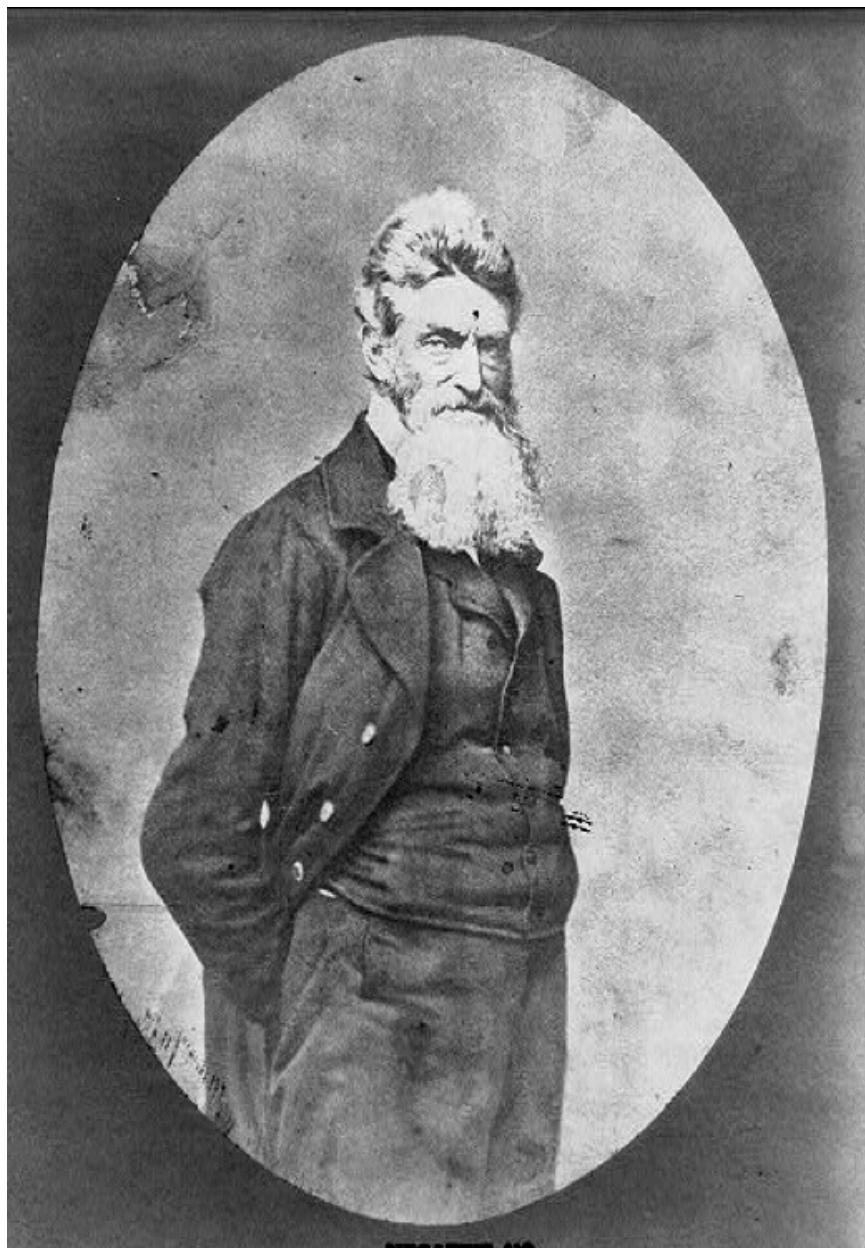
Garrison Giali graduated from California State University, Fullerton with his BA in history during the Fall 2014 semester. Inspired by the lectures of distinguished faculty members such as Dr. Allison Varzally and Dr. Gordon Bakken, his historical interests include the American West, early United States law, and maritime history. In addition to Giali's editorial position with the *Welebaethan* Journal of History, he also became a member of Phi Alpha Theta, Theta-Pi chapter in 2014. After graduation, he hopes to attend law school and follow John Muir's footsteps across the scenic Pacific Crest Trail.



The Union's Martyr:

A Study of the Discourse on John Brown and the Harpers Ferry Raid

Christina Perry



Brown grew out his famous long, white beard only months before the raid at Harpers Ferry. Martin M. Lawrence, photographer, *John Brown, 1859*, daguerreotype (Washington, DC: Library of Congress).

The discourse on John Brown helps explain the prominence of the Harpers Ferry Raid in the broader context of the American Civil War. Both Northerners and Southerners initially considered Brown extremely violent; however, newspapers, letters, artwork, poems, and songs in the North portrayed him as a martyr following his execution. **Christina Perry** analyzes the various media sources of the time that exemplify the evolution of Brown's public image, arguing the media's portrayal of Brown changed the North's perceptions of him and his actions. Therefore, influenced by media representation of Brown as a martyr, Northern abolitionists justified their declaration of war against the South as a continuation of his "holy crusade."

“John Brown’s body lies a mouldering in the grave...”¹

In 1856, John Brown came to national prominence following his assault on several, presumably pro slavery, farmers who lived along the Pottawatomie Creek in Kansas. The culmination of this attack resulted in the abandonment of several mutilated bodies all neatly arranged along the side of the road. Ironically, none of the men Brown killed that day, held slaves. This paradox speaks to the nuances of Brown’s tactics and personality, all of which become more evident following the event that developed into his enduring legacy—the raid at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. From October 16-18, 1859, Brown and his followers took over the Federal Arsenal intending to start a massive slave rebellion.² Due to Brown’s prior violent actions in the struggle against slavery, his plan remained in keeping with his tactics, and subsequently, both Northerners and Southerners alike considered him a madman.³ However, despite initial negative reactions to Brown’s raid on both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line, following his execution by the Commonwealth of Virginia on December 2, 1859, abolitionists came to see him as a martyr. Much of this change resulted from the influence of newspapers, letters, artwork, poems, and songs.

Despite the unrepentant violence that Brown utilized during his personal war on slavery, historians acknowledge his raid played a significant role in the onset of the American Civil War. Intriguingly, instead of discussing the contemporary dialogue that surrounded his actions, scholars assigned a moral

1. “John Brown Song,” notated music, c.1861, *Rare Books and Special Collections* (Washington DC: Library of Congress). See also George Kimball, “Origin of the John Brown Song,” *New England Magazine*, (1890). The song, reportedly created by Union troops, served as an anthem for abolitionists and soldiers alike during the war. As such, multiple versions of the song exist.

2. Paul Finkelman, *His Soul Goes Marching On: Responses to John Brown and the Harpers Ferry Raid* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press, 1995), 3.

3. David M. Kennedy, Lizabeth Cohen, and Thomas A. Bailey, *The American Pageant: A History of the Republic* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2006), 422-24; Paul Finkelman, “Manufacturing Martyrdom: Antislavery Response to John Brown’s Raid,” in *His Soul Goes Marching On* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press, 1995), 41.

value to his activities.⁴ In the media saturated modern world, the idea of a “cult of celebrity” appears in keeping with our exposure to mixed media. The nineteenth century, on the other hand, had yet to experience such a phenomena and the era exemplifies the media’s role in shaping the discourse about Brown into the concept of “manufacturing martyrdom.”⁵ His arrest and the Union’s representation of him contributed to his overall image throughout the Civil War, and persists into the present day.

By the end of 1859, the debate over slavery and its expansion into the territories divided the United States on multiple levels. At every turn, Southerners reacted vehemently to any action intended to limit its expansion as an assault on their way of life.⁶ When Brown arrived in Virginia to start a slave insurrection, he confirmed the South’s deepest fear—Northerners no longer desired a peaceful compromise. Instead, they would use any means necessary, including brute force, against the South to discontinue the practice of slavery.⁷ While Brown failed to achieve his slave war, his raid evoked memories of Nat Turner’s 1831 rebellion, which resulted in the deaths of several white Virginians.⁸

Following Brown’s arrest, Southern newspapers articulated this fear and drew the parallel between Turner and Brown. The *Star Gazette* discussed a proposed bill that would provide Southerners with military protection against “the fanatics [Northern abolitionists]” and punish any abolitionist who lived in the South.⁹ The *Richmond Enquirer*

4. Kennedy, Cohen, and Bailey, *The American Pageant*, 422-24; Peggy A. Russo and Paul Finkelman, eds., *Terrible Swift Sword: The Legacy of John Brown* (Athens, OH: University Press, 2005), xiii-xix.

5. Finkelman, *His Soul Goes Marching On*.

6. Brian Gabrial, “A Crisis of Americanism: Newspaper Coverage of John Brown’s Raid at Harper’s Ferry and a Question of Loyalty,” *Journalism History* 34, no. 2 (2008): 101.

7. Finkelman, *His Soul Goes Marching On*, 151.

8. Andrew Taylor and Eldrid Herrington, *The Afterlife of John Brown* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 109; F. Roy Johnson, *The Nat Turner Story: History of the South’s Most Important Slave Revolt, with New Material Provided by Black Tradition and White Tradition* (Murfreesboro, TN: Johnson Publishing Company, 1970), 9.

9. “Harper’s Ferry,” *State Gazette*, November 26, 1859.

even encouraged Virginians to eliminate “everything antagonistic to... [their] peculiar institutions [slaves]” in order to preserve their way of life.¹⁰ Southern slave owners saw all Northerners as radical abolitionists, ready to embrace violence to end their “institution.” Calls to protect the sanctity of white women and children abounded in the press. However, this hyperbole belies, the one issue demonstrated by these assertions, the Southern concern for the safety of their investments—slaves.

A letter written by John L. Snow to Thomas C. Green, mayor of Charleston, Virginia, also expressed Southern fears concerning Northern violence. In his letter, Snow, a slave owner in Kentucky, insisted “wealthy Abolitionists in the north” supplied men and weapons so they could rescue Brown from prison.¹¹ Snow, mirrored the concerns of other slave owners who feared if abolitionists rescued Brown, they would attempt to start another slave insurrection, and this would imperil the South economically and physically.

This irrational fear provoked a firestorm of concern and resulted in repeated attacks against Northerners in Southern newspaper articles, many of which associated abolitionists with traitors like Benedict Arnold and Aaron Burr.¹² The *Charleston Mercury* expressed the Southerner’s disgust toward abolitionists by including quotation marks around the words “northern brethren,” in a petty attempt to discredit them.¹³ In this rapidly escalating war of words, many Southern newspapers presumed all Northerners, Republicans, and abolitionists opposed the South and supported Brown’s actions at Harpers Ferry.¹⁴ As with all culture wars, the truth often fails to make an appearance.

Contrary to the screed in Southern papers many in the North responded to Brown’s raid

10. “A True Virginian,” *Richmond Enquirer*, November 22, 1859.

11. “The John Brown Letters: Found in the Virginia State Library in 1901,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 10 (1903): 385-87.

12. Gabrial, “A Crisis of Americanism,” 101-102.

13. “Other Plans of Insurrection,” *Charleston Mercury*, November 2, 1859.

14. Finkelman, *His Soul Goes Marching On*, 41, 152.

**Southern slave owners
saw all Northerners as
radical abolitionists...**

negatively, and considered his violence a moral failing. Even anti-slavery newspapers discouraged abolitionists from following his example. However, this measured approach, as reflected by individuals, such as William Lloyd Garrison focused on their approval of Brown’s ideas to end slavery, not on the means necessary to achieve the goal. Many abolitionists, sought to reform the institution of slavery through the power of words, not destructive action.¹⁵ In addition to Garrison’s abolitionist newspaper, the *Liberator*, other tabloids expressed their dislike for Brown and his raid. In an article published the day following the raid, the *Lowell Daily Citizen and News* described the participants as “insurrectionists” and insisted the raid reflected “guerrilla warfare.”¹⁶ The author denounced Brown’s raid as a “foolhardy enterprise” and referenced his notorious involvement in “Bleeding Kansas”—the “bloody insurrection was undoubtedly Captain

John Brown, whose connection with scenes of violence in the border warfare in Kansas then made his name familiarly notorious throughout the whole country.”¹⁷ In addition to this condemnation, many Northerners also targeted his financial supporters, the “Secret Six.”¹⁸

As Southern papers filled with invective against Brown in particular and Northerners in general, the tide began to change. The harsh language used to describe peaceful abolitionists, and those like Brown who called for more direct action, encouraged Northern papers to portray Brown as a hero, despite their initial aversion to his tactics in Kansas and the failed raid on Harpers Ferry.¹⁹ In January 1860, a few months after the attack, the *Liberator* reflected this changed opinion of Brown in an article that referred to the South’s complaints against the North as “barbarous and fiendish” and recalled the actions of “the illustrious

15. W. Caleb McDaniel, “John Brown, Quietist,” *Common Knowledge* 16, no. 1 (2010): 32.

16. Finkelman, *His Soul Goes Marching On*, 3.

17. “Trouble at Harpers Ferry,” *Lowell Daily Citizen and News*, October 19, 1859.

18. Finkelman, *His Soul Goes Marching On*, 41.

19. Gabrial, “A Crisis of Americanism,” 102-03.

and noble-hearted John Brown.²⁰ Over a short three-month period, Northern views of Brown reversed, from the actions of a “foolhardy” madman, to a martyr.²¹

In order to accomplish this, Northern newspapers needed to counteract Brown’s brutality at Harpers Ferry, and in Kansas. Since many Northerners opposed violence, the media began to portray Brown as a saintly, religious man in order to appeal to moderate individuals and thus gain their support.²² These sources reshaped the account of his actions in Virginia, and focused instead on his execution, portraying Brown as a nineteenth century Christ-like figure—longsuffering and meekly submitting himself to the crowd. Like the crucifixion 2,000 years before, journalists characterize Virginians as full of blood lust and violence. The unmistakable parallels abounded as Brown suffered from wounds endured during the raid that now restricted him to a cot in the prison where he resided. Northerners called for a delay in his trial until he could stand on his own two feet, thereby calling for an acknowledgement of the equality of all participants. However, Virginians fearing another insurrection decided against postponement, and proceeded with the trial against a visibly weakened opponent. This seemed cruel to abolitionists and the media, and heightened the animosity between the North and South.²³ All elements of fair play, a central tenant in American society, seemed largely forgotten. By focusing on Brown’s ideals and morality, the media allowed the North to focus on the treatment Brown received at the hands of his oppressors, instead of the violent actions leading to his trial.

As the nation’s attention riveted on Virginia, various newspapers, artwork, and poems perpetuated the growing view of Brown as a martyr. One newspaper, *Freedom’s Champion*, placed the moral responsibility of his death on President Buchanan stating, “if it was right in James Buchanan to force slavery upon

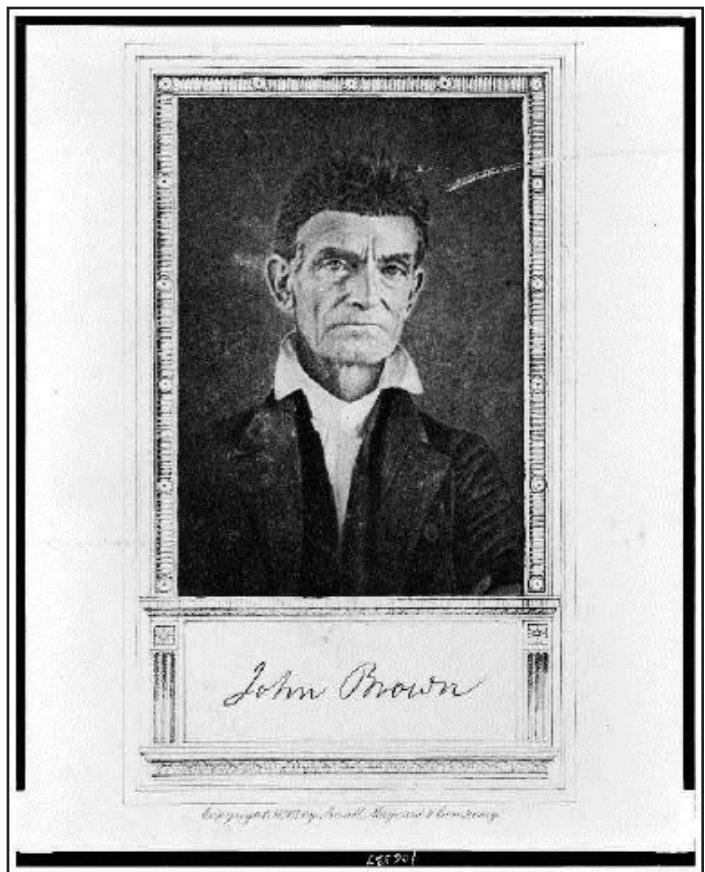
20. “Letter From Rev. Hiram Wilson,” *Liberator*, January 27, 1860.

21. “Trouble at Harper’s Ferry.”

22. McDaniel, “John Brown, Quietist,” 42.

23. Russo and Finkelman, *Terrible Swift Sword*, 83,

146-48.



This photograph depicts Brown in the 1856, showing what he looked like clean-shaven. John Bowles, photographer, *John Brown in Kansas, 1856*, daguerreotype (Washington, DC: Library of Congress).

a free people, it was right in John Brown to force freedom on the South.” *Freedom’s Champion* article appeared a day after Brown’s execution, and showed how “poor Old Brown’s” image had solidified into cultural memory.²⁴ Journalists applauded Brown’s stand against slavery and exalted his violent actions by drawing religious parallels.²⁵

Despite the growing animosity in the North toward the activities in the Commonwealth, Southerners plunged ahead with Brown’s trial for treason. When he refused to provide any defense, the job of convicting Brown and his co-conspirators came to focus on ending the tragic events as quickly as possible. Many Southerners hoped the execution of Brown would end the growing hostility—they were mistaken. A

24. “Buchanan and Brown,” *Freedom’s Champion*, December 3, 1859.

25. W. Fitzhugh Brundage, “John Brown: Stone in the Historian’s Shoe,” *Journal of the Historical Society* 12, no. 1 (2012): 87-89.

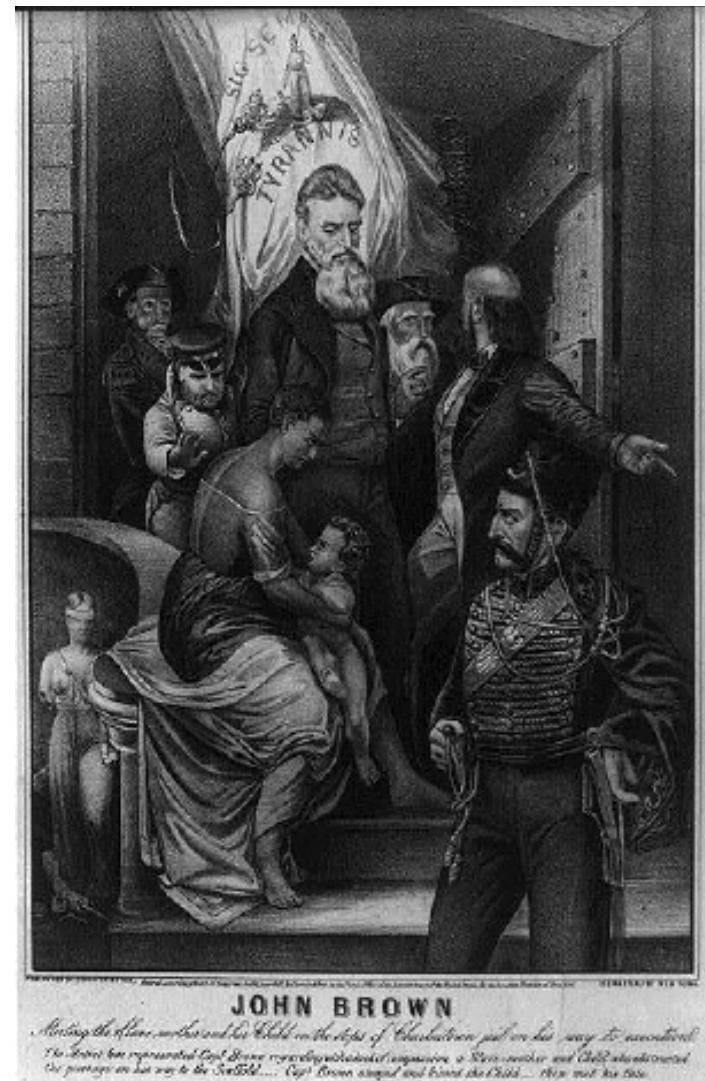
few days after the execution, Edward H. House published his account of the proceedings in the *New York Tribune*. Even though House didn't actually attend the execution, his fabricated version of the proceedings influenced the image of Brown. House stated a "Negro" woman and her child stood nearby, while Brown, on his way to the gallows, "stopped for a moment in his course, stooped over, and... kissed it [the child] affectionately."²⁶ This representation of Brown differs from the violent insurrectionist portrayed in the Southern press, and quickly became the most popular portrayal of him.

This interpretation of his execution likened him to a stoic martyr, and inspired artists to create their own renditions of the account. Louis Liscolm Ransom's painting, *John Brown on His Way to Execution*, helped immortalize House's version of the events on that day. In the painting, the Virginia state flag unfolds in the background to form a halo around Brown's head, accentuating his holiness, while his long white beard evokes images of biblical figures.²⁷ Ransom placed the slave woman and her child in the painting, but Brown does not lean over to kiss the child, instead he gazes benevolently down upon them. After the Civil War, Thomas Hovenden's rendition of the account, *The Last Moments of John Brown*, depicted him kissing the slave's child. While no halo appears behind his head, his peaceful countenance belies that of the Virginians and soldiers arrayed around him who stand respectfully at a distance, but with weapons at the ready. The painting also illustrates Brown with his long white beard, as reference to both his grandfatherly, and biblical stature. Because Hovenden portrayed him as a willing victim and a Christ-like figure, the North widely recognized embraced this idealized representation of Brown's life actions.²⁸

26. R. Blakeslee Gilpin, *John Brown Still Lives! America's Long Reckoning with Violence, Equality, and Change* (Chapel Hill, NC: University Press, 2011), 61-62; Finkelman, *His Soul Goes Marching On*, 50.

27. Gilpin, *John Brown Still Lives*, 63; Louis Liscolm Ransom, lithographer, *John Brown on His Way to Execution*, ca. 1863 (Washington, DC: Currier & Ives).

28. Thomas Hovenden, artist, *The Last Moments of John Brown*, oil on canvas, 1882-1884 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art).



This painting depicts Brown looking upon a mulatto slave woman and child while being escorted to the gallows. Louis Liscolm Ransom, lithographer, *John Brown on His Way to Execution*, c. 1863 (New York: Currier & Ives).

In addition to artists, many poets took on the task of immortalizing Brown as a martyr in his last moments. John Greenleaf Whittier composed the first poem to depict Brown kissing a black child on his way to the gallows.²⁹ This poem, "Brown of Osawatomie," illustrated the idea that Brown's action excused him from his violence at Harpers Ferry:

John Brown of Osawatomie, they led him
out to die;
And lo! a poor slave-mother with her little
child pressed nigh:
Then the bold, blue eye grew tender, and
the old harsh face grew mild,
As he stooped between the jeering ranks
and kissed the negro's child!

29. Gilpin, *John Brown Still Lives*, 62.

The shadows of his stormy life that moment fell apart,
And they who blamed the bloody hand forgave the loving heart;
That kiss from all its guilty means re-deemed the good intent,
And round the grisly fighter's hair the martyr's aureole bent!³⁰

Like Whittier, Lydia Maria Child also immortalized Brown in her poem, "Hero's Heart." In it, Child described him calmly walking to the gallows, while the slave woman's child offered him the only friendly face he encountered. In her poem, Jesus, witnessed Brown's action and looked on him with favor. Evoking a parallel with Matthew 25:40 "Truly I tell you, whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers and sisters of mine, you did for me."³¹ By directly linking Brown with the words of Jesus, Child articulated her belief in him as a saintly man:

The old man met no friendly eye,
When last he looked on earth and sky;
But one small child, with timid air,
Was gazing on his silver hair.

As that dark brow to his upturned,
The tender heart within him yearned;
And, fondly stooping o'er her face,
He kissed her, for her injured race...

But Jesus smiled that sight to see,
And said, "He did it unto me"!
The golden harps then sweetly rung,
And this the song the Angles sung.

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And this the song the Angles sung.³²

30. James Redpath, *Echoes of Harper's Ferry*, ed. James M. McPherson and William L. Katz (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1969), 303-04.

31. The Holy Bible: New International Version (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1995), 1477.

32. Redpath, *Echoes of Harper's Ferry*, 348.

Northerners accepted Brown as a martyr because this image fit in with the existing discourse surrounding historical figures.³³ The media connected Brown to other great men in American history, and portrayed him as the next great hero of the nation.³⁴ Writers like Ralph Waldo Emerson and Garrison also associated his attempt to free slaves with the colonists' efforts to attain freedom from the British during the Revolutionary War.³⁵ By linking Brown so closely to the nation's history, the media successfully created a cultural memory and allowed Northerners to view him in a positive light.

By relating Brown to biblical figures, this emphasized his image as a martyr, and conversely of America as a Christian nation. An image that successfully connected Brown to John Winthrop's 1630 sermon to create in America a "city upon a hill," whose light cannot be hidden.³⁶ Emerson connected Brown to Jesus, and compared his execution to Jesus' crucifixion.³⁷ Northerners came to revere Brown as a martyr who, like Christ, became a savior to all slaves. Ransom and Hovenden reinforced the idea of holiness, and portrayed him with the countenance of the Old Testament prophets, like Moses. Surprisingly, Brown only grew his beard as a disguise for the Harper's Ferry raid, but even Brown it appeared could fall victim to the cult of personality and most depictions of him going forward retained his beard to exalt the biblical references.³⁸

As Northern social memory contributed to the media's interpretation of Brown, he grew into the embodiment of the abolitionist cause. In the year and a half following his raid at Harper's Ferry, tension between the North and South continued to grow. The North's support for Brown and his raid led many Southerners to question the stability of the Union, or

33. Taylor, *The Afterlife of John Brown*, 116.

34. Russo, *Terrible Swift Sword*, 82-86.

35. Taylor, *The Afterlife of John Brown*, 116.

36. Francis Bremer, *John Winthrop: Biography as History* (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, 2009), 24.

37. McDaniel, "John Brown, Quietist," 42.

38. Russo and Finkelman, *Terrible Swift Sword*, xiv; Taylor and Herrington, *The Afterlife of John Brown*, 73.

whether there remained a place for them within it.³⁹ As the South continued to insist on the expansion and protection of slavery, infuriated Northerners saw Southerners as the antichrist.⁴⁰ In an odd juxtaposition of religious imagery the Virginia *Religious Herald*, on January 14, 1865 condemned this idolization of Brown as an indication of the rise of the antichrist.⁴¹ Despite these dueling religious images abolitionists, no longer contented themselves with fighting slavery through words, and sought another way to end bondage. The North decided to follow the example of their greatest role model—Brown.

By taking up his holy crusade, Northern abolitionists justified their declaration of war against the South. The *Chicago Press and Tribune* predicted early on that Brown would end the opposition between freedom and slavery.⁴² As Brown headed to the gallows he slipped a piece of paper to one of his guards, which asserted “the crimes of this *guilty, land: will* never be purged *away*, but with Blood.”⁴³ Many abolitionists agreed with his prediction and sought to frame a violent confrontation by continuing his work.⁴⁴ In early December 1859, an article in the *Daily Ohio Statesman* stated the North desired to “try [their] hands at crushing slave states.” Others justified their actions by claiming to “proceed like the saints and John Brown.”⁴⁵ The widely accepted discourse on Brown and the outcome of his prediction reinforced the North’s notion of his martyrdom.⁴⁶

Throughout the course of the conflict, the North continued to view Brown as a prominent figure, and considered his actions as the “first blood shed in

[T]he media elevated Brown to a semi-divine status.

the great Civil War.”⁴⁷ By framing Brown this way, Northerners considered him a martyr who died for the sake of the country. Songs about Brown gained popularity throughout the North and thereby strengthened his image. The Union army used the song “John Brown’s Song” during the war to refer to his martyrdom, and claimed he became “a soldier in the army of our Lord.” As the newly minted embodiment of Brown’s ideology, the song also praised the North, and asked for “three rousing cheers for the Union!”⁴⁸

The popularity of several songs regarding Brown only ingrained his image as a holy sacrifice in cultural memory. Consequently, whenever the media mentioned his name during the Civil War, journalists alluded to his soul “marching on.”⁴⁹ Twice the *Liberator* referenced his soul, embedding his name within descriptions of battles and war preparations.⁵⁰ Additionally, the *Springfield Weekly Republican* hailed Brown as a “distinguished martyr, whose name ha[d] become a household word! and whose soul is marching on.”⁵¹

When the fighting ended in 1865, the country attempted to move past the violence and bloodshed reflected in the conflict. As cooler heads prevailed and the nation focused on rebuilding, Brown fell out of favor with Northerners who despite their previous admiration for him, recalled his destructive past. This revision of Brown’s legacy caused numerous individuals to question the accuracy of Brown’s portrayal throughout the war. Yet, the discourse on Brown’s raid at Harpers Ferry before and during the Civil War exemplifies the strength of the rapidly expanding media.⁵² Without media coverage, Brown’s image as a

39. Finkelman, *His Soul Goes Marching On*, 165.

40. Gabrial, “A Crisis of Americanism,” 103.

41. “Abolition: The Final Antichrist.” *Religious Herald*, 14 January 1865.

42. “The Fatal Friday,” *Chicago Press and Tribune*, December 2, 1859.

43. Finkelman, *His Soul Goes Marching On*, 52.

44. Brundage, “John Brown: Stone in the Historian’s Shoe,” 87-89.

45. “Correspondence of the Ohio Statesman,” *Daily Ohio Statesman*, December 8, 1859.

46. Russo and Finkelman, *Terrible Swift Sword*, 84-85.

47. “A Change at Harper’s Ferry,” *Liberator* (Boston, MA), November 17, 1865.

48. “John Brown Song.”

49. Ibid.

50. “Federal Loss at the Taking of Roanoke Island,” *Liberator*, February 21, 1862; “John Brown,” *Liberator*, November 13, 1863.

51. “Grave of John Brown,” *Springfield Weekly Republican*, September 10, 1864; “Mrs. John Brown,” *Lowell Daily Citizen and News*, September 15, 1864.

52. Gilpin, *John Brown Still Lives*, 47.

martyr in the North would have faded from cultural memory, but instead it remains an enduring image.

Northerners initially reacted to Brown negatively, and insisted his raid represented an act of terror against the South.⁵³ The South, eager to avoid further conflict, predicted the matter would end following Brown's execution in 1859. However, their bullying behavior prompted the Northern media to frame him as a martyr to promote the abolitionist cause to end slavery.⁵⁴ The North's perpetuation of Brown's image allowed abolitionists to view him as a significantly positive and powerful force. Northerners ignored Brown's violent deeds because the media decided to refocus their attention on his execution—his morals and ideals—instead of the brutality he displayed in Kansas and Harpers Ferry. Newspapers and poems reshaped his raid, until it became analogous to great American heroes or biblical figures. Paintings enforced the image of Brown as a saintly man leaning over to kiss the head of a black child “for her injured race.”⁵⁵ Songs also contributed to the North's new opinions, making him a ready hero for the Union.

Just as the media endowed him with significance, studying their perception of him offers historical value. The discourse on Brown explains the prominence of his raid within the broader context of the American Civil War. Examining media influence in the 1860s also helps scholars understand how it shaped public opinion in the nineteenth century and its lasting effect today.

“...*His soul's marching on!*”⁵⁶

53. Taylor and Herrington, *The Afterlife of John Brown*, 91.

54. Gabrial, “A Crisis of Americanism,” 104.

55. Redpath, *Echoes of Harper's Ferry*, 348.

56. “John Brown Song.”

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Rising Against the Tide:

A Historiographical Trajectory of Abolitionism within the *Amistad* Ship Rebellion

Raymond Ortiz



This photo depicts the infamous eighteenth century slave ship. *La Amistad*, watercolor, c. eighteenth century (New Haven, CT: New Haven Colony Historical Society).

On the eve of July 2, 1839, African prisoners aboard the Spanish schooner *La Amistad* mutinied and seized control of the ship. Due to the illegality of transporting Africans as slaves from Sierra Leone to Havana, Cuba, the *Amistad* uprising became a monumental event in worldwide slave legislation. What began as a United States Supreme Court case developed into an international affair that united abolitionists who saw the revolt as advantageous to their political cause. **Raymond Ortiz** details a comparative analysis of the *Amistad* affair, which reveals that it served as a pivotal event in overthrowing the institution of Atlantic slavery. From the 1960s to the 2010s, the historical trajectory of the case changed from earlier authors who situated it within a broader narrative of slave rebellions to current studies that argue the *Amistad* revolt became a foundation for pan-abolitionism across the world. Despite the historical stature given to the incident, it nonetheless symbolized a critical moment in the growth of antislavery sentiment.

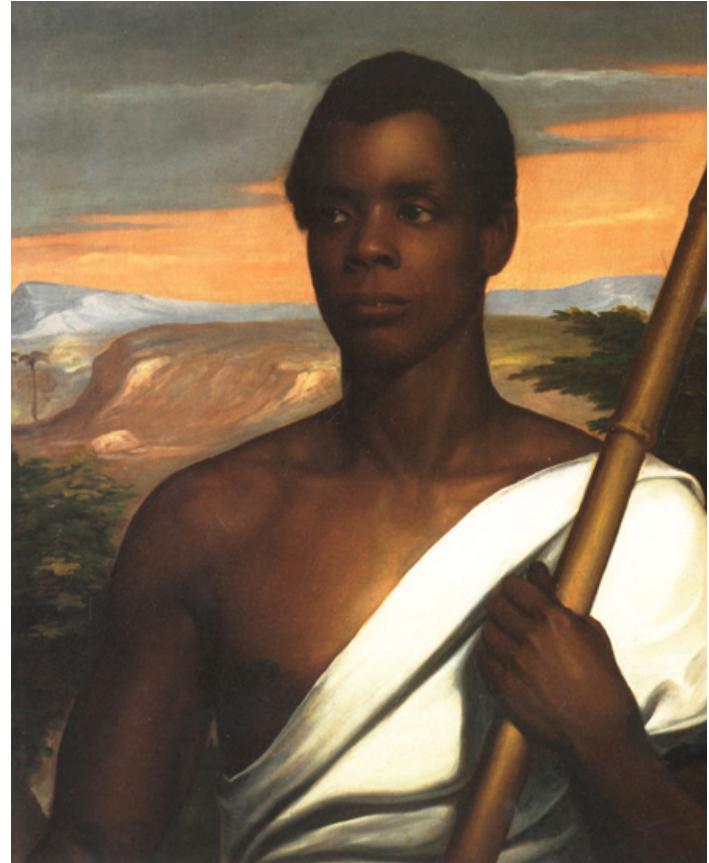
On the eve of July 2, 1839, African prisoners aboard the Spanish schooner *La Amistad* mutinied and seized control of the ship. Cinqué,¹ an enslaved captive of the Poro society in Sierra Leone, led the *Amistad* Africans in an uprising that resulted in the deaths of most of the crew and instilled hope in the mutineers of sailing home to freedom. However, the United States Navy trailed the ship from Sierra Leone to Havana, Cuba as part of a national effort to stem the illegal transportation of slaves. The ultimate seizure of the vessel, especially in light of the uprising became a monumental event in slave diplomacy.² What started as a United States Supreme Court case developed into an international affair that united abolitionists who saw the revolt as advantageous to their political cause.³ A comparative analysis of the *Amistad* affair reveals it served as a pivotal event in the destruction of Atlantic slavery. However, from the 1960s to the 2010s, the historical trajectory of the case changes from earlier authors situating it within a broader narrative of slave rebellion, to current studies that argue the *Amistad* revolt laid the foundation for pan-abolitionism across the world. Despite continued questions about the stature of the incident, it nonetheless symbolized a critical moment in the growth of antislavery sentiment.

Historians from the mid-twentieth century to today analyze the *Amistad* case in relation to the contemporary institution of slave power amid an

1. Historians refer to Cinqué by various names depending on the source materials or official records. These include: Cinqué, Joseph Cinqué, Sengbe Pieh, or Singbe.

2. Cinqué sparred the lives of Cuban plantation owner José Ruiz and ship navigator Pedro Montes in hopes they would lead the Africans back to their homeland. However, Montes navigated them to the coast of Culloden Point, Long Island, where a United States navy ship caught the ship and sent the Africans and their Spanish captives to New London, Connecticut, where they would face trial. The *Amistad* affair became a two-year court case in 1841, *United States v. The Amistad*, that debated the status of Africans as slave property or humans with inherent rights, which ended with the U.S. Supreme Court ruling them as innocent people and granting their freedom to return home. Rediker, *Amistad Rebellion: An Atlantic Odyssey of Slavery and Freedom* (London: Viking Penguin, 2012) 1-3, 4-5, 94-95; Seymour Drescher, *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery* (New York City: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 267-68.

3. Rediker, *The Amistad Rebellion*, 1, 3-4.



Cinqué, leader of the Mende rebellion on the *Amistad*. Na-thaniel Jocelyn, *Cinqué* (ca. 1811-1878), oil on canvas, May 1839 (New Haven, CT: New Haven Museum).

era of antislavery reform. The historiographical trajectory of the *Amistad* questions long established ethnocentric narratives,⁴ which stems from postcolonial interpretations.⁵ Drawing from a global discussion of social reform that emerged after the *Amistad* rebellion, most modern scholars approach the subject from a poststructuralist methodology. As a relatively modern philosophy dating back to the 1960s, poststructuralism aims to deconstruct past narratives to liberate multiple meanings and unrecognized voices from the same source materials.

4. Ethnocentrism species the judgment of another culture solely by standards and values of an individual's own cultural background. In a similar manner, some historians problematically reflect this agency in their works. Alan Munsow, *Deconstructing History*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2006), 12-13.

5. The postcolonial ideology entails the revision, or rejection, of previous histories based on European or American accounts. In this framework, scholars focus on the perspectives of the colonized people in order to understand their accounts. Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, eds., *The Houses of History: A Critical Reader in Twentieth-Century History and Theory* (New York: University Press, 1999), 278.

Authors analyzing the *Amistad* affair reconstruct past histories with the Africans at the center of their story.⁶

Beginning in the mid 1960s, authors attempted to give a voice to the *Amistad* captives by placing their resistance within a growing worldwide stance condemning African slavery. In his 1966 publication, *The Rattling Chains: Slave Unrest and Revolt in the Antebellum South*, Nicholas Halasz depicts the *Amistad* Africans as non-submissive rebels. He details the prisoners' desire for freedom through a pan-African narrative of liberation and identity. To convey the notability of the *Amistad* affair, the author compares and contrasts the actions by the Africans to other prominent revolts by black slaves and prisoners. By constructing a global picture, he reveals the economic motives in relation to the resistance of the *Amistad* affair.⁷

Halasz establishes the *Amistad*'s iconicity with figures like abolitionist David Walker and other notable slave rebellions such as the Nat Turner affair and the revolt led by the slave Gabriel Prosser in Richmond, Virginia, in 1800. Specifically, the author positions the *Amistad* affair as equal in stature with the Haitian Revolution in San Domingo. Under the leadership of Francois Dominique Toussaint L'Ouverture, Haitian slaves seized control of the island from French slaveholders and assumed control. Halasz's discussion of the Haitian Revolution addresses American diplomatic relations amid the uprisings that occurred across the United States thereafter. Thus, the revolution became a paragon of resistance that garnered attention from slaveholders in the United States who worried rebellions would spread to their plantations. Like the Haitian Revolution, Halasz maintains the *Amistad* affair grew into a symbol of rebellion and antislavery sentiment.⁸

6. Green and Troup, eds., *Houses of History*, 297-300.

7. Nicholas Halasz, *The Rattling Chains: Slave Unrest and Revolt in the Antebellum South* (New York: David McKay, 1966), 7-8, 206-08.

8. Halasz, *Rattling Chains*, 73-87. For further discussion on the noted slave uprisings, see Halasz, *Rattling Chains*, 98-100, 146-57.

Using judicial cases from the *Amistad* court proceedings and written works by abolitionists, the author situates the rebellion within an antislavery dialogue across eighteenth century America. Halasz depicts the uprising as a pivotal turning point for organized antislavery movements. He states, "Outrage and excitement prevailed in Connecticut over the prospect that the U.S. government might conceivably be lending its laws and military forces to the enslavement of free men...[T]he violence of the Negroes was an act of self-defense, an act of protest against being kept unlawfully enslaved."⁹ Halasz studies the rebellion globally to elucidate the growing antislavery sentiment of the time. He asserts, abolitionists across the world united to ensure justice for the captives. These coalitions wanted the United States Supreme Court to recognize, on record, the Africans as innocent people—not enslaved property or products capable ensuring capital gain.¹⁰ While the author fails to

acknowledge the individual identities of the Africans, he conveys the grandeur of the *Amistad* rebellion when juxtaposed with contemporary slave rebellions, insurgent leaders, and abolitionists.

[T]he revolution became a paragon of resistance that garnered attention from slaveholders in the United States...

In the Wake of the 1960s Black Civil Rights Movement

Contrasting Halasz's macro approach, historians after the 1960s examine the *Amistad* affair on its accord rather than within the context of a broader narrative of slave revolt. During this period, the civil rights movement and black power activism called for social equity, as African Americans struggled against accepted norms about racism and discrimination. Scholars began to *humanize* black figures once oppressed by the system of white privilege at this time. Moreover, historians who analyzed the *Amistad* rebellion focused on its influence on contemporary abolitionists who fought to overthrow the

9. Halasz, *Rattling Chains*, 208.

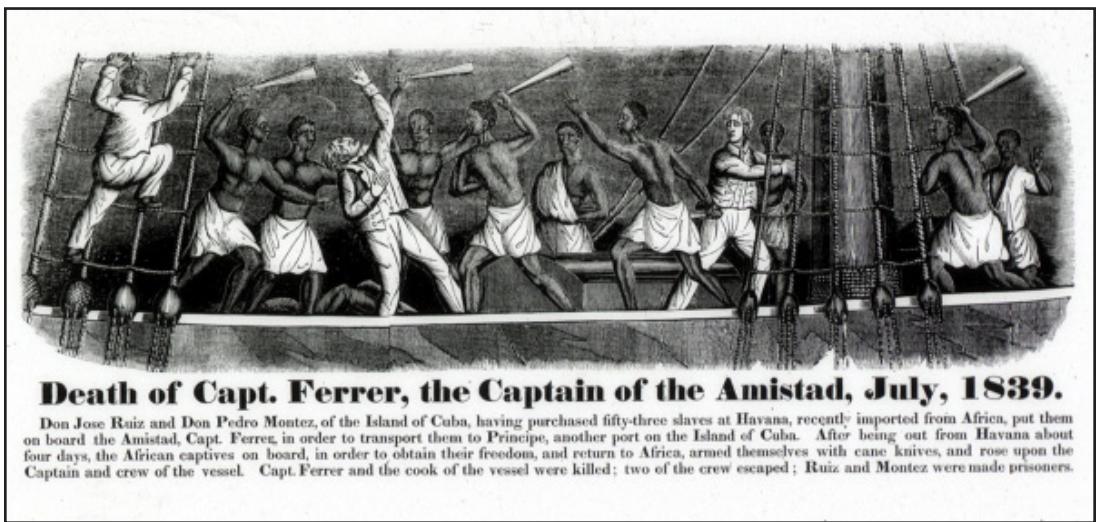
10. Ibid., 207-08. The case verdict in 1841 ruled the *Amistad* captives innocent and never slaves.

institution of Atlantic slavery. Works by such authors gave a voice to leading individuals unrecognized in primary documents and earlier historical monographs.¹¹ In the 1970 publication of *The Amistad Affair*, Christopher Martin illuminates the identities of the Amistad Africans through the institutionalized injustices of the Atlantic slave market. Martin uses this trade and the power that emerged from it as the foundation for his argument. Based on the subjugation Africans faced through the revolt and proceeding court cases, the author analyzes the affair in its entirety in comparison to other rebellions, ethics of imprisonment, and its implications on slave diplomacy. Moving away from Halasz's broad framework, Martin establishes a historical account regarding the settlement of the *Amistad* case, and the various political figures and abolitionists involved in it. This methodology establishes a foundation explaining that the rebellion symbolized a break in the slave system and market.¹²

Martin questions the "evil" institution of slavery by detailing the experiences of the *Amistad* Africans. Incorporating United States Department of State records and newspaper articles that detail the affair from the *Hartford Courant* and the *New York Sun*, he illustrates the conscious inhumanity of trans-oceanic slavery and presents a national reaction to the classification of Africans based on this imagery. For example, he explains that Cinqué and his companions broke away from the slave power that oppressed their rights as humans. The author states, "Although hand-cuffed, Singbe [Cinqué] did

11. Beverly Eileen Mitchell, *Black Abolitionism: A Quest for Human Dignity* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2005), 1-2, 7-8.

12. Christopher Martin, *The Amistad Affair* (London: Abelard-Schuman, 1970), 9-10, 16-17, 23.



This artwork portrays the Mende captives as barbaric and violent attackers, with the crew appearing as helpless and victims. *Death of Capt. Ferrer, the Captain of the Amistad*, drawing, 1969 (Washington DC: Library of Congress).

not give up his efforts to gain freedom. One of the Africans had died, and his body was covered with black cloth. Singbe pointed to the body and ruefully remarked that here was one of them who had found freedom."¹³ This compassion towards the Africans filtered through the attitudes of some American citizens and the abolitionists who defended the prisoners. His deconstructive examination of the evidence reveals a dispute that permeated the case in classifying the captives as either Spanish *property* or victimized people.¹⁴

Martin frames the case as a debate of humanity against institution. At this time, diplomatic relations between the United States, Spain and Cuba erupted over the rights of Africans. Integrating an array of legal documents with newspaper coverage of the *Amistad* court hearings, Martin establishes a foundation for anti-slavery views to manifest and as a means for the higher courts to recognize abolitionists efforts to continue their crusade. He upholds the *Amistad* rebellion as pivotal in transatlantic slave diplomacy due to the attention it drew from the public. Many Americans no longer saw slavery as an acceptable way of life after the *Amistad* uprising. Abolition groups, such as the American Anti-Slavery Society, used the case to change the public perception of Africans.

13. Ibid., 53.

14. Ibid., 53-55, 74, 216.

Martin's assessment exemplifies a shift among historians who began to understand how to approach the story of the *Amistad*. He recognizes the gap in African voices and realizes the high percentage of case decisions in over-throwing the slave power.¹⁵

Mary Cable constructs a voice for the Amistad Africans through the accounts of leading political and public figures involved with transatlantic slave legislation in her 1971 study, *Black Odyssey: The Case of the Slave Ship Amistad*. Cable surveys a multitude of material sources and personal accounts that include court documents from the Amistad trial, newspapers, pamphlets created by abolitionists that called attention to the event and ensuing reactions from Ameriecpo" cetquu" yj g" pcvqpo" [T]he *Amistad* uprising existed as a completely new development in black identity and the slave market

the author humanlk gu"yj g"Chlkcpo"cpf "f gyckn"y j { abolitionists across the world viewed the entire episode as a monumental turning point to end transatlantic slavery.¹⁶

Cable explores the status of the Mende captives and debates whether they were slaves or free men. She draws from the court proceedings and legal rulings to emphasize the uniqueness of the *Amistad* case compared to prior ship revolts across the Atlantic Ocean. The author strengthens the "importance of the case by specifically comparing the *Amistad* Africans to the captives who revolted on the *Antelope* in 1820—the primary precedent used in the court hearing. By examining judicial laws and records of the United States and Spain, Cable argues that the *Amistad* uprising existed as a completely new development in black identity. Based on the media attention of the case, her study reveals a growing public awareness towards the rights of Africans as people.¹⁷

Reviewing coverage by the *New York Herald*, *New York Daily Express*, and *New Haven*

15. Ibid., 108, 111-13, 215-21.

16. Mary Cable, *Black Odyssey: The Case of the Slave Ship Amistad* (New York: Viking, 1971), 3-4, 6-7, 9-13, 16-17.

17. Ibid., 26-27, 45-47.

Herald, Cable focuses heavily on Van Buren and former president John Quincy Adams, the latter in which served as the Africans' lawyer. She maintains these prominent politicians personified the dichotomy between the arguments for and against the captives' innocence. Van Buren appeared "greatly dissatisfied" with the verdict as he regretted dismaying the Africans' freedom. Contrasting this position, Adams denounced the judicial system, stating, "These men were found free, and they cannot now be decreed to be slaves, but by making them slaves," questioning Ruiz's claim to them as his property.¹⁸ Cable's analysis of the media's conveyance of these figures demonstrates the political struggles between those for and against slavery, which alludes to the importance of the precedence set by the verdict.¹⁹ The author concludes with a discussion of the American Missionary Association and how the *Amistad* affair

symbolized for abolitionists the beginning of the end of slavery. By constructing a humane identity for the Africans through the officials involved in *Amistad* case, Cable explicates why the outcome of judicial dispute served as a major political agent for abolitionists. Rather than arguing against the institution of slavery in relation to a generalized notion of antislavery sentiment like Halasz and Martin, Cable specifically details how abolitionists used the legalities of the case to change the status of black subjects. As a result, the *Amistad* affair became an undeniable touchstone in ensuing trials regarding slave revolts.²⁰

In his 1987 *Mutiny on the Amistad: The Saga of a Slave Revolt and Its Impact on American Abolition, Law, and Diplomacy*, Howard Jones focuses only on abolitionism throughout the nineteenth century and how the *Amistad* affair factors into the broader narrative. In a similar manner as Cable, Jones reflects on the changing mood in the United States that moved toward antislavery thought. Abolitionists aimed to exploit this shifted tone for their fight against slavery. He contends, "The case study of how

18. Ibid., 102.

19. Ibid., 35, 76, 100-03.

20. Ibid., 155-57.

abolitionists temporarily overcame their differences to unite against slavery.”²¹ Jones observes how antislavery views developed its own culture as abolitionists questioned the ethics of slavery in transatlantic diplomatic legislations.²²

Jones bases his research on records and letters from various abolitionists and organized abolition groups, such as the Amistad Committee, American Missionary Association, American Antislavery Society, and the American Colonization Society. The author explains that abolitionists viewed the Amistad affair as a “God-send” to their cause,²³ further adding that the captives acted as “merely the tools of the abolitionists [against] this gross act of inhumanity and outrage,” the latter in which he refers to the institution of African slavery.²⁴ Abolitionists argued against salvage rights of illegal slave ships, the executive office’s right to interfere in the case, and the Spanish law of 1817 that prohibited the importation of blacks from Africa. Abolitionists instead hoped for a triumph for human justice by means of judicial power. Jones follows a similar framework to Cable as they detail how abolitionists capitalized on American law to build their case based on natural rights of the Mende prisoners.²⁵

The author places the *Amistad* affair as a turning point for antislavery reform because of the use of law to win the Mende Africans’ freedom. Abolitionists built a case around contemporary legislations to break slavery and the classification of Africans under jurisdiction. By noting the use of judicial statutes to rule in favor of the captives, Jones emphasizes the magnitude of the court case. Abolitionists rejoiced due to the precedent established by the verdict because it removed the influence personal bias, such as the disapproval

21. Howard Jones, *Mutiny on the Amistad: The Saga of a Slave Revolt and Its Impact on American Abolition, Law, and Diplomacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 9.

22. Ibid., 8-10, 31, 52.

23. Quoted from the *Evening Star*, Jones states the full remark as “a ‘God-send to the ultra abolitionists,’ for it raised their ‘failing energies.’” Jones, *Mutiny on the Amistad*, 48.

24. Jones, *Mutiny on the Amistad*, 86.

25. Ibid., 48, 81, 83, 85-86, 101, 128, 131-32, 195.

by high-ranking officials as Van Buren discussed in *Black Odyssey*. Ergo, Jones demonstrates that the *Amistad* rebellion signified a beginning to the end of Atlantic slavery.²⁶

Readings on the *Amistad* uprising following the 1960s black rights movement stray from approaches like Halasz’s methodology in order to situate the Africans and abolitionists at the center of the story. In their studies, the poststructuralist historians of Martin, Cable, and Jones present a *multiplicity* of voices once overshadowed by others. These historians liberate several meanings from the source materials to reveal conflicting arguments that surrounded the revolt and court hearing. They place the marginalized characters at the center of

the narrative to convey the ethics that motivated a push to end Atlantic slavery. These narratives humanize the African captives with individual identities and emotions.

These narratives humanize the African captives with individual identities and emotions. Arguing in this manner emphasizes the shift in nineteenth century diplomatic relations to view blacks as people—not inferiors.

Hollywood Reimagines the *Amistad*

In 1997, DreamWorks Studios released the highly publicized film, *Amistad*. Director Steven Spielberg tells the story of the Mende prisoners’ fight alongside abolitionists within an international legal battle over the illegality of the Atlantic slave trade, which culminated in the 1841 case *United States v. The Amistad*. After the movie’s release to mainstream audiences, Hollywood’s glamorized depiction of heroic abolitionists and the triumphant return of the captives to Sierra Leone became a subject for historians studying the uprising and its lasting impression in popular memory. Scholars took a public historical approach by analyzing the effects of the film in relation to identity politics and memory of the *Amistad* Africans. Emanating from the film’s representation of the prisoners, revivalist interpretations emerged on the subject of the *Amistad* rebellion that attempt to recon-

26. Ibid., 173, 198, 206-07, 218-19.

struct the personal experiences lost to media portrayals in order to emphasize the importance of the case to abolitionism.²⁷

Iyunolu Folayan Osagie criticizes twentieth century historical monographs in her 2000 publication, *The Amistad Revolt: Memory, Slavery, and the Politics of Identity in the United States and Sierra Leone*. Osagie disparages the works of writers who previously studied the *Amistad* affair, including Martin, Cable, and Jones, and criticizes the accuracy of Spielberg's cinematic interpretation. The author states, "I take up the story of the *Amistad* by focusing on how its appearance as a collective act of memory is influencing and revitalizing nation building and cultural identity."²⁸ Much of Osagie's critique draws from her personal background. As an African historian born and raised in Sierra Leone, she attempts to salvage the national identity and personal dignity of her people oppressed by neocolonial history. Based on this relation, Osagie illuminates how the legal victories of the *Amistad* cases proved vital to abolitionists in furthering cooperation in the multiracial world.²⁹

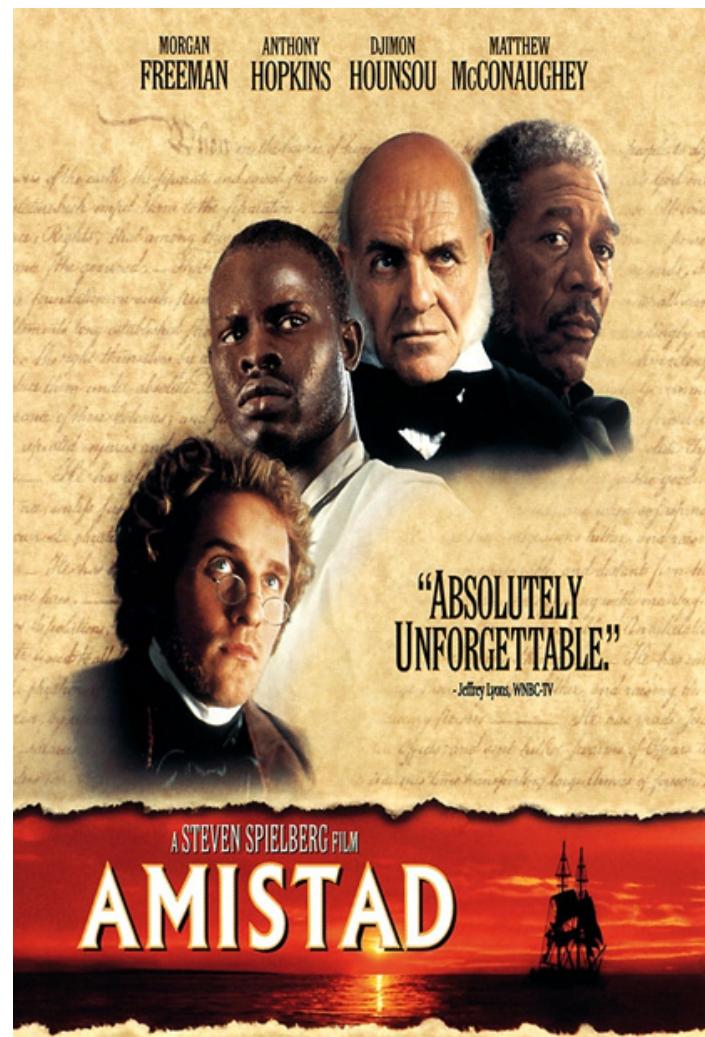
Osagie takes a similar approach to Halasz by situating the *Amistad* affair within a larger narrative of slave revolts. She discusses the Haitian Revolution, the American slave rebellion led by Denmark Vessey in 1822, and the Nat Turner uprising. However, Osagie focuses on the power of blackness as a political agency behind these events. She argues that worldwide momentum grew out a constant fear of slave revolts, which haunted slaveholders. Osagie upholds human recognition of the Mende captives to demonstrate their preeminence over the white slave system, past representations, she insists, marginalized these figures. By placing the *Amistad* Africans at the center of their own story, the author humanizes their individual identities and depicts *their* insurgency as an influence of greater antislavery sentiment.³⁰

27. *Amistad*, directed by Steven Spielberg (1997; Universal City, CA: DreamWorks Pictures, 1997).

28. Iyunolu Folayan Osagie, *The Amistad Revolt: Memory, Slavery, and the Politics of Identity in the United States and Sierra Leone* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000), xiv.

29. Ibid., 21, 136-37.

30. Ibid., 29, 31-36, 39, 42-43, 46.



Steven Spielberg's *Amistad* proved a box office success, garnering numerous Academy Award nominations. *Amistad*, directed by Steven Spielberg (1997; Universal City, CA: Dream-Works Pictures, 1997).

Arising from her assessment of the *Amistad* revolt in comparison to other accounts of rebellion, Osagie recognizes the Mende captives as heroes to abolitionists. Structuring her analysis from letters by Cinqué to situate the Africans at the center of abolitionism, the author explains that abolitionists reflected the evolving cultural values and ethics of their native countries. Abolitionists seized the opportunity to unite in this judicial endeavor knowing the precedent that could emerge from the case verdict. Osagie maintains that the *Amistad* Africans facilitated and changed the nature of colonial beliefs, which reinvigorated global abolitionism. Their experiences contributed to the overthrowing of Atlantic slavery, not abolitionists alone.³¹

31. Ibid., 9-10, 56, 59, 66, 91-92.

Marcus Rediker approaches the *Amistad* subject in the same manner as Osagie by situating the captives' perspectives themselves at the center of abolitionism. In his 2012 *The Amistad Rebellion: An Atlantic Odyssey of Slavery and Freedom*, Rediker focuses on the organization of antislavery sentiment from the cultural impact of the *Amistad* revolt and its proceeding court case. He analyzes the *Amistad* Africans' position in the diplomacy of a globalized slave network and how they became a symbol of abolitionism. Moreover, Rediker bases his study on the Mende culture and indigenous backgrounds of the African rebels. Accounts of the prisoners and their interactions with abolitionists dispel popular representations of the affair to elucidate the instrumentality of the Africans' identities towards social reform.³²

Rediker delves into the background of the *Amistad* captives to explain how their indigenous persona reinvigorated antislavery thought in the United States. The author analyzes the Africans through an anthropological frame as he studies a multitude of non-material sources, such as sketches by William Townsend, recorded interviews by abolitionist Joseph Covey, and accounts and observations of Sierra Leone society. The authors' detailed individual accounts and background of the *Amistad* captives separates the "slave" classification from them. Instead, Rediker personifies them as "captives," "warriors," and "rebels" within the context of the Poro Society and Mende culture; he further refers to each of them by their names, such as Cinqué, Margru, and Cushoo. Rediker demonstrates that abolitionists used these personas in their campaign for the Africans' freedom by presenting them as distinct *people*.³³

The author explains that antislavery thought existed concurrently since the inception of transatlantic slavery, which he exemplifies in his discussion of the Gallinas Coast. As the slave economy became more sophisticated, so did the progression of antislavery sentiment into organized abolitionism. Rediker maintains the identities and personal accounts of the Mende captives attributed to the success of organized

abolition groups involved with the case and public memory of the affair. Abolitionists who aided in the legal defense conveyed to the public a *human* image of the Africans. Like Osagie, Rediker ascribes to the Africans the success of the case verdict using *their* identities by abolitionists—not the efforts of abolitionists alone. Both reframe the historiography of the *Amistad* from rebellion and international diplomacy to the narratives of the Mende prisoners, with the latter as agents of *their own* liberation.³⁴

Studies of the *Amistad* rebellion and subsequent Supreme Court case reveal the entire affair grew into a major influence in breaking the transatlantic slave power. Since the 1960s, historical analyses changed from how the event marked one of many significant uprisings against the institution of slavery to the pivotal rupture in the entire system. Authors like Halasz illustrate the revolt's magnitude by juxtaposing it with well-known mutinies, such as the Haitian Revolution. Contrastingly, arguments from Martin, Cable, and Jones represent a body of thought that focuses on the Mende captives, the abolitionists, and the aftereffects of the case. Modern scholars deconstruct such monographs in order to recognize the voices of the Mende people. Experts such as Osagie and Rediker reframe past histories to preserve the memory of the Mende culture lost due to media representations in recent years. Although the historical trajectory of the *Amistad* affair continuously changes, past and present scholars nonetheless agree the uprising embodied a turn towards the end of the Atlantic slave trade. Ergo, the *Amistad* Africans act as symbols of transoceanic insurrection against institutionalized slavery.

32. Rediker, *Amistad Rebellion*, 3-5, 9-10, 179, 224-25.

33. Ibid., 14-17, 28-31, 121, 160, 247-48.

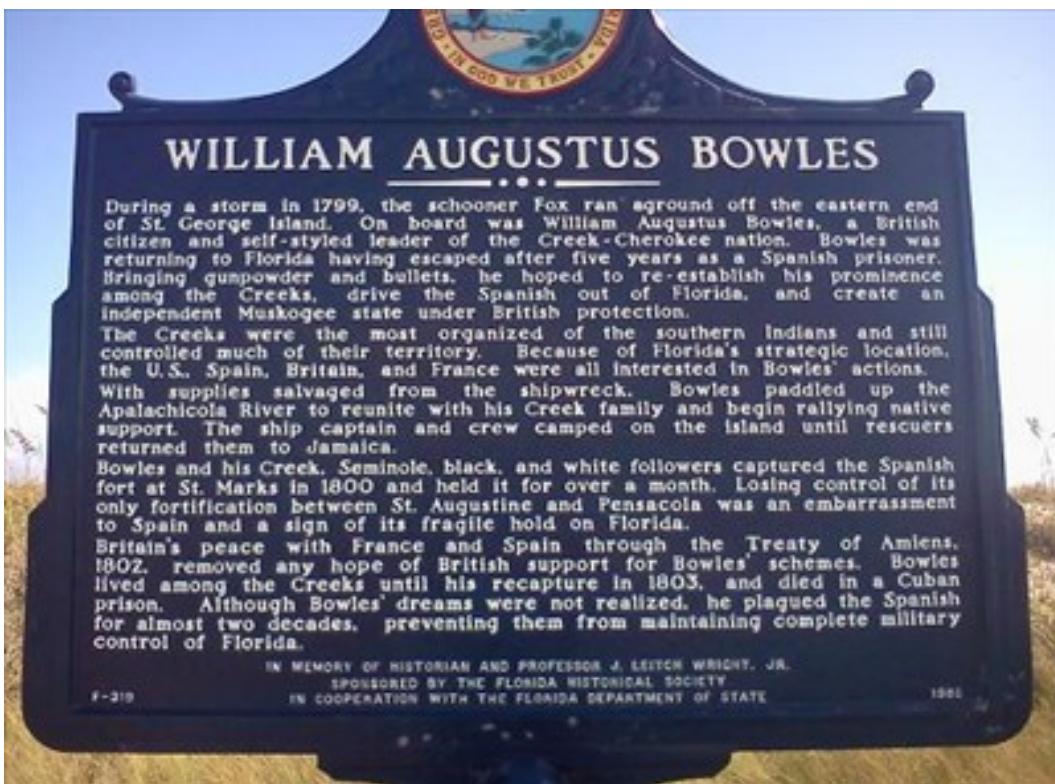
34. Ibid., 38-40, 120-21, 187.

Raymond Ortiz graduated *cum laude* with his BA in history from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), in 2011. He is a seven-time author of the *Welebaethan* and two-time author for the *Social and Global Justice Project*. Ortiz served as an editor for the 2012 *Welebaethan* and later as co-Editor-in-Chief for the 2013 publication. As a graduate student, he won the 2013 Lawrence B. de Graaf Outstanding Graduate Student Award, the 2014 Ronald Rietveld Fellowship in the Era of Abraham Lincoln, and the 2014 Don A. Schweitzer Memorial Scholarship in the Humanities and Social Sciences. Ortiz co-founded the Cultural and Public History Association at CSUF in 2013, where he served as president for two academic years. In fall 2014, Ortiz completed his MA in history, focusing on United States gender and sexuality in which he researched male suffragists of the American Woman's Suffrage Movement. His thesis, "Ladies and Gentle Men: The Men's League for Woman's Suffrage and its Liberation of the Male Identity," delves into the proponents of the eponymous organization and masculinity at the turn of the twentieth century. Ortiz aspires to continue his education in a doctoral program, focusing on United States history, gender, and sexuality.



‘Some Speculative Project of Your Own’: William Augustus Bowles, the American Southeast, and the Boundaries of Empire

Matt Snider



This marker—dedicated to the late J. Leitch Wright Jr., Bowles’ first scholarly biographer—presents a simplified if still reasonably appropriate sketch of William Augustus Bowles and his impact on the Creek peoples and Florida more generally. *William Augustus Bowles, Marker F-319, photograph, 1988* (Franklin County, FL: Florida Historical Society).

Matt Snider claims William Augustus Bowles’ (1763/4-1805) attempts to gain official British endorsement for his proposed state of Muskogee reveal a clear pattern of reasonable Whitehall hospitality and informal support coupled with a refusal to dispense actual approval or significant funding. This British imperial pragmatism in the American southeast speaks to the tumultuous and fluid political environment in the region after 1783, an interpretation reinforced by myriad contemporary letters and speeches from colonial officials, tribal leaders, and Euro-American speculators and traders. Collectively, this correspondence illuminates the overtly personal dimension of politics in the late eighteenth century, as well as a complicated mixture of public and private interests. These missives also expose the limits of potential convergence between the formal British Empire and individual loyalist colonials after the American War of Independence. As such, Bowles appears contextualized within a matrix of opportunism, posturing, and tenuous alliances in the contemporaneous southeast and British-American world.

The life and exploits of soldier, actor, and pirate William Augustus Bowles (1763/4-1805) offer a welter of insight into numerous historical processes in the American southeast at the turn of the nineteenth century, as do the recorded words and actions of individuals connected to his endeavors.¹ The adventurer's career thus provides a unique and bountiful perspective on several aspects of European and Native American interaction in the wake of the American Revolution, as well as complex relations between Spanish, US, and British interests in the Gulf Coast, Apalachee, and Apalachicola.²

Even more narrowly, Estajoca's attempts to gain official British endorsement for his proposed state of Muskogee reveal a clear pattern of reasonable Whitehall

hospitality and informal support coupled with a refusal to dispense actual approval or significant funding. This British imperial pragmatism in the southeast speaks to the tumultuous and fluid political environment in the region after 1783, an interpretation reinforced by myriad contemporaneous letters and speeches from colonial officials, tribal leaders, and Euro-American speculators and traders. Collectively, this correspondence illuminates the overtly personal dimension of imperial politics in the late eighteenth century, as well as a complicated mixture of public and private interests. These missives also expose the limits of potential convergence between the formal British Empire and individual British colonials after the American War of Independence. As such, the materials in question contextualize Bowles within a matrix of opportunism, posturing, and tenuous alliances in the contemporaneous southeast and British-American world.

Wright Jr. viewed Estajoca as an ambitious, mostly sympathetic, and ultimately tragic adventurer keen to aid the Creeks...

The Binding Thread: Bowles as Historiographic Lynchpin

The story of Bowles' life intersects several overlapping historiographical layers, though these conceptual strata range considerably in focus, scale, and interpretive scope. Biographies of Estajoca obviously form the most fundamental layer of this literature, but only two scholarly monographs exist, and forty-five years separate them.³ The first of these—J. Leitch Wright Jr.'s *William Augustus Bowles: Director General of the Creek Nation*—appeared in 1967, and long enjoyed a reputation as the essential, seminal study of Bowles. Wright Jr.

viewed Estajoca as an ambitious, mostly sympathetic, and ultimately tragic adventurer keen to aid the Creeks in their losing battle against Euro-American encroachment while also enriching himself and his financial benefactors in Nassau, Bahamian Governor John Murray, 4th Earl of Dunmore—commonly known as Lord Dunmore—and Scottish merchant John Miller.⁴ Focusing on the military and organizational contours of Bowles' tale, Wright Jr.'s *Director General* eventually received criticism for accepting too many of the adventurer's claims at face value and presenting him as a legitimate leader of the Creek peoples.⁵

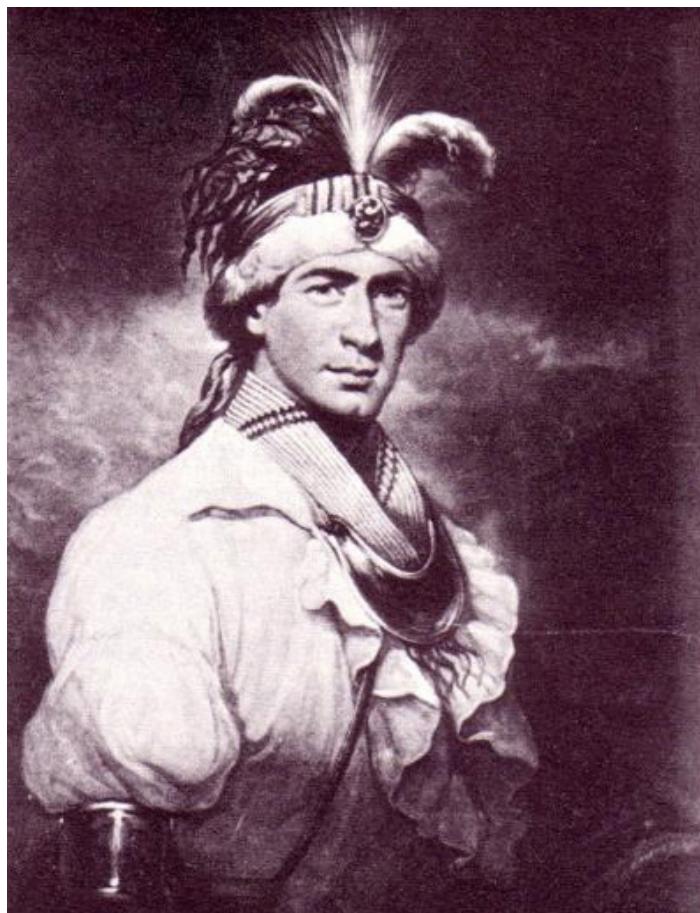
3. In 1791, Bowles' associate and fellow British soldier Benjamin Baynton published a memoir of the adventurer's career to that point, based upon a series of conversations the two men shared. The text comes across as thoroughly hagiographic, yet still features numerous insights pertaining to Bowles' ambitions and sense of self. Benjamin Baynton, *Authentic Memoirs of William Augustus Bowles, Esquire, Ambassador from the United Nations of Creeks and Cherokees, to the Court of London* (London: R. Faulder, 1791).

4. J. Leitch Wright Jr., *William Augustus Bowles: Director General of the Creek Nation* (Athens: University of Georgia, 1967). In particular, see pp. 172-74, where Wright Jr. discusses Bowles' death and ultimate legacy.

5. In multiple publications, Gilbert C. Din criticized numerous scholars for failing to adopt the proper perspective on Bowles and his schemes in the American southeast. As one example, see Gilbert C. Din, "William Augustus Bowles on the Gulf Coast, 1787-1803: Unraveling a Labyrinthine Conundrum," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 89, no. 1 (2010): 2n2, where Din included "several works by J. Leitch Wright Jr." among a

1. Bowles also went by the self-bestowed name Estajoca in various contexts, so the moniker appears interchangeably with his European name and the label "the adventurer" here. As for Bowles' birth year, accounts vary between 1763 and 1764.

2. "Apalachee" denotes an area in the Florida panhandle, while "Apalachicola" refers to a river and corresponding region spanning sections of modern-day Florida, Georgia, and Alabama. Both terms come from Muskogean dialects.



The most prominent visual depiction of Bowles suitably conveys his cross-cultural persona and deliberate cooption of certain Muskogean material accouterments. Thomas Hardy, *William Augustus Bowles*, mezzotint, c. early nineteenth century (Winston-Salem, NC: Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Old Salem Museum & Gardens).

Indeed, Bowles' only other scholarly, book-length biographer—Gilbert C. Din, professor emeritus at Fort Lewis College in Colorado—explicitly chastised Wright Jr. and numerous other historians for misreading the nature of Bowles' personality and actions. In *War on the Gulf Coast: The Spanish Fight against William Augustus Bowles*, Din approached Estajoca and his endeavors from a Spanish colonial perspective and depicted him as basically method-acting in life—playing the part of a half-British, half-Creek leader, irrespective of the reality of the

cavalcade of apparently errant interpretations of Estajoca and his historical relevance. Still, Wright Jr. followed his seminal monograph with a co-written article in which he clearly refers to Bowles as the “self-styled head of the Creek-Cherokee Nation, and later ‘Director-General of the State of Muskogee.’” Jack D. L. Holmes and J. Leitch Wright, Jr., “Luis Bertucat and William Augustus Bowles: West Florida Adversaries in 1791,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 49, no. 1 (1970): 49, emphasis added.

situation.⁶ In truth, Din’s withering and persistent depiction of Bowles as an opportunistic interloper who “oozed charm to mislead strangers” seems unusually caustic, even if his interpretations come across as more or less persuasive.⁷ Regardless, Din represents the most prolific and detailed biographer of Bowles yet, as he produced three articles and one monograph about the adventurer between 2004 and 2012.⁸

The next historiographic sediment pertaining to Bowles’ story contains elements of biography and typically features even in fleeting references to the adventurer but nevertheless concerns a specific phenomenon: cross-cultural individuals who lived in multiple social worlds and spurned dichotomous, moralistic conceptions of race and behavior. One prominent historian in this vein examined a group of individuals he saw as successfully existing between Native and Euro-American cultural worlds—particularly those labeled “renegades.”⁹ Explicitly mentioning both Bowles and McGillivray, this researcher claimed such cultural hybrids “operated with simultaneous success in their respective Indian societies as well as in the white man’s world.”¹⁰ These social chameleons therefore represented threats to institutional European ideas about racial relations: “they avoided the lapse into degeneracy that cultural amalgamation was supposed to effect.”¹¹ Critically, the success or failure of many of these “renegades” traced back to Native American choices related to future prospects.

6. Gilbert C. Din, *War on the Gulf Coast: The Spanish Fight against William Augustus Bowles* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012), 24.

7. Ibid., 26.

8. Of course, several other historians produced article-length biographical studies on Bowles over the years. For example, see Elisha P. Douglass, “The Adventurer Bowles,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 6, no. 1 (Jan. 1949): 3-23; Lyle McAlister, “William Augustus Bowles and the State of Muskogee,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (1962): 317-28; and Duvon Corbitt and John Tate Lanning, “A Letter of Marque Issued by William Augustus Bowles as Director General of the State of Muskogee,” *Journal of Southern History* 11, no. 2 (1945): 246-61.

9. Colin G. Calloway, “Neither White nor Red: White Renegades on the American Frontier,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (1986): 48.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

Native American groups frequently borrowed and adapted from other cultures as the situation required. Some tried to bolster their strength by the assimilation of marginal people. They adopted selected captives, both Indian and white, and utilized the talents of “squaw men” and “mixed bloods” as leaders and intermediaries in a rapidly changing world in which the ability to deal with white society was of paramount importance.¹²

According to Colin Calloway, “International tension … complicated the renegade phenomenon; but the Americans considered all whites who fought with the Indians, whatever the reason, to be racial traitors, and they treated them as such.”¹³ Indeed, studies focusing on multicultural individuals like Bowles tend to view sweeping imperial developments primarily through a more intimate ethno-social lens.¹⁴

Perhaps the most vibrant stratum of historiography intersecting Estajoca’s tale relates to British Loyalists in the aftermath of the American War of Independence.¹⁵ Two recent works provide excellent examples of this genre. In *Liberty’s Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World*, Maya Jasanoff presented a regional and conceptual mosaic of the British Empire following the Revolution, claiming that initial displacement and trauma crystallized

12. Ibid., 46. Cf. Susan Reynolds, “William Augustus Bowles: Adventurous Rogue of the Old Southwest,” *Alabama Heritage* 103 (2012): 22, where Reynolds argued “Native Americans felt threatened by those offering to supply their needs and trade, recognizing that France, Spain, and the United States primarily were interested in gaining control of their lands. Bowles, due to the fact that he was enmeshed in the Lower Creek community and tied to them by marriage, presented a different option.”

13. Calloway, “Neither White nor Red,” 57. Cf. Andrew K. Frank, *Creeks & Southerners: Biculturalism on the Early American Frontier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 1, where Frank claimed “a belief in the connection between race, culture, and identity nearly resulted in hostilities between Spanish Floridians and Creek Indians.” As he explained on p. 2, multicultural individuals in the American southeast exhibited “behavior and appearances [that] defied simple identification.”

14. Frank’s monograph offers an excellent example of this tendency.

15. Nevertheless, according to a recent reviewer of Din’s monograph, “There is still much to explore, not least about British involvement in Bowles’ enterprises.” David E. Narrett, review of *War on the Gulf Coast: The Spanish Fight against William Augustus Bowles*, by Gilbert C. Din, *Journal of Southern History* 79, no. 2 (2013): 463.

into “a kind of triumph” by 1815.¹⁶ Of course, she also stipulated that “while loyalist refugees were often successfully assimilated into a refurbished British Empire … they also widened (if not introduced) cracks in the postrevolutionary empire’s foundation.”¹⁷ As for Estajoca, Jasanoff documented his connection to Lord Dunmore and Bahamian British interests, claiming he “never renounced his allegiance as a British subject” and thus “illuminated the persistence with which refugee loyalists … sought to translate losses into gains.”¹⁸ In truth, Jasanoff seemingly overestimated Bowles’ loyalty and connection to the formal infrastructure of the British Empire—as distinct from private commercial interests and Estajoca’s own ambitions—but her study remains invaluable all the same.¹⁹

Treading on similar ground, Eliga H. Gould utilized Bowles as an interpretive sieve through which to characterize and interpret the fortunes of the British Empire following the American Revolution. Somewhat contradicting Din’s criticism concerning academic studies on the adventurer, Gould lamented that “insofar as Bowles has a presence in modern scholarship, it is as a supporting player in the history of the Indians of Spanish Florida and the southeastern United States.”²⁰ According to Gould, too many historians fail to recognize “the British Empire was also an informal empire, one based on the commercial supremacy of British ships and goods [and] regional networks of British satellites and tributary allies.”²¹

16. Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty’s Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World* (New York: Knopf, 2012), 343.

17. Ibid., 347.

18. Ibid., 235, 240.

19. As just one relevant example, the complicated rivalry between private British firm Leslie, Panton & Co. and the Miller/Dunmore faction illustrates the danger of including all post-Revolution Loyalist institutions and activities under the same imperial banner.

20. Eliga H. Gould, “The Empire that Britain Kept,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the American Revolution*, ed. Edward G. Gray and Jane Kamensky (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 465. Gould labeled this historiographic trend “both misguided and emblematic of a larger shortcoming” on p. 466.

21. Ibid., 466. For other scholars exploring loyalist refugees and/or British involvement with Native Americans, see Jane G. Landers, *Atlantic Creoles in the Age of Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), esp. 100-3,

Nevertheless, Bowles' interactions with Whitehall officials during both of his trips to London reveal the limits of potential fusion of governmental and private British schemes following the American Revolution.²²

The final significant skein of historiography intertwined with Bowles' life pertains to the second Spanish colonial period in the American southeast, particularly as it relates to Native Americans and imperial conflict. According to Narrett, Din represents "the foremost authority on Spanish governance in late eighteenth century Louisiana."²³ In his numerous publications, Din argued a disproportionate Creek dependency on European trade goods developed during the early eighteenth century and became more extreme in subsequent decades.²⁴ He stipulated, however, that French and Spanish authorities could not produce the requisite number and variety of trade goods to satisfy indigenous needs in the second half of the century, thereby facilitating "sporadic Creek commerce with the English" and opening opportunities for ambitious, multicultural individuals like Estajoca.²⁵ Other contributors to this scholarship include Lawrence Kinnaird, David White, and Gregory A. Waselkov.²⁶

where Landers depicts Bowles and his supporters as vehicles for the schemes of more-connected British loyalists, like William McGirth and William 'Bloody Bill' Cunningham; Leslie Reinhardt, "British and Indian Identities in a Picture by Benjamin West," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 31, no. 3 (Spring 1998): 283-305; and Thomas D. Watson, "Strivings for Sovereignty: Alexander McGillivray, Creek Warfare, and Diplomacy, 1783-1790," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 58, no. 4 (1980): 400-414. See also the forthcoming David Narrett, *Adventurism and Empire: The Struggle for Mastery in the Louisiana-Florida Borderlands, 1762-1803* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

22. In truth, Gould acknowledged the difference between Estajoca's loyalist intentions and "his own initiative," but essentially argued the two factors acted in tandem rather than distinctly. Gould, "Empire that Britain Kept," 471.

23. Narrett, review of *War on the Gulf Coast*, 462.

24. Din, *War on the Gulf Coast*, 5, 8.

25. Ibid., 5-6.

26. Lawrence Kinnaird, "The Significance of William Augustus Bowles' Seizure of Panton's Apalachee Store in 1792," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 9, no. 3 (Jan. 1931): 156-92; David White, "The Spaniards and William Augustus Bowles in Florida,

More than other historiographic layers connected to Bowles' life, these research projects provide substantial geopolitical backdrop for the adventurer's endeavors, and thus remain essential to any contextualized understanding of the abortive state of Muskogee.

A Continent in Flux: Revolution, Empires, and Indians in the Southeast

French and Spanish authorities could not produce the requisite number and variety of trade goods to satisfy indigenous needs...

Estajoca's interaction with Whitehall officials and his connection to the history of Apalache and Apalachicola appear more clearly with the proper biographical and geopolitical background. Bowles served in a Maryland loyalist regiment during the American Revolution, and after a two-year stint living among Cherokees and Creeks, he became a sublieutenant in the British Army, an experience that came to an end with the Spanish defeat of British forces at Pensacola in 1781.²⁷

After spending time as an actor and painter in New York and Nassau, Bowles forged ties with Lord Dunmore and John Miller and soon returned to Creek country with a modest number of Anglo-American mercenaries.²⁸ Despite failing in his initial military campaign, the adventurer's promises of resisting the Spanish-granted monopoly of Leslie, Panton & Co. with a steady flow of inexpensive British trade goods supplied by Dunmore and Miller garnered a smattering of support among certain Seminoles and Lower Creeks, especially those connected to Estajoca's Creek wife and her father, William Perryman.²⁹

1799-1803," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (1975): 145-55; and Gregory A. Waselkov, *A Conquering Spirit: Fort Mims and the Redstick War of 1813-1814* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009).

27. Din, *War on the Gulf Coast*, 22-23. See also Wright Jr., *William Augustus Bowles*, 6-16. According to Landers, Bowles forged important alliances shortly after leaving the British military with "some of the most important Indian leaders of [west Florida]." Landers, *Atlantic Creoles*, 101.

28. Wright Jr., *William Augustus Bowles*, 17-28. Cf. Din, *War on the Gulf Coast*, 23-24.

29. Din, *War on the Gulf Coast*, 28-29. Din claimed "all Indians resented Panton's prices, which he allegedly inflated for European goods and depressed for their hides and fur." See

More broadly, British, Spanish, French, and indigenous groups scrambled for land and trade security in the decidedly fluid political environment of the American southeast following the 1783 Treaty of Paris.³⁰ The state of Georgia sought to expand into Creek/Spanish territory, while many Muskogean peoples expressed frustration with tribal leadership and a desire for greater access to European goods than Spanish colonial officials could supply.³¹ The one-quarter Upper Creek leader Alexander McGillivray navigated this terrain quite successfully for most of his career, but alienated a large number of Creeks by signing a treaty with the US government in 1790 that gave away large tracts of Indian land.³² In fact, in 1785, McGillivray

also Lyle McAlister, "The Marine Forces of William Augustus Bowles and His 'State of Muskogee' Illustrative Documents," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 1 (Jul. 1953): 4, where McAlister argued that "after the failure of his first invasion of Florida in 1788-1789, [Bowles] realized that success could only be achieved through the support and assistance of Great Britain, which nation, he knew, was sometimes willing to fish in troubled waters."

30. Din claimed Native American territories "teemed with disorder following American independence because of the various peoples, pressures, and ambitions that entered and clashed in the insecure borderland." Din, *War on the Gulf Coast*, 226. Of course, contemporaneous Euro-American communities appeared similarly volatile. See Joanne Freeman, *Affairs of Honor* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), xvii, where Freeman asserted that after the Revolution, "politicking was about conflict and competition above all else. Whether they were debating legislation or campaigning for election, politicians were competing for limited rewards Regional distrust, personal animosity, accusation, suspicion, implication, and denouncement—this was the tenor of national politics from the outset."

31. For relatively concise summaries of these developments, see Wright Jr., *William Augustus Bowles*, 26-35, and Din, *War on the Gulf Coast*, 9-21, 31. Creek/Muskogean tribal leadership typically related to village affiliation, with a notable separation existing between Upper and Lower Creeks. Individual chieftains earned or lost relative influence as a result of their political efficacy and personal charisma. Moreover, local chiefs occasionally—perhaps even frequently—attempted to libel rival leaders and/or circumvent their authority in diplomatic encounters with Euro-Americans.

32. See Din, *War on the Gulf Coast*, 13-15, where Din implies that despite McGillivray's pretensions to overall Creek leadership, a couple local chiefs resented his decisions and sought to undermine him by signing treaties they technically did not possess the right to authorize. In fact, those same local chiefs—known as Tame King/Hoboithile Micco and Fat King/Neah Micco—twice signed away large tracts of Creek territory to the state of Georgia, and Fat King continued to support Georgian aspirations even after Tame King was taken prisoner by the

became a partner in Leslie, Panton & Co., and started receiving fifty pesos a month as Spanish commissary for the Upper Creeks.³³ He also received "a yearly stipend of \$1,800" from the US government in return for signing the 1790 Treaty of New York and "became a stockholder in the Yazoo Land Company."³⁴ Viewing indigenous discontent with a mind to enrich himself and his benefactors while also providing coveted trade goods and raising his regional prominence, Bowles departed on a circuitous journey to Nassau, Halifax, and London with a contingent of mostly mestizo Creeks and a few Cherokees.³⁵

'Without Committing Government': Whitehall Pragmatism and Personal Politics

Letters from two prominent Whitehall officials in winter 1790/1 illustrate the pragmatic approach adopted by British government in dealing with Bowles and potential opportunities for Native American trade in the American southeast. They also demonstrate the complex mixture of personal sentiment and public politics that characterized British imperial posture after East and West Florida transferred to the Spanish in 1783. Bowles' charisma and chicanery also emerge quite clearly in these letters, albeit through the pens of members of the Board of Trade. Regardless of any posturing or exaggeration, though, the words of Board of Trade Clerk and Secretary John Reeves and Pres-

Americans. Cf. Wright Jr., *William Augustus Bowles*, 46-47; and Reynolds, "William Augustus Bowles," 22, where she argued both McGillivray and Bowles "claimed more control over the Native Americans than they actually possessed, though McGillivray—son of a Scottish trader and a [half-]Creek mother—was the accepted 'spokesman for most of the Creeks' in political relations, and was quite crafty at playing the European powers against one another."

33. Din, *War on the Gulf Coast*, 12.

34. Ibid., 31; Douglass, "The Adventurer Bowles," 10.

35. Wright Jr., *William Augustus Bowles*, 42-55; Douglass, "The Adventurer Bowles," 11-14; McAlister, "Marine Forces of William Augustus Bowles," 4-5; and esp. Din, *War on the Gulf Coast*, 28-38. As Narrett argued, "The idea of a new Indian state was not outlandish in an era of profoundly altered personal and political allegiances." Narrett, review of *War on the Gulf Coast*, 463. In fact, McAlister claimed Bowles possessed good reason for modest optimism, as Britain previously "was sometimes willing to fish in troubled waters." McAlister, "Marine Forces of William Augustus Bowles," 4.

ident Lord Hawkesbury depict Bowles as affable in person and respectable as a writer.³⁶

In a letter describing his conversation with Bowles in London, John Reeves claimed Bowles made several points during his visit to Whitehall.

That the [Creek] nation are not beggars, nor want blankets; are attached decidedly to the British, and wholly averse to the Americans, and Spaniards, and that they offer themselves, as allies, who may give Great Britain quid pro quo, if they are received as friends—in Trade, & mutual assistance in case of hostilities—But that they are no beggars.³⁷

With these specific words, Estajoca clarified his purpose in London; he sought official governmental endorsement of Muskogean political sovereignty “as allies” and the initiation of formal trading relations—not a paltry collection of diplomatic presents and marginal material goods. Bowles’ insistence that Creeks in his support were “no beggars” also underscored his ambitious conception of the nature and status of the Muskogee project, or at least the version he wanted to present to British officials.³⁸

36. While several historians examined Bowles’ interaction with Lord Grenville during his 1790/1 visit to England, few if any previous studies utilized the letters by Reeves and Hawkesbury.

37. John Reeves to [illegible], 10 November 1790, Home Office 42/17, The National Archives, Kew. Archival documents appear here almost entirely with original spelling, syntax, and punctuation or lack thereof, except where archaic and/or idiosyncratic spelling and phrasing could cause confusion. For ease of reading, the “long s” appears as “s,” not “f.”

38. In terms of the composition and infrastructure of Muskogee—real and proposed—many of the elements of the fledgling/hypothetical state bore European military characteristics. Actual events suggest Muskogee, as far as it ever existed, was essentially a piratical enterprise that attacked storehouses of Leslie, Panton & Co. and Spanish forts and ships along the Gulf Coast, though Bowles and his close associates couched this piracy in political language and issued documents explaining their actions. William Perryman’s village of Miccosukee—situated on the Chattahoochee River—served as the capital of the unrecognized state until 1802, though as Estajoca envisioned it, Muskogee would eventually feature civil and cultural Euro-American institutions like “a newspaper, a university, and more.” Jasanoff, *Liberty’s Exiles*, 322. See also Landers, *Atlantic Creoles*, 108, where Landers quotes a disenchanted Judge Kellsall of the Vice-Admiralty Court in Nassau, who described the state of Muskogee as a “mockery of European forms perverted to the worst of purposes.” This assessment further illustrates the distinction between Bowles’ activities and the formal British Empire. Cf. McAlister, “Marine Forces of William Augustus Bowles,” 4, in which McAlister proposed that “the project [of

During his conversation with Reeves, the adventurer apparently took time to excoriate McGillivray as a traitor to the Creeks. As Reeves explained it,

That as to [McGillivray] & his Treaty, He continues to maintain that [McGillivray] is a fugitive and outlaw—hav[in]g fled the country on account of his connexion with the Spaniards being discovered. That the names to the Treaty, are those of persons like himself, or of no importance, and that it [is] no national transaction. That [McGillivray] is no Chief, nor can be, as he is desended [sic] of a [Scottish] family.³⁹

In this overt power-play, Bowles sought to portray himself as the undisputed political leader of the Creek Confederation, as well as undermine the already-beleaguered McGillivray by sulllying his reputation with British authorities. As such, Estajoca attempted to assuage any suspicions or fears he did not actually possess the authority to enter into formal diplomatic negotiations. Quite tellingly, Reeves arrived at an opinion of the situation irrespective of the veracity of Bowles’ assertions.

Let this be true or not—he and those with him have come so many miles, that they will be greatly disappointed, if they as Creek are not civilly heard—we owe the American War to [illegible] being affronted by a Solicitor Genl.—we have not so many friends on the American continent, that we are to throw away, those who seek us across the Atlantic.—If we had gone to war with the Spaniards, these men would have been well heard, without enquiring strictly with their pedigree.—How then [should] they be treated now?⁴⁰

This speaks to the hesitant, pragmatic approach Bowles encountered during his attempts to convince Whitehall officials of the viability of formal relations with the Creeks and Seminoles. Reeves considered a cautiously diplomatic but noncommittal approach best, given the tenuous state of contemporaneous imperial relations. Still, he formally concluded the letter

Muskogee] appears chimerical. It was completely opposed to the interests of Spain and would never have been tolerated by the United States. Many, and probably a majority of the Indians were indifferent or hostile to Bowles. Perhaps Bowles, himself, realized the impracticability of his project and was merely using it as a cloak for his personal ambitions in the Floridas. Nevertheless, the concept was a constant factor in his writings, talk, and actions.” Wright Jr. argued that Bowles always imagined Muskogee to feature a large number of Euro-Americans, though this never quite materialized. Wright Jr., *William Augustus Bowles*, 140-1.

39. Reeves to [illegible], 10 November 1790.

40. Ibid.

with a more personal and equally revealing assessment of Bowles: “I confess, I feel a great interest for these people, because I think Bowles a very fine fellow—and because I suspect some Scotch plot to support a brother in that Traitor to this country, [McGillivray].”⁴¹ Beyond demonstrating unofficial endorsement of Bowles’ ambitions, these comments suggest the complex tapestry of personal, political, and imperial relations constituting British government in the wake of the American Revolution.

Charles Jenkinson—Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1st Earl of Liverpool, and President of the Board of Trade from 1786 to 1804, then known as Lord Hawkesbury—also viewed Bowles and his designs with personal sympathy if not official support. After reading a letter Bowles sent while in London, Hawkesbury asserted, “I return here with Mr. Bowles letter & memorial. It is well written & has much good sentiment in it. I think that some encouragement should be given without committing government.”⁴² Like Reeves, Jenkinson seemingly consented to Bowles’ commercial and territorial ambitions without granting any formal British backing. This reaction comes across as similarly pragmatic and again suggests a notable personal dimension in the posturing of Whitehall officials in regard to possibilities of trade and diplomacy on the North American continent.

Bowles’ letters in 1798 to William Cavendish-Bentinck, 3rd Duke of Portland (1738-1809), reveal a similar Whitehall response of pragmatism fused with personal niceties, though perhaps slightly



Bowles rightly identified William Cavendish-Bentinck, 3rd Duke of Portland, as an ideal potential supporter within the British government, as the two-time Prime Minister wielded considerable influence on Whitehall politics throughout his career. Benjamin West, *Portrait of William Cavendish-Bentinck, 3rd Duke of Portland (1738-1809)*, oil on canvas, 1804 (Oxford, UK: University of Oxford).

less hospitable than the reception the adventurer experienced during his first visit to London. These documents also accentuate Bowles’ conception of Muscogee and his strategy for eliciting governmental support. In his first letter to the Duke of Portland in early August 1798, Bowles described his imprisonment by and escape from the Spanish after his earlier attempts to establish a trading state allied to British interests. He claimed he “was elected one of the Chiefs of the High or Supreme Council of the Nation,” and that he “was appointed to the direction of

41. Ibid. Reeves added a postscript in which he stipulated he did not mean to cast aspersions on all Scots, as many of them had been quite civil to him.

42. Charles Jenkinson, Lord Hawkesbury, to [unclear, addressed “My Dear Lord”], 5 January 1791, Home Office 42/18, The National Archives, Kew.

all the internal affairs of our Country.”⁴³ Bowles then sought to entice the Duke into an arrangement by highlighting the potential viability of Creek-British trade under the auspices of Muskogee.

In the months of Jan. and Feb. 1792, in consequence of a resolve of the Supreme Council, I was employed in the Surveying of several Harbours within our own territory; in Laying out and building Towns, in the Most commodious situations for establishing a free Commerce, and thus reap the benefit intended our Nation by the British Government in the free Port Act.⁴⁴

Whether or not Bowles spoke the complete truth with these claims, he reminded the Duke of earlier British hospitality before asking for current favors.

When I was last in England, I came with others to treat upon matters of public nature; our overtures were received, and we were entertained with the liberality, always shewn to the Indian Nations, by the British government; I come now a single individual to ask for succor, and I throw myself upon his Majestys goodness, for protection during the short time I am compelled to stay,⁴⁵ and for assistance to regain the throne of my country.

Asking for general “protection” during a short stay in England seems simple enough, but “assistance to regain the throne of” of a unified Creek polity—a level of control he never exerted—represented a much bigger and more nebulous request. Unsurprisingly, Bowles received no reply to his plea.

The tone of the adventurer’s next letter speaks to Cavendish-Bentinck’s lack of response. Indeed, eleven days after his first letter to the Duke, Bowles penned another entreaty, this time more desperate and personally oriented.

Your Grace will pardon I hope, the liberty I take in reminding you of the letter I had the Honor of writing to you some days since. The state of my health is judged by my Physician Dr. Beamon to be so critical, that it is advisable for me to go some little way out of town. Under the circumstances I stated in my letter to your grace, I cannot take such a step without the kind assistance of his Majesty’s Ministers; Indeed I cannot either go, or stay, without their assistance, I beg therefore of your grace to take into Consideration the particular limitation I am in, And to do what may be deemed proper for any assistance.⁴⁶

43. William Augustus Bowles to William Cavendish-Bentinck, 3rd Duke of Portland, 10 August 1798, Home Office 42/44, The National Archives, Kew.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid.

Bowles’ personal appeal reflects an acute appreciation of the private links that intertwined British imperial politics and commercial trade in the late eighteenth century. It also suggests the adventurer understood his chances of endorsement related closely to charisma, sympathy, and/or the art of persuasion.

Bowles’ next letter to the Duke contains a clear example of Whitehall caution. In this document, Bowles indicated the Duke granted him a favor, by which he meant Undersecretary John King gave him twenty Pounds sterling after receiving his second letter, though the compensation came with the stipulation “that Government could give him no more.⁴⁷ Despite this marginal placation, Bowles indicated he still wanted to enact peaceable trade relations between Britain and the US, so that upon his return to Muskogee, he could “bring about a treaty, highly advantageous to both Countries.”⁴⁸ Indeed, while Bowles might have appreciated the token gesture of diplomatic courtesy, he clearly failed to obtain the official validation and funding he sought. This failure bears the obvious implication that leading Whitehall politicians remained hesitant to enter into relations with Bowles and/or Native Americans in a manner that might represent a breach of British obligations stipulated in the 1783 Treaty of Paris, no matter how potentially commercially viable.

In his final letter to the Duke of Portland during this stay in England, Bowles again pointed to potential economic benefits through trade, and reminded the Duke that such possibilities “cannot be unimportant, as I conceive, to the Interest of the British Nation in these parts of the globe.”⁴⁹

46. William Augustus Bowles to William Cavendish-Bentinck, 3rd Duke of Portland, 21 August 1798, Home Office 42/44, The National Archives, Kew.

47. William Augustus Bowles to William Cavendish-Bentinck, 3rd Duke of Portland, 22 September 1798, Home Office 42/44, The National Archives, Kew, emphasis in original. The underlined, post-processing stipulation appears on the envelope of Bowles’ letter.

48. Ibid. Bowles’ idea to use his plans for Muskogee as a way to “do away [with] all differences between” the US and Britain highlights his evolving/fluid—or less sympathetically, unreliable—political allegiances in his endeavors.

49. William Augustus Bowles to William Cavendish-Bentinck, 3rd Duke of Portland, 12 October 1798, Home

Among the things I wish principally to communicate to his Majesty's government, are the public acts of our Senate and Legislature, towards establishing Free Ports, & promoting commerce, together with some of the consequences that have already resulted therefrom; The prospects we have of future advantage, and the designs I propose to myself on my return to my country.⁵⁰

However, despite four requests saturated with personal appeals, potential commercial benefits, the appearance of political formalism, and at least apparent British loyalty, Bowles received no official audience or significant funding.⁵¹ Thus, in two visits to London, the ostensibly Loyalist adventurer acquired little more than courteous, even uneasy hospitality from Whitehall officials. Reeves, Hawkesbury, and the Duke of Portland all offered a modicum of sympathy and/or support, but refused to endorse Bowles on record. Such a policy exudes a pragmatic, "wait-and-see" attitude toward Creek country and the American southeast at the turn of the nineteenth century.⁵²

Office 42/44, The National Archives, Kew.

50. *Ibid.*

51. In his 1790/1 visit to London, Bowles only managed to secure tacit permission from then-Home Secretary Lord Grenville for Muskogean vessels to utilize the official British port at Nassau in the Bahamas. Wright Jr. actually regarded this approval as "indirect recognition of Muskogee's sovereignty," though he stipulated Grenville told Estajoca "he would have to make his own arrangements with the Spaniards." Wright Jr., *William Augustus Bowles*, 54. Cf. the treatment in Din, *War on the Gulf Coast*, 34-35, where Din interprets Grenville's modest concession as a relative failure for Bowles, though his description of the constituent events is identical to Wright Jr.'s account.

52. Several prior scholars unfortunately conflated Whitehall policy with the actions of private Loyalists. For example, see Lawrence Kinnaird, "The Significance of William Augustus Bowles' Seizure of Panton's Apalachee Store in 1792," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 9, no. 3 (Jan. 1931): 159, where Kinnaird claimed "Spaniards soon began to suspect that the British were plotting to recover Florida, and there seemed to be ample grounds for their suspicions. When Lord Dunmore and John Miller looked about for a man qualified to act as an unofficial British representative among the southern Indians, they chose William Augustus Bowles. His was to be the task of establishing a trading house among the Creeks in opposition to Panton, Leslie and Company, and in defiance to Spanish authority." However, Leslie, Panton & Co. was a Loyalist British firm and Bowles possessed no formal British sanction, so this perspective fails to represent the significant complexity of British Loyalists and imperial posturing in the wake of the American Revolution. While perhaps over-emphasizing the harmony of governmental and private contours of the British Empire, Gould offered a clue concerning Whitehall reluctance to enter into formal dealings with Bowles and Muskogee: "Despite continued metropolitan

Seeking a Foothold: Discontent, Posturing, and Opportunism in Creek Country

Bowles' machinations and posturing fit nicely into the wider context of imperial, Native American, and cross-cultural relations in the region following the American Revolution. Indeed, the statements and decisions of colonial officials, tribal leaders, and Euro-American traders, speculators, and soldiers depict a sociopolitical environment rife with fluid allegiances, deceptive opportunism, and rivalries both personal and collective. In addition, the actions of certain Spanish and American bureaucrats in connection with Bowles and his plans for Muskogee provide an illuminative counterpoint to the consistent pragmatism of the British government.

In 1799, a group of Creek chieftains delivered a talk to US Indian Agent Benjamin Hawkins, and the incident provides a great deal of insight concerning the contemporaneous American southeast. Although framed around Bowles and his request "for land and obtaining a grant of some from Auhan Micco (potatoe King) and the Simenolies," the speech also tellingly concerns US aspirations for Creek territory. The chiefs—with "Eufau Haigo" (or "Efau Hadjo") as their appointed speaker—inform Hawkins that "we say we give no land. Now is the time and this is the place to speak of such matters We say no."⁵³ As for Bowles the man, Haigo disavowed any support for the adventurer: "[Bowles] is not a true man, he may sell our land to the speculators that will involve us in difficulties." More generally, these Creeks pointedly asserted that "we never had a white chief. This man says he is a chief of our land, he is our director general, he lies. We never knew him in any other character than that of an imposter and liar."⁵⁴ This caustic

attempts to tighten the reins of empire, governors, admiralty judges, and naval and military officers in America all retained considerable leeway in the administration of British commercial laws and policies." Gould, "Empire that Britain Kept," 471.

53. Eufau Haigo, speech delivered to Benjamin Hawkins, 25 November 1799, in Lem M. McGee and Daniel McGillivray, "A Talk of the Creek Nation Respecting William Augustus Bowles," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly* 11, no. 1 (July 1932): 33. For context on Haigo's speech, see Din, *War on the Gulf Coast*, 93-94.

54. Haigo, speech to Hawkins, 25 November 1799.

assessment seems problematic in light of the leadership of individuals like Alexander McGillivray—three-quarters European by heritage—and opportunistic dealings of certain lesser chieftains like Tame King and Fat King who resented the power structure of Creek politics.

Dear Sir, I take your talks and think them good we don't wish any disturbance with us and you[.] We want the path [kept] open that [friends] may pass and repass to [see] each other[.] We don't want any war at all[.] It is the [Miccosukee] people that [are] at war[.] We have nothing to do with them nor the Spanyards.⁵⁵

Furthermore, the political and procedural context of this meeting remains crucial to understanding the constituent hyperbole. First and foremost, the assembled Creeks primarily sought to preserve their territorial boundaries and autonomy, suggesting the nature of their understanding of US interests. Moreover, Hawkins ultimately represented the US government, and so the Creeks possessed greater reason to disavow any support or sympathy for Bowles, as the latter challenged US and Spanish authority—no matter what he told the Duke of Portland. Immediately after repudiating Bowles, Haigo announced, “The next point for this day is a short talk we give you to send to the Governor of Pensacola and our good friend Mr. Panton.” Given this friendly disposition toward Spanish governance and Leslie, Panton & Co., Haigo’s disavowal of Bowles and his idea of Muskogee seems even less surprising, given the adventurer’s connection to private British interests adversarial to Panton’s Spanish-granted trading monopoly. Finally, the sheer struggle to maintain a semblance of territorial control and security dictated an exaggerated form of political posturing in formal imperial meetings of this type. Surely many of the gathered Indians legitimately opposed Bowles, but this talk bears characteristics that render it more indicative of regional politics than any genuine indicator of the adventurer’s sway among Lower Creeks, Seminoles, or others in the Confederacy. Indeed, Bowles’ penchant for exaggeration, strategic deception, and oversimplification appears less exceptional when placed among related speeches and letters exhibiting similar traits.

55. John Kinnard to Enrique White, 25 May 1793, Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, Washington, DC.

A 1793 letter from Lower Creek chieftain John Kinnard to Florida Governor Enrique White reinforces this perspective. In his correspondence, Kinnard emphasized the Creek desire to avoid imperial and/or violent entanglements with the Spanish and Americans.

Just as with Eufau Haigo’s speech, this implicit denunciation of Bowles by a Lower Creek chieftain suggests that in formal diplomatic encounters and correspondence with US and Spanish officials during the 1790s, Bowles enjoyed little Creek support outside of his headquarters at Miccosukee. Again, such exchanges exude formalism, hyperbole, and posturing, but this letter nonetheless represents another rebuke of Bowles and his pretensions from a group of people he claimed to lead. Still, the adventurer’s connection to private Bahamian interests and the identity of the letter’s recipient make the repudiation unsurprising. In the contentious environs of Florida and Georgia—where imperial and private schemes and illegal American squatters created a complicated terrain of formal borders and theoretical sovereignty—some Creeks and Seminoles gambled on Bowles and the promise of European trade goods supplied through Nassau and relative political autonomy, while others regarded the Spanish and/or Americans as the best option for the future.⁵⁶

Persistent Bowles supporter Richard Lang wrote the adventurer an enthusiastic letter in fall 1800 that illuminates another aspect of the political climate in the southeast.⁵⁷ In this document, Lang insisted Bowles and Muskogee needed “arms and ammunition” more than men. Of course, he did not neces-

56. See Landers, *Atlantic Creoles*, 101, where Landers argued Estajoca “maintained support among his black and Indian allies for close to two decades, and [thus] must have spoken to their dreams or represented their perceived best hope for a free life in the face of certain Anglo domination of the Southeast.”

57. A Euro-American from Georgia, Lang unwittingly ruined Estajoca’s earlier attempts to recruit Georgian allies and mercenaries in 1795 when he drunkenly left a letter outlining Bowles’ plans in a tavern, then revealed more details to authorities in order to avoid harsh punishment. As a result, Georgia governor James Jackson issued a proclamation threatening imprisonment for anyone who joined the adventurer. See Wright Jr., *William Augustus Bowles*, 140-1; and Din, *War on the Gulf Coast*, 134, where Din describes Lang as “a slovenly drunk.”

sarily mean Bowles already possessed enough manpower to successfully achieve his goals. Rather, he told Bowles that “if you should come so near that our friends could get to you without running the risk of being embarrassed with those unfriendly Indians that [Spanish colonial] Governor [Enrique] White has been tempering [sic] with, you would not want men.”⁵⁸ This assertion seems odd, in that it suggests considerable native support for Bowles and the idea of the state of Muskogee, but only insofar as the indigenous participants could get to Bowles without “being embarrassed” by “unfriendly Indians.” These phrases appear to indicate Creeks and/or Seminoles remained pointedly divided over the viability of Bowles and his ambitions, but they come from a Euro-American sympathetic to the adventurer, and one must therefore read them cautiously.

Indeed, Lang’s enthusiasm seems genuine yet strangely obsequious: “The Grand thing is, getting to you and putting our lives immediately under your command!” One can also wonder why so many eager followers needed “to be informed where you are, and what is to be done.”⁵⁹ Similarly, Lang claimed men would quickly follow Bowles, but his words betray a lack of conviction and certitude concerning the allegiance of Creeks, Seminoles, and other natives ostensibly connected to Muskogee.

Were you to come this way and arrange matters and leave some of your people with us, we could then go on without your remaining with us, but there seems a difficulty in getting a sett of men together, without their seeing & knowing who is their head.⁶⁰

Lang also informed Bowles of “a report that Allen and the few men that went with him, took away some horses from some of our friends if so, it was badly done, it makes some of our friends enemies.” This remark serves as an example of the tenuous, volatile political alliances between Native Americans and Europeans in Apalachicola at the turn of the nineteenth century. And according to Lang, Bowles faced further obstacles in his attempt to raise the force he

sought: “We have a number of friends in Florida, that nothing prevents their joining us but the want of a sufficient force to protect their families at the first set out.”⁶¹ Truly, Lang’s letter represents a perplexing account of reassurance and stipulation, but the fluctuating military, political, and commercial coalitions of the region help contextualize the uncertainty of the document.

Contemporaneous speeches from Euro-Americans feature similar themes of posturing and over-simplification. In an undated talk (c. early 1790s) presented to the “head chief of the Cussettas and the chiefs and warriors of all towns in the Creek Nation,” American surveyor Joseph Ellicott claimed he addressed them,

...by order of our great beloved men at the big white towns to see justice done between you & to you and our beloved people in the State of Georgia, and to mark the line between you and to make it straight that the white people might see how far they had a right [a right] to hunt and settle upon, without running over the line upon your lands, and that your people also might see, and know the same line and not cross it to disturb our peaceable people while they are working at their homes to make bread for themselves & families.⁶²

Despite Ellicott’s professed amiability, his language bore ominous portent for contemporaneous Creek concerns, especially his remark that Indians “might see, and know the same line and not cross it to disturb our peaceable peoples.” The US state of Georgia would not welcome informal Creek visitors, apparently. Presuming to speak for Georgians/Americans collectively, the speculator also indirectly acknowledged Bowles’ presence in the region.

I got a letter from a Stranger who makes a great mouth and calls himself director of your Nation and head of you all, which we know to be lies, he was not born among you, he is not of your blood and therefore we know him to be a liar, but I have notwithstanding sent his letter to our great men at the big white Towns to laugh at. He tells us that he is a greater man than Mr. McGillivray. If Genl. McGilliveray [sic] will tell us so too, then we may believe it—we have seen Genl. McGilliveray [sic] and we know him, and we know him to be of your own blood and one of your people belovd and among you, and he always tells us & you the truth,

58. Richard Lang to William Augustus Bowles, 17 August 1800, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Atlanta.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid.

62. Joseph Ellicott, speech delivered to the head Chief of the Cussettas, c. early 1790s, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Atlanta.

truth, and we will take his talks and his letters because we know him.⁶³

Indeed, Ellicott insisted he would “shut my Ears against the mouth of all strangers and people I dont know, who may want to do mischief and stain the path between your people and us.”⁶⁴ Nevertheless, his role and presence in Creek territory as a land surveyor for the US federal government brings his assessment of Bowles and the idea of Muskogee into sharper focus. Ellicott’s comments about McGillivray also bear scrutiny, as the mestizo Upper Creek leader did not always enjoy widespread tribal support, was three-quarters European, and possessed economic ties to American and Spanish interests. As such, the surveyor’s claims spoke to his political sympathies and professional responsibilities at least as much as Bowles’ indigenous support or sway along the Apalachicola and Chattahoochee Rivers. This seems particularly true in light of a letter Ellicott wrote in 1791, in which he indicated an Indian messenger delivered him a document from Bowles addressed to the commissioners overseeing the Georgia-Creek-Spanish boundary lines.⁶⁵ Researchers must therefore read Ellicott’s condemnations of Bowles and claims of Georgian amicability with contextual caution.

A 1788 letter from US Indian agent James Robertson to Alexander McGillivray illuminates similar contours of the political climate in the region, as well as internal division among Creeks. Writing to McGillivray about the killing of some Americans by Indians, Robertson reassured the Upper Creek leader that “I imagine it must be Cherokees or some outlying Creeks who are not acquainted with your orders.”⁶⁶ However, McGillivray’s actual sway could not match his exaggerated claims to control over all Creeks and Cherokees, and indeed, Creeks like Tame King and Fat King acted on their dissatisfaction with the mesti-

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid.

65. Joseph Ellicott to Edward Telfair, 6 November 1791, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Atlanta.

66. James Robertson to Alexander McGillivray, 3 August 1788, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Southeastern Native American Documents, 1730-1842, Nashville.

zo and sought to undermine his leadership.⁶⁷ Furthermore, Robertson’s letter provides another example of the mixture of public and personal concerns in contemporaneous imperial politics. Robertson informed McGillivray that “I have caused a Deed for a Lot in Nashville to be recorded in your name, and beg you will let me know whether you will accept of a tract or two of Land in our young country.”⁶⁸ Of course, this comment seems even more intriguing since it represents an attempt to entice a Native American leader to live in a US settlement—and thus, within American jurisdiction and away from tribal towns and familial support networks.

A letter from Alexander McGillivray to Irish-born Spanish colonial Governor and Colonel Arturo O’Neill similarly highlights both McGillivray’s merging of personal and tribal interests and the fluid, uncertain political situation in the region following the American Revolution. As McGillivray explained,

I wrote to your Excellency very fully by my Sister, what I wrote concerning the Indian Trade, was on account that Messr. Panton Forbes & Co. Merchants in Augustine is by the treaty of Peace to remain & carry on the trade there & as I formerly mentiond they have petitioned the Spanish Ambassador in England for leave to establish a house either at Pensacola or Mobile for the purpose of Supplying the Trade in case it took place, those Gentlemen offerd me a part in it. They have hopes of Succeeding, & I am certain it will be good Policy to permit of such a measure by the Court of Spain.⁶⁹

The Upper Creek leader made other remarks to O’Neill that suggest a personal involvement in commercial trade beyond his role as political leader, including his assertion that “As for Raw & drest deer Skins, I can purchase any Quanity whatever, if they woud turn to good account. If I knew the prices that Skins would fetch, I coud then be a better Judge, how to lay out money in them.”⁷⁰ Still, McGillivray took particular interest in negotiations between Spanish and American officials and their potential ramifications for region.

67. Din, *War on the Gulf Coast*, 10, 13-15.

68. Robertson to McGillivray, 3 August 1788.

69. Alexander McGillivray to Arturo O’Neill, 3 January 1784, in John Walton Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 67.

70. Ibid.

As the American Independency is established by the general peace, I suppose your excellencys Court will Settle the boundary lines between them & the American States. If tis no Improper Question I would be glad [to] learn of Your Excellency the extent of Louisiana & the Floridas, as the Americans talk largely of theirs.⁷¹

This excerpt reveals McGillivray's uncertainty and the Creeks' relative inability to dictate political boundaries of the region in relation to tribal lands.⁷² Such circumstances further contextualize the constrained decisions of certain Lower Creeks and Seminoles to support unofficial, multicultural leaders like Bowles.

A letter from the governor of Tennessee further illustrates the unpredictable, even dangerous climate in the American southeast. As John Sevier saw the matter, Bowles wielded significant "influence over the Creek tribes" in early 1800. Sevier considered Bowles' ambitions a pointed danger to the US state, particularly since Tennessee was "so much more subject and liable to depredations of those Southern Nations [than] any of the other States." As the governor observed, "we have in the past Indian wars ... suffered much more ... [than] any other State." In response to the perceived threat posed by Bowles, Sevier asked Congress to double the military presence in Tennessee, which he thought would serve as suitable protection in case of war with a faction of Creeks and Seminoles.⁷³ Sevier's concern suggests American political leaders viewed the regional political climate with great uncertainty, as well, though his language dubiously presented the American states and their denizens as passive entities in the surrounding turmoil.

Even years after Bowles' imprisonment and death, opportunism and political posturing continued to dominate the American southeast.⁷⁴ For example,

71. Ibid.

72. According to Din, O'Neill resented the mestizo leader and spread false information from "unreliable informants who aspired to sow rancor between the Spaniards and McGillivray." Din, *War on the Gulf Coast*, 26.

73. John Sevier to William Cocke, Joseph Anderson, and William C. Claiborne, 25 February 1800, John Sevier Papers, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville.

74. After failing to receive formal British, Spanish, or American recognition of Muskogee during his second major

in late spring of 1815, Benjamin Hawkins wrote to Colonel Edward Nicolls, a supposed British officer of questionable rank and status. Nicolls earlier sent Hawkins a letter threatening to use Seminoles in open warfare against US interests, but in his reply, the Indian agent laid bare his suspicions and implicitly compared the Colonel to Bowles:

But Sir, I am satisfied you are acting from yourself on some speculative project of your own. The Sovereign of Great Britian [sic] could not from his lave of justice in time of peace, his systematic persevereance in support of legitimate Sovereigns, almost to the impoverishing of his own nation, suffer any of his officers to go into a neutral country to disturb its peace. If the Simenolie Indians have complaints to make, if they will do it through the Chiefs of the Creek Nation, or direct to me through an officer of his Catholic majesty as heretofore, I will cause justice to be done. In cases of murder the guilty if practicable, shall be punished, in cases of theft restitution shall be made. The Treaties you have made for the Creek Nation with the authority created by yourself for the purpose, must be a novelty. It would surprise me much to see your Sovereign ratify such as you have described them to be.⁷⁵

Hawkins added a postscript, in which he pointedly informed Nicolls that he remained sorely mistaken about his political and geographical place in the region: "I perceive you now subscribe yourself as Colonel Commanding His Brittanic Majestys forces in the Creek Nation. Being a stranger is an apology for not knowing the Geography of the Country where you are, You have never been in the Creek Nation nor within fifty miles of it nor has his Brittanic Majesty had any forces there since 1783."⁷⁶ As such, Hawkins clearly suggested Bowles never possessed any official British sanction, either in the early 1790s or at the turn of the century.

attempt to create an autonomous Indian trading state, Bowles fell prey to a plot between Benjamin Hawkins, Spanish authorities, and disgruntled Lower Creeks and spent his last days emaciated in a Spanish prison in Havana, dying in 1805. See Din, *War on the Gulf Coast*, 208-25; and Wright Jr., *William Augustus Bowles*, 168. See also Jasanooff, *Liberty's Exiles*, 322, where Jasanooff argued "The same shifting regimes that had facilitated Bowles' ascent would also bring about his downfall." Jasanooff indicates that irrespective of Bowles' failed plans for Muskogee and divisive presence in Creek country, the tribe probably suffered more as a result of "their relationship with the American republic, when they fractured into civil war."

75. Benjamin Hawkins to Edward Nicolls, 28 May 1815, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Atlanta.

76. Ibid.

Additionally, Hawkins' letter accentuates the imperial complexity and fluid alliances as they applied to both Indians and Euro-Americans. He claimed that "If the Simenolie Indians have complaints to make, if they will do it through the Chiefs of the Creek Nation, or direct to me through an officer of his Catholic majesty as heretofore, I will cause justice to be done."⁷⁷ While ethno-tribal relations between Creeks and Seminoles were certainly complicated, Hawkins' remark indicates that as far as the US was concerned, Seminole people needed to negotiate their concerns through Upper Creek, Spanish, and/or US intermediaries, thus creating potential opportunities for ambitious, multicultural individuals like Bowles and Nicolls.⁷⁸

At a Crossroads: Estajoca, the British Empire, and the Creeks

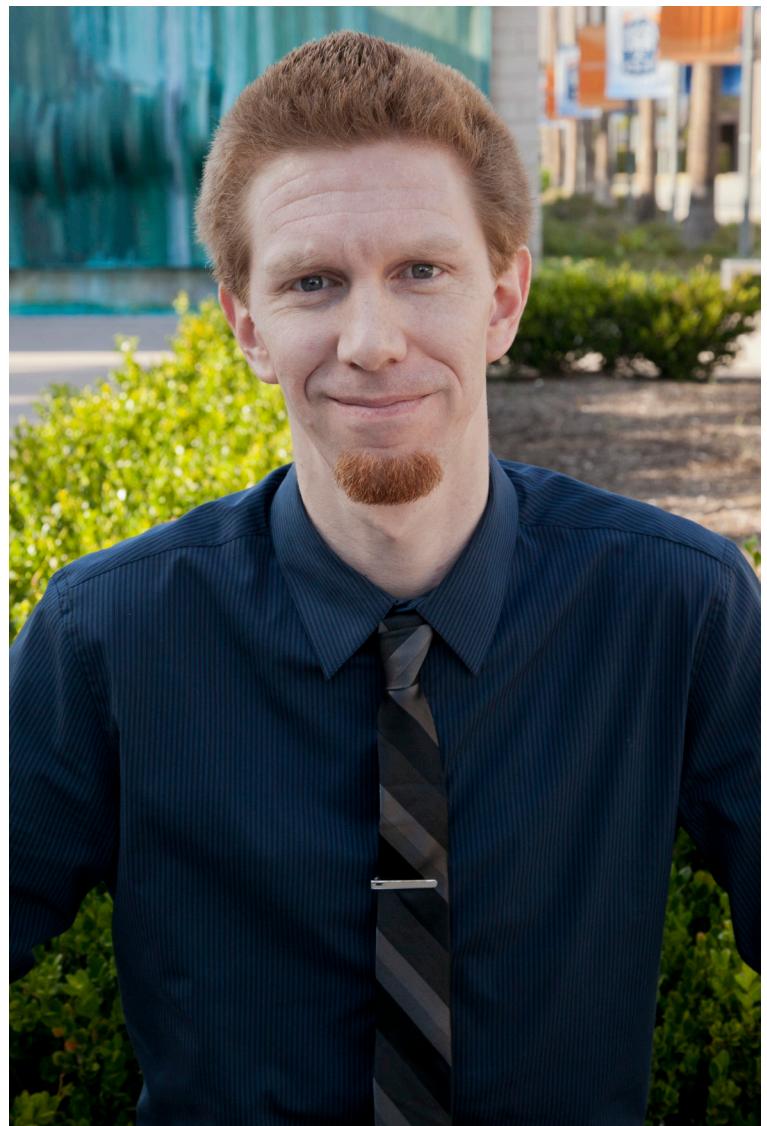
The life and exploits of William Augustus Bowles offer insights on numerous historical events and processes during a particularly turbulent period in a highly contested geographical region. More than previous scholars emphasized, these processes include Whitehall hesitation to commit unambiguously to military-commercial endeavors in the American southeast in light of recent losses on the continent, and thus expose the ultimate limits of public-private loyalist convergence in the post-revolutionary empire. Estajoca's interactions with the British government also reveal a significant personal component in contemporaneous political dealings. Similarly, letters and

speeches surrounding Bowles' activities in Apalachee and Apalachicola demonstrate the degree to which colonial and tribal leaders mixed public responsibilities and goals with personal benefits and private ambition, as well the exaggerated posturing and hyperbole frequently characterizing diplomatic encounters. The adventurer's tale thus provides a unique framework for evaluating the turmoil, scheming, and imperial complexity saturating the American southeast and British Empire in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

77. Ibid.

78. The label "Seminole" referred to Creeks in peninsular Florida who intermarried and had children with escaped African slaves, and the tribe thus possessed a unique ethnic heritage and complex status within the Muskogean confederation. Most simply, Seminole political fortunes remained closely tied with Lower Creek villages. Although the word's etymology remains unclear—it may come from Spanish or Muskogee—"Seminole" eventually meant "wild men" or "runaways." As with the labels "Lower Creeks" and "Upper Creeks," the name was initially a term employed by outsiders. For a concise discussion, see Din, *War on the Gulf Coast*, 6-7. Cf. Wright Jr., *William Augustus Bowles*, 25. On a related note, Landers suggested Bowles likely gained some of his "unnamed black followers" as a result of Spanish authorities rescinding their "offer of sanctuary" to African slaves after 1790. Landers, *Atlantic Creoles*, 103, 110.

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Che Cosa è l'Italia:

The Path of Nationalism and Identity of a Nation since the Mid-Twentieth Century

Arturo De Leon Tell



This map displays the regions of Italy. *Italia* (Chatou, FR: Légendes Cartographie).

Since its political unification, Italy descended into a state of uncertainty when trying to define its national character. **Arturo De Leon Tell** examines how Benito Mussolini tried to establish an ideal fascist Italian identity during the early years of his rule. However, several elements, such as the differences between the North and South, the process of modernization, and the rising power of the Mafia, ultimately dismantled the endeavors of the fascist regime. These factors prohibited full integration or a regenerated Italian identity molded from the core of fascism. De Leon Tell further provides a contemporary overview showing Italian identity remains an unresolved issue for the people of the nation.

"Italy is its people, the people of culture (that is, the conscious inheritance) and the people who have never bothered their heads over such matters, who do not know the reasons why they behave "like Italians", why they eat, work, make love, do business, raise a family, repeat proverbs, know how to survive dangers, and know how to die when it is considered obscurely necessary. In this sense, Italy is therefore not a touristic, geographic, philatelic, diplomatic entity, but rather a realm of the spirit, so that one can say that many Italian citizens do not really belong to it, while there are rare foreigners so ripened by experience and study that they have become... intimately Italian."¹

- Luigi Barzini

March 17, 1861 marked an important event that shaped the lives of millions of people in Italy, for the first time since the fall of the Roman Empire, the people of the peninsula united politically. This new state embraced the existing differences between each independent kingdom while focusing on unification. However, throughout the twentieth century, this unity disappeared and residents fell victim to their nation's political instability. The inability to create and define the "Italian" character resulted in a quagmire for scholars and civilians alike. Many strove to generate a uniform personality, but their inability to construct a national identity created the illusion of nationhood and not the reality. Compounding this struggle, among the population itself, some wished the country to develop into a unified state, while others did not.

Despite Italy's issue with developing a cohesive national identity, every country in the world faces this problem. However, the unease over nationalism and identity in this European country reflects a unique response to the turmoil it experienced over the past one hundred years. Beginning with the Great War, the persistent split between the attitudes and outlooks of the people in the North and South, and the path toward modernization hindered unity. Fascism, which arose in the second decade of the twentieth century, attempted to define, generate, and consolidate the Italian national identity. The political atmosphere since the fall of the fascist government only further complicated the issue. By examining the common characteristics among Italians since unification 150 years ago, a growing rift between Northern and Southern personalities becomes appar-

ent and illuminates key changes in the national character. An analysis of these activities reveals how regional differences and forms of national modernization, through a conservative government, failed to create a stable political and national identity in modern Italy.

Scholars examining the debate over Italian nationalism and identity agree the state's diversity, prior to unification, caused strong regional personalities to develop and thus resulted in some difficulty in creating a cohesive identity. This same factor also contributed to Italy's continuing political instability. Scholars may easily define the cultural and political differences between the North and South, but this ignores the issue of identity, which has resulted in great rivalries between the regions.² Historian Silvana Patriarca argues that various traits affect the creation of a cohesive identity because the notion of a national character sustained significant damage in the modern era. This confabulation encompasses "a set of recurrent ideas, themes, arguments, and tropes that have been present in Italian culture for quite some time."³ This discourse describes how the masses became critics of their own culture, which makes it difficult to define a singular identity.

Historians generally use political documents and historical novels to explore Italian nationalism and identity. The strengths and weaknesses of the sources becomes evident when a scholar devotes an entire study to the political documents, but neglect the people's perceptions of events; this fundamentally hinders their analysis and prevents the people from

2. Most of the scholarly work focuses on how these differences were shaped by the way in which the unification and modernization of Italy was implemented since the late nineteenth century. Some prominent works that pinpoint this issue include Gala Rebane, *Re-Making the Italians: Collective Identities in the Contemporary Italian Historical Novel* (Frankfurt, DE: Peter Lang, 2012); Manlio Graziano, *The Failure of Italian Nationhood: The Geopolitics of a Troubled Identity, Italian and Italian American Studies* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Silvana Patriarca, *Italian Vices: Nation and Character from the Risorgimento to the Republic* (Cambridge: University Press, 2010); Sabina Donati, *A Political History of National Citizenship and Identity in Italy, 1861-1950* (Stanford, CA: University Press, 2013); Barzini, *From Caesar to the Mafia*.

3. Patriarca, *Italian Vices*, 5.

4. Ibid., 14. She supports her use of these types of

1. Luigi Barzini, *From Caesar to the Mafia: Sketches of Italian Life* (New York: Library Press, 1971), 84.

defining themselves.⁴ Needless to say, these sources help create the idea of a national character, but for non-political purposes. The same issue also applies when scholars choose to focus on individuals. They fail to include sufficient insight on the politically “unifying” factor—the government. Scholar Gala Rebane focuses on historical novels to illuminate individual perceptions of national identity. Conversely, Patriarca avoids this tactic in her study.⁵ When scholars compare these sources common factors leading up to the issues of Italian nationalism and identity appear.

Utilizing government documents and the stories of citizens bridges the gap between the political sphere and the masses. Secondary sources reveal how a combination of state politics, modernization, and individual personality contributed to the formation of an incomplete identity. These variables clearly demonstrate what prohibited the creation of a uniquely Italian identity. Nationalism and identity require different conceptual interpretations and depend on the circumstances to define the terms and outcome. A recent study by Rogers Brubaker and Frederic Cooper's asserts identity reflected a form of “commonality, connectedness, [and] groupness.”⁶ Conversely, Benedict Anderson defines nationalism as an “imagined community” because many Italians, in fact, engage in minimal contact with their fellow countrymen and country-women, but acknowledge a small level of connectedness.⁷

An Opportunity for Redemption

After what many considered their defeat in the First World War, Italians embraced a new political ideology to define the state—fascism.

sources because she believes they demonstrate traits of a national character.

5. Rebane, *Re-Making the Italians*.

6. Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, “Beyond ‘Identity,’” *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (Feb. 2000): 19.

7. Benedict Anderson viewed nationalism as “imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.” Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections On the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006), 6-7.



Benito Mussolini ruled Italy from 1922 until his ouster in 1943. *Benito Mussolini*, photograph, c. 1920s (Washington, DC: Library of Congress).

The system promised to bring stability and a strong sense of nationalism to the disjointed country. Italian born Benito Mussolini understood the issue of creating a nation from an unified state, and on September 25, 1922, gave a speech in the city of Cermona, where he outlined the disagreement between these two important aspects of identity. He insisted, “Italy is not a state, she is a nation, because from the Alps to Sicily there is the fundamental unity of our race, our customs, our language and our religion.”⁸ Mussolini clearly equated both race and nationalism as correlates in defining the country as a nation, not as a state, because the various cultural aspects provided enough reason to advocate for a revitalization of nationalism. Undoubtedly, Anderson's definition of the nation as an imagined community contradicts

8. Benito Mussolini, “The Piave and Vittorio Veneto Mark The Beginning of New Italy,” in Benito Mussolini and Bernardo Quaranta Di San Severino, *Mussolini as Revealed in His Political Speeches (November 1914-August 1923)* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1923), 162.

Mussolini's ideas. He tried to instill something beyond the imagined aspect of nationalism. In 1922, he made it clear fascism would move the country toward this idea.⁹ Subsequently, fascist advocates utilized this concern over nation and state as a means to appeal to the masses and rise to power.

During the early 1920s, fascism appealed to the Italian population because it placed citizens at the center of this developing identity. One of the greatest motivating factors came from Mussolini who believed fascism returned the "elegance" that democracy stripped from the people. He claimed the reinstitution of this cultural refinement for the masses could only happen through fascism because the government would assume the role of bringing back "colour, force, picturesqueness, the unexpected, mysticism, and in fact all that counts in the souls of the multitude."¹⁰ Fascism made bold promises leading many to believe it could solve the country's problems. Intellectuals joined political elites in their approval of this ideology, and historian Emilio Gentile states these individuals "saw [fascism as] a weapon for realizing the cultural revolution they dreamed of in order to regenerate the nation and create a new Italian civilization."¹¹

The desire to create a new Italian civilization led many to conclude fascism could mold the ideal citizen. Mussolini's enthusiastic followers wasted little time in implementing a new range of laws further expediting the process of "Italianization." According to historian Maura Hametz, this popular discourse developed into a tool to "integrate the new territories and to assimilate new populations into the Italian Fatherland."¹² Fasicists utilized this process as part of their

9. Ibid., 162-64.

10. Ibid., 168.

11. Emilio Gentile, *The Struggle for Modernity: Nationalism, Futurism, and Fascism, Italian and Italian American Studies* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), 7.

12. Maura Elise Hametz, *In the Name of Italy: Nation, Family, and Patriotism in a Fascist Court* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2012), 5.

13. Ibid., 14.

bureaucratic system to aid in the creation of a uniform state.¹³ As head of the fascist government, Mussolini insisted he held the tools—and drive—necessary to fix the country's character.¹⁴ He believed he alone could rectify the "flawed" Italian identity because he did not partake in activities such as smoking, drinking, and gambling, nor did he possess an interest in wealth.¹⁵

Hametz examines how fascism initiated and approached the process of Italianization in the north eastern border city of Trieste, which Italy seized after the First World War.¹⁶ With fascism as the primary political ideology, the government, Hametz noted, intended to mold "Triestines in the image of the ideal fascist man, a paragon of devotion to Italy and a model for the new Italian nation."¹⁷ This new national character required a significant amount of devotion to the government, because in the early twentieth century, many Italians held little loyalty to the government and

this would require considerable energy from the state to achieve. Despite the success of fusing this political ideology with nationalism, in the case of Trieste, many people were not pleased with the state because it imposed its will on them.

A majority of the Trieste population spoke and identified as Italian, but the city's Slavic origin complicated the notion of identity in the eyes of the state. To indoctrinate the masses, the fascist government wanted to change Slavic sounding last names to suitable Italian ones. At first, the governing body of the city proved reluctant to implement this agenda. Initially, the conversion of a family name only happened with those who enjoyed connections and resources. Enrico Ferianchich changed his family's name to Feriani due to his political connections and presumably his desire to

14. Benito Mussolini and Richard Washburn Child, *My Autobiography* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1928), 206.

15. Ibid., 205.

16. Maura Elise Hametz, *Making Trieste Italian, 1918-1954, Studies in History* (Woodbridge, GB: Boydell Press, 2005).

17. Ibid., 124.

18. Ibid., 118.

[F]ascism appealed to the Italian population because it placed citizens at the center of this developing identity.

support the state.¹⁸ However, reluctance to change prompted the government in 1927 to make name changes mandatory. This brought Trieste further under the state's control, which needed to reaffirm "Italian-ness" of a city so dangerously close to the border.¹⁹

Enforcing name changes, in some cases, did not work for the new government because in each region they faced certain unique challenges—some came from unlikely sources—as in the case of Luigia Paulovich. As a widow, Paulovich, refused her new last name because she wanted to honor her late husband—and her own ideas of Italian identity. Oddly enough, she challenged the fascist agenda, by using aid provided by the fascist legal system.²⁰ Ironically, while the government sought to create the perfect citizen they laid the foundation in which the people could defend their patriotic rights. In the case of Mrs. Paulovich, this allowed her to resist the very process created by fascist policy.²¹

Religion also aided in the creation of the national character, but Mussolini and the Catholic Church clashed over his nationalistic policies. This conflict mainly dealt with religious education and its influence on citizens.²² However, cooperation existed when education issues arose, but regional issues became exponentially important over time and necessitated further actions to remedy the problem. Mussolini himself "wanted to show that the problem of the relations between the State and Church...was not to be considered insoluble,"²³ he did this by doing the unthinkable. In 1929, the government made Catholicism the official state religion through the Lateran Pacts, an agreement between the government and the pope.²⁴ Fascism gained the support of Catholic religious leaders, and religion became

19. Ibid., 126.

20. Hametz, *In the Name of Italy*, 1.

21. Ibid., 205.

22. The Roman Catholicism dates back to the Roman Empire and its rich history, which explains why the church would feel responsible for the education of people. "Controversy Between Mussolini and the Pope," *World Affairs: Advocate of Peace through Justice* 91, no. 5 (Aug. 1929): 275-79.

23. Mussolini, *My Autobiography*, 156.

24. For a more detailed view at how the state and church rectified their disputes see Benedict Williamson, *The Treaty of the Lateran* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1929).

the central focus of Italian lives. This pact remains a crucial aspect of modern society, because churches act as a focal point for communities in many cities and villages throughout Italy today.

After resolving the issues that hindered governmental development, new barriers arose. Political ideologies before fascism failed to acknowledge how heavy modernization influenced an individual's character. Politicians failed to realize that creating an identity required much more than a common language, living in the same region, or even "Italian" family names. Born three generations after the creation of the Italian state, journalist and politician Luigi Barzini stressed the crucial process of modernity. As a well-known reporter during the fascist period, he came to Mussolini's attention and inevitably found himself under arrest during the Second World War. His experiences later led him to eventually secure a position in the Italian Parliament.²⁵ For a man who experienced the state through its politics, journalism, and as a citizen, he acknowledged the "official Italy...has apparently succeeded merely in unifying names, labels and titles, but not reality."²⁶ Barzini meant believed economic growth shaped the Italian identity. He insisted "the slower development of the southern economy, in the past century, and of the more rapid growth of the northern economy" created a different identity in both regions.²⁷ The difference in economic growth led Barzini to see it as a factor that prohibited an equal living standard in both regions, which undoubtedly led to different identities, and rivalries between Northern and Southern Italians.

Barzini felt all Italians shared similar characteristics when it came to family, virtue, and expressed the "private aims of southerns and northerners are, of course, more or less the same." Unfortunately, the differences come from the method of achieving national objectives. For example, the North achieved, these ideas because they enjoyed

25. For more information see Barzini, *From Caesar to the Mafia*, "About the Author."

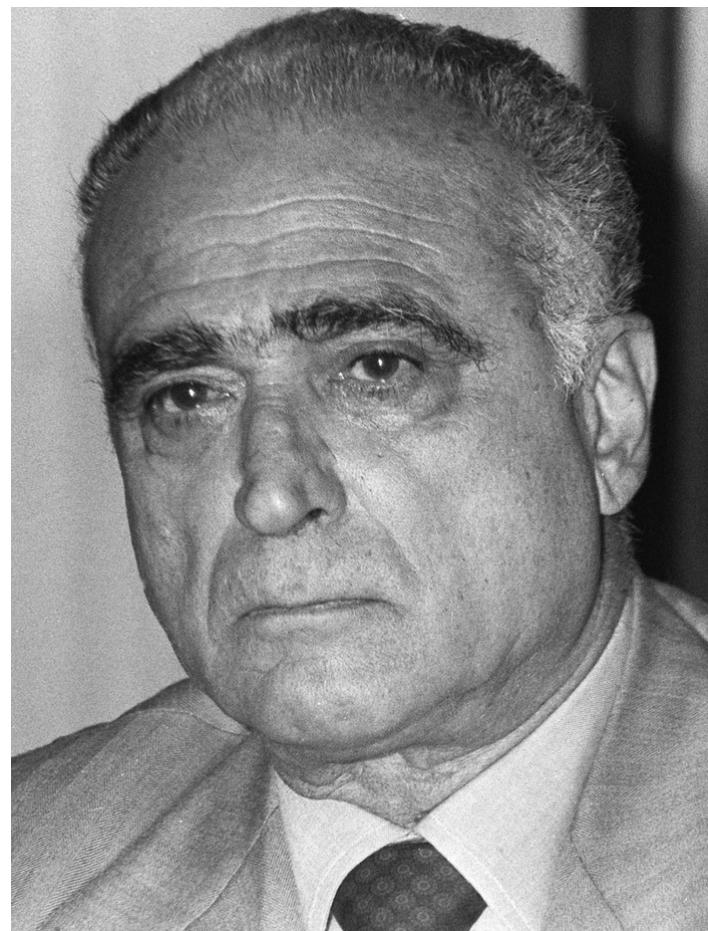
26. Luigi Barzini, *The Italians* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1965), 238.

27. Ibid., 235-6.

the luxury of a thriving economy. Barzini insisted people in the North felt wealth alone could “lastingly assure the defence [sic] and prosperity of the family.” The attitude portrayed by Northern Italians should not come as a surprise: the positive outcomes of modernization shaped their identity. This encouraged northerners to associate their private ambitions with wealth, which greatly impacted modern financial matters. The radically different mindset in the South resulted from the limited modernization of the area. Southerners felt they could only attain their aims through “the acquisition of power, prestige, [and] fame.” The region’s weak economy, clearly molded the identity of the populace in accordance with the resources one could muster. Mussolini became the poster child for the development of this southern mentality, and it subsequently led to the rise of the Mafia. The disparity in mentalities for the two regions represents why the country appears as a nation, but not yet a state, all the while the process of consolidating that state remained in the air.

As a defining characteristic of the north, the process of attaining wealth according to Barzini, stresses the “northerner of whatever class, therefore, is perpetually trying to acquire in its various forms.” This consisted of: possessing a good paying job, houses, land, industrial shares, a university education, and other factors. In fact, Northerners embedded this mindset into their children to ensure they too had wealth later in life. These goals reflect similar societal ambitions of someone who lives in a culture where capitalism flourished. Meanwhile, Southerners sought “to be obeyed, admired, respected, feared and envied.” An individual “wants wealth too, of course, but as an instrument to influence people, and, for that, the appearance of wealth is as useful as wealth itself.”²⁸ It is this disposition that encouraged the rise of institutions, such as the Mafia, to help Southerners attain their goals.

The impact of modernity during the twentieth century went far beyond the realm of influencing the identity of an Italian citizen. Modernization also



Luigi Barzini, Jr wrote *The Italians* in 1964. *Luigi Barzini, Jr.* (Milan: Agenzia Letteraria Internazionale).

had a significant impact on the nation’s political and family identity. For many Southerners, the Mafia became their “government” because it produced the livelihood people required. Barzini noted family characteristics remained similar between the two regions, but the unorthodox politics of the South allowed the Mafia to place a special twist on the role of the family. This criminal syndicate possessed the ability to influence traditional family roles because different crime groups used the term “family” to describe their members. The organization sees itself as dynastic because it provides its members with a sense of belonging and distinctiveness.²⁹ While the organization is made up mostly of men, that does not mean women are excluded. The Mafia assumes the responsibility of taking care of its member’s wives, girlfriends, or children if necessary. The group

29. Jane Schneider and Peter Schneider, “Mafia, Anti-mafia, and the Plural Cultures of Sicily,” *Current Anthropology* 46, no. 4 (Aug. 2005): 503.

30. Ibid.

will also apply their moral laws against members who engage in adultery.³⁰

One of the notable methods of establishing Italian identity is by examining the role women play in raising their children. This becomes especially evident in the South where the unorthodox role assigned to women focuses on the preparation of men to join the Mafia. Sociologist Renate Siebert asserts, “as wives, but also as daughters, sisters, and mothers, women often give credibility to the shady activities of their men, particularly when these take place behind a façade of respectability.”³¹ A mafia mother prepares her son to join the greater family organization when he comes of age, and she also trains her daughters for marriage to a suitable mafia husband.³² Since the country has two distinct identities, this profound difference may hinder the desire to eradicate all distinctions and create a uniform identity. As Italians question their collective identity and struggle to identify common characteristics following the fall of fascism, their transition to Communism, and the rise Christian Democrats indicates a society still in flux. As an organization, the Mafia held a vital position in Southern society before the nation's unification and the establishment of the fascist government. In fact, the organization helped bring the party to power but Mussolini—many would agree was very much a mafia boss himself—severed his ties to the institution because it posed a threat to fascism.³³

The Mafia in a sense, also created its own identity. The organization flourished in the unique conditions in the South where the government held little to no power, and where it established its own set of rules in what became deeply embedded in the “mafia identity.” The organization consists of two key components, secrecy and violence, both of which contribute to its identity.³⁴ Letizia Paoli, a

31. Renate Siebert, *Secrets of Life and Death: Women and the Mafia* (London: Verso, 1996), 110.

32. Schneider, “Mafia, Antimafia, and the Plural,” 503.

33. Barzini, *From Caesar to the Mafia*, 331.

34. “Segreto e violenza” in Letizia Paoli, *Fratelli Di Mafia: Cosa Nostra E'Ndrangheta* (Bologna, IT: Il Mulino, 2000), ch.3.

35. Ibid., 132.



The Santa Maria del Fiore Cathedral in Florence centers a prominent Piazza in the city. Arturo De Leon Tell, photographer, *The Santa Maria del Fiore Cathedral*, 2014 (Florence, IT: Digital Photograph).

scholar of criminology believes the interconnection between secrecy and violence remains impossible to obliterate because violence acts as a means used to reinforce secrecy.³⁵ In this case, one cannot exist without the other because both factors are complimentary and ensure the longevity of mafia rule. As many organizations forge their “sub-identity” within the Southern personality, they successfully bring about the stability needed through their use of violence and secrecy. However, not everyone in Southern Italy favors the Mafia. For instance, some individuals took part in “anti-mafia” movements where people, from both regions, resisted and challenged the organization’s control.³⁶

Given the fact that Italian identity changes depending on geography, and that no Italian can agree on a collective identity, the people still share some common characteristics, and strive to establish a shared identity through literature and film. Many scholars have taken note of this, for example, Rebane examines the manifestation of identities through historical novels written since 1980

36. Schneider, “Mafia, Antimafia, and the Plural,” 502-

37. Rebane, *Re-Making the Italians*, introduction.

demonstrate the range of the collective personality of the nation.³⁷ Through this careful analysis, she believes the diverse number of national characteristics explains the changing culture and social atmosphere within the country, especially in contemporary times.³⁸ She ultimately concludes many Italian authors continue to identify with the Renaissance, but most seem to express their identity, even in the slightest form, back to the Roman Empire.³⁹

Mussolini, too, connected the fascist Italian identity to the ancient Romans when he said he wanted “to make Italy great, respected, and feared; I want to render my nation worthy of her noble and ancient traditions.”⁴⁰ Many Italians agreed with “Il Dulce” and retained a strong fondness for the empire, but some individuals argued Mussolini’s remarks made a reference to the state rather than the people. However, if the government revitalized the notion of empire, then the masses could conceptualize their identity in a rapidly changing system. For the fascists, and the Italian population as a whole, it ensured a unique identity they could embrace.

Despite hearkening back to a glorious past, corruption became another characteristic in the nation; Paoli indicates this phenomenon, while not exclusive to the country, does allow for a unique “Italian style” form of corruption.⁴¹ In Italy, and more specifically in the mafia, this behavior centers on power and often the masses associate it with money. Marino Mannoia, a member of the Mafia recalled people often think “you become part of Cosa Nostra [(Sicilian Mafia)] for money. This is only part of the truth. [Do you] know why it is I

38. Ibid., 15-19.

39. Ibid., 243-44.

40. Mussolini, *My Autobiography*, 308-09.

41. Letizia Paoli, “Crime, Italian Style,” *Daedalus*,

Italy: Resilient and Vulnerable, Volume II: Politics and Society 130, no. 3 (Summer 2001), 163.

42. Marino Mannoia quote in Paoli, *Fratelli Di Mafìa*, 208. Translation from Italian by author. The original quote reads: “si entri a far parte di Cosa Nostra per il denaro. Questa è solo una parte della verità. Sa perché sono diventato uomo d'onore? Perché prima a Palermo ero il signor nessuno. Dopo, ovunque io andassi, le teste s'abbassavano.”

became a man of honor? Because before in Palermo I was Mr. Nobody. Afterward, everywhere I went, head's lowered.”⁴² One of the main reasons Italians associate corruption with power and not money deals directly with the fact that power leads to wealth—and sometimes, having power outweighs money.⁴³ In this regard modern Italians draw a direct connection to their ancient past, as citizens in ancient Rome fixated on the successful attainment of “gravitas” or prestige within their communities.⁴⁴ Because Italy has often focused on power, it makes this notion another common characteristic in both regions.

In Italy, and more specifically in the Mafia, this behavior centers on power and often the masses associate it with money.

Italy's changing personalities puzzled Barzini, and this prompted him to explore his country to see what characteristics Italians shared and how they differed in accordance with their respective geo-

graphy. The North and the South hold family values in high esteem, but differences in family structures exist between the regions and this gives life to “two Italies.” The North and the South hold family values in high esteem, but differences in family structures exist between the regions and this gives life to “two Italies.” Barzini realized “that we [Italians] instinctively agree that some habits, traits, tendencies, and practices are unmistakably our own.”⁴⁵ However, he also believed what led to a split in those identities evolved from the severity with which the individual viewed the role of family. The importance of family in the peninsula exceeds traditional expectations that associate the state with individual dynastic groups. Barzini noted he heard people describing the country as “nothing more than a mosaic of millions of families,”⁴⁶ which illustrates both the strengths and weaknesses in ruling the state. The idea of

43. In other nations, particularly the United States, money caused a vast amount of corruption.

44. The ancient Romans lived through the guidance of four fundamental virtues that allowed for the establishment of an empire: Gravitas, a sense of importance and responsibility; Pietas, respect for the order of religion, politics, and society; Dignitas, personal pride and worth; and Virtus, a sense of courage and excellence.

45. Barzini, *The Italians*, xv.

46. Ibid., 190.

47. Ibid.



This lithograph, *Finalmente!* (At Last!) represents Lady Italy (in white with crown) coming to the rescue of Trento (in green) and Trieste (in red). Leopold Metlicovitz, lithographer, *Finalmente!*, 1918 (Milan, IT: G. Riccordi & Co).

family remains a constant and familiar structure despite the unstable and inconsistent government with all of its concomitant societal unpredictability

Due to these two factors, Italians have resorted to the comfort of their home and the support of relatives. Many attributed this in part to the fact that only the family can provide for the well-being of each member when the legal authority of the government fails.⁴⁷ The south reflects this idea most keenly when the mother influences most of the decision within the nuclear family, which confirms her importance to both them and the quasi-state of the Mafia. Unfortunately, the women of the South also learned to accept male superiority within the family.⁴⁸ Scholar Susan

Berkowitz notes how a Southern mother aspires to give birth to a son, rather than a daughter, to secure access to this powerful institution, and that mothers will “indulge sons far more than their daughters.”⁴⁹ Modernity affects a woman’s identity because she refuses to accept male superiority, or at least not as much as in the South. In fact, the identity of a Northern woman revolves around feminism; women’s actions exemplified this throughout the twentieth century because they pushed for advancement in education, politics, and their role in society.⁵⁰ More globally, because of the transient and ever changing

50. Most of the advancements come from women who live in Northern Italy. Veronica Pravadelli, “Women and Gender Studies, Italian Style,” *European Journal of Women’s Studies* 17, no. 61 (Jan. 2010): 61-7.

48. Susan G Berkowitz, “Familism, Kinship and Sex Roles in Southern Italy: Contradictory Ideas and Real Contradictions,” *Anthropological Quarterly* 57, no. 2 (Apr. 1984), 88.

49. Ibid.

nature of the national government, Italian women understand the importance of their roles as a cohesive force within society. Barzini reflected how a “woman is the pre-dominant character in Italian life”⁵¹ by examining how songs and churches constantly make references to “La Madonna.”⁵²

Despite the importance of women in defining the unique personality of the Italian peninsula, identity and politics are two features that often go together—at times uncomfortably so. While the Mafia enjoys considerable influence in the South, Northern citizens remain quite suspicious of the government. This impact prevents the creation of a uniform political identity and further divides the people in both regions. The idea now centers not on whether Italy enjoys a universal, and distinct political identity, but how that governmental structure operates. Over the years, the Mafia changed its ruling body from peasants who once controlled the organization to politically intelligent men, who derive their power from the traditional foundation of mafiosi ideology.⁵³ While in the North, after the collapse of fascism, political agendas were reflected in different leagues which formed confederations, this has resulted in significant ambiguity when it comes to political life.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, these federations, instead of reflecting a purely governmental structure, these federations have evolved along a business model because, as the Northern identity focuses on generating wealth for their region.⁵⁵

Since the 1950s the political atmosphere in Italy has experienced a wide range of ideologies including neo-fascism, communism, and liberalism. This reflects a nation still in search of a common identity. Despite all of Mussolini’s shortcomings, establishing a constant political atmosphere remains one pronounced area of success. Some may question whether this accomplishment can be seen as good or bad. Two reasons why scholars should not be perplexed by this deals with individualism. The fascist government, to an extent, allowed individuals to ques-

tion certain policies, like that of Luigia Paulovich’s unwanted name change. The government also recognized the nation’s history with Roman Catholicism, and when it merged the church and state, the fascists catered to the wishes of many devout Catholic Italians.

By the 1990s, Italy found itself again struck in another political crisis.⁵⁶ This time, however, as Scholar Geoff Andrews notes, politicians needed to find a way to rectify “the crisis in the state, a weak civil society, institutional incompetence, the lack of national identity, the legacy of the Mafia and corruption.”⁵⁷ Italian politicians are aware of the social, economic, and political complications within their nation, but they continue to struggle to find something that will remedy, or at least reduce the intensity of the issues at home. Perhaps because Italy struggled to form a cohesive identity, the nation reached beyond its borders to achieve what eluded it within its national boundaries. Italy, a founding member of today’s European Union (EU), embraced the task of bringing unity to a disunited Europe. However, this task is not without its perils, on November 3, 2009, the EU ruled against the placement of the crucifix in Italian schools. This symbol of collective Italian religious identity as John Hooper reported stunned the populace because Italians associated the symbol with their identity.⁵⁸ The irony of the situation remains clear, and may have far reaching consequences for Italian participation in the union. The actions of the EU, while reflective of a secular agenda, may become a double-edge sword outcome for two reasons. The first major reason remains the reaction of the Italian population – where war, politics, economics, and social structure failed to unify them, opposition to a core value in their daily

55. Ibid., 46-47.

56. Geoff Andrews, *Not a Normal Country: Italy After Berlusconi* (London: Pluto Press, 2005), 5.

57. Ibid., 5.

58. John Hooper, “Italy Ordered to Remove Classroom Crucifixes: Symbols Violate Freedom, Rules European Court: Bishops and Politicians Decry Judges’ Decision,” *The Guardian* London, November 4, 2009.

51. Barzini, *The Italians*, 203.

52. Ibid., 203-04.

53. Barzini, *From Caesar to the Mafia*, 334-35.

54. Graziano, *The Failure of Italian Nationhood*, 45.

life has united them against an outside force. Secondly, that same response led to resentment toward the EU because it challenged the relevancy of a symbol embraced by Italy (and the world) – the Vatican.

Questioning Italian cultural traditions in a time when some strive to form a national identity hinders the process. When coupled with more recent threats to national identity, the EU's decision can only be considered ill-timed. Over the last thirty years, massive numbers of immigrants have arrived on the shores of the peninsula. Traditionally, Italians are not receptive of immigrants. While immigration helps build and maintain the economy of a nation, native Italians fear a loss of their unique, albeit dis-unified, personality. Scholar Aliza Wong states the EU's attempt to erase geopolitical borders, impairs the process of "Italianness".⁵⁹ Many native Italians are resistant to the thought of incorporating immigrants into their national identity and the nation has turned to the Catholic Church, as Manilo Graziano mentions, to resolve the conflict.⁶⁰ This dialogue reflects a painful reality for Italian demographers, who note the native population continues to recede while immigration surges.⁶¹ This reality may permanently prevent Italians from developing a national identity because the nation, instead of focusing on the issues at hand, have displaced their focus on the problem of immigration and exclusion.

In spite of the diversity reflected in the citizens of Italy, they share one common, and often unacknowledged dynamic—the desire to end all differences and create a uniform nation. This passion will likely not come from a newly installed government—Italian suspicion of the regimes that governed them in the past illustrates this notion because they focus on their immediate families and local community. Italians do not call themselves "Italian," but instead identify with their town or vil-

lage. The efforts of the fascist government to "Italianize" people, mostly ended in failure; however, fascism did produce one small success in uniting the people when Mussolini made Catholicism the official state religion. While the state no longer identifies Catholicism as the official religion, it remains deeply imbedded in the lives of the masses whether they are conscious of it or not.

Despite all the issues surrounding Italy when it comes to nation and identity, one cannot help but wish for the people of this nation to finally figure out and understand who they are. No nation can ever claim having a uniform identity, but they can lay claim to a firm political identity and national stability. If Italy wishes to create some form of national identity, the nation needs to learn how to maintain its political stability and properly implement modernity throughout the entire region. Once the nation achieves this then the disparate regions and populations of the Italian peninsula will accomplish their illusive goal. If Italians cannot, or will not see past their differences due to a long history of division, then a true Italian identity may never become a reality.

59. Aliza S. Wong, *Race and the Nation in Liberal Italy, 1861-1911: Meridionalism, Empire, and Diaspora* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 154.

60. Graziano, *The Failure of Italian Nationhood*, 201.

61. Ibid.

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Different Horrors of the Same Hell: Individual Jewish Perspectives of World War II

Lindsay Huyssentruyt



This image depicts Jewish women selected for forced labor in Auschwitz-Birkenau. *Jewish Female Prisoners at the End of the Process*, photograph, c. 1945. (Washington DC: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum).

People often perceive the Jewish experience in World War II (WWII) Europe as simply one shared event—the Holocaust. However, a problem exists in stating that 6 million people all experienced Hitler’s Europe the exact same way. **Lindsay Huyssentruyt** focuses on how an individual possesses their own story and perspective, and uses oral histories to prove not all accounts of Jewish survivors of WWII Europe are the same. By recognizing these complexities, scholars add more depth to our understanding of the events surrounding the Nazi era.

People often perceive the Jewish experience in World War II Europe as a singular occurrence—the Holocaust. In the most horrifying event in centuries of persecution, Jews in the early 1940s faced institutionalized racism and murder on a massive scale by the Nazis. The enduring reality of the Holocaust validates that Jews shared in this calamity, yet a problem exists in stating all six million people experienced Hitler's Europe in the same way. By focusing on the horrors Jews endured during the Nazi regime, scholars gain knowledge by concentrating on the differentiating plights of individuals.

This involves avoiding the classification of survivors while simultaneously fitting their testimony into a larger picture. Scholar Henry Greenspan puts this into perspective for the historical conversation with his discussion of oral histories. He argues scholars ritualize the academic relationship with narrators¹ by expecting a certain testimony, and then subsequently using it to "teach tolerance" or "bestow meaning to their suffering and loss." He conversely finds, "The sufficient reason to listen to survivors is to listen to

survivors. No other purpose is required." Using this approach, he succeeds in presenting the narrators of his book as individuals.² In contrast, scholarly work in the past generalized the experience of Jews. This largely educated the world on the effects of mixing extreme nationalism with hate. Consequently, many scholars now want to know what this means for both the victims and world history.

Regardless of whether or not academia ritualizes the retelling of these events, historians still need to find a way to analyze personal accounts and look at narrators as individuals. Although some survivors and historians hesitate to separate individuals from the experience, others stress the importance of un-

covering what humanity loses when leaving out singular perspectives within the larger event. Individuals possess their own stories and oral histories, proving that not all accounts of Jewish survivors reflected the same experiences. By recognizing these complexities, scholars add more depth to the understanding of Nazi-era events.

Two remarkable Orange County women shared their stories, about the Holocaust which personifies the significant variation in perspectives of the same event.³ Born in Vienna, Dorothy Dodd escaped with her parents to Shanghai in 1938 to avoid persecution by the Nazis. In contrast, the German military deported Simone Sechter's parents to Auschwitz in 1943, and forced Simone and her sister into hiding. These individuals' oral histories represents the stories of Jewish survivors. Dodd's family fits into the narrative of refugees compelled to leave in order to avoid a worse fate under the Nazi regime. Sechter's account involves a child's perspective and includes the evasion of their persecutors and her mother's survival in a concentration camp. Comparing and contrasting other Jewish

accounts to these women's stories, as related in oral histories, memoirs, and film, show how individual experience varied.

Looking at individuals with a shared understanding within Holocaust historiography begins with gender studies. Though scholars refer to the Holocaust as "The great victim equalizer" many gender historians ask, "Were Jewish men and women really tormented equally?"⁴ This allows historians to look at the differences among Jews from various backgrounds: male, female, rich, poor, adult, or child. Such elements reveal strikingly different perspectives of those who survived the war. This story of gender and its relationship to Jewish history requires an in-

Regardless of whether or not academia ritualizes the retelling of these events, historians still need to find a way to analyze personal accounts and look at narrators as individuals.

1. When Greenspan uses the term "narrators," he is referring to Holocaust survivors, specifically the ones interviewed to document their experiences through the use of oral history.

2. Henry Greenspan, *On Listening to Holocaust Survivors: Recounting and Life History* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998), 171.

3. These women reside in Orange County, located in Southern California.

4. Helene Sinnreich "'And it was something we didn't talk about': Rape of Jewish Women during the Holocaust," *Holocaust Studies: A Journal of Culture and History* 14, no. 2 (Autumn 2008): 3.



Modern day photo of the crematorium in the Majdanek concentration camp. *Crematoria Built by Topf and Sons, Erfurt*, photograph, c. 2000s. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota).

introduction into the historiography because academia has often ignored the interrelatedness of this topic. However, recently, some scholars have begun to change and improved the trends in writing women's and Holocaust history.

Gender and the Holocaust

Some of the most recent, groundbreaking scholarship on the atrocities of WWII focuses on gender, particularly women within the camps. Scholars largely overlooked their experience within the discussion of the Holocaust due to their hesitancy in admitting that women suffered differently than men. Scholar Myrna Goldenberg contends, "A few scholars and survivors have suggested that such comparisons are inappropriate, divisive, or politically motivated."⁵ Though failing to name any of the people who made

5. Myrna Goldenberg, "Lessons Learned from Gentle Heroism: Women's Holocaust Narratives," *The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science* 548 (Nov., 1996):79.

this claim, she provides insight into the controversial environment surrounding this topic.

While Jews suffered together during the Holocaust, asserting no differences occurred in the female experience neglects stories that provide a clearer understanding of the event. Marion Kaplan's work focuses on the effects of Jewish gender roles before and during the atrocity. In *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* she acknowledges that men, women, and children all endured unique struggles under the Nazi Regime. However, the discrimination women faced leading up to the incarceration of Jews also involved their gender. She states, "...sexism and racism were intertwined in the minds of the tortur

ers."⁶ Leading Holocaust scholar Sybil Milton, a second-generation American Jew whose parents fled the Nazis, focuses on gender issues in historical research of the Holocaust. Janet Liebman Jacobs also shares a personal connection in her research on the Holocaust. Like Milton, she combines her Jewish heritage and academic training to fill the gaps between memory and gender. Jacobs studied the historiography of the Holocaust and considered both sides of the gender topic. Scholars Ruth Bondy and Lawrence Langer argue Holocaust history should not reflect a gendered perspective. Bondy presents her thoughts by stating Zyklon B⁷ did not discriminate against its victims in the Holocaust and neither should historians in retelling these stories.⁸ Langer focuses on the moral issue,

6. Marion Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 7.

7. In the 1920s, Germany invented hydrocyanic acid, better known as Zyklon B as an insecticide. In 1941 Nazis used this as a method in conducting mass murder of Europeans Jews.

8. Janet Liebman Jacobs, "Women, Genocide, and

stating that the event intertwined pain and loss in both men and women, and if scholars set them apart, they would shield themselves from the chaos of the event.⁹ Male and female victims of the Nazis indeed shared common pain and struggles, yet other scholars prove more exists to this story. Using Joan Ringalheim's research to exemplify her ideas, Jacobs explains, "Jewish women carried the burden of sexual victimization, pregnancy, abortion... and many decisions about separation from children."¹⁰ She makes the point that women in the Holocaust endured separate trials unparalleled to those of men. Jacobs contends this fact not only lacks representation among authors, but also within public history and sites of memory.

In what she calls "victim selectivity," Jacobs notices patterns in the depictions of men and women at Auschwitz and Majdanek.¹¹ In many cases, this representation leans more toward Jewish men. The biggest difference between males and females lies in the display of relics. Artifacts of Jewish tradition represent items used by men in a religious setting, such as prayer shawls, skullcaps, and phylacteries. Jacobs in analyzing these objects states, "I became increasingly aware of the absence of memory of women as religious Jews. In comparison with the men, there is little evidence of their lives in the remnants that have been carefully preserved and displayed in camps."¹² Exhibitions do not portray women through religious items, instead they present photos of their naked and starving bodies. This led her to conclude historians and curators utilize male ritual for remembrance of religious genocide, and the memory of ethnic genocide through images of the subjugated female body.¹³

Jacobs' findings show, without even realizing it, historians already separated the experiences of men and women in their work, but not for the right reasons. They miss the conscious realization that in many cases, Nazi SS officers treated prisoners differ-

ently within the concentration camps depending on their gender. Rochell G. Saidel provides an example when retelling the stories of Jewish women who endured Nazi tormentors at Ravensbrück. At this camp, officers often forced women into prostitution. According to Saidel, this began in 1941 as the SS set up bordellos for themselves, and sometimes even privileged prisoners. Nazi officers managed to convince some women to participate in sexual acts with false promises of release, but in most cases, they used force to gain their participation.¹⁴ Until recently, discussions about sexual assault eluded scholarly discussion when it came to a gendered perspective of the Holocaust. As part of a more expansive treatment of the Holocaust, Helene Sinnreich discusses the accounts of Jewish women raped by Nazis. One survivor testified that Nazis usually murdered the girls they sexually assaulted within a few days of the initial attack. Although men faced the possibility of death daily in the concentration camp, the fact women faced sexual assault and certain execution added a specific, gendered experience. Because of these systematic rapes, a certain fear set her experience apart from his.¹⁵

Another fear among women in camps involved losing the ability to bear children. Holocaust survivor, Rose Judy DeLiema recalls her own time in the camps. She remembers the Nazi SS women telling her:

Why do you try to survive? Not that any of you will, but if some one or two survive look at this tablet. If you survive you'll never have children because that takes care of that." Over there, we never had our period, either, because we didn't in those circumstances.¹⁶

Many females found the circumstances they endured in the camps caused menstruation to cease and this provoked the fear that somehow they had become infertile. Goldenberg describes this by utilizing the testimony of a survivor who faced the

Memory: The Ethics of Feminist Ethnography in Holocaust Research," *Gender and Society* 18, no. 2 (Apr., 2004): 229.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., 230.

11. Ibid., 229.

12. Jacobs, "Women, Genocide, and Memory," 231.

13. Ibid., 232.

14. Rochell G. Saidel, *The Jewish Women of Ravensbrück Concentration Camp* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 23.

15. Sinnreich "And it was something we didn't talk about," 9-14.

16. Rose Judy DeLiema, interview by Gregory Raths, April 15, 2011, OH 4760, digital recording, Center for Oral and Public History, California State University, Fullerton, CA.

threat of forced sterilization: "Gerda Klein feared that she would never again menstruate and thus even if she did survive, [this] would eventually give Hitler a victory."¹⁷ To Goldenberg, this account introduced the idea that, among women, the "Final Solution"¹⁸ involved the deliberate sterilization of the Jews. Focusing on the treatment of women in the concentration camps teaches us about the abuse heaped upon the victims of the Nazis, while revealing more about their torturers. Sinnreich explains, "...the killing of Jewish women was legal but their rape illegal, [revealing] the central issue of rape as an important aspect of Holocaust victims. Even if it was not universally experienced, the power of life and death that the Germans held over Jewish women made the rapes that did occur possible."¹⁹ These graphic testimonies provide important examples about the significance of focusing on individual testimony and reveal events previously overlooked.

By examining the stories of men, women, and children all over Europe, not just the ones in the camps, our ability to embrace the full scope of the Jewish experience in WWII expands. Survivors include people who outlived the camps as

17. Myrna Goldenberg, "Lessons Learned from Gentle Heroism: Women's Holocaust Narratives," *The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science* 54 (Nov., 1996):82.

18. "The Final Solution," as it was termed by the German Nazi government, was actually the decision to commit genocide against European Jews. It became the answer to the Nazis' "Jewish question" once policy had driven Jews out of society and into ghettos. The term stood for their decision, and official policy, to annihilate the Jewish "race" from Europe by implementing systematic mass murder. Though it remains unclear exactly when the Final Solution was made policy, historians trace it to 1941 when Hitler gave Heinrich Himmler responsibility over all security matters in the occupied Soviet Union as well as authority to physically eliminate anything that threatened German rule. Shortly thereafter, according to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Reich Marshall Hermann Göring, acting as Hitler's second-in-command, authorized Reinhard Heydrich, the chief of the Reich Main Office for Security (Reichssicherheitshauptamt; RSHA) and Himmler's direct subordinate, to make preparations for the implementation of a "complete solution of the Jewish question."¹⁹ Within months of this decision, Nazi's began killing Jews on a massive scale within German occupied Europe. "Final Solution," *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* (June 2014).

19. Sinnreich "And it was something we didn't talk about," 16.

well as those who remained in hiding, avoiding the camps altogether, and those who escaped Europe. Even though some got out early enough to avoid the horrors Hitler unleashed on Jews, his leadership still affected them.

Escape to Shanghai

Out of millions of European Jews, about 40,000 immigrated to China during Hitler's rise to power. Before the Nazi's could take their belongings, Moses Aberbach, Dorothy's birth father, made the decision to liquidate assets he accumulated during his career as a lawyer, pack up his family, and leave Vienna. She recalls what her mother told her of these events:

When I was born, my father and mother waited 'til I was three months old in order to escape because my father as Jewish... My father was afraid that they would kill me, and him... he luckily got out before Hitler could have taken his money or anything else, and he found China. China was taking a lot of refugees at the time, which most Jews didn't really know.²⁰

Author Ernest G. Heppner shared a similar encounter. Dodd and Heppner represent a minority of those who took refuge in Shanghai with families, because they earned enough money to avoid the worst parts of the growing anti-Semitic sentiment. According to Felix Gruenberger, who published information about the district in 1950, most Jews from Germany arrived with no more than ten Reichsmark in their pockets.²¹ Heppner and his mother possessed only two, because the Nazis confiscated most of their belongings and money before allowing them to leave. Jews arrived in Shanghai with almost nothing, and depended on limited resources provided by organizations for displaced persons, such as the Assistance of European Jewish Refugees. Dodd reflected on those less fortunate, who lost everything:

By the time they figured it out, he took their homes, their money, everything in the bank, they had nothing. And the ones who finally could escape, they went with nothing. They were dirt poor...most people from Europe in China lived in ghettos.²²

20. Dorothy Dodd, interview by Lindsay Huyseruyt, October 11, 2013 , OH 5317, digital recording, Center for Oral and Public History, California State University, Fullerton, CA.

21. Felix Gruenberger, "The Jewish Refugees in Shang-hai," *Jewish Social Studies* 12, no. 4 (Oct., 1950): 330.

22. Dodd, interview by Lindsay Huyseruyt, October



An example of an identification card issued to a Jewish resident during WWII. The large “J” stamp in the center of the page allowed authorities to see clearly the Jewish heritage of that the individual. *Deutsches Reich Kennkarte*, identification card, 1939 (Washington DC:United States Holocaust Memorial Museum).

Heppner chronicled his experience in his book, *Shanghai Refuge: A Memoir of the World War II Jewish Ghetto*. His personal account incorporates historical research interwoven with the events of his lifetime. In his native Germany, he witnessed the changes that happened when Hitler came to power. As the only Jewish boy in his German grade school, Heppner noted anti-Semitism became a common rejoinder in his life. He recalled meeting a boy in Breslau, “...when I attended grade school in Breslau I was relieved to find another Jewish boy in my class.” He no longer faced the derogatory statement “Christ killer” alone, “I learned very early to live with crude anti-Semitism.”²³ Facing such cruelty still did not pre-

pare him for the events of November 9, 1938.

Kristallnacht confirmed the rising tensions and fears rampant within the German Jewish community when thousands endured violence at the hands of the Nazis and their supporters. Heppner saw this as the moment when he knew he must leave Germany, “Yet, almost imperceptibly the jaws of the vise started to close tighter... the question of emigration was raised more often.”²⁴ That evening, Joseph Goebbels, Reich Minister of Propaganda under the Nazi regime, gave a speech justifying the activity. Heppner listened incredulously, as Goebbels mentioned the destruction of Jewish owned buildings as an expression of the Germans frustration, while failing to mention the attacks on Jewish people: “What he did not say was how the Brownshirts beat, maimed, raped and killed Jews.”²⁵

11, 2013.

23. Ernest G. Heppner, *Shanghai Refuge: A Memoir of the World War II Jewish Ghetto* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 7.

24. Hepner, *Shanghai Refuge*, 14.

After Kristallnacht, Heppner and his mother left Germany, with the intent of establishing a home where his sister, brother, and father could eventually join them. Unfortunately, Jewish immigration after 1939 became increasingly more difficult, and Germany forced the rest of his family to stay. After 1941, these family members separated, and lost track of each other. Their fate, according to Heppner, remains unknown.

First, Heppner and his mother tried to move to America. Their cousin could help them in the US, but they quickly learned the United States' immigration quota reached its maximum capacity. Since their passports had a "J" stamp, they could not escape to surrounding European nations. Shanghai, China did not impose passport requirements, making it one of the few destinations left. Shanghai made the Heppner's nervous. The Japanese, allies of the Nazis, occupied the city. They had no known work or source of income, and the coastal region raged with war. Still, staying in Germany also posed a risk, and they made their decision to take a ship to China.²⁶

When the Heppners arrived no one asked for their papers, and a transient sense of relief enfolded them. This relief diminished once they saw the bombarded ghetto district of Hongkew. With no money, it took time for them to acquire shelter, and the cold winter revealed the gravity of their situation. Without housing, many people died in the streets, "Seeing the frozen corpses, we came to the frightening realization that we were totally dependent on the Jewish relief organizations for food and shelter."²⁷ The Heppners soon found work—Ernest received a job at a toyshop owned by a Russian family, and his mother became a caseworker for the Committee for Assistance of European Refugees in Shanghai. They found an apartment, which made survival less tenuous, but they witnessed the struggles of other less fortunate Jewish refugees. Gruenberger explained that by 1941, the obstacles endured by refugees worsened as WWII cut China resources, and forced those escaping the Nazis to heavily depend on refugee relief programs and as a result,

"...intense suffering set in."²⁸ Heppner described what he witnessed of the worsening conditions:

...fearing inflation would continue to rise, the refugees tried to hold on to their personal belongings, selling only enough to satisfy their immediate needs... as time went by their possessions dwindled to their last shirt and pair of shoes. Also as time went on, the three Hs—hunger, heat, and humidity—took their toll.²⁹

Jews in China, for the most part, escaped the horrors of Nazi persecution until 1943. In 1946, N.A Pelcovitz published an article about the displaced people living in China. He found that, before 1943, the Japanese adopted a tolerant attitude toward the Jewish immigrants. However, on February 6 of that year, Pelcovitz states an anti-Semitic article appeared in the *Shanghai Times*. Two days later, officials forced all Jewish immigrants to move into the Hongkew district.³⁰ Gruenberger mentions this newspaper article as well and noted, "The guiding hand of the Nazis was plainly evident."³¹ Despite recommendations from Hitler, officials never gave up Jews in Shanghai to the Nazis. Yet this event moved them into a specific area of the city, one targeted by American bombers looking for Japanese military installations.

In May 1945, Jews in Shanghai learned of the Nazi surrender, but according to Heppner, they wondered if the war truly reached an end, as the fighting in the Pacific continued late into the summer. In July, Heppner recalled American bombs fell close to the Jewish ghetto, "On Sunday, July 15... the bombers attacked the wharves a few blocks from the ghetto." Then his neighborhood became the target zone, "The noise was deafening as bombs exploded all around us... more than 700 refugees and 1000 Chinese were left homeless."³² Dodd, about seven years old at the time, also recalled these bombardments:

28. Gruenberger, "The Jewish Refugees in Shanghai," 337.

29. Heppner, 87-88.

30. N.A Pelcovitz, "European Refugees in Shanghai," *Far Eastern Survey* 15, no. 1. (Oct., 1946): 323.

31. Gruenberger, 341.

32. Heppner, 123-25.

33. Dorothy Dodd, interview by Lindsay Huyssentruyt,

25. Ibid., 24.

26. Ibid., 25.

27. Hepner, *Shanghai Refuge*, 40.



Dorothy Dodd as a child in China. *Young Dorothy Dodd, photograph, c. 1940s* (Fullerton, CA: CSUF Center of Public and Oral History, Fullerton).

When I went to China I never escaped the war because the war was going on there, too, between the Japanese and the Chinese, and then the Americans came...we were always underground when the planes bombed. We lost a lot of people and friends we knew. Luckily, we had survived... When we would come out of there we would see dead bodies all over the place. For a kid, it had almost become a natural thing, which was sad.³³

Many refugees died in these attacks, but the majority escaped with their lives. Dorothy Dodd and Ernest Heppner represent individual perspectives of the same event. Although similarities exist in their experiences, without personal accounts, the varying incidents that help scholars understand the events in the Shanghai refuge would remain unexplored. Not all Jews possessed the means or ability to escape Europe and the Holocaust like the Shanghai refugees. Simone Sechter's family lived in Paris the year the Nazis invaded, and knew of the anti-Semitism and Jewish

persecution. In 1940, after the birth of their first child, Vivian, they attempted to escape. Sechter described her parent's predicament, "They tried to leave Paris, like a lot of people did, but they had no transportation, and [my mother] just newly having given birth, she was very weak. So they turned back."³⁴ People often criticize Jews for not leaving Europe when the Nazis assumed power; however, they often fail to acknowledge the hardships involved in attempting to flee. Her family lacked necessary transportation, especially with a newborn. Like many other Jews, their lack of options forced them to take their chances and go into hiding.

Hiding from the Nazis

After Kristallnacht, Nazi persecution forced many Jews into hiding and some remained hidden throughout the war, like Sechter and her sister. Despite the obvious risks, a non-Jewish couple looked after them in the French countryside for the duration of the war. Yet, Nazis caught many others and sent them to prison camps, such as her mother and father. Some lost their entire family through Nazi violence or in the concentration camps, as in the case of Solomon Perel. His autobiography, *Ich war Hitlerjunge Salomon*, tells the story of how he escaped the camps by impersonating an Aryan German. In 1990, screenwriters adapted his story into a film, *Hitlerjunge Solomon* (*Europa Europa* in English). Though some exact dates and details of Perel's life remain fictionalized, overall the film stays true to his story. The film opens with Solomon's Bar Mitzvah on Kristallnacht and the targeting of his father's shoe store with a Star of David. That evening, Nazis attacked the family and killed his sister.³⁵

From that point, Solomon lost track of his family. His parents sent him and his brother east to avoid the Nazis, but they separated, and Russians put Solo-

34. Simone Sechter, interview by Lindsay Huysestruyt, November 12, 2013, OH 5326, digital recording, Center for Oral and Public History, California State University, Fullerton, CA.

35. Solomon's real experience consisted of his family subjected to attack two years before Kristallnacht. His sister later died of a gunshot wound sustained while on a death march. These details changed in the film for thematic purposes.



Photograph of Adolph Hitler posing in front of the Eiffel Tower in Paris shortly after the Nazi occupation of France in 1940. *Der Führer in Paris*, photograph, June 23, 1940 (Washington DC: Heinrich Hoffmann Collection, National Archives and Records Administration).

mon in an orphanage in Grodno. Two years later, Hitler broke his pact with the Soviet Union and bombed Russia, including the city of Grodno. This resulted in Solomon's separation from the people taking care of him. When German soldiers found him, he lied about his religion and name. Solomon convinced the Germans that he was a "pure" German named Peter Joseph and they inducted him into their military. Once back with the citizens who spoke his own language, and persecuted his people, Solomon hid from the death camps in plain sight.

Despite the fact many Jews survived the war by hiding in plain sight, Solomon's circumstances seem unique. Scholar Malgorzata Melchior's research focuses on these accounts. She states, "Individual survivors may have very different experiences because, in the face of extermination, the chances of survival differed greatly depending on the different action 'strate-

gies' adopted."³⁶ Solomon and others who shared his experience concealed themselves by taking Aryan identities, not occupying "safe" places. She explains that as laws against Jews solidified and grew more brutal, those who previously managed to avoid the ghettos and camps now faced the threat of not only capture, but death. According to Melchior these German Jews often became less afraid of Nazis than of other civilians because those individuals thought they could identify a Jew by his or her physical features. Although officials also believed this, Jews saw the possibility of hiding behind their government issued papers, but found it harder to hide their "Jewish" features from their neighbors. They quickly discovered the falsities in these Nazi notions on genetics. One of Melchior's narrators involved a young Jewish girl who, along with her family, hid under Aryan papers. She commented on this stating, "And this German said that folks with a really Nordic appearance are slender, blue-eyed blondes. And he suddenly came up and pointed to my brother... and said: here, this is a true Aryan."³⁷ For most Jews their daily routines or their way of speaking gave them away, not their looks. To avoid this, they performed things that contradicted with their Jewish lifestyle and religion, such as going to a Christian church. Solomon experienced something very similar in his attempt to protect himself from his persecutors.

During his tenure in the German military, Solomon's captain took a liking to him, and he witnessed an inside perspective of how Nazis felt about Jews. In one exchange, the captain insisted to him, "We must liberate Europe from the Jews." He eventually took the underage Solomon out of the war, adopted him, and enrolled him in the Hitler Youth.³⁸ Once he ar-

36. Malgorzata Melchior, "Threat of Extermination in Biographical Experience of Holocaust Survivors," *Polish Sociological Review* no. 137 (2002): 54.

37. Ibid., 57.

38. The Hitler Youth, or "Hitlerjungend" in German, became the sole youth program under Nazi German rule for boys ages 14 to 18. The program also existed for girls and was called The League of German Girls. For boys, the purpose was to teach them to be, by the Nazi government's standards, proper Aryan boys and serve their country. Girls learned to become proper Aryan mothers. This youth program used nationalistic propaganda to enforce racist ideology in the minds of German chil-

rived at the Youth camp, the Nazis introduced him to his classmates, and asked him to pledge his allegiance to Hitler's statue. In the film, Solomon said his pledge, hailed the statue, and looked very ashamed once he finished. Despite the betrayal this act represented, if he refused, his lost opportunity to hide by acting like a "pure" German. Solomon concludes, "This will be much harder than among the soldiers. The smallest detail could give me away." He then thought of the lines in the song German boys sang, "'Sink the knives into Jewish flesh and bone.' My flesh!"³⁹ Terror set in as he realized his classmates might recognize his Jewish heritage.

A particularly revealing scene from the film includes a professor at the Hitler Youth School giving a lecture on how to recognize a Jew. As Solomon listened to this uncomfortable topic, the professor explained, "The Jew has a high forehead and a hooked nose... ears that stick out, and he has an ape-like walk... The Nordic man is the gem of the earth. If you understand racial differences no Jew will ever be able to deceive you." He then asked Solomon to stand before the class and proceeded to measure his face and cranium. Solomon became visibly nervous, and the professor stated, "His profile... one still recognizes his distinct Aryan traits." Solomon smiled with what the students viewed as pride, but actually expressed great relief. Like the young girl quoted by Melchior, he learned they cannot recognize him by looks alone.

For Sechter's family, going into hiding proved more difficult for adults. Though they found a hiding place, a neighbor revealed their presence to the Germans. She represents a particularly interesting perspective to help understand the moral conflicts people faced. Although Sechter's sister condemned the action as terribly wrong, she comments on what her parent's denouncer likely faced:

Apparently, somebody denounced them. Somebody close to them. A lot of times people did that I think they were paid by the Germans and, or to get themselves out of being taken, they would give somebody else away.

dren, its main purpose to fulfill Hitler's goal in raising a strong German race.

39. *Europa, Europa*, directed by Agnieszka Holland (1990; Germany: Orion, 1991), DVD.

This was so challenging a time. I don't know if all occupations are like that. People had such dilemmas... had to save their families, perhaps.⁴⁰

The situation for French Jews varied. The experience differed for native Jews who enjoyed a well-established French citizenship/heritage, and for foreign Jews who migrated to France in the early 1900s. For instance, Sechter's grandparents migrated from Romania. Those with an established French heritage like her mother, felt terribly betrayed by their country.⁴¹ Once the Vichy took power, anti-Semites blamed France's loss to the Germans on the Jewish population. Yet, despite the Vichy's belief that most French citizens practiced anti-Semitism historian Jacques Adler disagrees. He states, "Of a Jewish population of roughly 330,000 in July 1940, three quarters survived. Without some contact and support from the French people, that could not have happened."⁴² If Sechter's aunt had failed to find people willing to hide two Jewish children, she and her sister would have died at Auschwitz.

For those who survived, many had difficulty in comprehending how they made it while others did not. For Sechter, her survival depended on the decision of her parents. She states,

Thank goodness my mother was very feisty. She argued with the French Police, "No, my kids are not going." They had orders to pick up whole families and she said, "No. Not my babies." So, she managed to have us taken to a maid who knew her sister. If we had been taken with them we would have been taken immediately to the gas chambers. She saved our lives.⁴³

She accredits her mother's own survival to her strong will to survive for her children:

Most people after three months were sent to the gas chambers. Many committed suicide... my mother had a very strong mental constitution. She said, "No, I'm going to survive for my children..." the people who, they were inmates who worked for the Germans... My

40. Simone Sechter, interview by Lindsay Huyssentruyt, November 12, 2013.

41. Ibid.

42. Jacques Adler, "The Jews and the Vichy: Reflections on French History," *The Historical Journal* 44, no. 4 (2001): 1068.

43. Simone Sechter, interview by Lindsay Huyssentruyt, November 12, 2013.

mother would say, "I'm going to get out." And they would say, "Yea, you'll get out, like everybody else: through the chimney." They would always tell her. But she did [survive]. Most people didn't.⁴⁴

Sechter considered her mother's strength as the source of her survival. Others might consider her lucky, but she uniquely relied on her will to escape Auschwitz. Many Jews in Europe depended on others for survival. Eva Pearlman, and her family, provides an example of this. Born in Berlin, Germany, in 1932, to educated and successful parents – her mother worked at a university and her father worked as a lawyer. In 1933, the same year Hitler came to power in Germany, officials ordered her mother to clear out her locker and leave the campus. That same year, Nazis banned her father from practicing law. It became abundantly apparent to the Pearlmans that Nazi influence would impair their lives and they decided to flee to Paris. Despite their success in leaving Germany, seven years later, the Nazis invaded France, and the family went into hiding. Pearlman remembers staying in an attic in the home of a man her father worked with. She reflects on their survival and how they, like Adler suggests, relied on the help of French citizens:

In France, many Jews made it, and many Jews didn't, depending on whether they knew French people who were kind and who risked their lives to help and/or hide them, or French people who were evil and who betrayed them.⁴⁵

Comparing and contrasting the testimonies of Sechter and Pearlman provide interesting perspectives. Sechter, though expressing disapproval about the denouncement of others, understood the dilemmas people faced. Pearlman on the other hand deliberately used the term, "evil." For much of the war her family remained on the run, forced to move from hiding place to hiding place to avoid the Nazis. Despite her young age, she remembered the fear and the brutality that existed at the time. Sechter, a baby during the Nazi era, remained in a secret place and never directly faced the terror of Hitler's Europe. Yet her mother told her of the

44. Ibid.

45. Eva Perlman, interview by Richard Mast, October 19, 2013, OH 5319, digital recording, Center for Oral and Public History, California State University Fullerton, CA.

horrors in the camps, and Sechter lost her father to a gas chamber. Aside from the anger these women share, their individual perspectives of the Holocaust set their experiences apart. They share a feeling of loss, but hold different outlooks and memories. This reveals the necessity for scholars to listen to narrators as individuals, to show humanity how much it can learn.

Solomon Perel exemplifies a boy who looks back on his loss as an adult after years of hiding. While still a Hitler Youth, he witnessed what happened to the Jews when he rode a trolley through the nearby ghetto. To prevent citizens from seeing the desolate circumstances endured by the Jews, the Germans painted over the windows, but someone scratched away a section. When Solomon looked through, he saw the starving and dying Jewish people – his people, and wondered if his mother still lived there. Once the war ended, Solomon escaped from the Hitler Youth school. He had made it through the entire war without anyone suspecting his Jewish heritage. Eventually he reunited with his brother and learned his parents died in the ghetto. He thinks back to the day when he rode the trolley, and it dawns on him, "When I was shouting 'Heil Hitler,' my family was already dead."⁴⁶ One gets the feeling that he not only felt loss, but also shame, even guilt. Aaron Hass, a psychologist and second-generation American Jew looked at this issue of survivor guilt, stating,

For in addition to acknowledging that many stronger and craftier people did not last, those who did experienced countless close calls, made split-second decisions based on little information, and witnessed the death of others who were less fortunate.⁴⁷

Conclusion: Looking Back

According to Aaron Hass, who studied the psychological effects of survivors, the accounts of his participants reveal different perceptions of the period, and as a result a common event affected them

46. *Europa, Europa*, directed by Agnieszka Holland (1990; Germany: Orion, 1991), DVD.

47. Aaron Hass, *In the Shadow of the Holocaust: The Second Generation* (Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), 11.

all uniquely. He states, “Differences in survivors’ wartime environments and their specific experiences (witnessing a parent or child killed, for example) may account for differences in later adjustment... Any *potential* effects of particular stress on a person, however, will always depend on that person’s *perception* of the stress...”⁴⁸ Hass’ research focuses on the children of survivors, who live mostly in the United States. For him, this reveals very personal connections as his parents’ experience deeply affected his own life. In the introduction to his book, he notes,

... I am foremost a child of an earlier era. Events that occurred fifty years ago, before my birth, follow me. Stories of those times, images before my eyes, evoke my most intense feelings of anger, fear and sadness. My parents, survivors of the Holocaust, raised me and shaped me.⁴⁹

Hass looks at the psychological aspects that impact the lives of survivors. His research reveals how profoundly these experiences affected them, and how this trauma followed them when they moved to their new homes in America. For Hass, the concern lies in their emotional distress in the future, “We must consider the future of survivors... an alarming sense of futility and despair may emerge if they fail to tell their stories so the world will not forget.”⁵⁰ Thinking back on Greenspan’s argument, Hass may fall into the trap of ritualizing the accounts of survivors, and one wonders if historians put too much on the shoulders of their narrators, or read into their accounts the wrong way. How do historians make use of these accounts and do right by these survivors? Alessandro Portelli addressed this question in his approach to oral history:

The first thing that makes oral history different, therefore, is that it tells us less about events and more about their meaning...Interviews often reveal unknown events or unknown aspects of known events...Oral sources tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do...Oral sources may not add much to what we know...but they tell us a good deal about the psychological costs...The organization of the narrative reveals a great deal of the speakers’ relationship to their history.⁵¹

48. Hass, *Shadow of the Holocaust*, 14.

49. Ibid., 1.

50. Ibid., 24.

51. Alessandro Portelli, “What Makes Oral History

What Hass, Greenspan, and Portelli agree on is the urgency in reaching out to these survivors and to record their stories. Not just for the sake of records, but for the narrators’ sake. The work of oral historians, and other scholars who interview survivors, becomes not just useful in understanding the war, but extremely necessary in embracing our humanity. Scholar Christopher R. Browning, for instance, focuses his own project on “...looking at memory not in the collective singular, but rather the individual plural, not collective memory, but rather collected memories.” To him, the issue lies in taking several accounts and creating a bigger picture.⁵² For the Holocaust, though, a bigger picture and a collective memory already exist. Looking at the individual collected memories places emphasis on the importance of each and every account. Although they share something, Portelli shows that each of them reveals a new aspect of an already familiar history.

Dorothy Dodd and Simone prove this; both moved to America by the time they turned eight years old and now as American citizens living in California, they look back on their own experiences and the plight of their parents. What they expressed in their interviews involves coming to terms with the fate of their loved ones. They both lost their fathers, and their lives changed forever. Yet, much like Hass, neither of them really defined themselves as American. Although their birth nations betrayed them, the memory of their parents forever connects them to their true origins. Their common struggle is likely why they became friends after meeting at California State University, Fullerton in the Osher Lifelong Learning Institute.

Yet, when they reflect on their past, they both have different interpretations for what this means for themselves and others. Dodd’s mother comes to mind when she reflects on what Hitler did,

Different,” in *The Oral History Reader*, ed. Robert Perks and Alistair Thompson (New York: Routledge, 1998): 66.

52. Christopher Browning, *Collected Memories: Holocaust History and Postwar Testimony* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), 39.

People have to think for themselves. That's my advice that I learned from my mother, from Europe, because if people wouldn't have listened, Hitler wouldn't have gotten anywhere. You have to think for yourself, or if something is wrong don't be afraid to speak up.⁵³

For Sechter, looking back on this meant coming to terms with what the Nazi era and the Holocaust meant for her, not just her mother:

You know, growing up it never really affected me. I mean, my mother talked about it constantly. Afterwards I was grateful she did talk about it...I know I didn't have a father and I always felt kind of a lack, but you know, we never felt sorry for ourselves. Although, my mother always called us orphans...I remember asking her why we didn't have a father, and she said, "Well the Germans came and took him," and I got so angry...but I always considered myself second generation...then here a lady, we went out to lunch together, and she was Jewish... and she says, "You should come, I belong to a child survivors' group." So I went with her, and you know what? It just made me feel like someone kind of knows and understands you... I was the youngest, I was only 16 months... but she said, "No, you're a survivor." And I got to thinking. Yea, I am a survivor. We had to hide. I had to hide.⁵⁴

All these accounts from women, men, and children of the Holocaust shared a need for escape and survival. Yet, something always exists, in each individual voice that sets them apart. From the women of the concentration camps, to the refugees, and the interviewees and film depictions of European Jews going into hiding, one can see individuals who provide insight that adds to the growing historical conversation. Seemingly endless amounts of scholarship exist on the Holocaust, but the fact that many scholars refuse to accept oral history as a reliable source makes it easier to forget these individuals, especially those willing to record their testimony instead of writing a book or making a film. Extensive amount of scholarly work places more value on traditional sources, allowing individual testimony to go unutilized. Whether or not scholars hold a "ritualized" agenda, historians need to record and use these accounts. For the sake of survivors, and for the sake of learning new aspect of historical events, every now and then people need to put down the books and listen.

53. Dorothy Dodd, interview by Lindsay Huysentruyt, October 11, 2013.

54. Simone Sechter, interview by Lindsay Huysentruyt, November 12, 2013.

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Demonic Possession, Exorcism, and Mysticism in a Seventeenth Century English Covent in Exile: The Case of Sister Margaret of Jesus

Michelle Meza



In the Catholic religion women fall victim to demonic possession in higher rates than men. Ironically, men tasked themselves with duty of determining if a woman's odd behavior stemmed from demonic possession or divine intervention. Here a sister is being released from her pact with the devil before dying. Girolamo di Benvenutto, artist, *St. Catherine of Siena Intercedes with Christ To Free Palmerina*, oil on canvass, c. 1490 (Cambridge, MA: Fogg Art Museum).

Demonic possessions and exorcisms played a significant role within the public and private spheres during an age of religious upheaval. In fact, historians refer to the seventeenth century as “the golden age of the demoniac.” Arguably, the possessions and exorcisms of Roman Catholic nuns serve as some of the most publicized examples from this era. Neglected within current historical narratives, the possession of Sister Margaret Mostyn, needs more attention and analysis. An English Carmelite nun living in exile, Sister Margaret is a prime example of the typical early modern demonic possession and exorcism. **Michelle Meza** analyzes the nun’s experiences to offer a glimpse into how mysticism developed into a vital part of understanding why male clerics denounced nun’s mystical experiences as demonic and how nuns strived to attain union with God.

Sister Margaret overheard the worried voice of the Mother prioress discussing her medical predicament. Ever since Margaret entered the convent, illness plagued her. First came vomiting, then the inability to eat, followed by several months of melancholy, and now difficulty in performing the daily prayers required of a Carmelite nun. The doctor who first diagnosed her with a melancholic condition, admitted he no longer knew what ailed her. Margaret insisted she heard strange voices inside her head, developed an aversion to holy sacramentals,¹ and experienced increasing concern over whether she could receive Holy Communion. As she listened, the prioress considered requesting the assistance of Father Bedingfield to assess the situation, and even murmured the word “exorcism.” Could what truly ailed her be a demonic possession? She held her breath, and said a prayer: “Hail Mary, full of grace...”

The conception of evil spirits entering a human body, or demonic possession, rose during the early modern era. Historians describe the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as “the golden age of the demoniac”² because no definite conception of demonic possession or orthodox exorcism existed before 1600. Subsequently, Sister Margaret, a Carmelite nun living as an English Catholic recusant in the Spanish low Countries, became possessed by over 300 demons from 1649 to 1651, and her exorcism became a test case for confronting instances of demonic control.³ While studying Margaret’s case, questions

1. Roman Catholics consider rosaries, holy water, sacred images, other blessed or holy objects sacramentals.

2. E. William Monter, *Witchcraft in France and Switzerland: The Borderlands During the Reformation* (1976) in Sarah Ferber, *Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Demonic Possession and Exorcism in Early Modern France* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 25.

3. Alias Margaret Mostyn (1625-1679). For more information regarding English Catholic nuns living in exile see Claire Walker, *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe: English Convents in France and the Low Countries* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Peter Guilday *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent 1558-1795* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1914); Caroline Bowden and James E Kelly, *The English Convents in Exile, 1600-1800: Communities, Culture and Identity* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Limited: 2013).

arise: how did the early modern world understand satanic domination, how did her situation compare to common perceptions of demonology and witchcraft, and did her possession result from an act of mysticism, or as a rebuttal against women in the church? Because Margaret’s possession portrayed a vital part of the mystical experience to attain union with God, did the male patriarchy fear female mysticism and attempt to denounce it by claiming it as a demonic possession?

Mysticism grew in popularity among religious women of the early modern period as a way of expressing their spirituality within a strictly masculine model. While visions of Jesus, the Virgin Mary, saints, and angels form a large part of Catholic imagery,

demonic possession reveals another dimension of this same mystical experience because it indicates nuns could find a connection to the divine without the assistance of male clergy.

Furthermore, Saint Teresa of Avila,⁴ who received canonization only twenty-seven years earlier, spoke to the potential influence these visions had for women within the church. Importantly, her words influenced the mystical regime that oversaw Sister Margaret’s experiences. This caused Margaret’s possession to intersect with several examples of demonic possession among nuns of the early modern period and demonstrates the challenges faced by women within religious communities.⁵

For more general history of nuns and convent life see JoAnn Kay McNamara, *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns Through Two Millennia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996); Silvia Evangelisti *Nuns: A History of Covent Life, 1450-1700* (Oxford, GB: University Press, 2007).

4. Known in religion as Teresa de Jesus (1515-1582), Spanish reformer and mystic.

5. For more information on specific cases of demonic possession inside early modern European convents see Michel de Certeau, *The Possession at Loudun* (Chicago, IL: University Press, 2000). For most publicized events in France see Craig Harline, *The Burdens of Sister Margaret: Inside a Seventeenth Century Convent* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000) in Jeffrey Watt, *The Scourge of Demons: Possession, Lust, and Witchcraft in a Seventeenth Century Italian Convent* (Rochester, NY: University Press, 2009); Johann Weyer, *De Praestigiis Daemonum*, vol. 4 (Amsterdam, NL: Apud Petrum vanden Berge,



The image features the exorcism of Nicole Aubry by a bishop at the cathedral of Notre-Dame of Laon, France. Most importantly, it demonstrates the masculine domination within. Jean Boulaeuse, *Exorcism*, engraving, c. 1566 (Vienna, AT: Kunsthistorisches Museum).

Mysticism in an Early Modern Convent

Early modern European clerics understood mysticism as the direct experience of the divine by humans and traditionally progressed as purgation, illumination, and union.⁶ During the medieval period, the clergy often elevated the status of women who experienced mystical visions as sanctified persons and living saints, such as Teresa de Avila. Teresa's confessor, Saint Francis Borgia, insisted her visions and understanding reflected her unification with God. During the medieval period, the Catholic Church granted hundreds of women sainthood. However, this idea shifted during the early modern period, and the number of women considered for sainthood

1660), ch. 10 for cases in Germany.

6. Carmen Mangion and Laurence Lux-Sterritt, *Gender, Catholicism and Spirituality: Women and the Roman Catholic Church in Britain and Europe, 1200-1900* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

plummeted. The Church believed these same women "to be deceived and be, in fact, possessed by demons rather than by the divine spirit."⁷ The change in attitude came from men, and in particular members of the clergy, who conceived women as the weaker sex—morally and physically. This justified men monitoring nuns' prayer practices in order to prevent their deception by the devil into believing they received mystical favors from God.⁸ This policy impeded several mystical experiences and encouraged hostile gendered norms within the Church. Teresa believed these ideas themselves reflected the very work of the devil: "there are a few who did practice prayer and whom the devil has been successful enough at his own trade to cause to fall: in doing this he has also caused some to be very much afraid of virtuous practices."⁹ She further counseled her spiritual daughters at length in *The Book of Her Foundations*. Saint Teresa exhorts the Carmelites not to fear divine visions and revelations, but to remain wary since the devil "makes use of the image of Christ our Lord, or of his saints."¹⁰ These words of caution directly reflect on Sister Margaret's case.

7. Moshe Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit: Possession, Mysticism, & Discernment in Early Modern Catholicism* (Chicago: University Press, 2007), 97. Purgation, illumination, and union describe three stages of a soul's advancement in the spiritual life. During the purgation period, the beginner soul still needs to overcome its temptations and evil inclinations. In the illumination stage, the soul conquers its passions and can avoid committing mortal sin, but still has an inclination toward venial sin. In the final stage of union, the soul reaches perfection and no longer consults with temporal matters with its sole focus on God.

8. While nuns expressed weakness to their confessors as fragile women, they did so out of humility and obedience despite governing most matters on their own within the convent. As in the case of Jeanne de Bourbon, sister to Louis XIII and abbess of a community expressed: "If men have published laws and the praises of a crucified God, women have done as much... If doctors have served as lights to the church, they have borrowed these lights from women informed by the particular grace of God... If men have converted peoples, women have converted entire kingdoms. If piety is accidental to men, it is natural to women." McNamara, *Sisters in Arms*, 500.

9. Teresa of Avila, *The Way of Perfection*, trans. and ed. E. Allison Peers (New York: Image Books, 2004), 138.

10. Teresa of Avila, "The Book of Her Foundations," in *The Collected Works of St Teresa of Avila* vol. 3, trans. Kieran Kavanaugh and Otilo Rodriguez (Washington DC: ICS Publications Institute of Carmelite Studies, 1985), 139-40.

Sister Margaret led a pious life before she entered the convent in Antwerp in 1645. She received a vision of the Blessed Virgin and Saint Teresa without the help and guidance of a spiritual director. This claim, followed by Margaret's physical collapse after she entered the convent, prompted Father Bedingfield to promote his prognosis of demonic possession. This would suggest the church's belief that Margaret's religious experience reflected not union with God, but a performance on her part.¹¹ While demonic possessions and exorcisms emulate theatrical performances, this should not suggest Sister Margaret and other demoniacs faked their symptoms, because "demoniacs acted in ways they were either taught to act or were expected to act." Also, their religious cultures "offered them a set of beliefs and practices that they articulated and acted out."¹² In Sister Margaret's case, Catholicism offered and expected a specific script and she followed it, whether consciously or otherwise.

In 1747, at another English Carmelite Convent in Hoogstraten, located in the Spanish Netherlands, Father Steven Robinson compiled a pamphlet titled *A Most Profitable and Necessary Advertisement* asking for clerical guidance to ensure nuns did not experience demonic happenings that they interpreted as mystical. Furthermore, he also expressed another commonly held view, only a father confessor could guide nuns to achieve divine union.¹³ Since Sister Margaret and other nuns took a vow of obedience, they relinquished their ability to interpret mystical experiences, a chore now exclusively overseen by the male clergy. In her seminal work on the history of nuns, JoAnn Kay McNamara states that priests, confessors, and the male patriarchy restrained nuns'

11. From the time they first enter the convent a confessor supervises most nuns. It seems hard to imagine Sister Margaret would have been so deceived if men properly supervised her throughout her mystical experiences.

12. Brian Levack, *The Devil Within: Possession & Exorcism in the Christian West* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), 140.

13. Laurence Lux-Sterritt, "Clerical Guidance and Lived Spirituality in Early Modern English Convents" in *Spirit, Faith and Church: Women's Experiences in the English-Speaking World, 17th- 21st Centuries*, ed. Laurence Lux-Sterritt and Claire Sorin (New Castle, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 58.

mystical experiences because, "the more impressive a woman's spiritual achievements, the greater the threat she posed to the hierarchy's monopoly of the channels of grace."¹⁴ Although interpreted as the Church's method of maintaining orthodoxy and eliminating heresies, in essence, if nuns achieved mystical union without the help of priests, this eliminated the need for the role of a priest and, in time, the power, influence, and efficacy of the Church itself.

Early Modern Possession and Exorcism

Although demoniacs appeared frequently, particularly among nuns, clerics and physicians disputed each occurrence with suggestions of other ailments. People in the early modern period truly believed in cases of demonic possession, but also fully comprehended the occurrence of mental illnesses or cases of fraudulent possessions.

Two main purposes existed for publicizing possessions and exorcisms in the early seventeenth century: to exalt the legitimacy of Catholicism over Protestantism, and to interpret the possessions as an eschatological sign of union with the Divine. In the aftermath of the Protestant and later Catholic Reformation, on-lookers considered the triumphant exorcism of a demoniac, by either faith, as "the fact that successful exorcism necessarily demonstrated the *bona fides* of the exorcist...made it a sensitive issue in Protestant and Catholic Reformation polemic."¹⁵ Casting out demons, when performed in public, often resulted in the conversion of Huguenots back to the Catholic faith. This often happened when the efficacy of a consecrated host used during an exorcism affirmed to the crowd the doctrine of transubstantiation,¹⁶ as in the case of the famous miracle of Laon and the demoniac Nicole Obry.¹⁷ During

14. McNamara, *Sisters in Arms*, 507.

15. Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1997), 392.

16. The Roman Catholic belief that when the priest recites the Consecration Prayer over the bread and wine, it turns into the actual body and blood of Jesus Christ.

17. Moshe Sluhovsky, "A Divine Apparition or Demonic Possession? Female Agency and Church Authority in

the first Three Wars of Religion (1562-1570), Calvinists gained a stronghold among the bourgeoisie and urban classes. French Calvinists, known as Huguenots, proclaimed the doctrine of the “priesthood of all believers” that denied the exclusive privileges of the clergy. Since Huguenots also denied it, the bread and wine truly transformed into the body and blood of Christ. Such a miracle as a consecrated host casting out a demon proved efficacious. In the case of Nicole Obry in 1565, the Bishop of Laon successfully exorcised “Beelzebub, the Prince of the Huguenots” from her in an attempt to exalt the Catholic faith over French Protestantism. However, the plan backfired when rumors circulated that Obry’s possession reflected little more than a hoax. The religious wars continued in France since the question of religion took on a political aspect as more French nobles converted to Calvinism and the Valois kings, along with Catherine de Medici, wished to solidify their power and authority.¹⁸ In addition to suppressing Huguenot rebels, factional disputes between the royal family and powerful Catholic Guises complicated matters, thus delaying peace compromises. With religious wars erupting throughout Europe, many contemporaries interpreted the sheer volume of demonic possessions as a sign the world might soon end. According to Stuart Clark, “the experience of the demoniacs was seen as a kind of allegory for the condition of human society as it moved into its final phase.”¹⁹ The demoniac represents the world beset by devil and possibly the Anti-Christ, while the subsequent exorcism represents Christ casting the demons out from this world thus ushering in the consummation of history with the Apocalypse and Christ’s triumph over evil.²⁰

Margaret Mostyn’s Early Life, Bewitchment, and Entrance into Convent

According to the biography written by Father Bedingfield,²¹ Margaret Mostyn, born in 1625 in Shropshire, England, lived with her grandmother, mother, and sister Elisabeth.²² From a young age, she gravitated toward piety as illustrated in her solicitation of the Virgin Mary’s blessings and her recitation of the rosary and other prayers.²³ Margaret often passed the time reading about the lives of saints and other spiritual books. For her efforts, she received the grace of heavenly visions through her guardian angel, the Blessed Virgin, and the Infant Jesus through the consecrated host.

During her teenage years and after her grandmother’s death, Margaret struggled against a vocation to religious life due to her affection for her ailing, widowed mother. However, while walking in a garden one day she saw a vision of the Virgin Mary, accompanied by Saint Teresa of Avila, who gave her a brief message: “My child, if you will be happy, follow your first vocation—St. Teresa will help you.”²⁴ After this reassurance and after she overcame other emotional obstacles, such as “the many austerities of a religious life, fasting, mortification, self-denial,” along with the anxiety that “silence and retirement had a very lonesome and melancholy prospect,” Margaret resolved to join the Discalced Carmelite Order.²⁵ Her status as a young woman of marriageable age from the gentry class attracted the eyes of the young Earl of Dumfries who complicated her decision with

21. In his preface to Margaret Mostyn’s biography, Edmund Bedingfield states he wrote her biography to record her piety and saintly standing within the community, and to “exclude all reasonable doubt of illusion or deceit.” Edmund Bedingfield, *The Life of Mother Margaret of Jesus* (London: Burns and Oates, 1884), 4.

22. Bedingfield, *The Life of Mother Margaret*, 12. The original manuscript of Sister Margaret’s life began a year after her death, but remained incomplete by Father Bedingfield due to his death. Another confessor of the community finished the final compilation of her life in 1779.

23. The mention of beads means she had a particular devotion to saying the Rosary. The use of rosary beads played a vital role in her exorcism some years later.

24. Bedingfield, *The Life of Mother Margaret*, 20.

25. *Ibid.*, 21.

Demonic Possession in Sixteenth Century France,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 27, no. 4 (Winter, 1996): 1042.

18. Mark Konnert, *Early Modern Europe: The Age of Religious War, 1559-1715* (Ontario, CA: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 104.

19. Clark, *Thinking with Demons*, 393.

20. During his public ministry, Christ exorcised several demoniacs on various occasions, most notably Mary Magdalene, who had seven demons cast out of her as recorded in Luke 8:2. For other Biblical exorcisms, see Mark 1:21-28, 5:1-20; Matthew 8:28-34, 12:22-28; and Luke 8:26-39.

a proposal of marriage.²⁶ When she refused his offer, the earl reportedly bewitched her when her maid gave him a lock of her hair and a ribbon. Another man bewitched Margaret when her sister also refused a proposal of marriage. The scorned men “procured a double witchcraft—the one to make Sister Ursula love him & the other also to produce the same effect in Sister Margaret, that he might enjoy the one & vindicate himself by slighting the other.”²⁷ The bewitchments wreaked havoc on both Sister Margaret and her sister Elisabeth.²⁸

Sister Margaret’s Possession and Exorcism

The early modern resource *Compendium Maleficarum* by Brother Francesco Maria Guazzo (1608), gives valuable information on the symptoms that occurred during demoniac possession. In a series of three books, Guazzo informs his audience about the power of witches, how to deal with various types of witchcraft, and treatment for bewitched victims. The third book informs the reader about the symptoms of a true demonic possession, a few of which Sister Margaret experienced and included, “when some inner power seems to urge the possessed to hurl himself from a precipice,” strangulation, being struck dumb, and incapability of movement.²⁹ In

“[W]hen some inner power seems to urge the possessed to hurl himself from a precipice...”

addition to these terrifying symptoms, she also experienced other common attributes, such as attempted suicide by poison, demonic visions of pious shapes such as Jesus Crucified, the Virgin Mary, Saint Teresa, her guardian angel, the ability to prophesize, and her confessor.³⁰ Jean Bodin in his 1580 work, *On the Demon-Mania of Witches*, notes demons did several things to torment people such as slaps hard enough to leave visible marks or forcefully pulling individual.³¹ He also mentions speaking in foreign languages such as Greek or Latin, by those who never learned the languages or who suffered from illiteracy reflected an obvious sign of a demon.³² Since Margaret exhibited these symptoms, clearly indicating demonic possession to the minds of her superiors and confessor, and they proceeded towards exorcism.

Margaret’s symptoms and presumed possession marked new ground for a church under siege, and the Catholic clergy sought to understand the question of exorcism to the best of

their abilities. Before the publication of the *Rituale Romanum* in 1614, the Catholic Church did not hold a clear view concerning

the essence, causes, and characteristics of demonic possession.³³ Since 300 demons appeared to control Sister Margaret, Father Bedingfield performed the ritual outlined in the *Rituale Romanum* numerous times between April 15th-29th, 1651. He interrogated the demon/s and asked specific questions as indicated in the *Rituale*,³⁴ including the demon’s name, the presence of companions, when he/they entered the body, for what cause, when he/they would depart, and what sign he/they would give at their departure.³⁵

the early modern period.

30. Bedingfield, “His account of their exorcism,” 64,

76.

31. Jean Bodin, *On the Demon-mania of Witches* (1580) trans. Randy A. Scott (Toronto, CA: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 1995), 162.

32. Bodin, *On the Demon-mania of Witches*, 163.

33. Sluhovsky, *Believe Not Every Spirit*, 15.

34. Although ambiguity surrounds what text Father Bedingfield used in Sister Margaret’s exorcism, the commonly employed methods provided in the *Rituale* during Catholic exorcisms makes it the most appropriate source to cite.

35. Thyraeus, *Demoniaci* (1598) in Daniel Pickering

26. “Lives of Margaret of Jesus and Ursula of All Saints by their Ghostly Father Edmund Bedingfield, Canon of St Gummarus in Lierre: his account of their exorcism,” in *Witchcraft, Exorcism and the Politics of Possession in a Seventeenth Century Convent: “How Sister Ursula was once Bewitched and Sister Margaret Twice,”* ed. Nicky Hallett (Aldershot, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007), 53.

27. Bedingfield, “His account of exorcism,” 53. Although members of the church levied claims of blatant acts of witchcraft against Sister Margaret twice, it remains unclear in the historical record whether the Earl of Dumfries or the anonymous lover of Sister Ursula went to court to answer for their deeds.

28. Elisabeth Mostyn, known as Sister Ursula of All Saints, also succumbed to demons at the same time as Margaret.

29. Francesco Maria Guazzo, *Compendium Maleficarum* (1608) (Secaucus, NJ: University Books, 1974), 168. Guazzo’s list of symptoms only scratches the surface of a complete list of demonic possession symptoms, because his treatise was one of numerous sources of information circulating during



The experience of Sister Margret mirrored the experience of Saint John of the Cross. They both shared the spiritual emptiness that followed their struggles. Felix Xunclà i Tubert, photographer, *Reliquary with Saint John of the Cross' bones 2014* (Úbeda, SP: Church of San Pablo).

Here raises another issue concerning the patriarchy's attitudes towards nuns' spiritual experiences and/or demonic possessions. Male clerics believed they possessed the ability to categorize a woman's visions as either heavenly or hellish. Although nun's dedicated their lives to God through prayer, they did not possess the skills to discern whether their revelations were delusions. When it came to the ecstasies of Teresa of Avila, her confessors and various other authorities in the Church sought to persuade her that she experienced diabolical deceptions. As a nun bound to obedience, she struggled to stave off her visions for two years until "God seized her ever more relentlessly and spoke to her whenever he pleased in any company."³⁶ Teresa of Avila portrays one example of a nun who at first obeyed the Church, then thwarted

wrote the instructions and prayers in Latin, only educated clergy could carry out the ceremony. Thus during early modern period, the male patriarchy situated itself as the only means of defense between the devil and mankind.

During Sister Margaret's possession, it became obvious certain demons commanded several other demons, and once Bedingfield cast out the leader, many of his cohorts followed. For example on April 19th, after the completion of the exorcism and at the stroke of one in the afternoon, "there departed Saran the grand devil of Lies with twenty of his followers." Father Bedingfield's success on that day trailed the expulsion of a hundred devils the evening before.³⁷ The following Saturday, April 22nd, a demon named Vochiel, "the devil of the stomach and witchcraft," lost its power over Sister Margaret, but required more than an exorcism to completely cast it out. The Virgin Mary appeared and requested "nine Masses to be offered up to her, nine to St Athanasius, & nine days of fasting, communion prayers & alms should take im-

Walker, *Unclean Spirits: Possession and Exorcism in France and England in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Scholar Press, 1981), 8. Walker also notes that the exorcist is not really casting out the demon, but compelling it to do something by invoking a higher authority, who will enforce the command, as seen in most exorcism cases, *Adjuro te, spiritus nequissime, per Deum omnipotentem...* (I adjure thee, most evil spirit, by almighty God...)

36. McNamara, *Sisters in Arms*, 509.

37. Bedingfield, "His account of their exorcism," 72.

the commands of her confessor, only in the end to gain approval from ecclesiastical authorities. Other nuns could not count themselves as fortunate since their visions often times gained unwanted attention and suppression from the Inquisition. In addition, the Catholic Church sanctioned priests as the only arbiters of exorcisms, possessing the spiritual power and strength to perform the ritual with any efficacy. Also, as the Church

mediate effect.”³⁸ Other demons banished during this tumultuous fortnight included Maltas (melancholia), Turmol (disobedience), Camus (to act obscenely), Botus (to act against the honor of the Holy Virgin), and many more.³⁹

Sister Margaret’s Mystical Experiences

Prayer constitutes a majority of the day for a Discalced Carmelite nun like Sister Margaret, with the *horarium*, or schedule, divided into seven parts for the recitation of the Divine Office. The Church does set aside other time for work, personal reading, reflection, and recreation, all of which nuns accomplished in a contemplative mindset. Through prayer, nuns ultimately strived toward divine union with God. Saint Teresa of Avila wrote extensively about how to pray and exhorted her sisters to not to fear obstacles because the devil sought to hinder them. She described the path to divine union as a treasure hunt and told her spiritual daughters “what a strange idea that one could ever expect to travel on a road infested by thieves, for the purpose of gaining some great treasure, without running into danger!”⁴⁰ She comforted the Carmelite nuns throughout her spiritual texts by ensuring them if they continued on their prayer journey and sought solace only in God, He would help them ward off devils and keep them safe. Something she had experience with as St. Teresa withstood many attacks from the devil. While the devil tortured her, she reported made “interior acts” to withstand the pain. Once she accomplished this, the devil appeared to her as “a most hideous little negro, snarling as if in despair at having lost what he was trying to gain,” at which she laughed and moved on.⁴¹

Attacks such as these indicated the devil felt threatened by the progression of any individual’s spiritual journey. Before Sister Margaret’s possession,

38. Ibid, 73.

39. For a complete list see Bedingfield “His account of their exorcism,” 92-106.

40. Teresa of Avila, *The Way of Perfection*, 137.

41. Teresa of Avila, *The Life of Teresa of Jesus*, trans. & ed. by E. Allison Peers (New York: Image Books/Doubleday, 2004), 261.

the Blessed Virgin forewarned and assured her that her coming trial would benefit her spiritual growth:

I have many other blessings in store for you. If not notwithstanding the devil still continues to tempt you, know it is for your greater good and his confusion, and by leaving you in these uncertainties with regard to my favours, I do you a greater favour than by giving you a further reassurance, which you shall only receive from your confessor. This will keep you both humble and obedient, be a new torment and confusion to the devil, to whom it is worse than Hell, to have leave and power to tempt you, and yet find himself unable once in a thousand times to effect anything. The worst he can do is vex and trouble you when you are unfaithful or disobedient; his power shall not be more because my honor is concerned in making you happy. Therefore, if you are victorious, you know it is owing to me, and not to yourself, so you need not apprehend your confessor thinking you a saint, he knows sufficiently your misery, and my charity who am the Mother of Mercy.⁴²

According to another Carmelite mystic, St John of the Cross (1542-1591), what Sister Margaret experienced in her possession occurs in a pious individual’s life, when after receiving divine grace, they enter into a period of spiritual dryness, in which they cannot experience God’s presence, and which many describe as the “dark night of the soul.”. This spiritual aridity tests the believer to ensure they remain faithful, even in the supposed absence of God. St Teresa contends this period teaches the soul humility: “I cannot help but think that anyone who makes such an issue of this dryness is a little lacking in humility.”⁴³ Humbleness also aids the believer in recognizing false visions “for the good or the evil does not lie in the vision but in the one who sees it and in whether or not she profits by it with humility; for if humility is present, no harm can be done not even by the devil. And if humility is not present, even if the visions be from God they will be of no benefit.”⁴⁴ If the individual passes this test, they may move onto mystical union and a stronger relationship with their creator. Even though

42. Bedingfield, *The Life of Mother Margaret of Jesus*, 64. In fact, Teresa of Avila had a particular devotion to the Blessed Virgin, who, on numerous occasions, appeared to Teresa to reassure her in her trials, finding reformed Carmelite convents, and her accomplishing pleased both Mary and Christ. Teresa of Avila, *Life of Teresa of Jesus*, 293.

43. Teresa of Avila, *Interior Castle: Study Edition*, trans. Kieran Kavanaugh and Otilio Rodriguez (Washington DC: ICS Publications, 2010), 86.

44. Teresa of Avila, “Her Foundations,” 140.

she received some solace regarding the growth of her spiritual strength during her trial, it seemed at times that God had abandoned her, but this did not mark the end of Sister Margaret's spiritual life. Any individual worthy of an attack by the devil could take solace in the fact that they had grown spiritually closer to their God.

After the exorcism, Margaret became known for her piety, and continued to receive heavenly visions – eventually the community at Lierre elected her prioress and she fulfilled this role until her death in 1679. Almost immediately after her passing, members of the laity begged for pieces of her habit to keep as reliques. Furthermore, the sisters also reported a pleasant smell of lilies and roses that came from her tomb and reassured the sisters that she “remains with us, and will assist and help her poor children in this banishment until she brings us to enjoy Eternal Glory with her.”⁴⁵ In Catholic teachings, the sisters may have experienced the “odor of sanctity.” It is an aroma often emitted from holy persons bodies after death, including St Teresa of Avila. Indeed, like Teresa, Sister Margaret's possession tested her established piety and became a part of her spiritual journey through which she reaped many benefits and graces.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Sister Margaret Mostyn's demonic possession and exorcism reflected typical manifestations of religious turmoil in early modern Europe. Although not initially made public, her exorcism still demonstrated the power and efficacy of the Catholic Church to cast out demons in God's name. While her symptoms consistently adhered to early modern European ideas of possession, historians should remember Sister Margaret's in terms of mysticism. More narrowly, as part of her mystical journey towards union with God as prescribed by her spiritual mother, St Teresa of Avila. This spiritual advance provoked some turmoil within the established hier-

archy of the Catholic Church, as it demonstrated the growing medieval trend toward individual spiritual communion. Had the ideas of individualism persisted, the patriarchal hierarchy of the Church would have come under increasing scrutiny, and presumably, in conjunction with the growth of the Protestant Reformation, would have lost power. Perhaps Margaret's visions of the Virgin Mary further confirms this idea, as her possession occurred for the greater good. Sister Margaret's experiences not only contribute to the historiography of early modern possession and exorcism, but expands where individual experiences fit into the context of early modern European religion and politics.

45. According to Catholic teaching, the sisters possibly experienced the odor of sanctity—an aroma that often emits from holy persons bodies after death, including St Teresa of Avila.

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Out of the Pink Shadow of Memory:

Homosexuals and the Holocaust

Dane Royster



Homosexual prisoners marked with the large pink triangle stand at attention under the gaze of Nazi guards. *Homosexuals in a Concentration Camp*, photograph. c. 1940 (College Park, Md: National Archives and Records Administration).

Until recently, traditional scholarship largely ignored the homosexual male perspective in the history of the Holocaust. However, change slowly began in the 1970s, with some understanding the degree to which the Nazis persecuted those who participated in same-sex acts, but few still recognize how gay men influenced the National Socialists' rise to power and how those actions led to their eventual silence in the post-war years. Too few realize the government reincarcerated homosexual survivors because their sexuality remained a crime due to Paragraph 175 in the German Constitution.

Throughout human history, evidence of same sex attraction exists; those who identify as or whom society perceived as homosexual have endured various degrees of persecution within different cultural milieus. However, despite its tenacity in the historical record, the term “homosexuality” did not exist in the West prior to 1869, largely because many cultures did not define sexuality the same way we do today. Those who did directly address the practice, such as the ancient Greeks and Native Americans, defined gender roles, but considered sexuality a private matter of little social consequence so long as the mores of their culture remained intact. Despite this liberal acceptance of same-sex attraction in the ancient world, as the Catholic

Church developed in the first centuries after the crucifixion of Christ, the Church Fathers adopted a stance condemning homosexual practice. The *Didache*, an early Christian manuscript from the second century, warns against the sin of pederasty.¹ While many early ecclesial doctrines reflected a concern over the behavior of the clergy, by the Middle Ages, the Church hierarchy came to view excessive amounts of pleasure as sinful—this included any form of sexual expression that did not result in conception. While the focus of the church remained on the clergy—increasingly, religious leaders applied these doctrines more stringently to the laity. Anyone who fell into this category found themselves labeled as sodomites. By the time of the Council of Elvira in 305, the Church specifically enacted a punishment for homosexuality, an exclusion from communion.² As the Church’s influence grew over the fledgling nations of Europe, its growing hostility towards same-sex activity influenced legal doctrines, and homosexuality became punishable by incarceration, genital mutilation, or death. During the Enlightenment, science and reason began to move away from the church-state paradigm toward a secular framework, and by the early modern era this

[T]he Jewish perspective of the Holocaust serves as the main narrative to understand these horrific events, this singular focus...muted the experiences of other groups.

allowed scientists to study human sexuality—including homosexual practices. This willingness to explore all aspects of human sexual behavior resulted in a dichotomy. While studies that focused on sexuality flourished in Germany in the nineteenth century, so too did patriarchal notions that linked masculinity to nationalism.³ Prussia’s unification of the German duchies brought with it the infamous “Paragraph 175” criminal code, which criminalized same-sex relations between men, and remained the law until its repeal in 1994. In 1935, the Nazis expanded the law beyond the simple condemnation of a physical homosexual act, and made “lewdness,” or any “suggested” sexual affection between members of the same sex punishable under the law. The enforcement of this law played a key role in the persecution of homosexuals during the Holocaust.⁴

After securing control over the government in 1933, the National Socialist Party of Germany actively sought to portray all homosexual men and Jews as enemies of the state in order to justify their removal from society. While the Jewish perspective of the Holocaust serves as the main narrative to understand these horrific events, this singular focus, which persisted until the 1970s, muted the experiences of other groups. This tendency begs the question—why? Why did a generation of historians after the calamity of WWII fail to insert a homosexual perspective into the main Holocaust narrative, and why did survivors not come forward sooner with their stories? Scholars must answer these questions in order to allow for a more holistic understanding of the Holocaust to appear, and must critically examine the social memory that clouds the event and its aftermath. Much of this exclusion reflects cultural biases long prevalent in Western society, and speaks to larger social/cultural

3. Francis Mark Mondimore, *A Natural History of Homosexuality* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 1-35.

4. The German constitution of 1872 addressed homosexuality, but in 1935 the Nazi regime tightened the constraints around the infamous paragraph 175. *The Constitution of the German Empire*, (Berlin, DE: Bundesarchiv), §175 StGB.

1. Aaron Milavec, *The Didache* (Costa Mesa, CA: Paulist Press, 2003).

2. A.W.W. Dale, *The Synod of Elvira and Christian Life in the Fourth Century* (New York: Macmillan, 1882).



Ernst Röhm, notorious leader of the *Sturmabteilung* and boisterous homosexual, acted as Hitler's "enforcer" during the early stages of the Nazi political advancement. *Ernst Röhm*, photograph, 1933 (Berlin, DE: Bundesarchiv).

issues still present today. A generation before the rise of the Nazi Party, Germany itself appeared headed in a much different direction than the one it would take in the early 1930s. By the late nineteenth century, homosexual men and women in Berlin enjoyed the relative tolerance of the police commissioner, Leopold von Meerscheidt-Hülfessem, who focused his department's attention on regulating gay prostitution, not culture. This encouraged a vibrant gay subculture to develop that included the expansion of cabarets and salons, but also prompted men and women to enter into more mainstream pursuits. In 1897, Magnus Hirschfeld established the Institute for Sexual Research in Berlin, and pioneered several studies on homosexual men, including the astounding assertion that

20,000 gay male prostitutes inhabited the city.⁵ By the end of the First World War, this led some sexual researchers to suggest homosexual men reflected a hyper-masculine ethic that heterosexual men could only aspire to achieve. In the 1920s and 30s, many saw Berlin as a progressive enclave when compared to other parts of the world, the Weimar Republic hardly enforced Paragraph 175, and the city's vibrant nightlife seemed to beckon to all.

Following the debacle of WWI, various radical political ideas surfaced in Europe, including fascism. In Germany, National Socialism promulgated fascism's ideal of the masculine male—a man who embodied all the positive, manly traits necessary to transform Fatherland. To aid them in the transformation of the state, The National Socialist Party embraced the tactics of the *Sturmabteilung* (SA), or Brownshirts, who violently erased any viable opposition to the party. Joining the ranks of the SA provided work and food during in a time of global depression, and in places like Berlin, the paramilitary organization offered an opportunity for young gay men to meet others like themselves.⁶ For these reasons, homosexual men joined the party in droves. According to historian Frank Rector, gays acted as central agents for the Nazi's advancement and agenda, but he dismisses the notion Hitler merely used them as a means to an end, and ultimately planned to dispose of them at the right time.⁷ To protect the image of the SA and its founder, the group destroyed the records housed in Hirschfeld's Institute in May 1933, as many of his detailed reports contained damning information about men responsible for catapulting Hitler to power.⁸

The privileged position of the SA changed when Hitler consolidated his power during the 1934 *Röhm-Putsch* or the "Night of the Long Knives." In this highly orchestrated assault on anyone who could challenge Hitler's authority, he denounced the officers of the *Sturmabteilung*, as morally corrupting

5. Havelock Ellis, *Psychology of Sex* (New York: Ray Long & Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1934), 221-22.

6. Frank Rector, *The Nazi Extermination of Homosexuals* (New York: Stein and Day, 1981), 23, 45-48.

7. Ibid., 31-34.

8. Carroll Quigley, *Tragedy and Hope* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1966), 437.

German youth.⁹ The fact Hitler could motivate a homophobic-heterosexual populace and outspoken homosexuals into the same political movement speaks volumes about his level of control.¹⁰ Hitler effectively used the *Schutzstaffel* (SS), the rival of the SA, to kill many homosexual officers during the three days of terror. Despite the fact the SS murdered more heterosexuals, than homosexuals, the association of a morally corrupting group within the SA ensured a radical change in public opinion. Central to this association was the founder of the SA, and ardent supporter of Hitler and the Nazi Party, Ernst Röhm.

Hitler ordered his men to arrest and execute Röhm because he mistakenly believed his longtime friend wanted to seize power for himself. Several factors played into his paranoia, most obviously the SA command of three million members, a glaring threat to Hitler's designs for the military and his supremacy. It did not help Röhm's case that he blatantly flaunted his sexuality, and spent tens of thousands of German Reichsmarks on lavish parties where he and his handpicked homosexual officers engaged in numerous forms of debauchery.¹¹ His death shocked homosexuals and heterosexuals alike within the SA, many of whom believed their safety and advancement depended on Röhm's influence with Hitler. Interestingly, many heterosexuals enacted revenge killings against those they believed responsible for his murder. These disgruntled men pinned notes reading "Röhm's Avengers" on the bullet-ridden bodies of SS members they left out in the open—at least 155 SS leaders died in this manner by the war's end.¹²

9. Rector, *The Nazi Extermination*, 20-22, 99. "The Night of the Long Knives," also known as the "Blood Purge" and "Operation Hummingbird," occurred in Nazi Germany from June 30 to July 2, 1934. On these days, Hitler purged the *Sturmabteilung*, also known as the SA, Brown Shirts, and Storm Troopers, of political enemies, critics, rivals, and homosexuals. This allowed him to consolidate his power and fuel an already present homophobic sentiment in the populace.

10. Ibid., 51-52.

11. Ibid., 78-91.

12. Ibid., 106-08. The *Schutzstaffel*, or the Protection Squadron and abbreviated as SS, acted as the obedient henchmen

The fact Hitler could motivate a homophobic-heterosexual populace and outspoken homosexuals into the same political movement speaks volumes about the level of control he held over everyone.

As the contest between competing paramilitary groups accelerated, Heinrich Himmler—leader of the *Schutzstaffel*—used the opportunity of Röhm's death to push a homophobic agenda.¹³ Anything remotely associated with homosexual activity effectively disappeared from public and private eyes. Joined by the *Geheime Staatspolizei* (Gestapo), the SS exploited the police records of men convicted of same-sex acts, rifled through personal letters, and interrogated suspected homosexuals in an attempt to cleanse Germany

of those unwilling to conform to the norms the regime.¹⁴ Selective raids targeted individuals suspected of harboring "unnatural" inclinations, and under the guise of "protective custody," men found themselves charged with violations of Paragraph 175. Once in custody, the police vigorously and violently interrogated their captives, coerced confessions of homosexuality, and force their subjects to identify other individuals.¹⁵ In 1935, the Ministry of Justice strengthened Paragraph 175 to include not only physically "suggestive" touch and solicitation as a violation of the statute, but merely the impression of homosexual appearance and thought could result in imprisonment.¹⁶ As for the persecution of lesbians, the Nazis by in large paid them little attention. They believed relations between women would remain short-lived and their sexuality would eventually correct itself—as

of Adolph Hitler, under the direction of Heinrich Himmler. They committed themselves to the complete destruction of undesirables as labeled under Nazi ideology.

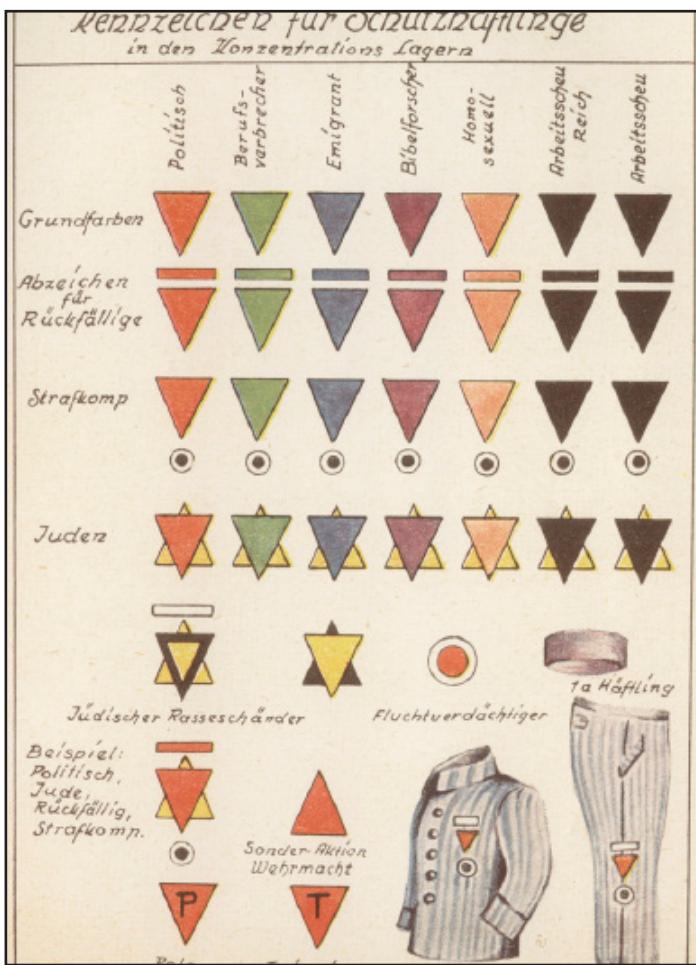
13. Heinrich Himmler, Speech to Nazi Group Leaders, Bad Tölz, Bavaria, 18 February 1937. Additionally, Himmler established a special office within the Gestapo called the *Reichszentrale zur Bekämpfung der Homosexualität und Abtreibung* (Reich Central Office for the Combating of Homosexuality and Abortion), in order to compile lists of known homosexuals for targeting by the regime.

14. The *Geheime Staatspolizei*, also known as the Secret State Police and Gestapo, secretly worked behind the scenes to collect information on suspected homosexuals and other enemies of the state.

15. Ibid., 121.

16. *The Constitution of the German Empire*, §175

StGB. See also Ken Setterington, *Branded by the Pink Triangle*, (Toronto: Second Story Press, 2014), 40.



This chart depicts the badges worn by internees; the Nazis designed the pink triangle larger than the others in order to single out homosexuals within the camp. Hand-drawn chart. c. 1932 (Washington DC: United States Holocaust Museum).

most lesbians hid themselves through marriage and still produced children for the Reich, they presented no viable threat to the regime. Of the small number sent to concentration camps, the Nazis labeled them as “asocials” and forced them to wear an inverted, black triangle.¹⁷ Gay men, however, presented a threat to the ideals of the Nazi Party, while their hyper-masculine world reflected many aspects of the regime, their refusal to accept social norms, in an increasingly rigid society, presented a viable threat. Those convicted under the provisions of Paragraph 175 would join the ranks of other “undesirables” in Germany, and soon found themselves bound for the concentration camps. Those who survived their transit faced more brutalizing conditions than they encountered in prison.

17. Ibid., 30-31.

The operators of *Deutsche Reichsbahn* (German Reich Railway) subjected many homosexuals to several transfers between camps. Packed into cramped, dimly lit, and unsanitary cars, disease became a significant issue and often led to the death of a prisoner before they arrived at their final destination. Beginning in 1933, well before vigorously persecuting the Jews, Germans sent homosexuals to the camps. The first of these euphemistically labeled “labor camps” overwhelmingly held homosexuals, or those labeled as such, for the sole purpose of removing them from the public as swiftly as possible.¹⁸ After their arrival, each inmate received the same welcome: the guards beat and shaved them, confiscated their belongings and valuables, and assigned them uniforms. Their insignia, the inverted-pink triangle, represented their crime and came to symbolize their place at the bottom rung on the prison camp hierarchy.

Once their uniforms officially and publicly labeled them, the guards segregated them in their own separate barracks. In the camp, gay men endured unimaginable humiliation and torture at the hands of their Nazi oppressors and from fellow inmates. The leaders of the camp assigned and subjected them to the most dangerous work details, experiments, and torture. The Nazis designed the inverted-pink triangles several centimeters larger than the other classifying badges so they could easily identify homosexuals at all times. The guards actively encouraged other inmates to persecute those with the pink triangle. The heterosexual population loathingly called them “175ers” and other pejorative terms, out of concern their wanton sexual behavior might manifest itself. To ensure these men would not contaminate the rest of the population, the guards relegated them to eat and shower last. They slept with their heads and hands above the covers and with the lights turned on to deter masturbation and clandestine sexual encounters. Guards insisted homosexual men enjoyed being raped and beaten with objects and engaged in this behavior as a cover for their own sadistic impulses. Hypocritically, prison guards engaged in sexual acts only with men without a pink triangle.

18. Rector, *The Nazi Extermination*, 120-31.

Subjected to the most dangerous work details because of their gender, and their designation at the bottom of the prison hierarchy, their work details consisted of mining in the deadly clay pits, or performing menial tasks such as moving rocks or snow from one place, only to move it back to where they originally started.¹⁹ Some gay youths found themselves under the “protection” of camp *Kapos*, prisoners assigned to oversee work crews and perform administrative tasks.²⁰ These individuals, who could represent as many as ten percent of the total prison population, often sexually abused, beat, and killed their “little dolls” as often as any of the prison guards.²¹ SS doctors experimented on homosexuals frequently in an attempt to understand the pathology of their sexuality in order to cure it. Himmler attempted to do this through pseudoscientific experiments, castration, and by forcing gay prisoners to prove their “rehabilitation” through copulation with Jewish and Roma women. If they could prove their masculinity through heterosexual intercourse, the camp overseers would release them. However, the *Gestapo* monitored their activities after release and attempted to ensnare them by sending undercover male agents to solicit them. Unsurprisingly, Himmler’s plans ultimately failed to provide any positive results in favor of rehabilitation.²² Unlike their Jewish counterparts, the nightmare of incarceration and public ridicule followed the gay survivors of the Holocaust in the early decades of the Cold War.

In years after the end of World War II, questioning the sexuality of high-ranking Nazi officials further demonized an already persecuted group. Seemingly, no evidence exists in favor of or against the accusations, but the fact that they appeared in the first place

remains important.²³ Labeling a person as a “homosexual” singles an individual out, and casts him/her outside of normal society—thus, turning that fellow human into the “other.” The Nazis made use of this scapegoating tactic many times to rid their own ranks and the military, of political enemies, homosexuals, and other “undesirables.” Clearly, with the war’s conclusion, the tactic still held merit.

While the Nazis targeted, political dissidents, Roma, mentally incapacitated individuals, and communists, their story remains largely overshadowed by the tragedy imposed on the Jews. However, these individuals represent another 6 million dead at the hands of the regime, fully half of those victimized. With such overwhelming numbers, why didn’t the targeted groups band together? While the persecution of homosexuals culminated in the *Röhm-Putsch*, the Nazi Party and German society expanded their harassment of other groups, many who would also face discrimination, remained indifferent bystanders to the plight of gay men.

Carolyn J. Dean’s *The Fragility of Empathy* focuses on the loss of empathy present in humanity today, not only in regard to the Holocaust, but also suffering in general. She posits, the more people witness disturbing images, the more they become numb to the anguish and brutality around them. Spatial, temporal, and social distance plays a key role in this desensitization, as it kills compassion: people are less likely give sympathy to a disassociated and distant group. Depictions of the Holocaust within mainstream culture, ubiquitously present the atrocities inflicted upon the Jews, this overexposure adds to the “numbness” present in today’s society. According to Dean, empathy can make “victimization” a prize; as such, the perpetrators, injured parties, and bystanders involved in the Holocaust, quickly scramble at attain victim status. Unlike the actual victims of the Holocaust, those who did nothing to prevent the activities of the Nazis also try to nudge their way into this category with popular after-the-fact clichés as: “we just followed orders” or “I did not know the extent of what

19. Lisa Michelle Lawrence, “‘Pink’s the Lowest’: Homosexual Holocaust: History and Reality in Martin Sherman’s *Bent*” (thesis, Auburn University at Montgomery, 2013), 11-19, 32.

20. Elie Wisel, *Night* (New York, Bantam Books, 1982), 46.

21. Rector, *The Nazi Extermination*, 144-47. *Kapos* served as prisoner functionaries where they supervised the forced labor and basic administrative tasks. The SS would pick a kapo in an effort to pit victim against victim and to cut administrative costs.

22. Setterington, *Branded*, 72-73.

23. Rector, *The Nazi Extermination*, 56-57.

the Party did.”²⁴ In many ways, this doubly victimizes those targeted by the Nazi regime. Dean’s assertions, while harsh, make sense when applied to the lack of notoriety ascribed to homosexual targets in the Holocaust. With an ever-increasing number of “victims” this oversaturates the empathy people feel to the point where the public can appear apathetic to the suffering of others.

Dean engages in the historiography of the Holocaust by examining historians’ initial stance on writing the history of the period. She uses Daniel Goldhagen’s *Hitler’s Willing Executioners* as a parallel to the shift in paradigm from objective historical writing to a form of history that caters to the emotions of its readers. Before Goldhagen’s work, historians tended to objectify the actors involved and largely refrained from posing moralistic questions to their audience. Dean argues historians must step outside of this purely logical standpoint and instead look to narratives that challenge previous perceptions.²⁵ In essence, this applies to mainstream Holocaust history: people must face their preconceived notions on homosexuals and embrace their accounts

into the collective whole. Bystanders themselves can act as perpetrators, due to their convenient indifference towards the misery around them. According to Dean, the German people acclimated themselves to the escalating violence against these undesirables, and therefore became “actively” indifferent to the suffering around them. The institutionalization of these dehumanizing and desensitizing aspects of the growing Reich allowed the citizenry *carte blanche* to enact their violent desires, ignore their surroundings for the sake of self-preservation, or profit from the exploitations.²⁶ Ironically, the homosexuals within the Party inadvertently helped foster the active indifference eventually exerted on them.

[T]he attitudes of the Allies towards homosexuality made them unsympathetic to survivors, which appears evident when they re-incarcerated survivors...

Frank Rector’s *The Nazi Extermination of Homosexuals* examines the effects gay men created in sealing their own fate at the hands of the Nazis, and how the ideology associated with the Party initially appealed to them. This tragic miscalculation resulted in a number of homosexual deaths during the Nazi regime, the actual number remains almost unquantifiable. Rector speculates the number stands between ten thousand and one million: two very large extremes that cannot form an accurate estimation. However, the numbers draw attention to an undeniable fact: homosexuals suffered the highest number of deaths per capita of any group during the Holocaust.²⁷ This victimization, unlike the other targeted groups, continued after the war concluded. Ken Setterington notes in his study, the attitudes of the Allies towards homosexuality made them unsympathetic to survivors, which appears evident when they re-incarcerated survivors following the war for violating

Paragraph 175. This treatment effectively closed off an entire avenue of historical inquiry and subsequently helped lead to the skewed impressions still prevalent about the victims of the

Nazi regime. Because the law remained in effect after WWII in West Germany until 1969, anyone who publically expressed their feelings or disclosed their experiences in the camps remained subject to incarceration. The punishment for these “175ers” in a nation struggling to reassert itself in a post war world was extreme.

As with the Nazi’s before them, the treatment of homosexuals easily slipped into sadism. The government stripped them of their voting rights, ability to work for the civil service, and their professional degrees. They could not receive war reparations from the German Government, and those who lost their jobs did not receive compensation.²⁸ As a result, they suffered invisibly and in silence, to survive they guarded their experiences from the rest of the world out of necessity. It took decades before any gay man

24. Carolyn J. Dean, *The Fragility of Empathy: After the Holocaust* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), 1-13.

25. Ibid., 47-75.

26. Ibid., 79-95.

27. Rector, *The Nazi Extermination*, 113.

28. Setterington, *Branded*, 91-93.



A concentration camp mug shot of a man convicted of homosexuality—adorned with the pink-inverted triangle. Photograph. c. 1940 (Oświęcim, Poland: State Museum of Auschwitz-Birkenau).

came forward with his story, and even longer for historians to pay attention to their omitted role in the Holocaust.

Rector suggests historians showed little interest in studying homosexuals during the Holocaust because the focus popularly rested on the Jewish perspective.²⁹ The editors of *The Oxford Handbook of Holocaust Studies*, Peter Hayes and John K. Roth wrote in their introduction, “In none of these cases, [Roma, homosexual, Slavs, etc.] however, was the target group considered dangerous or coherent enough to warrant complete or immediate extirpation.”³⁰ According to them, the Nazis immediately targeted the Jewish populations of Europe for extermination while the other groups served as secondary foci. This contradicts the actions taken by the Nazis, especially in light of the dates between the “Night of the Long Knives” and *Kristallnacht* (June 30th to July 2nd, 1934 versus November 9th and 10th, 1938). A German official could identify a Jewish person by observing people who spoke Hebrew, noting religious types of dress, and attendance of synagogues, versus a homosexual who could hide in plain sight. Subsequently, the Nazis targeted the group who provided the greatest threat to their existence. How-

ever, identifying a homosexual seems next to impossible without the aid of stereotypes; Röhm, with all his masculine traits, did not appear as a stereotypical homosexual. As John Connelly argues, “An important lesson about Nazi persecution of Gypsies, homosexuals, and Slavs is that, in each case, it was undertaken not as an end in itself but as a means to achieve other goals,” whereas exterminating Jews stood as an ideological end in itself.³¹

Josef Kohout’s book *The Men with the Pink Triangle*, authored under the pseudonym Heinz Heger, and Martin Sherman’s play *Bent* changed people’s perspectives of the Holocaust in the 1970s. Kai Hammermeister’s article, “Inventing History: Toward a Gay Holocaust Literature,” asks why homosexual literature on the Holocaust remains nearly nonexistent and focuses on *Bent* as the impetus for that change. He argues Heger’s narrative and the 1969 Stonewall Riots in New York City triggered the need for the worldwide gay liberation movement, which in turn led to discussions about their involvement in the Holocaust. Hammermeister argues *Bent* perfectly exemplifies gay Holocaust literature because it emphasizes pride over the suffering of inmates’ survival, victory in defeat, and dignity.³² Lisa Lawrence analyzes *Bent*,

29. Rector, *The Nazi Extermination*, 123.

30. Peter Hayes and John K. Roth, “Introduction,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Holocaust Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 10.

31. John Connelly, “Gypsies, Homosexuals, and Slavs,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Holocaust Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 288.

32. Kai Hammermeister, “Inventing History: Toward

in her thesis “‘Pink’s the Lowest,’” but believes theater serves as the best medium to depict the homosexual Holocaust instead of one-dimensional prose. She refutes historians and laypeople, like theater critic Robert Skloot, who believe the representations in *Bent* do not faithfully respect the historical truth of the Holocaust and rejects the implication that gays received a worse fate.³³ Lawrence notes, “Sherman’s goal is not a competition of whose victimization was more severe, but rather to show that others were victimized and should be included in the historical literary genre,” and his play inspired many survivors to summon the courage to tell their stories, which opened a dialog on the treatment of homosexuals during the Holocaust. Indeed, many of the actors and audience members, after seeing the play for the first time, initially insisted Sherman manufactured the history.³⁴ While society and history finally acknowledges the Holocaust’s gay victims, as most endured decades of self-forced silence, this recognition affected them little in their waning years, but current generations can now attempt to understand gay culture and history in a more inclusive narrative.

In 2001, Germany officially recognized gays and lesbians as victims of the Third Reich, which signifies the dawn of a new, and hopefully, more accepting world. Hammermeister says it best, “We only care about the history of those who matter to us.” People need to look past what separates them from others in order to appreciate the history that binds all of humanity.³⁵ Not all of the stigmas of Nazism completely evaporated, some people still cling to the archaic notion that the “gay agenda” threatens morality, population growth, and the future. In 2014, Ken Setterington published *Branded by the Pink Triangle*, a book for juveniles, that addresses homosexuality in the Holocaust. His book resonates with the changes taking place around the globe and reflects the paradigm shift in academia that demands more inclusivity in Holocaust studies. With more acceptability comes a thirst

for history that cannot stay buried in the memory of survivors alone, it must become culturally memetic.³⁶

a Gay Holocaust Literature,” *The German Quarterly* 70, no. 1 (1997): 20-23.

33. Lawrence, “Pink’s the Lowest,” 1-3.

34. Ibid., 51-63.

35. Hammermeister, “Inventing History,” 23.

36. Memetics is a theory of mental content based on an analogy with Darwinian evolution, originating from the popularization of Richard Dawkins’ 1976 book *The Selfish Gene*. A unit of cultural information, such as a cultural practice or idea, that is transmitted verbally or by repeated action from one mind to another.

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The Schizophrenic Monarch:

Deconstructing the Many Personas of Russia's Nicolas II

Madison Pavia-Logan



This state portrait depicts Tsar Nicholas II of Russia in the White Hall of the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg. Though commonly known as a good man among his family and friends, his political ineptitude played a role in the communist revolutionaries seizing of Russia, and his eventual execution. Ernst Karlovich Lipgart, *Portrait of Nicholas II*, oil on canvas, c. 1900 (St. Petersburg, RU: Tsarskoe Selo Museum).

Madison Pavia-Logan evaluates the rule of Tsar Nicholas II of Russia from his early reign to his execution in 1918. Specifically, she analyzes the major historiographical themes regarding the memory of the late Tsar. Pavia-Logan primarily examines two ideas: the claim that a lackluster Nicholas II did not possess the skill to handle Russia, and the belief the Tsar's deep devotion to the state, religion, his family made him a uniquely qualified leader. This analysis asks if an accurate portayal of the Tsar exists, and whether historians over time have relied too heavily on one historiograph base.

In the early hours of July 17, 1918, Tsar Nicholas II, acting on the orders of his Bolshevik captors, led his family into the cellar of a house that served as their prison. The former autocratic Emperor of Russia took one of the few chairs in the nearly vacant room and placed his young son beside him.¹ Exhausted and frail from another episode caused by his hemophilia, the tsarevich draped himself across his father's lap, meanwhile the Empress Alexandra Feodorovna sat in the last chair. As the Empress' daughters gathered around her, a few loyal servants who attended the royal family in their captivity also filed in. Commandant Yurovsky, the captain of the Bolshevik responsible for the family's protection, soon entered the cramped space with a small group of armed men. With little fanfare, Yurovsky read a list of crimes the Romanov's committed against Russia and its people, and called for their immediate execution.² The startled cries that erupted from the captives disappeared into the jarring noise of gunshots echoing throughout the house. Within minutes, the entire family lay motionless and the guards sent confirmation of their success to their commanders. In the space of a few moments, Tsar Nikolay Alexandrovich Romanov's death ended three centuries of Romanov rule.³ For twenty-three years, Nicholas ruled over a turbulent Russia and embodied the nation during its imperial age; however, despite the length of his rule, most of his subjects did not mourn the loss of their Tsar.⁴

Indications of Nicholas' inability to rule his nation effectively and the public discontent this generated among the citizens of his country appeared ten years into his reign.⁵ In 1905, "Bloody Sunday"

1. Since his abdication in March 1917, Nicholas II and his family remained under house arrest in various palaces. After time spent apart, they finally reunited in June at the Ipatiev House in Ekaterinburg. Less than a month later, with the White Army gaining ground, the Bolshevik's ordered their execution. Helen Rappaport, *The Last Days of the Romanovs: Tragedy at Ekaterinburg* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2008), 185-86.

2. Ibid., 188-91.

3. Richard Charques, *The Twilight of Imperial Russia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1958), 250.

4. John Curtis Perry and Constantine Pleshakov, *The Flight of the Romanovs: A Family Saga* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 201.

5. Robert Service, *A History of Modern Russia: From*

marked the first major tsarist protest in a long list of future civil unrest. In an unnecessary show of force, the Tsar's army murdered striking workers and their families who agitated for civil rights.⁶ This massacre sparked a rebellion within the peasant class, turning some into violent revolutionaries who wished to destroy those they blamed for their misfortune.⁷ Nicholas' wife, the Empress Alexandra, adamantly insisted her husband should rule the nation with a strong hand, keep hold of his autocratic authority, and not allow an assembly to rule in his stead. Her seeming control over her husband did not help the already delicate situation and increasingly made the monarchy more unpopular.⁸

With Nicholas II ingrained in world history as the man who led the Russian Empire to its downfall, questions now lie in the myths that surround the tragically doomed monarch. At times, it appears as if Nicholas no longer resembled a real person, but instead symbolized failure. In modern times, he serves as an icon of hope, safety, and remembrance for many Russians. However, rather than pinpointing a true historical character, his value and influence shifts either slightly or drastically to a version which suits each new generation that tries to understand the last Tsar.

By sifting through the work of historians and delving into an array of critical primary sources, the question no longer focuses on uncovering the "real" Nicholas. Rather, it attempts to identify the different versions of him as a form of historical truth. Primary sources such as photographs and personal accounts

Tsarism to the Twenty-First Century (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 24-25.

6. "Bloody Sunday" occurred on January 1, 1905 in St. Petersburg. Led by Orthodox priest George Gapon, a leader in the local trade unions, nearly 150,000 Russian citizens gathered outside the Winter Palace to present the Tsar with a petition for greater civil liberties peacefully. Though they meant their ruler no harm, the Tsar's army attacked the unarmed crowd. Estimates of how many died range from 200 to 1,000, with women and children as the majority of the fatalities. Richard Cavendish, "Bloody Sunday" in St. Petersburg," *History Today* 55, no.1 (January 2005): 54-55.

7. Vladimir M. Khrusatlëv and Mark D. Steinberg, *The Fall of the Romanovs: Political Dreams and Personal Struggles in a Time of Revolution* (London: Yale University Press, 1995), 40.

8. Charques, *Twilight of Imperial Russia*, 52.



This painting depicts the attack on Russian civilians by the Tsar's army on the grounds of the Winter Palace during a peaceful protest. Ivan Vladimirov, painter, *Shooting workers near the Winter*, Oil on canvass, 1905. In Hugh Watson *The Decline of Imperial Russia, 1855-1914* (New York: F.A. Praeger, 1952).

confirm divergent theories regarding the Tsar, yet additionally expand the enigma of Nicholas.

To appreciate the numerous reconstructions of Nicholas II since his death in 1918, an understanding of the questions that still surround his memory and legacy remain crucial. Various narratives regarding Nicholas' life differ drastically from one to the next. Due to these diverging narratives, a single characterization of Nicholas does not exist, since new interpretations continue to emerge. Acknowledging the various portrayals of the Tsar over time forms the imperative, and consequently, a deeper understanding arises from comprehending how the numerous versions of Nicholas cohesively blend. This convergence of narratives sheds light on why Nicholas may never completely solidify into one historical account, but rather as a multitude of ideas that explain the life of Russia's last Tsar.

Historiography

In 1927, nearly ten years after the deaths of the Romanovs, the men who participated in the murders approached Joseph Stalin hoping to gain permission to publish their memoirs.⁹ Stalin responded abruptly,

9. Joseph Stalin reigned as the General Secretary of the Communist party of the Soviet Union from April 1922 until his

"not another word about the Romanovs!"¹⁰ Although the premier of the Soviet Union wished to wipe Imperial Russia, and more so the ruling family out of Russian memory, he failed. Before the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, records on the Romanov family remained sealed and hidden away from the public eye. Interestingly, when the communist state collapsed, much of Russia engaged in a "Romanov revival."¹¹ The problem the Politburo faced concerned

younger generations curious about their country's past and in particular the "part of this vogue for the clichés of Russia's pre-revolutionary history [that] was a growing interest in the Romanovs."¹²

However, renewed interest in the Romanovs began far before the collapse of the regime. Annual pilgrimages to the place Nicholas and his family died—the Ipatiev House in Ekaterinburg—became commonplace. Russians and foreigners gathered on Nicholas' birthday and the day of his murder to leave flowers and pray to the Romanovs for good health and fortune.¹³ The fascination with the family led Boris Yeltsin to order the destruction of the home in 1977. Ironically, he represented the Russian people

death in October of 1952. He assumed power following Vladimir Lenin's death, and ruled over the Soviet Union with an iron fist. Not only did he eliminate many of his political enemies, his secret police the NKVD caused the disappearance and deaths of many who Stalin thought threatened him. Paul Dukes, "Josheph Stalin," *History Today* 30, no. 9 (Sep., 1980): 14.

10. Wendy Slater, *The Many Deaths of Tsar Nicholas II: Relics, Remains and the Romanovs* (London: Routledge, 2007), 44.

11. Greg King and Penny Wilson, *Fate of the Romanovs* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2003), 522.

12. Lenin created the Politburo in 1917 to act as the central governing body of the Soviet Union. It effectively dissolved with the collapse of the USSR in 1991, Slater *Many Deaths of Tsar Nicholas II*, 54.

13. King, *Fate of the Romanovs*, 521.

as their President at the burial of Nicholas. While he acknowledged the imperial family sometimes ruled mercilessly, he condemned those who approved and covered up the execution.¹⁴ In his speech, he attempted to bring the people of Russia together in order to atone for the sins of the past:

Dear fellow citizens: It's a historic day for Russia. Eighty years have passed since the slaying of the last Russian emperor and his family. We have long been silent about this monstrous crime. We must say the truth: The Yekaterinburg massacre has become one of the most shameful episodes in our history. By burying the remains of innocent victims, we want to atone for the sins of our ancestors. Those who committed this crime are as guilty as are those who approved of it for de-

In the process of rectifying their tragic past, Russia and its people gave new ground to historians who tried to rewrite the narrative of Nicholas II. Resurgence in interest led to new narrators and audiences not only in Russia, but also around the world.¹⁶ Russian historian Andrei Tereshchuk describes the continual fascination with Nicholas II, stating, "There are few periods in contemporary Russian history that spark as much discussion and as many often mutually exclusive assessments as the reign of Russia's last emperor."¹⁷ However, the conundrum that Nicholas represents remains the topic of his identity. Tereshchuk argues, "an even remotely integrated picture of that reign has yet to be created."¹⁸ This created a split in the historiography surrounding Nicholas' life, a schism noted by other historians.

In the years since the murders, two major factions arose and either attempted to condemn or redeem Nicholas. This caused a fundamental divide in the narrative of his life in pre/post-Soviet history. The most common imagined narratives follow two distinct paths, conceptualizing Nicholas as either the "Dev-

il" or the "Redeemer" of Imperial Russian history. Additionally, the image of Nicholas as a loving husband and father, conflicts with a universal history of him as a weak and incompetent ruler. Author Wendy Slater's, *The Many Deaths of Tsar Nicholas II*, contends that narratives of Nicholas in the years following his death split drastically due to the controversy surrounding his life, yet a complete study requires all accounts. Slater identifies multiple views of Nicholas' life that include a gothic horror story, the Holy Tsarist Martyr, and a family man forced to play the role of a ruler.¹⁹ Her book demonstrates even one person remains capable of representing multiple dimensions.

Tereshchuk comments about the competing narratives, stating, "The sheer quantity of them, and the fact that they come from people with absolutely contrary views, give us good reason to look far more intently at the personality of Nicholas II."²⁰ All these roles encompass the vast historical debate that Nicholas' life sparked. To complicate this already distor-

ted memory further, some authors take creative license in interpreting elements in his life and reign in what historians call *skazki*, or folk tales. They serve as a social commentary on the popular interpretation of the Tzar's life. In one folktale, centuries of misdeeds haunt the memory of the last Tzar:

When he reaches the fates of Heaven, an angel rudely informs him that no "tsar-tyrants" are needed there—he should proceed directly to Hell. As he enters the doors of Hell, a crowd of phantoms confronts him, accusing him of committing crimes and of inflicting unbearable suffering on them in life while Beezlebub commands that he be thrown into a cauldron of boiling tar. In response, Nicholas protests that he was just carrying on the Romanov tradition, and asks why he alone should be found guilty when his ancestors also committed terrible crimes against the people. Then he glimpses an enormous cauldron, where his ancestors sit, boiling in the thick tar. And he gets the feeling that he too will fly into the pot.²¹

14. Michael Wines, "Last Czar Buried: Tale of 2 Russias," *New York Times*, July 18, 1998.

15. "Address by Yeltsin: 'We Are All Guilty,'" *New York Times*, July 18, 1998.

16. Slater, *Many Deaths of Tsar Nicholas II*, 55.

17. Andrei V. Tereshchuk, "The Last Autocrat," *Russian Studies in History* 50, no. 4 (Spring 2012): 3-6.

18. Ibid.

19. Slater, *Many Deaths of Tsar Nicholas II*, 58.

20. Tereshchuk, "Last Autocrat," 3.

21. With over thirty thousand copies printed, *Nikolai v adu* (*Skazka dlia vzroslykh*) ridiculed Nicholas and described the eternal ramifications in store for the "Tsar devil." Not only did the cover feature a woodcut of Nicholas hanging upside-down over a cauldron, it printed in red ink to give the illusion of blood. Elizabeth Jones Hemenway, "Nicholas in Hell: Rewriting the

As Elizabeth Jones Hemenway describes in her article, “Nicholas in Hell,” the *skazki* acted as “revolutionary folktales...Which told a story of revolutionary conditions or events and appeared in significant numbers during these early months of the revolution.”²² The more vile tales sought to undermine the legitimacy of the Russian rulers by emphasizing a plot that focused on Romanov cruelty, incompetence, and immorality.²³ Though other *skazki* focused on Nicholas’ ineptitude as the ruler of Russia, the most popular story entailed him receiving punishment for all the wrong he did to Russia. The particular narrative of Nicholas as the “Tsar devil” emerged in early 1917, shortly after his abdication. About forty *skazki* anecdotes dealt specifically with Nicholas and Alexandra together, focusing unflattering attention on their “dullwittedness.”²⁴

Those who published the pamphlets intended to influence common Russians through simplified and inflammatory writing that made the brochures easier to read, encouraged the oral retelling, and presented a harsh critique of Nicholas. Specially written for the revolutionary culture of 1917, the pamphleteers tried to eradicate all positive influence of Romanov rule and replaced it with malicious propaganda meant to evoke vengeful emotion from the masses. Stories such as the “Devil” narrative remained popular in Russia during the Soviet years, and reminded those who believed they suffered under his reign of his cruelty and ineptitude.

The Russian Orthodox Church also diverges on its remembrance of Nicholas. Outside the country, the Orthodox Church views the Romanovs as martyrs,



Political radical's distributed *Skazki*—traditional Russian fairy tales—throughout major cities. However, as revolution swept the country, they evolved into political pamphlets. Some of the most pervasive ones set their sights on the Tsar and toppling his regime. Boris Kustodiev, cartoonist, *Caricatures of Death Personified*, illustration, *Vampire Magazine* (Russia, 1905), cover image.

but for those in the church in Russia, they view Nicholas and his family as *Passion Bearers* because of their pious lives and how they met death with Christian humility. Many believe Nicholas had a great faith and acknowledged religion strongly influenced his character. Depending on the source, readers perceived this as either strong or weak characteristic. Sergei Pirsov notes, “Russia’s last autocrat was a profoundly devout Orthodox Christian who viewed all of his political activity as religious service...”²⁵ The religious aspect of Nicholas’ life led many to develop a deeper and more forgiving understanding of him. Many in Russia, and certainly the royal family itself, believed God appointed the Tsar to rule. This accounted for the times when Nicholas declared his fate remained in Divine hands:

Tsarist Narrative in the Revolutionary *Skazki* of 1917,” *Russian Review* 60, no. 2 (April 2001): 185.

22. Ibid. In Russian, the term *skazki* roughly translates as “story”; however, the term applies to any genre such as fairy-tales or even political pamphlets.

23. Ibid., 189.

24. Ibid.

25. Sergei L. Firsov, “Emperor Nicholas II as an Orthodox Tsar,” *Russian Studies in History* 50, no. 4 (Spring 2012): 79-90.

I have a firm, an absolute conviction that the fate of Russia—that my own fate and that of my family—is in the hands of God who has placed me where I am. Whatever may happen to me, I shall bow to His will with the consciousness of never having had any thought other than that of serving the country which He has entrusted to me.²⁶

His religious nature served as the catalyst for his perception as a *Passion Bearer* by the Russian Orthodox Church, thus creating a religious narrative around him. Russians who prayed to Nicholas or his family asked for miracles, carried portraits of the royal family to the murder site—one of the more popular included the Tsar weeping.

One of the most controversial topics regarding the personality of Nicholas pertains to his role as a family man. Scholars insist that if he lived a common life, he would have resembled the ideal husband and father because of his devotion to his children and wife. Unfortunately, as Tsar he allowed his beloved wife to influence his decisions, which undoubtedly helped lead to the family's downfall. Slater describes one of the post-Soviet Russian perspectives on the Romanovs as the ideal family life corrupted by politics. She contends, "It is a story of cosy domestic bliss, tragically violated by the intrusion of politics. This version of Nicholas' death romanticizes the Romanovs."²⁷

Thrown into the political arena after the death of his father in 1894, Nicholas put his family before everything. This directly impacted his only son Alexei, the sole heir to the Russian throne. Afflicted with hemophilia, a blood clotting disorder traced back to his great-grandmother, Queen Victoria, Alexei remained in delicate health throughout his brief life. Due to the tsaravich's condition, Nicholas and Alexandra allowed a monk named Rasputin to influence them, because he claimed he could heal the sick child. When the Tsar permitted the mystic into his palace, and more disastrously the Imperial Court, many saw the misplaced priorities of their ruler. In a speech given by Russian historian B.V. Anan'ich regarding the way Russia presently remembers Nicholas, he argues

his role as a "good family" man does not mean a thing when the whole of Russia suffered for it:

On Nicholas II we have: "There emerges a clear picture of an excellent family man who loved his wife and five children very much"; "Nicholas II was an ideal family man"; "that the peacemaker Tsar bequeathed to his son." Such touching words! But this raises one fundamental question: are such purely pedestrian details essential, are they important to the description of a public figure? If the answer is "yes," then perhaps there are times when we should be writing about comparable qualities in other public figures.²⁸

Anan'ich's view differs from other scholars, such as Robert Massie who explored his role as a family man in his popular book, *Nicholas and Alexandra*—one of the most romanticized accounts of Nicholas' life. While Massie sympathizes with Nicholas' personal issues, he admits the Tsar did not make a passable sovereign. He notes most historians accept the fact that Nicholas lived as a "good man," but for many this information remains irrelevant.²⁹ However, Massie claims understanding Nicholas' good nature creates an additional narrative to establish and understand him.³⁰ Rather than the cause of all Russian woes, Nicholas human qualities transcended time, and the courage and dignity he carried "redeemed everything else."³¹ Massie's interpretation of a familial Tsar resonates in a positive way. It allows one of the strongest aspects of Nicholas' persona to come through.

Nearly all historians agree upon one aspect of Nicholas' personality—his weakness as a leader. Reportedly, he lamented upon his father's death, "What am I going to do? What is going to happen to me...to all of Russia? I am not prepared to be a Tsar. I never wanted to become one."³² The Romanov's ruled autocratically over Russia for three hundred years, and as Tsar, Nicholas wielded considerable power. Despite significant political changes across Europe during the late-nineteenth century, Nicholas would not abandon

28. B. V. Anan'ich, "Unique Features of Late Nineteenth-and Early Twentieth-century Russian Modernization," *Russian Studies in History* 43, no. 3 (Winter 2004): 81-85.

29. Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra*, ix.

30. *Ibid.*

31. Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra*, x.

32. Tatiana Browning and Kyril Fitzlyon, *Before the Revolution: A View of Russia Under the Last Tsar* (Woodstock, NY: Overlook Press, 1978), 15.

26. Robert Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra* (New York: Atheneum, 1967), v.

27. Slater, *Many Deaths of Tsar Nicholas II*, 46.

the autocratic core principles he believed connected the family to God. His unwillingness to change became one of his major flaws.

Theofanis Stavrou states in *Russia Under the Last Tsar*, Nicholas' desperately autocratic reign undoubtedly condemned it to failure.³³ In this book, Stavrou quotes Russian historian, George Kennan, who suggested Nicholas might have kept the throne if he turned Russia into a constitutional monarchy, stating, “[he] had many of the qualities that would have fitted him excellently for the position of a constitutional monarch...”³⁴ Historian Richard Charques, forms a differing view when describing Nicholas in his book *The Twilight of Imperial Russia*:

As a human being Nicholas II is not specially interesting. A negative character, commonplace in mind, weak of will and fatalistic in temperament, he was thrust into the blinding light of great events and is saved from complete insignificance only by the macabre pathos of his end. But as tsar and autocrats he remains a key figure in the events of his reign.³⁵

Throughout his work, Charques criticizes Nicholas performance as a monarch. He notes the conservative historian Kliuchevsky predicted, “The Romanov dynasty will end with Nicholas II. If he has a son, the son will not reign.”³⁶ Charques unbending criticism of the last Tsar reflects the disappointment of Russians who once cheered his ascension to the throne. Many felt Nicholas could grow into the ruler Russia needed to bring it to the twenty-first century, but his upbringing by his parents and his “feeble” attitude dashed all hopes of a new Russia.

Nicholas the Family Man

The documents that primarily reveal Nicholas II as a husband and father come from personal letters and diary entries he penned throughout the course of his life. These fragments provide a revealing look into his perspective of the world around him and his place in history. In some instances, he revels in his senti-

mentality and devotion to his wife, a woman soundly despised by her adopted compatriots:

I thank you tenderly for your dear letters; now that I no longer see any troops they are my sole consolation. Many thanks also for the little ikon—I have fastened it to my chain. Now I shall at least wear *something* from you! Here are three flowers which I found on my walk yesterday... I must finish now. May God bless you and the children! I kiss you and them tenderly. Eternally, my dear Wifey, your old hubby, Nicky.³⁷

Although some entries merely chronicle the daily business of life they reflect Nicholas as a loving husband and father, such as, “We bathed our daughter at Alix’s downstairs. After dinner we played the piano...” In other entries he worries about his wife Alexandra, who, as she aged grew very weak, and occasionally unable to walk. One entry states, “Every day we read ‘court circular’ in ‘Daily Graphic’ and learn what you do there... We live quietly and well here. Thanks God, Alix is much better this week, so I feel more relieved now...”³⁸ Although the Tsar lacked the skill to rule over a country as vast and problematic as Russia, he remained loyal to his family.

Aside from Nicholas’ own writings, the family albums that became public after the fall of the Soviet Regime, present a multitude of personal moments the Romanovs experienced before the revolution. These portfolios provide a glimpse into the Tsar’s private life. One such image shows Nicholas with his youngest daughter Anastasia. In the image, they stand over Alexei who they just buried under the sand leaving only his head above ground.³⁹

The image presents the royal family as achingly human and united, and appears characteristic of the many images of Anastasia and her father, which depict them playing games around the palace.⁴⁰ The most boisterous of the girls, Anastasia held a special place in her father’s heart. In a similar photo, Nicholas wades in the Gulf of Finland with daughters Olga

33. Theofanis George Stavrou, *Russia Under the Last Tsar* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1969), 5.

34. Ibid., 7.

35. Charques, *The Twilight of Imperial Russia*, 48.

36. Ibid., 54.

37. C.T. Hagberg Wright, L.L.D., introduction to *The Letters of the Tsar to the Tsaritsa 1914-1917*, trans. by A.L.

Hynes (Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic International, 1970), 165.

38. Diaries of Nicholas II - Alexander Palace Time Machine,” (Feb. 12, 1897).

39. *Nicholas and Alexandra: The Family Albums*, trans. Catherine O’Keeffe (London: Tauris Parke, 1992), 165.

40. Ibid.



July 1910, on board the *Standart*. This photo reflects one of the few in which Alexandra smiles. *Nicholas and Alexandra on the Standart*, photograph. In *Nicholas and Alexandra: The Family Albums*, trans. Catherine O'Keeffe (London: Tauris Parke Books, 1992) 41.

and Tatiana, while carrying Alexei, and he appears as any doting father with his trousers and shirt rolled up to avoid the water.⁴¹

With all the attention Alexei received for his hemophilia, the fear of a medical disaster seems forgotten in these photos. Rather, the family unselfconsciously enjoys time together, and even disregards previous conventions that governed the proper behavior—or attire—expected of the monarch. This theme runs throughout various photographs, including one that shows Nicholas proudly holding his son above his head, while a rifle rests at his side.⁴² Photos such as these remain crucial to understanding the way Nicholas behaved as a father. Candid photography captured the family's more intimate moments, something many traditional aristocratic families would not allow. Rather than pose properly, which they would

still do for official photos, the closeness of the household shines through in these candid moments.

One of the most infamous photos taken on board the *Standart* in July of 1910, shows the Tsar and Tsarina together looking contentedly at the camera, their posture reflects that of a husband and wife, rather than the rulers of the Russian Empire. This photo caught the two in a moment of privacy, with Alexandra casually draping her hand across her husband's shoulder while she bashfully smiles for the camera.⁴³ Constantly cast in a negative light as the woman who controlled the Tsar, she appears as a woman enjoying time with her husband—the expression on his face matching hers entirely.⁴⁴ Like the photos with Nicholas and his children, this particular one with his wife illuminates one of the few romantic couples in the world of European monarchy.

The photographs of the Imperial family allow an intimate look into the life of the Romanovs. Although historians argue that his role as a father and husband does not matter in the grand scheme of his memory, it should remain part of the historical record, as it represents a portion of his character. This element, serves as one of the stronger narratives regarding Nicholas' life—adding depth to a man whom even in death, continues to reveal the many facets of his personality.

An Inadequate Ruler

When Nicholas first assumed the Russian throne in 1894, the world debated how he would rule the country. In the 1895 *New York Times* article, “The Young Czar,” the author noted a trend had developed with the Tsars, when one served as a reformer, the next would try to retain the autocratic traditions of the past.⁴⁵ This pattern continued with both Alexander II and Alexander III, with the latter reinforcing his hold over the country after the assassination of his father. With Alexander's passing, the world hoped for a new Tsar who would bring Russia into the modern era believing, “The pendulum should now swing in the oth-

43. Ibid., 98.

44. Ibid., 41.

45. “The Young Czar,” *New York Times*, January 14, 1895.

41. *Nicholas and Alexandra*, trans. by Catherine O'Keeffe, 56.

42. Ibid., 91.

er direction.”⁴⁶ This particular article painted Nicholas in a favorable light, noting his education and suggesting that unlike his father he understood the requirements of the position he now held. The article also notes Alexander “...never told anything to women”; however, the trust Nicholas enjoyed with his wife benefited the new Tsar.⁴⁷

Unfortunately, the hope that Nicholas II would become a strong ruler never came to fruition, and he soon found himself as a source of mockery and discontent in the public and political world. In the years immediately prior to his assassination, books critical of the Tsar appeared in an attempt to either force change on Nicholas’ part or add to the growing chorus of naysayers. Carl Joubert’s, *The Truth about the Tsar*, written in 1905 reflects just such a book. In a series that sought to unmask the repression the Tsarist system inflicted upon the Russian people, Joubert describes Tsardom as an, “... unprogressive exercise since the Middle Ages.”⁴⁸ He states the government repressed public opinion; and instead considered “Public Opinion Nicholas.”⁴⁹ This harsh and unforgiving critique led into a personal critique of Nicholas himself. Joubert states, “Nicholas Alexandrovitch, as we have seen, is wedded to his autocracy, which he regards as a divine gift.”⁵⁰ Joubert’s account of Nicholas, although negative and unscholarly in nature, reflects the broad spectrum of views of Nicholas’ during his reign. Rather than the few who fondly remembered the time of the Russian Empire, Joubert’s words provided justification for those who fought against the autocratic Tsar of the Russian Empire which revealed the predominate attitude of the common people. However, it should be noted that Joubert’s reason’s for penning his tirade against the Tsar could be as multifaceted as the Tsar himself. As a Jew in Eastern Europe, Joubert’s resentment toward the royal family likely extended far beyond the single reign of Nicholas II. While Joubert revealed little of

his personal life, he widely panned his reflections of Tsarist Russia in his book, and his words still reflect the growing discontent of the Russian people.

Despite the inaccuracies present in Joubert’s combined works, his sentiments are echoed in an article written in February 1914, “A Merciless Revelation of the Czar by an Intimate,” a Count of Vassili provides excerpts from his book describing the atmosphere of Imperial Russia only a few years prior to the revolution. This article portrays Nicholas as a blundering, inconsiderate, maniacal man who does not understand the power he wields—let alone what impact he has on the Russian Empire. The insults range from, “He is utterly incapable of grasping the consequences of his own actions, does everything through impulse, and thinks that the best argument is to knock down one’s adversaries” to “He likes to be feared, but, unfortunately, he cannot even inspire respect, much less awe.”⁵¹ Published three years before the revolution, the screed gave Americans a glimpse into the political and social turbulence in Russia and to influence their thinking regarding the Tsar as they had “probably no more distinct impression than that he is a man of limited capacity and cold nature.”⁵² As a reflection of the “yellow press” common in the United States at the turn of the century, the article clearly intends to incite readers to believe the worst. At no point does the article turn in Nicholas’ favor:

Whatever may have been the faults of the Romanoff’s, whatever mistakes they may have made, whatever cruelties they have been responsible for, no one can deny that they have been strong men. Fearlessly reckless sometimes, but always sincere in their convictions and their love for their people, never indifferent as to their fate or welfare. The present Czar is the first representative of their race in whom weakness and indecision find themselves allied; the first whose existence practically counts for nothing in the eyes of his many subjects, whom they neither respect, fear, nor hate.⁵³

Despite the growing chorus of written accounts vilifying Nicholas, the illiteracy of the Russian peas-

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Carl Joubert, *The Truth about the Tsar and the Present State of Russia* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1905), 15.

49. Ibid., 36.

50. Ibid., 133.

51. “A Merciless Revelation of the Czar by an Intimate: ‘Count Vassili’ Who Held an Important Post in the Russian Court and Was Present at Most of the Scenes He Describes Writes of Behind the Veil at the Russian Court,” *New York Times*, February 22, 1914.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.



Udo Keppler often depicted images of Nicholas and Alexandra negatively, demonstrating the control she held over husband. Udo Keppler, cartoonist, *The Jilted Fiancée*, October 19, 1898. In *Puck Magazine*, 44, no 1128 (Washington DC: Library of Congress.)

antry limited their impact, and largely seemed to play to an educated foreign audience. However, some of the pieces that visually personify his ineffectiveness as a ruler include various posters that appeared from the time of his coronation through his abdication. Circulated at a time when propaganda served as a major source of political and cultural knowledge, these pieces shifted the view of an entire country, and conversely, add to the historical memory of Nicholas. Misinformation became a tool to influence the peasant class, with vibrant images showing them far more than they could possibly read.

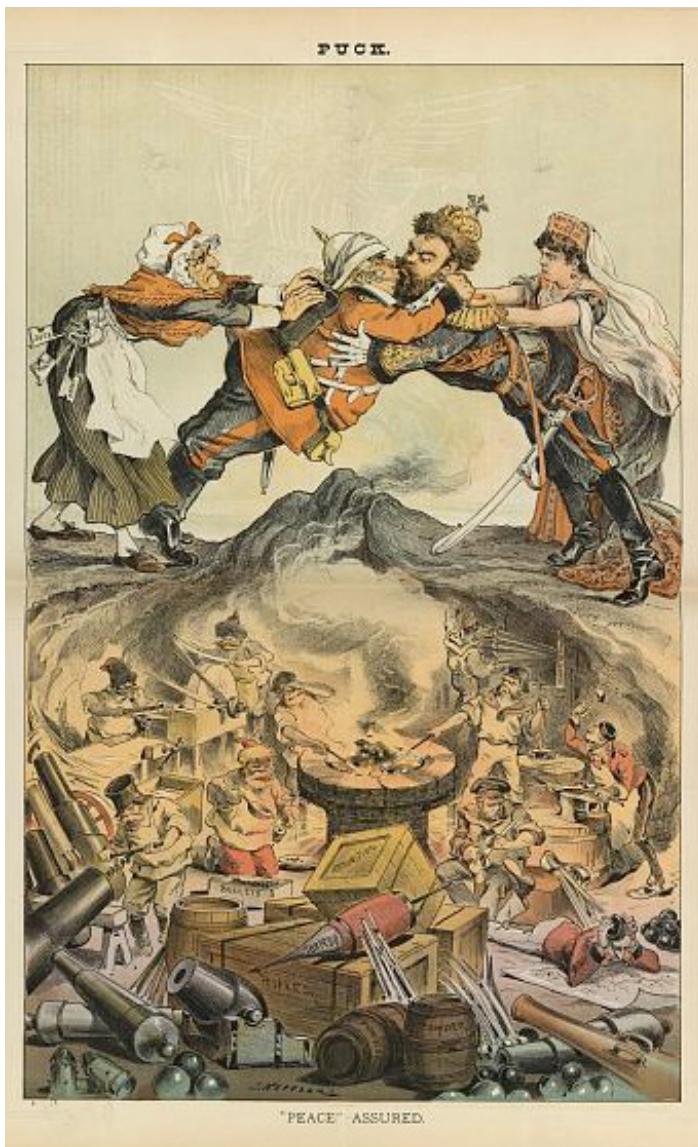
Across the Atlantic Ocean in the United States, American political cartoonists took advantage of the Tsar's sagging reputation. One of the most prominent American political cartoonists, Udo Keppler created a series of drawings for *Puck* that explicitly portrayed

Nicholas in an unfavorable light.⁵⁴ The majority of Keppler's images carried a distinct feature, a woman, who is either the personification of Russia or of Tsarina Alexandra. Though these pieces predated Count Vassili and Joubert, they visually support the claims of both authors. In Keppler's piece, "The Jilted Fiancée," Nicholas escorts his wife, who glances disdainfully over her shoulder towards a female representation of Russia, who looks longingly after them, a document discarded at her feet.⁵⁵ The document lying reads, "You are cordially invited to let bygones be bygones and attend a ... congress. The Czar."⁵⁶

54. Renown for printing colorful depictions of political issues, the American satirical political magazine *Puck* that ran from 1871 until 1918. The images spun the accounts into a comedic commentary for the masses of the country.

55. Udo Keppler, "The Jilted Fiancée," *Puck Magazine*, 44, no 1128, October 19, 1898.

56. *Ibid.*



Another piece by Keppler demonstrates the shaky peace between Russia and England after conflict in the Middle East. Once again, a woman Keppler features a woman stripping Nicholas of his free will. Joseph Keppler, cartoonist, 'Peace Assured,' May 13, 1885. In *Puck Magazine* 17, no. 427 (Washington DC: Library of Congress).

Using a women to reflect the weakness of Nicholas, this image openly mocks the control Alexandra supposedly possessed over him.⁵⁷ The empress steers him away from the good of Russia to fulfill her own desires; revealing her antipathy towards the country, all while the unknowing Tsar dotes happily on her, leaving Russia behind.⁵⁸ A similar image produced by Joseph Keppler, Udo Keppler's father, titled "Peace Assured," mocks the seemingly forced peace agree-

ment between Russia and England.⁵⁹ This image shows the Empress of Russia pushing Nicholas into a kiss with John Bull, who balances atop an open volcano, the people produce the means for war below them.⁶⁰

Once again, a woman, portrayed as Alexandra, directs Nicholas, bodily and politically, making the great Tsar of Russia appear as a puppet. This continual depiction of Nicholas, with a woman guiding his every move, resonated throughout the world.

Though the propaganda pieces on their own are intentionally exaggerated, they contributed to the argument of Nicholas as an incompetent ruler. Keppler's clearest criticism of Nicholas involves the role of Alexandra, who seemingly controlled his every move. Whether by placing a hand on his shoulder, or physically guiding him toward the "right" path, Alexandra's influence over her husband resonated on a global scale. In some ways this might reflect the growing backlash against the insistent demands women made for political inclusion as similar images appear in America in reference to suffragettes. In his book *The Twilight of Imperial Russia*, Charques commented on Nicholas' attitudes and showed clear disapproval of his loyalty to the Empress.⁶¹ He states, "Only afterwards did he yield to a more potent and still more destructive influence. The empress, always the person closest to his thoughts, began to gain complete ascendancy over him in the year of revolution 1905."⁶² The extremely negative views of Nicholas' closeness with his wife in the political arena served to erode the reputation of the Tsar in both Russia and abroad. Whether this truly reflects western concerns with the Russian Tsar, or whether Nicholas serves as a hapless example of what happens when women gain political power deserves greater reflection and study.

The continual circulation of propaganda insulting the Tsar and his regime allowed those under his rule to judge Nicholas quickly and harshly. This misinformation reflected various worldviews, but a ruler

59. Joseph Keppler, "‘Peace’ Assured," cartoon, *Puck Magazine* 17, no 427 (May 13, 1885) centerfold.

60. Ibid.

61. Charques, *The Twilight of Imperial Russia*, 52.

62. Ibid., 52.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid.

who appeared weak and easily manipulated could expect to become the brunt of criticism. This criticism also reflected classist complaints apart from political propaganda, various state portraits of the Romanov family shows the family in a positive light. One of the most iconic state portraits from his reign shows Nicholas seated amongst his family, who are all opulently dressed.⁶³ The girls and their mother appear in fine silks, offset with long strands of pearls. Not a hint of the turbulent times swirling around them appears on any of their passive faces.⁶⁴ Family portraits such as these remained common, and intended to signal the power and wealth of the Imperial. With the decline in the economic fortunes of Russia's former serfs, this reflection of privilege and excess, when so many individuals remained poor and starving, could easily engender resentment.

Similarly, official portraits of Nicholas also display the power the Tsar held over Russia. Constantly seen in his military uniform, the Tsar appears stoic, and capable.⁶⁵ This depiction intended to convey his political strength and dedication as a ruler, however, this image came under question as Russia drew closer to the revolution. The photos reflect the growing influence the press wielded in the time of Nicholas' reign. They remain yet another unreconciled element of Nicholas' life and personality. Was the last Tsar of the Romanovs a product of a rapacious press, a disenfranchised polity, or a loving father?

Nearly ten years after the death of the family, the *New York Times* interviewed Stephanie Dolgorouky, a member of an aristocratic family who fled



This photo portrays the formal state portrait of the imperial family. (From left to right) Grand Duchesses Maria, Olga, Tatiana, and Anastasia Nikolaevna flank their parents. Meanwhile, Tsarevich Alexei sits at his parent's feet. Levitsky Studio, photographer, "Russian Royal Family," photograph, 1913 (St. Petersburg, RU: Hermitage Museum). In *Boasson and Eggler St. Petersburg Nevsky*, 24.

the Bolsheviks in Russia during the early months of 1918. She states, "the unfortunate Czar never knew the truth about Russia. Always he was badly advised."⁶⁶ Regardless of Vasili and others who attempted to persecute Nicholas, some still defended the reputation of the Tsar in the years following his death. In an anonymous letter to *The Times of London*, a man who served in Nicholas' entourage in World War I wrote he did not want Nicholas to fade into memory so shortly after his death.⁶⁷ He states, "among other misrepresentations in the Press, the late Emperor is generally described as a weakling, physically and mentally... Courteous and considerate to others, he

63. Levitsky Studio, photographer, "Russian Royal Family," *Boasson and Eggler St. Petersburg Nevsky*, 24, photograph, (St. Petersburg, RU: Hermitage Museum, 1913).

64. Ibid.

65. "Nicholas II, H.I.M. Czar of Russia," Photograph (Moscow, RU: State Museum of History, 1914).

66. "Russian Princess to Lecture Here: Stephanie Dolgorouky on Her First Visit Praises City and Its People. Fled from the Bolshevik Member of Old Aristocratic Family to Tell of Czar and the Truth About Rasputin," *New York Times*, January 24, 1926, sec. Editorial General News Financial and Business News Business Opportunities.

67. "The Late Nicholas II," *The Times of London*, July 31, 1918, sec. Letters to the Editor.



State portraits often featured Nicholas as a strong figure. However, they masked the desire of a man who wanted a normal life with his family by his side. *Nicholas II, H.I.M. Czar of Russia, photograph, 1914* (Moscow, RU: State Museum of History).

was a great gentleman, who honestly endeavored to do his duty to his God and to his people, and I feel sure that history will do hers by him.”⁶⁸ The letter signifies the varying depictions of Nicholas emerged rather quickly after his murder, and would continue until the present day.

Conclusion

Since his death, nearly one hundred years ago, Tsar Nicholas II of Russia captivated the imaginations of many historians and everyday people. Ridiculed in life, yet romanticized in death, he remains embedded in history as an incredibly controversial figure that each new generation interprets differently. Not until the collapse of the Soviet regime in 1991 did the study of the Tsar evolve beyond the myths and legends that revolved around his character. This

began the attempts to define who, or what, Nicholas represented. In 1998, when DNA evidence proved the remains dug out of the woods near Ekaterinburg belonged to the slain Romanov family, people who wished to understand and reform the memory of Imperial Russia soon venerated the physical remains of the Tsar.⁶⁹ With the reburial of the family, it appears as if a chapter in Russia’s bloody past, like the last Romanovs themselves, may finally be laid to rest.⁷⁰ Unfortunately, even in death, Nicholas continues to cause a divide.

While the historical community debates Nicholas’ historical legacy, it has forced many Russians to come to terms with their pre-Soviet history, a period where many learned to loathe the man who generations assumed nearly destroyed Russia. Nicholas II no longer personifies just the ill-fated last Tsar of Russia, instead, he represents the schism between the chapters of Russia’s history. The in-depth analysis on his character and the various narratives that surround him inspired many to construct an understanding of the “true” Nicholas. Perhaps no conclusive depiction of the last Tsar exists. Although a convergence of Nicholas’ personas does occur, each narrative carries its own weight in the historical record, either overpowering others or simply acting as a component of his character.

When Nicholas met his end in the cellar of the Ipatiev House alongside his family in 1918, a new narrative of Imperial Russia’s past began to take shape.⁷¹ Shifting during the years, the actions he took throughout his life faced both intense scrutiny and sympathy. These experiences evoked emotional responses from those who wish to condemn or venerate him. Despite the two bullets that silenced him, his voice still resonates throughout the historical record, as scholars continue to uncover his true persona.

69. King, *The Fate of the Romanovs*, 525.

70. David Filipov, “Burial of Czar Divides Russia,” *Boston Globe*, July 17, 1998, sec. National/Foreign.

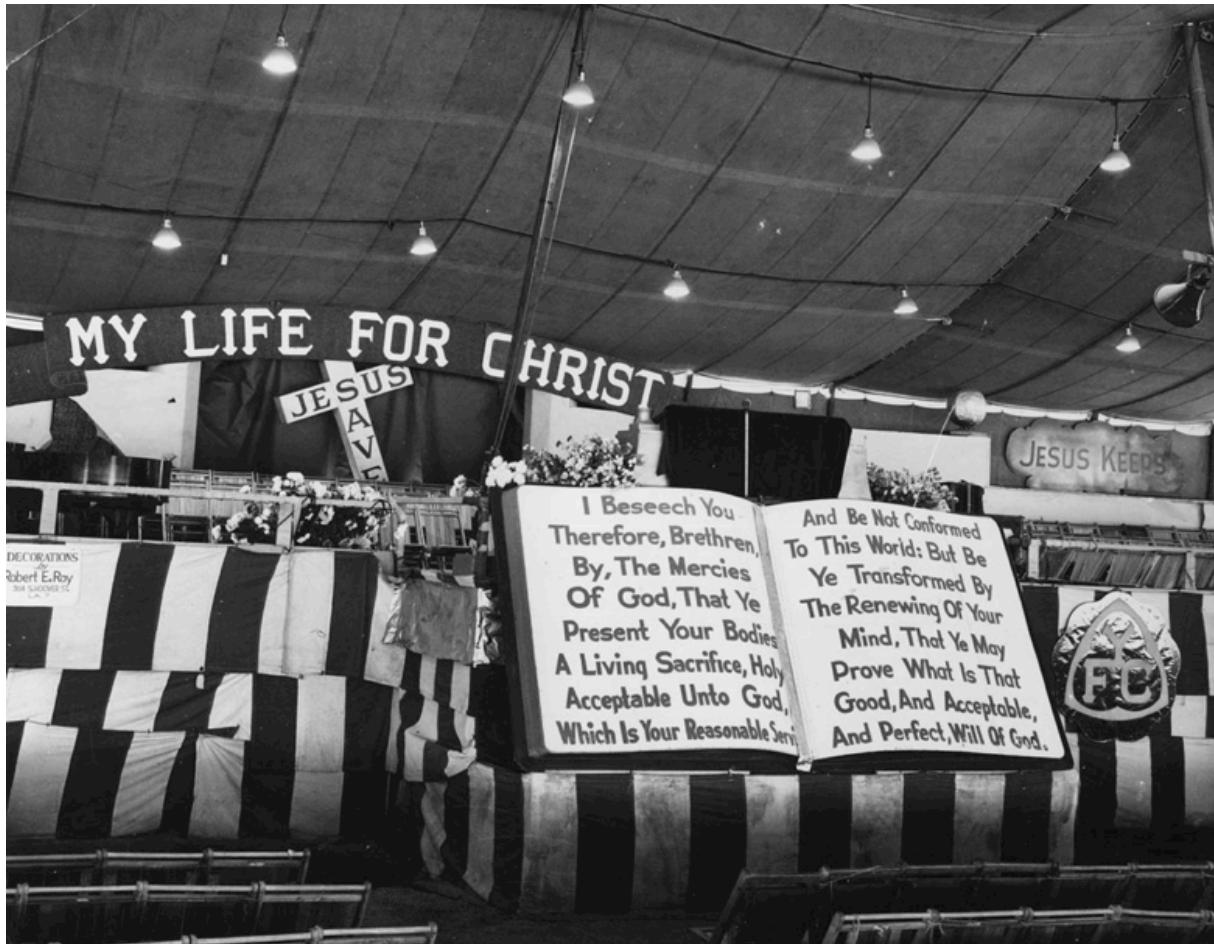
71. Rappaport, *Last Days of the Romanovs*, 189-90.

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Men of God, Men of Power: William F. Buckley Jr., Billy Graham, and the Revival of the American Conservatism

Chris Chacon



Billy Graham included many conservative messages on stage during his 1949 Los Angeles Revival. BGC Archives, *Photograph 07*, ca. 1949 (Wheaton, IL: Wheaton College).

Modern American conservatism emerged out of the minds of men like William F. Buckley Jr. and Billy Graham. **Chris Chacon** analyzes two primary sources, the Baldwin-Buckley debate, hosted by the Cambridge Union Society at Cambridge University in October 26, 1965, and Billy Graham's 1949 Campaign for Christ in Los Angeles in order to illustrate the foundation of present-day political and cultural conservatism. He contends the marketability of conservative values, mixed with subconscious fears of cultural dilution and systemic power collapse, provided these men the opportunity to reshape American society from a progressive dream to a libertarian dystopia.

Modern conservatism, a cultural phenomenon with deep roots in American history, emerged out of the minds of men like William F. Buckley Jr. and Billy Graham. Although the former's Roman Catholic background put him at odds with the latter's evangelical fervor, both men agreed on a vision of the country in which conservative institutions safeguarded power and knowledge. Buckley, a complex amalgamation of Old Guard Republicanism and Neo-Conservatism, recognized early on in his career the necessity to broadcast to a largely uninformed wide audience—a swath of society who later gained the titles “Middle America,” “Silent Majority,” and “Moral Majority.”¹ Graham, who crusaded and influenced the minds and souls of millions of Americans during his prime, gave birth to language that challenged progressivism and liberal theology, and championed social conservatism and American exceptionalism.² Interestingly, both men contributed to the silencing of American progressivism. Whether it came from the left side of the Republican Party or the Social Gospel theologians made no difference. Indeed, both Buckley and Graham contributed to the most devastating concept in modern American culture—*common sense*. In order to get to the mega churches and gun rallies of the twenty-first century, the process by which the political right and moral right became the absolute right must undergo a critical review. The marketability of conservative values, mixed with the subconscious fears of cultural dilution and systemic power collapse, provided these men the opportunity to reshape American society from a progressive dream to a libertarian dystopia.

For the first 150 years of American history, identity and imagery appeared rather simplistic and homogenized compared to the diversity represented in the media and culture wars of today. Four points summed up the criteria for social power and authority in this timeframe: white, male, Protestant, and landowning.³ The American psychosocial space in this

period catered to individuals who fit this description, largely at the expense of all others who participated in the American structural system. By no means did this limit the number of psychosocial categories within this structure. Instead, these lesser groups systematically faced underdevelopment, neglect, and, in many cases, violent repression. United States eliminationist policies against Native Americans in the nineteenth century, the physical and institutional enslavement of black men, immigration laws against Asians and other undesirables, and the forced domesticity of women of all backgrounds, stand out as just a few examples of the communities abused by the hegemonic ideal of the white landowning male.⁴

American modernity, largely born out of the cultural explosion of the 1960s, arguably transformed the psychosocial space more than anything else. During the decade, the American metanarrative shifted from the hegemonic ideal to a pluralistic potentiality. The country's image underwent a significant reinvention due to the rise of the countercultural coalition.⁵ This mosaic of smaller imagined communities joined forces in order to gain greater recognition in the American cultural system. This burst of creativity, innovation, and sociopolitical energy gave birth to modernity. As a result music, art, literary genres, film, and intellectual thought experienced a phantasmagorical period of development and productivity.⁶ However, these leaps of progress did not simply appear out of thin air, they incubated over the course of decades under nurturing organizations and socially liberal parties.

Prior to the First World War, Theodore Roosevelt and liberal Republicans offered some aid to ordinary citizens by going after big business monopo-

men's *Crusade Against the New Deal* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2009), x-xi.

4. Manning Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction and Beyond in Black America, 1945-2006*, 3rd ed. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007), 31-36.

5. David Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams: America in the 1960s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994), 50-51.

6. “James Baldwin Debates William F. Buckley,” National Educational Television (New York: NET, October 26, 1965).

1. Carl T. Bogus, *Buckley: William F. Buckley Jr. and the Rise of American Conservatism* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2011), 39-40.

2. Steven P. Miller, *Billy Graham and the Rise of the Republican South* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 201-02.

3. Kim Phillips-Fein, *Invisible Hands: The Business-*

lies and cooperating with the emerging middle class. During the Great Depression, Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) and Democrats constructed an aberration in American historical and thematic continuity, otherwise known as American socialism.⁷ Under FDR, the American socioeconomic base witnessed a considerable shift in favor of the working and middle classes at the expense of the elite. Furthermore, the superstructure repercussions of this shift affected the balance of cultural power within a generation's time. Previously in control for centuries, the hegemonic class demographic looked on with horror as their levee of power started to crack under the pressure of the American "Other."⁸ Yet, despite the weight of the underrepresented Other tearing at the walls of the American socioeconomic structure, within a matter of decades, the psychosocial system somehow managed to internalize and compensate for such pressures and emerge fully capable of handling dissenters.

Kim Phillips-Fein and Greg Grandin, in separate but related works, documented the transformation of American conservatism from a distant elite to the representative organization of the middle class in a matter of fifty years. Starting in the early twentieth century, those interested in a deregulated, free-market economy with soft imperialist control throughout the world came solely from the big business corporate culture.⁹ Their sociopolitical platform included a cheap, de-unionized workforce, little to no business taxes and tariffs, and government subsidies for expansion at home and abroad. These driving economic forces often placed them against populist and socialist movements, not necessarily due to racist, classist, and sexist ideologies, but more because these policies favored profitability and financial dominance. However, following the Great Depression, the busi-

ness elite faced exposure from a disgruntled working class coalition that upset the balance of power within the American system.¹⁰ For the first time in centuries, wealth and power carried the taint of sin and everyone recognized it. Therefore, a discursive shift within the regime of authority emerged, partially through the efforts of the wealthiest families in America and the natural mechanisms of the American conservative system.

Unable to capitalize on a discursive shift following World War II, the wealthy economic elite took on the task of reforming American institutions as a long-term strategy for socioeconomic hegemony. Instead of funneling money into hopeless elections for liberal Republicans, business interests and conservative societies built up support in the universities, hopelessly elections for liberal Republicans, business interests and conservative societies built up support in the universities, various forms of media, and publications.¹¹ The development of images in American society offered one avenue for such change. Significantly improved due to the government's social programs of the 1930s and wartime propaganda of the 1940s, the advertisement of the American image carried the potential for a lasting psychosocial space.¹² Men, like Billy Graham and William Buckley Jr., long before their conservative values and patriotic ideologies established their presence in the American sociopolitical scene, simply looked good and sounded attractive. They offered the establishment a chance to transform the image of the conservative man from one of a hard-faced New England tycoon to a young and charismatic patriot.

The second avenue looked at innovative ways to incorporate the media into the conservative message. Often billed as the fourth branch of government, it offered both sides of the political spectrum space to operate and gain national attention.¹³ From *Birth of a Nation* to Fox News, conservatism and the me-

7. Jefferson Cowie and Nick Salvatore, "The Long Exception: Rethinking the Place of the New Deal in American History," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 74 (2008): 6-7.

8. Phillips-Fein, *Invisible Hands*, 68-69.

9. Greg Grandin, *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, the United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism* (New York: Holt, 2007), 3.

10. Phillips-Fein, *Invisible Hands*, 8-9.

11. Ibid., 86.

12. Thomas Frank, *The Conquest of Cool: Business Culture, Counterculture, and the Rise of Hip Consumerism* (Chicago, IL: University Press, 1997), 10-11.

13. Paul Rutherford, *Endless Propaganda: The Advertisement of Public Goods* (Toronto, CA: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 50.

For the first time in centuries, wealth and power carried the taint of sin and everyone recognized it.



James Baldwin argued that racism entailed a largely subconscious and involuntary response. Marc Riboud, photographer, *James Baldwin at a Writer's Congress, 1962* (New York: Magnum Photos).

dia share a long history. However, conservative pioneers such as Buckley and Graham utilized it in order to gather a national audience. The latter's presence as one of the first televangelists gathered millions to his growing community of patriot Christians. Buckley's debate with James Baldwin at Cambridge University and his decades-long political show *Firing Line* complimented religious conservatism with a coolness and witticism that appealed to common sense over factual evidence and drove liberals mad.¹⁴ A critical breakdown of the Baldwin-Buckley debate offers a prime example of how his Republicanism mesmerized an American audience and gained him wide support among the subsequent generation of conservatives who took control of the country by the 1980s.

The Baldwin-Buckley debate, hosted by the Cambridge Union Society at their university on October 26, 1965, stands today as one of the most articu-

14. S.T. Joshi, *God's Defenders: What They Believe and Why They Are Wrong: William James, G.K. Chesterton, T.S. Eliot, William F. Buckley, Jerry Fallwell, Annie Dillard, and C.S. Lewis* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2003), 130.

late moments in racial, political, economic, social, and systemic dialogue. The motion proposed by the student organization entitled, "Has the American Dream Been Achieved at the Expense of the American Negro?" orientated the debate around a loaded question. For one, the narrator, president, moderator, and audience already knew what side they supported. David Heycock, the student representing Baldwin's position in the preliminary debate, recognized the power and popularity of black equality and full representation garnered with his peers. After all, in 1965, many college students longed to participate in this "cool" topic.

Additionally, as an Englishman and scholar, he appealed to the audience outside of the debating chamber as a beacon of rationality and objectivity. His counterpart, Jeremy Burford, played the role of the Buckley sympathizer quite well. His impeccably combed hair, studious glasses, and formal suit disguised his internal struggle on par with a professional actor.¹⁵ Immediately and consistently he shifted the discussion from race to an ideal, with periodic apologies to the snickering audience when making, what Buckley would later refer to as, a significant point in the discussion.

Perhaps the most interesting outcome of this preliminary debate entailed the locus and "positionality" of the audience. For one, their views appeared obvious; the audience came into the debating chamber with an opinion all but finalized. Secondly, their perspective allowed them a truly desirable vantage point. On one hand, they could simply disown racial issue as an American phenomenon. Perhaps some recognized

15. "Baldwin Debates Buckley."



James Baldwin mourns at a memorial service for four girls killed in Birmingham, Alabama. Bob Adelman, photographer, *James Baldwin Mourning*, photograph, 1963 (New York: Magnum Photos).

the disastrous effects of colonialism in Africa at the whim of the British Empire. However, with liberation movements in the continent concurrently taking place at the time, this sin did not rest over their heads for too long. On the other hand, their privileged status as Cambridge students distanced their empathy with the “poor Negro.” Baldwin recognized this almost immediately with his first analogy of feeling like Jeremiah, which alluded to his appearance as a supernatural and enlightened prophet delivering a message of sorrow for the believers.¹⁶

Three points on the debate set the stage for the momentous historical debate: statistics versus professional quotes, the numerous interruptions during Burford’s and Buckley’s presentations, and the body lan-

guage of the participants. First, the position argued by Baldwin’s supporters originated from the grassroots. Their arsenal included statistics with devastating authority and well-known civil rights leaders and their various movements. Buckley’s position received support from lofty institutions. Prominent conservative journals, newspapers, and, most importantly, professors representing “the truth.” After all, expert testimony played a significant role in the construction of this debate. For Baldwin, whether he preferred it or not, his positionality as the “poor Negro” and position as an expert on black equality and full representation came part and parcel for his junior debate team member, the narrator who introduced him, and the audience. For the narrator, he embodied, “the voice of experience to the debate.” For most in that room, Baldwin wielded near infallibility on the subject. His rhetorical strategy of bearing the suffering and loss of his entire race as some sort of *avatara* worked brilliantly in convincing an already influenced audience that racism in America emerges from an involuntary, subconscious, and systemic subjugation of the black people, referred to by Buckley as, “psychic humiliations.”¹⁷

The interruptions and body language, demonstrate the “coolness” of Buckley. Despite losing the debate before it even started and incurring numerous interruptions from the audience during both his and Burford’s presentations, Buckley showcased his trademark style and laid back demeanor throughout the spectacle. Since the conservative revival in America depended on appearances, ranging from the heroic Klansman through the confident Western sheriff, up to the handsome presidential candidate, Buckley’s style mattered more than his argument. He deeply understood the importance of looking, sounding, and acting correctly over actually being right. Baldwin’s look of disbelief, bewilderment, and, for a couple moments, rage, throughout Buckley’s presentation demonstrated the latter’s talent. Ultimately, Buckley lost the battle but won the war; within a year he starred on *Firing Line*, which ran for over 30 years.¹⁸

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Joshi, *God’s Defenders*, 130.

Due to the length of the Baldwin-Buckley debate, only a few highlights of Buckley's presentation will be discussed. His presentation, running for roughly seventeen or eighteen minutes, initially struggled to make any significant contact with the motion proposed by the Cambridge students. Statements focusing on Baldwin's race, cry for power, and systemic subjugation seemed to only weaken his arguments. However, within the last ten minutes of his lecture, Buckley shifted the discussion from responding to Baldwin's skillful position to illustrating for the Cambridge students the American dream. His first major point called on Americans to take concern with the black plight. He uses Booker T. Washington as an example to justify his position on the introduction of African American voters to the political scene, which would later change the landscape of politics beyond comprehension. However, Buckley's concern came with heavy baggage.¹⁹

In addition to creating fear over the "blackification" of the American sociopolitical system, he mentioned "the Lord Spiritual" governing American institutions and universities, which targeted the religious audience and their sensibilities. This religious ideal managed the racial hierarchy and the structure of society, not disgruntled blacks and liberals. He commented on the difficulty of the subject of race in America and once again appealed to "common sense" with the phrase, "actual human experience."²⁰ Such a statement blasted through the statistics and liberal facts with cultural truths and securities. He appealed to an American audience that never saw themselves as racist or sexist. Whereas Baldwin argued that racism entailed a largely subconscious and involuntary response, Buckley empowered his audience with the capacity to self regulate under the broad concept of individual's rights and morality.

His strongest positions, however, criticized his challengers. Around the fifty minute mark in the debate, Buckley quoted a Jewish professor that boldly

declared the fault for black sociopolitical stagnation lies almost solely in the hands of blacks. With points from the rest of his position, Buckley depicted a society where black men and women stood responsible for their own successes and failures, not the perceived system and process. After all, if their society consistently failed to "psychically" leave the cotton fields, then they must recognize a deficiency in "a particular energy" within themselves. This Jewish professor confidently noted that this same psychosocial energy existed in abundance within the Jewish community and, to a lesser extent, the Italian community. In order for blacks as individuals to succeed in America—which ultimately satisfies the requirements for the American dream—they must capitulate to the natural forces within the American system and betray their own blackness.

...[I]n order for blacks as individuals to succeed in America...they must capitulate to the natural forces within the American system and betray their own blackness.

Another, perhaps unintended, benefit from using the Jewish professor example condemned his European audience for chastising the American system for systematically marginalizing the black community. After all, whereas the Jewish people thrived in America and helped forge the image of the "Judeo-Christian nation," Europeans, who historically considered Jews as second-class participants for centuries, ultimately annihilated their Jewish population through the Holocaust and other institutional racist policies. These two positions allowed Buckley to conclude with the "faith of our fathers...the faith of your fathers" analogy that appealed to those defending Western civilization and ended on a high note.²¹ Although his position lost and the original motion passed with a large vote, he left with his head held high since he only needed to convince an American audience that he appeared right.

In 1949, Evangelical and patriotic Americans tuned in to Billy Graham. Christian revivals possessed a periodicity that emerged during the mid-nineteenth century and championed charismatic men proclaiming the corruption of American morality and promoting conservative values. For the most part these performers traveled in circuits, bombard-

19. "Baldwin Debates Buckley."

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid.

ing their audiences with “fire and brimstone” sermons while offering salvation and a better life.²² The amount of fear in post-WWII America allowed for both the Cold War and social unrest. Whereas Buckley appeared rather disinterested at times with cultural shifts in American society, Graham took every threat seriously. In a way, the two individuals, although representing the same reinvention of American conservatism, complemented each other’s weaknesses. Whereas Buckley embodied the college-educated “chum,” Graham epitomized the paternal and righteous figure.²³ Upon the integration of mass media in the late 1940s through 1960s, “the salvation business” gained millions of believers. The public sphere relied on television to inform the masses on acceptable practices, beliefs, and opinions. The golden age of advertising and propaganda radiated from the American psychosocial sphere. Admen and Evangelists alike employed the same techniques required to captivate and sustain an audience and propagate their brands.²⁴ Evangelical fear of communists and civil rights activists assisted in the propagation of the 1950s regime of conformity and control. Evangelical peddlers that sold God in the form of a flag-bearing American conquering the godless Left resonated throughout the conservative revival.

Graham marched onto the stage with flamboyancy, consolidating the earlier Evangelical movement of the 1930s and 1940s and promoting it to a global audience. According to a contemporary reporter, his 1949 “Campaign for Christ” in Los Angeles, “gave out that old time religion with modern words,” and pursued, “a positive attack on [Communism].”²⁵ As Graham himself argued in his “Why a Revival?” sermon, the institution of the family resonated with American pride and conformity in the 1950s and became the antithesis of the perceived amorphous

groups of the communists.²⁶ The logic behind Graham’s philosophy suggested that God and the family prevented a slippery slope into a godless, communist society. By focusing on the individual and the family, he reinforced the new conservative stance on personal freedoms over civil rights. Whereas civil rights belonged to the federal government, personal freedoms fell under the jurisdiction of God.

Graham’s pulpit played on American and Christian emotions as well as Buckley’s common sense rhetoric. In the Wheaton College online exhibit on Billy Graham’s 1949 Los Angeles revival, *photograph 7* contains a bundle of conservative symbols that shaped Neo-Republicanism. An array of images enveloped the main stage including: a foundation draped in, presumably, red and white stripes, a large book-shaped prop containing a quote from Romans 12:1-2, messages of salvation throughout the background, and a white cross governing the entire stage.²⁷ The red and white stripes positioned at the bottom of the stage made a direct correlation between sturdy American values and a powerful Christian nation. The passage from Romans 12:1-2 sanctioned Graham’s religious and political agenda by commanded his audience’s attention to obey the Evangelical Christian cause. The last significant visual in the photograph incorporated the icons “Jesus Saves” and “My Life For Christ,” which textually illustrated the mindset of Graham’s audience as pure, holy, and unquestionable. By representing Graham’s directive to submit to Christ for the sake of the nation, the icons centered the audience’s attention toward Graham and his revival performance.

Graham’s sermons supported individualism, productivity, and systemic dominance at home and abroad. In his sermon given on September 25, 1949, he praised God for American “superiority” over the rest of the world and directed Americans to perform their duties to the world by overcoming the godless communists and protecting American democracy and

22. Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History in America*, (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 43-46.

23. George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991), 62.

24. Frank, *The Conquest of Cool*, 53-54.

25. Richard Reynolds, “That Old Time Religion Goes Modern,” *Daily News*, September 30, 1949.

26. Billy Graham, *Why a Revival?*, 1949, Billy Graham, T5702, Tape.

27. BGC Archives, *Photograph 07*, ca. 1949, Wheaton College, Wheaton, IL.



Buckley only needed to convince an American audience that he *appeared* right. Bettman Archive, *William F. Buckley At The UN, 1973* (Seattle, WA: Corbis).

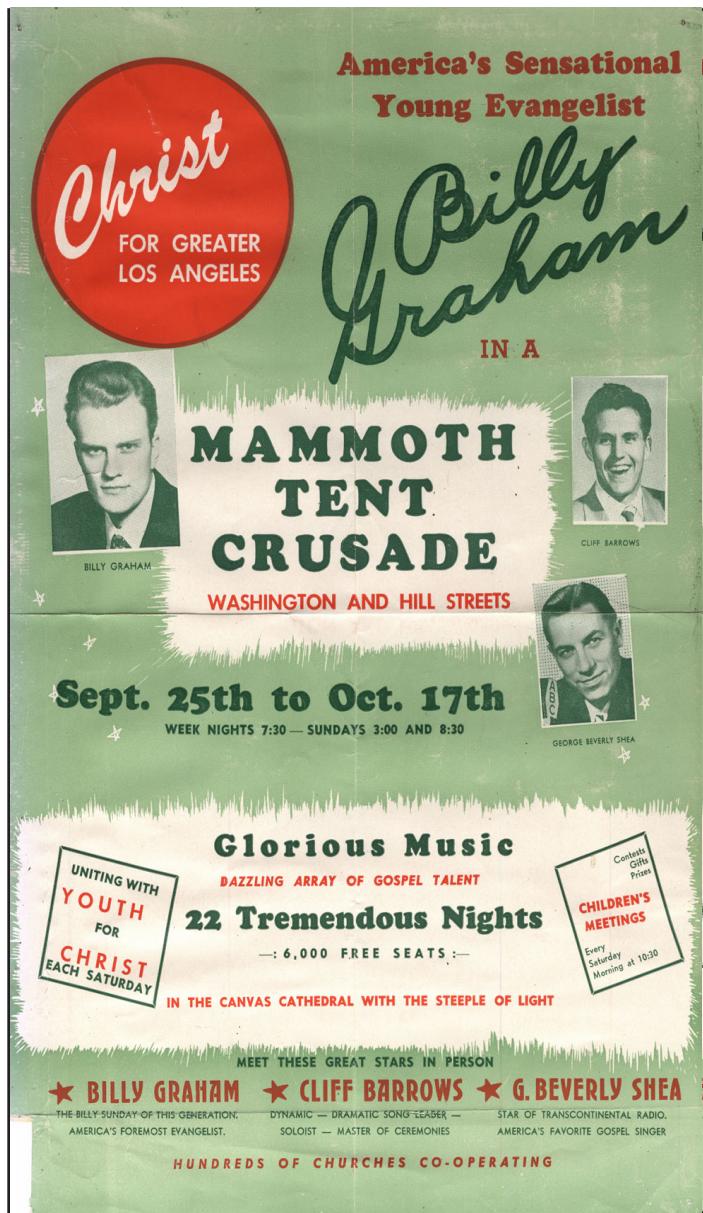
institutions.²⁸ Like Buckley, Graham's oratory hypnotized his flock and convinced them of the dangers associated with bad foreign policy. He proclaimed to his spectators, "God chose the American people to evangelize the world."²⁹ Of course, the call to evangelization detailed more than just recognizing Jesus Christ as a personal savior. Graham expected his community to understand, at a psychosocial level, the intricacies of American economic imperialism and the need to create a world favorable to the U.S. sociopolitical system.

The subjective statements made during his speech strengthened several utopian-dystopian fantasies in the minds of the late 1940s early 1950s audience. The first dystopian aspect grabbed at the

hearts of everyone that experienced loss in the WWII or post-WWII years. In many cases, the war stilled weighed heavily on the psyche of American soldiers and their families. Through exorcizing deep, painful memories, Graham developed a personal and individual connection with his audience. The loss of the nation's youth demanded greater control over angry dissidents throughout the world, which gathered supporters for the eventually conservative cause. Graham not only made Americans proud of their country, he instilled in them a sense of national righteousness that placed them above international secular humanism. In addition to the sacrifices of WWII, the Cold War, in essence a battle between Evangelical Christian nationalists and international secular humanists, represented an impending apocalypse that instilled fear in

28. *Why a Revival?*

29. Ibid.



Billy Graham's first major evangelistic campaign, the Los Angeles Crusade, began on September 25, 1949 and included Christ for Greater Los Angeles. *Los Angeles Crusade Advertisement*, pamphlet, 1949 (Los Angeles: Christ for Greater Los Angeles).

the minds of the crowds.³⁰ Americans experienced a transformation from citizens into crusaders for the West and God. The second dystopia, economic collapse, targeted the older generations and the collective memories of the Great Depression of the 1930s. The fear of poverty correlated with the desire for the carnivalesque and abundance that Graham compared to a utopian, God-backed America of the not-too-distant future. So long as Americans kept to the Protestant work ethic model and trusted the leaders of

30. Chris Hedges, *American Fascists: The Christian Right and the War on America* (New York: Free Press, 2006), 80.

the economic system, they could guarantee financial stability and individual freedoms. The final dystopia attacked the all-encompassing "Kingdom of God" system in America. This entailed the entire socioeconomic and psychosocial American cultural structure and threatened the very stability of privileged power. Both Buckley and Graham supported the propagation of this fear because it guaranteed a coalition against social-liberal ideologues and their "anti-American" mission.

In summation, the 1949 campaign in Los Angeles maintained several levels of American patriotism and anti-liberal sentiment. On the outermost layer, cultural symbols within and surrounding the tent both encouraged and challenged public spectators to enter and, ultimately, change their lives for the sake of American values. The various signs, slogans, and symbols equally identified with American ideology as they did Christian propaganda. Furthermore, imagery and Biblical indoctrination immediately struck the minds and hearts of the audience, playing on their desire to be good Americans. The second level of Graham's "American Kingdom of God," focused on the allure of the spectacle and dramatization of the dire reality of America and Christianity.³¹ His rhetoric and persona dictated a need to change the lost Christian American to a socially conservative unit of propaganda, ready to challenge godless liberals and their communist sympathies. He employed techniques similar to fascist leaders of the 1920s and 1930s and itinerant peddlers of the mid-nineteenth century. His sermons evoked powerful symbols and themes that correlated with pre-existing dystopias everyone easily recognized. The last level of his mission personally called each member of the revival to evangelize, and by default Americanize, the rest of the world. These measures solidified his legacy in the 1950s and worked well alongside the national movements against communism and un-American organizations.

Anti-communist propaganda guaranteed Graham's relevance later on in his career when he worked alongside several presidents. Although so-

31. Noah Feldman, *Divided by God: America's Church-State Problem- and What We Should Do About It* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005), 167.

cialist movements faced condemnation for their un-American activities, Graham and fellow Evangelists supported the civil rights movement of the 1960s in the same manner that Buckley and the rising neo-conservatives did. The symbolic references used in these early crusades developed into their own cults of personality, such as the cross mixed with the American flag. Perhaps his greatest legacy emerged when Graham took the religious movement of Christian Evangelism to former communist nations and blessed their nationalist and patriotic movements through funding and prayers. Ultimately, the neo-conservative message of fervent individualism, trust in the capitalist system, and American dominance abroad kept the country alive throughout the Cold War at the expense of the civil rights recipients.

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A Parlor Bolshevik: Aline Barnsdall, Art, and Radicalism in 1920s Los Angeles

Jeena Trexler-Sousa



A unique photograph of Barnsdall seated on an outer terrace at her residence with one of her dogs. Her affection for her pets ultimately contributed to her reputation as an eccentric resident of Los Angeles. *Barnsdall at Hollyhock House*, photograph, c. 1920s (Los Angeles: Security Pacific National Bank Collection/Los Angeles Public Library Photo Collection).

Jeena Trexler-Sousa explores the life and legacy of heiress and philanthropist, Aline Barnsdall. In the early twentieth-century, Barnsdall relocated to Los Angeles and commissioned the construction of the Hollyhock House by famed architect Frank Lloyd Wright. Tension filled their working relationship as they negotiated her requests with his busy schedule. She envisioned a space combining private residence with public theater and gardens, which contrasted the booster style art and city planning of social and political elites. These tensions reveal themselves in Barnsdall's correspondence with Wright and the *Los Angeles Times*' shifting coverage of her attempts to donate portions of her house to the city. The differences between her radical political beliefs and the conservatism of civic leaders contributed to conflicts between Barnsdall and city officials. Acerbic representations of her in the *Times* and Wright's letters diminish Barnsdall's legacy and raise questions about her role in the design of Hollyhock House and the limitations of radicalism in Los Angeles.

Resembling a Mayan temple, the Hollyhock House sits above Los Angeles, looming as a monument to architectural styles inspired by history—a dramatic home for the dramatic Aline Barnsdall. An outsider, her expectations, opinions, and demands persisted without limits. She wanted a theater to house an avant-garde troupe, a home that reflected her life, and a public space that invited people to create and commune with nature as well as each other. Inspired by her unique take on domesticity, Barnsdall's home, which architect Frank Lloyd Wright designed as his first project in California, took the private sphere of femininity and merged it with the masculine public sphere of monument building. When reflecting on his memories of her, Wright recalled, "They said in Hollywood, Aline Barnsdall was a Bolshevik—a 'parlor Bolshevik,' said some," which revealed a great deal about her reputation.¹

The daughter of oil pioneer Theodore Barnsdall, Aline, along with Wright, moved to Los Angeles in 1916 at the age of thirty-four to establish a theater company.² Two years later, Barnsdall utilized a substantial inheritance after her father's passing, to reflect her passion for theater, feminism, and radical political causes. In many ways, she challenged the dominant power structures in Los Angeles, specifically art and physical space. While the home she commissioned still stands as a testament to her life's passions, Barnsdall's willingness to challenge of the status quo resulted in negative portrayals of her personality, which dualistically impacted her legacy but also created new space for a broader exploration of her relationship with the art scene in Los Angeles.

Barnsdall's radicalism put her at odds with the political and cultural climate of Southern California up until her death in 1946. The phrase "parlor Bolshevik" most notably referred to her views on organized labor and gender roles. Barnsdall supported famous radicals such as Tom Mooney, Emma Goldman, and Upton Sinclair, and failed to align her be-



This portrait captures Barnsdall after the completion of Hollyhock House. By this time, she engaged with the Los Angeles art and film scene, interacting with and funding filmmakers such as Sergei Eisenstein. Luther A. Ingersoll, photograph, 1922 (Los Angeles: Harry Quilen Collection/Los Angeles Public Library Photo Collection).

iefs with Los Angeles's broad and powerful array of boosters, investors, and speculators. She demonstrated her dissident views architecturally by intending to build a school, artist residences, retail spaces, a children's theater, gardens, and playgrounds, but she first began with her house.³ The Hollyhock House, and its related buildings, represented the unique personality of Barnsdall via Wright's artistic approach, and challenged gender norms regarding public and private space. However, business and personality conflicts influenced Wright's opinion of her and affected his writing about their relationship.

Wright and Barnsdall met in Chicago where he resided and she worked as a producer at the Little

1. Frank Lloyd Wright, *Collected Writings*, vol. 2 1930-1932 (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 275.

2. For more biographical information about Barnsdall see Norman M. Karasick, *The Oilman's Daughter: A Biography of Aline Barnsdall* (Encino, CA: Carleston Publisher, 1993).

3. Unfortunately, she only constructed three residential spaces and for a brief time, a playground and an arts school for children.

Theater. The most significant written record from the life of Barnsdall comes from Wright at this time. He describes his first impression of her stating, “Her very large, wide open eyes gave her a disingenuous expression not connected with the theater and her extremely small hands and feet somehow seemed not connected with such ambition as hers.”⁴ That ambition merged with what several associates described as a difficult personality with a streak of rebellion. Margaret Anderson, an important figure in the Chicago art scene, described her as “an erratic rich woman with a high temper.”⁵ Theatrical designer and associate Norman Bel Geddes deemed her “erratic, unpredictable, contrary, stubborn, generous, and a dozen other things as anyone [he had] ever known, only more so.”⁶ When discussing her political beliefs Bel Geddes opined that Barnsdall’s stubborn nature led her to support radical causes, stating “she had a violent passion against convention; was one hundred percent rebel.”⁷ Bel Geddes believed she compensated for a lack of personal creativity by selecting the best talent available for the specific task; she certainly succeeded by selecting Wright. However, Bel Geddes also portrayed her as a passionate woman who envisioned a collaborative relationship with Wright, rather than a one-man show. He recalled she stated that the theater would serve as “a place to work that is also an architectural masterpiece [and] would be an inspiration to everyone. It would also have an element of permanency which would bring confidence from the community and even the country.”⁸ Ultimately, the outcome reflected a taming of Barnsdall’s bohemian spirit and strong desires.

Where Personality Intersects with Space

Wright’s commission began with plans for a theater and residential space on Olive Hill in Los

4. Wright, *Collected Writings*, 267.

5. Margaret Anderson, *My Thirty Years War* (New York: Horizon Press, 1969), 107.

6. Norman Bel Geddes, *Miracle in the Evening* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1960).

7. Ibid., 140.

8. Ibid., 155.



Frank Lloyd Wright continued his work in Los Angeles after Barnsdall’s death, including the design of a gallery space near Hollyhock House on behalf of the California Art’s Club. *Frank Lloyd Wright, a Profile*, photograph, 1954 (Los Angeles: Herald-Examiner Collection/Los Angeles Public Library Photo Collection).

Angeles—land that Barnsdall purchased. However, her priorities shifted after the birth of her daughter Aline Elizabeth in 1917. The plan for a residence took greater significance and focus changed to design a home atop Olive Hill. Despite the shift, Wright incorporated her initial passion for theater and communal art into the final design. Architectural historian Alice Friedman describes the way Wright centered the entire design on the location of a planned open-air theater. She writes, “Like the hearth and chimney in one of his prairie houses, the semicircle at the core of the theater acts in these designs as a pivot around which the Olive Hill complex is organized.”⁹ Wright

9. Alice T. Friedman, *Women and the Making of the Modern House: A Social and Architectural History* (New York:

described the design as “poetic,” and “romantic,” and “suited to Miss Barnsdall’s purpose.” This project rejected traditional notions of domesticity and cherished artistic expression and personal freedom above all else.¹⁰

The idea of space as a framework for analyzing the dichotomy of gender renders the Hollyhock House an outlier due to its public nature. Historian Leslie Kanes Weisman who analyzes gender in architecture argues, “The personal, ‘feminine’ enclosure of the private house stands in metaphorical contrast to the anonymous, ‘masculine’ upward thrust of our public towers.”¹¹ The labeling of separate spheres as they relate to gender roles creates a conflict in the analysis of the philanthropist’s private home. Her nontraditional approach to domesticity provided a counter narrative for feminist architectural historians.¹² Perhaps unknowingly, she created a monument in both style and longevity setting her estate apart from traditional domestic design. Wright responded to Barnsdall’s feminist perspective in his design, which expressed her modern beliefs about marriage and motherhood, convictions she shared with other radicals.¹³

Barnsdall supported and befriended Emma Goldman and shared her view that “marriage is primarily an economic arrangement, and insurance pact,” where a woman pays with “her name, her privacy, her self-respect, her very life, ‘until death doth part.’”¹⁴ Goldman also criticized motherhood stating,

Harry N. Abrams, 1998), 50.

10. Wright, *Collected Writings*, 270.

11. Leslie Kanes Weisman, *Discrimination by Design: A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment* (Urbana, IL: University Press), 17-19.

12. Marion Roberts also analyzes architecture from a feminist perspective in her book. Marion Roberts, *Living in a Man-made World: Gender Assumptions in Modern Housing Design* (London: Routledge, 1991). Leslie Kanes Weisman also co-edited a collection of essays related to gender based notions of public and private space. Diana Agrest, Patricia Conway, and Leslie Kanes Weisman, *The Sex of Architecture* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996).

13. After her romance with director Richard Ordynski ended, Barnsdall chose to move ahead with her pregnancy as an unmarried mother.

14. Emma Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays*

“I know women who became mothers in freedom by the men they loved. Few children in wedlock enjoy the care, the protection; the devotion free motherhood is capable of bestowing.”¹⁵ Barnsdall illustrated her agreement with these social and political beliefs through her lifestyle and artistic choices.

Barnsdall’s status provided her with the luxury of choice and she expressed it through single motherhood, traveling, and most importantly, the individuality her home represented. Barnsdall’s intention to construct portions of her home for public use made this a unique domestic dwelling. Its later incarnation as a school, park, and arts club made it a private (feminine) space combined with a public (masculine) facility. Friedman argues independent women hired

Wright responded to Barnsdall’s feminist perspective in his design...

“avant-garde architects to provide them with houses in which to live out their visions of a new life,” and “these visions rested on a redefinition of domesticity that was fundamentally spatial and physical.”¹⁶

In Barnsdall’s case, her enthusiasm for theater and a modern approach to home life and motherhood influenced her vision.

The Alcea, or hollyhock plant served as an obvious inspiration for Wright. He wrote the heiress’ sentimental attachment to the flower inspired her to pre-name the private residence, which he then utilized as a motif throughout.¹⁷ He viewed her as a pioneer and proclaimed she should live in a house built solely for, and suited to, her lifestyle. The architect promoted the idea of individuality above all else and felt a person as unique as Barnsdall should not live in an ordinary home. While he occasionally exuded an effusive tone in his praise for her notable personality, his temperament collided with her demands as a client and often led to strife between the two. They argued over finances, time, and input from other people related to the design and construction. His perception of her as a difficult patron combined with Bel Geddes portrayal of her as a weak woman taken advantage of by a controlling artist, creates the sense that she did not retain

(New York: Dover Publications, 1969), 228.

15. Ibid., 237.

16. Friedman, *Women and the Making*, 16.

17. Wright, *Collected Writings*, 269.

command of her work. The heiress' professional and social letters along with interviews by the local press portray a client with vision and motivation, albeit one who responded to the sway of outside opinion. Ultimately, her distance and Wright's distraction contributed to the failures of Hollyhock House.

Despite personality conflicts with Wright, the design and building of a theater remained important to Barnsdall. However, his frequent trips to Japan for his work on the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo caused very long delays in her project. In 1916, she wrote to Wright imploring him to devote more time to the design for her. She said, "This is the psychological moment and if I do not grip it and build a theater within the next six months somebody else will." She continued, "Can you give me a rough idea of cost and what is expected of me and when? It must not be a large theater not over a thousand but exquisitely perfect in detail."¹⁸ Their correspondence suggests she gave him space for his vision, but her impatience steadily grew.

In 1918, Wright finally presented her with a set of plans but the death of Barnsdall's father created delays with funding. He accused her of not taking the project seriously, to which she replied, "You say, 'if you are in earnest.' I think I've proven that by holding onto the idea for so long."¹⁹ By the summer of 1919, Barnsdall selected a site for the home and surrounding buildings. Despite the rudimentary designs and Wright's absence in Tokyo, Barnsdall explained her vision to the *Los Angeles Examiner*. She stated the house would sit at the crown of the hill and described the design as "modernized Aztec style." With regards to Wright's plans for the rest of the buildings she said, "I, therefore, require much room for my own home, but I propose to keep my gardens always open to the public that this slighty spot may be available to the lovers of the beautiful who wish to come here to view sunsets, dawn on the mountains, and other spectacles of nature, visible in few other places in the heart of

18. Aline Barnsdall's communication with Frank Lloyd Wright, July 27, 1916, in Kathryn Smith, *Hollyhock House and Olive Hill: Buildings and Projects for Aline Barnsdall* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 22.

19. Aline Barnsdall's communication with Frank Lloyd Wright, May 30, 1918, in Smith, *Hollyhock House and Olive Hill*, 34.

the city."²⁰ Unfortunately, complications continued to delay groundbreaking on the residence and forced these bigger plans further into the periphery.

Even after construction began, Wright's delays and absence continued to exasperate Barnsdall. Frank Lloyd Wright Jr. supervised the project in his father's absence and refused to move ahead without Wright Sr.'s approval. This increased tensions as Barnsdall retained very specific ideas regarding the timeline and design. In fact, she offered Wright an opportunity to quit in early 1920 and again attempted to elicit a timeline from him later in the year. Despite this, Barnsdall expressed her willingness to wait for Wright as long as his ultimate plan revealed itself with a general timeframe.

Reasonable Enemies

After stating the specific details for the interior of the main home, Barnsdall expressed her disappointment in Wright's response by writing, "Now please do as wonderful a thing with the inside of my house as [you] have with the outside. The designs Lloyd gave me from your specifications looked as tho [sic] you had thought very little about them—the[y] lacked the ingenuity and care of the outside building."²¹ Her consistent dissatisfaction with his work and effort contributed to the lengthy span of the project's development. Additionally, it led to budget increases and financial conflict, which created even more complications between Barnsdall and her architect. She stated in an *Express* article that she budgeted \$375,000 for the design. In the end, she spent \$990,000 on the construction of her home. The heiress wrote to Wright in 1920 while responding to his complaints in a previous letter where she commanded him to set aside their personal feelings and start the work. Barnsdall acknowledged his points of disagreement but pleaded with Wright to act like "reasonable enemies and good friends between times."²²

20. Florence Lawrence, "Eminence to Be Made Rare Beauty Spot," *Los Angeles Examiner*, July 6, 1919.

21. Ibid., 83.

22. Ibid., 84.



After the donation of large portions of her land and residence, Barnsdall continued living in this home, known as Residence B, until her death. Michael Edwards, photographer, *Barnsdall House, Hollyhock*, photograph, 1982 (Los Angeles: Herald Examiner Collection/Los Angeles Public Library Photo Collection).

Barnsdall surely expressed discontent to her friends, and Bel Geddes defended her in his autobiography. In his opinion, Wright's critical and defensive writing about Barnsdall created a false sense of weakness in her personality. He felt Wright lacked the ability to accept criticism. When questioned about his knowledge of theatrical design, Wright sharply replied, "If you are unable to leave me alone, I will not waste my time going any further with it."²³ Bel Geddes believed Wright manipulated Barnsdall and took advantage of her admiration of him. Regarding the incessant delays in the design of a theater, Bel Geddes said, "She was as eager for her theater to proceed as for her house, but both dragged on and on. She knew he [Wright] was wrong, and once, at least, told him so. In that instance, he ignored her for months. At last she refused to approve the plans for construction, and the relationship became increasingly difficult."²⁴ Bel Geddes contacted Wright directly with his concerns on Barnsdall's behalf.

23. Bel Geddes, *Miracle in the Evening*, 163.

24. Ibid.

Prior to the start of construction, Bel Geddes wrote a letter rebuking Wright for his lack of humility. He said, "Your lack of flexibility in refusing to fuse with your own the viewpoint of your client, and the viewpoints of others who intend devoting their lives to working in the creative theater, is a great shock to me."²⁵ Bel Geddes blamed Wright almost entirely for the failure of the theater and for her dissatisfaction in general. When he wrote about Barnsdall's relationship with the father of her child, Richard Ordynski, he cast her as a victim as well, claiming he took advantage of her wealth through his romantic affection. In both cases, he denies Barnsdall a sense of agency and suggests she could not control these two men, or their impact on her life due to her powerlessness as a woman. This portrayal ignores her strength in the same way he described her political beliefs as an act of her rebellious nature, while overlooking her strongly held convictions. Her previous letter to Wright shows a woman who spoke firmly while stroking the necessary egos, not a woman with-

25. Ibid., 269.

out agency. A possible reason Bel Geddes defends Barnsdall in this way may stem from the guilt of abandoning her in Los Angeles in order to remain in New York. Their friendship ended acrimoniously prior to 1920 and according to Bel Geddes, they never spoke again.

Wright blamed his conflict with Barnsdall on her reliance on the opinions of others and her fickle temperament. A year after her letter exhorting him to maintain a reasonable level of disagreement, he wrote to her to express that the increases in cost stemmed from tension and disputes between employees, himself, and Barnsdall. He argued her choice of workers and contractors added to the costs rather than his absence from the projects. He placed blame on her for not sufficiently believing in him, shouting “COST!—EXTRAS! They loomed over your horizon like some spectre [sic] of defeat. You took every measure to de-

fend yourself, but you threw away the only one that could have protected you—and that one was the co-operation of your architect. Do you now remember waving me aside when I pleaded with you for your confidence? You said, that you had no confidence in any artist.”²⁶ Wright found her reliance on other’s opinions unbearably annoying, even though she previously told him she would “not be a slave to anybody’s ideas.”²⁷ Barnsdall surrounded herself with intelligent and creative people. She also questioned herself constantly, as well as others. Her ongoing conflict with Wright contributed to the failure of her theater plan. Additionally, their disagreement likely influenced her decision to give up large portions of her property and eventually the Hollyhock House. She said, “My heart was not in it. I never felt well on Olive Hill and I was still on my quest for Arcadia in the U.S.A.”²⁸ Wright

He placed blame on her for not sufficiently believing in him, shouting “COST!—EXTRAS!”

chalked up her donation of Olive Hill to the passing mood of a wealthy woman living above the city in “aristocratic seclusion.” Significantly, he praised her decision to offer Olive Hill to the “artists of California,” declaring that her “spirit is manifest in it, to all.”²⁹ Wright’s documentation of his relationship with Barnsdall reveals a strong, complicated woman who worked with a willful, artistic architect.

The only personal writings from her include short interviews and letters to her friends and associates, which means she rarely took the opportunity to speak for herself in the way Wright did with his careful autobiographical writing. Barnsdall left behind a significant legacy in Los Angeles, yet few know her name. As Dolores Hayden asks, “Why are so few

moments in women’s history remembered as part of preservation?”³⁰ If the home—along with society and body issues—acts as an arena of conflict for women

as she argues, then analyzing Barnsdall, Hollyhock House, and Los Angeles as “political territories” can help us discern the limit of women’s power within the emerging metropolis.³¹ A controlled, capitalist approach to industry and a booster-driven approach to art distinguished Los Angeles’ transformation into a modern metropolis. Barnsdall said to Bel Geddes that she could not accomplish what she hoped in a town like New York. She needed the “freedom of thought and action” she assumed Los Angeles would bring.³² Perhaps, she looked in the wrong place.

LA: City of Angels and Boosters

California historian Kevin Starr refers to the financial and political leaders in early Los Angeles

of *Desire: Anglo Mythologies of Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000). McClung argues the notion of Arcadia—a found natural paradise—shaped the body of material culture in Los Angeles since the latter half of the nineteenth century.

29. Wright, 276.

30. Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), 7.

31. Ibid., 22-23.

32. Bel Geddes, 156.

26. Frank Lloyd Wright’s communication with Aline Barnsdall, June 27, 1921, in Smith, *Hollyhock House and Olive Hill*, 211.

27. Kathryn Smith, *Frank Lloyd Wright, Hollyhock House and Olive Hill: Buildings and Projects for Aline Barnsdall* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 84.

28. Ibid., 161. For a deeper analysis of notions of Utopia and Arcadia in Southern California at the turn of the twentieth century see William Alexander McClung, *Landscapes*

as the *controlling oligarchy* and argues they asserted a “deliberately fashioned identity” on the city.³³ The Anglo, English-speaker embodied this identity while the ethnic minorities did not. A large number of Americans from other parts of the country added to the town’s growth between 1920 and 1930.³⁴ While cities like Chicago, Boston, and New York also grew with additional waves of European immigrants, the leaders of Los Angeles defined themselves against the long ethnic history of the area. The early decades of the city’s development contributed to what Eric Avila calls “the Midwestern myth of Los Angeles,” wherein ethnic history deviating from that new ethos ends up hidden, destroyed, or remarked.³⁵ Joseph Widney, University of Southern California president, wrote the city possessed a destiny to develop into a capital for white supremacy. *Los Angeles Times* writer Harry Carr posited the migration of people to Los Angeles as “one of the most significant in the long saga of the Aryan race.”³⁶ Avila sets forth a compelling argument that Los Angeles progressives sought racial and ethnic homogeneity within the city, reinforced by the physical, man-made landscape. Dana Bartlett, a reformer and minister, argued Los Angeles could set itself apart from other metropolises via a civic obligation to eliminate “slums” and crowded conditions, and by employing sympathetic businessmen to encourage beauty and space in municipal life. He argued a city of homes would improve domestic life by making happier families. The rejection of ethnic diversity in city life lies under the surface of his writing.³⁷ Los Angeles civic leaders and progressive activists embraced and reinforced an image of classless homoge-

33. Kevin Starr, *Material Dreams* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), viii.

34. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930*, vol. 1 (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records, 1931), 18-19.

35. Eric Avila, *Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight: Fear and Fantasy in Suburban Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 22.

36. Joseph Widney, *Race Life of the Aryan Peoples* (Springfield, OH: Funk and Wagnall’s, 1907); Harry Carr, *Los Angeles: City of Dreams* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1935), 5.

37. Dana Bartlett, *The Better Country* (Boston, MA: The C.M. Clark Publishing, 1911).

neity; the *Los Angeles Examiner* proclaimed, “There are no poor in Los Angeles.”³⁸

Along with a culturally conservative attitude toward race, class, and family, the oligarchy also enforced a strong anti-union attitude in business matters. Renowned California historian Carey McWilliams’ asserted “California is like the rest of the country, ‘only more so.’”³⁹ If true, then Los Angeles’s aggressive stance against labor fits perfectly. Due to the city’s unappealing geography for large-scale manufactures, investors needed to find other ways to make Los Angeles more enticing. The city’s open shop policy, which did not require union membership as a requirement for employment stands out as an incentive. The implementation of this policy made Los Angeles more attractive to big business particularly in the 1920s as labor unrest spread across the nation, most notably in Northern California cities like San Francisco. Protecting this ethos meant the business elite like *Los Angeles Times* publisher Harry Chandler and his father-in-law Harrison Gray Otis before him, exhibited hostile behavior toward labor unions. This attitude led to arrests, surveillance, and violence in the city.⁴⁰

Historian Sarah Schrank asserts Los Angeles exists as “a city with an enormous historical investment in controlling its visual memory,” and argues art “played a significant role in how civic leaders imagined their city.”⁴¹ Anglo boosters utilized art as a tool to attract tourists, industry, and to remove or distort images of ethnic diversity contradicting the romantic, “whitewashed” picture they meticulously painted. Alongside the Chamber of Commerce, the *Los Angeles Times*, and other business interests, the Municipal Art Commission linked art to promotion. Most notably in Sunkist’s citrus crate ads, boosters promoted

38. Tom Ingersoll, “Los Angeles, Typical American City,” *Los Angeles Examiner*, December 1922.

39. Carey McWilliams, *The California Revolution* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1968), 5.

40. Frank Donner argues repressive police tactics inhibited radical organizations in urban centers, including Los Angeles with its infamous Red Squads. Frank Donner, *Protectors of Privilege: Red Squads and Police Repression in Urban America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

41. Sarah Schrank, *Art in the City: Civic Imagination and Cultural Authority in Los Angeles* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 4.

an image of California inspired by Helen Hunt Jackson's novel *Ramona*. Jackson inadvertently added to the fantasy narrative of Southern California's Spanish past. Encouraged by proponents of the City Beautiful idea, boosters emphasized art as primarily utilitarian or as proponent Charles Mulford Robinson stated, "civic first, art second."⁴² He argued politics and art share common goals due to one encouraging the other and wrote, "The strain and stress of city politics today are not, then, a factor essentially antagonistic to civic art."⁴³

The Municipal Art Commission, working from that framework, contributed to the connection between artistic output and civic pride. In a true collision of boosters and art, Harrison Gray Otis funded his own institution, the Otis Art Institute, in 1921. For Otis, the school's primary goals included promoting fine art in Los Angeles and developing a destination spot for art exhibits. Interest in art by the 1920s seemed to relate to promotional images or fine art with a lack of regard for modern art. Private collectors and art clubs held most of the power and showed little interest in exposing the larger populace to art. While the City Beautiful movement encouraged the inclusion of parks and leisure centers for working class residents, they relegated art to the civic sphere. Art for art's sake meant less compared to art for money's sake, and added to a disinterest or ambivalence to modern art, standing in marked contrast to Barnsdall. Popular theater in Los Angeles also provides an example of the differences between Barnsdall's philosophy and the commercial nature of art in the city.

One of the most popular productions from this time was *Mission Play* (1912) by John McGroarty. The *Times* proclaimed the script "almost" literally drew from the history of California, which McGroarty wrote in *California: Its History and Romance*.⁴⁴ In his book, McGroarty paints an image of the state as a place of dreams and fulfilled desires claiming it "has never had a faithless lover. Whoever has fallen under

the spell of her beauty seeks no other mistress."⁴⁵ Regarding the mission system, which formed the basis of his play, he wrote:

It should be necessary only to state the plain, concrete fact of history that the result of this splendid adventure was to snatch from the darkness and ignorance of heathenism a whole savage race, lifting it into the light and intelligence of civilization and Christianity. The story is all the more wonderful because of the fact that the Indians of California, when found by the Franciscans in the year 1769, were little above the level of the most degraded physical beings and the most mentally slothful human creatures on the face of the earth. A more hopeless task was never attempted by the agencies of religion and civilization, yet the results accomplished were as astounding as any that have ever been accomplished under the most auspicious circumstances and with the most susceptible and noble of savage races to work upon.⁴⁶

From that framework, McGroarty built the *Mission Play*, basing it around the founder of the mission system Father Junipero Serra. The play opened adjacent to the San Gabriel Mission on the El Camino Real. Western historian William Deverell argues the play's success relied on "the willingness to suspend disbelief, to mis-remember everything about the dark ground of the region's even recent past."⁴⁷ In California, the play broke records for attendance and continued to run through the 1920s. When the play started to falter in its success the Chamber of Commerce formed a committee to analyze the cause. Support streamed in for theatrical productions contributing to the romantic images of Southern California and drew in crowds, but less so for the modern approach of patrons such as Barnsdall.

***Los Angeles Times* vs. Barnsdall**

Barnsdall, at her core, believed in the power of art as a transformative force. She embraced the avant-garde in theater, filmmaking, and the visual arts. She loaned pieces from her personal collection of paintings to various exhibitions over the years, provided financing to filmmakers like Sergei Eisenstein, and argued all people should have access to art and

42. Charles Mulford Robinson, *Modern Civic Art or, The City Made Beautiful* (New York: Arno Press, 1970), 27.

43. Ibid., 12.

44. "Franciscan Glory Story," *Los Angeles Times*, April 28, 1912.

45. John McGroarty, *California: Its History and Romance* (Los Angeles, CA: Grafton Publishing, 1911), 7.

46. Ibid., 55.

47. Deverell, 217.

nature. In 1927, she wrote to the California Art Club after they accepted her donation, claiming she wanted a place for people to “work and play” as well as to contribute a “background for their dreams and memories.” She concluded, “No country can be great until the least of its citizens has been touched by beauty, truth, and freedom; unless all three radiate from this little hill it is as nothing.”⁴⁸ However, she underestimated the power of the “controlling oligarchy” and the restrictive views on art and radical politics espoused by those forces. Her efforts to donate land and buildings to the city led to a decade of conflict and a decrease in positive coverage of her in the local press, most significantly the *Los Angeles*

Times. Her radical politics and views on art placed her in direct opposition to Chandler, boosters, and civic leaders. The resulting conflicts contributed to a written newspaper record that ultimately diminishes her accomplishments and minimizes her deeply held beliefs. Chandler’s personal views on labor and his financial investment in the city play a key role in the way *Los Angeles Times* writers portrayed her.

The paper’s writers mention Barnsdall in a handful of articles prior to 1923. One 1919 article, briefly describes her plans for an elaborate art-theater. The next discusses her plans in 1921 for the addition of a row of retail shops along the edge of her property resting on Hollywood Boulevard. Finally, her plans for a children’s school devoted to the arts, as well as academia, received some attention in 1923.⁴⁹ Each of these articles emphasizes her hopes for the property, many of which failed. In 1923, Barnsdall decided to donate a portion of the Olive Hill property, including Hollyhock House, to the city for use as a library and a park. Initially, her offer garnered praise and graciousness. In December of 1923, soon after her announcement, the *Los Angeles Times* quoted Barnsdall as

48. Aline Barnsdall, *California Art Club Bulletin*, XI, no. 8, August, 1927. Reprinted in Friedman, “A House is Not a Home: Hollyhock House as ‘Art-Theater-Garden,’” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 60, no.3 (1992): 246-47.

49. “Plans Unique Art Theater,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 6, 1919; “New Residence Tract Opening,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 13, 1921; “Culture for Children,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 23, 1923.

saying “I am giving the property away as a library because I think the community deserves and needs one.” She explained she rejected offers because she thought it a “vulgarity.”⁵⁰

Barnsdall received a commendation from the mayor for her generosity, and gained praise as an example to other wealthy residents of the city. However, Los Angeles leaders dragged their feet on receiving the donation for several years before finally accepting her offer in 1926. The park department faced difficulty in acquiescing to some of Barnsdall’s land-use re-

strictions, a problem subtly hinted at in 1923 in her refusal to comment on those restrictions to the *Los Angeles*

Times.

The heiress requested a ban on land changes for fifteen years and denied construction of war memorials on the land at any time. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, the Public Welfare Committee of the City Council formally requested Los Angeles decline Barnsdall’s offer because of the difficult nature of her requests and restrictions.⁵¹ Finally, the California Arts Club requested the city accept Barnsdall’s offer and in 1926 used Hollyhock House as a public space for art exhibition, leaving the rest of the donation set aside as a park for children. This “million dollar Christmas gift” from the “lover of children and art” earned her a formal thank you from the *Times*, which editorialized her gift represented not only a “great and lasting value to our city, but to civilization in general.”⁵² Barnsdall’s desire to bring culture to the city appealed to the Chamber of Commerce and connected her vision of the land with the progress of the town.

Indeed, the California Art Club appealed to her from the same level years later when requesting an expansion of their stake in the property. Member Alice Vreeland wrote:

One of these days Los Angeles is going to be the ‘world-beating metropolis,’ according to our enthusiastic boosters. When that time comes, the perfume of our

50. “Offers Home for Library,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 7, 1923.

51. “Committee Asks Council Decline Proffer of Park,” *Los Angeles Times*, March 27, 1924.

52. “A Laudable Act,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 30, 1926.

Barnsdall, at her core, believed in the power of art as a transformative force.

garden flowers and orange blossoms will have given way to the permeating stench of decomposing garbage, and the thousand and one ungodly odors that, even in this day of modern sanitation, are characteristic of every spot in the world upon which mankind swarms in millions. When that time comes what a priceless thing will be a bit of God's reality...Therefore, in the name of civic pride, in the cause of a city beautiful let us have parks and recreation centers in the midst of our 'world-beating metropolis.'⁵³

While Barnsdall certainly aimed to improve the cultural lives of the citizens of Los Angeles, primarily for women and children, she did not engage as a booster or follower of the City Beautiful movement. Art, not industry, gave Barnsdall motivation and the roots of her devotion to Los Angeles grew in a shallow bed due to her frequent travels. These issues, and more significantly her support for radical labor causes, created conflict between her and the city, a fact reflected in the shifts in the *Los Angeles Times'* coverage.

In 1927, the *Los Angeles Times* declared Los Angeles as "indebted to Miss Barnsdall for the example she has set in the truest form of public giving."⁵⁴ Realistically, she shared a less-than-positive relationship with the city. Frank Lloyd Wright recalled that, "resistance to her donations amazed her. It was just more than she could understand. But she was the daughter of a free-swinging oilman, and was sure she could overcome objections."⁵⁵ One of the primary reasons for her inability to overcome the objections included her lack of interest in courting the controlling oligarchy where Harry Chandler acted as one of its most powerful members.

Chandler came to Los Angeles in 1883 without a job and with very little money. After saving money from working in fruit picking, he acquired a job as a clerk in the circulation department of the *Los Angeles Times*, eventually rising through the business and marrying Otis' daughter. He quickly emerged as a powerful force in the Southern California real estate market. Taking over the newspaper after the death of

his father-in-law, Chandler declared, "The *Times* will continue to be *The Times-The Times* of General Otis, *The Times* that he made. Men may die, but influences do not."⁵⁶ This meant a commitment to the open shop and an opposition to radical political causes. Since its founding, the *Los Angeles Times* vehemently fought organized labor, preventing major outbreaks of unrest like those seen in San Francisco. They accomplished this through a support network of the press, politicians, and the police. That opposition under Otis, and continuing with Chandler, led directly to the high profile bombing of the *Los Angeles Times* building in 1910 by three men connected to the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers Union.

Parlor Bolshevism

After learning that San Francisco unionists planned to provoke a push against the open shop policy in Los Angeles, the paper rose up in protest calling them "a foreign foe" and asserting Los Angeles as a "community which will not tolerate picketing or interference by outsiders with the business of any man."⁵⁷ With the help of the mayor and the city prosecutor, anti-unionists criminalized picketing and even carrying signs. This led to increased animosity from organized labor and eventually to the *Los Angeles Times'* bombing resulting in the deaths of 21 employees. This criminalization of union activity also contributed to an increase in anti-labor sentiment, strengthening Otis as a hero of the open shop and affirming his belief that organized labor posed a threat to public safety. Barnsdall's radical reputation as a pro-labor benefactress ran counter to these conservative beliefs.

Barnsdall's financial support of Emma Goldman, in the form of friendship and a check for five thousand dollars, led to the revocation of Barnsdall's passport. Her proposed ban on war memorials drew forth the ire of the American Legion, who launched a campaign against her donation. However, her sup-

53. Francis William Vreeland, "City Should Acquire All of Olive Hill," *California Graphic*, March 31, 1928.

54. "A Public Benefactor," *Los Angeles Times*, August 6, 1927.

55. Henry Sutherland, "Strange Saga of Barnsdall Park," *Los Angeles Times*, March 15, 1970.

56. "What the Course of the Times Shall Be," *Los Angeles Times*, August 5, 1917.

57. "The Common Peril," *Los Angeles Times*, June 22, 1910.



Barnsdall erected large signs on visible portions of her property in order to promote various causes. In this case, she urged the formation of a committee to pressure the city to uphold the lease agreement tied to her land donation. *One Sign in Barnsdall Park, 1945* (Los Angeles: Herald Examiner Collection/Los Angeles Public Library Photo Collection).

port for labor activist Tom Mooney and writer and politician Upton Sinclair provoked the most animosity from Chandler and the *Los Angeles Times*. In 1916, Mooney stood trial and received a guilty verdict for the labor-related bombing in San Francisco. According to Goldman, Barnsdall was one of the first well-known people to take up his cause. Early on, she supported his legal case and in 1930, just as her tension with the city reached a head, she attempted to rejuvenate interest in his case by donating money and posting large signs of support on the outskirts of her Olive Hill property. The *Los Angeles Times* called Mooney's defense a "plot" and a "conspiracy" to save the life of a man responsible for "strewing the streets of San Francisco with the bloody debris of women and children."⁵⁸ The 1910 bombing and the militant anti-union position guaranteed that Barnsdall's public support of Mooney would deteriorate any goodwill toward her from the paper.

In 1934, Barnsdall publicly and financially supported Upton Sinclair's gubernatorial bid in California. She also used those infamous signs to urge people to "Vote the EPIC PLAN for humanity and the future. Have courage to stir this stagnant pool."⁵⁹ Sinclair's plan to "End Poverty in California," (EPIC)

called for state control over unused factories and farms and the establishment of communes or colonies with small-scale exchange systems. Because of the economic difficulties so many citizens faced during the Depression, Sinclair's ideas began to grow in popularity. The *Los Angeles Times* maintained a history of influencing regional campaigns and they struck out against Sinclair with the assistance of the Chamber of Commerce and local businesses (Sinclair called them the "black hand").⁶⁰ Writers cautioned Sinclair's plan would lead to a mass migration of transients to California.⁶¹

Loaning out one of their political writers, the paper merged with the Motion Picture Producers Association to create "newsreels" with a roving reporter asking various citizens whom they planned to vote for in the election. Of course, those voting for Sinclair appeared shady and untrustworthy while those voting for his opponent Governor Merriam seem upstanding.⁶² Editorials written before Election Day warned a Sinclair victory would lead to massive unemployment, wage stagnation, and a new red takeover.⁶³ Chandler knew Sinclair's campaign posed a danger to the carefully controlled economic system of Los Angeles and understood his socialist message would appeal to people devastated by the Depression. To that end, Chandler used the *Los Angeles Times* to spread negative messages and to spark fear among voters. In the end, Barnsdall and her lot failed. Her "pugnacious signs," as Carey McWilliams called them, did provoke a reaction from locals, but not one of passionate consensus.⁶⁴

Barnsdall's political signs created uproar from those who felt she used public land to promote political causes, though technically, she posted the signs on private land and broke no laws in the process. At

60. Upton Sinclair, *The Goslings* (Pasadena, CA: Published by the author, 1924).

61. "Heavy Rush of Idle Seen By Sinclair," *Los Angeles Times*, September 27, 1934.

62. King Vidor, *Our Daily Bread and Other Films of the Great Depression*, DVD (Image Entertainment, 1999).

63. Chapin Hall, "Economic Chaos Should Sinclair Be Elected," *Los Angeles Times*, October 12, 1934.

64. Carey McWilliams, *Southern California: An Island on the Land* (Santa Barbara, CA: Peregrine Smith, 1973).

58. "Mooney in Politics," *Los Angeles Times*, October 2, 1917.

59. Harry Quillen, "Campaign Sign for Upton Sinclair" Los Angeles Public Library Collection.

the outset, Barnsdall used these signs to protest her conflicts with the city over her land offer. After the initial acceptance of her offer, city officials rejected subsequent acreage donations over concerns about potentially large maintenance costs. Their reluctance likely had some relationship to what McClung refers to as Los Angeles's discomfort with its parks. As a city, Los Angeles sorely lacked in public parks and showed reluctance toward expanding and maintaining them. Barnsdall's distant relationship to Los Angeles society due to her traveling hindered what public support she might have utilized in her efforts. In what McClung refers to as Los Angeles's "self-fashioning aristocracy" made up of the "glamorous and publicized," the influence of an oil heiress seemed less significant.⁶⁵ By 1930, Barnsdall's conflict with the city peaked over a dispute in the lease terms of her expanded donation. She pleaded with the Park Board to postpone a decision until she returned from a trip to Europe. Barnsdall's plea turned threatening when she asked that the objecting groups show a willingness to compromise, before she did something even more damaging to the land by "trying to form a radical center by giving land to radical groups in the city whom [she] had long been trying to help."⁶⁶ Barnsdall's growing frustration with the city and locals increased her level of aggression and she asserted this by digging in her heels and fighting.

Through lawyers, lawsuits, and those "pugnacious signs," Barnsdall contributed to the conflict between herself and the city Park Board. Her radicalism stood in opposition to that of local powers like Chandler, which meant she lacked support in the public sphere for her land donation. By the 1940s, the *Los Angeles Times'* coverage of her shifted from praising her munificence and generosity to emphasizing petty squabbles and portraying her as an eccentric recluse. The paper gave particular attention to a dispute between Barnsdall and the city over her violation of a dog leash ordinance. *Los Angeles Times'* writers reverted to calling her an "oil heiress" in most every headline rather than a patron or philanthropist. Upon

her death, coverage focused on her varied disputes with the city, with scarcely a mention of her philanthropic work or her time with Frank Lloyd Wright.⁶⁷ Instead, they focused on a story about a directive in her will that allotted a portion of her estate to the care and maintenance of her dogs.⁶⁸ Because of her reputation as a radical, her tumultuous relationship with the city, and her unwillingness to court the support of men like Chandler or groups like the Chamber of Commerce, Aline Barnsdall's hopes for establishing a truly open cultural center in Los Angeles failed to develop.

Conclusion

Aline Barnsdall's daughter said, upon her mother's death "I believe I could best describe her as a sort of 'female Don Quixote' always jousting windmills—a dreamer."⁶⁹ Perhaps Barnsdall's opponents possessed strength larger than she could fight. Barnsdall assumed the role of the quintessential "new woman" of the 1920s and her position in society allowed her a measure of freedom and room to dream. She commissioned the best architect she could find to design a theater for her, but his overwhelming commitment to his own vision and unwillingness to prioritize her as a client led to conflicts. Wright's reputation as one of the great American architects bestows upon him a power as a storyteller. The story he tells of Barnsdall exists as one of an easily swayed wealthy woman, shifting to-and-fro wherever life took her. She moved to the city based on the pretense that it existed as a place open to free thinkers. Barnsdall failed to understand the conservative, anti-radical nature of the city's boosters and investors. Her modern views on marriage and labor earned Barnsdall little favor with leaders such as Chandler and her seemingly endless battles with the city over her land donations contributed to an image of her as a difficult woman for

67. "Aline Barnsdall, Oil Heiress, Found Dead," *Los Angeles Times*, December 19, 1946.

68. "Miss Barnsdall Leaves \$5000 For Her 22 Dogs," *Los Angeles Times*, January 3, 1947.

69. Henry Sutherland, "Strange Saga of Barnsdall Park," *Los Angeles Times*, March 15, 1970.

65. McClung, *Landscapes of Desire*, 178.

66. "Park Compromise Asked," *Los Angeles Times*, July 23, 1931.



Winners in a 1965 art festival held at Barnsdall Park. The California Arts Club maintained the space as a place for art and exhibitions and continues to do so, making Barnsdall's dream of leaving behind a legacy of cultural space, a reality. Dave Cicero, photographer, *Outdoor Art Festival at Barnsdall, 1965* (Los Angeles: Herald-Examiner Collection/Los Angeles Public Library Photo Collection).

the city to deal with. The *Los Angeles Times* colored Barnsdall as an eccentric recluse and failed to memorialize her contributions to the physical and cultural landscape of the city.

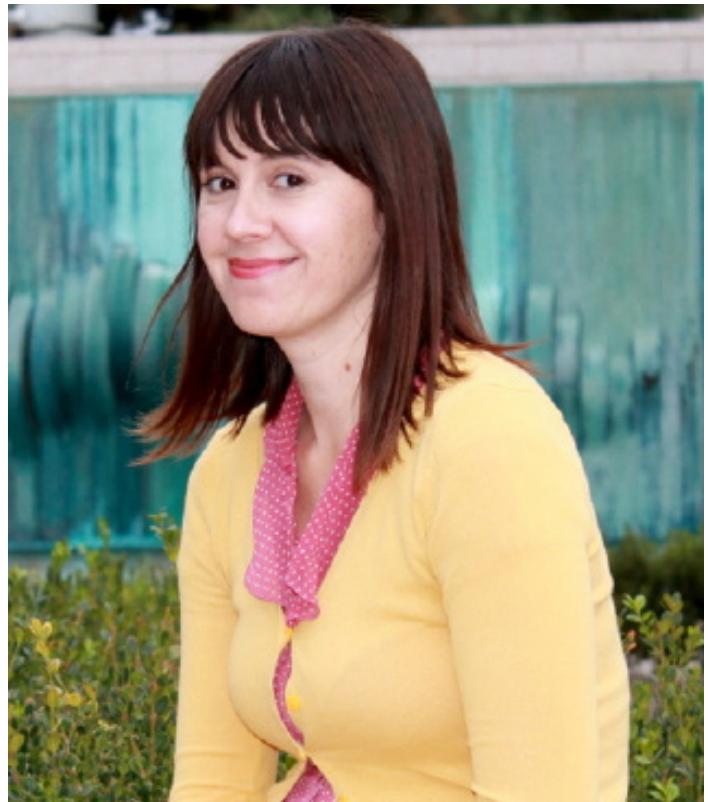
Ultimately, Barnsdall defined herself as a “new kind of woman,” telling Wright, “You will never know me if you don’t come to realize that I have never known fear in that or any other moral sense, that I am only at home and interested in uncharted seas. My willfulness I was born with. I haven’t that old fashioned thing called womans [sic] weakness and I doubt if many women ever really had it, rather they projected it to flatter the ego of men...”⁷⁰ As a woman without fear, empowered by the safety of her wealth, she took risks and created space for herself. The study of cultural landscapes emphasizes the importance of space as an access point of power. Barnsdall’s financial position empowered her to grab her own piece of the emerging metropolis marking the landscape of the city permanently.

A new study of Barnsdall’s life that emphasizes her role as a patron and collaborator, rather than a

keeper of failed dreams, would illuminate her work with Wright and correct the limited picture of her available now. Historians ought to further their studies by examining the work she left behind. Her successful theatrical productions in Chicago and briefly Los Angeles, reveal a woman with an eye for talent and the ability to nurture it. The school and playground on the grounds of Olive Hill provided children with a safe and beautiful space in the midst of the city. The use of Hollyhock House by the California Arts Club led to a multitude of exhibitions, including a showing of pieces by Henry Ossawa Tanner, thereby marking the first exhibition of a black artist in city history. Barnsdall’s funding of Tom Mooney certainly contributed to his eventual pardon in 1939. She outwardly expressed her artistic drive and her letters reveal an inner world teeming with impatience, vision, and passion. Aline Barnsdall’s life speaks to a specific cultural moment when the possibilities for men and women were more open than ever before. She burst out of that world looking to create something of value and left behind a legacy of rebellion and authenticity.

70. Aline Barnsdall’s communication with Frank Lloyd Wright, July 27, 1916, in Kathryn Smith, *Hollyhock House and Olive Hill*, 194.

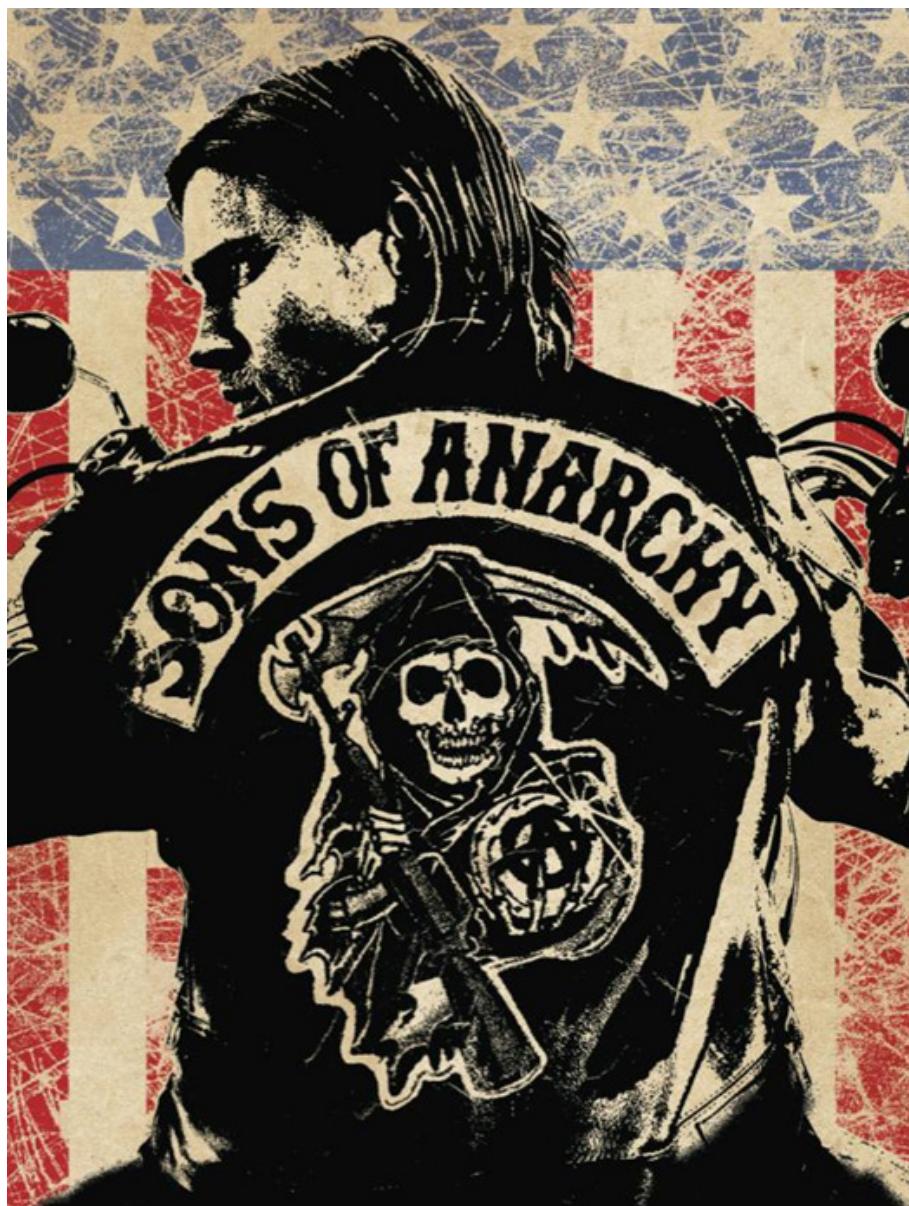
Jeena Trexler-Sousa is a Master's candidate at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), where she graduated with honors from their undergraduate history program in 2008. Trexler-Sousa plans to complete her thesis in the spring of 2015, which focuses on Aline Barnsdall and the construction of space in Los Angeles in the early twentieth century. Trexler-Sousa formerly worked with the Claremont Heritage Foundation, assisting in archival organization and helping execute public exhibitions related to city history. Following her completion of the MA program at CSUF, Trexler-Sousa plans to continue her research in a doctoral program.



The Blood of Friends and Foes:

How Sons of Anarchy Reinforces Racial Stereotypes

Chloé Reid



This image constitutes one of many promotional posters for "Sons of Anarchy." *SOA Promontion*, poster, August 11, 2008 (online archives: FX Network).

Sons of Anarchy remains one of the most controversial television programs on the air, known for its gruesomeness, excellent acting, and coverage of contentious topics. Despite its worldwide fan base, many overlook the persistence of racial stereotyping in the program. This profiling specifically targets African Americans, Latinos, and the Irish. **Chloé Reid** contends, although the show remains a forum for analyzing controversial topics such as race, the show's creator and writers often perpetuate destructive stereotypes.

In *Sons of Anarchy* guns, violence, backstabbing, betrayal, and gang-related activities occur regularly for its characters. In spite of these storylines, many fans often overlook the interactions taking place between members of different races. Critics consider the show one of the most controversial currently on television. Many call Kurt Sutter, one of the program's executive producers, "the boldest creator and writer today."¹ Although the main story arc of the *Sons of Anarchy* revolves around family and familial relationships, the show also touches on the controversial topic of race and racial stereotypes. The show's creators pride themselves on acquiring authentic actors to play certain characters such as the "Latin lover" or the "drunk Irishman"; however, *Sons of Anarchy* fails to realize its greatest downfall—its dualistic ability to reinforce the racial stereotypes of African Americans, Latinos, and Irishmen, while also emphasizing the notion that tattoos represent a symbol of criminality.

Sons of Anarchy—an adrenaline-filled crime drama—explores a notorious outlaw motorcycle club's (MC) aspiration to protect its livelihood, while also guaranteeing their small, cozy town of Charming, California remains exactly that—charming. The MC battles threats from drug dealers, law officers, and workers of the corporate world on a daily basis. Although the club deals with these dangers, there remains another side of the story focusing on family life and the MC's business, a legally thriving automotive shop. The family business and members, however, secretly engage in the illegal arms trade, as the enticements of power, blood, and money motivates them. Each season contains two parallel story lines of Jackson "Jax" Teller, the show's main protagonist. One focuses on his immediate family, while the other concentrates on the motorcycle gang, otherwise known as Sons of Anarchy Motorcycle Club Redwood Original (SAMCRO). The group involves itself with gunrunning throughout most of the western United States and deals with an assortment of rival gangs. Jax fights a constant battle wherein he questions not only SAMCRO's dangerous path, but his father's legacy, him-

1. Shannon Metzger, "Interview: Kurt Sutter Talks Outlaws, Loyalty, and Racial Stereotypes," *Complex* (Sep., 2012): 4.



Lead character Jax Teller, played by Charlie Hunnam, plays the role of the main protagonist in the television series *Sons of Anarchy*. *Jax Teller*, photograph, 2012 (FX Networks).

self, and his willingness to continue his treacherous and perilous life.

Several important factors exist in the creation of SAMCRO. Jax's father, John Teller, and his good friend Piermont "Piney" Winston co-founded the club in 1967 after their return home from the Vietnam War. Both men struggled to assimilate into society and they yearned for the type of brotherhood and camaraderie found during the war. This led them to create the Sons of Anarchy motorcycle club. The first chapter of the MC club goes by the name "Redwood" for its symbolic remembrance as the area from Eureka to Big Sur, otherwise known as "Redwood Country," the place where John and his wife Gemma traveled before the birth of Jax.

SAMCRO comes into contact with numerous allied and rival motorcycle gangs consisting of a variety of races throughout every season. *Sons of Anarchy* proves unique in its incorporation of several mem-

bers of different ethnicities on its show and displays the interaction between these races, whether positive or negative. The show's creator works tirelessly to make members of each gang as authentic as possible, where actual Mexican Americans and Irishmen play characters that fit their racial role. Sutter even hired real members of motorcycle gangs to act in the show to make the production as genuine as possible. Unfortunately, the show's incorporation and portrayal of these races demonstrates its ability to reinforce racial stereotypes of blacks, Mexicans, and even the Irish..

In Jason Mittell's text *Television and American Culture*, he writes, "Racial differences lie at the core of American society, with its history of violence and divisiveness along racial lines, as well as the centrality of immigration throughout the country's evolution."² He explains further, saying, "Racial and ethnic representations have also played a central role in the history of television, charting changing social attitudes and shaping public opinion in powerful ways."³ The depiction of African Americans makes them one of the most obvious racial stereotypes in *Sons of Anarchy*. In Susan Ross and Paul Lester's book *Images That Injure: Pictorial Stereotypes in the Media*, both editors discuss the typecasting of blacks, stating, "In almost every decade from the time of the publication of the Kerner Commission Report through the first decade of the twenty-first century, studies have documented the prevalent stereotype of African Americans as criminal."⁴ The report conducted in the 1970s, encompasses a study regarding African American images in the news, which found the public viewed blacks as threatening, delinquents, and possible gang members.⁵ Beginning in the 1970s, the most frequently used image on television news "concerned

possible crime or past illegal activity on the part of blacks."⁶ The most common representation of the African American consists of not only a lawbreaker, but a *violent* and *menacing* criminal. Ross and Lester also argue blacks prove "more likely to be portrayed as perpetrators of a crime" in addition to the public perceiving them as felons.⁷ Their academic research shows a similar parallel to Dennis Rome's work, *Black Demons: The Media's Depiction of the African American Male Criminal Stereotype*. He explains criminal television shows, in relation to blacks, tell "[t]ales of adventure in the ghetto, filled with depictions of stunted, wasted lives, black sexual adventurousness, and gratuitous spectacles of gang violence, drugs, and crime."⁸

On *Sons of Anarchy*, the portrayals of African Americans do not deviate far from these depictions. For example, SAMCRO primarily interacts with

blacks through their business relationship with the rival and sometimes-allied black gang, the One-Niners. This street gang, based in Los Angeles and Oakland, California, typi-

Unfortunately, the show's incorporation and portrayal of these races demonstrates its ability to reinforce racial stereotypes of Blacks, Mexicans, and even the Irish.

callly sports purple clothing, as gangs often use specific colors in their day-to-day activities to signal which gang they represent. The gang mostly deals heroin and buys their weapons from the SAMCRO and the Russian Mafia, thus reinforcing the stereotype of blacks' involvement with drugs. Furthermore, from their debut in the 'Pilot' episode onward, the One-Niners' appearance reinforces the black gang member stereotype. Rome notes that clothing contributes to the stereotyping of African Americans as well, stating, "Being black, wearing low-hung, baggy pants, and sporting dreadlocks is likely to get a person quickly through the stages of getting into prison."⁹ In the pilot, Clay Morrow, the president of SAMCRO, meets with Laroy Wayne, the One-Niners leader, who

2. Jason Mittell, *Television and American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 315.

3. Ibid.

4. Paul Martin Lester and Susan Dente Ross, eds., *Images That Injure: Pictorial Stereotypes in the Media* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2003), 109.

5. Ibid., 109.

6. Ibid., 110.

7. Ibid., 111.

8. Dennis Rome, *Black Demons: The Media's Depiction of the African American Male Criminal Stereotype* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2004), 50.

9. Ibid., 45.



Jax and Damon Pope discuss club politics. Prashant Gupta, photograph, October 29, 2012 (FX Networks).

surrounds himself with a posse of men. Each of these men dons low, baggy pants, and several of them wear do-rags with dreadlocks.

Another important feature of note involves the type of car Laroy and his gang members drive nearly every time they come into contact with SAMCRO. The One-Niners typically drive a fancy Escalade or a shiny coupe with spinner rims. Ross and Lester make note of this stereotype of the black gang vehicle saying, “The narrative vehicle that has come to enjoy the most commercial success and seems to dominate the new wave of studio production is the ‘ghetto-centric’ action-crime-adventure vehicle.”¹⁰ This demonstrates many label African Americans by not only their appearance, but the type of vehicles they drive as well. Other references to the black stereotype from the first season include the episode, “The Sleep of Babies,” where Clay makes a reference to the style and man-

ner of how African Americans kill. In this episode, he makes a secret plan with fellow SAMCRO member, Tig Trager, to kill Opie Winston. Morrow, suspicious of Winston, believes that he ratted out the club to the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives and planned to expose SAMCRO’s illegal activities. To the club, the crime of a member revealing confidential information warrants death. Clay orders Tig to eliminate Opie in a drive-by shooting in order to frame the One-Niners. Clay instructs Tig to, “Make it ghetto, make it gangster.”¹¹ This would pin the crime on the the black gang and make Clay look innocent. This quote suggests the extreme violence Blacks resort to in crimes they commit and also implies a certain manner in which they kill, usually with guns and drive-by shootings. blacks typically use guns for killing as this symbolizes disrespect, in addition to affiliation with ghetto violence. In Denise

10. Ibid., 88.

11. *Sons of Anarchy Season 1*, DVD, directed by Allen Coulter (2008; Los Angeles, CA: Twentieth Century Fox, 2009).

Bissler and Joan Conners text, *The Harms of Crime Media: Essays on the Perpetuation of Racism, Sexism, and Class Stereotypes*, these editors argue that the use of guns became “constructed as an ‘accessory’ of the ghetto. Violence is seen as an acceptable way to enforce social control on the street. It can be used to respond to challenges, to resist victimization or is often tied to the issues of disrespect.”¹² With this stereotype set in motion by Clay, it proves relatively easy for SAMCRO to assume the One-Niners committed the crime against Opie and not their own members, as their white MC would never kill in such a “ghetto” manner.

One of the main storylines of season five deals with the tumultuous relationship between Damon Pope and SAMCRO. Pope receives mention at the end of season four as the most dangerous gangster in Oakland. As the primary antagonist of season five, he presents himself as an exceptionally powerful businessman on the surface. However, he reveals himself as a bloodthirsty, calculating, and ruthless individual who holds power over many black gangs, including the One-Niners. Pope often demonstrates his power through the use of extreme violence to make situations go his way. He also goes to tremendous lengths to distance himself from exposure to his own illegal activities, as he does not want any wrongdoings traced back to himself. Pope ensures his safety by hiring a variety of people to do his dirty work, and often calls upon the One-Niner gang to carry out illegal activities. The character of Damon Pope serves as the ideal example of “The Black Demon.” The stereotype of the Black Demon emerged in the 1970s, where African American males—seen as big-time criminals—wielded a considerable amount of power.

Dennis Rome comments on the image of the Black Demon by discussing the 1970s movie *Super-*

fly. The film centers on the character Priest, a well-known, big-time drug dealer: “Priest spends his days, as well as his nights, selling and organizing the delivery of drugs. He is so prominent in the drug business that he has several individuals working under him who actually do the drug deals for him; Priest is sort of an overseer who is portrayed as ruthless and uncaring about anyone except himself,”¹³ much like Damon Pope’s character. *Superfly* shows him “wearing the best clothes, driving very expensive cars, and of course, having a beautiful woman by his side.”¹⁴ In the episode “Small World,” Pope wears an expensive, dark blue suit and sits in the back of a Rolls-Royce Phantom, where he tells his beautiful female companion to leave the vehicle so that he and Jax can discuss business. African American males and the stereotype of the Black Demon also exude “[a]ggressiveness, lawlessness, and violence.”¹⁵ Pope displays his brutal

violence in several episodes of *Sons of Anarchy*. The most significant examples appear in season five’s “Laying Pipe” and “Sovereign.” In “Laying

Pipe,” Jax, Tig, Opie, and Chibs spend time in prison due to their involvement in the illegal gun business. Though upset about their incarceration, they know their jail sentence will end shortly and they will get the opportunity to return to their families. However, unbeknownst to the SAMCRO members, tragedy will strike due to the deviousness of Damon Pope. In retaliation for Tig accidentally killing Pope’s daughter at the end of season four, Pope retrieves Jax in prison and explains two things to him: first, he tells Jax to keep Trager alive at all costs, as he wants to personally cause pain to Tig once released; second, he says that as revenge for his daughter’s death, he wants another SAMCRO member killed while in prison. Unknown by Jax or the other incarcerated members, Pope buys the services of the wardens and arranges for other inmates to fight to the death with a SAMCRO member. In a horrific twist, Opie dies by sacrificing himself in

12. Denise Bissler and Joan Conners, eds., *The Harms of Crime Media: Essays on the Perpetuation of Racism, Sexism, and Class Stereotypes* (Jefferson, NC: MacFarland & Company, 2012), 184.

13. Rome, *Black Demons*, 90.

14. *Ibid.*, 90.

15. *Ibid.*, 2.

order to protect Jax, leaving Teller utterly heartbroken by the death of his best friend.

Pope continues to display violence in the episode “Sovereign,” in which he kidnaps Tig and takes him to a deserted area. He then handcuffs him to a pole by a pit in the ground. Tig eventually realizes Pope captured one of his daughters, Dawn, as he sees her lying at the bottom of the pit, unconscious. She later wakes up to the sensation of Pope’s associate pouring gasoline on her. As Tig becomes aware of his daughter’s imminent death, he begs Pope to kill him instead. Pope refuses, turns to him and says, “Know my pain, Mr. Trager,” as he throws his cigarette into the pit, setting Dawn on fire.¹⁶ Tig, in shock, watches as his daughter burns to death.

Sons of Anarchy also reinforces the racial stereotypes of Latin and Mexican Americans. Lester and Ross comment on the stereotypes of Latinos saying, “Media portrayals of Hispanics in general, be they in popular culture such as television or movies or in the mainstream press through newspaper or magazine depictions of the Latino experience in this country, have often been stilted at best and racist at worst.”¹⁷ Although *Sons of Anarchy* incorporates large numbers of Latinos for the show, it continues to portray racial stereotypes of Hispanics, particularly Mexicans, thus continuing the trend of these images throughout popular culture. Generally, two different stereotypes of Latinos emerge on television. The first consists of the urban criminal—or the gang member. Lester and Ross add, “In many respects, the gang banger has become the bandito of today” and often comes into conflict with the main Anglo characters.¹⁸ The stereotype of the bandito stems from 1970s Western films where Mexicans served as “[s]taple bad guys whenever the script called for a change from the bad guys in Westerns, the Indians.”¹⁹

In *Sons of Anarchy*, the rival motorcycle gang,

The Mayans, parallel the image of the bandito and feed into the common stereotype. The Mayans control parts of California and all of Nevada. The leader of their Oakland chapter, Marcus Álvarez, also serves as the club’s national president. The gang consists entirely of Hispanic members, most likely of Mexican heritage. The Mayans’ insignia on the back of their club jackets contain the phrase “Los Asesinos de Dios,” which in English means “Assassins of God.” This gang appears for the first time on the “Pilot” episode where traditional Mexican Banda music plays in the background. The camera zooms in at a close angle showing snakeskin cowboy boots and then zooms up and out to reveal the face of Álvarez. Shortly after this scene, the Mayans break into SAMCRO’s warehouse, where they store their weapons. They steal the weapons and then proceed to burn the building down. After SAMCRO discovers their warehouse destroyed and their guns stolen, they also find the bodies of two

Mexican women hiding in an underground compartment. In reference to the burned bodies, Clay uses the terms “fried and refried,” giving a racial reference to refried beans, a common ingredient often found in Mexican food. In the first season episode “Hell Followed,” Clay mentions SAMCRO’s need to meet up with Alvarez’s gang in “the barrio” in order to settle some business regarding the Mayans’ fellow motorcycle club, The Calaveras—another all-Hispanic gang based in Lodi, California. The Sons find the Mayans at the park where, yet again, authentic Mexican music plays in the background as children eat churros and play with piñatas.

The Mayans also specialize in heroin trading and involve themselves with the Jose Galido drug cartel, loosely based on the real life crime organization “Los Zetas”—a powerful and violent criminal syndicate from Mexico. The common perception of involvement with illicit drugs and alcohol remains injurious to the Latino image. According to ethnic media groups, such as the National Association of Hispanic Journalists, the image of Latino involvement in drugs and trafficking needs to end due to its negative effect on Hispanic culture and the damage these portrayals

16. *Sons of Anarchy Season 5*, DVD, directed by Adam Arkin (2012; Los Angeles, CA: Twentieth Century Fox, 2013).

17. Lester and Ross, *Images That Injure*, 94.

18. *Ibid.*, 102.

19. *Ibid.*, 96.



Nero Padilla—played by Jimmy Smits—portrays the stereotype of the “Latin Lover.” Prashant Gupta, October 1, 2012, color photograph (FX Networks).

can cause.²⁰ Ross and Lester note how the image of Hispanic involvement in crime and drugs continues to be the most popular representation of their culture, saying, “Crime rates are high in the impoverished barrios and ghettos in the United States, and much of this crime is caused by illicit drugs and trafficking.”²¹ Elsa Nunez-Wormack, the chair of New Jersey’s Hispanic Association of Higher Education in 1990, expressed these same concerns saying, “There’s a lot going on in our communities, but we only see the bad—the stereotypes.”²² This demonstrates that because Americans only see the negative stereotypes of Mexicans and other Hispanics, people continue to believe this image of Latinos as true. Shows like *Sons of Anarchy*

continue to feed and reinforce this stereotype, giving the audience the impression Latinos maintain connections to drugs and other illicit activities.

The second prominent stereotype of the Latino consists of the Latin lover. One of the first and most popular images of the Latin lover appears in the 1950s Western TV series *The Cisco Kid*, with Duncan Renaldo playing the lead role. Some thirty-seven years after its original series ended, *The Cisco Kid* received a remake as a film starring Jimmy Smits as Cisco. In Clint Wilson, Félix Gutiérrez, and Lena Chao’s text, *Racism, Sexism, and the Media: The Rise of Class Communication in Multicultural America*, these editors agree the role of Cisco fulfills the characteristics of the Latin lover, but “Due to his audience’s age, he never got romantically involved with the love-stricken ladies.”²³ Ironically in *Sons of Anarchy*, actor Jimmy Smits reinforces the role of the Latin lover playing Nero Padilla, a Mexican-American pimp who refers to himself as a “companionator.” Nero also serves as head of a Mexican gang known as the Byz Lats, or the Byzantine Latinos. Nero and Gemma begin a sexual relationship in Season five, Episode two called “Authority Vested,” where she often finds comfort, protection, and sexual satisfaction with Nero, while at odds with Clay by the end of Season four.

The last racial stereotype reinforced on *Sons of Anarchy* comprises that of the Irishman. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Irish acquired two stereotypes, both rooted in alcoholism: the first, a man whose drunkenness leads to violent behavior; the second, the good-natured, fun-loving carouser. Images of the inebriated and savage Irishman date back to the Middle Ages, when many people—especially Englishmen—saw them as inferior beings.” Lester and Ross explain, “This view persisted and crossed the Atlantic with the British settlers who continues to use the epithet *wild Irish* and to pass laws overtly discriminating against Catholics,

20. Lester and Ross, *Images That Injure*, 31.

21. Ibid., 318.

22. Ibid.

23. Clint Wilson, Félix Gutiérrez, and Lena Chao, eds., *Racism, Sexism, and the Media: The Rise of Class Communication in Multicultural America* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2004), 103.

most of whom were Irish.”²⁴ This image of the wild and drunken male persisted in the nineteenth century with the creation of several derisive cartoons condemning the Irish as having “an inclination toward drinking and related crimes.”²⁵ The second stereotype centers on the jovial alcoholic. Lester and Ross argue the twentieth century stereotype of the Irishman “Is comic and affable...Irish drunkenness is presented as an expression of jovial boisterousness rather than violence and bestiality.”²⁶ *Sons of Anarchy* does an excellent job of incorporating both stereotypes into the show, especially during the First and Third seasons. In the Season one episode titled “The Pull,” Clay and Chibs Telford meet with an Irish colleague from the IRA named Cameron Hayes, who supplies SAMCRO with guns from Northern Ireland. Morrow and Telford meet Cameron at a local Irish pub where a drunken brawl between two Irishmen takes place and ultimately ends in a shooting. Cameron gets shot and nearly dies, with Chibs and Clay barely escaping the scene. This episode shows the violence of drunken Irishmen, while the scene takes place at the conventional setting of the pub. More importantly, the character of Chibs lives as a physical representation of drunken Irish brutality due to the facial scars he dons. Telford’s nickname “Chibs” derives from the Scottish slang word for a blade, slash, or cut. He receives his facial scars from a former enemy, Jimmy O’Phelan, who while drunk slashed the corners of Chibs’ mouth, giving him the infamous Glasgow Smile. In a Season three episode titled “Lochan Mor,” the mother club pays a visit to their Irish club counterpart SAMBEL, located in Northern Ireland. In this episode, the SAMCRO men party in a jovial manner while drinking heavily with their fellow comrades, showing the opposite stereotype of the fun-loving, drunk Irishman.

Perhaps the most interesting and unique form of stereotyping on *Sons of Anarchy*—the use of the tattoo—symbolizes different racial groups and criminal activity. Although subconsciously used, the tattoos displayed on every character of the show offers damaging and lasting effects on these different races.

24. Lester and Ross, *Images That Injure*, 133.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid., 135.

As previously noted, criminality of African Americans and Latinos endure as one of the most destructive stereotypes of a modified people. Ultimately, the show’s opening credits furthers this issue; however, this problem cannot be rectified, as it remains one of the primary factors of the show’s significance. Because all the characters on the show exhibit tattoos with various criminal themes, the program’s introduction graphically relates its leading characters by linking tattoos with criminality. In this opening sequence, video effects identify the actor behind each character by morphing individual tattoos into the names of the actors. These unique tattoos thereby identify both the characters and their name. Lester and Ross add to this aspect saying, “Beyond the intimate association of tattooing and criminality, this visual montage also reflects the deep identification some people feel with their modifications. These tattoos are also racially charged.”²⁷ Each different ethnic gang in *Sons of Anarchy*—Anglo Americans, African Americans, and Latinos—display a different tattoo style. SAMCRO members exhibit the Grim Reaper image on their backs, the Niners have the “IX” symbol on the back of their necks, and the Mayans display an ancient Mayan symbol with a skull in the middle.

In an interview for *Complex* magazine, writer Shannon Metzger interviews the *Sons of Anarchy* creator. Metzger discusses the issue of racial stereotyping on the show, asking Kurt Sutter about his fears and concerns of the Latino and black gangs appearing stereotypical. Sutter replies saying:

I think you always run the risk of that when you have characters that you don’t have the time or the page count to develop in a three-dimensional way. Obviously when you have secondary characters like that you write them and give them as much time as you possibly can, but you do run the risk of them becoming “Latino banger No. 1” and “Latino banger No. 2.” I think what we try to do is we usually have a main character or a main adversary that represents the world. We try to make that main character as three-dimensional as possible, and hope that sort of tells the story of that world or that culture in a way that will counter some of that.²⁸

27. Lester and Ross, *Images That Injure*, 253.

28. Shannon Metzger, “Interview: Kurt Sutter Talks Outlaws, Loyalty, and Racial Stereotypes,” *Complex* (Sep., 2012), 4.



Jax's iconic back tattoo symbolizes the bond and ties Jax has with his club. For the younger generation of SAMCRO members, this tattoo was a way to establish their style. Photo Credit: 2014 Twentieth Century Fox Film Corporation.

Indeed, *Sons of Anarchy* does an excellent job of incorporating a variety of races within its program, and remains one of the few, if only, shows on current cable television to show such vast quantities of racial groups with a substantial amount of authentic cast members. However, Sutter's remarks about racial stereotyping seem weak at best. His attempt to defend the notion his show does not display or reinforce these types persists as a moot point, as his response subtly suggests his show does in fact bolster these stereotypes. Moreover, he never explicitly denies his show does not reinforce these typecasts. Sutter only explains how the television program honors the subculture by showing the realities of blacks and Latinos involvement in gang related activities. He also implies he does not have time to explain these other minor characters such like the Mayan or Niner characters in more detail due to script constraints. These script constraints therefore only show one side to these characters, preventing the audience from exploring the full-depth of that character. Ultimately,

representations and racial stereotyping of different identities help to culturally define what is normal for a particular group or race. In turn, these representations have a direct effect on how viewers think about ethnic norms, additionally shaping how people view others. Although *Sons of Anarchy* captures a wide range of races and integrates issues of race, violence, and criminal activity, it ultimately misses the mark to weaken racial stereotyping.

Chloe Reid received her BA in History from Biola University in 2011 and is currently pursuing her MA in public and oral history from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), with plans to graduate in spring 2015. She enjoys dual-membership in the Theta-Pi and Alpha-Alpha-Alpha chapters of Phi Alpha Theta. Reid also serves as Vice-President of the History Students Association at CSUF. Reid's historical interests include cultural and presidential history with a specific focus on assassinations. After graduation, she hopes to work at a presidential library or museum.



Frida Kahlo and Her Photos:

An Exhibit Review of the Museum of Latin American Art

Paulete Torres



In the spring of 2014, the Museum of Latin American Art (MOLAA) presented the Frida Kahlo Museum's (*Museo Frida Kahlo*) collection of personal photographs, shedding light on the renowned artist's work and life. The materials vary in subject matter and range from images she captured, to photos gifted to her by famous photographers such as Edward Weston, Lola and Manuel Alvarez Bravo, and Tina Modotti. Upon entering the exhibit, a quote from Kahlo sets the tone and greets guests: "I knew the battlefield of suffering was reflected in my eyes. From then on I started to look directly into the lens, without blinking, without smiling, determined to show that I would be a good fighter until the end."

Guillermo Kahlo and Matilde Calderón y González gave birth to a baby girl, whom they named Frida, on July 6, 1907. Guillermo, a German born immigrant, fostered the artistic child's creative needs from a young age and continually encouraged his daughter to achieve, despite the prohibitive societal gender norms of the time. At the age of six, Frida severely suffered through and survived polio. While the illness did not kill her, she experienced stunted growth in her right leg resulting in a limp. The deformity invited constant teasing and taunting from her peers that lasted into early adulthood. The hardships only increased over a decade later when the trolley she rode home crashed. Kahlo battled the severe injuries from this tragedy for the rest of her life, undergoing numerous surgeries in an attempt to improve her health. Yet, with modern medicine still in its infancy, these often did more harm than good.¹ Nevertheless, she proved herself a resilient fighter because despite poor health, Kahlo continues to receive recognition for living life to the fullest and more significantly, for thriving.

The MOLAA exhibit reflects Kahlo's arduous life by dividing her collection into six over-arching themes: her parents, the *Casa Azul*, *amores* (loves), her broken body, Diego Rivera, and photographs.²

1. Herrera, Hayden, *Frida, A Biography of Frida Kahlo* (New York: Perennial, 2002).

2. Kahlo used the name Casa Azul to refer to her bright blue childhood house located in her hometown of Coyoacán, Mexico.

The first section honors the artist's parents by displaying proud photographs of the family's indigenous maternal heritage. These images depict Matilde and other family dressed in the traditional *Tehuana* dress of Oaxaca. The second portion, *Casa Azul*, contrasts Kahlo between posed photographs that convey a stiff, almost militant pose, with more relaxed, candid images of the artist enjoying life. Numerous pictures of her lovers follow this juxtaposition and excellently express both her sensuality and connection to friends. The exhibit contends the photos in this section "more or less...show the effusive way that [she] related to these portraits, as if they were the people themselves." Kahlo's willingness to expose such vulnerable images encourages guests to feel the intimacy, as well as the significance of the images. The next area houses pictures relating to her recurring physical struggle, including photos from the popular hospital series by Nickolas Muray.³ His series portrays the painter's determination to live life despite the physical pain and challenges she constantly endured. In the collection, there exists a clear passion for painting and an optimism for life that the museum superbly summarizes when quoting Kahlo's words, "I am not sick, I am broken...but I am happy to be alive as long as I can paint." In the proceeding section, visitors understand her tenacity for life when Kahlo focuses on her husband, Diego Rivera, with both admiration and fascination. Here, guests view Rivera through her eyes, which deepens their understanding of his and Kahlo's political involvement. Many images address Mexican revolutionaries, industrialization at the Detroit Ford Motor plant, and Rivera's journey across Eastern Europe to the USSR—all topics held near and dear by the muralist. The final portion of the exhibit selects photographs in the collection presented to Kahlo personally by famous artists and includes some of her own work. To wrap up the experience, the museum provides activities seemingly oriented to younger audiences, such as dressing a Kahlo paper doll in various outfits, decorating a paper body cast, or writing her a personalized letter.

3. The Hungarian-born American photographer Nickolas Muray took many of the now well-known photographs of Kahlo recovering from her surgeries.

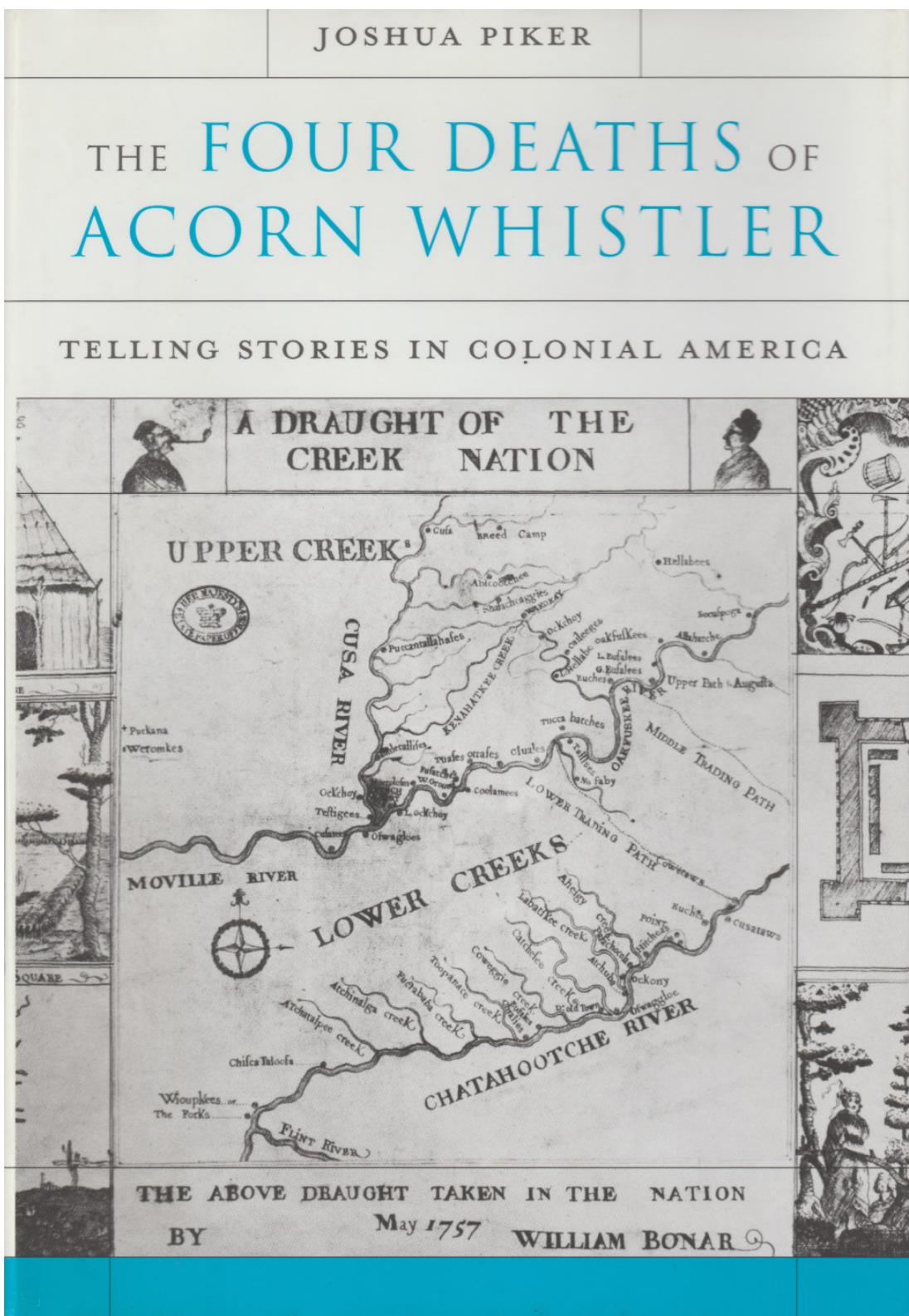
The exhibit addresses the cultural aspects of Mexico that Kahlo regarded passionately, though not in an explicit manner. The indigenous images, such as the artist herself in native Tehuantepec dress and peasant revolutionaries, respectfully appear throughout the collection with a lack racial or stereotyped presentation. Unfortunately, the labels that provide Spanish translations, in addition to the English wording, fail to maintain clear and consistent organization throughout. The *Casa Azul* clearly inspired the exhibit's design, as the use of color mimics the whimsy found at the artist's long-time home, while selected quotes provide accents that reinforce the ideas of each division. Due to the miniature size of many of the photographs, a significant amount of wall space goes to waste because images remain clustered together, creating traffic in exhibit movement. Furthermore, the typical small size of labels exacerbates this congestion as guests struggle to read the descriptive text. Despite these challenges for the viewer, the exhibit conveys an intimate look into the personal life of Frida Kahlo and presents her collection of photographs with reverence in a distinct, yet cohesive narrative of her passions, friends, and family.

Paulette Torres currently attends California State University, Fullerton, as an undergraduate history major with a minor in Latin American studies. Other than taking on the role of co-Editor-in-Chief for the 2015 *Welebaethan*, she also participates in both the Phi Alpha Theta, Theta-Pi chapter and the History Students Association. Torres hopes to eventually teach or work in a museum.



The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler: Telling Stories in Colonial America

Matt Bustos



An Associate Professor of History at the University of Oklahoma, Joshua Piker earned his PhD. in history from Cornell University in 1998. His first pivotal publication, *Okfuskee: A Creek Indian Town in Colonial America*, framed traditional accounts of pre-revolutionary Americans and Natives through the backdrop of an eighteenth century Creek Town, and more importantly, established his expertise within the colonial period. Piker built off this in 2013 by creating a multifaceted, yet easily comprehensible narrative of colonial America in *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler*. The author takes a single gruesome frontier attack—coupled with the subsequent execution of Creek leader Acorn Whistler—and produces a vivid account of life in South Carolina. When analyzed, this lone event reveals the complexities of pre-revolution America. Factions within this new, untamed land exploited occurrences, such as Whistler's, to benefit their own agenda and strengthen their hold within the burgeoning frontier. He recognizes the complicated and fleeting nature of supremacy during this time period, stating, “All in all, then, North America in the middle decades of the eighteenth century was a place where leaders who aspired to power invariably settled for influence, a world where plans quickly devolved into hopes, orders into requests, dominion into chaos.”¹ The resulting work constructs a clear interpretation of rule in colonial America.

The notion of the “four deaths” suffered by Acorn Whistler pertains to how various groups used his death to represent something that could benefit their own agenda. The author divides these deaths into four distinct categories: imperial, national, local, and colonial. Piker exemplifies his attention to detail in the imperial narrative of the book. For example, South Carolina Governor James Glen—whose tenuous hold on his office made him eager to prove himself worthy in the eyes of the British Empire—used the event for personal gain. The skirmish between the Cherokee and Creek warriors that set off the series of events occurred steps from his mansion in South Carolina. Glen, using Whistler's own relative, arranged

for the execution of the Creek leader to show his superiors that in spite of any perceived weaknesses he may possess, he maintained control in the region.

Piker delves deeper by exploring why Glen felt he needed to use Whistler's death to prove his worth and competence to British officials who questioned his effectiveness. He does this through an in-depth analysis of his correspondence with imperial officers in England. One such incident involved letters between Glen and the Duke of Bedford, an exchange including the Duke describing his actions as “unprecedented” and “highly blameable.”² Using the evidence provided, Piker constructs a narrative for Glen that reveals the insecurities of the governor and helps peer into the collective “imperial mind” of British administrators on both sides of the Atlantic.

While *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler* contains a painstaking amount of research and attention to detail, Piker does not shy away from thoughtful analysis where evidence lacks. When discussing the national death of Whistler, Piker focuses on another Creek leader, Malatchi. He aspired to unite the Upper Creeks and Lower Creeks, a notion that went against the traditional power structures of the tribe. In addition, he wished to advance his own power beyond the Creek nation by playing many of the European powers off of each other. To do this, he devised a delicate plan involving the Creek-Cherokee conflict that led to the assassination of Whistler. Piker, based on his knowledge of colonial America and the power structures within Creek culture, constructs an image of Malatchi's mindset: “My sense is that Malatchi was in a delicate position in April 1752, expecting his plans to bear fruit but aware that failure was a real possibility. The good news, from his perspective, was that he was playing with house money...Malatchi, unlike Glen, was not going to be fired or recalled in disgrace.”³ Piker does an excellent job of fleshing out inferences he may possess regarding a specific figure's mindset. This allows him to postulate on the intentions and perspective of an individual who may not have a comprehensive written record.

1. Joshua Piker, *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler: Telling Stories in Colonial America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 10.

2. Ibid., 35.

3. Ibid., 103.

Thorough research and thoughtful analysis, while undoubtedly important, cannot produce a distinguished book without a prose that grabs the attention of the reader. Piker true strength comes from conveying information in a comprehensible and immensely readable book. He manages to write in a conversational tone while retaining his professionalism. When discussing an aspect of Malatchi's plan to play other colonial factions against each other, Piker acknowledges the precarious condition of the Creek leader's plot, stating, "All of that likely calls to mind expressions such as 'house of cards' and 'If we had ham, we could have ham and eggs, if we had eggs.' And, to some extent, fair enough. We must recognize, however, that Malatchi had solid reasons for committing himself to this convoluted plan."⁴ Piker transitions between ideas using a seamless writing style that, while sometimes muddled, delivers an interesting story vital to the grander historical field. He also uses a variety of references to popular culture in order to help the audience connect with the material, for example, "The end result is odd—I sometimes describe this book as *Rashomon* meets *Last of the Mohicans*, with just a dash of *Who Framed Roger Rabbit?*—and at times a bit untidy, but so was the colonial American world that I seek to illuminate."⁵

Piker does a stupendous job contributing to the scholarly field in *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler*. His work challenges traditional assertion made by many historians, and poses this alternative question, "Winners write history, but—to return to my question in the introduction—what of histories where there are no winners?...[I]n the end, it is those stories and the ways in which they were told that allow us to understand what it meant to be a contemporary of Acorn Whistler."⁶ Piker takes this single event and shows the true ambiguity of history. Whistler died once, but each individual affected by his death experienced and gained something slightly different than everyone else.

4. *Ibid.*, 96.

5. *Ibid.*, 27.

6. *Ibid.*, 255.

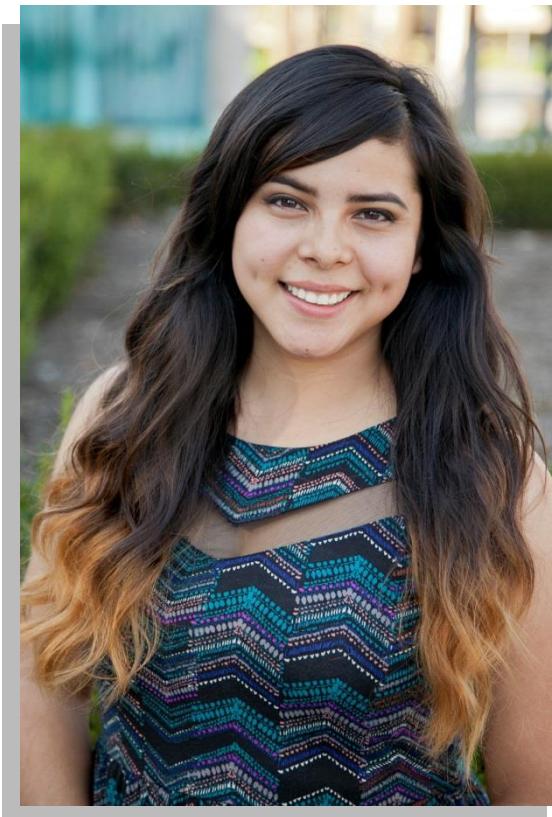
Matt Bustos earned his BA in history from California State University, San Bernardino in 2009. After joining the graduate program at Cal State University, Fullerton in 2011, Bustos spent three years on the *Welebaethan* staff, including as a Managing Editor for the 2014 edition. His academic work focuses on public and oral history. His research interests include California, military, sports, and Native American history. Bustos joined the Theta-Pi chapter of Phi Alpha Theta in spring 2013. His culminating project examines the Native American Policies of Richard M. Nixon's presidential administration. Bustos hopes to teach at the community college level or work for a museum upon graduation.



EDITORS-IN-CHIEF



Currently a graduate student at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), **Tim Barrette** assumed the role of Editor-in-Chief (EIC) for the 2015 *Welebaethan*. Barrette remains active within the CSUF history department and participates in several organizations including Phi-Alpha Theta, Theta-Pi chapter, History Students Association, European Society, and the Cultural and Public History Association. In narrow scope, his scholastic interests focus on the issues that arise from imperialism, especially within Rwanda. On a larger scale, he analyzes world history, specifically focusing on recurrent themes of power and control that permeate every facet of history. Following his tenure as EIC for the *Welebaethan*, Barrette plans to pursue a PhD in the field of history. He ultimately hopes to teach world history at a university.



Paulette Torres currently attends California State University, Fullerton, as an undergraduate history major with a minor in Latin American studies. Other than taking on the role of co-Editor-in-Chief for the 2015 *Welebaethan*, she also participates in both the Phi Alpha Theta, Theta-Pi chapter and the History Students Association. After graduation, Torres hopes to teach or work for a museum.

MANAGING EDITORS



Joey Hwang graduated from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), in 2013 with a BA in history and religious studies. He holds membership in Phi Alpha Theta (PAT), Theta-Pi chapter and Theta Alpha Kappa, Alpha Kappa Rho chapter. Currently an MA student at CSUF, his research interests include post-1900 Middle Eastern History with a focus on World War I and the Anzacs. Hwang recently presented his paper, “Gallipoli and the Great War: The Formation of New Zealand’s National Consciousness and the ‘Anzac’ Spirit,” at PAT’s regional conference in San Diego. He also served as a Teaching Associate for CSUF’s comparative religion department in fall 2014, teaching their *Religions of the World* course.



Dane Royster is currently pursuing his MA in history at California State University, Fullerton. He focuses his study on the historiography of sexuality and twentieth century history. Last year, Royster served as an editor for the 2014 *Welebaethan*, and now works as a Managing Editor on the current edition. Presently, he serves a member of Phi Alpha Theta, Theta-Pi chapter and the Cultural and Public History Association and plans on pursuing official positions in each organization in the future. Royster ultimately intends to teach at the community college level with plans to pursue a PhD in sexual history.

MANAGING EDITORS



Danielle Turner plans to complete her BA in history with a minor in anthropology at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), in spring 2015. She intends to continue her studies at CSUF by pursuing a MA in history with a focus on medieval Scandinavia. As well as earning membership in Phi Alpha Theta, Theta-Pi chapter, she participates in the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study and helped found the Dansk Akademisk Netværk i Amerika. As an internationally published author, she will appear on the History Channel show, *Vikings*.



Sean Washburn graduated *cum laude* with his BA in history from California State University, Fullerton, in spring 2011. After receiving his MA, he aspires to continue his education and earn his PhD in history to become a professor. His historical interests include Fascism, Political Extremism, Genocide/Ethnic Cleansing, the World Wars, the Cold War, European Imperialism, American Imperialism, and historical theory. An avid student and community activist, Washburn's activism serves as inspiration and influences his research and written work. Along with his fellow students and Dr. Steven Jobbitt, he helped create and contributed to the *Social and Global Justice Project* website. Washburn also helped found the Cultural and Public History Association (CPHA) and currently holds the position of treasurer and will serve as the vice president of CPHA for the 2015-16 academic year. Washburn is also a member of Phi Alpha Theta, Theta-Pi chapter. He served as an editor in the 2012 and 2014 editions of the *Welebaethan* and is currently a Managing Editor of the 2015 edition. Additionally, Washburn served as an editor for inaugural 2015 edition of *Voices* —CPHA's student produced journal—and will serve as co-Editor-in-Chief for the 2016 edition.

EDITORS



Channon Arbit is currently an undergraduate studying history at California State University, Fullerton. Her primary interest is United States and Military history. Arbit is a Student Assistant at the Asian Pacific American Resource Center and a Marketing Intern at the WoMen's and Adult Reentry Center. Previously, she served as a Peer Mentor for Freshman Programs and a Testimonial Editor for the Student Leadership Institute, Newsletter Team. Channon is a member of the History Student Association and Phi Alpha Theta, Theta-Pi chapter. Arbit has remained on the Dean's Honor List for five consecutive semesters.



Matthew Dietrich graduated from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), in May of 2013 with a BA in history. In the same year, he became a member of Phi Alpha Theta, Theta-Pi chapter. Currently, a graduate student at CSUF, Dietrich studies the implications of King Louis XIV's legacy during the Regency of Philippe d'Orléans within the broader context of French history.

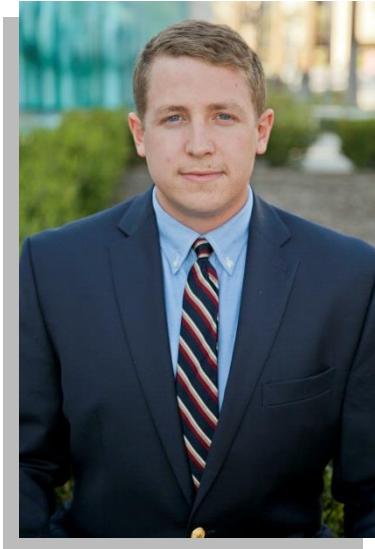


Abby Dolan received her BA in history from Sonoma State University in 2007. She is currently pursuing a MA in history from California State University, Fullerton, focusing her historical studies on Anglo-Saxon and late-Medieval England. Dolan is a first-time editor for the *Welebaethan*.

EDITORS



Matthew Franklin currently attends California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), as an undergraduate. He previously served for a full year as editor for the 2014 *Welebaethan*. Franklin is also a member of the Theta-Pi chapter of Phi Alpha Theta. His primary interests relate to US economic history during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. After receiving his BA, Franklin plans to continue onto the graduate program at CSUF.



Garrison Giali is currently an undergraduate student at California State University, Fullerton, pursuing a BA degree in American History. Inspired by the lectures of distinguished faculty members Dr. Allison Varzally and Dr. Gordon Bakken, he is most interested in the American West, early United States law, and maritime history. In addition to Giali's editorial position with the *Welebaethan*, he is also a member of Phi Alpha Theta, Theta-Pi chapter. Upon completion of his undergraduate studies in 2015, Giali hopes to attend law school and follow John Muir's footsteps across the scenic Pacific Crest Trail.



Shara Guengerich is a first semester graduate student pursuing an MA in history at California State University, Fullerton. She graduated *cum laude* from Providence Christian College in Pasadena, California in 2013, majoring in liberal studies with a concentration in history and communications. She served as a founding editor of the college newspaper for three years and served as secretary of the Student Senate 2012-13. She was published twice in the English department's journal, *Second Story*, as well as the journal of the Humanities, *Ethos*. Her historical interest center on issues of eugenics and bioethics in the twentieth century, addressed in her capstone, entitled, "The March towards Perfection: An Historical Examination of the Research and Application of the Human Genome Project."

EDITORS



Saeid Jalalipour attends California State University, Fullerton, as graduate student in history with a concentration in late-Antiquity and Middle Eastern history and intends to graduate in spring 2015. His thesis focuses on the Muslim conquest of Persia in the seventh century, specifically on the province of Khuzestan. Jalalipour is an editor for 2015 *Welebaethan* journal, an active member of Phi Alpha Theta, Theta-Pi chapter, the Cultural and Public History Association, and is currently the treasurer of History Students Association. He plans to pursue a PhD in world history and teach at the college or university level to transfer his knowledge to the next generation of young scholars.



Sarah Kemp graduated from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), in the spring 2015 earning her BA in history with a concentration in World History. She is a first time editor for CSUF's history journal, the *Welebaethan*. Kemp is a member of the CSUF chapter of the Society of International Scholars, Phi Beta Delta and of the Theta-Pi Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta. She also became a member of the Delta Epsilon Iota Academic Honor Society in the spring 2015.



Sara Long graduated with a BA in history and minor in anthropology from California State University, Fullerton, in Spring 2015. She plans to begin the history Master's program in fall 2015. Long participates in both Phi Alpha Theta Honor Society, Theta-Pi chapter and Lambda Alpha Honor Society's ETA chapter. Additionally, she intends to earn an MBA with an emphasis in marketing. Her career goals include working in public history and museum marketing.

EDITORS



Johnathan Lozano graduated from University of California, Riverside, in 2013 with BAs in history and political science. After a brief educational tenure at Florida State University, Lozano resumed his passion for historical work pertaining to archives and urban development at California State University, Fullerton. Currently pursuing a MA in history, Lozano is an editor for the *Welebaethan*, a member of Phi Alpha Theta, Theta-Pi Chapter and the Cultural Public History Association. After completion of his MA degree, he plans to pursue a career in archival work focusing on mid-twentieth century public urbanization and transportation development pertaining to Los Angeles County.



Jael Muller graduated with a BA in history from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), in 2011. During her time as an undergraduate, she participated in numerous history projects including the *New Birth of Freedom: Civil War to Civil Rights in California* exhibit at the Fullerton Arboretum's Orange County Agricultural and Nikkei Heritage Museum and the *Karcher Family/Southern California Food Visionaries and Culture Project*. After a short break from school, Muller decided to continue her education by pursuing a history MA with an emphasis in oral and public history at CSUF. Her dream is to someday become a museum curator and educate future generations on the importance of history.



Conrad Negron graduated from California State University, San Bernardino, in spring 2014 with a BA in history. His primary research focuses on oral histories from prominent grassroots activists as well as documenting the lives of war veterans and their families. Negron plans to graduate with his MA in Public and Oral history by spring 2016 from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). He recently joined the Cultural and Public History Association, and currently works as an editor for the *Welebaethan* Journal of History at CSUF. Negron will expand his educational portfolio by enrolling in a PhD program in with an emphasis on Modern American History.

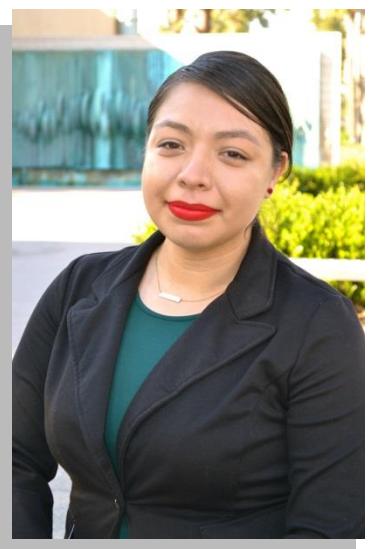
EDITORS



Heidi Ortloff graduated from the University of California, Riverside, in 2012 with a BA in United States history. The following year, Ortloff enrolled at California State University, Fullerton, to pursue her MA in history with a focus on oral and public history. She is currently working on her graduate project, which explores Southern California history, tourism, and social memory. Ortloff's career aspirations include someday becoming a state historian.



Carlos Pacheco received his AA in general education from Rio Hondo Community College in 2009. He spent five years as a college tutor in the El Rancho Unified School District in Pico Rivera where he supplemented the standard language arts and social studies curriculum with additional historical information. He currently attends California State University, Fullerton, and aspires to earn his Bachelors in history. Pacheco joined the staff of the 2015 *Welebaethan* as an editor. His historical interests include the American Civil War, the World Wars, the Industrial Revolution, the American Gold Rush, Manifest Destiny, and the American Civil Rights Movement.



Maritza Partida recently began her first graduate semester at the California State University of Fullerton (CSUF), having received her BA in History from CSUF in the fall of 2014. She served as an editor for the *Welebaethan* for two consecutive semesters. A new member of the Phi Alpha Theta, Theta-Pi chapter, Partida also participates in the Cultural and Public History Association and the History Students Association. The focus of her study involves gender roles during the Cold War. After completing the MA program, she hopes to work in the field of oral and public history.

EDITORS



Luis Quintanilla attended Orange Coast College from 2009-2014, and received his Associates Degree in his final year. Entering his first year at California State University, Fullerton, he served as an editor for the 2015 edition of the *Welebaethan* and currently holds membership in Phi Alpha Theta, Theta-Pi Chapter. He is now pursuing a BA in history and a teaching credential. He plans to join the editing team of the *Welebaethan* once more, graduate in 2017, and enter the MA program in the hopes of becoming a high school history teacher.



Rebecca Romero graduated *magna cum laude* with a BA in history from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), in 2014. Currently, she is both a first-time author and editor for the 2015 *Welebaethan*. Romero belongs to various academic honors organizations including Phi Alpha Theta, Theta-Pi and Phi Kappa Phi. She is currently pursuing her MA in history at CSUF with an emphasis in oral and public history. After graduation, Romero plans to further her education by entering a PhD program with the hope of one day obtaining a job in a museum or university.



Caralou Rosen graduated in 2014 with a BA in history and women & gender studies from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF). She recently entered the history graduate program at CSUF to work on her MA. Rosen held the title of Ronald E. McNair Scholar during her undergraduate career. She recently presented a paper at the 2015 Britain and the World Conference and published an article entitled “The Harmless Figure: Identity and Agency in the Casta System of New Spain during the Eighteenth-Century.” Rosen previously published “Translucent Meanings: Empire, Advertising, Nationalism, and the New Domestic in Victorian London” in the 2013 edition of the *Welebaethan* and presented the same paper at the 2013 Southwestern Social Science Association conference. Her research interests include the history of the modern British Empire, colonial New Spain, the rise of Atlantic world, and the history of modern advertising.

EDITORS



Ian Sendrak graduated from California State University, Fullerton (CSUF), in the fall of 2014. This is Sendrak's first year as an editor for the *Welebaethan*. He is a member of Phi Alpha Theta, Theta-Pi at CSUF. Sendrak currently interns at the Nixon Presidential Library and Museum, and substitute teaches at Troy High School in Fullerton, California. He has a passion for Modern European and American history. Sendrak plans to start the teaching credential and history MA program in the fall of 2015 and aspires to become a high school or community college history teacher.



Cathy Van currently attends California State University, Fullerton, as an undergraduate and hopes to complete her history BA in 2016. Her main research interest focuses on Asian American history. Van served a full academic year as an editor for the 2015 *Welebaethan*. In the future, she plans to obtain a teaching credential and hopes to teach at the secondary level.



Megan Woods graduated from the University of California, Irvine, in December of 2012 with BAs in history and art history. Woods is currently pursuing her MA in public history with a focus on museum studies at California State University, Fullerton. Her final project concentrates on the connection between the Los Angeles Plaza and the National Historic Landmark, Rancho Camulos. She also participates in the History Students Association, as well as the Cultural and Public History Association.