

# The University of Oklahoma Historical Journal Issue 4, Spring 2015

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**Winner of the Griswold Prize for Excellence in Undergraduate Historical Scholarship**

**Heterogeneous *Exiliados*, Permanent *Exilios*, and Imagined *Patrias*:  
Modern Exile from Argentina and Chile**

***Introduction***

The matter of exile is so recurrent in the social and political histories of Latin America that it can be difficult to address comprehensively. Political exile has changed nations and lives from the era of the Iberian colonies to the present, and the subject is important enough to merit a more concrete historiographical schema. With this goal in mind, it is useful to examine the cases of two major Latin American exiles of the twentieth century: the emigration of Chileans to escape the regime of Augusto Pinochet from 1973 to 1990 and the emigration of Argentines to escape the state-directed terror of the so-called “Dirty War”, which lasted for roughly a decade between 1973 and 1983.

These two stories illustrate the difficulty of categorizing Latin American exile; not only were they distinct from previous examples of political exile, but they were at once distinct from each other and internally heterogeneous. Yet, in spite of their heterogeneity, the mass movements from Argentina and Chile had factors in common that marked them as examples of a particular phase in the history of Latin American exile. These movements can be defined, along with expulsions from Bolivia, Brazil, Cuba, Guatemala, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela, as *modern* exiles.<sup>1</sup> Modern exiles differed from previous cases in the sociopolitical roles of the exiled and the large-scale implementation of exile as a national project—two factors indicative of the extent to which political modernity changed the practice of exile in the region. In terms of each of these factors, Argentina and Chile witnessed the most extreme cases of modern exile. The political

<sup>1</sup> Mario Sznajder and Luis Roniger, *The Politics of Exile in Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 152-169.

expulsions from the two nations can be identified as the culmination of modern exile in Latin America, with the definitive currents of modernity taking unprecedented effect.

Like past victims of exile, Argentines and Chileans developed imagined homelands while abroad, defined by idealization of their past, their present political roles, or their hopes for a better future for their home countries. Testimonies of Argentines and Chileans attest to the importance of these imagined *patrias* in the mentality of exile. Yet, in the modern context, the imagined homelands of these refugees could not be achieved as easily as before. The bureaucracy and capitalism brought on by global modernity ensured that, psychologically, the exiles from Argentina and Chile were permanent. Victims could not return to the countries they had left, as their homelands had changed in their absence. Nor could they implement the rapid changes that they envisioned upon their return; instead, they had to settle for lengthy processes of reconciliation and readjustment.

### ***Heterogeneity of Exile and the Exiled***

The Chilean and Argentine processes of exile were superficially similar; both involved the flight of primarily politicized victims from violent military regimes. However, the processes differed from each other based not only on the country of origin but also on the site of asylum. Aside from exterior distinctions, they displayed deep internal divisions in terms of political loyalties and activities undertaken while in exile. The overall portrait is one of heterogeneous migrations from distinct circumstances and heterogeneous migrants caught up in each movement.

In comparison to other Latin American cases, the advent of exile in Chile came as a short, sharp shock. The Chileans who began to leave home after September 11, 1973 had lived through and (in most cases) supported the Popular Unity (UP) government under Salvador Allende from

1970 until Augusto Pinochet's military coup.<sup>2</sup> In the country with the most ostensibly stable democratic tradition in Latin America, Chileans observed the sweeping transition toward socialism and the nationalization of industry in 1970 followed by the economic crisis of 1973. The military coup that followed this crisis was not entirely unpredictable, but the brutality of the subsequent state repression certainly was. It caught Allende's supporters and leftist militants off-guard and typically unarmed, making exile an unanticipated necessity for thousands of Chileans.

On the other hand, escape from Argentina was the culmination of a long escalation of state violence. Violence and exile had been elements of the Argentine political scene for the better part of the twentieth century, especially in the context of the relatively recent "Revolución Libertadora" (1966-73) and subsequent clashes not only between left and right, but also between Peronists, anti-Peronists, and the various facets of political loyalty within each side.<sup>3</sup> The coup of 1976 came after a wave of increasing political violence following Perón's return to power in 1973 and marked the beginning of the new phase of exile.<sup>4</sup> Chile's exiles left from a context of shattered hopes after a burst of success, while Argentina's exiles departed from a country scarred by previous violence in the decades and months leading up to the coup.

The countries to which exiles fled also distinguished the Argentine and Chilean migrations from each other and marked their internal diversity. Exiles often lacked agency in selecting their new homes—many victims described their months spent laying low in the embassies of Buenos Aires or Santiago, awaiting the "safe-conduct" necessary to gain asylum in a new country selected

<sup>2</sup> José del Pozo, *Rebeldes, reformistas y revolucionarios: una historia oral de la izquierda chilena en la época de la Unidad Popular* (Santiago: Ediciones Documentas, 1992), 93.

<sup>3</sup> Marina Franco, *El exilio: argentinos en Francia durante la dictadura* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI Editores Argentina, 2008), 36-37.

<sup>4</sup> Jorge Luis Bernetti and Mempo Giardinelli, *México: El exilio que hemos vivido* (Bernal: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, 2003), 20.

not for its benefits, but to avoid the dangers of life in their own nation.<sup>5</sup> Once the victims escaped, their lives and lifestyles depended largely on their host countries, which were not necessarily singular, as many exiles bounced tensely from place to place before settling down.<sup>6</sup>

The comparison of Argentine exiles in France to those in Mexico serves as an illustrative example of heterogeneity in sites of asylum. Although migration to France was not economically easy, Argentines often felt welcome there upon interacting with French authorities who saw their country as a hub of human rights which fulfilled its existential purpose by sheltering Argentine exiles (who conveniently tended to be both educated and white).<sup>7</sup> Meanwhile, although Mexico had a long history of harboring exiles, Argentines who arrived after 1976 saw themselves not so much as guests of a benevolent host nation but as participants in the negotiation of a new identity.<sup>8</sup> Encountering novel racial tensions, cultural connections, and linguistic points of contact, Argentines in Mexico experienced deeper and more complex *convivencia* than Argentines in France. Differences in site of asylum meant that exiles who had been neighbors in Santiago or Buenos Aires could live completely distinct experiences in their new homes abroad.

In addition to their differences of origin and destination, fleeing Argentines and Chileans were heterogeneous in terms of their political loyalties. The fact that devotees of many political currents abandoned their countries is telling of the broad threat of violence from both military regimes—nonconformity was risky no matter what form it took. The fall of Chile’s UP sent waves of Chilean Socialists, Communists, Radicals, left-leaning Christian Democrats, and militants of the Movimiento Izquierdista Revolucionario (MIR) into exile. While various

<sup>5</sup> Pablo Yankelevich, *Ráfagas de un exilio: Argentinos en México, 1974-1983* (México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 2009), 60. My translation.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas C. Wright and Rody Oñate Zúñiga, “Chilean Political Exile,” *Latin American Perspectives* 34 (2007): 36.

<sup>7</sup> Franco, *El exilio*, 47.

<sup>8</sup> , 288-89, 330.

components of the UP made efforts to reconsolidate their political coalition abroad, new alliances emerged between the entities of the Chilean left in exile, and the structure of the UP changed irrevocably.<sup>9</sup> Moreover many exiled leftists shifted away from party loyalty altogether, moving toward more general goals of return and democracy.<sup>10</sup>

The cocktail of Argentine exiles was even more confusing the Chilean example in terms of political loyalty. Aside from an assortment of Peronists and leftists, guerrillas of the Montoneros and the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores-Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (PRT-ERP) fled the junta's repression. The idiosyncrasies of Argentine politics (particularly regarding Peronism) meant that Argentine causes did not mesh with the structures of exiles' host countries. Additionally, divided political commitments and differing levels of militancy fractured the Argentine migration. A victim in Mexico described one major organization of exile support, the Comité de Solidaridad con el Pueblo Argentino (COSPA), as "basically led by the Montoneros, with some participation of the PRT" while the other main organization, the Comisión Argentina de Solidaridad (CAS) was "formed by a more intellectual left that didn't agree with the guerrillas".<sup>11</sup> The Chilean and Argentine expulsions were both composed of variegated groups of migrants who were united by their general politicization but not by their particular political opinions.

A final factor of heterogeneity was the activity in which Argentines and Chileans involved themselves after leaving their countries. While many retained their partisan loyalty to domestic political causes, exiles also commonly turned from conventional politics to new forms of actions based on the discourse of human rights. A key example of this shift was the 1977 formation of the

<sup>9</sup> Wright and Zúñiga, "Chilean Political Exile," 10.

<sup>10</sup> Del Pozo, *Rebeldes, reformistas y revolucionarios*, 292.

<sup>11</sup> , 142. My translation.



Commission Argentine des Droits de l'Homme (CADHU) in Paris.<sup>12</sup> Although its founders were Montoneros and members of the PRT, the organization rejected political goals in favor of advocacy for Argentine victims of torture and disappearance. As exiles extended into the 1980s, the tendency to favor human rights over politics grew, especially in France. One Argentine remarked in hindsight that human rights were “the only bridge, the only possible horizon” toward which exiles could progress as hopes for radical political change in Argentina itself became increasingly bleak.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, as some exiles devoted themselves to supposedly apolitical activity, others remained at least discursively active in the political structures of their old countries. Contributors to the magazine *Controversia para el Examen de la Realidad Argentina*, published in Mexico City starting in 1979, carried on debates between Peronists and conventional Marxists, arguing for the benefits of the implementation of either system in Argentina upon the hoped-for defeat of the junta.<sup>14</sup>

Some exiles dedicated themselves to new activity neither through human rights organizations nor through conventional politics, but instead through sharing their stories. Perhaps the most famous example is the writer Ariel Dorfman, who embarked on the mission of storytelling after the ostensible end of his exile from Chile in 1983.<sup>15</sup> Writing from Chile in 1990 (he departed again in 1991, realizing that exile was inescapable even after state violence ended), Dorfman asks in his diary if he should feel obligated to tell the story of “treason and vengeance” that marks his country’s past. Later, halfheartedly hoping that there must be someone else to share this burden, he asks, “¿O es lo que me toca?”<sup>16</sup> In the case of Dorfman and other writers, who were well

<sup>12</sup> Franco, *El exilio*, 100.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 116. My translation.

<sup>14</sup> , 163.

<sup>15</sup> Ariel Dorfman, *Entre sueños y traidores: Un striptease del exilio* (Buenos Aires: Seix Barral, 2012), 380.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 271. This could be rendered roughly into English as: “Or does it fall to me?”

represented among Argentine and Chilean exiles, art centered on state repression was a medium through which victims could tackle memories of exile and advocate political change.

From start to ostensible end, the processes of exile from Argentina and Chile were internally and externally heterogeneous. Exiles departed in different ways from markedly different countries, and upon arriving in their new settings they had to negotiate new lives in a variety of contexts. Groups and individuals arrived in new countries with various political loyalties and undertook various forms of public activity in addition to the day-to-day struggles of work and family life. Of course, exiles eventually experienced unique processes of return—some arrived back as soon as possible as the military regimes fell while others trickled in gradually, sometimes in secret if they were linked to militant groups. Others exiles remained in their sites of asylum, some wishing to return and others simply having adapted to their new lifestyles. The heterogeneity of the Argentine and Chilean exiles of the 1970s makes them difficult to study as continuations of the Latin American tradition of political exile and perhaps even more difficult to study as comparable examples of the same process.

### *Modern Exiles*

However, the mass political migrations from Argentina and Chile in the 1970s do share certain traits that serve to situate them within an overarching history of Latin American exile. The first of these relates to the identities of the exiled. Those who fled Pinochet and the Proceso de Reorganización Nacional occupied political and social spaces that clearly distinguished them from previous Latin American exiles; based on this difference, the movements from Argentina and Chile can be identified as illustrative examples of truly modern exile. The second trait which marks these movements is the implementation of exile as a project of the national governments, which also

affirms the modern nature of these mass displacements—along with others that took place during the second half of the twentieth century—in comparison to previous examples. Despite their heterogeneity, the migrations from Argentina and Chile represent parallel separations from the previous paradigm of Latin American exile and culminations of a new model of modern exile.

Looking at exile through a wide-angle lens, it is clear that the use of exile changed profoundly from the colonial period to the conflicts of the late twentieth century. The basic trend is one of “massification”.<sup>17</sup> The standard model from the inception of Iberian rule to the middle of the twentieth century was the exile of small numbers of sociopolitical elites whose personal leadership might jeopardize the stability of the established order.<sup>18</sup> Examples of this form of exile are abundant—Simón Bolívar, Bernardo O’Higgins, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, José Martí, Juan Domingo Perón, and Fidel Castro are a few of their famous names. However, overwhelmingly, the names of the victims of exile in the 1970s are not so well known.

The Argentine and Chilean examples reveal a paradigm shift in the use of exile as the practice turned from the expulsion of elites to that of common citizens. A demographic snapshot of Chileans exiled in Montreal, Canada reveals that the majority belonged to the urban middle-class, with 31 out of 120 working as “professionals or specialists” before fleeing. Additionally, 25 of the 120 were “urban workers”, and the vast majority were from urban areas of Santiago or Concepción.<sup>18</sup> Argentine exiles also tended to come from the professional class; many found work as university professors, journalists, or psychoanalysts in Mexico, where one exiled psychiatrist remarked, “insertion [into the job market] was very easy”.<sup>19</sup> Exile in modernity was no longer limited to elites or even to non-elite political leaders. Fleeing Argentines and Chileans normally

<sup>17</sup> Sznajder and Roniger, *The Politics of Exile in Latin America*, 136. <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

<sup>18</sup> Del Pozo, *Rebeldes, reformistas y revolucionarios*, 24-25.

<sup>19</sup> Yankelevich, *Ráfagas de un exilio*, 300-10. My translation.

came from an urban, often intellectual middle class that posed a political threat to the military governments.

The displacements of the 1970s also represented a break from the past in terms of scale and implementation. Massification applied not only to the identities of the exiled but also to their numbers. Under the military regimes of the late twentieth century, exile suddenly ballooned into a large-scale, national project. Brazil, Bolivia, and Uruguay all sent thousands into exile, but Argentina and Chile were the most extreme cases: over half a million citizens of each nation fled.<sup>20</sup> These population movements had little in common with the elite, conditional expulsions of the past; instead, they were endeavors built into the processes of national reconsolidation following military coups.

The new Argentine and Chilean governments created a veneer of legality over the process of exile. The Chilean junta issued Decree Law 81 in 1973 shortly after taking power, allowing for the indiscriminate expulsion of Chilean citizens. By creating an organized expulsion system, the regime could cut down on interior detention centers in favor of shipping dissidents abroad.<sup>21</sup> Additionally, Chile's Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (DINA) intimidated potential political opponents in order to force them into exile.<sup>22</sup> The Argentine process was less thoroughly legalized than the Chilean process, but it had legislative precedents based on the manipulation of Article 23 of the Argentine Constitution, which technically allowed dissidents to exit the country on the condition of arrest upon their return.<sup>23</sup> The expulsions of the 1970s were not only massive, but also legally legitimated by regimes that used exile as a tool of political repression.

<sup>20</sup> Mario Sznajder and Luis Roniger, "Political Exile in Latin America," *Latin American Perspectives* 34 (2007): 22.

<sup>21</sup> Wright and Zúñiga, "Chilean Political Exile," 5.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Franco, *El exilio*, 39.

The modernity of the Argentine and Chilean projects of exile is noticeable on both individual and national levels. The victims of exile were no longer powerful elites; they were intellectuals, trade unionists, and politicized members of the urban middle class. Exile was no longer the fate of a small percentage of a nation's upper crust; instead, it was a massive political project imposed by the state upon thousands of citizens. These two trends are symptomatic of the increasing political participation implied by modernity. High levels of popular political engagement in both Chile and Argentina meant that massive expulsions and extreme state violence were perhaps the only options available to military governments in order to install and maintain dictatorships. Ironically, the shift toward democratic government as a global ideal made state repression a political necessity for military regimes in Latin America. Mass exile was a consequence of modern, mass politics and a tool of this repression.

### *Imagined Homelands and Permanent Exiles*

The modern processes of exile from Argentina and Chile in the 1970s did not differ from the previous model only in demographic and political terms. The movements also differed in terms of their psychological effect on victims, once again in a way that demonstrates their modernity. One consequence of any forced displacement is the formation of an imagined homeland in the mind of the victim—a conception of the place to which the exile hopes to return, defined by memories, awareness of the nation's present condition, and desires for its future. In earlier cases of Latin American exile, such as that of Bolívar and Sarmiento, exiles could imagine new homelands and, upon their return, take steps toward recreating them in the real world. In the chaotic period of independence and national formation, exiles had a genuine chance of return and continued relevance as political actors.

Modern exiles from Argentina and Chile typically did not enjoy this opportunity. Like previous exiles, they formed imagined homelands, idealizing the past or hoping for brighter futures for their *patrias*; these memories and ambitions are well represented in personal testimonies. Yet in a modern context, these imagined homelands were unattainable. The politics of transition, the globalization of capitalism, and the rise of commercial culture made hopes for idealistic change unrealistic. Particularly during the 1980s, the national economies of Chile and Argentina moved in a direction that rendered both countries less traditionally industrial and thus less appropriate for the leftist revolutionary shifts envisioned by many exiles. Also, many Argentines and Chileans found that return was not an option after years abroad—financial limitations and family obligations meant the exiles had to stay in their new homes. In other cases, exiles had established themselves comfortably in new countries and simply did not want to leave. For many Argentines and Chileans who remained abroad, exile was permanent. Yet even exiles who returned found that the homelands they had imagined no longer existed or could not be created. Psychologically, this meant that modern exiles were permanent whether or not the victim made it back.

The formation of an imagined homeland based on memories of the past was particularly common for Chileans, as they had the recent example of the UP as a basis of future hopes for progressive, democratic politics. Testimonies of Chilean exiles in Montreal reveal the utopic nature of the UP in their collective memory: one referred to the three years of UP government as “a dream” and as “the time when it could be proven that the *pueblo* could lead itself”.<sup>24</sup> While providing a romanticized image of the past, the UP also gave Chilean exiles a concrete goal for political change upon their return. Although party alliances shifted over the years of Pinochet’s regime, many Chilean exiles still maintained the desire to “apply the strategy of 1970 without its

<sup>24</sup> Del Pozo, *Rebeldes, reformistas y revolucionarios*, 285-86. My translation.

errors” upon the return to democracy, hoping to form a new coalition that could initiate a project something like the one begun under Salvador Allende, even if that meant more modest goals and more cautious change.<sup>25</sup> The imagined homeland of many Chilean exiles rested upon the foundations laid in the early 1970s by Allende and the UP. Despite its collapse and Allende’s death, exiles imagined a Chile that could restore the hopeful days when socialism through democracy seemed an imminent reality.

In comparison to Chilean exiles, Argentines were more likely to build imagined homelands based on hopes for novel change rather than a return to the past. Based on their long history of political chaos and the severe state terrorism of the Proceso, Argentines were justified in adapting their goals to generalized desires for democracy and an end to violence. Their imagined homelands often rested upon the ideals of human rights that informed their activity in exile. Increasingly apolitical exiles, like the victim in France who saw human rights as “the only bridge” leading to positive change in Argentina, imagined first and foremost an Argentina in which the government ceased to repress and murder its citizens—other political goals were secondary.<sup>26</sup> Particularly in France, the perception of Argentine exiles as victims of human rights abuses led to a sense of common identification with the cause of human rights; it became definitive of both Argentines’ activities and their hopes for a better homeland upon return.<sup>27</sup>

A consistent experience across the gamut of the modern exiles was the inability to truly come home, even after setting foot back on Argentine or Chilean soil. Ernesto López, an Argentine exiled in Mexico, identifies a sense of “*desfasaje*”—“discrepancy” or “incongruence”—between “the political-ideological atmosphere of exile and the scene of the return to democracy”.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 309. My translation.

<sup>26</sup> Franco, *El exilio*, 116. My translation.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 141.

<sup>28</sup> Bernetti and Giardinelli, *México*, 13. My translation.

Returning exiles had to contend with the discourse of the “golden exile” issued by both Pinochet and the Proceso, together with a combination of official forgetfulness or denial of state terrorism and the notion that government violence was the combined fault of the far right and the militant left (i.e. exiles and *desaparecidos*) in the first place.<sup>29</sup> This “two devils” theory meant that returning exiles were often demonized among their own people and therefore could not always assume a leading role in defining the nation’s new priorities. Even when the returning exiles could take this role, as in the case of exiles’ involvement in the Chilean Concertación, they had to compromise with members of new coalitions who did not necessarily share the reconstructive goals that many exiles had formed while abroad. Some exiles influenced national politics and reached positions of power back in their home countries, but they did so in a context defined not only by their desires but also by the political necessities of transition.

Apart from the hardships of their cold reception, exiles also found it difficult to insert themselves into a cultural milieu that had changed without them. Even if the “simple desire” to return dragged them home, regardless of the practicality of the decision, they tended to find that they had been Otherized by their time abroad and that their home countries had become Other in their absence.<sup>30</sup> In 1980, Mempo Giardinelli coined a specific term to describe the newfound cultural difference of Argentines who returned from Mexico with new experiences and often with newly international families: he called them “*argenmex*”, and the name stuck.<sup>31</sup> Argentine exiles experienced national exclusion and cultural alienation that kept them from controlling the process of political change that was already underway when the Proceso ended in 1983. After returning to Argentina with an imagined homeland based on human rights and retribution for state crimes in

<sup>29</sup> Yankelevich, *Ráfagas de un exilio*, 284-85.

<sup>30</sup> Franco, *El exilio*, 284-87.

<sup>31</sup> Yankelevich, *Ráfagas de un exilio*, 337.



mind, exiles were greeted not by swift reconciliation but by a long process of picking at their old wounds in an attempt to prosecute the offenses of their former government.

Chileans experienced similar difficulties in assimilation that prevented the realization of their imagined homelands. Former supporters of the UP exiled in Canada who were unable to participate in Chile's 1988 plebiscite were generally thrilled by the triumph of the "No" campaign, but they were disappointed by the victory of the Christian Democrat Patricio Aylwin, a supporter of Pinochet's coup, in the elections of 1989.<sup>32</sup> Although the dictatorship was over, the socialist goals of the UP would clearly not be easily accomplished, especially while proponents of the more radical left lacked dominant positions in the Concertación. Some Chilean leftists were not even satisfied by the plebiscite, seeing a negotiated transition from the military government as an insufficient solution to a problem that required more radical change.<sup>33</sup> Such change proved hard to come by in the increasingly de-industrialized Chile that emerged following the economic crisis of 1982. Years of neoliberalism under Pinochet had undermined the industrial working class that many Chilean exiles hoped would give rise to the revolutionary improvements envisioned by Allende upon the fall of the dictatorship. The new political and economic nature of Chile was not conducive to these exiles' desires for their country.

Many Chileans arrived home only to encounter what they considered unpleasant changes in culture as well. After the passionate discourse of the UP and militant groups in pursuit of socialism, returning exiles found themselves among a generation that was "much more self-centred, worried about material things" rather than revolution; some described their return to post-Pinochet Chile as a "second exile".<sup>34</sup> The disappointment of the new Chile combined with the

<sup>32</sup> Del Pozo, *Rebeldes, reformistas y revolucionarios*, 310.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 312.

<sup>34</sup> Shirin Hirsch, "Chileans in exile: experiences of British interaction and return," *Oral History* 40 (2012): 54.

torturous memories of what had happened under Pinochet drove Ariel Dorfman to abandon his country for a second time in 1991. He aptly described the decision to leave in his diary. “Maybe it’s a shitty country, but it’s my shit”, he writes in an attempt to convince himself to stay, before acknowledging that he has no option but to leave the “impossible country”, where his idealistic goals of reconciliation and a return to the days of Allende have been exposed as unreasonable fantasies.<sup>35</sup> Upon arriving home, Dorfman realized, like many Chilean exiles, that his imagined homeland did not and could not exist.

Of course, return was not ubiquitous among Argentine and Chilean exiles. Families of mixed nationalities often remained far from Argentina or Chile with one parent in perpetual exile, and economic necessity sometimes made return impossible. Some chose to remain in exile out of a lack of “faith in the democratic evolution” of the home country, in the words of one Argentine who chose to stay in France.<sup>36</sup> Even after returning home, some exiles regretted their decision and decided to make a voluntary move back to their former sites of asylum. An Argentine archaeologist who returned home after living in Mexico affirmed, “it was much harder to return to Argentina than to leave”.<sup>37</sup> Individuals and families that did not return, out of choice or necessity, often let their imagined homelands fade into memory and generated new homelands in the countries where circumstance had deposited them. Exiles lived normal existences abroad despite their traumatic past.

Whether or not an exile came back to Argentina or Chile, the expulsions of the 1970s were permanent in that exiles could never return to the countries to which they imagined returning. Many exiles developed abstract ideas of home while abroad, whether based on idealization of past

<sup>35</sup> Dorfman, *Entre sueños y traidores*, 349-52. My translation.

<sup>36</sup> Franco, *El exilio*, 278.

<sup>37</sup> Yankelevich, *Ráfagas de un exilio*, 333.

successes or on idealistic hopes for a new national reality. Yet as a result of discrimination from fellow citizens, cultural differences, or exclusion from national politics, exiles found that their imagined homelands were nonexistent and impossible to create. Shifts associated with modernity—the sluggish bureaucracy of government, a move toward neoliberal capitalism, and popular commercial culture—all drove nails into the coffin of exiles’ hopes for their homelands. The currents of modernity caused expulsions of the type and scale seen in Argentina and Chile, and at the same time they rendered exile psychologically permanent.

### *Conclusion*

The Argentine and Chilean exiles of the 1970s do not lend themselves to superficial analysis. They were characterized by heterogeneity, and no two cases of exile were exactly alike. Individuals lived varied experiences abroad—although all were victims of state repression, some managed to live happily and successfully in their new countries.<sup>38</sup> Marta Raquel Zabaleta, an Argentine writer who fled to the United Kingdom, describes her displacement as “a mixture of swings and roundabouts”.<sup>39</sup> Although it is necessary to condemn mass exile as a component of state terrorism, it is insufficient to assume that all exiles suffered equally; many adapted and lived fulfilling lives despite their trying circumstances.

The Argentine and Chilean *exiliados* (the people exiled) were heterogeneous in national origin, site of asylum, social class, political loyalty, and activities abroad. Despite this confusing set of factors, the *exilios* themselves (the movements of people into exile) share traits that permit their categorization as processes characteristic of a specifically modern paradigm of Latin American exile. Massification, in terms of the identities of the victims and large-scale state

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>39</sup> Marta Raquel Zabaleta, “Exile,” *Feminist Review* 73 (2003): 37.

implementation, characterizes the modern nature of these projects of exile. A consequence of their modernity was the impossibility of achieving the imagined homelands that exiles generated abroad. Exiles like Bolívar and Sarmiento were able to affect sweeping changes in their homelands upon return, reorienting their countries through personal political power. Yet for modern exiles, enclosed bureaucracies and cultural alienation made the project of forging a new *patria* based on imagined ideals all but impossible. The implausibility of the imagined homeland meant that modern exiles were psychologically permanent, whether or not victims returned to their old countries.

Although Argentina and Chile witnessed the most extreme manifestations of modern political exile in Latin America, the movements from Brazil, Uruguay, and Bolivia deserve more space than they have received here. An analysis of the heterogeneity of political exile based on gender differences would also be useful and deserving of a paper all to itself. For now, it is fitting to conclude with a general observation about the Argentine and Chilean exiles of the 1970s: like most stories from Latin America's past, they were more ambiguous, more complex, and more relevant to the region's present and future than a cursory glance might suggest.

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# Featured Articles

A Satisfying Death:  
Eighteenth Century Creek Spiritual Traditions

Gaby Báez

University of Oklahoma

February 23, 2014

Early August was a time to forgive. The corn matured under the first new moon of the year. The Busk harvest festival reconciled and strengthened relationships, as it was the most important event in any Creek *talwa*. The community came together when Creeks of all ages participated in the preparations. The beloved women (clan mothers) displayed tortoise shell and white deerskin, their finest ceremonial clothes, in anticipation of igniting the first ceremonies with their dances.<sup>1</sup> Returning warriors fulfilled purification rituals and nearly everyone was fasting.<sup>2</sup> Revered Headmen from neighboring communities attended Busk, looking forward to the forging of bonds within the Creek community network. This is what it would have been like in the lower Creek *talwa* of Coweta in 1752. Yet trouble came rambling in when Thomas and Mary Bosomworth arrived in Coweta demanding blood.<sup>3</sup> Amidst the festival of absolution, Creek leaders would decide to execute one of their own people, Acorn Whistler.

By the time of the Bosworth's arrival, the Creek Indians had already faced the consequences of European settler colonialism, such as disease and dislocation no longer residing near their original ceremonial mounds and complexes. Adding to that, economic dependency forged a humbling reliance on European goods and trade for the survival of Creek peoples. While rum the sorrowful "bitter waters" began its grasping infiltration on Creek communities. The Creek peoples changed with the infusion of these unfamiliar powers. Yet they had some success for the time being, in their negotiations with the various settler states. The vigorous Creek peoples proved capable of maintaining balance and power under the pressure and violence

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<sup>1</sup> James Adair, *The History of the American Indians*, ed. Kathryn E. Holland (Tuscaloosa: Alabama Press, 2005), 141.

<sup>2</sup> Jean Chaudhuri, *A Sacred Path: The Way of the Muscogee Creeks* (Los Angeles, CA: UCLA American Indian Studies Center, 2001), 87.

<sup>3</sup> Journal of Thomas Bosomworth, July, 1752, in *Documents Relating to Indian Affairs*, ed. William L. McDowell, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1958), 272-3.



of multi-national colonizing empires. Their ability to negotiate with European authorities for alliances and trade stems from the Creeks own value systems and decision making practices which encompass not only networking and survival within the broader picture of European settler colonialism, but also locally, within their own communities.

The Acorn Whistler crisis gives us a glimpse of how Creek peoples navigated conflict and change on a micro level within the bigger picture of European colonization. The Acorn Whistler crisis is but one of many challenges faced by the Creek communities, when the politics of empire building creates desperate and entitled colonial authorities who placed uncomfortable demands on the Creek community leaders. Additionally, the presence of multi-racial elites contributed to the growing pressure of Creek subordination to powerful outsider influences. For instance, the Creek peoples themselves transformed with the inevitable intermarriage of Europeans and Creeks. These multi racial or “mixed blood” people often manipulated the traditional Creek practices and politics. Mary Bosomworth is an example of this new colonial by-product. Some, because of her liminality, looked up to Mary. She could traverse the two worlds of the European empires and Creek communities, as she was considered to be a “beloved” woman.<sup>4</sup> Having power in two worlds is an important element in Creek society and is also a significant foundational element of Creek philosophy. So, in response to the Acorn Whistler crisis, the Headmen of Coweta listened to Mary, the liminal princess.

Examining the events of the Acorn Whistler drama portrays how the Creeks were forced and at best influenced, by both outstanding conflicts of colonization and the effects of the Acorn Whistler crisis itself, to accommodate through flux, their ancient belief systems in order to survive and hope for lasting harmony. The Creek approach to this crisis shows us not only how

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<sup>4</sup> Journal of Thomas Bosomworth, July 1752, in *DRIA*, 270.

Creek spiritual traditions supported their communities under duress, but also reveals alterations made by the Creek world and its leaders, living under the cloth of European settler colonialism.

This paper will weave together instances of Creek philosophy with the Acorn Whistler crisis, by examining how these values intersected with the Decision of Malatchi, the Execution of Acorn Whistler, and the final Talks after his death. Since European textual evidence serve as the primary archival documentation from this time period, the spiritual and philosophical traditions of the eighteenth century Creek world may seem closed off to us. Yet, with a cautious look at the works of these outsider chronicles, the reconstruction of what the Creek peoples might have experienced becomes more possible. With the important incorporation of the works of contemporary Creek authors a more holistic Creek history is made possible. The insider view, supports and shares knowledge of oral tradition, to establish a sense of how Creek values shaped what happened in the distant realm of South Eastern Indian communities in the eighteenth century.

## THE DECISION

In late July of 1752, Mary Bosomworth and her husband arrived in the Creek town of Coweta to deliver a critical message set upon them by the governor of South Carolina.<sup>5</sup> Coweta's leaders had to decide if they would meet the demands of blood satisfaction requested of them by the colonial authorities. Faced with the threat of war against the British if they did not meet their demands, Creek leaders needed to act quickly and find someone to blame. Since Creek spiritual value systems encompassed political life and decision-making practices, these principals are exemplified in the verdict to condemn Acorn Whistler and the vital balancing of peace and war.

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<sup>5</sup> Journal of Thomas Bosomworth, July 1752, in *DRIA*, 270.

Mary's coming to Coweta took place in the preliminary days of the *talwa*'s Busk, adding even more weight to her important message. She wished to address the headmen of Coweta, the *micco* and *yahola*, Chiggilli and Malatchi. However since Malatchi was away at war, the talks were postponed. Yet, the Bosworth's were given permission to stay in Malatchi the warriors, home, and await his return.<sup>6</sup> The fact that Thomas and Mary were allowed to stay in Malatchi's house while he was away at war shows that they must have been greatly respected in the Coweta community and that these visitors were somehow an exception to particular Creek traditions.

James Adair in his ethnography, *History of the American Indians* noted that it was custom for an "away warriors" house to be ritually kept free of pollution.<sup>7</sup> The wives of the outstanding war parties concerned themselves with maintaining the purity of the home, sweeping the house day and night, creating a huge pile behind the door, not to be disturbed until the warrior signaled his return.<sup>8</sup> The leaders of Coweta allowed Mary, a half Creek half European woman, and her European husband, to reside in Malatchi's cabin while away. The Coweta headman must have considered Mary and her husband somehow exceptional, allowing them to stay in the head war chiefs cabin. Since the sacred ceremonies of Busk were underway which included restrictions against the involvement of Europeans and those who had not undergone purification rituals, this particular action reveals the bending of belief systems in order to accommodate the powerfully influential multi racial class.

Yet suddenly, Malatchi returned home early from war, maybe sensing something was off. Perhaps Malatchi had a bad dream while he was away, telling him to return home immediately and that there were disruptions in the "order of things". Possibly upon his early arrival, he was

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<sup>6</sup> Journal of Thomas Bosomworth, July 1752, in *DRIA*, 272.

<sup>7</sup> Adair, *The History of the American Indians*, 143.

<sup>8</sup> Adair, *The History of the American Indians*, 143.

greeted with applause from the clan mothers for, “acting in obedience to their guardian angels who impressed him in the visions of night with friendly caution”.<sup>9</sup> Whichever supernatural event occurred, Malatchi returned home early from war to find trouble residing in his warrior’s cabin.

For immediately upon Malatchi’s arrival, Thomas Bosomworth, backed with the illusion of nobility due to his European heritage and fancy letters with golden seals, delivered his authoritative speech of blood orders.<sup>10</sup>

“I then proceeded to relate to them the whole affair of murdering the Cherokees at Charles Town and used all arguments in my power to convince them of the heinousness of the crime, and the expediency of their agreeing to give the satisfaction demanded which was to punish with death some of the most considerable offenders.”<sup>11</sup>

The Coweta headmen listened to the grim story as their annual sacred fire burned in the background. How could they consider condemnation of a native brother during this consecrated time? For in response, Head Micco Chiggilli stated, “He was a very old man, but never in his life had heard of such a demand for such a crime...to kill their own people for killing their enemies was what he could not understand.”<sup>12</sup> Conveniently, already united for Busk, all of the Lower Creek headmen gathered for council in regards to this complicated circumstance.

Understanding Creek views of war and peace as well as the functions of community in creating harmony can help us understand how Chiggilli and Malatchi may have come to their conclusion and meet the demands placed upon them. We can examine The Creek Redstick/Whitestick legend as an aid because it contains the origins of Creek decision-

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<sup>9</sup> Adair, *History of the American Indians*, 377.

<sup>10</sup> Joshua Aaron. Piker, *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler: Telling Stories in Colonial America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 235.

<sup>11</sup> Journal of Thomas Bosomworth, July 1752, in *DRIA*, 273-5.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 274.

making practices.<sup>13</sup> This important Creek epic harbors symbolism of war and peace while demonstrating how paralleled dualism combined in order to create the social harmony necessary in reaching consensus.<sup>14</sup> The epic transmits allegorical elements of psychology, religion, and political theory through tracing the events and lessons of the archetypal “hero twins”. The Redstick/Whitestick legend has been passed down through oral traditions, as a native method of education and spiritual instruction.<sup>15</sup> The tale summarized here is based off of story telling collected by Creek historians Jean and Joyotpaul Chaudhuri:

*Two twins lived on earth, one gentle, the other aggressive, yet both curious and playful. They had instructions to strive for balance in exchanging their energies, representing a stability of opposite characteristics. This symmetry is not to be confused with a good vs. evil binary. The two brothers embarked on a vision quest, symbolized in the legend as “journeying through the mist”<sup>16</sup> The more aggressive twin goes to a land of darkness where there is a tumultuous environment bursting with thunder and lightening, symbolizing a disorder in the exchange of elements.*

*In the dark world, the twin meets people playing the Creek double-stick ball game and sees people training in preparation of war. He completed several tests of skill in order to win the people’s respect as an active leader. One of the contests involved swimming under water and breathing. The twin fashioned a red stick out of a hollowed out reed in order to breathe out of, and thus he is now called the RedStick twin. However the fourth task that Redstick twin was asked to complete was*

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<sup>13</sup> Jean Chaudhuri and Joyotpaul Chaudhuri, *A Sacred Path: The Way of the Muscogee Creeks* (Los Angeles, CA: UCLA American Indian Studies Center, 2001), 79.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 28.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 32.

*impossible. They asked him to get someone's heart. This could only be done with the guidance of a medicine man that could perform a purification ceremony (a white task) and the dark world lacked medicine.<sup>17</sup> So the Red Stick twin left the land of darkness.*

*The second twin, with the gentle and reflective qualities journeyed to the world of light. Here was a luxurious land of nature, lush with animals, trees, forests and beautiful gardens.<sup>18</sup> Many birds lived in this land of light and in the presence of the gentle twin some of them became irritated. The twin, wishing for peace, fashioned a flute out of a whitish hollowed stick. He whistled and sang into this "white stick" becoming the Whitestick twin, bringing harmony from his actions. The Whitestick twin talked to plants and animals showing the people plant based medicine and powerful musical chants to heal conflicts.<sup>19</sup>*

*Red stick twin and White stick twin return to the middle ground of mist to discuss their experiences. This transitional space symbolizes the commencement of blending darkness and light. The dialogue of the twins, each representing different worlds, one active and war like, while the other passive and peaceful, represents the foundations of Creek decision-making. Learning from their combined experiences in the different worlds of light and dark, the twins began to understand how each of their unique qualities could assist and bridge the gap between opposites.<sup>20</sup>*

Ultimately the hero twins decided they could help the two contrasting worlds come

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<sup>17</sup> Jean Chaudhuri and Joyotpaul Chaudhuri, *A Sacred Path: The Way of the Muscogee Creeks* (Los Angeles, CA: UCLA American Indian Studies Center, 2001), 33.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> Chaudhuri, *A Sacred Path*, 30-33.

together and share the varying psychological, physiological, and spiritual qualities, in order to create a complementary and united world.<sup>21</sup> However the joining of these two worlds necessitated a symbolic war. Chaudhuri explains, “One world was full of active energy but faced conflict without adequate “medicine”, while the other had the medicinal resources but lacked the organization to deal with external conflicts.”<sup>22</sup> Would the Creek headmen be able to come to a consensus, and “bridge both worlds”?

The meeting of the Creek headmen on August 10<sup>th</sup> lasted all day and all night.<sup>23</sup> The beginning of Busk and the day of the headmen’s meeting concerning the decision included elaborate introductory ceremonies. Many of the most sacred rituals were performed in the roundhouse and initiated by a priest, while accompanied by the beloved women of Coweta. Perhaps Mary participated in these initial fires and dances, since she was considered a fellow clan mother. But the regular function of the roundhouse during Busk would have changed to accommodate the Creek council in order to make their critical decision. That night the roundhouse became the transitional space, the middle ground of mist and legend. Smoke and guidance danced in the air, shadowing the curved clay covered walls. The many oppositional qualities of the time, the pressure of European settlers, colonial authorities, and the influence of multi racial elite, combined with the heartbreaking decision to punish a community member during their sacred festival, tested their traditions of integrating darkness and light. Yet the Creek headmen strived to maintain a sense of sovereignty in their decision-making practices. This is how.

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Journal of Thomas Bosomworth, July 1752, in *DRIA*, 276.

Malatchi, Coweta's head war chief would be considered a Redstick, while Chiggilli, the civil King, would be a Whitestick. The active war leaders, much like the Redstick twin, would argue for a refusal of the Bosomworth's demand, promoting war with England. While the passive Whitestick leaders would respond with great caution and hope war could be avoided, as did Chiggilli. The decision must be reached in order for the harmony of Creek society to continue and not disrupt the important ceremonies of renewal. It was urgent.

The next morning they gave their answer proclaiming, "All the wise men of our nation had met together for nothing, for all their united wisdom could not determine what answer was best to be given to the demand that was made."<sup>24</sup> By these terms the decision at first appears to be inconclusive, as if no decision had been made. Yet it was custom, when dealing with decisions of a deathly nature, that if a council could not arrive at consensus, the final answer would become the burden of the town's head war chief.<sup>25</sup> William Bartram observed:

"In all transactions that require secrecy, the rulers meet here (roundhouse), make their fire, deliberate and decide. When they have decided on any case of death or whipping, the Micco appoints the warriors who are to carry it into effect; *or he gives the judgment to the Great Warrior, and leaves to him the time and manner of executing it.*"<sup>26</sup>

Therefore the Creek headmen had made a decision indeed. It was to put Malatchi, the head warrior, in charge of who would die and how. The headmen appear to have thrown it to

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<sup>24</sup> Journal of Thomas Bosomworth, July 1752, in *DRIA*, 276.

<sup>25</sup> William Bartram and E.G. Squier, *Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians*. (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1853), 64.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.



Malatchi in order to preserve the harmony at their sacred festival of Busk. This decision making process shows how the combining of active war like philosophies can combine with passive civil qualities, because giving the head war chief the authority of decision making to such a delicate situation was indeed a redstick move, yet avoiding war with England and further interruption of Busk was for sure the whitestick thing to do. The forces combined harmoniously and now Malatchi would accept the responsibility of blaming Acorn Whistler and choosing his executioner.

## EXECUTION

The condemnation of Acorn Whistler resided in the management of a particular Creek custom, called 'blood revenge'. This "bad custom" as certain religious leaders called it, proved convenient for the conspirators to structure their story against Acorn Whistler.<sup>27</sup> This value system of blood for blood proved capable of circumventing Acorn Whistlers last line of defense, the Beloved Women of Okfuskee, while simultaneously giving the rest of the Creek community a reasonable justification for his death. It was important that the Creek *talwas*, especially that of Acorn Whistler's hometown, did not know the true reason of his death. The true reason being, that the European authorities demanded a sacrifice in retribution for a skirmish on colonial settlements. If the beloved women of Okfuskee had known the true reason, they would have tried to stop it.

Although Coweta's male leaders created the idea of Acorn Whistler's death, decisions of inner tribal punishment and execution, needed to be centered on the consensus of Acorn

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<sup>27</sup> Bartram, *Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians*, 71.

Whistler's clan mothers.<sup>28</sup> The authority of the clan mother sprung from her connection to the respected functions of female elements in environmental cycles. Creek women were bonded with regeneration, water, moon, earth and sacred corn.<sup>29</sup> There exists an entire complex of feminine education, ritual, power, and beauty that imparts the value of womanhood and its reverence within the community. Yet the strength and authority of the local clan mothers began to change under the stress of the colonial era.

The clan, when created in the Creek origin myth, had the assignment to guard and protect nature.<sup>30</sup> This guardianship saw plants and animals as relatives that must be protected from destructive humans. As Creek communities became permeated with the effects of settler colonialism, this primordial mother clan once assigned to the trusteeship of nature, experienced changes in value from regenerative colonial violence.

As we have already seen, the protective role of women in regards to the warrior cabin had become compromised in order to accommodate the new multi-racial class and their European partners. The tribal agenda increasingly had less to do with matriarchal guardianship and more to do with political, economic, and cultural compromise to ensure the survival of the people. Sacrifices were made, for in the case of Acorn Whistler, the manipulation of the tradition of blood revenge circumvented the authority and consensus of the clan mothers while simultaneously keeping peace throughout the broader network of Creek communities and colonial authorities. This is how.

The lower Creek headman decided to make Acorn Whistler's death appear to be the result of a family dispute, between Acorn Whistler and his nephew. It was extremely important

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<sup>28</sup> Chaudhuri, *A Sacred Path*, 49.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

that Acorn Whistler's community did not know the truth about his death until after he had been killed.<sup>31</sup> If Acorn Whistler's kinsmen discovered that he died to appease European authorities there would have been considerable outrage. So, there needed to be a way to make it look like a "traditional" yet private punishment. The tradition of blood revenge fit perfectly.

The particular tradition of blood revenge seeps through many Native American stories for it is a custom shared by all southeastern Indian tribes. This tradition becomes necessary when a relative or kinsman is killed. In order for the deceased's spirit to be peaceful, it is believed that the murderer must die. There are various rules and reasons for punishment concerning blood law. For example, if the revenge of blood is required from a person and he escapes, then his nearest kinsmen or friend is answerable for this fact.<sup>32</sup> An additional scenario of blood revenge happens in the event of an accidental death, for the incident would still require blood for blood, although sometimes elders would step in to save a child who may have accidentally caused harm. Usually blood revenge and the retaliation must happen fairly quickly. The sooner the satisfaction is had, the better. With Acorn Whistler, his dispute with his nephew was in fact "an old quarrel" and this led to a convoluted justification of his death.

Creek punishments often took place in public. The entire *talwa* would witness and sometimes participate in the execution. Therefore there needed to be communal agreement as to the reasons for the death sentence. Okfuskee's beloved women and leaders needed to know the details of why Acorn Whistler had to die. For even execution played a significant role in the Creek spiritual worldview.

Sacrifices and punishment took place in the chunky yards, serving as a civic arena for the

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<sup>31</sup> Journal of Thomas Bosomworth, July 1752, in *DRIA*, 279.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*

implementation of the tribe's spiritual customs. Be it a war captive, blood revenge, or punishment, the chunky yard was scene to torture, execution, and sacrifice.<sup>33</sup> As with the roundhouse and public-square, the chunky yard had its particular functions in serving the spiritual traditions of the Creek villages. The chunky yard located in the center of town, resembled an amphitheater built slightly into the ground. The stick ball game was also played here in order to quell intertribal disputes. Recalling that symbolic warfare helped the Creek community reach consensus. The chunky yard occupying a large space in the middle of the *talwa*, exemplifies the transmutation of Creek origin mythology into everyday life and ritual practice. For the chunky yard served as the community's transitional space, where everyone could participate in the fusion of light and dark, life and death. Punishment was often a public event where everyone knew the story of the crime. Yet this was not the case for Acorn Whistler.

For Acorn Whistler did not receive a ritualized public execution. His executioner had the orders that "all possible haste must be made to put him out of the way."<sup>34</sup> It was also to be a secret as to the true reason of his death. Had the true reason been known, Acorn Whistler's kinswomen would have intervened because Clan Mothers often served on councils making judgments concerning punishment and death. Beloved women or "war women" had the power to decide the fate of captive's lives.<sup>35</sup> It seems that Acorn Whistlers clan would have tried to protect him and refused his execution entirely if they had known the true reason.

Creek headmen pushed a particular custom of blood law on Acorn Whistler's nephew, feeding fuel to a fire of past resentment. Acorn Whistler did not bring drought, commit adultery,

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<sup>33</sup> Bartram, *Observations*, 84.

<sup>34</sup> Journal of Thomas Bosomworth, July 1752, in *DRIA*, 279.

<sup>35</sup> Nathaniel Knowles, *The Torture of Captives by the Indians of Eastern North America*, (Philadelphia: [s.n.], 1940), 177.

cause accidental death or break peace, but the conflict with his nephew would prove life threatening. Acorn Whistler had supposedly threatened to kill his nephew in a dispute involving a woman. The customs of retaliation included execution for the intention of murder (threats). So this tradition, “That one should be dealt with exactly as he intended to do with his neighbor”<sup>36</sup> fit perfectly into the grand scheme of the Creek headmen, the Bosomworths, and the British colonial authorities. Acorn Whistler could be safely executed for “Creek” reasons in order to disguise the truth.

The custom of blood revenge worked its way into the Creek value system and seems to coincide with their emphasis on reciprocity. Yet it is interesting that the Great Medal Chief of Tuckabatchee told ethnographer, William Bartram, when asked his opinion of retaliation and if it was fair to punish the innocent for the guilty and if it came from the Master of Breath, he surprisingly replied, “I believe our custom did not proceed from E-sau-ge-tu E-mis-see (Master of Breath), but from the temper of rash men, who do not consider consequences before they act. It is a bad custom.”<sup>37</sup> It is puzzling that an Indian leader would deny any spiritual value to the frequently practiced law of retaliation among his tribe. Maybe he was hesitant to reveal the supernatural significance of blood revenge to the European ethnographer, or maybe “bad customs” came from a different spirit and not the Master of Breath, for there were many supernatural assistants in the Creek spirit world.

Creek peoples believe in the Great Spirit, the giver and taker away of the breath of life.<sup>38</sup> Also known as, Hesagedamesse, who is most frequently mentioned in Creek prayers, but he is

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<sup>36</sup> Adair, *The History of the American Indians*, 190.

<sup>37</sup> Bartram, *Observations*, 71.

<sup>38</sup> Bartram, *Observations on the Creek and Cherokee Indians*, 26.

not a God or Holy Spirit, only an assistant to Ibofanga.<sup>39</sup> Traditions and spirituality characterized every aspect of Creek life because all values stemmed and harnessed directions from a specific “energy” flowing through all things. This sacred energy is called Ibofanga.<sup>40</sup> Creek Indians appealed to Ibofanga through the assistants of higher spiritual entities. These spirits helped with problem solving, prediction, hunting, medicinal knowledge, and healings.<sup>41</sup> Supernatural forces could even help change the course of physical events, controlling environmental elements, such as rain and winds.<sup>42</sup> Upon death, the family of the deceased would hope that the higher spiritual entities assist their loved one in the ultimate return journey to Ibofanga. Violent deaths, as with Acorn Whistler could cause the spirit a prolonged journey in its return to Ibofanga, yet Creek custom included burial practices that could help conjure the assistance of a safe journey.

As in the case of Acorn Whistler, who died violently, particular funeral rites and intense cleansing rituals helped his return to Ibofanga. The Creeks would not touch their dead for several days, especially if the cause of death was violence or sickness. Only family members interred the corpse, anointing his hair with bear oil and painting his face.<sup>43</sup> Acorn Whistler would have been buried with whatever few treasures, medallions, or trinkets he owned. After the burial his family would live apart from the rest of the tribe for several days, and upon their return undergo rituals using button snakeroot.<sup>44</sup> The women of his family had a requirement to wail and mourn his death, singing loudly their voices could be heard throughout Okfuskee. The widow cry also

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<sup>39</sup> Chaudhuri, *A Sacred Path*, 24.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 41-42.

<sup>41</sup> Vine Deloria, *The World We Used to Live In: Remembering the Powers of the Medicine Men* (Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing, 2006), 4.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> Adair, *History*, 164.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 164-166.

served as a call for blood revenge. The widow would not be allowed to marry for four years, requiring assistance from other clan members.<sup>45</sup> Death disrupted the whole community and with Acorn Whistler gone, Little Okfuskee lost a hunter, warrior, and future elder.

## THE TALKS

Acorn Whistler's family wanted answers. The case of his death seemed doubtful, based on an old claim for blood revenge between Acorn and his young nephew. His family would have consulted with their *talwa*, deliberated, and finally request satisfaction in return. Since his nephew was also eventually executed, it is possible that Acorn Whistler's family had something to do with it. Killing the nephew would satisfy the family and ensure the secrecy of true intent on behalf of the lower Creek headmen.

Around the time of Acorn Whistlers death many of the Creek *talwas*, were concluding the ceremonies of Busk. Recalling that at this time, all sins, except murder could be forgiven. As William Bartram eloquently observed of this special time, "This happy institution of the Busk restores a man to himself, to his family, and to his nation. It is a general amnesty, which not only absolves the Indians from all crimes, murder only excepted, but seems to bury guilt itself in oblivion."<sup>46</sup> This would give the conspirators a good deal of relief and harmony of spirit to present "good talks" to the rest of the Creek people after Acorn Whistler's death was known. Their explanations of why Acorn Whistler died centered on the idea of sacrifice, he died for the good of the entire nation.

Acorn Whistlers relatives were for the most part, furious. Several of his kinsmen "burned

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 214-215.

<sup>46</sup> Bartram, *Observations*, 69.

the town” and sought vengeance.<sup>47</sup> The Bosomworths original plan included visiting Okfuskee and delivering the true reason of Acorn Whistler’s death. Yet, the Lower Creek headmen and the Bosomworths decided to give their talk in the Upper Creek town of Tuckabatchee rather than risk their lives in Okfuskee, Acorn Whistler’s hometown *talwa*. In attendance were many headmen of the Upper Creek towns and some relatives of Acorn Whistler. The talks would prove important in keeping peace within the nation. Creeks viewed laws of nature as the primary source of authority, yet the power of consensus between the united networks of the Creek nation became necessary when dealing with political disputes.<sup>48</sup> Exchanging of ideas, open discussion, and all voices being heard would have been the ideal situation for problem solving and peacemaking in a Creek conference.

However this Council at Tuckabatchee was different in that it had a great deal of authoritative biased influence. The Creek headmen who attended the Tuckabatchee Conference were not even on good terms with Acorn Whistler’s hometown of Okfuskee.<sup>49</sup> The very town that needed the most healing and understanding from this crisis appeared under represented and unacknowledged at the meeting. Okfuskees own great leader, the “Red Coat King” refused to attend the conference.<sup>50</sup> Therefore most of the talks sided with the Bosomworths and Coweta. It was to be accepted that Acorn Whistler was sacrificed for the good of the nation, and the good of the nation was to do as England demanded.<sup>51</sup> At this point, the disintegration of autonomous Creek decision-making practices is portrayed through the disregard of Okfuskee’s enraged

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<sup>47</sup> Joshua Aaron. Piker, *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler: Telling Stories in Colonial America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 165.

<sup>48</sup> Chaudhuri, *A Sacred Path*, 70-73.

<sup>49</sup> Piker, *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler*, 169.

<sup>50</sup> Piker, *The Four Deaths of Acorn Whistler*, 169.

<sup>51</sup> Journal of Thomas Bosomworth, in *DRIA*, 290.



community members. Traditional Creek politics under the influence of multi racial elites and European authorities became more vulnerable. Creek customs were used against them in scenarios such as this. For the Creek Indians would understand the “satisfaction” colonial authorities desired, comparing it to their own blood revenge custom.

## CONCLUSION

The spiritual traditions of 18<sup>th</sup> century Creek society established the foundations for actions while accommodating space for change in response to crisis in the transformational periods of European settlement. As we have seen, the values of Creek culture influenced every move in their individual daily lives and the actions of the Creek Nation as a whole. The ultimate spirit of Ibofanga and the Redstick/Whitestick legend created authorities of natural law, tribal structure and decision-making processes. Purification and renewal engendered respect and reverence for all living things that shared sacred energies and histories. Creek spiritual traditions strived to achieve order and harmony in the altering realities of the new colonial world.

The colonial authorities used multi-racial peoples to help manipulate Creek values toward their own ends. Yet, the Acorn Whistler crisis also shows how Creek belief systems contained inherent flexibility that allowed room for change due to the respect of opposition and differences. Creek headmen and clan mothers tried to honor custom throughout the changing times but the pressures of subordination to European colonization made Creek structural autonomy exceedingly difficult.

However, this story is about more than just the manipulation and marginalization of Creek communities and belief systems during the beginnings of settler colonialism. This story also shows how the Creek peoples remained agents of their own world through the difficult

process of colonization. Compromise and manipulation of belief systems doesn't necessarily have to be good or bad, as we have seen, change can mean bridging two worlds, in an attempt to unite opposing parallels in the quest of balance. At times certain practices appeared to have been strictly adhered to, while others were maneuvered or ignored in the pursuit of harmony. Creek actions in response to crisis and change demonstrates a powerful sensibility developed by their spiritual heritage that is established in the continuing existence and survival of the great Muscogee Nation today.



# SO THAT OTHERS MAY LIVE

The Struggle of Jewish Doctors to Preserve Life in the Holocaust



Illustration by Edel Rodriguez

Nicholas Eckenrode  
HIST 4973 – Dr. Ward

The knock at the door stirred him from his sleep. The visits were sporadic. At any given moment a situation could arise that dictated the need for his presence. Opening the door, Dr. Miklos Nyiszli found one of the men of the Sonderkommando before him. He said there was an emergency and he must come quickly. One of their men was unconscious.

Approaching the bed, Nyiszli could see it was the old man known as ‘Captain.’ He was alive and in no immediate danger. A quick examination confirmed his suspicion. The man had taken a vast amount of sleeping pills; possibly smuggled out of the luggage depot known as ‘Canada’, the final resting place for the belongings of all Jews who passed through the gates of Auschwitz.

Death was on display daily in the camp. And for the men of the Sonderkommando it was staring them in the eye. In exchange for an additional few short months to their lives, these men became accomplices in the Nazi death machine, burning the corpses of their people until nothing but ash remained. Many of them lost their humanity long before they lost their actual lives.

In the case of the ‘Captain’, the psychological toll had become too much. Rather than wait for the Nazis to finish him off, he opted to take his own life on his own terms. Now as Nyiszli stood over him, the men of the Sonderkommando requested that he do nothing. “Don’t save him. You’ll only be prolonging the agony...you can see for yourself he wanted to escape it now...”<sup>1</sup> Without acknowledging their words, he silently prepared his equipment. He inserted the syringe into the vial and withdrew the antidote. While tempers flared from the other men, realizing their request would be denied, Nyiszli injected the vaccine and left the room. The

‘Captain’ would live provided he didn’t come down with pneumonia or typhus in the coming days.

As he returned to his own quarters, Nyiszli was haunted by the event in his mind. In his words, “Now that I was no longer beside his bed...his face no longer called forth the doctor in me, the purely human side of my nature was forced to admit that the Captain’s friends had been right. I should have ‘let him go his way,’ not in front of the cold steel barrel of a machine gun, but in the pleasant narcosis that now enveloped him, where he was free from all moral and physical pain.”<sup>2</sup> Not for the first time, he was confronted with the dilemma of his duty as a doctor while keeping intact his own sanity. There was never a clear solution.

The Holocaust was a horrifying example of what could happen should a country commit itself to the systematic destruction of a people. By means of their legal system, ghettoization, slave labor, concentration camps, and outright genocide, the Germans sought to destroy not only their victims but also rob them of their very humanity leaving absent any sign of civilized behavior. In most cases, one was “dead” before death itself arrived.

Within the Nazi death system, though, was a group of men and women who did more work to sustain the will to live than previously noted. By the very definition of their profession, the Jewish medical professionals during the Holocaust became one of the last bastions of hope in the most dire of circumstances. Numerous memoirs and books have been written detailing the moral and ethical struggle they faced during the war.<sup>3</sup> Faced with daily death rates that would weaken even the strongest resolves, these individuals committed themselves to the survival of others dictated to them by their Hippocratic Oath.

The topic has been acknowledged but widely unappreciated. More often than not the role of Jewish doctors is reduced to their forced involvement with the infamous physician Dr.

Mengele and his experiments on Jewish prisoners.<sup>4</sup> This macabre approach is a disservice to these men and women and does more to harm their legacy than promote it. The truth is that Jewish doctors, nurses, and medics played a vital role in the survival of the Jews during the Holocaust and the death toll by war's end would have been significantly higher had it not been for their work.

### **Where Are the Jewish Doctors?**

As Hitler tightened his grip on Germany, the everyday life of the Jewish population changed drastically. Through a systematic approach within the Bundestag, the politicians within the Nazi party began passing a series of laws that slowly took away all freedoms from the Jews of Germany.<sup>5</sup> As early as April 1933, the Nazis passed a decree restricting the admission of Jewish students to the universities and medical schools within German borders. That same month, further legislation was passed aiming to minimize “Jewish activity” in the medical and legal professions. The Nuremberg Race Laws of 1935 became the cornerstone of the Nazi racial policy and their effects were felt long after its introduction. By 1938, Jewish doctors were forbidden from treating non-Jewish patients.<sup>6</sup> For these medical professionals, either in practice or training, these policies were felt twice over. Not only was their quest to aid their countrymen's health reduced to nothing, but they were no longer even considered citizens.

This was recounted in Lucie Adelsberger's memoir of those early days after the passing of Nazi legislation: “Within two months Jewish doctors faced boycotts and individual acts of terror... [She] was able to maintain her medical practice in Berlin, although during the years immediately prior to her deportation she could no longer call herself a doctor. The Nazis

withdrew that title...instead she became a *Judenbehandler*, an attendant of Jews.” To put this in perspective, more than 20% of Germany’s female physicians were located in Berlin prior to the start of World War II.<sup>7</sup> Of those 722 women doctors, 270 were Jewish. The need to racially discriminate against the Jews was felt so strongly by the Nazis that they were willing to eliminate a substantial amount of their country’s health care personnel. In her case, Adelsberger had been serving for nearly twenty years as a physician specializing in immunology and allergies. With the stroke of a pen she was no longer worthy to operate as a physician in her home country.

While seniority was so easily discarded in the private sector, the atmosphere at the university level could be considered even more volatile. Knowing that tensions towards Jews affected entrance rates in Czechoslovakia, Mina Deutsch applied to the University of Prague for medical training knowing that it was the most lenient of the institutions when it came to Jewesses in their ranks. While attending in the early 1930s, she met a fellow medical student, Leon Deutsch, who she quickly fell in love with and married after Leon’s graduating year in 1937. During their summer break they took a long vacation home in conjunction with their honeymoon. They both returned in the fall of 1937: for Mina to finish her last year of medical school and Leon to begin his initial year of medical training. As Mina details, the atmosphere in Prague was drastically different from the one they left.

“Conditions at the university had changed dramatically by then. German students greeted professors with cries of ‘Heil Hitler,’ and the professors responded in kind. In class, front-row seats were occupied only by German students, who ignored even those Jews whom they had previously befriended. We were told that only those Jewish students in their last year of studies would be permitted to complete their final examinations; all others could not continue at all...It was then that we realized there was nothing further for us in Prague.”<sup>8</sup> While Mina and Leon



were able to gain their title of doctor outside of Germany, the Nazis succeeded in ensuring that they would have no future as physicians within the borders of their growing empire.

By 1939, Germany had invaded Poland and began one of the deadliest wars in human history. This development only brought more uncertainty to the Jewish population. Those outside Nazi control began to flee in fear of the Nazi wave of aggression. For those trapped within Germany, Nazi law had already prohibited Jews from immigrating to other nations. Rumors began to circulate of the immediate future of any Jews. Words such as ‘ghetto’, ‘deportation’, and ‘liquidation’ were used with increasing frequency. With no right to property, no right to citizenship, and seemingly no hope, the Jewish population prepared for whatever may come. In the following years the recent outcasts of the medical world would come to play a pivotal role in the survival of the Jewish people.

### **Mockery of All Accepted Standards**

As Germany geared itself for war, it also began to address the Jewish question with increasing aggressiveness. Gone were the days of decrees, strikes on business, and “random” pogroms. Now the Nazis herded all Jews into ghettos on the outskirts of towns under the pretense of deportation. To provide the illusion of competent medical care, hospitals were established within ghettos and the camp system. Abysmal working conditions was to be the norm, not the exception, for all physicians throughout the Holocaust.

The ghetto was the Nazi’s first introduction of death to the Jews. Living conditions within its walls were horrendous. There was no running water for the majority of the population. Nor was there any attempt at proper sewer treatment. Coupled with the harsh weather, hard

labor, meager food rations, and overpopulation, the hospitals quickly became inundated with patients. Beds were on a premium. Proper care for those in a bed a luxury.

Having been trained in France and receiving his medical license immediately before the outbreak of war, Arnold Mostowicz found himself in the 'Sanitary Service' for the Lodz ghetto. While this allowed him to work in the hospital on Drewnowska Street, he was primarily involved with first-aid, or ambulance service, throughout the ghetto.<sup>9</sup> "First-aid service! When I think of the audacity I showed by undertaking such work without any experience in that field, I can explain it only by the courage of youth. And also by the times that formed the background to this decision."<sup>10</sup> Mostowicz quickly realized that he was in over his head. It was a cruel joke that he served as a symbol of hope to his Jewish peers yet was never equipped to provide any real care. Should the mortality rate skyrocket, the Nazis would simply cite the lack of care at the hands of the Jewish physicians. Nearly 160,000 Jews were isolated in the northeastern part of the city, separated into three sections.<sup>11</sup> With five tiny hospitals, and two ambulances apiece, the task of caring for the ghetto population was more than daunting.

Within weeks Mostowicz's ambulance service, with its worn out *droshky*, or open carriage, became simply a number-keeping service for the dead. With next to no supplies at their disposal, they often arrived with no means to actually treat their patients outside of simple bandages and splints. To try and transfer a patient meant waiting for approval from the hospital itself, which resulted in a long delay could mean death for the patient.

As impossible as it may seem, something as vital as a functioning hospital was truly an amenity in the Lodz ghetto. By 1942-1943 liquidations of the population began in earnest. The next stop for the selected Jews was a concentration camp. Upon arrival they were either selected for death or sent to slave labor until the Nazis felt their usefulness ran out. It was the climax of

the Nazi death system. As tenuous as the hospitals may have been in the ghetto, the hospitals that followed in the concentration or death camps were cast further into doubt.

In the case of Auschwitz-Birkenau, the initial opening of the hospital in 1941 was met with optimism by the prisoners. The *Krankenbau*, known commonly as *Ka-Be*, was the infirmary for the inmates. Spanning over several different blocks, it was in constant need of simple supplies to address the droves of patients it admitted every day. Despite the lack of supplies, it did become a shelter from the horrors of the camp they endured. If nothing else it could be a place to die peacefully. The sense of relief to be admitted to *Ka-Be* was described in Primo Levi's memoir. When Levi injured his foot during a work detail, he reported to the outpatient clinic for examination. After a long, arduous process, he is finally seen by a prisoner doctor and nurse.

“I do not need a long examination: I am immediately declared *Arztvormelder*. What it means I do not know... [But] Chajim rejoices with me: I have a good wound, it does not seem dangerous, but it should be enough to guarantee me a discreet period of rest.” Levi was granted a reprieve from camp life for a night pending a true examination. The next day his foot was deemed worthy of rest and Levi began a twenty day stint in *Ka-Be*. So peaceful was this time that he was actually able to experience deep sleep for the first time in months.<sup>12</sup>

By 1943, that perception changed due to the increasing mortality rates. Working in tandem, epidemics and selections by SS doctors turned the hospital into a scourge for the prisoners and turned it into a, “‘waiting room for the crematorium.’ Even seriously ill prisoners went to great lengths to avoid hospitalization.”<sup>13</sup> Even if the reputation hadn't been earned, the fact is that the medical care in the common prisoner's hospital was so insubstantial that it couldn't assist in the recovery of most of its patients. This feeling of frustration and rejection

was felt by Levi once he was discharged from Ka-Be. "...The man who leaves the Ka-Be, naked and almost always insufficiently cured, feels himself ejected into the dark and cold of sidereal space...he is as helpless and vulnerable as a new-born baby, but the following morning he will still have to march to work."<sup>14</sup> Satisfaction of quality care was never to be a staple of a medical visit in the camp. Most patients who made it out of the hospital during this time actually owed their existence more to their innate will to survive than to what the Nazis allowed.

Even the small medical facility that attended to the staff of the crematoria faced their own crisis of standards. Miklos Nyiszli was selected on the ramp by the infamous Dr. Mengele to be one of the prisoner doctors that would work by his side. While he makes it no secret that he was glad to have been selected initially, the conditions of his workplace were less than adequate. He was faced, "...with practically no medicines, working with defective instruments and in surroundings where the most elementary aseptics and antiseptics were lacking..."<sup>15</sup> The hands of these physicians and nurses were metaphorically tied when it came to treatment.

The hospital system was only meant to improve patients' condition reasonably well enough so that they could return to work. Outside of this parameter they were deemed useless and selected for extermination. Even if they weren't, they were left to be packed in overcrowded rooms, with clothes that barely covered their emaciated bodies, waiting for what little relief they could expect. Conditions in the hospitals and ghettos would continue to be a mockery of all acceptable medical standards until the fall of Nazi Germany. It was a nightmare.

Why try then? How could one see any hope in this system? How could a doctor or nurse perform without tools that allowed them or their patients to succeed? While some inevitably did give in to the psychological toll of this service, several carried with them the same innate sense of resistance that thousands of other survivors carried. They realized that in order to truly carry

out their work they would need to adapt. They would have to show some ingenuity in their practices.

Perhaps the hardest lesson that most of these medical professionals learned up front was that they weren't going to save everyone. In fact, the hope of curing an ailment was as scarce a thought as living through the Holocaust itself. No, they couldn't stop death itself in this system. Instead their efforts turned to slowing the machinery of death. The Nazis meant to kill them all. With this realization firmly entrenched in their mind, their mission now was to save whoever they could: a hundred, a dozen, or even just one.

### **By Any Means Necessary**

The doctors, Jewish or Gentile, knew that their captors had no intent to improve their working conditions. Rather than being stymied by this fact, they spurred themselves into action. To have any chance at saving a life they would need to be as resourceful as possible. This meant recycling materials, bartering for goods and, in some cases, even resorting to scavenging the dead for potential lifesaving medicine or materials.

For the men and women in ghettos, or in hiding, it was much harder to come across needed supplies. In the case of Mina Deutsch and her husband, their services dictated that they move from home to home as they tried to evade the Nazi wave. As she remembers, in the effort to have even a decent examination room in their temporary home, they collected crates from farmers and then covered them with sacks filled with straw as an impromptu examination table. For Mina this primitive set-up was still preferable to actually reporting to a clinical hospital for

most men at this time. For villagers who were shown to be in good enough health, or without serious injury, they risked conscription into the army and shipment to the front.<sup>16</sup>

In another instance, Mina and her husband Leon were confronted with the dilemma of their own survival and that of their sense of duty. While in hiding, one of the local villager's sons fell ill due to lack of calcium injections.<sup>17</sup> Knowing that Leon was a doctor, he begged him to administer the shots to continue the boy's treatments. Leon and Mina agreed to treat the boy, and all ensuing cases for the village, in return for what food could be provided them. This may seem to conflict the moral code of a doctor, but Leon had to come out of hiding to treat his patients. He put his life, and the life of the villagers, at risk should he be discovered. This was not lost on the villagers in this moment. They would oblige the doctors' request. To treat their sick during a time of war merited a small loaf of bread or, on a good day, a small sack of potatoes.

Providing services for food did not equate to losing honor. The first rule of any first responder is to protect oneself, lest one becomes unable to render lifesaving service to someone else. A doctor on the brink of starvation, unable to properly treat a patient, is not beneficial to anyone. This reasoning was on display in Auschwitz as well. Gisella Perl admitted that often prisoners would come to the medical staff asking for individual treatment. Rather than show up on a hospital roster, risking possible selection by SS physicians, they became the "private" patients of the hospital.<sup>18</sup> To open a cyst, malignant boil, or any other small operation often yielded a can of smuggled food, a piece of margarine or a few slices of *wurst*. These additional rations were key for the medical staff. Whatever was collected during the day was routinely shared in the evening with the rest of the staff. While small, it allowed enough energy for them to continue their work for at least one more day.

During the war, resources were scarce for both the military and civilians alike. Supplies were nearly non-existent for those within the ghettos or those in hiding. An unlikely advantage presented itself for those already trapped in the camp system. Every prisoner, upon entering the camp, was robbed of all belongings they brought with them. These items were promptly stored in a warehouse that was sorted by prisoners themselves, repackaged, and shipped back into the empire for use by the Nazis. For prisoners of Auschwitz, their warehouse, named Canada for its perceived riches, became a critical source of supplies for the medics of the hospital.

By way of the camp's Polish underground, supplies were routinely smuggled out of the store rooms of Canada. What made its way into the hospital was given to a trusted nurse or doctor who would distribute it appropriately. It was almost always a small amount, but crucial for some patients. It presented a difficult situation, calling back the dilemma of who can be saved and who should be let go. As Dr. Robert Waitz put it, "the choice was 'either do nothing, which was a solution dictated by cowardice, or to become an activist.'"<sup>19</sup> It was an impossible decision, but one that needed to be made.

Miklos Nyiszli realized this more than anyone. He was placed in a more advantageous situation in the crematorium than his medical counterparts in Ka-Be. Recognizing this, he made an effort to aid where he could during his daily rounds of the camp. Thousands of women would pass by his crematorium during these same rounds. Raiding the crematoria storeroom before it went to Canada, he would stuff his pockets with vitamin pills, sulfa tablets, bottles of iodine, bandages and anything else of medical worth so that he could slip it to the women as they passed. He would do this until his supplies were depleted stating, "For those who received them, these medicines often meant the difference between life and death. At least for a little while."<sup>20</sup> Nyiszli had no way of knowing if these supplies were ever put to good use. He simply acted in

good faith, hoping that it would allow someone to make it through at least another day. For patient and physician alike this was the ultimate goal.

These goods, like everything else in camp life, were based on a bartering system. Very few things ever came without a price tag. For the underground and labor detachments to risk their lives smuggling, they would need to be compensated in some form. Sometimes it was the trading of food as mentioned before, something that dominated the minds of all prisoners of the camp system. In other cases it came down to the need for the most intimate of human interactions. In exchange for goods, men and women would rendezvous for sexual encounters. As unlikely as it may seem given the setting, sex was a currency that was as valuable as any other currency inside the wire. Not even the threat of the SS could prevent this from occurring. Instead, Nazi guards would simply laugh and make fun of the behavior as they viewed it as further proof of the degraded nature of their prisoners.

When Gisella Perl initially found out that women in her barracks, including some of her staff, were engaging in a level of prostitution she was shocked. As she puts it, “My pride, my integrity as a woman revolted against the very idea. I begged and preached...I even threatened to refuse treatment if they didn’t stop prostitution.”<sup>21</sup> Her initial assessment of the situation altered shortly thereafter. She identified the need for the activity. She saw the usefulness in the act rather than simply seeking pleasures of the flesh. If a sexual encounter allowed for more ointment, bandages, and medications to trickle into her hospital than it was a worthy act. After she came to this conclusion, she understood and later forgave. In this instance, the end did justify the means.

### **Choiceless Choices**



Within the camp system, an even more frightening dilemma existed for the female inmates. Women were being admitted into the camps pregnant – some of them clearly in the third trimester. What would happen to these women? The idea of raising an infant, let alone giving birth, in a concentration camp was a harrowing prospect. Their captors would never allow it. What then was the solution? For women physicians such as Lucie Adelsberger and Giselle Perl, both spending time in Auschwitz, the question of pregnant women defined their struggle as doctors within the Nazi death camps.

Inevitably, some women did give natural birth within the camps. The result was immediate death for both mother and child. If pregnancies were allowed to continue, the ranks of the women's camp would thin even quicker. The only solution was one the physicians would never consider under normal circumstances. Adelsberger readily admitted that it was a medical mistake and that to induce termination of a pregnancy in a healthy woman was a taboo all over the world. However, these were unreasonable times. Knowing that to do nothing meant the loss of two lives, the women doctors fell back on cold reasoning to bring them to action.

As Adelsberger put it, “Medical ethics prescribe that if...the mother and child are in danger, priority must be given to saving the life of the mother...The child had to die so that the life of the mother might be saved.”<sup>22</sup> Quietly amongst themselves they began to triage the women who were expecting. Starting with the nine month pregnancies and working her way down, Perl would induce labor without any aid of sanitary equipment. All she had were her fingers and what little water could be saved. This often took place in the middle of the night; in a dark corner of their barracks or the latrine. She would then bandage their abdomens to conceal any signs of their work and send the women on their way. In extreme cases she would admit

them to the hospital listed as pneumonia patients--a safe diagnosis that wouldn't arouse any suspicions or risk selection to the gas chambers.<sup>23</sup>

In the event that they were unable to perform an abortion on time, or that a child survived the procedure, the physicians turned to their stockpile of poison that had been collected for this sole purpose. It was administered to the child immediately, but even that sometimes wasn't enough. Adelsberger recalled several instances where the newborn's fight for life was stronger than any dose that they could administer. In one such case, she recalls a mother's action that was usually spared them by the doctors: "One time there was no poison available, and so the mother strangled the child she had just delivered...She was a Pole, a good mother who loved her children more than anything else. But she had hidden three small children back home and wanted to live for them." Such a barbaric act, no matter the reasoning behind it, brought a psychological toll on both mother and doctor. In her memoir, Adelsberger admits that many women they performed this operation on never recovered from the death of their infant and never forgave the physician.<sup>24</sup>

The toll wore heavily on the physicians as well. With every abortion, Perl had to battle her every instinct as a mother herself to perform the operation "No one will ever know what it meant to me to destroy these babies...if I had not done it, both mother and child would have been cruelly murdered...every one of these women recovered and was able to work, which, at least for a while, saved her life."<sup>25</sup> The logic was cold and calculating but simple. They could lose two or save one. However, to save that life meant to destroy another, inadvertently making them unwilling accomplices to the Nazis.

Such "choiceless choices" didn't fall only on the physicians conducting these abortions. Miklos Nyiszli, a pathologist by trade from Hungary, was recruited by Dr. Josef Mengele

himself upon arrival to Auschwitz. The man who became known as the “Angel of Death” stood diametrically opposed to everything a doctor should stand for. In the years he spent at Auschwitz, he conducted a litany of experiments under the pretense of racial pseudoscience. To conduct them en masse, he forced Jewish medical professional into his service at the crematoriums.

As a direct assistant to Mengele, Nyiszli was tasked with a seemingly endless number of autopsies brought to his lab. The high population within Auschwitz allowed for a number of experiments on prisoners of good health, twins, dwarfs, giants, and those with abnormal congenital effects. With corpses freely disposed of, Nyiszli was regularly asked to dissect his fellow prisoners and ship noteworthy samples back to Germany. There, the highest medical authorities reviewed the results of the demented experiment. Nyiszli, along with the rest of the Jewish staff, were active members in the Nazi “noble goal” of perfecting the Aryan race.<sup>26</sup>

Reflecting on this later in his life, Nyiszli was still overcome with the guilt of his actions. “...I...carrying out the orders of a demented doctor, had dissected hundreds of bodies, so that a science based on false theories might benefit from the deaths of those millions of victims.” The extent of these orders didn’t simply end with an autopsy. Nyiszli and his staff would be forced to cut the flesh of healthy young men and women, boil the flesh of victims so that they could preserve the skeletons for shipment back to the Reich, and, in rare cases, review diagnosis of patients from Ka-Be who were eligible for liquidation.

In one of these cases, Nyiszli was questioned by Mengele on the validity of typhus diagnosis by physicians from the woman’s camp. Knowing that Mengele was a race biologist, Nyiszli knew he wouldn’t have the expertise that he possessed as a pathologist. If the diagnosis stood, the entire block of prisoners risked liquidation. To disagree with the diagnosis could

mean the death of the physicians. Nyiszli made his decision: the women's diagnosis was incorrect. The patients didn't have typhus. He instantly felt remorse.

“According to medical customs as practiced outside the barbed wire I had certainly acted unethically...I had wronged two or three innocent people.” Nyiszli knew the man he was dealing with. When combating an epidemic the Nazis were ruthless in their response. “...what lengths might Dr. Mengele have gone in his fight against epidemics and might have been the number of victims, if I had acted differently?”<sup>27</sup> He never found out what happened to the women physicians. He hoped they simply lost their job and were reduced to hard labor rather than the gas chamber. All he knew is that he chose the life of many over a few. The guilt of that decision would remain with him over the ensuing decades.

## **Contagion**

Disease has always been a harbinger of death with allegiance to no one. Through the centuries it has destroyed armies, devastated cities, and brought civilizations to its knees. As ruthless as the Nazis were, the threat of an epidemic froze even them in their tracks. The abhorrent conditions within the ghettos and camps became a breeding ground for any number of ailments. Aside from the Nazis themselves, disease was the greatest single threat to the Jewish population. It was also the area with the greatest single impact by the struggling Jewish physicians.

Initially, one would think that disease was something the Nazis would rejoice in. Exterminating a group of people took time and manpower. If a single epidemic could do the

work for them without any effort on their part, then why intervene? When being consulted by an SS officer on containing a typhus outbreak within the ghetto, Arnold Mostowicz saw the vulnerability that neither party would admit. “If he knows, he must also know the old epidemiological rule asserting that no barbed wire will stop a louse...behind the barbed wire was first of all the ghetto...and then there was the city, the Aryan city.”<sup>28</sup> There was no guarantee of safety. Disease forced the Nazis into an unlikely partnership with the Jewish doctors, the very people they meant for death. If a disease could be stopped in its tracks, that was preferable to the logistics of liquidating an entire ghetto on the spot. That option was very real and in the case of Mostowicz he was shown the validity of the threat. The same SS officer asking for his help promptly executed two typhus patients in front of him as an example of what would happen should they fail to contain the disease. As Mostowicz saw it, two patients were denied the chance to win the fight for life.

Tactics to fight such ailments were universal throughout the Holocaust. With numbers of infected quickly on the rise the doctors needed to act quickly. As a first course of action they resorted to one of the oldest medical practices: quarantine. Within the ghetto and camps, shuffling people in and out of rooms and barracks in an effort to isolate the infected was common place. Lice were often the main culprit of the major epidemics and were tenacious in their ability to infect. As Adelsberger put it concerning Auschwitz’s bout with lice, “the bunks were crawling with them even more densely than with people.”<sup>29</sup> Even if one did die as a result of the disease, the lice still lived and remained a threat to those around the deceased. All the more reason that if they were to pass, they passed with those already infected.

Those quarantined weren’t left to their own devices, though. Once quarantined, the doctors took their lives into their own hands and ventured into these areas to treat those in need.

In the case of the Lodz ghetto, Mostowicz and his peers set up a system in which doctors would rotate within the infected gypsy camp on a multi-day rotation. Always in pairs. Always with limited supplies despite the Nazi demands. After two months it was clear that their efforts weren't helping. With increasing frequency, the doctors themselves were falling ill with typhus. The doctors became more cautious. Mostowicz remembers hearing a story of a doctor who, during his rotation, was handling the stethoscope with a stick while standing on a table to examine his patients.<sup>30</sup> The death rate climbed so high at one point that the Nazis, notorious record keepers, stopped issuing death certificates and eventually buried the dead in the nearby Jewish cemetery.

Still the doctors did not give up. If they couldn't intervene appropriately to cure their patients, they could at least assure them the opportunity to fight for their own life. Whether it was typhus, cholera, dysentery or any other ailment, the Nazis had displayed their proclivity towards executing those who were considered "too sick" to return to work. As such, all medical professionals were careful to document any case of infectious disease to their captors. To do so was to invite an ad hoc selection process. Instead they would literally hide their patients.

On a small scale it was simply moving a patient from one room to another. If the patient, or perhaps even the staff, were too weak to move them at a distance, they would place them on the top bunks out of eyesight of Nazi patrols. In more severe cases, long term patients would actually be rotated through wards so as not to appear to have overstayed their welcome. When news of upcoming selections were brought to the staff, they would discharge all patients deemed at risk. Once the selection was completed, they would promptly readmit all those they had discharged.<sup>31</sup>

In the notable case of Dr. Brauns (first name not given) of the Kovno ghetto, he simply lied about the condition of his patients. With 70 typhus patients on his hands, Brauns simply diagnosed them with influenza. In comparison to typhus, this was a relatively harmless situation. At that time, Dr. Elkhanan Elkes was the head of the *Judenrat* and, working in tandem with Dr. Brauns, procured extra rations of food and water for his patients. Working in secret, without the harassment of the Nazis or Lithuanians, Brauns was able to effectively treat his patients, only losing three in the process. This extremely low mortality rate showed what was possible should even simple supplies be available to a doctor dedicated to the life of his patient.<sup>32</sup>

### **To Do No Harm**

Within the medical world, a doctor represents hope and salvation to a patient. Someone who can take away their troubles through a specialty that they may not understand, but fully appreciate. Often lost in this process is the plight of the providers themselves. Medical professionals often are left to quietly suffer when treatment plans go awry, a patient's health deteriorates, or when a patient is lost. However, there is rarely time to grieve and instead the provider is forced to move on. This was never truer as the physicians of the Holocaust sought to strengthen their resolve while simultaneously battling the psychological toll that grew within.

The traumatic experience of the ghettos and camps catapulted these physicians into the most austere of environments. Not only were they charged with the health of hundreds of thousands of people, but also they had to find a way to survive themselves. These circumstances left most reeling, but the physicians who survived fell back on the cold hard logic of their profession to guide them through. For Gisella Perl, she saw it as her own way to fight back.

“I knew that my work had an aim. Here I was a partisan, too, a partisan fighting against the Nazis by saving the lives they intended to destroy.”<sup>33</sup> Several survivors stated that by simply living they stood as a slap in the face of the Nazis. For Perl, transforming her work into an active form of resistance was the only way to respond to the death system. Every life she saved with the primitive tools given to her was an act of open defiance.

Within the Lodz ghetto, Arnold Mostowicz sought to do the same within his own means. When the threat of typhus began to seep into the ghetto proper, the Nazis issued an order stating that potential infectious patients were no longer to be transported for treatment. Instead they were to be gathered for “deportation.” After seeing so much death due to this process, or leaving them to die on their own, he was spurred to action. When a call one night presented a little girl clinging to life due to typhus, he transported her quickly to the hospital.

After the girl had been admitted and treated, Mostowicz was confronted by the senior physician of the ward who chastised him for putting the entire hospital at risk. Unaffected by this, Mostowicz simply wanted to know if the girl would live. When he found out she would, he proceeded to visit her for the next two weeks until she was discharged. While his behavior could be described as reckless, it was more important for him to do something to save a life rather than watch another one slip away.<sup>34</sup> Another death was simply unacceptable.

These selfless heroics weren't without a cost. Witnessing the deaths of thousands over time takes its toll on any individual. A physician is no exception. When doctors couldn't compartmentalize any further, they would often turn to some form of self-medication in order to numb themselves further. After overhearing the murder of 70 women within the crematoria one night, Miklos Nyiszli retreated to his room and promptly ingested ten centigram sleeping pills. On days he bared witness to the massive funeral pyres outside the crematoria he would need



thirty centigram pills. For him, it was the best remedy for sleep after a day's work. On lighter days, he would simply spike his tea with rum. For him the effect of the alcohol was as comforting as the caress of a mother's hand.<sup>35</sup>

Gisella Perl took doses of morphine on more than one occasion when she had her moments of weakness. She explains her actions by stating, "The Nazi method of completely dehumanizing us before throwing us into the fire worked beautifully. Only a very few, the strongest, the cleanest, the noblest were able to retain a semblance of human dignity."<sup>36</sup> While she attempts to explain these lapses, within her quote Perl actually speaks to the struggle of her peers.

So often it fell on them to be that stronger person that all could see. The individual with dignity that could be relied on to guide others through the horrors of the Holocaust. Adelsberger, after battling her own demons, felt this same sense of duty. "Suddenly I was overwhelmed by the thought that, despite it all, life is still stronger than death. Someday a new life would arise..."<sup>37</sup> Aiding this mission to survive was the duty to bear witness. Adelsberger, Mostowicz, and Nyiszli all commented at length on this responsibility within their memoirs. For every life they saved would be another voice, in addition to their own, to describe the horrors they had suffered. It was easier to forget. Especially since they faced death more than any others within the system. But that aversion to remembering is precisely the reason they must remember. The legacy of the dead is in their hands.

## **CONCLUSION**

The plight of the Jewish physicians was a situation that could only be presented by the conditions of the Holocaust. As the world was witnessing the largest genocide in history, these men and women were reduced to a hollow shell of their profession. To be appointed the care of the hundreds of thousands of prisoners, while simultaneously being denied any supplies to perform on an adequate level, was a cruel joke that fell in line with Nazi practices. What couldn't be denied, however, was the resolve of these physicians who performed dutifully in any capacity available to them. Whether it was simply words of encouragement or substantial medical care, their impact was felt. Driven by their Hippocratic Oath to do no harm, they navigated their way through the moral dilemmas faced daily while saving what lives they could. Their lifesaving efforts, and the hope they provided, were often why patients in their death throes would cry out for "Doctor" instead of a God they perceived as having abandoned them long before. A rabbinic precept states: "When everyone acts inhuman, what should a man do? He should act more human." When confronted with the Nazi killing machine the Jewish physicians did just that. Rather than give in to death, they were on the front lines in the fight for life.

## Endnotes

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- <sup>1</sup> Miklos Nyiszli, *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account* (Arcade Publishing 2011), 108
- <sup>2</sup> Nyiszli, *Eyewitness*, 109
- <sup>3</sup> Mina Deutsch, *Mina's Story: A Doctor's Memoir of the Holocaust* (ECW Press 1994); Gisella Perl, *I Was a Doctor in Auschwitz* (New Hampshire: Ayer Company 1997); Michael Berenbaum and Yisrael Gutman, *Anatomy of the Auschwitz Death Camp* (Indiana University Press 1998); Arnold Mostowicz, *With a Yellow Star and a Red Cross* (Library of Holocaust Testimonies: Vallentine Mitchell 2005); Lucie Adelsberger, *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Story* (Northeastern 2006); Miklos Nyiszli, *Auschwitz: A Doctor's Eyewitness Account* (Arcade Publishing 2011)
- <sup>4</sup> Berenbaum and Gutman, *Anatomy*, 269, 308-314, 325-327; Nyiszli, *Eyewitness*, 63-65, 87, 97, 161
- <sup>5</sup> Week 3 Lecture Power Point: Slides 6, 9, 14, 17-18
- <sup>6</sup> United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. "Anti-Semitic Legislation 1933-1939." <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007901>
- <sup>7</sup> Adelsberger, *Auschwitz*, xv
- <sup>8</sup> Deutsch, *Mina*, 16-17
- <sup>9</sup> Mostowicz, *Yellow Star*, 15
- <sup>10</sup> Mostowicz, *Yellow Star*, 15
- <sup>11</sup> United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. "Lodz." <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005071>
- <sup>12</sup> Primo Levi, *Survival in Auschwitz* Translated by Stuart Woolf. (New York: Touchstone, 1996), 50-52
- <sup>13</sup> Berenbaum and Gutman, *Anatomy*, 382
- <sup>14</sup> Levi, *Survival*, 56-57
- <sup>15</sup> Nyiszli, *Eyewitness*, 27
- <sup>16</sup> Deutsch, *Mina*, 87
- <sup>17</sup> Deutsch, *Mina*, 60-61
- <sup>18</sup> Perl, *Doctor*, 92
- <sup>19</sup> Berenbaum and Gutman, *Anatomy*, 486
- <sup>20</sup> Nyiszli, *Eyewitness*, 77
- <sup>21</sup> Perl, *Doctor*, 79
- <sup>22</sup> Adelsberger, *Auschwitz*, 100
- <sup>23</sup> Perl, *Doctor*, 73-74
- <sup>24</sup> Adelsberger, *Auschwitz*, 101

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<sup>25</sup> Perl, *Doctor*, 74

<sup>26</sup> Nyiszli, *Eyewitness*, 57-61

<sup>27</sup> Nyiszli, *Eyewitness*, 97

<sup>28</sup> Mostowicz, *Yellow Star*, 26

<sup>29</sup> Adelsberger, *Auschwitz* 51

<sup>30</sup> Mostowicz, *Yellow Star*, 28-29

<sup>31</sup> Berenbaum and Gutman, *Anatomy*, 388. Nyiszli, *Eyewitness*, 94-95.

<sup>32</sup> Boston University: Bostonia. "Do No Harm." <http://www.bu.edu/bostonia/winter-spring12/holocaust-doctors/>

<sup>33</sup> Perl, *Doctor*, 160

<sup>34</sup> Mostowicz, *Yellow star*, 49

<sup>35</sup> Nyiszli, *Eyewitness*, 42, 68, 89

<sup>36</sup> Perl, *Doctor*, 30, 37

<sup>37</sup> Adelsberger, *Auschwitz* 54

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A LEGEND IN THE MAKING  
The Evolution of the Conquest Accounts of Al-Andalus

Kiley Foster  
Honors Thesis  
December 9, 2014

## Introduction

One night in the year 711, a force of several thousand Muslims, mostly Berbers, crossed the Straits of Gibraltar from North Africa. Disguised as a party of traders so as not to arouse the suspicion of the locals, they landed on the Iberian Peninsula near Gibraltar. Led by Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād, they spread out into the peninsula, conquering villages and defeating the Visigothic armies. Their endeavor was the next step of the Muslims' expansion from the Middle East, into North Africa and beyond. This next step, the conquest of Spain, and the succeeding society the invaders established in the peninsula became legendary, feeding the imaginations of Muslims and Europeans alike. Even today, Muslim Spain is often an object of nostalgia and a symbol of tolerance in ages past.

While no contemporary Muslim accounts of the conquest have been discovered, later sources from the ninth century and beyond provide modern scholars with plentiful information on the subject. The difficulty in interpreting this information is in separating fact from fiction. Because there are so few accounts dating from near the time of the conquest, historians tend to collect much of their information from the later, more detailed, accounts. The problem with this, as one can easily observe, is in knowing the source of the information the later accounts contain. When we read new details in Ibn 'Idhārī's fourteenth century manuscript, we are understandably skeptical. Was this information also contained in earlier accounts that have since been lost? Or was the information simply a product of the author's imagination and penchant for story-telling?

While it is unlikely that, in the absence of a contemporary account, we will ever be able to truly know what happened, this paper seeks to fill a hole in the research on the conquest of Spain by examining the evolution of Muslim accounts of the conquest. Through this survey of texts ranging from the ninth century to the fourteenth, I highlight trends in the conquest accounts.

As a result of this study, I find that the legends surrounding the conquest of al-Andalus were already firmly established in North Africa and Spain by the 9<sup>th</sup> century. After this time, the major legends were standardized from one text to another, but other anecdotes, such as those detailing the conquest of individual cities, became much more elaborate towards the eleventh century.

In order to reach this conclusion, I will examine select accounts of the conquest, examining them for changes and continuities in the narrative. As it would be difficult to include each and every account up to the modern day, I restrict my survey to the six centuries following the conquest. I have tried to include as many of the well-known histories as possible, including those of al-Ḥakam, al-Balādhurī, and Ibn ‘Idhārī. Because my purpose is neither to determine what is factually correct nor to refine the currently accepted version of the conquest, I will only briefly touch on the matter of the reliability of the sources. The information this paper contains will be useful to historians wishing to further investigate the Muslim conquest, especially those who hope to refine our current knowledge with an investigation into the accuracy of the modern version of the story.

### **I. Historiography**

One of the primary difficulties in interpreting accounts of the conquest is inherent in the structure of Muslim historiographical tradition itself. Medieval historians had a very utilitarian approach to history: the intent of historical texts was to instruct the audience, rather than to propagate ideas.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, Muslim historians did not re-interpret historical data; instead, they repeated information found in earlier texts or gleaned from oral storytellers. Because historical tradition did not allow them to re-interpret the facts, historians would show their biases

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<sup>1</sup> F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 90.



through the information they chose to include (or not).<sup>2</sup> They often cited this information in the form of an *isnād*, a transmission chain, going back all the way to the original eyewitness of an event.<sup>3</sup> There was less room for independent query or questioning the accuracy of the information itself. However, it is this pattern of transmission history that enables us to accurately compare and contrast the conquest narratives, with the possibility of identifying the source of the informational discrepancies.

The dubious quality of some of the Muslim histories has led a few modern historians, notably Roger Collins, to reject their use as a reliable source of information. Collins advocates a return to “skeptical scholarship” regarding the Arabic narratives, citing the difference in the literary practices of the Arabic and Latin traditions. The Arabic narratives often have a paucity of “non-literary” evidence, as the original historians themselves tended to invent narratives in order to fill in the gaps in their knowledge. Because of this, Collins believes that historians should focus primarily on Latin accounts of the conquest, namely the *Chronicle of 754*, using Arabic sources to fill in the gaps.<sup>4</sup>

Nicola Clarke, on the other hand, advocates a more moderate approach. She takes a literary view of conquest narratives in an attempt to understand the context of the narratives through each author’s personal history. The knowledge of each author’s background is in this way important in understanding the narrative undertones as they apply in each formulaic narrative. Clarke believes that there are grains of the truth in each narrative, but that one must take them within the context of Muslim historiography. In this manner, Clarke holds that

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<sup>2</sup> Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 60-68.

<sup>3</sup> J. Robson. "Isnād." in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Ed. P. Bearman et al. (Brill Online, 2014), [Reference](#), University of Oklahoma, accessed November 15, 2014

<sup>4</sup> Roger Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain, 710-797* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 3-4 and 24-36.

scholars can separate the facts from the context of the authors' stories.<sup>5</sup> Although she herself does not undertake to establish an outline of what actually occurred based on these accounts, her discussion of the narrative tradition is useful in considering the evolution of the accounts of the Spanish conquest.

## II. Historical Overview

Although each account differs slightly from the others, historians have come to a consensus about the general sequence of events. In order to provide context and comparison for my analysis of the conquest narratives, I will endeavor to provide here what has become the most widely accepted and disseminated version of the conquest, which occurred in a larger context of Arab expansion out of the Middle East. The late seventh century saw Arab expansion into northwest Africa, and in 708, an Arab named Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr was appointed governor of Ifrīqiya (modern-day Tunisia). The native Berbers of this region became instrumental in the conquest of Spain, as they formed the backbone of the new Muslim armies of North Africa. Motivated by a desire for booty, the expansion of the Muslims into Spain was the next logical step in the series of conquests.

At the beginning of the eighth century, Spain was ruled by the Visigoths, a Germanic people who had been in Spain since the fifth century. The Visigoths had converted to Roman Catholicism, and the Visigoth Church played an influential role in society. A weak monarchy characterized the Visigoth government in Spain – the nobles elected the king, who was of the aristocracy, and there was no fixed law of succession. Around the time of the Arab invasion of Spain, the Visigoth kingdom was fragmented, with Akhila, the son of the former king Witiza, ruling in the north, and Roderic, a usurper, ruling in the south. A weak army added to the

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<sup>5</sup> Nicola Clarke, *The Muslim Conquest of Iberia* (Abingdon: Routledge 2012), 1-7.

political disunity, and there were many unhappy serfs and Jews who had been suffering from persecution.

The political disunity and unhappiness among the masses contributed to the ease that the Muslims experienced in conquering Spain. According to legend, a certain Count Julian of Ceuta, seeking revenge for Roderic's rape of his daughter, encouraged the Muslims to invade the peninsula. Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād, himself a *mawlā* of Berber descent, led the invading army, which consisted mostly of Berber converts to Islam. They invaded Iberia in 711, easily defeating Roderic's army and from there continuing to take city after city. In many places, they received help from Jews, who welcomed them as a relief from their Visigoth persecutors. Mūsā, the governor of Ifrīqiya, became jealous of Ṭāriq's success and brought his own army to Spain to join Ṭāriq's in taking much of the peninsula. In 714, the caliph recalled Mūsā and Ṭāriq to Damascus, and the conquest continued under Mūsā's son 'Abd al-'Azīz, whom he had appointed as governor of al-Andalus.<sup>6</sup>

Although the conquest continued in one way or another for many years after Mūsā's departure from al-Andalus, I will end my comparison of the conquest narratives with his return to Syria. This provides a convenient division as it is the end of the preliminary phase of the conquest and the exit of the primary characters from Iberia.

### III. Introduction to the sources

While there are many accounts of the conquest of Iberia, there are only a few relatively early versions. The earliest, and perhaps one of the most famous, is the anonymous Latin *Chronicle of 754* which, as the name suggests, was written sometime in the middle of the eighth

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<sup>6</sup> W. Montgomery Watt and Pierre Cachia, *A History of Islamic Spain*, (New Brunswick, NJ: Aldine Transaction, 2008), 1-11.

century, four or five decades after the events it describes.<sup>7</sup> Although it was not one of the Arabic narratives, I will include a brief overview of the *Chronicle* in order to provide a basis for comparison, as it is the earliest record we have. Of the Arabic accounts, the two earliest are al-Balādhurī's *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān* and al-Ḥakam's *Futūḥ Miṣr*, both written sometime during the ninth century. Tenth-century accounts include Ibn al-Qūṭīyya's *Ta'riḫ Ibn al-Qūṭīyya* and al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'riḫ al-Rusul wa 'l-Mulūk* which, despite the reputation of its author, provides only a skeletal account of the conquest. In addition, the anonymous eleventh-century *Akhbār Majmū'a* is a very detailed account of the conquest, and is one of the most important sources of information about the early years of al-Andalus. The final, most recent account that I include is the fourteenth-century *al-Bayān al-Mughrib* of Ibn 'Idhārī.

The author of the anonymous *Chronicle of 754* was likely a native Iberian clergyman, and possibly even served as an official at the Muslim court. The author cites political rather than religious reasons for the success of the conquest. He is also remarkably neutral religiously, focusing on relating events rather than initiating polemic against the Muslims. His account follows the pattern of a universal chronicle with little personal narration. It contains an account of events in the East beginning with the emperor Heraclius, including information on both the Byzantine and Arab empires.<sup>8</sup> The *Chronicle* describes Roderic as a usurper who did not have the support of all of the nobility. He and his army lost to the invading army of Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād, who had been sent by Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr in 711. According to the author, the Arabs had already engaged in raids prior to the invasion. Mūsā later joined Ṭāriq in Spain and, with the help of one of Roderic's rivals, conquered Toledo and convinced other cities to surrender peacefully. The following year, the caliph ordered Mūsā to return to Syria. He took with him much of the booty

<sup>7</sup> Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain*, 27.

<sup>8</sup> Kenneth Baxter Wolf, "An Andalusian Chronicler and the Muslims" in *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*, ed. Kenneth Baxter Wolf, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1990), 29-31 and 40-44.

he had acquired, but the caliph al-Walīd was angry with him and fined him a large amount.<sup>9</sup>

Of the two Arabic accounts from the ninth century, that of al-Balādhurī is the less detailed. Al-Balādhurī follows the general outline of the Arab conquest as mentioned in section II above, but he does so with less elaboration than do other Arab historians. Al-Balādhurī (d. ca. 892) himself was likely from Baghdad, and his *Futūh al-Buldān* is well-known as a valuable source on the conquests.<sup>10</sup> However, al-Balādhurī's contemporary, the Egyptian Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, wrote a very extensive account of the conquest of al-Andalus in which he included multiple accounts of certain events, such as Roderic's death and Mūsā's return to Syria. Al-Ḥakam (d. 871) spent most of his life in Egypt, and his comparative nearness to the Maghreb could be one reason for the additional detail in his account.<sup>11</sup> His *Futūh Miṣr* contains many of the anecdotes that have since become legendary, such as the story of the rape of Julian's daughter, the origin of the name Gibraltar, and the full legend of Solomon's Table. Both authors mention al-Wāqidī as one of their sources, though only al-Balādhurī makes reference to him specifically for the information on al-Andalus.<sup>12</sup>

The two tenth-century accounts I examine here are striking in their differences. Al-Ṭabarī (d. 923), who was originally from Persia but spent much of his life in Baghdad, is one of the earliest and most well-known of Arab historians.<sup>13</sup> Despite his reputation, he devotes no more

<sup>9</sup> "The Chronicle of 754," in *Conquerors and Chroniclers of Early Medieval Spain*, edited by Kenneth Baxter Wolf (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1990), 130-134.

<sup>10</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūh al-Buldān*, trans. Philip Hitti in *The Origins of the Islamic State*, volume 1, by Philip Hitti (New York: Columbia University, 1916), 365-366; "al-Balādhurī." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, edited by P. Bearman et al. (Brill Online, 2014), [Reference](#), University of Oklahoma, accessed October 12, 2014.

<sup>11</sup> F. Rosenthal "Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Brill Online, 2014), [Reference](#), University of Oklahoma, accessed October 12, 2014.

<sup>12</sup> See pages 365-366 of Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūh al-Buldān* for reference; see page 349 of Charles Torrey's *The History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain, known as the Futūh Miṣr of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam* for an index of al-Wāqidī's appearance in text.

<sup>13</sup> "al-Ṭabarī." *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Brill Online, 2014) [Reference](#), University of Oklahoma, accessed October 12, 2014.

than a paragraph and a few lines of his *Ta'rikh* to the conquest of al-Andalus.<sup>14</sup> Like al-Balādhurī, he spent much of his time in Baghdad and therefore likely had more access to or interest in material on Eastern history. Also like al-Balādhurī, al-Ṭabarī cites al-Wāqidī as one of his sources about the conquest of Spain. Al-Ṭabarī's narrative follows the same general, accepted outline of events as do the rest of the narratives, though his account is skeletal at best and contains no more than the bare minimum of information.<sup>15</sup> In contrast, the *Ta'rikh* of Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, from the same century, is a wealth of information. Ibn al-Qūṭiyya (d. 977) was an Andalusian Muslim of Visigothic and Arab descent; in fact, he claimed as his ancestor Witiza, who was king of the Visigoths before Roderic. He was renowned as a scholar and a relator of *akhbār*.<sup>16</sup> Because of his use of the *akhbār* tradition, he does not make use of *isnād*.<sup>17</sup> Despite his lack of citations, Ibn al-Qūṭiyya's account is very detailed, likely because of his relevant location and evident interest in his own ancestry. More so than most of the other sources, he provides extensive information on the last of the Visigothic kings, including many anecdotes involving his own ancestors.<sup>18</sup> This additional information is likely due to his ancestral connection with the Visigoths and the figures involved in the conquest on the Visigothic side.

The anonymous *Akhbār Majmū'a* has become a staple in any research on the conquest of Spain, due to its inclusion of many detailed anecdotes. There are many theories as to both its authorship and the date of its creation. Modern scholars tend to disagree, but have come to a general consensus regarding its origin. It is likely a compilation of several different accounts of

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<sup>14</sup> al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī, Volume XXIII: The Zenith of the Marwanid House*, trans. Martin Hinds (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 182.

<sup>15</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 182, 201.

<sup>16</sup> David James, Introduction to *Early Islamic Spain: The History of Ibn al-Qūṭiyya* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009) 22-25.

<sup>17</sup> James, *Early Islamic Spain*, 22-25.

<sup>18</sup> Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *The History of Ibn al-Qūṭiyya*, trans. David James in *Early Islamic Spain: The History of Ibn al-Qūṭiyya* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 49-54.

early al-Andalus by different authors. There are also a variety of opinions about the date of its compilation; the theories range from an origin in the ninth century to one in the thirteenth or fourteenth.<sup>19</sup> However, recent scholarship seems to favor the idea of a later formation, likely sometime during the eleventh century.<sup>20</sup> Because this relative date seems to be the general consensus and is somewhere towards the median of the theories advocating earlier or later compilation, I will utilize this date as the reference point for the *Akhbār Majmū‘a*, keeping in mind that this date is not the only possibility. Like the others, this narrative does not deviate far from the acceptable outline of events. It contains an account of Julian’s role, Ṭāriq’s invasion and defeat of Roderic, and the discovery of the Table of Solomon, as well Mūsā’s anger with Ṭāriq. However, it also contains details that are not generally included in less-detailed accounts, such as the role of the Jews and an anecdote involving Witiza’s sons.<sup>21</sup> Because it is in the form of *akhbār*, the *Akhbār Majmū‘a* does not cite any of its sources.<sup>22</sup>

The final text that I include in this study is Ibn ‘Idhārī’s *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, which dates from circa 1312. Ibn ‘Idhārī was a North African historian of the late thirteenth/early fourteenth century, about whom we know little.<sup>23</sup> However, his account of the conquest of al-Andalus is very thorough. He follows the standard outline of events, providing multiple accounts of Roderic’s death, as well as of the discovery of Solomon’s Table. He also includes detailed information on the conquest of Cordoba, and then an account of Mūsā’s anger with Ṭāriq and their eventual return to Damascus.<sup>24</sup> This segment of the text is notable in its similarity to parts

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<sup>19</sup> David James, Introduction to *A History of Early Al-Andalus: the Akhbār Majmū‘a* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012).

<sup>20</sup> Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain*, 3.

<sup>21</sup> *Akhbār Majmū‘a*, Ed. Don Emilio Lafuente y Alcántara (Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1867), 2-15.

<sup>22</sup> James, *A History of Early Al-Andalus*, 8.

<sup>23</sup> J. Bosch-Vilá, "Ibn ‘Idhārī." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, edited by P. Bearman et al. (Brill Online, 2014), Reference, University of Oklahoma, accessed October 12, 2014.

<sup>24</sup> Ibn Idhari, *Al-Bayan al-Mughrib* in *Histoire de L’Afrique du Nord et de l’Espagne Musulmane*, volume 2, ed. G.S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfah, 1967), 1-23.

of the *Akhbār Majmū'a*, which I will examine in detail later.

While there are other accounts of the conquest of al-Andalus, I have chosen to work with these seven because they represent authors from a variety of parts of the Muslim world. They are also products, for the most part, of reputable historians and are the primary accounts that modern historians utilize in examining this time period in Spanish history.

#### IV. Evolution of the narrative

Although each account of the conquest is different in its nuances and in the detail it includes, there are certain areas in which most, if not all, of the accounts agree. These continuities form the basis of the modern-day version of the conquest. Most of the dates the texts contain are fairly consistent, with small disparities in the form of months rather than years. Because the accounts are all in agreement with the general timeframe of the conquest – from Ṭāriq's invasion to Mūsā's departure for Syria – this section will treat the dates as a given continuity rather than reflecting the small divergences. Additionally, not all of the authors give dates for every event, especially because many of them follow the *akhbār* tradition of history rather than the more date-centered *ta'rīkh* form.

With regards to the information the accounts differ on, I will focus on a few select motifs and anecdotes in order to illustrate the changes. For this purpose, I will first focus on the general differences between the version given in the *Chronicle of 754* and those versions of the early Arab historians. Then, I will go on to describe the general evolution of the Arabic accounts in terms of content quantity and inclusion of notable legends. Among these legends, I will examine the role of Julian in the conquest and the discovery of Solomon's Table, as well as the appearance of lesser-known legends such as that of the locked room of the Visigoth kings, the Muslims' pretense at cannibalism, and the role of Umm Ḥākīm.



### A. Early Narratives: Arabic vs. Latin

Although the earliest chronicles of the conquest of al-Andalus – the Latin *Chronicle of 754* and the Arabic histories of al-Balādhurī and al-Ḥakam – do not agree on everything, they do concur on the outline of events. These commonalities within the earliest accounts are important as they lend credence to the general timeline historians have come to accept. There is also much value in the agreement of sources across language barriers, especially as one of these sources is the closest in date to the events that it describes.<sup>25</sup> Of the points that these three sources differ on, most revolve around the legends that have grown out of the conquest (as opposed to the timeline of events).

One instance of agreement amongst the three works is the role of Roderic in Visigothic Spain. The *Chronicle* mentions in fair detail that Roderic had been involved in civil war in Spain, and had taken over the kingdom.<sup>26</sup> Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam’s *Futūḥ Miṣr* also mentions Roderic as the ruler of Spain, though it says little else about him.<sup>27</sup> Al-Balādhurī does not mention the rulers of the Visigothic kingdom, though this is unsurprising due to the general lack of detail in his account. A possible reason for the greater detail in the *Chronicle* is the Iberian background of the author. A second point of agreement between all the works is the Caliph al-Walīd’s recall of Mūsā ibn Nuṣayr to Damascus. According to the texts, the caliph – al-Walīd or his successor Sulaymān – was angry with Mūsā and fined him a significant amount of money. The texts also agree that someone advised Mūsā about the fine or pled with the caliph on Mūsā’s behalf and caused the punishment to be mitigated. According to the Arab texts, Mūsā’s helper was someone

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<sup>25</sup> Roger Collins argues for increased reliance on the *Chronicle of 754* because of its early dating. (Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain*, 26).

<sup>26</sup> “The Chronicle of 754,” 130-131.

<sup>27</sup> Al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, trans. Albert Gateau in *Conquête de l’Afrique du Nord et de l’Espagne* (Alger: Éditions Carbonel, 1947), 91.

by the name of Yazīd ibn al-Muhallab.<sup>28</sup> According to the *Chronicle*, this person was Urban, a Christian from North Africa who had been with Mūsā in Spain.<sup>29</sup> Regardless, all three agree that Mūsā was fined and that someone offered him advice and/or intervened on his behalf. This similarity is significant because the Latin chronicler shows significant knowledge of events at the caliph's court, suggesting that perhaps rather extensive communication existed between Damascus and even the Romance speakers of al-Andalus.

The texts disagree about the legend of Count Julian, a legend that has become conventional today. According to most of the Arabic narratives, Julian was the ruler of Ceuta who aided the crossing of Ṭāriq's forces over the strait. This same narrative holds true in the accounts of both al-Ḥakam and al-Balādhurī.<sup>30</sup> Significantly, the *Chronicle* makes no mention of Julian in the context of helping the Muslims cross into Spain. There is, however, a certain Urban, whom the chronicler describes as a Christian noble of Africa, who advised Mūsā to pay his fine to the caliph without complaint. The chronicler also mentions that Urban accompanied Mūsā "throughout the whole of Spain."<sup>31</sup> Some historians consider Urban and Julian to be one and the same, but others firmly disagree.<sup>32</sup> Regardless of whether or not they are the same person, the figure of Julian in the Arabic narratives is much more prominent than the Urban of the *Chronicle*. This inspires the question of why, if Julian actually played such an important role in helping the Arabs into Spain, the *Chronicle* does not take more note of him, especially because the author is much closer in time and space to the events he describes than al-Ḥakam and al-Balādhurī.

Despite minor differences such as the role of Julian, the Latin *Chronicle* and the Arabic

<sup>28</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 366. Also Al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 111.

<sup>29</sup> "The Chronicle of 754," 134.

<sup>30</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 365. Al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 89-90.

<sup>31</sup> "The Chronicle of 754," 134.

<sup>32</sup> Collins, *The Arab Conquest of Spain*, 36.

accounts of al-Ḥakam and al-Balādhurī generally agree on the main points of the conquest narrative. These include anecdotes such as the role of Roderic as the ruler of the Visigoths and the parts played by Ṭāriq and Mūsā in the conquest. In addition, the three authors agree – in general details – that Mūsā was fined upon his return to Damascus. The agreement of all three early sources across language barriers and geographic distance lends credibility to the initial story, even without taking into account later Arabic narratives.

### B. Detail in Arabic narratives

As we can expect, the recounting of legends in a text depends to an extent on the initial level of detail the text contains. Narratives of the conquest tended to grow longer and more complex as time progressed – generally speaking, the earliest accounts are less detailed than are the later ones, and the most detailed texts were written by authors who lived in the west. These western authors such as al-Ḥakam and Ibn al-Qūṭiyya likely had more access to oral and written histories on the region. The two least detailed accounts are those of al-Ṭabarī and al-Balādhurī, both of whom spent the majority of their lives near Baghdad. In addition, both men lived in the ninth or early tenth century.<sup>33</sup> It is possible that oral histories on the conquest of Spain were not prevalent in the Middle East at the time, and that written material was scarce; both authors cite al-Wāqidī almost exclusively as their source on the conquest of Spain.<sup>34</sup> This is unsurprising, as al-Wāqidī (d. 822) was a very well-known and well-informed historian of the early Islamic conquests, and he lived and worked in Baghdad.<sup>35</sup> As such, his work would have been very accessible to both al-Balādhurī and al-Ṭabarī. Much of his work, including a piece that contained information on the conquest of Spain, has since been lost to us, but al-Wāqidī clearly remained

<sup>33</sup> "al-Balādhurī." *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. Also "al-Ṭabarī." *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*.

<sup>34</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 182; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitab Futuh al-Buldan*, 365.

<sup>35</sup> S. Leder, "al-Wāqidī." In *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Brill Online, 2014), [Reference](#), University of Oklahoma, accessed October 19, 2014.

very important as Ibn ʿIdhārī in the fourteenth century cites him as well.<sup>36</sup>

In contrast to the relatively early works of al-Ṭabarī and al-Balādhurī, whose accounts are short and who relied heavily on the work of al-Wāqidī, the authors from North Africa and Spain seem to have had access to much more material. Although the Egyptian al-Ḥakam is a contemporary of al-Balādhurī and precedes al-Ṭabarī by half a century, his text is much more detailed than either of the other two. He also relied on a mixture of both written and oral sources.<sup>37</sup> After al-Ṭabarī’s account, which is the outlier, shorter and less complex than that of his predecessor al-Ḥakam, the conquest narratives become progressively longer and more detailed. That of Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, who was a native Andalusian, is significantly more elaborate, especially with respect to the history of Visigothic Spain up to and during the conquest. Al-Qūṭiyya, who was himself was a relater of *akhbār*, relies primarily on oral sources.<sup>38</sup> We can imagine that because he himself had Visigothic ancestry and because he lived in Spain, he had easy access to *akhbāris* who related local histories. Besides the Latin chronicler of the *Chronicle of 754*, Ibn al-Qūṭiyya *Taʾrīkh* is one of the earliest remaining Andalusian accounts of the conquest. Both the *Akhbār Majmūʿa*, which was likely compiled in the eleventh century, and Ibn ʿIdhārī’s fourteenth-century *al-Bayān al-Mughrib* contain extensive detail.

It is suspicious that the accounts grow increasingly elaborate as time goes on. It is of course possible that this is due to increased dissemination of more obscure original texts or *akhbār* narratives, but it is unlikely that such an extent of reliable new material could surface. At some point, due to the embellishments and liberties of story-tellers, it is likely that additional “information” was added to the narrative to make for a more interesting story or to fill in gaps.

<sup>36</sup> Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 7 and 20; for al-Ḥakam’s citations of al-Wakidi see the index of Torrey’s edition of *Futuh Miṣr*. Note that he does not al-Wakidi directly in reference to the material on Spain, but he clearly knew of his work as his name appears in other parts of the text

<sup>37</sup> Torrey’s “Introduction” to al-Ḥakam’s *Futūḥ Miṣr*, page 3

<sup>38</sup> James, *Early Islamic Spain*, 25.

After this occurred many times it could result in such an extensive and detailed narrative as *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*.

While a great number of people are mentioned as sources throughout the various narratives, there is little broad consistency. As already mentioned, al-Wāqidī, of course, was extremely important as a source for many of the historians from the ninth century up to the fourteenth. Others who are cited in multiple works on the Andalusian conquest are al-Layth ibn Sa'ad and Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Rāzī.<sup>39</sup> Al-Ṭabarī himself appears as a source in *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, but Ibn 'Idhārī does not cite any of the other earlier authors this paper examines.<sup>40</sup> Many of the other sources whose names are mentioned once or twice and who we know little about were possibly *akhbāri*. Some of the authors, *akhbāri* themselves, such as Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, cite very few sources. The *Akhbār Majmū'a* does not cite any sources at all, though it contains more detail than any other text except perhaps that of Ibn 'Idhārī.

### C. The Arabic Texts: evolution of legend

The amount of detail in each account tends to be related to the quantity of legends the account relates. Both the *Akhbār Majmū'a* and the *al-Bayān al-Mughrib* contain significant detail about the conquest of individual cities, while the *Futūḥ al-Buldān* and al-Ṭabarī's *Ta'rīkh* contain nothing more extensive than a general outline. Some important points of comparison include the coverage of Visigothic Spain, the role of Julian in the conquest, the legend of Solomon's Table, and the accounts of the conquest of individual cities.

With regards to the information on Visigothic Spain, the earlier narratives are unquestionably more vague. The *Chronicle of 754* provides a brief account of the state of the Visigothic government – it mentions that Roderic, who was not of royal blood, had seized the

<sup>39</sup> For references to al-Layth ibn Sa'ad see Al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 105; as well as Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 17. For a reference to al-Razi, see Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 25.

<sup>40</sup> Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 16.

throne from Witiza, the rightful king.<sup>41</sup> The first Arab accounts are very similar to the *Chronicle* in their lack of detail: al-Ḥakam mentions only that Roderic was the king of Spain and his capital was at Toledo.<sup>42</sup> Al-Ṭabarī provides similar information.<sup>43</sup> Al-Balādhurī is even less forthcoming, completely forgoing mention of anything about the state of Spain prior to the Arab invasion.<sup>44</sup> He does not even mention Roderic's name, something every other author makes note of.

Beginning in the tenth century, the authors began to provide more substantial information about Visigothic Spain. With Ibn al-Qūṭīyya's account, we return to the *Chronicle*'s specification that Roderic seized the throne and was not the rightful king.<sup>45</sup> Ibn 'Idhārī agrees with this, reporting that Roderic had killed the old king and corrupted the kingship.<sup>46</sup> The *Akhbār Majmū'a*, too, says that Roderic was not of royal blood, but it gives a more favorable impression of Roderic than do either Ibn al-Qūṭīyya or Ibn 'Idhārī, saying that Roderic took the throne because the sons of Witiza were not well-liked.<sup>47</sup> Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, on the other hand, claims that Roderic took seized the throne while Witiza's sons were still young, and presumably unable to fight back.<sup>48</sup> While this information on the state of Visigothic Spain at the time of the Arab invasion is not included in the histories of al-Balādhurī, al-Ḥakam or al-Ṭabarī, it was clearly passed down to later Arab authors in some manner. Because it is included in the *Chronicle of 754*, which is by far the earliest account of the conquest that we have, we know that the claim that Roderic usurped the throne from his predecessor did not develop out of the elaborations of

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<sup>41</sup> "The Chronicle of 754," 130-131.

<sup>42</sup> Al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 91.

<sup>43</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 182.

<sup>44</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 365.

<sup>45</sup> Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, *The History of Ibn al-Qūṭīyya*, 49.

<sup>46</sup> Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 3.

<sup>47</sup> *Akhbār Majmū'a*, 5.

<sup>48</sup> Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, *The History of Ibn al-Qūṭīyya*, 49.

later Arabic authors. The information could simply have been unavailable to the earliest Arabic authors of the ninth and tenth centuries, or if it was available they chose not to include it.

One notable legend that almost all of the accounts include is the story of Julian – only the eastern accounts do not mention it. The popular account of the conquest places the responsibility for inviting the Arabs on the figure of Julian, the ruler of Ceuta. According to the legend, Julian had sent his daughter to the court of Roderic at Toledo for her education, as was the custom. Roderic seduced her, and in revenge Julian persuaded the Arabs to invade the peninsula.<sup>49</sup> However, where does this legend begin? As this paper previously mentioned, the three earliest sources are not unanimous about the figure of Julian. The *Chronicle of 754* scarcely makes mention of him, if indeed Urban and Julian are even one and the same.<sup>50</sup> Al-Ṭabarī also does not mention him at all, though this is unsurprising due to the lack of general detail in the text. With these two exceptions, every other text – beginning with al-Ḥakam in the 9<sup>th</sup> century – agrees that Julian transported Ṭāriq and his men across the straits to al-Andalus. Most agree also that Julian was the ruler of Ceuta; only Ibn al-Qūṭiyya says differently, claiming Julian to be a merchant who traveled frequently between Iberia and North Africa.<sup>51</sup> Ibn ‘Idhārī, who gives four separate versions of Julian’s role in inviting the Arabs, includes one account that is remarkably similar to that of Ibn al-Qūṭiyya. In that specific version of the story, Julian was a merchant and left his daughter with Roderic to keep her safe while he traveled. He returned one day to find that Roderic has seduced her. Telling Roderic he left some goods in North Africa, he returned to Tangiers to ask Ṭāriq to invade al-Andalus so he could take his revenge.<sup>52</sup> Because Ibn ‘Idhārī lived in al-Maghreb, he and Ibn al-Qūṭiyya likely had access to similar local sources, one of

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<sup>49</sup> Watt and Cachia, *A History of Islamic Spain*, 8.

<sup>50</sup> “The Chronicle of 754,” 134.

<sup>51</sup> Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *The History of Ibn al-Qūṭiyya*, 51-52.

<sup>52</sup> Ibn al-Qūṭiyya, *The History of Ibn al-Qūṭiyya*, 51-52; Ibn ‘Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 8.

whom must have given this account. The eastern historians al-Balādhurī and al-Ṭabarī, who both cite al-Wāqidī as their primary source, might not have heard this anecdote at all. While al-Ṭabarī mentions nothing on the subject, al-Balādhurī says only that Julian was the commander of the straits and transported Ṭāriq and his men across them; there is no further explication of his motive.<sup>53</sup> Taking into account the time period and geographical location of the authors, it appears that the story of Roderic's rape of Julian's daughter was firmly established in the west by the time of al-Ḥakam in the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

Of all of the legendary anecdotes of the conquest of Spain, none remains as constant throughout all of the sources as does that of Solomon's Table. According to legend, Solomon's Table is a magnificent bejeweled table that once belonged to the Biblical Solomon, son of David. Legend also says that the Table was taken from Jerusalem as booty at one point.<sup>54</sup> While he was conquering the cities of al-Andalus, Ṭāriq heard that the Table was in a city near Toledo. He obtained the Table, and carried it off as booty.<sup>55</sup> Historians from al-Ḥakam in the ninth century to Ibn 'Idhārī in the fourteenth almost all describe the Table. The only exceptions are Ibn al-Qūṭiyya and the *Chronicle of 754*. Even al-Balādhurī and al-Ṭabarī, who are very brief in their accounts of al-Andalus, make a mention of it. Al-Balādhurī alone does not reference the connection to the Biblical Solomon, saying just that Ṭāriq carried off a "wonderful table."<sup>56</sup> A mere half-century later, al-Ṭabarī connects the Table to Solomon. This could be because he uses more sources on al-Andalus than did al-Balādhurī, who mentions only al-Wāqidī; al-Ṭabarī cites

<sup>53</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 365.

<sup>54</sup> J. Walker and P. Fenton, "Sulaymān b. Dāwūd," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Brill Online, 2014), [Reference](#), University of Oklahoma, accessed October 21, 2014.

<sup>55</sup> Al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 95; Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 366; Al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 201; *Akhbār Majmū'a*, 15; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 12.

<sup>56</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 366.



in addition Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar as his source regarding the Table.<sup>57</sup> Apart from al-Balādhurī’s lack of connection between the Table and Solomon, there is only one other notable departure from the narrative, and this is in al-Ḥakam’s *Futūḥ Miṣr*. Like the others, al-Ḥakam says that Ṭāriq found the Table near Toledo. However, al-Ḥakam also elaborates on this story, saying that Ṭāriq took off one of the Table’s ornate legs, replacing it with another simple one. Later on, when Mūsā and Ṭāriq returned to Syria, the Caliph was able to tell that Mūsā lied about having been the one to find the Table because Ṭāriq presented him with the original leg.<sup>58</sup> This is an interesting extension of the narrative, but it does not appear again until the fourteenth century in Ibn ‘Idhārī’s *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*. Even then, Ibn ‘Idhārī tells only of how Ṭāriq removed a leg of the Table; he does not mention Ṭāriq showing it to the Caliph to prove his honesty.<sup>59</sup> Overall, the anecdote of Solomon’s Table is a permanent fixture of histories of the conquest; it does not change significantly from one author to the next, and is present in some form throughout the six centuries this paper encompasses.

Other than Solomon’s Table, there are many legends interspersed throughout the conquest histories. However, Solomon’s Table is unique in that it is nearly ubiquitous across the centuries. The other legends are more obscure and do not appear in the majority of the accounts. One of these legends, which only appears in al-Ḥakam’s *Futūḥ Miṣr*, is that of Umm Ḥākīm. She was supposedly a slave girl who accompanied Ṭāriq to Spain, though he left her behind at one of the places they conquered, which was then named after her.<sup>60</sup> This story does not appear again, even in the account of Ibn ‘Idhārī, who includes much of the information from the earlier accounts. Like al-Ḥakam, Ibn al-Qūṭiyya includes a story that is unique to his account.

<sup>57</sup> Al-Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, 365; Al-Ṭabarī, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, 201.

<sup>58</sup> Al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 95 and 107.

<sup>59</sup> Ibn ‘Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 16.

<sup>60</sup> Al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 89-93.

According to this legend, while Ṭāriq was crossing the strait from Morocco he dreamt that the prophet Muḥammad appeared and told him to continue with his plans to invade al-Andalus.<sup>61</sup> As with the story of Umm Ḥākīm, this tale does not appear again in the six accounts this paper surveys.

There are also several stories that reoccur from time to time but that never become firmly entrenched in conquest narratives. Of those stories, one of the most fascinating is the tale of the locked room. It appears in the accounts of al-Ḥakam, Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, and Ibn 'Idhārī. Essentially, as the legend goes, there was a locked temple in Spain that the kings of the Visigoths were not permitted to open. When Roderic seized the throne, however, he opened the door. Inside he found pictures of the Arabs and their horses, as well as a written warning that when the room was opened and the pictures seen, the people in the pictures would invade and conquer al-Andalus.<sup>62</sup> There are minor differences between each the version each text contains; al-Ḥakam, for example, says that each king of al-Andalus added a new lock to the door and that Roderic refused to add a new lock to the door without seeing what was inside.<sup>63</sup> Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, on the other hand, claims that inside the temple were the Gospels upon which the kings took their oaths. The temple was kept closed as required by custom and by Christianity, but Roderic chose to open it anyways.<sup>64</sup> Ibn 'Idhārī's version of the locked temple is similar; he merely adds that the people of al-Andalus disapproved of Roderic's actions.<sup>65</sup> It is interesting to note that this particular legend does not appear at all in the *Akḥbār Majmū'a*, despite the fact that it otherwise contains a highly detailed account of the conquest. Apparently, the story was not ubiquitous among western accounts (supposing the *Akḥbār Majmū'a* did indeed originate in al-Andalus or

<sup>61</sup> Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, *The History of Ibn al-Qūṭīyya*, 52.

<sup>62</sup> Al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 93; Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, *The History of Ibn al-Qūṭīyya*, 51; Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 3.

<sup>63</sup> Al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 93.

<sup>64</sup> Ibn al-Qūṭīyya, *The History of Ibn al-Qūṭīyya*, 51.

<sup>65</sup> Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 3-4.

North Africa). Because al- Ḥakam mentions it, we also know that story clearly existed when al-Balādhurī and al-Ṭabarī were writing their histories, yet neither includes it. While the legend of the locked room never became endemic to the conquest narratives as did the legend of Solomon’s Table, it also never truly disappeared.

In addition to the legends, which appear throughout the conquest accounts, there is more mundane information regarding the conquest of cities. However, the early accounts – all the way from the *Chronicle of 754* to Ibn al-Qūṭīyya in the 10<sup>th</sup> century – contain very little, if any, information on the conquest of specific cities. With the *Akhbār Majmū‘a* in the eleventh century comes the first detailed record of the cities. The *Akhbār Majmū‘a* describes in detail the conquest of Écija, Cordoba, Orihuela, Carmona, Seville and Mérida.<sup>66</sup> Strikingly, Ibn ‘Idhārī’s fourteenth-century *al-Bayān al-Mughrib* contains an almost identical record of the conquest of the same cities, even, in some cases, down to exact sentences. For example, one location in which the accounts are very similar is in the relating of the conquest of Cordoba. Says Ibn ‘Idhārī, “naza ‘Mughīth ‘amāmatuhu, fa-nāwalahu ṭarfan, wa irtaqu bihā hatā kathiru bi-al-suwar.”<sup>67</sup> The wording in the *Akhbār Majmū‘a* is identical, except for the slight modification of “irtaqu” to “irtaqā al-nās.”<sup>68</sup> Whether Ibn ‘Idhārī utilized the *Akhbār Majmū‘a* as a source for his history or whether the *Akhbār Majmū‘a* and *al-Bayān al-Mughrib* have a third source in common is unknown, but there is clearly a great deal of similarity between them, and *al-Bayān al-Mughrib* evolved from the earlier source.

### Conclusion

The 711 conquest of Spain was another step in the continued expansion of the Islamic

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<sup>66</sup> *Akhbār Majmū‘a*, 9-18.

<sup>67</sup> Ibn ‘Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, 10.

<sup>68</sup> *Akhbār Majmū‘a*, 11.

world. While many accounts of the conquest exist, only a few date from the first two centuries after the events they describe. These are the Latin *Chronicle of 754*, al-Ḥakam's *Futūḥ Miṣr* and al-Balādhurī's *Futūḥ al-Buldān*. All three of these accounts contain the same general sequence of events, giving credence to at least the basic facts of the traditional narrative of the conquest. Later accounts uphold the same broad narrative, although they are more complex and contain more detail, especially regarding the conquest of individual Andalusian cities. One part of the narrative that has become commonly accepted today is the story of Count Julian, who invites the Muslims into Spain. Although there are many legendary stories in the conquest narratives, the only one that remains fairly constant is the story of Solomon's Table. Other legends, such as that of the locked room, appeared and disappeared with time. The popular legends were for the most part firmly established by the time of al-Ḥakam in the ninth century, though the conquest narrative continued to evolve, becoming more elaborate after the eleventh century.

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*"I returned a ghost; I remained a ghost:"<sup>i</sup>*

-The Enduring Persecution of Queerness in Germany from Hitler to Adenauer

Parker Manek

The Holocaust Capstone  
Dr. Ward  
5-7-2014



“An unnatural sex act committed between persons of male sex or by humans with animals is punishable by imprisonment; the loss of civil rights might also be imposed.”<sup>ii</sup> -Paragraph 175

On the eighteenth of February, 1937 Heinrich Himmler addressed an S.S. guard audience at Bad Tolz, Bavaria. His speech there expressed the concerns of the Third Reich regarding homosexuality, in the sense that it undermined the “generative power” of the nation; men sleeping with men produced no new reinforcements for the Nazi war machine. The persecution of any dissenter to the Nazi cause was pervasive, and the persecution of gay men was especially harsh and continued into the 1960s through augmentation of Nazi law codes. This allowed the codified language of the Third Reich to be implemented in the Holocaust, survive through the Cold War, past the Wall, and even into German Reunification.

Homosexuality served as a scapegoat for German failure and trauma. Especially, effeminate homosexuals were seen as a threat to the state, Fascist and Democratic alike, for their gender non-conformity. This lack of conformity threatened the Nazi conception of defined gender space in which sexual and gender roles were aligned with conventional sex to serve the Reich in a common goal: world domination through procreation. As Judith Butler states, “for bodies to cohere and make sense, there must be a stable sex expressed through stable gender...that is oppositionally and hierarchically defined through the compulsory practice of heterosexuality”<sup>iii</sup> Nazi ideologies regarding homophobia were focused in the

practice of heterosexuality for the state. However, the older and longer-lasting notion of preservation of social order of bourgeois and proletariat in the German city, in which sexual and gender role alignment were necessary if the society was to succeed according to the patriarchy benefiting from this structure. While the threat of Jewish population was rendered as an invasive force, one from without, the homosexual problem was more troubling, as it came from *within* Germanness.<sup>iv</sup> The idea of a corrupted *volk* was inconceivable to the Nazi high officials, and was met with terrific, if unsteady, force.<sup>v</sup>

The conservative viewpoint of German society at this time based in a complex network of religious expectation and cultural norms exploited for state purposes. The foremost of these purposes was to maintain and increase the population of the state, from the extremes of the Nazi desire for an Aryan warrior nation, to the aim of economic stability of the Democratic Republic of West Germany under the Adenauer administration, following the war.

The basis of fascist and German cultural homophobia is amplified and supported by German cultural discourse. "Nazi homophobia, [...] was neither a momentary aberration nor a separate vector of power, since it occurred and was deeply embedded in material practices under specific sets of social, cultural, and ideological conditions."<sup>vi</sup> Denounced by Nazi leaders as elite decadence and by post-war conservatives as a threat to the children of the nation, the underpinnings of these resentments are shadowed. It is hard to equivocate the cases of homosexual persecution to any general trauma. The cases, in their scarcity, offer a unique and intimately individual window into a specific set of experiences. In the horror and

incredible scope and scale of the Holocaust, the facelessness, the 'ghost' quality of the victims can overwhelm the person who *is* the victim. In the memories of the gay survivors, through a common terror, individual experiences are made all the more overt by their scarcity.

The western world of the time was hardly opposed to the persecution of homosexuality. Most western nations took views similar or identical to those of the Third Reich regarding homosexuality. This environment (in Germany) of intolerance to queerness, though having been codified in law before the rise of the Nazi party, experienced a break in the 1920's when German cities became a haven for the homosexuals of Europe. "Before the Second World War, homosexual emancipation was largely a German phenomenon."<sup>vii</sup> This phenomenon being so prevalently German, incongruent with so much of the perception of the Germany of this time period as being a very hostile environment, can be attributed to several factors. First of these is the overall turmoil that the whole of the European continent experienced in the interwar period. The wake of World War I left several gaping holes in the fabric of European society. The first schism being the sheer loss of life. The total loss of life for the war exceeds thirty seven million, with 7,142,558 dead from Germany alone.<sup>viii</sup> The incident of this extremely high loss of life alone caused much of the allowance for bending of societal, and sexual, norms in this period.

The war itself, and its outcomes also effected the loss of social control of the powers that be. "The sexual Mardi Gras of the era doubtless was also a result of a desperate lunge toward reexamination and reformation of values."<sup>ix</sup> The entire climate of Western Europe had turned into the environment in which existentialist

thought, in full route of despair and lack of personal hope for the future, became a prevailing philosophy. Despite the horrific times of the interwar period in regard to the massive financial inflation, famine, and war reparations that wracked the whole of Germany, there was a defined air of disregard for moral norms, as so much of societal construct was in shambles. The cities of Germany, namely Berlin and Hamburg, experienced a huge influx of homosexuals and upswing in public gay culture. The public life of a homosexual counter culture is in and of itself in this period remarkable, especially in juxtaposition with the later policies of the Third Reich. The proliferation of gay oriented publications provided a huge step in the movement of accepting a gay public. The emergence of such publications as *Die Freundschaft*, *Freundschaft und Freiheit*, *Der Hellasbote*, and *Der Eigene* from Adolf Brand<sup>x</sup> signaled the relatively incredible widespread presence of a gay counterculture coming out of the shadows and into the full light of mainstream society. This movement toward a growing tolerance and even acceptance of gay life was signaled by the industrial revolution in Germany, which as it had in the rest of North-western Europe created a mass emigration to the cities of these respective regions.

This movement, having its roots in much earlier periods, was for many incredibly welcome. "As [Magnus] Hirschfeld observed in a survey of the city's [Berlin] gay scene around 1900, 'Homosexuals from the countryside who visit such bars for the first time have been seen crying from being so deeply moved.'"<sup>xi</sup> Documentation of these reactions, and of much of the sexual information of the era is thanks in large part to, if only inspired by the work and activism of, Magnus

Hirschfeld. This intensified as, “On July 1, 1919, he [Hirschfeld] realized one of his fondest dreams by opening the Institute of Sexual Science (*Institut für Sexualwissenschaft*) in Berlin.”<sup>xii</sup> Much as Sigmund Freud did for the previously non-accredited realm of psychology, Hirschfeld attempted, with some success, to legitimize through intensive archiving the burgeoning field of sexology. “For three decades Hirschfeld and his team of legal and medical associates had assembled an invaluable collection of documents, photographs, treatises, and statistics about sex.”<sup>xiii</sup> In this sense, the fact that Hirschfeld is not a household name, like Freud, can be blamed thoroughly on the Nazi party.

“On May 6, 1933, a gang of “outraged students” stormed the famous Institute for Sexual Research, directed by Magnus Hirschfeld, the father of the new science of sexology.”<sup>xiv</sup> The destruction of the institute occurred at the highly volatile time during which the Nazi’s were posturing their strength at the command of Adolf Hitler who charged the populace to rapidity toward dissenters of National Socialism. The radicalization of German natives against their own (it will be noted that most of those persecuted under Paragraph 175 were white, native German, Christians with no perceived flaws in the eyes of the state than their sexual behavior and orientation) is as easily described as native elements of German culture, as they were channeled through the heavy magnifying glass of the interwar chaos onto the homosexual anthill. That is to say, easily while not at all.

As well as identifying the precepts that allowed for the Weimar freedom, or negatively, the *vergnügungswart*, the madness for pleasure that Hitler warned of in his Munich beer hall speeches,<sup>xv</sup> we can identify the reasons for the climatic shift

from the tropical Eldorado dance hall with its nightly population of “*Warme* (the warm ones, as homosexuals were often called)”<sup>xvi</sup> to the frigidity of the Third Reich. The climate of homophobia has its roots in German culture itself, “A man who found himself irresistibly drawn to homosexuality was often portrayed as effeminate – a *Tunte*, to use the German slang equivalent of ‘sissy’ or ‘fairy.’ Above all, he was a criminal whose social marginality made him prone to murder, child abuse, and even major political crimes.”<sup>xvii</sup> In addition to a preexistent tone of homophobia, the Nazi ideology regarding the generative power of its citizens was affronted by the notion of barren gay sex. “Jews, like homosexuals, were also marked by sexual excess, seen as being unable to control their lusts and passions...In homosexuals, under the same logic, uncontrolled physical urges were directed toward other men, which weakened society because pleasure was put ahead of the duty to reproduce.”<sup>xviii</sup> This element of homosexual identity, as traitors to the Reich, sealed their fate; the *Reichszentrale zur Bekämpfung der Homosexualität und der Abtreibung* (the Central Reich office for Combating Homosexuality and Abortion) constitutes gay men as being of equal status of traitor to those who underwent abortion. Both groups in the eyes of the regime were guilty of destruction of power of the state.

Police investigation of homosexual activity was of no particular strength during the Weimar period, as Paragraph 175 was effectively dormant in the matter of prosecution of homosexual activity. Rather it is the Third Reich, especially the years from 1933-1941, and the post-war period from 1949-1969 that had expressly targeted homosexuals for their “aberrant” behavior. Heinz Heger recalls his summons following his romantic involvement with the son of a Nazi high official: “It

was Friday, about 1 p.m., almost a year to the day since Austria had become simply the 'Ostmark', that I heard two rings at the door. Short, but somehow commanding. When I opened I was surprised to see a man with a slouch hat and leather coat. With the curt word 'Gestapo', he handed me a card with the printed summons to appear for questioning at 2 p.m. at the Gestapo headquarters in the Hotel Metropol."<sup>xix</sup> This event, typifying the *Reichszentrale zur Bekämpfung der Homosexualität* policy to target gays who may have been perceived as some threat to their community, is echoed in the post war years in the police exercises targeting gay men engaging in public displays of their sexuality.

'Cruising,' that is searching for casual sex, in public spaces represents a particular, and necessary, piece of gay culture. Many cities have particular districts and meeting places for the allowance of sexual contact between gay persons, who otherwise would have no outlet for their shamed orientation and desire. Pierre Seel, a resident of Alsace, at that time in France, reported his watch stolen to local authorities. He had had it stolen by a man with whom he intended to bed, or rather have in the park, at Steinbach Square. This area was so notorious for gay cruising that the officer registered Seel as a homosexual after interrogation. "I had entered the police station as a robbery victim, and I left as an ashamed homosexual."<sup>xx</sup> For Seel, it was a frying pan into the fire ordeal as the documents of his local police station in Mulhouse were turned over to the Nazis upon the invasion of Alsace and Lorraine in June of 1940. On May 2, 1941, the Gestapo called on Pierre to appear the next morning at their offices. "After violently shutting my file, the SS man facing me instantly called me *Schweinehund* (dirty bastard), filthy faggot. The interrogation

was only just starting.”<sup>xxi</sup> After ten hours of questioning that rotated between Seel and the other local gay men arrested, “The machinery of violence accelerated. Outraged by our resistance, the SS began pulling out the fingernails of some prisoners. In their fury, they broke the rulers we were kneeling on and used them to rape us.”<sup>xxii</sup> After these measures cracked the arrested men, they were transported to the Schirmeck “protective custody” camp. Though named such, in 1938 the Gestapo had the power to direct those arrested under the auspices of 175 to be sent to concentration camps,<sup>xxiii</sup> which Schirmeck was without any doubt. After six months (during which he witnessed the murder of his lover<sup>xxiv</sup>) Seel was transferred to compulsory military service for the Reich, which he miraculously survived.

Many elements of research on the specific targeting of homosexual men under the Nazi regime demand that a certain objectivity be maintained. For one, it must be acknowledged that it was, as voiced by Elie Wiesel, that while not all victims of the Holocaust were Jews, all Jews were victims. In addition, sexuality must be viewed within the frameworks of race, class, and gender to understand the position of the individual, and therein their particular experiences in the larger event of the Holocaust.

“Sexuality must not be thought of as a kind of natural given which power tries to hold in check, or as an obscure domain which knowledge tries gradually to uncover. It is the name that can be given to a historical construct: not a furtive reality that is difficult to grasp, but a great surface network in which the stimulation of bodies, the intensification of pleasures, the incitement to discourse, the formation



of special knowledges, the strengthening of controls and resistances, are linked to one another, in accordance with a few major strategies of knowledge and power.”<sup>xxv</sup>

Within this framework of attempting to understand the complexities of sexuality and gender, the complexities of homophobia in the Third Reich take on new significance. Through a critical historical lens, it is seen that sexuality is less a rigid structure but rather a dynamic and fluid construction, one that is constantly in flux, as is evidenced by the repeated policies (in the Nazi regime and West German reform era) to attempt the governance and reform of gender roles, sexual orientation, and reproductive rights. Even when viewed through the historical lens, it is imperative to research whose history is being displayed, or has been written. The homosexual history of the Holocaust is a relatively new field of historical scholarship, and as such has less background in universally accredited study. This is also due to the fact that the scholars representing queerness in any historical arena are working uphill against the very institutions that have time and again aligned against queer representation or actively attempted to discredit the field.

Universities, eugenicists, historians, and physicians all played roles for the promotion of Nazism, and those who did solidified their place among the privileged hierarchy of the system. The main goal of the Reich was to monitor the population and produce new, “ideal” members of that population. An illustration of this, from a gay survivor no less, is chronicled thus:

There were a dozen such institutions in the Reich, The name, made up out of whole cloth, was a typical Nazi neologism combining *Leben* (life) and *Born*,

(wellspring). The wellspring of life, the fountain of youth, was actually a factory for blond babies created by mating carefully selected partners of pure Aryan stock. [...] I was witnessing one of the Reich's long term programs: its goal was to put an end to marriage and family by creating a direct link between procreation and Nazism.<sup>xxvi</sup>

Whether Pierre Seel was sent to this "resort" in Pomerania as part of a homosexual re-education program, or simply to witness the splendor of the Aryan race was a mystery even to him, but it does reveal some interesting points between the Reich and post-war West Germany.

The use of the Reich as humanity for such animalistic purposes is without a doubt monstrous. Largely present is the idea that women provided the Spartan woman's ideal of giving birth for the state, without any concern of her own needs. Thinking critically, one also arrives at the fact that women's subservience to their husbands and to the state is only separated by one degree in conservative regimes. Through this lens, though, can still be seen alarming correlations to conservative dogma concerning women's roles in the home, and women's roles in the Reich.

Gender-specific treatment with respect to homosexuality was based on the different assessment of male and female sexuality in general and can be traced back to the unequal status of men and women. The Nazi state assumed that women were "naturally" dependent on men, especially in terms of sexuality, and efforts were made to reinforce this as far as possible. Based on a centuries old patriarchal tradition that declared passivity a female trait, a self-assured sense of female

sexuality, including homosexuality, was unfathomable. All of this led a majority of Nazis to believe that female sexuality did not represent a threat to the “German national community.”<sup>xxvii</sup>

The lack of equality between sexes, and the failure to recognize gender deviance among any women, are implicit to one another. The patriarchy, showing itself here in the form of Nazi men, presume to know through their unequal privilege that which they do not know, due to their deliberate separation from and judgment at a distance of women. In an ouroboros cycle, Nazi men viewed the possible threat of women’s sexuality, and then, by undermining the validity of women’s autonomy without men, assure themselves the threat is not real. “Most lawyers and politicians also agreed that the danger to the state posed by ‘seduction’ among women was ‘by far not as great’ as with gay men, since “a seduced woman was not permanently withdrawn from normal sexual intercourse, but retained her usability in terms of population policy.”<sup>xxviii</sup> The language is clear: women exist solely for the use of men and are wholly dependent on the will of man. Her body and the very will of her being can be bent to the will or wants of the patriarchal male, whether this be her husband, or a state commissioner requiring the service of her womb to create soldiers for world domination.

Again, as with all pieces of the Holocaust puzzle, intersections run every way. “The Nazi state laid claim to total control over reproductive behavior and human life, which had extremely different consequences, depending on one’s respective position in the “value” hierarchy.”<sup>xxix</sup> This meaning, just as gay men deemed to be Aryan would be re-educated for use

in the war machine, so would Aryan women, were they to be fundamentally out of line. Rather than treating lesbianism as a medical condition as with gay men, homosexual women were simply disappointing; not living up to their full potential as women. Lesbian women in this sense are fortunate to have survived the intensive persecution of gay men, but one should not go so far with what this fortune means. Having a higher chance at survival was only due to the Nazi ideology that women were little more than chattel, without any real internal will or if any, no agency or autonomy with which to externalize that will.

Directly following the war, the gay men of Berlin experienced a (relatively) great deal of freedom. Albrecht M. remembers, "Yeah...those of us who had made it through the Third Reich, naturally we weren't afraid afterwards. Sure, we had to be careful and so on, but in Berlin one was not nervous at all thanks to the connections with Allied gay men."<sup>xxx</sup> The destructive end of World War II allowed for a roughly similar zeitgeist to that of the interwar period, though much more frantic, laced with severe violence and civil disorder, and short-lived. This renewed openness of sexuality could not last for a long amount of time. The scale and scope of this war had been of a different tone completely, and more organization and restrictive policies were had on the German state. As the Allied powers began to sort through the rubble, both physical and socio-political, of the war, entrenched values began to rise to the surface, with the express aid of a conservative post-war government.

In 1949, on September 16th, Conrad Adenauer was elected chancellor of West Germany. His policies focused on conservative, Christian values, and the

*Familienpolitik*, the family politics. To rebuild from the literal ashes of Germany, this administration aimed to repackaging the traditional family structure. “Although the Nazi ideology had exalted the family as the ‘germ cell’ of the nation and had promised to protect the German family from the forces of modernism, in practice the party’s social policies encroached on familial decisions, undermined parental authority, and created rival social institutions that competed for both the time and the loyalty of family members.”<sup>xxxix</sup> This image of the traditional family bastardized by the Nazi regime was touted as the largest issue regarding the regime and served a dual purpose. In this way, the West German authorities were able to plug this message to an audience ready to accept any discourse that addressed the need to ‘fix’ the nation without addressing the genocidal atrocities of the Holocaust. In addition, the “new” family structure, though similar to the idealized family of the Nazi era and identical to the Christian nuclear family before, was poured into the design of the new home following the advertisers who structured this home to be a marketing tool in and of itself, driving the broken economy skyward as the families were urged to buy more and more products. To solidify these goals, West Germany gave the church, as the only institution to have survived the war relatively intact, a trumped-up role in Nazi resistance.

The post-war period leading the 1950’s and 1960’s was an environment hostile to the different, the aberrant. The powers that be, of the time, such as the Adenauer administration feared the already fragile population being destabilized in any way. Already contending with the Communist threat from the East, and the *halbstarke*, or hoodlums rioting in 1956-57, the act of *jugendschutz*, or of protecting

the children, became of huge importance.<sup>xxxii</sup> For the new Germany in the West, the family unit took on a new importance, no longer a warrior unit, aiming at creating automatons for the state and Fuhrer but rather, aimed to return to a Germany of the less mythic and Teutonic, and more tangible and Victorian past. “The faith placed in the power of family and marriage was interconnected in numerous ways with the image of manhood that was lifted up as the defining ideal of the Adenauer era. Eager to distance themselves from the Nazi past, West Germans put aside the image of the German soldier that had been so important for defining manhood during the first half of the twentieth century.”<sup>xxxiii</sup> Herein lies the greatest difference and similarity of the Reich and West Germany; both represent patriarchal institutions through which the power of public opinion was channeled to a vulnerable and eager audience. Audiences from both eras existed with a cultural heritage exulting the male, and the *Volk*, the true people of Germany. The innateness of mystique of the *Volksgemeinschaft* was enough to redirect Nazi attention from extermination of homosexuals to their reeducation and reassignment as functional procreators for the state. And, as Pierre Seel noted of police forces, “The surveillance of homosexuals is such an inveterate police habit that it probably didn’t occur to anyone to terminate it.”<sup>xxxiv</sup> This, while ringing true in other West European nations, is not as watertight in German waters. While all of Europe, East, West, North, and South, were quite demolished by both World Wars, the pointed dismantling of the socio-political structure in Germany following both world wars shows that the truest pieces of German homophobia do not come out of bureaucratic repetition or police habits, but out of deeper cultural influences, which are malleable to the state’s

intent. In the post-war years, the intent was to rebuild as quickly as possible. By the logic of many at this time, the most direct route to reconstruction concerned a national return to the ideals previous the wars. To strengthen the family, and by proxy the nation, “the West German *Vaterland* was discursively refashioned as a *land of fathers*.”<sup>xxxv</sup> In this “new” society, there was still no room for gender traitors or sexual deviants. As Jürgen Baumann reports, between 1953 and 1965, German police recorded 98,700 175-ers, of whom 38,000 were found guilty.<sup>xxxvi</sup>

The disconnect with the homosexual past widened in the reconstruction years. “For those who *were* interested in homosexuality in the 1950’s and 1960’s, there were serious obstacles to research. Most countries have privacy laws that make it difficult to examine archival material dealing with personal information of a sensitive nature until a considerable time has passed.”<sup>xxxvii</sup> In addition to these laws, there was the “widespread notion that homosexuality was a type of illness was not the only prejudice of the 1950’s and 1960’s that connected West Germany with its Nazi past. Also important were the memories of the so-called ‘Rohm Putsch’ of the Nazi era, which continued to color Germans’ perceptions of homosexuality by linking it with criminality, sexual excess, and political betrayal.”<sup>xxxviii</sup> Here again we see the usage of homosexuality as a scapegoat, as an explanation as to why politicians would betray their constituents, why neighbors would let each other starve, why adults who otherwise seemed so normal and good could abuse children.

The queer survivors of the Nazi Holocaust are remarkably few in number. Between the reification of Paragraph 175 in 1935 and the end of the Third Reich, approximately 100,000 gay men were arrested, mostly of white Christian

background.<sup>xxxix</sup> Half of these men were convicted, and of those ten to fifteen thousand were murdered in the camps. According to Rüdiger Lautmann, the number of gay men in the concentration camps was estimated to be between 5,000 and 15,000; most scholarship asserts 10,000 as currently the most probably number.<sup>xl</sup> The particular complexities of queer survival often hinged on silence. As shown, the societies these men and women lived in have only recently accepted or even tolerated their very existence. From 1931 to 1933, previous the language shift in the law, there were 2,319 convictions of homosexual men. Following reform, arrests increased to 22,143 from 1936 to 1938. In 1941, arrests of gay men peaked at 9,244, fourteen times the Weimar era average of 650 convictions per year.<sup>xli</sup>

In addition to the terrific upswing in convictions of paragraph 175 offences, the camp system was even more horrifying for those demarcated as homosexual. Geoffrey Giles states that, “the paragraph was used as a tool of political persecution when no other criminal charges could be dreamt up. Whether the charge was true or not, the pink triangle on your sleeve sent you to the bottom of the camp hierarchy.”<sup>xlii</sup> In the camps themselves, documentation as a gay man pushed the prisoner to the lowest rung of camp existence. Conditions for men labeled with the pink triangle were considerably worse, due to the obvious and widespread homophobia and hatred for queerness cutting across class, race, gender, and socio-politics, even past liberation of the camps as Paragraph 175 stayed in full effect until 1969.

The 60th anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz-Birkenau passed without the recognition or involvement of the homosexual victims of the Holocaust.” The



Nazi regime incarcerated, castrated, sought to re-educate, and murdered thousands of German and Austrian homosexuals at Auschwitz and other camps. Yet, 'Homosexuals were the only group [...] whose representatives were not invited to participate' in this ceremony."<sup>xliii</sup> The refusal to acknowledge victims of the Holocaust in this regard shows how little distance has been covered in regards to scholarship to validate the event of homosexual persecution. While an event as the Holocaust is monolithic, it is not crystallized. The individuality of the experiences, rather, horrors of this persecution are overlooked in such cases. The victims, while to those concerned labeled generally as "survivors", have far more to say independently than as a whole. Yet, while appreciating that all who suffered under the yoke of Nazism have particular and valid voices, these voices do share a commonality and intimacy. "While Holocaust educators can present these victim groups [of the Holocaust] as unconnected with one another, they are in fact inseparable."<sup>xliv</sup> This inseparability gives each voice a louder purpose, to be heard in the din and find others to help make sense of what these survivors have to say.

Many survivors, though, are unwilling or very unable to speak of their experiences. "It's all about patiently carrying one's burden."<sup>xlv</sup> So stated Heinz F., a German gay man who was arrested twice by the Nazi's, spending more than eight years in concentration camps while his friends and lovers met their end at Mauthausen. This is huge tragedy, that for documentation of many, we are too late. The passage of time it took for Jewish and other Holocaust survivors to come forward with their full stories, outside of Nuremberg trial accusations and hearings, was several decades. In the space of those decades, most nations and nearly all

scholars were shedding the disgusting mantle of anti-Semitism. As such, the survivors had an audience, rather, people willing, ready, and able to hear, process, and archive their persecution.

Intersectionality of gayness and Nazism also provides a problematic step for survivors. Many gay men, German as they were, were conscripted into the Wehrmacht, and thus often forced to commit war atrocities alongside willing Nazi's. "I think people became very indifferent very fast. When things go on for years...In the beginning they were just camps, that these camps became death camps...wasn't known in the beginning."<sup>xlvi</sup> Albrecht Brecker willingly chose to join the army after being released from the camps. Upon returning to his town and discovering the men all gone to war, he joined the army to be with men. Truly no conventional Nazi, as his desire for male closeness was not out of political ideology but rather lust of the flesh; a rather subversive, and all the more complex, case.

Survivors, as stated, had numerous ways in which they managed to survive, and individual horrors to endure. As Pierre Seel recounts, not all memories can be dealt with constructively.

Now you see why I did not speak for forty years? I am ninety percent disabled from the war! My ass still bleeds! Even today! The Nazi's stuck twenty-five centimeters of wood up my ass. Do you think I can talk about that? That it is good for me? This is too much for my nerves [Klaus]! I can't do this anymore. I am ashamed for humanity.<sup>xlvii</sup>

To try to make sense of torture is huge gulf for any discipline to stretch. In historical context, most often torture has been utilized to gain information, as well as assert

dominance and ownership of the human body. Homosexual men were stripped of their agency and, as Seel explicitly detail, of their dignity and humanity. For a survivor to come forward with this information, was often not an option. As detailed above, the Adenauer administration did not embrace homosexuality, instead they continued to withhold agency from these individuals, to perpetuate the Nazi system of state terror to subvert the autonomy of gay men and women. Coming forward was not an option until recently; few had the power, or had been so traumatized that they could not take back the power to shout their horrors to peers unwilling, for the most part, to validate their experiences.

“Now for me too, it’s all over. In September I’ll be ninety-three. Thick skin, no?”<sup>xlviii</sup> Despite the fact that many other survivors, for whichever reasons, have been unable to come forward with their testimonies of the atrocities of Nazi policies combating homosexuality, these stories have been told. The correlations and links to the codification of laws that were allowed to endure far too long are identified. Armed with this knowledge, and a critical eye to all forms of institution resembling or hearkening in any way to the Nazi ideologies, we can combat with words, knowledge, education, and action, the current state of homophobic violence against the queer population of the world, to prevent any more living ghosts made of any person in any society.

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*“A ghost has no fantasies, no sexuality.”<sup>xlix</sup>*

## Notes:

<sup>i</sup> Pierre Seel. *Liberation was for others: memoirs of a gay survivor of the Nazi Holocaust*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1997. 91.

<sup>ii</sup> Paragraph 175:

“175. A male who commits lewd and lascivious acts with another male or permits himself to be abused for lewd and lascivious acts, shall be punished by imprisonment. In a case of a participant under 21 years of age at the time of the commission of the act, the court may, especially slight cases, refrain from punishment.

175a. Confinement in a penitentiary not to exceed ten years and, under extenuating circumstances, imprisonment for not less than three months shall be imposed:

1. Upon a male who, with force or threat of imminent danger to life and limb, compels another male to commit lewd and lascivious acts with him or compels the other party to submit to abuse for lewd and lascivious acts;

2. Upon a male who, by abuse of a relationship of dependence upon him, in consequence of service, employment, or subordination, induces another male to commit lewd and lascivious acts with him or to submit to being abused for such acts;

3. Upon a male who being over 21 years of age induces another male under 21 years of age to commit lewd and lascivious acts with him or to submit to being abused for such acts;

4. Upon a male who professionally engages in lewd and lascivious acts with other men, or submits to such abuse by other men, or offers himself for lewd and lascivious acts with other men;

175b. Lewd and lascivious acts contrary to nature between human beings and animals shall be punished by imprisonment; loss of civil rights may also be imposed.”

(English Translation by Warren Johannson and William Percy in “Homosexuals in Nazi Germany,” Simon Wiesenthal Center Annual, Vol. 7)

<sup>iii</sup> Butler, Judith. *Gender trouble: feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge, 1999.

<sup>iv</sup> Günter Grau, Claudia Schoppmann, and Patrick Camiller. *Hidden holocaust?: gay and lesbian persecution in Germany, 1933-45*. Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1995. 54.

<sup>v</sup> Dagmar Herzog. *Sexuality and German fascism*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2005. “Denial of Homosexuality” Geoffrey Giles. 289.

“Implementation of policies against homosexuals was neither consistent nor unfailingly rigorous.”

<sup>vi</sup> William J. Spurlin. *Lost intimacies: rethinking homosexuality under national socialism*. New York: Peter Lang, 2009.107

<sup>vii</sup> Rector, Frank. *The Nazi extermination of homosexuals*. New York: Stein and Day, 1981.10.

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- viii PBS. "The Great War . Resources . WWI Casualties and Deaths | PBS." PBS. [http://www.pbs.org/greatwar/resources/casdeath\\_pop.html](http://www.pbs.org/greatwar/resources/casdeath_pop.html) (accessed May 7, 2014).
- ix Rector. 15.
- x Clayton John Whisnant. *Male homosexuality in West Germany: between persecution and freedom, 1945-69*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. 19.
- xi Ibid.19.
- xii James D. Steakly. *The homosexual emancipation movement in Germany*. New York: Arno Press, 1975. 91.
- xiii Richard Plant. *The pink triangle: the Nazi war against homosexuals*. New York: H. Holt, 1986.16.
- xiv Ibid. 16.
- xv Rector. 15.
- xvi Whisnant. 17.
- xvii Ibid. 15.
- xviii Spurlin. 32.
- xix Plant. 21.
- xx Seel.13.
- xxi Ibid. 24.
- xxii Ibid. 25-26.
- xxiii United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Persecution of Homosexuals in the Third Reich," <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/article.php?ModuleId=10005261>
- xxiv Seel. 43.
- "Now I froze in terror. I had prayed that he would escape their lists, their roundups, their humiliations. And here he was, before my powerless eyes, which filled with tears. Unlike me, he had not carried dangerous letters, torn down posters, or signed any statements. And yet he had been caught and he was about to die. What had happened? What had the monsters accused him of? Because of my anguish I have completely forgotten the wording of the death sentence
- Then the loudspeakers broadcast some noisy classical music while the SS stripped him naked and shoved a tin pail over his head. Next they sicced their ferocious German shepherds on him: the guard dogs first bit into his groin and thighs, then devoured him right in front of us. His shrieks of pain were distorted and amplified by the pail in which his head was trapped. My rigid body reeled, my eyes gaped at so much horror, tears poured down my cheeks, I fervently prayed that he would black out quickly."
- xxv Foucault, Michel. *The history of sexuality*. London: Penguin, 1992. 105.
- xxvi Seel. 61.
- xxvii Claudia Schoppmann. *Days of masquerade: life stories of lesbians during the Third Reich*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996. 15.
- xxviii Ibid. 17.
- xxix Ibid. 13.
- xxx Whisnant. 24.
- xxxi Ibid. 26.

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xxxii Ibid. 56-58.

xxxiii Ibid. 55

xxxiv Seel 22

xxxv Heide Fehrenbach. *Rehabilitating fatherland: Race and German Remasculinization*. *Signs* 24(1998), 107-27

xxxvi Jürgen Baumann, *Paragraph 175: Über die Möglichkeit einfache, die nichtjugendgefährdende und nicht öffentliche Homosexualität unter Erwachsenen straffrei zu lassen* (Berlin: , 1968), 63-66.

xxxvii Ibid. 2

xxxviii Grau. 43.

xxxix *Paragraph 175*. Film. Directed by Robert P. Epstein. United States: New Yorker Video, 2002.

xl Rüdiger Lautmann ed., *Seminar: Gesellschaft und Homosexualität*. (Frankfurt am Main: 1977).

xli Grau. 131.

lii Geoffrey J. Giles, "Intro to Karl and Erich," *Gay Voices in East Germany* ed. John Borneman, (Bloomington, 1991): 13.

liiii Plant. 41.

xliv Ibid. 42

"Between 1933 and 1945, the Nazi regime and its collaborators systematically targeted, sterilized, incarcerated, tortured, raped, subjected to pseudo-medical experimentation, and/ or murdered millions of people whom they had categorized under an array of real and perceived social, biological, racial, religious, and political groups, including people of African descent, alcoholics, asocials, Communists, criminals, dissenting Catholic and Lutheran clergy, the mentally and physically disabled Freemasons, male homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, Jews, lesbians, pacifists, Poles, political dissidents, prostitutes, Roma and Sinti (or Gypsies), Slavic and Asiatic peoples of the Soviet Union, Soviet prisoners of war, and trade unionists. While Holocaust educators can present these victims groups as unconnected with one another, they are in fact inseparable."

xlv *Paragraph 175*. Film. Directed by Robert P. Epstein. United States: New Yorker Video, 2002. (Heinz F.) 1:04:50

xlvi Ibid. (A. Brecker.)1:01:20.

xlvii Ibid. (P. Seel.) 1:03:00.

xlviii Ibid. (Heinz F.) 1:07:30.

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The Lie In the Teapot:  
China, China Export Porcelain, and the Construction of Orientalism during the American  
Republic

Kiersten Strachan

At the time of the American Revolution, China boasted a thriving economy and a booming population which was quadruple that of the United States. An elaborate welfare and taxation system, benchmarks the Constitutional Congress struggled to enact effectively, had been fully implemented by the time the first American trading ship reached China in 1783. However, the pervading narrative of China in the collective consciousness of citizens of the American Republic was that of an exotic fascination, instead of a developed nation-state. China was the subject of myth, having only ever been seen by a select and daring few, whose plunder and risk resulted in decadent spoils that adorned the homes of an exclusive American class. Of these spoils, Chinese porcelain was the most desired. Decorated with depictions of mountains, nature, delicate women and children, or intricate patterns, export porcelain was sometimes the only lens through which Americans formed their conceptions of China. A dangerous cyclical process emerged: the demand for typically ‘Chinese’ porcelain encouraged the production of essentializing depictions of Chinese culture. The increasing dispersion and popularity of this porcelain, in turn, reinforced the idea that China was static and undeveloped, confined to ceremony and the tradition of an Eastern empire. Rather than representing the start of a multifaceted relationship that led to cultural diffusion between America and China, the porcelain trade provided the basis for the misunderstanding of Chinese culture through essentialism and orientalism.

This paper will substantiate the previous argument in four sections. The first section will focus on American impressions of China during and before China export porcelain was popularized. This will be followed by a description of the trade expeditions to China, the impressions of the crews that interacted with Chinese merchants, and how these voyages shaped American knowledge of China. Next, there will be a description of the types of porcelain traded, the aesthetic preference of American porcelain demand, and how this differed from porcelain

that Chinese people used. Finally, an analysis of porcelain that was commissioned by Americans and the significance of this demand will be offered.

The historian Jay Dolin argues that, “Despite all the trade in Chinese goods...the average American colonist knew almost nothing about China itself—an imperial, exotic empire that remained shrouded in myth.”<sup>1</sup> The words most frequently used to describe China, which may have existed in the vernacular of the citizens of the American Republic, were that of China as an exotic “kingdom” with an imperial system that survived based on a despotic blood lineage of divine emperors. In reality, this perception could not have been farther than the truth, with China’s state being comprised of a vast and advanced bureaucracy that was regularly amended.<sup>2</sup> Perceptions of China in the minds of Americans also often emphasized the homogenous nature of China and Chinese people. This homogeneity is evident at the most basic level—the words used to describe relevant factors of the porcelain trade. Their views were so reductionist that Chinese porcelain merchants, “male and female, were called ‘chinaman’ or ‘chinawoman’ and their goods ‘china’ [were] sold in ‘china shops.’”<sup>3</sup> While this rhetoric does not seem to be maliciously used, nor to convey racist sentiment, the incredible correlation that a specific item, porcelain, represented a culture at large is evidence in this verbiage.

Second, ideas about China were based on the impressions of very few. This was due to the fact that “no more than a handful of colonists, maybe as few as a half a dozen, had ever set foot in China.”<sup>4</sup> Even these few “were men who had crewed on English ships and therefore were

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<sup>1</sup> Eric Jay Dolin, *When America First Met China: An Exotic History of Tea, Drugs, and Money in the Age of Sail*, 1st ed. (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2012), 61.

<sup>2</sup> China’s bureaucratic functions were so impressive that since the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.) it had systematically collected taxes and conducted massive civil service examinations to select officials based on merit.

<sup>3</sup> John Kuo Wei Tchen, *New York before Chinatown: Orientalism and the shaping of American culture, 1776-1882*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 5.

<sup>4</sup> Dolin, 61.

not in the best position to comment on Chinese society.”<sup>5</sup> As a result, Americans who wanted to learn about China had few avenues to directly observe Chinese culture. Though primary materials from sailors are abundant (ship logs, journals, and letters provide a view) they are partially distorted by the mercantile mission and education of the sailors.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, the cannon of academic materials on China available to Americans during this period were works by scholars such as Voltaire, whose analysis focused on Chinese works in “morality, agriculture, political economy, and the arts,” rather than on first-hand interaction with the country itself.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, Voltaire and other scholars who produced works on China never visited the country themselves. So, given the nature of the sources available, it is not surprising that the American impression of China would be highly influenced by Chinese porcelain. Compared with the accounts of merchants and with the limited scope of scholarly publications, porcelain was a tangible artifact that seemed to be an authentic, direct representation of China.

Finally, the foundations of a security competition already existed at the time of the first voyage to China and the porcelain trade only exacerbated them.<sup>8</sup> As a result of the growing magnitude of the porcelain trade with China over time, General George Washington realized that China offered “all those [goods] in Europe with the addition of many in greater abundance...or not produced [in Europe] at all,” which made it critical to establish either cultural, economic, or

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<sup>5</sup> Dolin, 62.

<sup>6</sup> Tchen, 122-125. Even if the crews of American and European trade ships had the opportunity to spend time in China, it is speculated that fewer than twenty Americans in total spoke any level of Chinese, making communication almost impossible.

<sup>7</sup> Dolin, 61. For a contemporary account of compiled knowledge on China that 18<sup>th</sup> century Americans had access to, see Du Halde Jean Baptiste, *The General History of China: Containing A Geographical, Historical, Chronological, Political and Physical Description of the Empire of China, Chinese-Tartary, Corea and Thibet, Including an Extract and Particular Account of Their Customs, Manners, Ceremonies, Religion, Arts and Sciences*, Vol. 4. Trans. Richard Brooks (London: Watts, 1739).

<sup>8</sup> Dolin, 20-24. *The Empress of China* departed November 25, 1783 and was charged with the mission of bringing back the highest quality of goods China could offer and transporting the first official representative of America to be housed at the port at Canton.

military dominance to ensure sustained trade.<sup>9</sup> That China's chief economic export was decorative porcelain made it seem as if China were one country that the tenuous American Republic could compete with. That a trade imbalance in China's favor had existed from the time of the first voyage to China in 1783 made essentialization of China's culture (through decorative depictions on Chinese porcelain), desirable and necessary in order to make the fact that China was an economic threat satiable.

As previously noted, by the very nature of the distance between China and the United States, China in the imagination of the American colonist was partly shaped by the observations of the sailors and traders that ventured to the British port at Canton. Chinese porcelain was channeled for export through the international trading port at Canton, China. Here, Western buyers would select from a vast array of porcelain that was produced at various centers throughout China. The export of China export porcelain became so mechanized and the volume of commissioned works so large that during the 19<sup>th</sup> century wares were sent to Canton unpainted, to be finished by local artists according to buyer specifications.

At the time of the American Republic, funding an expedition to China was still a risky endeavor. Robert Morris was one of the financiers of the first ship to China, *The Empress of China*.<sup>10</sup> His papers shed light on the exploratory nature of this first voyage and suggest that the impetus behind opening trade was as much nationalistic as economic. John Ledyard, a prospective, though unsuccessful captain of the first China voyage, noted that "we have, at an earlier period than the most sanguine Whig could have expected...very pleasing prospects of a

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<sup>9</sup> Dolin, 64. Goods which saw expanded demand as the porcelain trade grew were diamonds, pearl, gold, silver, copper, iron, sulfur, potter's earth, cinnamon, peppers, indigo, vermilion, dragon's blood (a type of red resin), ambergris, etc.

<sup>10</sup> Robert Morris, *The Papers of Robert Morris, 1781-1784: November 1, 1782 - May 4, 1783*, ed. by John Catanzariti, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1988).

very extensive commerce with the most distant part of the globe.”<sup>11</sup> While the scope of this paper does not permit a detailed discussion of all individuals involved in the initial voyages to China, John Green, John Ledyard, Robert Morris, Benjamin Etting, and others whose documents have been recovered shared the same attitude: a bold willingness to encounter what was sure to be a culture asymmetric with their own and a conviction that American access to this sphere of trade was key to the reputation of the United States and the only way that precious goods (most importantly porcelain) could be procured.<sup>12</sup>

The reality that Western crews encountered in China was different than what they had imaged. American sailors and captains expected the Chinese to welcome them with the fanfare and pomp they thought it was proper for a developing nation to display to the cultural superiority of the Western world. However, no such deference was paid. As Kariann Yokota notes in her book “Unbecoming British,” at certain points Chinese diplomats could not distinguish between American individuals. This is an ironic reversal of the myth of oriental homogeneity associated with Chinese people.<sup>13</sup> Paired with this, the belief that China is inherently superior to the rest of the world is present in Chinese shared history. The lack of welcome and the fact that Europeans “had tried to breach the walls of China for centuries before establishing a stable beachhead in Canton” only to be “rebuffed” by traders meant that American sailors’ accounts of China were overwhelmingly negative.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Margaret C.S. Christman, *Adventurous Pursuits: Americans and the China trade, 1784-1844*, (Washington D.C.: National Portrait Gallery, 1984), 44.

<sup>12</sup> For a the full accounts of these individuals see: Green, John. 1784-1785. *Logbook of the Empress of China*. Etting; Benjamin. 1822. *Journal of voyages to Canton*; and the formerly listed Papers of Robert Morris.

<sup>13</sup> Kariann Akemi Yokota, *Unbecoming British: How Revolutionary America Became a Postcolonial Nation*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>14</sup> Dolin, 65. The behavior by Chinese merchants was probably not undeserved and prompted by the poor and lewd behavior of sailors. However, the result was a verbalized dislike of Chinese people.

Adding to this already negative view of Chinese people, sailors' skepticism of China was strengthened by the goods that were exchanged for porcelain. A unique species of ginseng was found to grow in Canada and was highly valued by Chinese people for both medicinal purposes and as an aphrodisiac. Ships to China almost always carried Canadian ginseng, which was traded for porcelain and tea. Other goods carried by the first American ships, such as silverware and pianos, were useless to Chinese people. As a result, sailors' impressions of the Chinese market seemed irrational. Spanish silver and a rare plant were the only goods Chinese merchants were interested in, and these impressions contributed to the larger sentiment concerning the otherness and foreign nature of China.<sup>15</sup>

As a result of only being allowed to enter Canton, American sailors left China with an extremely narrow view of the country. Wider cultural aspects such as religious beliefs and government organization were never observed because American crews were only exposed to the narrow commercial zone of Canton. The conveyed knowledge in the mind of Americans was clear: Irene Ayers, a Boston schoolgirl, summarized China as being "in the eastern part of Asia and it is noted for its Teas and Coffee, it is noted also for its porcelain ware.....The Chinese are a very timid race of people and very industrious, their dress is very odd."<sup>16</sup> This view was circulated as a result of sailors' accounts of porcelain trading expeditions.

Greater variety in the decoration and style of Chinese porcelain exists than the narrow styles that were exported to European and American markets would indicate. Indeed, over 15 specific and extremely different types of porcelain were craved with variable intensity over the

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<sup>15</sup> Dolin, 15. Jonathan Goldstein, *Philadelphia and the China trade, 1682-1846: Commercial, Cultural, and Attitudinal Effects*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1978), 22.

<sup>16</sup> Tchen, 155.

course of Chinese imperial history.<sup>17</sup> Whereas “Americans commonly called every variety of porcelain or even pottery object ‘China Ware,’” what they were actually referring to was a narrow selection of Chinese porcelain, which was exported as it suited American and European aesthetic demands. Specifically, “‘Chinese export porcelain’...[identified] wares produced in China especially for markets abroad and specifically for the United States.”<sup>18</sup> This nomenclature demonstrates a significant dimension of the porcelain trade between China and the United States—that it had to be distinguished from the type of porcelain demanded by Chinese buyers, and that Chinese export porcelain was uniquely different than Chinese porcelain. The term “Chinese porcelain” refers to Chinese ceramics used by Chinese people.

Chinese porcelain is primarily classified by dynasty or by the Emperor reigning at the time the style was popularized. Chinese export porcelain, however, is classified by *famille*, with color being the primary differentiating factor. Famille verte porcelains were the earliest type of exported porcelain demanded, during the reign of Kangxi (1661-1722), the fourth emperor of the Qing Dynasty. Famille verte is primarily made up of *sancai* (which means ‘three colors’) porcelain, and called so because it usually features three colors.<sup>19</sup> Figure 1 shows a *famille verte* Cafe-au-lait Ground Dish in the Kangxi style that uses this *sancai* color palette. Demand for this

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<sup>17</sup> For complete listing of Chinese ceramics see Carl L. Crossman, *The China Trade; Export Paintings, Furniture, Silver & Other Objects*, (Princeton: Payne Press, 1972).

<sup>18</sup> Jean McClure Mudge, *Chinese Export Porcelain for the American Trade, 1785-1835*, (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1981), 63. Mudge in this text offers additional discourse on the etymology of Lowestoft porcelain, which was produced in England and is commonly confused as Chinese export porcelain. She also discusses the work of John Goldsmith Phillips, who analyzed Chinese export porcelain as its own type, instead of a subset of Chinese ceramics. His ideas greatly influenced how I conceptualized this style and implications of its export, leading to the thesis argued in this paper. For more on this, see his book, John Goldsmith Phillips and Helena Woolworth McCann, *China-trade Porcelain: an Account of its Historical Background, Manufacture, and Decoration, and a Study of the Helena Woolworth McCann collection*, (Cambridge: published for the Winfield Foundation and the Metropolitan Museum of Art [by] Harvard University Press, 1956).

<sup>19</sup> Suzanne Von Drachenfels, *The Art of the Table: A Complete Guide to Table Setting, Table Manners, and Tableware*, (New York City: Simon and Schuster, 2000), 47. *Sancai* porcelain was also referred to as ‘egg and spinach’ porcelain, because of its use of white, yellow and green shades, though some *sancai* porcelain uses other colors.



type of porcelain was replaced by a new craving for *famille rose* porcelain, which began in the 1720s. *Famille rose* porcelain was characterized by softer colors, usually purples and pinks, and featured more intricate designs, such as flowers, human and animal figures, and insects (as shown in figure 2). Advanced craftsman techniques during this period offered the opportunity to depict figures in more detail. This led to essentializing dissemination of Chinese culture as Chinese nature scenes, Chinese women, and Buddhist gods became popular themes on *famille rose* porcelain.<sup>20</sup> Thus another source of danger in conceptualization of the Chinese emerged. Now, not only was the type of porcelain used by Americans incongruent with that used by Chinese, but also the decorative scenes depicted inauthentic characterizations of Chinese culture. The last wave of Chinese export porcelain, from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, was characterized by the popularity of ‘blue and white’ design and Canton export porcelain. Blue and white porcelain was just that—usually white or off-white, hard, paste pottery stained with a blue ink design and fired with a porcelain glaze. Unlike the previously two mentioned types of export porcelain, blue and white porcelain fit the taste and existed in the homes of many Chinese people (see figure 3).<sup>21</sup> Conversely, Canton export porcelain was a subset of blue and white that exclusively featured scenes of the trading post at Canton.<sup>22</sup> Canton porcelain featured scenes of intense contrast between the Chinese and Americans and Europeans, with exaggerated and distinctly oriental Chinese merchants often gazing upon approaching Western ships or interacting with finely clothed Western merchants. Figure 4 shows a depiction of Canton that has been influenced by the Western trade it enjoyed. The buildings reflect Western architectural

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<sup>20</sup> Mudge, 161-182.

<sup>21</sup> For this reason, blue and white is typically not referred to as ‘Chinese export porcelain’ and instead colloquially called ‘blue and white’ by traders and antiques dealers, even today.

<sup>22</sup> Canton was associated with the British. While Canton export porcelain was usually blue and white it was not exclusively so, and many pieces of Canton export porcelain in *famille rose* and *famille verte* styles were sold.

features and Canton's accessibility is expressed through the open water surrounding each of these buildings.<sup>23</sup>

If China export porcelain was not the type of porcelain that Chinese people used daily, what distinguished the porcelain that Americans and Europeans purchased and how does it differ from the types used by Chinese? First, highly decorative and intricate designs characterize Chinese export porcelain, as very few of the types of porcelain used by Chinese people were as decorative as Chinese export porcelain styles. Second, the shapes of ceramics produced for Chinese use differed entirely from the chargers, tea sets, soup bowls, and other products produced for Western purchase and use.<sup>24</sup> Figure 5 and figure 6 revealed this discrepancy, with Chinese tea sets (used by Chinese) featuring small cups about one third the size of China export teacups without handles for gripping. Overall, Chinese export porcelain was a good produced to satisfy Western demand, not one made to accurately reflect Chinese culture or for Chinese use. This, paired with the widespread dispersion of Chinaware in America, and the reliance on it as one of the few relics of Chinese culture that they came into contact with, made propagation of an inaccurate view of China inevitable.

In terms of works that were specially commissioned, the porcelain demanded by Americans departed from that which was demanded by Europeans. Whereas "Eastern or Western [European] features predominated according to the period, reflecting the changing position of one country with regard to another," porcelain demanded by Americans distinguished itself by being characterized by a desire for "Oriental forms, craftsmanship, and painting with the boldness of Western shapes and decorations...with American emblems."<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Crossman, 151-152.

<sup>24</sup> Mudge, 150.

<sup>25</sup> Mudge, 66.

During later commissions at the port of Canton, “two types of wares were ordered...by Americans: custom-designed objects whose motifs had been drawn up by Westerners; and items of distinctly Oriental pattern.”<sup>26</sup> That both of these categories of items were demanded proves the desire to sustain a vision of China as exotic. On the one hand, the popularity and class status of owning Chinaware created a desire to commission wares with strictly Western symbols. On the other, the desire to possess goods that were foreign, Chinese, and Sinofied drove demand for commissioned styles decorated with Oriental themes.

The products that were commissioned to feature American iconography rarely exactly resembled the sketches provided by buyers. Instead, features of the Chinese aesthetic unintentionally found their way into designs. Figure 7, a toddy jug adorned with a portrait of George Washington, reflects one such instance of this unintentional cultural blending. Chinese facial traits, such as a broad, round forehead, lack of an epicanthic fold, and high cheekbone placement, appear in the facial constitution of George Washington.<sup>27</sup> These traits do not exist in other American or European artistic depictions of George Washington, indicating they are a product of the Chinese craftsmen that produced the jug. Ironically, this type of mistake made by Chinese artists represents a more realistic reflection of the Chinese aesthetic than works ordered to specifically feature ‘traditional Chinese’ themes. However, these mistakes did not go unnoticed by American consumers. Rather than attributing the difference to Chinese craftsmen incorporating facial structures they were familiar with, Americans attributed it to laziness and poor skill, part of the Orientalism myth that Americans subscribed to. As a result of commissioned works incorporating features of Chinese aesthetic, Americans “registered in turn

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<sup>26</sup> Goldstein, 37.

<sup>27</sup> Epicanthic folds, colloquially referred to as ‘monolids,’ are not present in the facial and eye constitution of peoples of Asian—particularly Mongolian and Chinese—descent.

a deprecatory attitude towards Chinese artistic talents."<sup>28</sup> It was noted that "though [Chinese painters] can imitate most of the fine arts," they "do not possess any large portion of original genius."<sup>29</sup> From this it is clear that Americans demanded a good that was not Chinese and were dismayed when they received one that was. Americans did not want accurate representations of Chinese culture, but instead what they thought Chinese goods should be.

As a result of the ability to commission works, specifically those with family crests and monograms, this type of commission porcelain came to represent American cultural traditions more than Chinese. For example, "A Chinese enameled punch bowl given to Alexander Hamilton and Elizabeth Schuyler by her parents in 1780 to commemorate their marriage" demonstrated "Schuyler's acceptance of Hamilton into their family and social circles."<sup>30</sup> Chinese porcelain was an essential part of the most important American legacy; those with an impressive or noteworthy family could substantiate this with elegant Chinaware that featured the family's name, crest, or relevant icons.

China export porcelain, while beautiful, was a romanticization of Chinese culture that was dangerous. It cast China as something that it was not, and laid the foundations of a security competition. China could not be conceptualized as an emerging state because this was incongruent with the archaic and dainty patterns that adorned Chinese export porcelain. Chinese porcelain was never intended to and did not reflect Chinese culture, and was produced solely to satiate American demand. The unfortunate consequence was widespread misunderstanding of China and Chinese people.

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<sup>28</sup> Alfred Owen Aldridge, *The Dragon and the Eagle: the Presence of China in the American Enlightenment*, (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1993), 115.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, 115.

<sup>30</sup> Tchen, 14.

Appendix

Figure 1.



Fig. 1. *Chinese Famille Verte Cafeau-lait Ground Dish*, 1722. Porcelain, 28cm x 2cm. Amsterdam: Christie's Interiors, 2012.



Figure 2.

Fig. 2. *Chinese Eggshell Porcelain Famille Rose Soup Plate*, c. 1730. Porcelain, 21.5cm x 2cm. New Orleans: Cohen and Cohen, 2009.



Figure 3

Fig. 3. *Ming Blue and White Double-Gourd Vase*, c. 1550. Hard Paste Porcelain, 45cm x 15cm. London: Christie's Interiors, 2005.



Figure 4.

Fig. 4. *Two Chinese Export Porcelain 'Canton' Blue and White Octagonal Platters*, c. 1850. Hard Paste Porcelain, 47cm x 2cm. New York City: Christie's Interiors, 2010.

Figure 5.



Fig. 5. *A Chinese Export Porcelain Blue and White Tea Service*, c. 1785. Porcelain, 22cm x 36cm, New York City: Christie's Interiors, 2010.

Figure 6.



Fig. 6. *The Importance of Tea in China*. 1 Jan. 2014. personal photograph by Monika Wilamowski. Accessed 1 Dec. 2014. <<http://internchina.com/the-importance-of-tea-inchina/>>.



Figure 7.

Fig. 7. "Toddy jug with portrait of George Washington [Chinese for the American market]" Porcelain, 25.4cm. In Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000.



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## Shorter Works

In light of the quantity of excellent submissions we received this year, we include more short pieces than we have in the past. Winning submissions provide examples of excellent research and eloquent writing in the various short forms OU history papers take. Vieth's essay on the relationship of science, the state, and religion in the 16th century, Koch's essay on America's failure to plan for its own energy future, and Ranger's essay on the multifaceted nature of Sephardi identities in the Ottoman Empire demonstrate the broad range of topics our authors have tackled. Likewise, Miles' paper on the influence of Henry IV of France's religious belief on his rule, and Otis's analysis of the deterioration of Sino-Korean relations during the Ming-Qing dynastic transition, demonstrate the variety of subjects OU history majors explore. Bringing together diverse experiences and unique research topics, these authors created meaningful essays asserting more limited, yet no less important, arguments than the longer papers we publish here.

-Sarah Miles

*Stumbling in the Dark: How America Fumbled its Energy Future*

Martin Koch

HON 2973-002 (Energy in U.S. History)

Throughout recent history, American energy policy has been a misguided “clusterfrack” biased toward fossil fuel interests and dismissive of long-term security. Rather than creating a proactive, sustainable plan for fueling its economy, the U.S. has largely charted its energy course by bouncing reactively from boom to bust. As renewable energy finally gains prominence today, America must overcome nearly a century of energy missteps in order to power a new generation of prosperity.

From the beginning of the last century, misguided policy subsidized an inefficient transportation system that locked America into an addiction to cheap crude. In the early years of modern transportation, electric streetcar lines flourished in communities large and small. However, challenges such as the advent of automobile transportation soon collided (often literally, in the case of drivers wrecking trolley cars while attempting to beat them to the next stoplight) with America’s public streetcar infrastructure. Mismanagement and consolidation in the streetcar industry led to declining revenue, even as ridership soared to record levels.<sup>1</sup> During the 1920s, technological advances, such as rubber-wheeled “trackless” electric trolleys, were introduced.<sup>2</sup> These refinements had the potential to make such streetcar systems more competitive, but were not taken advantage of by shortsighted companies. Investment in streetcar infrastructure plummeted by half over the course of the ‘20s.<sup>3</sup> This decline of streetcar systems presented an energy policy challenge: electricity for running trolleys could be produced by any number of means, from coal to wind, but cars were dependent upon oil, a resource that was recognized to be finite as early as the 1920s.<sup>4</sup>

However, when faced with the decay of successful, sustainable public transportation systems, public officials did little to preserve this valuable infrastructure for future generations. As the

<sup>1</sup> Nye, David E. *Consuming Power: A Social History of American Energies*. (Cambridge, The MIT Press, 1998), 134.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 136.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 135.

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Pratt. “The Ascent of Oil: The Transition from Coal to Oil in Early Twentieth-Century America” in Lewis Perelman, August Giebelhaus, and Michael Yokell eds. *Energy Transitions, Long-Term Perspectives*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1981. 21

Depression pushed streetcar companies into bankruptcy, and growing auto traffic clogged urban streets, city planning experts continued to assume that streetcars would remain the dominant form of transportation. The laissez-faire economic theories dominant at the time made municipal rescues of failing transit companies politically taboo.<sup>5</sup> By 1940, few interurban rail systems remained in use in the United States, and the oil-powered automobile ruled the road. Today, interest in urban rail has reemerged with a vengeance, even in the Sunbelt. However, if prewar streetcar infrastructure had been protected by a farsighted energy policy, much less cost and effort would be required to restore this valuable public asset.

The lack of a sound U.S. energy policy is also evident in the construction of the road system that replaced urban mass transit. In response to the growing popularity of private automobiles, the first Federal-Aid Highway Act was enacted in 1916, with the stated aim of “aid(ing)...in the construction of rural post roads, and for other purposes.”<sup>6</sup> Successive Highway Acts institutionalized a transportation funding structure that was inadequate for keeping America’s cities moving. Seventy-five cents of every federal highway dollar went to rural roads, and ordinary urban streets – left without rail service in the absence of a policy to support interurban lines - were completely ineligible for federal road improvement aid.<sup>7</sup> By the 1950s, intracity street systems languished and, in the words of a Yale University report, “had become totally inadequate.”<sup>8</sup> As quick interurban rides turned into long stints behind the wheel in traffic jams, urban Americans with the means to do so reacted by becoming suburban Americans. Between 1930 and 1963, the density of urban settlement fell by over half.<sup>9</sup> An ever-growing network of highways facilitated the energy-intensive suburban commuting lifestyle, and carved a path of destruction through many historic neighborhoods.

<sup>5</sup> Nye, 134.

<sup>6</sup> Owen D. Gutfreund. *20th -Century Sprawl, Highways and the Reshaping of the American Landscape*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, 21.

<sup>7</sup> Gutfreund, 47.

<sup>8</sup> Gutfreund, 48.

<sup>9</sup> David Nye. *Consuming Power, A Social History of American Energies*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1998. 194.

As sprawling suburbs were etched into the American landscape with the help of gasoline, Freon, and DDT, the consumption of oil skyrocketed. Our nation was increasingly becoming dependent on an unsustainable supply of cheap crude, but the response from policymakers amounted to little more than pouring gas onto the fire. This trend began in the early years of the development of oil, when domestic oil production was a Wild West frenzy devoid of sound policy or even good sense. Drilling rights were allocated according to the “rule of capture,” under which the only limit on a particular driller’s production of oil was the speed at which it could be pulled from the ground.<sup>10</sup> Wasteful practices caused many early oil fields to be depleted of pressure before their contents could be fully extracted. In this era of energy abundance, describes historian Joseph A. Pratt, “the relative prices of oil and coal were the primary determinant of the choice of fuel for consumers, and the sum of these choices added up to a national ‘energy policy.’”<sup>11</sup> Economist John Ise surveyed wasteful oil development in 1926 and concluded that: “We will...in a time of national peril, look back regretfully at the wanton waste of oil in these days of plenty...and will squander vast sums of money in bootless efforts to secure satisfactory substitutes for material which we have wasted.”<sup>12</sup>

Production quota policies would not be established until the early 1930s, when a glut of oil from new East Texas fields pushed sale prices so far below production costs that several pipelines were dynamited in order to staunch the flood of “hot oil” and red ink.<sup>13</sup> However, a new policy misstep also emerged from this era. In order to support independent domestic oil companies, a tariff was placed on imported fuel oil and gasoline. Following World War II, government leaders came to understand the “conservation theory”: the idea that domestic petroleum reserves were dwindling, and that using imported oil to meet current demand could conserve oil deposits under American soil for use in the

<sup>10</sup> Daniel Yergin. *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power*. New York: Free Press, 1992. 221.

<sup>11</sup> Pratt, 18.

<sup>12</sup> Pratt, 28.

<sup>13</sup> Yergin., 250.

event of a crisis.<sup>14</sup> However, the interest of national security continually took a backseat to the interests of independent domestic oil companies. In the mid-1960s, Sen. Russell Long of Louisiana explained to international oil executives that “Congressmen from the oil states ‘are especially interested in the domestic phases of the industry, because that is the part that gives employment to our people and means revenue to the state governments.’”<sup>15</sup> Pressure from the domestic oil lobby led to the continuation of mandatory restrictions on oil imports, and stifled President Eisenhower’s effort to establish a strategic petroleum reserve in the late 1950s.<sup>16</sup>

Less than a decade after Senator Long’s address, however, imported oil would become the lifeblood of the American economy. Those who had once pushed to limit imports in favor of drawing down American reserves would only watch helplessly as domestic wells finally ran dry. Oil production from the continental U.S. peaked in April 1970, as soaring demand led to skyrocketing prices amid crippling shortages.<sup>17</sup> President Nixon’s first response was to double down on the misguided measures that had become characteristic of the American government’s approach to energy. Price controls were established, which spurred wasteful demand by keeping the price of oil artificially low. Additionally, all restrictions on imported oil were dropped.<sup>18</sup> As the market share of imported oil climbed, the American economy continued to suffer from oil shortages and inflation.

However, by the early 1980s, increased production and lower prices transformed the oil marketplace. Oil imports shrunk by half from 1977 to 1982, and the economy began to recover.<sup>19</sup> Yet, energy policy played a relatively scant role. Much of the improvement can be attributed to the discovery of new “elephant” fields in Alaska, the North Sea, and the Gulf of Mexico; the process of

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 395.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 540.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 537.

<sup>17</sup> Jay Hakes. *A Declaration of Energy Independence, How Freedom from Foreign Oil Can Improve National Security, Our Economy, and the Environment*. Hoboken: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 2008. 17.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 21.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 68.



developing these fields began long before the Carter and Reagan energy initiatives took effect.<sup>20</sup> Some federal initiatives, such as reducing the use of oil for comfort heating and subsidizing insulation installation, were effective at reducing demand for foreign oil.<sup>21</sup> However, in the decades to come, low oil prices and the SUV boom (aiding by policy flaws that exempted light trucks from fuel efficiency regulations) would accelerate America toward increased dependence on foreign oil.

As the twenty-first century dawns, instability in the Middle East, a growing awareness of global climate change, and rising global demand for oil make it clear that the U.S. must break its addiction to petroleum and other fossil fuels. However, the misguided policy of the twentieth century has left us with limited sources of alternative sources of energy to turn to. A perfect case study is the story of solar energy: an energy source with a bright future hampered by decidedly-less-bright policies. As early as the 1940s, solar water heaters were competitive with those fueled by oil, coal, or gas when lifetime energy costs were taken into account.<sup>22</sup> However, in the face of market incentives during the mass-produced housing boom of the 1950s, these sustainable products fell from favor. During this era, utilities, appliance manufacturers, and homebuilders colluded to push inefficient appliances that were cheap to buy and install, but left customers stuck with a hefty hidden cost from high electricity use.<sup>23</sup> Not until after the 1979 energy crisis would regulators finally “decouple” utility profits from the raw amount of electricity sold.<sup>24</sup>

While demand-side energy policies were misguided enough, solar policy at the supply-side level wasn't much of an improvement. The 1970s energy crises seemed to provide a boost for solar energy; in 1974, the federal government established the Solar Energy Research Institute, and President Carter

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 69.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 69.

<sup>22</sup> Alexis Madrigal. *Powering the Dream, The History and Promise of Green Technology*. New York: Da Capo Press, 2011. 87.

<sup>23</sup> Madrigal, 89.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 102.

added a solar heating system to the White house in a show of support for the burgeoning technology. However, once President Reagan took office, solar energy researchers saw their budgets slashed by sixty percent and their research efforts suppressed.<sup>25</sup> The private solar industry fared little better. In the late 1980s, solar thermal pioneer Luz forecast, that, by 1994, it could construct a solar plant competitive with a natural gas-fired plant of equivalent capacity.<sup>26</sup> However, the large area of land required for its solar installation meant that Luz's venture would be charged four times the property tax of a comparable gas plant. Luz had expected to receive a tax break to bring its costs in line with its competitors, but this tax incentive was rejected by one California governor and delayed by a second, pushing Luz into bankruptcy.<sup>27</sup> The plants that Luz completed before its bankruptcy operate profitably, provide training for many solar thermal engineers, and have provided reliable electricity to Californians for over twenty-five years.<sup>28</sup> Yet, shortsighted policy prevented this success from being replicated on a larger scale.

When President Carter mounted solar panels on the White House in 1979, he proclaimed, "A generation from now, this solar heater can either be a curiosity, a museum piece, an example of the road not taken, or it can be just a small part of one of the greatest and most exciting adventures ever undertaken by the American people: harnessing the power of the Sun to enrich our lives as we move away from crippling dependence on foreign oil."<sup>29</sup> The panels were removed by President Reagan in 1986, and now languish in storage rooms and museums. In 2010, one panel was put on display in the Solar Science and Technology Museum – in Dezhou, China. This is a fitting end; while modern solar water heaters were developed in the U.S., China manufactures eighty percent of solar water heaters used in the world today.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 114.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 131.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 135.

<sup>28</sup> Madrigal., 135.

<sup>29</sup> Yergin, 61.

<sup>30</sup> David Biello. "Where Did the Carter White House's Solar Panels Go?" *Scientific American*. 6 Aug. 2010. Web.

For decades, the United States has failed to develop and implement a coherent energy policy. For generations, proactive planning for long-term security and sustainability took a backseat to reactive responses and short-term profit motives. In order to move toward a sustainable future, policymakers must stop “stumbling in the dark” and create an energy policy for the twenty-first century that is more enlightened than that of the twentieth.

### Henry IV: Faith's Power in Politics

Until the Protestant Reformation, the Catholic faith of the kings and queens of Europe was an assumption, not a debate. As the fragment grenade of the reformation exploded across Europe, however, what was once assumed was now questioned. Many lesser nobles across Europe found the Reformed religions appealing and converted to Lutheranism and Calvinism, thereby destabilized the political order of Europe and often causing both political and social turmoil. These issues came to a point only in the French Wars of Religion, however, when a Calvinist prince became heir apparent to the throne of France.

Henry of Navarre, to become Henry IV of France, undertook his final conversion to Catholicism in 1593 for largely political reasons, relinquishing the Calvinist faith to which he remained committed throughout his life and in which he always believed. Heavily influenced in his religious belief by his Calvinist mother Jeanne d'Albret, Henry IV's personal experiences led him to take a practical approach to religion. Henry IV's rule of France subsequent to his conversion was certainly influenced by his personal theology; the Calvinist King's rule was one of relative tolerance and compromise, as evidenced by the Edict of Nantes, issued in 1598, which demonstrates not only the king's own personal sense of obligation to the Calvinists with whom he still associated, but his pragmatically motivated desire for peace in France.

#### Raised Reformed: Henry IV's Upbringing and Continued Calvinism

Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre and Henry of Navarre's mother, converted to Calvinism in 1559<sup>1</sup> and subsequently became one of its staunchest supporters. Antoine de Bourbon, Henry IV's absentee father, in contrast, remained Catholic despite dabbling in

<sup>1</sup> Ronald S. Love *Blood and Religion: the Conscience of Henri IV, 1553-1593*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001): 18.

Calvinism. De Bourbon's absence meant that he had little influence on the future king of France,<sup>2</sup> however d'Albret's staunch belief in her commitments to "the religion, the service of the King, His Lord, and the duty of the blood"<sup>3</sup> made her a significant influence on Henry of Navarre's religious belief. D'Albret "imbued him with her own evangelical faith by careful instruction in his youth..."<sup>4</sup>, furthering this influence through the hiring of vehement Calvinist intellectuals including Francois La Gaucherie, Pontus de la Caze, and Pierre Victor Palma Cayet<sup>5</sup> as Navarre's tutors. These men "slowly transformed Henri's hitherto ingenuous adherence to the Reformed Religion into a strong personal conviction and firm belief in Calvinist religious tenets that reached beyond a faith inspired by filial devotion to Jeanne d'Albret."<sup>6</sup> The combination of his mother's belief and his Calvinist-tinged instruction created a lasting foundation in the Reformed religion which would follow Henry through his life.

The influence of d'Albret cannot be overstated. In her memoirs, the Queen of Navarre demonstrates clearly her strong personal connection with her son, saying that she would help him follow the same "straight path" which she had followed and emphasizing her perception of the purity of her son's religion.<sup>7</sup> D'Albret had little reason to fear; Henry of Navarre's adolescent actions demonstrated clearly his commitment not only to his mother but to the Calvinism. During his captivity at court following the St. Bartholomew's day massacre<sup>8</sup>, Henry IV wrote a letter to

<sup>2</sup> When Antoine de Bourbon died in 1562, he his wavering religious stance meant that he was "branded an atheist by Protestant and Catholics alike. Antoine's behavior was to become an abject lesson on the perils of confessional change for Henri...": Michael Wolfe *The Conversion of Henry IV: Politics, Power, and Religious Belief in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993): 23.

<sup>3</sup> Jeanne d'Albret *Mémoires et poésies* (Paris : E. Paul, Huart et Guillemin, 1893) : 2 : "...mon intention est de desclarer plus particulièrement les dictes occasions...qui sont la Religion, le service du Roy, Monseigneur, et le devoir du sang."

<sup>4</sup> *Love Blood and Religion*: 19.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>7</sup> D'Albret *Mémoires et poésies*: 4 : "J'ay tousjours, par la grace de Dieu, suivi le droict chemin. Je conjoindray que, par ceste mesme faveur...mon fils a este preserve parmi tant d'assaults en la purete de sa Religion."

<sup>8</sup> Vincent J. Pitts *Henri IV of France: his reign and age* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009): 69-72.

d'Albret saying that while those in court thought "to separate me from the [Reformed] religion and from you;... I assure you...they will not succeed, for there was never a more obedient son to his mother than I am to you."<sup>9</sup> D'Albret worked hard to instill her personal religious values in her son, and Henry IV quickly learned to associate his loyalty to his mother with their mutual religion.

In the aftermath of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, both Navarre and his cousin, the Prince of Conde, were imprisoned at court by Charles IX who "offered them their lives, conditional upon an immediate renunciation of heresy"<sup>10</sup> in exchange for protection from the violence spreading across France. Under extreme pressure, Henry IV did convert, but by this point his "faith had become his conviction...tempered now by his vivid experiences with the horrors of religious fanaticism."<sup>11</sup> His first abjuration was taken for wholly practical reasons and the circumstances surrounding it would influence Navarre's perception of religious conversion in his later life. Henry IV's reaction during his captivity and statements thereafter demonstrate the false nature of this first conversion. Yet even in their statement of abjuration, the young princes refused to cede their faith entirely to their captors. Instead, they "added a grim reminder of 'the fear...they...would have of the Holy Father's righteous wrath'"<sup>12</sup> had they not converted, a subtle stab at Henry III's power and threat of punishment. Such language emphasizes not only the duress under which their conversion took place, but also the bitterness the young men felt at being forced to abandon their religion.

<sup>9</sup> Henri de Navarre's letter to Jeanne d'Albret, 1 March 1572, quoted in *Love Blood and Religion*: 49-50.

<sup>10</sup> Pitt *Henri IV of France*: 63.

<sup>11</sup> *Love Blood and Religion*: 75.

<sup>12</sup> This was in reference to their praise of the King and Pope for supposedly enlightening them, thus suggesting that their fear was of the physical repercussion Henry III might have inflicted more than the wrath of God in light of their religious beliefs. Wolfe *The Conversion of Henry IV*: 27.

Despite Henry III's best efforts to convert Henry of Navarre in more than name, Navarre remained committed to the Calvinist cause. Once he escaped from court in February 1576, nearly four years after his forced abjuration,<sup>13</sup> Navarre renounced the conversion, stating that the violence in Paris "had 'forced me to take... a religion for which I had wished neither by desire nor in my heart.'"<sup>14</sup> While this demonstrated a clear commitment to his own Calvinist beliefs, Henry of Navarre's continued association with the Catholic nobility, many of whom would eventually "agree to commit themselves"<sup>15</sup> to his cause, led to a strong distrust of Navarre by Huguenots. Once the heir apparent to the throne, the Duke of Alençon, died, Henry III plead Navarre to convert to Catholicism, but his supplications fell on deaf ears. The situation was such in France that both Henry III and Navarre stood to gain from Navarre's conversion; Henry III was threatened by the ultra-Catholic Guise faction, who opposed Navarre's position as heir, and Navarre stood to gain "Henri III's favour and readiness to join forces with Navarre"<sup>16</sup> against the very group who so tormented his Huguenot fellows. Should Navarre convert, as Henry III asked, the King would secure a Catholic heir and Navarre would secure the protection of the crown for his people. Despite the advantages such an alliance might offer, Navarre responded to Henry III's envoys sent to encourage Navarre's conversion that "'it was unreasonable that [Navarre], who is a prince with a high opinion of himself and who believes that he has great resources both within and without the realm, should give up his religion on simple command of whoever it may be'"<sup>17</sup>, leading many contemporaries "to conclude that...the Calvinist monarch '[was] more Huguenot than ever.'"<sup>18</sup> Yet Henry could still "not afford to offend irreparably the Valois

<sup>13</sup> Pitt *Henri IV of France*: 75.

<sup>14</sup> Henry IV's letter to the vicomte de Gourdon, 2 May 1576, quoted in *Love Blood and Religion*: 66.

<sup>15</sup> *Love Blood and Religion*: 161.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 121.

<sup>17</sup> Henry IV's "Déclaration du Roy de Navarre contre les calomnies publiées contre lui" quoted in *Love Blood and Religion*: 121.

<sup>18</sup> *Love Blood and Religion*: 121.

king...or the queen mother”<sup>19</sup>, so he refused radicalism and instead “solemnly reaffirmed his loyalty to the French Crown and offered his royal Catholic cousin aid”<sup>20</sup> in order to secure his position among both factions. Henry III’s best efforts to separate the Calvinist prince from his mothers’ religion, then, were futile: Navarre remained steadfast in the Reformed religion.

Upon the death of Henry III in 1589, who even on his deathbed “counseled [Henry of Navarre] to convert for the sake of his kingdom”<sup>21</sup>, and in the subsequent battle for the kingship of France, Henry IV refused a variety of invitations for abjuration. These continued refusals, even in the face of advantageous situations, can only represent Henry IV’s continued commitment to his religion. With the support of a not insignificant portion of the Catholic nobility of France, Henry IV managed to take the throne with only the promise of conversion, playing on “Catholic hopes that he might soon change confessions”<sup>22</sup> and placating Loyalist fear through the twin Declarations of St. Cloud issued in August 1589, which swore to maintain Catholicism in France and confirmed the newly-crowned King’s “desire to seek religious instruction from a national church council,”<sup>23</sup> luring in Catholic loyalty with an abstract promise to receive the catechism.

Throughout the subsequent battle between Henry IV’s Loyalists and the Catholic League across France, the King’s theology is evident. Refusing to abjure by force, Henry IV instead “stressed blood over religion to preserve the integrity both of his royal authority and his private conscience...”<sup>24</sup> His persistent unwillingness to find time to receive the Catholic catechism, however, displeased the Loyalist faction who pressured him to convert. Despite the political

<sup>19</sup> Love *Blood and Religion* 83.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 121.

<sup>21</sup> Pitt *Henri IV of France*: 142.

<sup>22</sup> Wolfe *The Conversion of Henri IV*: 56.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

<sup>24</sup> Love *Blood and Religion*: 271.



advantages it offered, the King's Calvinist faith remained too strong and he could not yet justify relinquishing the religion in which he truly believed. Henry IV's continued excuses can be seen to demonstrate the depth of his religious persuasion as instilled in him by d'Albret. Immediately after the Battle of Ivry in 1590<sup>25</sup>, for example, Henry IV could easily have abjured without risking his reputation; indeed, "a conversion made from a position of great strength doubtless would have been interpreted as a gift to the nation rather than an act performed under duress."<sup>26</sup> It would appear, however, that Henry IV was not yet ready to abandon the Reformed faith, standing firmly by his faith until the final possible moment. In fact, Henry IV would continue to receive Calvinist ministry until July 1593, "two months after declaring his intention to convert."<sup>27</sup>

When Henry IV did decide to convert in 1593, the very language of his abjuration demonstrated his political motivations rather than any deep-seated change in faith. The official abjuration stated that the King "desired in all conscience to be able to content his people,"<sup>28</sup> thus demonstrating his political aims. The abjuration further stated that through discussion with prominent Catholics he "had learned that [the differences between Calvinism and Catholicism] were rather matters of usage and practice than of doctrine."<sup>29</sup> Even in his abjuration, Henry IV refused to fully deny the religion on which he was raised, emphasizing instead Calvinism's similarities with Catholicism and his political aims over his personal faith, perhaps to placate his own doubt as much as to promote peace between the groups.

<sup>25</sup> Pitt *Henri IV of France*: 154.

<sup>26</sup> Love *Blood and Religion*: 185.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*,: 273.

<sup>28</sup> Henry IV, "The King's Abjuration, 23 July 1593" in *The French Wars of Religion: selected Documents*, ed. David Potter, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997): 231.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*,: 231.

Yet the King's eventual decision to convert, however late it might have been, proves the primacy of Henry IV's moderate ideology and political goals over his deeply held theological beliefs. Henry IV cannot be convincingly shown to be anything other than strictly Calvinist, yet his decisions in regards to his rule were clearly motivated not only by his ability to moderate his own faith, but also on his understanding of the political situation in France.

#### After Ascendency: Henry IV's Balance of Politics and Theology

Even before 1589, when Henry IV became the heir apparent to the French throne, the nature of Henry IV's religious convictions and his moderate tendencies strongly affected how he ruled as King of Navarre and Bearn and how he managed his relations with Huguenot leaders. Having seen both in his personal life and in the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre the dangers of fanaticism, Henry IV "consciously held himself aloof from the intense...religious extremism that characterized his ultra-Catholic enemy and zealous Calvinist"<sup>30</sup> brethren. In fact, before Henry III's death, Henry IV published a declaration to the people of Paris, including a portion to the clergy in which he stated: "We believe in one God, we acknowledge one Jesus Christ, and we draw upon the same Gospel. If in the interpretation of the same passages we have differed, I believe I...might bring us to agreement."<sup>31</sup> The moderate nature of Henry IV's religious convictions, while not diluting the potency of his personal theology, certainly afforded him the luxury of political negotiation.

Henry IV was a shrewd politician and keenly understood how his actions would be seen by his own Huguenot and by both Loyalist and League-member Catholics. In 1589, Henry III encouraged Navarre to convert, supported by the Loyalist Catholic Sieur de Roquelaure who "urged Henri to go through with a public conversion to satisfy the Catholics, even if his

<sup>30</sup> Love *Blood and Religion*: 99.

<sup>31</sup> Love *Blood and Religion*: 140.

conscience bade him otherwise.”<sup>32</sup> Yet Henry IV would not do so, partially attributable to his continued hesitation to abandon his faith, but perhaps more importantly due to his understanding of the futility of an apparently empty conversion given the political atmosphere of France.<sup>33</sup> In his eventual declaration of intent of religion, Henry IV said that “...even had I become a Catholic at my accession to this crown, my people would not for that have had peace.”<sup>34</sup> Understanding the futility of such an act, Henry IV pursued a non-sectarian image for the subsequent fight against the League and insisted that his opposition submit before he abjure.

Henry IV’s moderate theological views and his political commitment to peace and tolerance strongly affected the laws and regulations he would make for, first, his personal territories and later for France. After his liberation from court, Navarre “deliberately enforced a policy of religious toleration throughout his gouvernement of Guyenne and his patrimonial domains of Bearn...[and] thereby guaranteed all of his subjects equal justice before the law and full freedom of conscience without distinction” making him the among the only religious or political leaders in France to truly advocate and act on their desires for tolerance.<sup>35</sup> Henry IV would continue this moderate leadership as he ascended the throne in 1589 through to his final conversion to Catholicism in 1593, maintaining his own religious convictions separate from his political aspirations. Due in large part to the King’s religious convictions and his political pragmatism, Henry IV’s reign in France would mark a time of unprecedented tolerance, characterized by his leniency towards both the militant Catholics and Huguenots.

<sup>32</sup> Wolfe *The Conversion of Henri IV*: 47.

<sup>33</sup> As addressed previously, the experience of Henry IV’s father can be seen to have influenced this recalcitrance. Afraid of being branded an atheist or losing the respect of his people, Henry IV was hesitant to publically abandon his faith at the drop of a hat. Henry IV wanted, instead, to establish his authority before making the decision to convert, as he understood that the conversion would be an unfortunate necessity at some point and was simply seeking the opportune time to relinquish the faith he still professed.

<sup>34</sup> Henry IV “Henry IV’s declaration of intent on religion, April 1593” in *The French Wars of Religion: selected Documents*, ed. David Potter. (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1997).

<sup>35</sup> Love *Blood and Religion*: 102.

## Theological Tolerance: The Edict of Nantes

Arguably the most significant act of his reign, Henry IV's Edict of Nantes, published in 1598, was a sincere attempt to establish peace in France and to broach a compromise between Catholics and Huguenots. In the document, one can see the influence of the King's true religious convictions. In fact, even many contemporaries were suspicious of Henry IV's motivation in regards to the Edict; the Cardinal de Medici wrote that Henry IV "spoke to me about an edict that is supposed to be published in favor of the heretics, excusing himself because he could not act otherwise."<sup>36</sup> The perception of Henry IV as having converted falsely cast doubt upon his motivation in creating the tenets of the Edict, perhaps rightly so. Yet having a crypto-Calvinist king would in fact lead France to peace.

Analyzing the Edict itself, one certainly finds evidence of Henry IV's leniency towards the Huguenots. After re-emphasizing the essential Catholicity of France, the Edict states that "we have permitted and do permit those of the so-called Reformed religion to live and dwell in all cities and places of this our kingdom and the lands of our obedience, without being...constrained to do anything with regard to religion contrary to their conscience..."<sup>37</sup> It further permits "all ... persons...the right of high justice within our kingdom", and gives Calvinists permission to exercise their religion in all Reformed cities and even to practice publically in non-Reformed cities at times.<sup>38</sup> Obligating Calvinists to respect Catholic feasts and certain social laws, limiting the Calvinists' ability to proselytize, and requiring them to pay tithes to the Catholic churches, Calvinists were otherwise granted freedom of conscience and, in many areas, freedom of public

<sup>36</sup> Cardinal de Medici letter to Pope Clement VIII, September 14, 1598, quoted in Pitt *Henri IV of France*: 204.

<sup>37</sup> "The Edict of Nantes With Its Secret Articles and Brevets" trans. Jotham Parsons in *The Edict of Nantes: five essays and a new translation*, ed. Richard L. Goodbar (Bloomington: The National Huguenot Society, 1998):43.

<sup>38</sup> "The Edict of Nantes With Its Secret Articles and Brevets" trans. Parsons in *The Edict of Nantes...* ed. Goodbar: 44.

worship.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, as part of the so-called “Secret Articles” to the Edict, Henry IV allowed “for those of the said religion living in the country to attend its exercise in the...other places where it shall be publicly established.”<sup>40</sup> Not only were Huguenots granted many French territories, they were permitted to practice privately in all of France—a significant right for the time.

While certainly not punishing the Catholics, who were awarded control of a significant amount of French territory and maintained superiority in many political affairs, the Edict was more lenient towards Huguenots than many Catholics desired. Henry IV’s true faith in the Reformed religion, despite his conversion, lurks behind the tenets of the Edict of Nantes. The purported goal of the document was peace, given that by 1598 Henry IV had reason to believe that foreign powers might encourage “...his Protestant subjects [to] sustain a renewed civil war.”<sup>41</sup> Thus, Henry IV might have given such leniency to Huguenots to prevent further conflict, framing these concessions in terms of a general pacification in order to do so. Indeed, the tenets publically outlined in the Edict are demonstrative of Henry IV’s tradition of tolerance and moderation in political affairs. Having enforced freedom of conscience in his personal territories before 1589, Henry IV understood the value of such concessions for the continuation of peace. Yet the extent to which tolerance had to be granted in order to establish peace was certainly contested by his contemporaries who suspected that the king’s conversion was only skin-deep and thus believed these concessions to be motivated by his private faith.

The extent of the concessions given to Huguenots point to the idea that Henry IV’s lasting Calvinism pushed him to show more generosity towards the Reformed religionists than a

<sup>39</sup> The Edict of Nantes With Its Secret Articles and Brevets” trans. Parsons in *The Edict of Nantes...* ed. Goodbar: 45-48.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>41</sup> Pitt *Henri IV of France*: 210.

King with a purely Catholic history might have done. Nowhere is this more evident than in Henry IV's "Brevet", the final addition to the Edict of Nantes. In it, Henry IV promised to the Huguenots "to aid them in meeting some great expense which they have to support" by giving to these leaders 45,000 ecus for "certain secret affairs which concern them which His Majesty does not wish to be specified or declared."<sup>42</sup> Henry IV's willingness to provide such resources to those who were no longer his co-religionists and his unwillingness to reveal the reason for it, demonstrates more than political pragmatism, as the rest of the Edict had done. Where tolerance had proven practical and Henry IV could be seen to implement this in his kingdom in the primary portion of the document, this final addition is convincing evidence of Henry IV's continued preference for the Huguenots. Indeed, "this last concession... exposed Henri to the charge of endorsing a Huguenot 'state within a state'."<sup>43</sup> In effect, Henry IV's sense of pragmatism was a strong influence in his creation of an edict for the general pacification of France, but his faith influenced him in his provision to the Calvinists many more concessions than might have been necessary. The King's theology was more than just a source of conflict, it became a basis for policy in his reign.

### Conclusion

Henry IV never vacillated in his Calvinist faith, despite multiple abjurations. Having been raised in a devout Calvinist household, Henry IV demonstrated throughout his young-adulthood a continued commitment to his religion, moving beyond filial dependence to a clearly deep-rooted personal ideology. This commitment influenced Henry IV's policies as King of France after 1593 even after his largely political conversion to Catholicism, as evidenced by the Edict of

<sup>42</sup> "The Edict of Nantes With Its Secret Articles and Brevets" trans. Parsons in *The Edict of Nantes...* ed. Goodbar: 65.

<sup>43</sup> Pitt *Henri IV of France*: 211.

Nantes of 1598. The deep Calvinist faith Henry IV demonstrated until 1593 lends credence to the belief that such a faith would not be lost regardless of any official proclamation of religious intent. Instead, it is likely that Henry IV remained, in his heart, a Calvinist and ruled as such until his death in 1610.<sup>44</sup>

This understanding must inform any analysis of the Edict of Nantes. Having a king who was, despite being nominally a Catholic, sympathetic to Calvinist ideology afforded the Huguenots significant benefits and while tolerance, certainly might have been the goal of any ruler, Henry IV's motivations can be seen to be at least partially religious. Indeed, the Brevet to the Edict of Nantes—which afforded potentially rebellious Huguenots with financial benefits rather than with punishment—demonstrates not only Henry IV's continued sympathy towards the so-called Reformed religion, but also the effects of having a crypto-Calvinist on the throne of France.

Due in part to Henry IV's pragmatism and in part to his personal faith, Henry IV's reign saw a temporary respite in religious conflict through the extension of religious tolerance to Huguenots. Significantly, the faith of the French King gave the Huguenots a political and religious advantage they would not have enjoyed otherwise. The case of Henry IV in the French Wars of Religion demonstrates clearly the influence a ruler's religion and personal ideology had on the affairs of their territory, dictating the ways in which the ruler would respond to his people and their demands.

<sup>44</sup> Pitt *Henri IV of France*: 318.

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Franklin Otis

November 17, 2014

HIST 3883

### Sino-Korean Relations and the Ming-Qing Transition

China and Korea have long had a close relationship. However, during the early Qing dynasty, the relations between China and Korea were not as warm as usual. Following the Chinese Ming dynasty, one of the more intimate periods in Sino-Korean relations, influences of the hostile history with the Manchu reasserted themselves in Korea.

During the Joseon dynasty, Korea was profoundly influenced by China. One of the most influential imports from China, Confucianism, had spread throughout Korea during the preceding centuries. This philosophy had a profound impact on Korea, especially during the Joseon dynasty; this period is sometimes referred to as the Neo-Confucian Revolution because of the extent of the Confucian influence.<sup>1</sup> The Joseon experienced a cultural transition toward a Sino-centric, Neo-Confucian society. In the early Joseon period, Korean culture began moving towards the Chinese Neo-Confucian model of proper social and familial relationships within the Confucian hierarchy. The founder of the Joseon dynasty, Taejo, who revolted against the previous Koryo dynasty to side with the Ming, cited the great Confucian Mencius, asserting that “the way to protect the country is for the smaller to serve the larger.”<sup>2</sup> Confucian-style ancestor worship, subservience of women, a high priority of intellectual pursuits all were introduced with Confucian influence. In addition to the deep impact of Confucianism, Chinese painting and

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<sup>1</sup> Michael J. Seth, *A History of Korea: From Antiquity to the Present* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), 131.

<sup>2</sup> Philip de Heer, “Three Embassies to Seoul: Sino-Korean Relations in the 15<sup>th</sup> Century,” in *Conflict & Accommodation in Early Modern East Asia*, eds. Leonard Blussé, Harriet T. Zurndorfer, and E. Zürcher (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Academic Publishers, 1997), 242.

architectural styles were admired and emulated by the elite of Joseon.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, Joseon Korea modeled its institutions after China; it, like China, established six ministries, a censorate, and a bureaucratic examination system based upon the Confucian classics. The early Ming legal code was used as the basis of that of the Joseon dynasty.<sup>4</sup> Of course, Korea retained unique aspects amidst this sinicization: uniquely Korean animistic shamanism, hereditary class divisions, slavery and a non-Chinese poetic tradition.<sup>5</sup>

In addition to the cultural similarities, Korea and China shared a common enemy throughout the Ming period. For China, Korea was a useful defense, a buffer between China and the northern tribes, the Jurchen. There were numerous joint Ming-Joseon military ventures against the Jurchen. Jurchen raids on China and Korea continued sporadically throughout the Ming dynasty despite the efforts Chinese and Korean forces. Mutual cooperation against the Jurchen helped strengthen the bond between the Ming and Joseon dynasties.<sup>6</sup>

During the Joseon dynasty Korea established consistent tributary and cultural relationship with Ming China.<sup>7</sup> In the Confucian worldview, through this tributary agreement the loyal vassal state Korea demonstrated its support of its patron, the Chinese state. For Korea, this tributary relationship ensured that it could rely upon its more powerful neighbor for military support as well as a legitimating factor for domestic rule. By paying tribute, Korean kings ensured investiture by the Chinese Emperor, providing a basis for royal authority within Korea.

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<sup>3</sup> Seth, *A History of Korea*, 180–182.

<sup>4</sup> Clark, “Sino-Korean Tributary Relations under the Ming,” in *The Cambridge History of China: Volume 8 - The Ming Dynasty: Part Two*, eds. Denis Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 278.

<sup>5</sup> Seth, *A History of Korea*, 135–137, 172

<sup>6</sup> Clark, “Sino-Korean Tributary Relations,” 286–289.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 273.

As for the details of the tributary relationship during the Ming, the Koreans regularly sent three “congratulatory embassies” each year, sending more depending upon special circumstances such as official state funerals or requests for horses. The items sent as tribute were most often luxury items: gold, silver, animal skins, paper, and ginseng are items that typified Korean tribute.<sup>8</sup> For Korean emissaries, these tribute missions were a discreet mercantile endeavor; excess tribute was sold to Chinese merchants. In exchange, Korea received Chinese cultural products: ceremonial accoutrement, musical instruments, and Chinese books. The tributary missions were a valuable medium for disseminating Chinese culture to Korea during the Ming.

For China, the relationship achieved more than a simple extraction of tribute from a subordinate state. Strategically, Korea supplied a friendly military force near China’s northern border. Notably, a 1466-67 military campaign composed of “50,000 Ming troops and 10,000 Korean” delivered a temporarily effective blow against the growing power of the Jurchen tribes.<sup>9</sup> This campaign came after rumors of an invasion of Korea by Chien-chou tribe. Not only did China benefit from an ally, it prevented the creation of an enemy. A potential alliance between Jurchens and Korea would have been a difficult problem to solve. This fear was not unfounded; in the 1390s Jurchen leaders were sending tribute to the Korean court and a Jurchen leader was given titles by the Koreans.<sup>10</sup> Eventually China outbid Korea in terms of gifts to Jurchen leaders, prompting them to enter into tributary relationship with the Ming rather than the Joseon.

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 280

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 289

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 284, 286

These tributary missions were another part of the Chinese concept of *tianxia*, “all under heaven,” by which China envisioned itself as the political and cultural center of the world. The parallelism in this concept plays out between the China’s rule under an Emperor with the Mandate of Heaven and the external “barbarians ... governed indirectly through a tributary relationship with China,” in the words of contemporary historian Kim Yongsop.<sup>11</sup> Originating in the Han period, this Sino-centric concept persisted through successive dynasties and informed how the Chinese state conducted foreign relations. Korea’s relationship with China during the Ming dynasty exemplified this type of relationship. Korea had entered into their “all under heaven” system, integrating itself into the larger Chinese cultural sphere. By not only sending tribute, but adopting Chinese culture, Korea helped validate for China its view of the Chinese culture as the preeminent in the world and of a Chinese Emperor as having domain of the world. Imperial enfeoffment of foreign kings, such as those of Korea, was an acknowledgment of China’s privileged position. Korea was just one of many groups that participated in this system of culture and ritual.<sup>12</sup>

For most of the Ming dynasty, Sino-Korean relations were stable and beneficial to both parties. The Ming dynasty experienced an era of trade growth, commercialization, and technological advancement along with a gradual decline in central governmental power.<sup>13</sup> Developments during the Ming allowed for an explosion in printing of both technical

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<sup>11</sup> Kim Yong-sop, *The Transformations of Korean Civilization in East Asian History*, trans. Northeast Asian History Foundation (Seoul: Northeast Asian History Foundation, 2010), 27.

<sup>12</sup> Zhang Feng, “Rethinking the ‘Tribute System’: Broadening the Conceptual Horizon of Historical East Asian Politics,” *Chinese Journal of International Politics* 2, no. 3 (2009), 550–551.

<sup>13</sup> Charles Holcombe, *A History of East Asia: From the Origins of Civilization to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 162.

documents and literature. Korea sent tribute, observed the rituals associated with a tributary relationship and therefore received gifts and commitment of protection

However, near the end of the Ming dynasty, the Japanese invasions of Korea by Toyotomi Hideyoshi strained this relationship. Hideyoshi, the de facto ruler of Japan, was planning an invasion of China through Korea. He asked Korea's complicity in this endeavor, "if Korea leaves us but a clear road to China we will ask nothing else. No troops need be given."<sup>14</sup> In response to this request, King Seonjo responded that such treachery would not be possible as, "China is our Mother Country and we cannot desert her."<sup>15</sup> He further elaborated Korea's relationship to China in a letter to Hideyoshi, stating that "When we have been fortunate China has rejoiced and when we have been unfortunate she has helped us. The relations which subsist between us are those of parent and child."<sup>16</sup> Uncertainty about the extent of Hideyoshi's ambition combined with a divided royal court meant that Korea was ill-prepared to defend against a large, organized invasion.<sup>17</sup>

The better-prepared and more musket-armed Japanese forces had marched through Korea and captured Seoul three weeks after the start of the invasion, the Korean royal court having fled north.<sup>18</sup> The situation was dire for Korea. However, Korea was able to leverage the military aspect of Korea's relationship with the Ming. As a father should defend his child, China came to Korea's aid. The situation was not that simple, though. The Ming only became serious about the defense of Korea when it became clear that the Japanese had become a serious

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<sup>14</sup> Homer B. Hulbert, *History of Korea*, (Richmond, United Kingdom: Curzon Press 1999), 1:348.

<sup>15</sup> Hulbert, *History of Korea* 1:348.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:349.

<sup>17</sup> Seth, *A History of Korea*, 294.

<sup>18</sup> Kenneth Swope, "Beyond Turtleboats: Siege Accounts from Hideyoshi's Second Invasion of Korea, 1597–1598," *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies* 6, no. 2 (2006): 178.

threat on China's border. Additionally, some Ming court officials, looking at the rapid progress of the Japanese army through Korea, suspected Korean complicity.<sup>19</sup> Eventually, the Sino-Korean force was able to partially beat back the Japanese force and a truce was declared between the two sides. Over the next few years, mutual misunderstandings about the nature of agreements between the Ming and the Japanese caused a breakdown in negotiations, resulting in a second invasion of Korea by Hideyoshi in 1597.<sup>20</sup> Far better prepared this time around, the Sino-Korean forces under Ming command were more successful in defending the peninsula, forcing a complete withdrawal of the Japanese by 1599.<sup>21</sup> The war was devastating for Korea, not only in terms of material destruction and loss of human life, but in bringing shame for the handy victories of the Japanese over the Korean forces. One gruesome example of this was the collection of severed noses taken as war trophies which were "pickled in brine and shipped back to Japan where they were inspected by Hideyoshi and later interred in a mound in Kyoto."<sup>22</sup> For the Chinese, the war was no small endeavor; the Ming government sent 200,000 troops and spent an estimated 10 million taels of silver during the first invasion, with similar numbers for the second.<sup>23</sup> Korea would have been conquered were it not for the tributary relationship the Joseon dynasty had with the Ming. This military aid from the Ming dynasty was crucial to the defense of the Korean peninsula, the continuation of the Joseon dynasty and its tributary relationship to the Ming. The Joseon dynasty had the Ming dynasty to thank for its continued existence.

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<sup>19</sup> Seth, *A History of Korea*, 295.

<sup>20</sup> Swope, "Beyond Turtleboats," 180.

<sup>21</sup> Seth, *A History of Korea*, 298.

<sup>22</sup> Swope, "Beyond Turtleboats," 180.

<sup>23</sup> Seth, *A History of Korea*, 298.

Gratitude for the help which the Ming rendered Korea during the Japanese invasions influenced Sino-Korean relations during the Manchu conquest. The chieftain Nurchaci had united the various northern tribes to form the Later Jin dynasty in Manchuria, creating a Manchu cultural identity. In the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Manchus gathered regional power while the Ming dynasty declined. The Chongzhen Emperor was so afraid of factionalism and plots against imperial power that he eventually “ordered the Minister of Punishments to speed up court trials because too many people were dying in prison” because of the glut of political prisoners.<sup>24</sup> This fear also handicapped the Ming military; during the six years of the Chongzhen Emperor’s reign, seven regional commanders, fourteen ministers of war, and dozens of field commanders were “executed, died in jail, or were forced to commit suicide.”<sup>25</sup> On top of this, the end of the Ming dynasty was riddled with rebellions, crippled by plagues and devastated by natural disasters. The Ming government was in no position to adequately defend its borders from a well-trained and organized fighting force, and it certainly could not lend any aid to another invasion of Korea while fending off Manchu forces. In their war with the Manchus, the Ming government requested military aid from Korea and “many Koreans ... felt they had a moral as well as strategic obligation to honor Ming requests” because the Ming had “saved Korea from destruction.”<sup>26</sup> However, explicitly siding with the Ming would attract Manchu reprisal, against which a still weak Korea would have difficulty defending itself. King Gwanghaegun of Korea attempted to avoid risk by not choosing between the Ming and the ascendant Manchu. Pro-Ming forces in the Korean court overthrew King Gwanghaegun and

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<sup>24</sup> Frederic Wakeman Jr., . *The Great Enterprise: The Manchu Reconstruction of Imperial Order in Seventeenth-Century China* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1985), 89.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>26</sup> James B. Palais, *Confucian and Korean Institutions: Yu Hyŏngwŏn and the Late Chosŏn Dynasty*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996), 93.

placed a more anti-Manchu, pro-Ming king on the throne, King Injo. Gwanghaegun was denounced by Dowager Queen Inmok, stating that Korea had “submitted to the Heavenly Court (Ming China) for close to 200 years; this relationship is that of ruler and vassal in terms of loyalty, and a father and son in terms of grace.”<sup>27</sup> The Ming dynasty’s defense of Korea during the Japanese invasion helped foster good sentiment toward the Ming, a feeling strong enough to warrant overthrowing a king.

This new king was aggressive in his denunciation of the Manchu in favor the Ming, bringing about the first Manchu invasion of Korea in 1627. The Koreans quickly surrendered, agreeing to a send tribute to the Manchus and acknowledging them as “elder brothers”.<sup>28</sup> During this time, the Manchus were gaining ground against the ailing Ming. In 1636, Hong Taiji, the son of Nurhaci, declared his dynasty the Qing and claimed its own Mandate of Heaven.<sup>29</sup> Amidst a bankrupt and disintegrating Ming, it became clear that the power now lay with the Qing dynasty. Despite this, the Pro-Ming faction still held power in Korea and continued to antagonize the Qing, prompting another invasion in 1637. This second Manchu invasion ended with another acknowledgment of Korea’s vassalage to the Qing and an agreement to send annual tribute.<sup>30</sup> However, not long after this, the Joseon dynasty still supported the remnants of the Ming dynasty by delaying tribute and military assistance to the Qing, and passing along intelligence to the Ming.<sup>31</sup> Joseon Korea remained loyal to the Ming in spite of two Manchu invasions.

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<sup>27</sup> Kang, *Land of Scholars*, 319.

<sup>28</sup> Seth, *A History of Korea*, 149.

<sup>29</sup> Wakeman, *The Great Enterprise*, 208.

<sup>30</sup> Kang, *The Land of Scholars*, 328.

<sup>31</sup> Palais, *Confucian Statecraft*



The Joseon dynasty's relationship with the new Qing dynasty was not nearly as close as it was to the Ming. In private, Joseon court continued to use the Ming calendar, a secret affront to Qing authority.<sup>32</sup> Koreans in the Joseon dynasty continued to wear Ming-style clothing and hairstyles. Ming-influenced institutions continued to be influential.

An obvious reason for this anti-Qing sentiment was the disgrace of being forced into tributary relations by military invasion. The embarrassment of King Injo's bowing to the Manchu emperor is an event that is still remembered to this day in Korea, resonant in contemporary Korean popular culture.<sup>33</sup> The long history of border skirmishes and conflict with the Jurchen tribes did not endear the Koreans to the Manchu-ruled Qing dynasty. The shame of conquest was made all the harder to bear for having been at the hands of "barbarians."

Anti-Qing sentiment had a prominently ethnic aspect. Manchus were disliked because they were not like the Han Chinese; they were apart from the Chinese cultural heritage which Korea had adopted and developed. King Yeonjo, who ruled from 1724 to 1776, stated that "the Central Plains [China] exude the stench of barbarians and our Green Hills [Korea] are alone."<sup>34</sup> This led to the development of the concept that Korea was the "last proper bastion of Neo-Confucianism orthodoxy."<sup>35</sup> In the eyes of the staunchly Neo-Confucian elite of Korea, the distinctly non-Han Chinese Manchu had allowed the venerable Chinese culture to decay. It was up to the Joseon dynasty to maintain that Confucian legacy.

The cultural differences which the Koreans so distrusted about the Manchus were exactly what the Manchus wished to preserve about their culture. Looking at the earlier Jin and

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<sup>32</sup> Clark, "Sino-Korean Tributary Relations," 273.

<sup>33</sup> "[ENG] SNL Korea - Counter Strike 2: 2nd Manchu Invasion (카스2 병자호란)," YouTube video, 7:40, March 22, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0s0COMPC3jM>.

<sup>34</sup> Holcombe, *A History of East Asia*, 177.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

Yuan dynasty as precedent, the first Qing emperor Hong Taiji feared that sinification would transform his subjects into people who would “forget ... horseback riding and archery in order to copy Han customs,” people who would “hang around the marketplaces and simply amuse themselves.”<sup>36</sup> Sinification would lead to decay and decadence. Maintaining that vigorous and martial Manchu spirit which helped conquer China would be vital to maintaining control over that conquest. This distinctly antagonistic view of sinification certainly did not help relations with Korea, a highly sinified, Confucian culture. The Han culture of which the Manchus were so dismissive was what Korea had adopted and incorporated into their own.

Despite internal resentment, Korea performed the obligations of a tributary state. Tributary missions continued to serve as a means of trade and profit. The amount of tribute requested by China, initially punishing at the beginning of the Qing, was gradually lowered during the early period of the dynasty.<sup>37</sup> However, these tribute missions, once given a title which translated as “visiting the court of the Son of Heaven,” were given the far less grand title of “mission to Beijing” during the Qing dynasty.<sup>38</sup> Korea outwardly performed the duties expected of it as a tributary state, but subtly expressed disapproval of the Qing dynasty. Despite this disdain, Korea still benefitted from the trade, protection and intellectual interaction which the tributary relationship guaranteed.<sup>39</sup>

Unable to militarily resist, Korea accepted Qing suzerainty. The Qing accepted this relationship despite Korea’s disdain for the Qing. Much as during the Ming, Korea served as a buffer state for China. However, for the Qing, Korea was a buffer from seaward invasions, Japan

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<sup>36</sup> Wakeman, *The Great Enterprise*, 206.

<sup>37</sup> William Woodville Rockhill, *China’s Intercourse with Korea From the XVth Century to 1895* (London: Luzac & Co., 1905), 26.

<sup>38</sup> Seth, *A History of Korea*, 192.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

in particular. Tribute and trade from Korea continued to profit merchants and officials in both Korea and China. For the ruling Manchus, serving as the benevolent, Confucian paternal figure in the relationship with Korea helped strengthen the Manchu claim to the Mandate of Heaven.<sup>40</sup> Although Korea may have resented serving under the Manchus, the tributary relationship was still beneficial for China.

The pre-modern relationship between China and Korea offers a revealing look into the nature of the Chinese tribute system and regional conflict. The transition from the Ming to the Qing dynasties adversely affected Sino-Korean relations. The Manchus, a non-Chinese group which had a history of conflict with Korea, overthrew the Ming dynasty, a dynasty with which Korea had a very close relationship, causing a deterioration in Sino-Korean relations during the early Qing period.

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<sup>40</sup> Kirk W. Larsen, "Traditions, Treaties, and Trade: Qing Imperialism and Chosŏn Korea, 1850 – 1910," (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Asia Center, 2008), 39 – 40.

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Sephardi Identity in Greater Syria in the Late Ottoman Period

Shelby Ranger

February 25, 2015

Identity is fluid for any individual or group of people, and depends on changing cultural, political, social, and economic environments as well as histories.<sup>1</sup> Tensions between Sephardim and the Ottoman Empire, Ashkenazim, Arab world, and Europe shaped changes in an already multi-faceted Sephardi identity, as Sephardi communities in Palestine and Syria tried to find their place in the changing world of the dying Ottoman Empire and the onslaught of modernity. Amidst this turmoil, Jewish identity served as the constant background on which Sephardim shaped their shifting and conflicting identities throughout this period. Sephardim in the late Ottoman period tended to try on different identities depending on internal and external circumstances, so that there was no overarching trend toward Zionism, Ottomanism, or any other singular identity that a majority of Sephardim embraced, but rather tendencies for certain communities to lean further toward one or the other at different points in time depending on circumstances from within and from outside the community.

Modernity's introduction to the Ottoman Empire in the mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> century catalyzed change in Sephardi identity through a mixture of external and internal influences of change. Traditionally, Sephardim treated the present as a continuation of the past, but this period brought about sudden change and confusion in Sephardi communities of Palestine and Syria because new factors contributing to shaping the Sephardi identity suddenly appeared with the arrival of modernization.<sup>2</sup> Some of these were external, seeping into the Ottoman Empire as a means of westernization through groups like the Alliance, but there were also internal factors such as

<sup>1</sup> Abigail Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire: Jerusalem Between Ottoman and British Rule* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2011), 83.

<sup>2</sup> Esther Benbassa and Aron Rodrigue, *Sephardi Jewry: A History of the Judeo-Spanish Community, 14<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 66.

economics that created an environment for Sephardim that was receptive to the influx of western input.<sup>3</sup>

Although the Ottoman Empire passed laws in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century guaranteeing equality of citizens, a social custom of Jewish inferiority persisted, further isolating Jews from the rest of society.<sup>4</sup> The Ottoman Empire incorporated some western practices in order to strengthen its power through the Tanzimat reforms in 1839 which guaranteed life and property to all Ottoman subjects, no matter their religion.<sup>5</sup> The 1856 reform decree gave legal equality to Ottoman Jews along with other non-Muslims, and the 1869 citizenship law gave equal Ottoman citizenship to all subjects in the empire.<sup>6</sup> The Ottoman Empire used these legal reforms to give Jews (and other non-Muslims) in the empire an incentive to understand themselves as Ottoman citizens first, and individual religious groups and communities second. Ottoman reformation of the millet system in 1856 that officially recognized the Chief Rabbi as the legal leader of the Jewish community in political matters was another attempt by the Ottoman Empire to incorporate Sephardim under the umbrella of Ottomanism by incorporating Jewish religious structure into the Ottoman political hierarchy, but only reinforced separate Jewish identity for the Sephardim in the empire.<sup>7</sup> While the empire outlawed autonomy for non-Muslim groups, the millet system's survival reinforced non-Muslims groups' identities and obstructed the empire's goal of uniting Ottoman citizens under Ottoman identity.<sup>8</sup> Even as greater numbers of Muslims and other non-Jewish groups began to mix populations in Palestine, Jewish populations, still growing, expanded their Quarters or created new Jewish areas that kept Jewish populations separate from other ethno-religious

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>4</sup> Yaron Harel, *Zionism in Damascus* (Forthcoming, 2014), 4.

<sup>5</sup> Aron Rodrigue, "The Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire," in *Spain and the Jews: The Sephardi Experience 1492 and After*, ed. Elie Kedourie (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd, 1992), 180.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 180-181.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 181.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*



groups in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>9</sup> The shadow of hundreds of years of Ottoman law casting Jews into an inferior position in society kept Sephardim in Syria and Palestine feeling separate from the rest of Ottoman society, and the impact of the economic crisis that forced Jews into low-level labor and destroyed the wealth and power of elite Jews reinforced the separation of Sephardim in Syria and Palestine under a Jewish, and not necessarily Ottoman, identity.<sup>10</sup>

In Syria, Sephardim tended towards the traditional Jewish identity, as they generally remained tied to the community and uninvolved with political organizations or any other non-Jewish groups.<sup>11</sup> In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, a few years of drought that caused famine and worsening health, including a cholera outbreak in Damascus in the summer of 1875 which killed 147 Jews lead up to the financial crisis of October 6, 1875 in which the Ottoman government declared bankruptcy.<sup>12</sup> The crisis destroyed the wealth of the Jewish financial elite of Damascus and lead to the economic ruin of the Jewish community in Damascus, which shaped the community's development in the economic, political, and social realms.<sup>13</sup> The financial crisis created a barren economic landscape for Jews in Damascus in which most took jobs doing low-skilled, low-wage labor, and those who were educated primarily left or found few jobs in the civil service.<sup>14</sup> The harsh economic decline for Syrian Sephardim left the community weak, as it took away the wealth and power of the Jewish elite on whom the community depended.<sup>15</sup> Many Jews who lost investments with the Ottoman government left Damascus for the better economy of Beirut.<sup>16</sup> An influx of Jews to Beirut in the late 1800s from all over Syria occurred primarily

<sup>9</sup> Adar Arnon, "The Quarters of Jerusalem in the Ottoman Period," *Middle Eastern Studies* 28 (1992): 15-17.

<sup>10</sup> Harel, *Zionism in Damascus*, 5.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>16</sup> Tomer Levi, "The Formation of a Levantine Community: The Jews of Beirut" (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 2010), 82.

because of Beirut's uniquely booming economy at a time when other places were suffering from economic downturns.<sup>17</sup> The economic downturn's breaking up of communities within Damascus and destruction of the wealth of Jewish leaders in Damascus as well as the factional migration of Jews to Beirut, where the economy's disconnection from the Ottoman government saved the Jews of Beirut from financial destitution, both served to cut Sephardim away from the Ottoman government economically and in turn politically.

However, the separation of Sephardim from the general Ottoman citizenry and identity in general does not necessarily mean that all Sephardim in Syria and Palestine were devoted to following a traditional Jewish lifestyle. On the contrary, the general trend in the late 1800s was a gradual disregard for traditional Jewish identity and rabbinical leadership.<sup>18</sup> There was no active secularizing rebellion, in part because they still lived under an Islamic society divided along ethno-religious lines.<sup>19</sup> Because there was no active rebellion against traditional rule, the Sephardi rabbinate focused on preserving Sephardi unity not by forcing Jews back to past traditions, but by embracing the shift toward modernity and bringing these changes in line with tradition, meshing traditional Sephardi identity with the changes occurring from modernity's onslaught.<sup>20</sup> This does not mean that all rabbis in the late 1800s to early 1900s in the Ottoman Empire agreed on a tolerant, accepting approach to the changing Sephardi society. The rabbis in Aleppo issued a ban denouncing those who desecrated the Sabbath in 1906.<sup>21</sup> Some rabbis feared the influence that western, secular education might have on the community and the possibility of turning the populace against tradition.<sup>22</sup> But the majority of Sephardi rabbis allowed the modern

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 85.

<sup>18</sup> Harel, *Zionism in Damascus*, 10.

<sup>19</sup> Norman A. Stillman, *Sephardi Religious Responses to Modernity*, ed. Tudor Parfitt and John Hinnels, vol. 1 of *The Sherman Lecture Series*, (Luxembourg: Harwood Academic Publishers GmbH, 1995), 20.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 20-21.

<sup>22</sup> Benbassa and Rodrigue, *Sephardi Jewry*, 77.

changes to Sephardi society that brought about Sephardi Zionism and focused on maintaining traditional Judaism within the new modern Sephardi society.<sup>23</sup> Despite the lack of an active rebellion, Sephardim in Syria slowly drifted away from traditional rule, with leaders of Sephardi communities who supported the Ottoman government or foreign governments as ultimate authorities being the first to slide away from tradition.<sup>24</sup> The leaders who were more involved with the Ottoman government tended to push for Ottomanism, while the leaders who kept their positions through the backing of foreign governments generally accepted their identity as a European one, keeping their Jewish identity primarily as a tie to European Jewry.<sup>25</sup>

Some elites in the Sephardi community who were involved with the Ottoman government tended towards an Ottomanism first, Judaism second Sephardi identity under the authority of Ottoman law, in order to restore their status in society.<sup>26</sup> The Tanzimat Reforms were one of these Ottoman efforts to resist westernization by using western state-building practices, as previously mentioned.<sup>27</sup> These reforms took away legal autonomy from communities in an effort to Ottomanize the Sephardi population of the empire, but ended up emphasizing ethnic differences.<sup>28</sup> Another downfall of the Ottoman movement for a united Ottoman citizenry was the lack of a good cohesive education system run fully by the Ottoman government, which pushed Jews to search for education elsewhere like Christian mission schools and Alliance schools.<sup>29</sup> French was the lingua franca of trade in the Levant, so the most popular schools were European oriented and taught French well.<sup>30</sup> Nonetheless, with the influx of Ashkenazim challenging the authority of local Sephardi leaders, and finding wealth by skirting the Ottoman

<sup>23</sup> Stillman, *Sephardi Religious Responses*, 5.

<sup>24</sup> Harel, *Zionism in Damascus*, 10-11.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>27</sup> Benbassa and Rodrigue, *Sephardi Jewry*, 68.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 71-72.

<sup>30</sup> Rodrigue, "Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire," 183.

legal system through the Capitulations which increased tension between the two groups, some Sephardim in Palestine maintained a separate Ottoman identity as a way to understand the differences between Sephardi Jews and the Ashkenazi immigrants of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>31</sup> This distinction of Sephardim as “Ottoman Jews” was evident particularly in Palestine.<sup>32</sup> The Ottoman government pushed for a strengthened Jewish identity within the framework of a greater Ottoman identity through the millet system and the establishment of the chief rabbi in Jerusalem in the mid-1800s.<sup>33</sup> Sephardim in Palestine understood an Ottoman identity in terms of opposition to the Ashkenazim who retained foreign protection and thus, in Sephardi eyes, retained their foreign identity, so that Sephardim were the locals of Palestine.<sup>34</sup> Many Europeans made this distinction between Ashkenazim as Europeans and Sephardim as Ottomans, which emphasized the Ottoman identity for Sephardim in Palestine.<sup>35</sup> Even many Ashkenazim in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century recognized Jewish identities in terms of origin, considering themselves as Eastern European, and understanding Sephardim in relation to a long lost Spanish homeland, spurring many Sephardim to clutch onto an Ottoman identity in opposition to the Ashkenazi invaders.<sup>36</sup> Most Sephardim considered themselves inclusive of not only Jews of Spanish origin, as many Ashkenazim asserted, but also “Oriental Jews,” including Jews in Palestine who only spoke Arabic and might have been excluded from the Hebrew focused identity, and this more comprehensive Sephardi definition that was widely accepted by many Sephardim shows again the propensity for Sephardi Jews to see themselves as a larger, less exclusive group in an identity

<sup>31</sup> Matthias B. Lehman, “Rethinking Sephardi Identity: Jews and Other Jews in Ottoman Palestine,” *Jewish Social Studies* 15 (2008): 93.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

like Ottomanism.<sup>37</sup> In fact for some Palestinian Sephardim, the idea of a Sephardi ethnicity may not even have been on the radar until the influx of Ashkenazim and onset of modernity which brought outside influences, thinking of themselves purely as local Ottoman Jews before this point.<sup>38</sup>

The Young Turk Revolution in 1912 marked a turning point for Sephardim in Palestine and Syria, as the promises of equality and liberty from the new regime gave way to little revolutionary change at all from the past governments' laws and economic situation for Jews.<sup>39</sup> The Young Turk Revolution gave people hopes of united under an Ottoman identity.<sup>40</sup> Following the regime's disappointing stagnation, many Sephardim turned instead to a Jewish, Hebrew, or Zionist national identity or assimilation.<sup>41</sup> Just following the Young Turk Revolution, popular belief in and support for promises of equality made by the government kept Sephardim supportive, even through the 1912 first Balkan War.<sup>42</sup> Those who feared the uncertainty of modernization and western influence looked to Ottomanism as a stable alternative for identity.<sup>43</sup> Jews who accepted the Ottoman identity tended to be closer to Arabs because Ottomanism allowed for the sloughing off of ethno-religious barriers, and the acceptance of other groups as Ottoman citizens on equal footing.<sup>44</sup> More Sephardim who turned to Ottomanism in the short period following the revolution got involved with the government, with five Jews joining the Ottoman parliament and a few others gaining civil service jobs, as a "wind of liberalism" hit the

<sup>37</sup> Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire*, 85.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>39</sup> Harel, *Zionism in Damascus*, 19.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

<sup>41</sup> Michelle U. Campos, "Between 'Beloved Ottomanism' and 'The Land of Israel': The Struggle over Ottomanism and Zionism Among Palestine's Sephardi Jews, 1908-13," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37 (2005): 461.

<sup>42</sup> Harel, *Zionism in Damascus*, 19.

<sup>43</sup> Rodrigue, "Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire," 188.

<sup>44</sup> Abigail Jacobson, "Sephardim, Ashkenazim and the 'Arab Question' in Pre-First World War Palestine: A Reading of Three Zionist Newspapers," *Middle Eastern Studies* 39 (2003): 109-110.

empire.<sup>45</sup> But the ultimate disappointment of Sephardim about the new government's failure to follow through on its promises, the lack of equality under an Islamic power, and the poor economy of Damascus Jewry pushed Sephardim away from Ottomanism as a primary identity after the disappointment of the Young Turk Revolution.<sup>46</sup>

Other Sephardi elites found wealth through foreign involvement, using protection of the foreign government to circumvent Ottoman tax and legal systems, focusing on a European identity rather than Ottomanism or Zionism. Capitulations allowed foreign governments to maintain power in the region, at the expense of the Ottoman government.<sup>47</sup> These elites were even more able to gain positions of power and wealth within the community because of the protection from foreign powers and status gained from western involvement. Sometimes these elites used their leadership positions to help encourage community interests, but more often than not, their own interests took precedence over the community's.<sup>48</sup> The Tanzimat Reforms as previously mentioned also encouraged collaboration with European Jewish elites.<sup>49</sup> Many elite Jews who were involved with the Jewish Enlightenment movement Haskalah jumped on the opportunity for Jews to become more open to the west.<sup>50</sup> Educational influences from Europe were not limited to the limited Zionist movement before 1908. The Alliance Israelite Universelle was a French organization that was created in 1860 to teach students about French culture and language.<sup>51</sup> After the Damascus Affair in 1840, which spurred the idea for a Jewish public

<sup>45</sup> Benbassa and Rodrigue, *Sephardi Jewry*, 71-87.

<sup>46</sup> Harel, *Zionism in Damascus*, 19.

<sup>47</sup> Isaiah Friedman, "The System of Capitulations and its Effects on Turco-Jewish Relations in Palestine, 1856-1897," in *Palestine in the Late Ottoman Period: Political, Social, and Economic Transformation*, ed. David Kushner (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1986), 298.

<sup>48</sup> Harel, *Zionism in Damascus*, 6.

<sup>49</sup> Benbassa and Rodrigue, *Sephardi Jewry*, 70.

<sup>50</sup> Esther Benbassa, "Associational Strategies in Ottoman Jewish Society in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Avigdor Levy, trans. Eric Fassin and Avigdor Levy (Princeton: The Darwin Press Inc., 1994), 459.

<sup>51</sup> Benbassa and Rodrigue, *Sephardi Jewry*, 73.; Harel, *Zionism in Damascus*, 37.

opinion and political identity, Jewish political solidarity mobilized itself through institutions like the Alliance.<sup>52</sup> Alliance tried to quell enthusiasm for Zionism and to make Jews in the Ottoman Empire assimilate to French culture.<sup>53</sup> Other European based groups set up camp in the Ottoman Empire with their attentions turned toward Jews, like the World Zionist Organization, and Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden, which focused on Eastern European Jews and Jews of the Levant.<sup>54</sup> Sephardim in Syria and Palestine had such poor economic and political conditions, that many accepted the help from external powers from Europe more readily.<sup>55</sup>

Assimilationists used a more fluid idea of identity to include both European influences and Jewish-Arab relations.<sup>56</sup> This view tried to bridge the gap somewhat that remained between Ottomanism and European focused Jews from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, two major factors pushed against assimilationist efforts from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The first was anti-Semitism, which caused a greater separation and isolation of Jews in the Ottoman Empire, the animosity discouraging Sephardim from leaving their communities.<sup>57</sup> Anti-Semitism was no new occurrence, with blood libels spouting up throughout early 19<sup>th</sup> century in Syria.<sup>58</sup> But out of nowhere, another blood libel appeared in 1890 in Damascus, because the Christian public gained economic power as the Jewish community lost power, and French clergy targeted anti-Semitic teachings toward Christians in Damascus.<sup>59</sup> These blood libels stymied the assimilationist movement by encouraging Sephardim in Syria to stay isolated in their old quarter

<sup>52</sup> Benbassa and Rodrigue, *Sephardi Jewry*, 73.

<sup>53</sup> Norman A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands in Modern Times*, (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1991), 90.

<sup>54</sup> Benbassa and Rodrigue, *Sephardi Jewry*, 75.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 75.

<sup>56</sup> Campos, "Between Beloved Ottomania," 466.

<sup>57</sup> Harel, *Zionism in Damascus*, 8.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

and to refrain from interaction with non-Muslim groups as much as possible.<sup>60</sup> The second factor that hurt assimilationist identity's chance of reaching a majority population of Sephardim in Palestine and Syria was western influence on schools, namely the Alliance. It focused on Sephardim learning French and maintaining ties to European Jews, which reinforced Jewish identity, with the original intent being a religious link, but isolation from other communities in the Ottoman Empire drove this connection into a nationalistic one.<sup>61</sup> The nationalistic tie with other Jews outside the Ottoman Empire hindered any development of local nationalism among assimilationist groups who sought to reconcile these opposing external and internal forces.<sup>62</sup> In fact, the AIU failed at its own assimilation doctrine because it Europeanized Jews of the Ottoman Empire, but did not integrate them into the society in which they lived, which propelled many AIU graduates in Syria to leave the empire for western lands.<sup>63</sup> The Alliance school director in Beirut from 1905 to 1910 noted that Sephardi Jews, Arab Jews, and Ashkenazi Jews tended to maintain separate identities, with little to no crossover, even as the populations increased, showing the failure of the AIU's assimilation goal.<sup>64</sup> The emergence of Zionism posed a threat to the Alliance by threatening the assimilationist goals, in the eyes of the Alliance, even though many of the original goals of both groups matched in a way that the Alliance, if not so focused on destroying the powerful fledgling ideology, might have cultivated a partnership and meshing of the ideologies.<sup>65</sup> On the other hand, new Zionists were also quick to distinguish their movement from the "assimilationist" and "antinationalist" Alliance, and the clash between these

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 7-8.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> Levi, "Formation of a Levantine Community," 89.

<sup>65</sup> Benbassa, "Associational Strategies in Ottoman Jewish Society," 469-470.



two ideological and political camps ended with the emergence of Zionism as the main Jewish voice.<sup>66</sup>

Many Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire tried on the Jewish-Hebrew-Zionist identity before and after the Young Turk Revolution, individualizing and personalizing it, so that there was not a mass, overarching Zionist identity that Sephardim in the empire followed. In general, the only Zionist consciousness surrounded small intellectual groups, but personally, many Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire liked the idea of the restoration of the Land of Israel.<sup>67</sup> In Damascus and Aleppo, the Zionist movement found its way into the Jewish community much later than the rest of the empire.<sup>68</sup> Many Sephardim viewed the Zionist movement as an Ashkenazim one because the World Zionist Organization gave more Ashkenazim immigration certificates than Sephardim, and they didn't include nearly as many Sephardim in the organization.<sup>69</sup> By 1907 many Sephardim in Beirut felt sympathy for the Zionist cause, but this personal relation to the cause did not translate to establishments of Zionist associations in Syria and Palestine, and Sephardim kept support for the Zionist cause in a purely ideological zone.<sup>70</sup> In Damascus before the Young Turk Revolution, Zionism did not have much of a following. The majority of the Ottoman Empire's Sephardim did not take hold of a lasting grassroots Zionist movement, even though Sephardi religious elites and many Sephardim approved of a Jewish national revival.<sup>71</sup> Jewish nationalism in Syria was limited to intellectual youth who studied in Beirut in mission schools.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 471.

<sup>67</sup> Harel, *Zionism in Damascus*, 36.

<sup>68</sup> Stillman, *Jews of Arab Lands*, 81.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.; *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>71</sup> Stillman, *Sephardi Religious Responses*, 5-6.

<sup>72</sup> Harel, *Zionism in Damascus*, 27.

After the Young Turk Revolution in 1908, many Sephardim were unhappy with Ottomanism's failures, and they transferred this support instead toward Zionism, hoping it would bring them equality and a better economic, political, and social situation than they were facing.<sup>73</sup> Zionism was not a completely new idea to the Ottoman Empire, and some Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire had been followers of traditional Zionism.<sup>74</sup> The trend had not caught on very well though, and the elites who supported either Ottomanism or European influence were somewhat resistant to Zionism because they thought it could hurt their leadership positions and economic wealth from keeping close contact with the governments.<sup>75</sup> Modernity created a communal stagnation, which Sephardim fought against with a push toward Hebraism, as they tried to modernize their communities with a mixture of Jewish identity and culture.<sup>76</sup> Many Jews remained indifferent to Zionism, but some distinctly Sephardic Zionist movements appeared after the perceived failure of the Young Turk Revolution that were shaped by cultural Hebraism and a Jewish identity and collective consciousness and that incorporated Jewish culture alongside communal and economic development.<sup>77</sup> This Zionist movement focused primarily on revival of Hebrew language and culture, pushing against the Alliance's focus on the west and the remaining ties to the disappointing Ottoman government.<sup>78</sup> Sephardi Zionism retained a bond with Judaism, even when the focus was more toward secular forms of Zionism, so there was little to no opposition from the Sephardi rabbinate.<sup>79</sup> Sephardi Zionism, with its multi-faceted Sephardi identity shaped by years of Ottoman rule, sudden changes in society caused by an

<sup>73</sup> Michelle U. Campos, *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 198.

<sup>74</sup> Esther Benbassa, "Zionism in the Ottoman empire at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century," *Studies in Zionism: Politics, Society, Culture* 11 (1990): 131.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> Campos, *Ottoman Brothers*, 207-208.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 207-208.

<sup>78</sup> Benbassa, "Associational Strategies in Ottoman Jewish Society," 464.

<sup>79</sup> Stillman, *Sephardi Religious Responses*, 5.

entrance of modernity and westernization, and changing relations with other groups within the Ottoman Empire over time, never focused on Palestine as an exclusively Jewish state, keeping it open to being a national home of the Jews under Ottoman rule, so that even Arabized Jews could support this moderate Sephardi Zionism.<sup>80</sup> Even Arab nationalists could cooperate with Sephardi Zionism, because of its malleable definitions and goals, and its openness to changing ideas, so that the rise in Arab Nationalist opposition to Zionism beginning in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century was an effect not of the Sephardi Zionism that many people supported on a personal level and used as a part of their identity, but of the Zionist movement that was taking greater measures toward the achievement of Zionist goals.<sup>81</sup> Thus, even with rising tensions between Arabs and the general Zionist movement, the Sephardi Zionists, who may have identified themselves with more of a Jewish-Hebrew-Zionist identity than a purely Zionist one, focused on cooperation with Arabs in Palestine, as opposed to the general Zionist focus on Jewish development in Palestine that might spill over and benefit Arab populations there as well.<sup>82</sup> The conquest of labor movement that took hold of greater Zionism did not necessarily enter the Sephardi Zionist ideology, which still focused on ways to get Arabs involved in the Zionist movement, and criticized Ashkenazi Zionists for leaving Arabs out of the Zionist movement.<sup>83</sup>

Understanding these three Sephardi Jewish identity groups is important to understand the way in which Jews interacted with Arabs in this period and beyond. The Sephardi identity as Ottomans or as Zionists was not an exclusively Jewish identity in the eyes of many Sephardim, and they left the option for close relations with other ethno-religious groups wide open.<sup>84</sup> In part this was because of their close ties with the Arab community in much of the Ottoman Empire,

<sup>80</sup> Rodrigue, "Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire," 186.

<sup>81</sup> Abigail Jacobson, "Sephardim, Ashkenazim and the 'Arab Question,'" 110.

<sup>82</sup> Jacobson, "Sephardim, Ashkenazim, and the 'Arab Question,'" 123.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 124.

<sup>84</sup> Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire*, 83.

but more specifically Syria and Palestine.<sup>85</sup> The question of Arabic's status for Palestinian Sephardim and the Sephardi focus on influencing Arab Press and turning it toward supporting Sephardi Zionism illustrates the unique situation of Sephardim in their ability to mesh their identity and ideas with Arabs.<sup>86</sup> Jews in Syria felt caught between Syrian Arab national goals and Zionism, revealing their ties to Arabs in Syria, who lived beside them and were involved in their everyday lives, were greater than the ties to Ashkenazi Jews in far off places who did not have a day to day connection with Sephardi Jews in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>87</sup> The prevalence of Ottomanism in Sephardim of Syria and Palestine also indicates this unique Sephardi tie to other communities in the Ottoman Empire aside from their own, including Arab communities.<sup>88</sup> Sephardi hopes for the success of the Young Turk revolution and the changes it promised to bring about, and the fact that many held onto this optimism about this new government long after it exhibited clear evidence that the promises of the new regime would not play out shows more than just government loyalty, but also loyalty to the Ottoman identity as an overarching, all-encompassing identity which includes Muslims, Christians, Arabs, Jews- anyone who wanted to take on this identity as their own.<sup>89</sup> The same Sephardi desire for inclusion of non-Jews in the cultural and political environment, or at least a recognition of the importance of taking these non-Jewish groups into account, translated into Sephardi Zionism which focused on an inclusive identity in which, while Judaism formed the foundation, Arabs might find a role as cooperative partners in the movement for a homeland in Palestine.<sup>90</sup> The rise of Arab nationalism, in part as a response to Zionism, threw a wrench into the Sephardi Zionist focus on inclusion, turning their

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>87</sup> Harel, *Zionism in Damascus*, 96-97.

<sup>88</sup> Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire*, 90.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.

practical application of Sephardi Zionism into a push to influence Arabs to allow for Zionist expansion, as well as to turn cooperative Jewish-Arab partnerships into partnerships to help Jews gain a foothold of power in the region.<sup>91</sup> Alongside this cooperation, however, European Zionist leaders pushed instead for a movement completely devoid of Arab input, valuing the influence of western powers like Britain and France instead.<sup>92</sup> Thus, while some Arab leaders were open to cooperation with Sephardi Zionists in order to reach the goal of an Arab nation, the combined effect of Arab nationalism pulling and the general Zionist disregard for Arab sentiment pushing these leaders away from Sephardi Zionism created a schism between Arabs and Jews.<sup>93</sup> Sephardi Zionists found themselves caught between Arabs who were growing increasingly detached from their Sephardi neighbors, and Ashkenazi Zionists who were willing to steamroll through the wishes of the Sephardim in Syria and Palestine for Arab cooperation in order to achieve the goal of a Jewish homeland in Palestine through support of European powers.<sup>94</sup> Sephardim who opposed the general Zionist movement's tactics of avoiding Arab involvement in an effort to bulldoze Jewish control into Palestine usually suggested that the leaders of the Zionist movement should have instead focused on working with the Arabs, and this might have curbed the Arab Nationalist movement in the cradle.<sup>95</sup> Perhaps the Sephardi way of incorporating outside forces and groups into its Jewish identity in the form of Sephardi Zionism, or even Ottomanism before that, would have been a more successful method of drawing Arabs into a peaceful dialogue and even a cooperative effort toward a Palestinian homeland. There is no clear way to know how the Arab-Israeli Conflict might have turned out had this been the case, but certainly it would have offered the opportunity for a far more agreeable outcome with the possibility of a clear-cut

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 101.

<sup>92</sup> Harel, *Zionism in Damascus*, 167.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 98-99.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 167.

<sup>95</sup> Jacobson, *From Empire to Empire*, 111.

solution. Abigail Jacobson argues, rather sadly, that the days of trying on complex identities like those of the Sephardim in the late Ottoman period are no more, and a more rigid Zionist, Jewish identity has replaced these changing, flexible identities, fixed by outside influences.<sup>96</sup> The ship may have sailed for such fluid Sephardi identities to open the door for greater cooperation on the Palestine issue, but perhaps future leaders on both the Arab and Jewish sides can look to the Sephardim of the late Ottoman period for guidance on the conflict.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

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Paul Kelley Vieth  
05 December, 2014

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At the Intersection of Natural, Theological, & Political Practice in 16th Century Northern  
Europe: Tycho Brahe's & Philipp Melanchthon's Astrological Adventures

. . . [H]e did not cease to contemplate this visible and temporal Theatre of Heaven until he crossed from the horizon of time into eternity and, with the aid of GOD, exchanged that eternal and invisible heaven with this other one. Wherefore who will rightly deny that it is entirely appropriate for the astronomical letters produced by so great an Atlas, a prince not only by virtue of his illustrious line, but also in this art, to claim for themselves the principal parts in this book?<sup>1</sup>

-Tycho Brahe on Landgrave Wilhelm IV of Hesse-Kassel,  
*Epistolarum astronomicarum liber primus (1596)*

Perhaps never has someone written so commendable a compliment which could, with as much accuracy, describe him- or herself as Tycho has done here. There is a popular misconception afoot concerning science, namely, that it and theology are fundamentally mutually-exclusive modes of thought and have almost inevitably antagonistic truth-procedures to the point that science is seen as waging a war against religious belief. This misconception, though perhaps more comprehensible in this day and age,<sup>2</sup> is never more obviously false than when the early modern period, through the telescope of history, if you will, is under examination. Throughout the narrative of sixteenth-century astronomy, Tycho Brahe's personal and professional opinions, as well as those of his political and academic peers, run contrary to these modern misconceptions. As will be seen herein, the codependent enmeshing of religion and politics holds as truly for natural inquiry and religion. Rather than being combative alternative routes to higher truth, theology and natural philosophy in this period, rather, for some early modern scholars and theologians, operate in conjunction with one another. Not only do the theological and scientific cohabit in the minds of sixteenth-century scholars, they cooperate to such an extent that any acuteness of

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<sup>1</sup> Adam Mosley, *Bearing the Heavens*, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> I do not mean to imply that certain several scientific discoveries have not directly contradicted religious tenets or scriptural minutiae, for they have, merely that this is not an aim or necessary principle of science; when it has done so, it has done so as an incidental byproduct of its discoveries, through which it *always* intends to prove things, never to disprove (in this case, religious) things.

understanding in natural philosophy is consequently and necessarily an exercise in scrutinizing the divine. This is neatly, though not uniquely, evident in Tycho Brahe's program of astronomical empiricism, its prognostic applications, and Philip Melanchthon's encouragement of and the Danish court's patronage of such an endeavor.

In contrast to our modern extremely skeptical view of astrology as a fringe cultural element serving little purpose beyond amusement, in the minds of Melanchthon and Tycho, astrology was a conjoined extension of astronomy. In his lecture on the art of astronomy, though he originally promises to avoid the topic of astrology, Melanchthon apparently cannot contain his ardor, saying,

[a]lthough I said in advance at the beginning that I would not talk about the part containing divination, let me add nevertheless that the science of the heavenly movements is in itself an art of foretelling, and an outstanding and most certain divination ruling all of life. For these laws of the motions are evidence that the world has not originated by chance, but that it was created by an eternal mind, and that this creator cares about human nature.<sup>3</sup>

The fact that Melanchthon cannot prevent himself from talking about astrology when lecturing on astronomy, despite admitting to the criticism he is apt to receive, hints at his belief in their inextricability. What is more, he quickly goes on to describe the art of astrology as “divination of the greatest thing,” indicating that not only are astrology and astronomy complementary disciplines, but perhaps, even, that astronomy, as merely the mathematical legwork required to produce astrological prognostications, ought to play the subordinate role.

Tycho clearly agreed with the sentiment that the ultimate purpose of natural inquiries is examination of the divine. For Tycho, the *firmament*, that is, everything beyond earth, was very much a realm of both physical bodies and ethereal divinity when, in Thoren's words, Tycho concluded:

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<sup>3</sup> Philip Melanchthon, *Orations on Philosophy and Education* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), 118.

[t]he universe itself . . . is the best book of theology. . . . [E]vidence of divine wisdom is nowhere so clear as in the celestial regions, with their bodies of immense size, radiance, and perpetual regularity. . . . [M]ost people are ignorant or even scornful of knowledge concerning the heavens . . . do[ing] great harm to the disciplines of astronomy, astrology, and meteorology . . .”<sup>4</sup>

It is clear that, at least on the issue of astrology’s legitimacy and authority, Tycho and Melanchthon are of one mind, but it is important to demonstrate a more direct philosophical heritage between them before we can continue to demonstrate the mutually beneficial relationship between natural philosophy and religion as it is exemplified by Tycho and Melanchthon and encapsulated in the practice of astronomy-astrology.

Tycho was religiously aligned with Lutheranism, as was customary in the Denmark of his time (he lived from 1546-1601), and particularly favored the Philippist interpretation of Lutheranism. Though Tycho’s and Melanchthon lives overlapped slightly (Tycho was 13 at the time of Melanchthon’s death), Tycho lived most of his life in the aftermath of Melanchthon. At this time, Lutheranism was experiencing sectarian conflict in the long aftermath of Luther’s death. Gnesio-Lutherans, to be brief, defined themselves as Lutheran purists, who attempted to strictly adhere to Martin Luther’s doctrines. They saw themselves, for our purposes, in opposition to Philippists. One topic, important for any discussion on astral influences, upon which Gnesio-Lutherans and Philippists disagreed was the nature of predestination. Following Luther, Gnesio-Lutherans believe in double predestination, that is, whosoever is going to either heaven or hell has been predetermined by God. Melanchthon, and the Philippists in tow, held a looser and accommodating interpretation of free will. Tycho’s preference for Philippist Lutheranism was critical to enabling his practice with astral influences because, if confined to the doctrine of double predestination, it would be

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<sup>4</sup> Victor E. Thoren, *The Lord of Uraniborg: A Biography of Tycho Brahe* (New York, Cambridge UP, 1991), 60.

impossible for celestial bodies to have an impact on events, the outcome of which had already been determined in advance by God.

Though the details of this controversy are beyond the scope of this argument, the distinction is critical to the continued existence of astronomy, and consequently astrology, in Lutheran territories at the time. Luther forbade astrology, finding it ludicrous, though Melanchthon was more sympathetic to the art, even, as we have seen, encouraging it (he, in fact, refused to travel to Denmark because his horoscope warned against it).<sup>5</sup> That Tycho engaged in the art at all, much less acted as one of its most prominent practitioners, should hint at his alignment with Philippism, though other facts strengthen this indication. Tycho's educational background was entirely under Philippist influence, receiving most of his education from the Philippist strongholds of the universities of Copenhagen and Rostock, and even visiting Wittenberg itself.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, when Tycho decided to make the full exposition of his system of celestial bodies (to rival the Aristotelian and Copernican systems), he did so in a letter to Caspar Peucer, who was not only, in Mosley's words, "the doyen of the Wittenberg astronomical tradition" and "the defender of his [Melanchthon's] posthumous reputation," but also Melanchthon's son-in-law. Mosley best describes the significance of this letter's addressee when he says, "[b]y writing to Peucer, Tycho was once again signalling his debt to Philippist conceptions of the relationship between theology, cosmology, and mathematics."<sup>7</sup> No doubt this relationship existed for all astronomers of the period. Also little up for debate is the natural role played by astronomy as a form of understanding the complex magnificence of creation. What was debatable at that time, however, is whether a practicing astronomer was

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 12, 81.

<sup>6</sup> Adam Mosely, *Bearing the Heavens: Tycho Brahe and the Astronomical Community of the Late Sixteenth Century* (New York, Cambridge UP, 2007), 83.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 100.

capable of translating astral measurements into astrological prognostications, and whether such a translation had theological justification.

Melanchthon's personal support for astrological and horoscopic exercises was, by itself, a form of religious justification, albeit an indirect and ecclesiastical rather than biblical justification. It would not suffice for Tycho to engage in astrology with a simple nod of approval from Melanchthon, but rather, the reasons Melanchthon gives would have been crucial to determining religious justification. In a lecture entitled "The Dignity of Astrology," Melanchthon immediately sets out to "show both that the science of heavenly influences is true and that it brings great benefits for life."<sup>8</sup> Melanchthon first attempts to dispel doubt, presumably common at the time, that astrology is inauthentic simply because it produces erratic and infrequent results. He points to meteorology, medicine, and agriculture, highlighting the not infrequent errors of those arts. Of meteorology he asks if the whole field should "be disparaged, therefore, because it contains few proofs and accomplishes most things by conjecture?"<sup>9</sup>

Melanchthon's second argument for the efficacy of astrology relies on the natural phenomena of the sun, moon, and planets. The sun is known to control the temperature and, thereby, the seasons, and the moon is "known" to control the humidity, while the light from the planets is "known" to cause various meteorological phenomena according to each planet's temperament. "If these things are certain, it is manifest that the foundation of the art is true and fixed, that is that heavenly light has great influence in tempering and changing the elements and the mixed bodies."<sup>10</sup> For Melanchthon, the same must hold true for stars. At this point in the lecture, Melanchthon has made one logical justification for astrology and one

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<sup>8</sup> Melanchthon, 120.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 122.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 123.

based on natural observation. Eyebrows might have been raised, for the audience was expecting theological reasons to be put forth, but for his third argument in favor of astrology: a resoundingly theological one.

Concerning stars, the positions of which are essential to astronomical prognostication, “should we believe that these most beautiful lights are made *without purpose*, given that nothing is more outstanding by nature or more powerful than light [emphasis mine]?”<sup>11</sup> God’s, or any prime mover’s, in cosmological terms, omniscience and omnipotence, is, of course, beyond doubt. As the first cause and original Creator, God shan’t have created anything inefficiently or superfluously — without purpose, that is. Melancthon’s awareness of this argument is impossible to ignore: “For if these signs are not meant to be considered, why are they written and painted on the sky by divine providence? Since God has engraved these marks in the sky . . . , it is impiety to turn one’s mind away from their observation.”<sup>12</sup> Not only is it justifiable to portentously read the stars’ arrangements, it is impious *not* to do so — indeed, they were put there for that very purpose. Put simply, astrological prognostication is manifest in the divine mandate.

It is clear that, through Melancthon, at least for Philippist Lutherans, the practice of astrology received theological backing. In order, however, to demonstrate that religion and natural inquiry, as evinced by astronomy-astrology, were cooperative institutions, the institution of astrology must exhibit some measure of reciprocity. That is to say, simply, if religion has given astronomical-astrological endeavor theological justification, what, then, has that form of natural inquiry done for religion in return? At this time, natural inquiry had, only a generation before, taken its first (again, incidental) stab at religious orthodoxy. Copernicus had produced a celestial model that posited the translocation of earth relative to a static sun,

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, 124.

thus subordinating earth, the then-perceived focal centerpiece of God's design, to a symbolically inferior position in the planetary scheme. This was unacceptable, not only to Luther and Melanchthon, but also to Tycho.<sup>13</sup> In the minds of Lutheran leaders, it was crucial that a reconciliation of astronomical observations and earth's providential supremacy be made. Tycho set out to do just that. His system, like the Copernican, proposed that the planets (excluding earth) revolved around the sun, and, as with the Copernican, this coincided with the most accurate observations. Unlike Copernicus, however, Tycho proposed that the Sun, along with all the planets that rotated around it, rotated around a fixed earth, thus positing a "system of the universe acceptable to those who thought that the Ptolemaic geocentric system was no longer tenable yet considered the Copernican hypothesis either physically absurd or theologically objectionable."<sup>14</sup>

In addition to providing a conveniently conciliatory planetary model, Tycho, using rhetoric, overcame an inconvenient theological stumbling block for astrology. "[T]heologians since Augustine had opposed astrology because of what they took to be its inimical implications for Christianity."<sup>15</sup> If human events can be horoscopically determined at the time of birth based on the positions of planets and stars at that moment, how can there be free will? This was particularly troubling to Niels Hemmingson, a Wittenberg contemporary of Melanchthon and "the foremost spokesman of Danish Philippism" by Tycho's time.<sup>16</sup> Tycho was given the perfect opportunity to hurdle this stumbling block when he gave a lecture at Wittenberg, for which Hemmingson was present in the audience. The primary theme of the lecture was "to reconcile his view of the universe with the variety of Phillipist theology that

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<sup>13</sup> Thoren, 276.

<sup>14</sup> Mosley, 28.

<sup>15</sup> Thoren, 81.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.



prevailed under Hemmingsen's influence, at the University of Copenhagen."<sup>17</sup> Tycho's argument rested on the fact that *influences* of celestial bodies were just that — influences — not determinants. He pointed to the fact that many people were born at the same time on the same day (the key factor in producing a horoscope). If human outcomes were mandated by astral positions, all such persons would live exactly the same life. This is, of course, untrue. Tycho spoke directly to this issue when he said, "[t]he free will of man is by no means subject to the stars. Through the will, guided by reason, man is able to do many things that are beyond the influence of the stars, if he wills to do so."<sup>18</sup> The importance of this argument was not lost on Thoren who concludes of the lecture, "[i]t was this allowance for the force of individual human will that constituted the crux of Tycho's attempt to reconcile astrology to Philippist doctrine."<sup>19</sup>

Through the accumulative actions of Philip Melanchthon and Tycho Brahe, theology and natural inquiry, in the form of astronomy and astrology, cooperated to such an extent as to provide for their mutual reassurance. This is but one instance of the inextricability of religion and "science" in the early modern period. In concert with this cohabitation of science and religion in the minds of individual persons and institutions was the cohabitation of religion and the state. This has been well documented and need not be evidenced here. What should be pointed out, for our purposes, is the density with which all of these three institutions are enmeshed and how well the practice of astrology demonstrates that density. While astrology was justified by theologians using religious principles, and while it also strengthened religious worldviews, especially of a cosmological nature, it was simultaneously patronized by secular leaders (for its financial stability), and applied to the futures of king's

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 82.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, 83.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

dominions and children (for the kingdom's benefit). This clearly shows astrology as playing a reciprocating role with the state similar to that it enjoyed with religion. That reciprocity is amply demonstrated by Tycho and his astro(nomical/logical) undertakings. Over the course of his life, Tycho was privy to the presence of several comets. The comet of 1577, Tycho concluded, "had important implications for Danish national security; these he spelled out clearly in a manuscript written, in German, for the eyes of King Frederick and Queen Sophie alone."<sup>20</sup> Additionally, Tycho prepared horoscopes for Christian IV of Denmark,<sup>21</sup> two other princes,<sup>22</sup> and was solicited for one by the Duke of Brunswick.<sup>23</sup>

What is now evident is how rapidly and disgracefully astrological horoscopy has fallen in the past 400 hundred years. While it now sits deep in the hinterlands of lunacy, it clearly once enjoyed the prominence of an art that was buttressed by theology, practiced by masters of empirical observation, and applied to affairs of state of great magnitude. It was positioned at the intersection of these three potent institutions and its being thus situated provides an articulately illustrative example of the historical interdependence of those institutions.

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<sup>20</sup> John Robert Christianson, *On Tycho's Island: Tycho Brahe and His Assistants, 1570-1601* (New York, Cambridge UP, 2000), 64.

<sup>21</sup> J.L.E. Dreyer, *Tycho Brahe: A Picture of Scientific Life and Work in the Sixteenth Century* (Edinburgh, Adam and Charles Black, 1890), 146.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, 154.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid*, 285.

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## **Honorable Mention**

We include a larger number of honorable mentions than we have before simply because we had more excellent submissions than in previous years. Each of these papers had its champion on the editorial board—one or more editors who thought they deserved a spot among the top six papers we received, or even the top spot. We include them to demonstrate the range of interests and tastes represented on the editorial board, and the kaleidoscopic variety of topics OU history students pursue in their work. –The Editors

Mussolini the Revolutionary: The March on Rome

The English language press appears to have been fascinated by the “March on Rome” – the peaceful Italian revolution – which is highly convenient, as it gives us a day by day account of the event, allowing us to see how the dispute in Italy was playing out, and what was expected to happen as the days went on. The one constant throughout the ordeal was that nobody seemed entirely sure what the end goals of the Fascisti were, much like the contradictory and unclear nature of their ideology. Similarly, while the Fascisti praised war and its purifying effects, Mussolini did his best to portray the period prior to the revolution as peaceful, even though the Fascisti “terrorized” the population.<sup>1</sup> Conversely, he portrayed the revolution itself as more much more fraught with tension than it actually was so that it appeared that he had saved Italy from civil war purely out of the goodness of his heart.<sup>2</sup> The march therefore fits in quite well with the entirety of fascism: revolutionary, confusing, violent, and portrayed as something different than it actually was.<sup>3</sup>

In October of 1922, Mussolini and his squadristi, or Black Shirts, planned a march on Rome to take power away from the current Italian government and put it in to the hands of the Fascist party. Though Mussolini’s ascent to power was thoroughly legal, he used the squadristi to gain control of Italy. While he did his best to portray the period prior to the revolution as peaceful, the squadristi did use violence to secure their hold in the period before the march. However, with the Fascist emphasis on violence and the purifying effects of war, why did Mussolini attempt to make the period prior to the March appear more peaceful than it actually was? In the secondary literature surrounding the Fascist party, some historians discuss the nature

of the March, some discuss what makes a revolution a revolution, and others look at the support the March on Rome had, and its place in Italian historical memory.

In “Revolution? Counterrevolution? What Revolution?,” Eugen Weber discusses the meaning of the term “revolution” and the way it is applied to fascism. After the French Revolution, he writes, revolution “came to be about the poor ceasing to be poor,” rather than “political power for people who were far from poor.”<sup>4</sup> Referring frequently to the French and Russian Revolutions, Weber writes, “One of the greatest luxuries revolution afforded [to the poor] was the opportunity to see their ‘betters’ humbled.” While Italy’s March on Rome did not involve eliminating a monarch – King Vittorio remained in the throne – it did involve removing the government from power that had failed them in many ways. Mussolini was therefore certainly a revolutionary, although the way his revolution was portrayed certainly varied with time.<sup>5</sup>

In “Reconsidering the March on Rome,” Giulia Albanese analyzes the historiography of the March on Rome and “attempt[s] to assess the role that Fascist representations of the March had in determining the overall direction of historical research,” or, how the March on Rome became mythic.<sup>6</sup> She describes how contemporary liberals and democrats viewed the March as “a comedy” because they felt there had clearly been “some negotiation between the King and Mussolini” because they “could not understand how a revolution could be made without barricades, without fights, and without bodies in the streets.”<sup>7</sup> In fact, the “prevailing official discourse on the March portrayed it as a peaceful revolution.”<sup>8</sup> The squadristi, or Black Shirts, meanwhile, remembered “acts of violence as a fundamental part of the March,” resulting in forty dead, and the government thus did their best to keep them quiet.<sup>9</sup> Some historians argue that, had the Italian military put up any resistance, the squadristi would have been defeated or forced to

back down, and some stressed Mussolini's "political role, that he had not fought alongside his men."<sup>10</sup> In the post-World War II era, one historian, Adrian Lyttelton, classified the March as "an example of psychological warfare," as Mussolini had manipulated the Italian government into believing the squadristi could defeat their military.<sup>11</sup>

It can thus be difficult to learn about events in Italian Fascist history, because the ever changing political climate affects the way that period is remembered. The memory of the March on Rome, in particular, was almost immediately altered by Mussolini, who strove to have it remembered as a relatively peaceful though tension-filled revolution though there were many instances of squadristi violence. Why he would do this, with his well-known love of violence and militarism is unclear, except that it would likely make the transition of power smoother. What is clear from the surrounding historiography is that the March on Rome brought Fascism and Mussolini in to power much quicker than many expected, resulting in an ironically fully legal semi-violent revolution.

### **The Build Up**

The press's coverage of the Fascist coup to overthrow the Italian government began in late July, though thorough reporting did not begin until October. However, by July, Mussolini had begun threatening the current government with plans to attack if they did not give up power.<sup>12</sup> The government in power, a Cabinet led by the Premier de Facta, was plagued by political "deadlock" due to the number of factions within the government.<sup>13</sup> Because the Italian Parliament was representative of the population, there were many parties comprising the government, and none had enough of a majority to get anything accomplished.<sup>14</sup> Under the threat of Fascisti violence, the Facta cabinet resigned on July 20th, hoping that a new cabinet would be able to settle "the unrest in the country, which in some regions had assumed the character of civil



war.”<sup>15</sup> However, he also wanted to ensure that the new Cabinet would “protect the lives and liberties of the people,” – that they would not only restore order to Italy, but not infringe upon their rights while doing so.<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately, it was unclear how the problem should best be solved.

Initially, ex-Premier Orlando was expected to resume as Premier and to have a Cabinet whose “program [was] the pacification of Italy without violent repressions,” unlike Mussolini’s likely violent programs.<sup>17</sup> It would be similar to the previous two Cabinets, “but stronger because of the greater prestige of Orlando.”<sup>18</sup> By July 28, however, Orlando had turned down the job, and the next “most authoritative” options, Signor de Nicola and Signor Meda, did not want the responsibility of solving the nation’s problems either.<sup>19</sup> This inability to fill the position left the King “in a rather embarrassing situation,” resulting in Facta remaining in power for three more months until Mussolini forced the King to grant him Premiership.<sup>20</sup> With no current clear candidate to lead the government, however, the press thus described each option they saw.

While Giolitti later took over the top choice spot for Premiership, Enrico de Nicola, the President of the Chamber of Deputies, initially seemed to be the best option if Orlando continued to turn down the job.<sup>21</sup> However, the press noted, if either Nicola or Orlando took the Premiership, “it would mean the formation of a Cabinet of conciliation . . . which [is] believed to have been one of the principal factors that led to the downfall of the de Facta Ministry.”<sup>22</sup> In other words, a new Ministry led by either Nicola or Orlando would likely be as unsuccessful as the current ministry, as its conciliatory nature prevented any group attaining a majority and accomplishing anything. On the other hand, it also prevented one single party from controlling everything, which later became an issue for Italy with the Fascist Party. Another option proposed was the installation of a Cabinet that included members of “all branches of the constitutional

parties, except the Conservatives and Fascisti,” though the press felt this option would be unlikely to work.<sup>23</sup> Finally in early October, because he felt that Parliament did “not represent ... the will of the people,” Mussolini called for a change in election policy.<sup>24</sup>

It is important to note here that the Fascisti were not the only people who wanted a new government. The Facta Cabinet had been plagued by complaints from the Socialists as well, and the widespread strikes made it clear that workers were having issues too.<sup>25</sup> In Trent, Fascisti had marched in to the province because the Italians’ “rights ... [had] not been upheld,” and the general population was also dissatisfied as the Facta government had “calm[ed] neither the parliamentary situation nor the unrest in the country.”<sup>26</sup> Much of the public was simply ready to allow “any untried party which holds out the promise of doing things in a radically different manner” to take over, with the belief that anything had to be better than the current “unsettled condition” they were living in.<sup>27</sup> This feeling of discord within in the nation contributed to Mussolini’s belief that the Fascisti would win the upcoming election and likely spurred him onward in his quest for power. First, the Fascisti demanded that new elections be held that year so that Parliament would immediately reflect this changing political face of the country.<sup>28</sup> In addition, Mussolini insisted that “the party receiving a majority of the votes in a parliamentary election be granted three-fifths of the parliamentary seats,” so that one party would finally be able to pass legislation, rather than continue in political stalemate.<sup>29</sup> Of course, the Fascisti “forecast” that they would be the party to win the majority and thus be able to take charge of the government.<sup>30</sup> In fact, Mussolini said, “In Italy, there exists two Governments – a fictitious one, run by Facta, and a real one, run by the Fascisti. The first of these must give way to the second.”<sup>31</sup> Clearly, he believed that the Fascisti Party was fully backed by the Italian people, and that the Fascisti would succeed in taking over the national government.

By October 1, *The Observer* was reporting on Mussolini's threatened "march on Rome," indicating his intent to make Italy into a Fascist nation, "governed either by Mussolini or by those who will suit their policy to his."<sup>32</sup> A week later, the *New York Times* reported that the Fascisti wanted the Facta government out by November, and were demanding that new elections had to happen by December.<sup>33</sup> At that time, it was unclear as to whether the Fascisti would remain peaceful or would "decide to adopt violence to obtain their ends," that is, control of the new government after the elections.<sup>34</sup> However, Mussolini claimed that he would rather take a peaceful route to power, unless Facta chose to "contest [their] will" and refused to leave office.<sup>35</sup> In addition, due to the "extraordinary wave of popularity" of the Fascisti, it seemed likely that they would gain control of the new government in the December elections and would not need to use force.<sup>36</sup> However, the Fascisti demonstrated their popularity by planning a gathering in Naples on October 24 (later postponed to the 27<sup>th</sup>), so that they could march on Rome, though whether the march would be in demonstration of their support for the party or to overthrow the government was currently unclear.<sup>37</sup>

Unfortunately, the Fascisti, in their campaign to prove that they would bring order to Italy and that they would be willing to fight for election reform, did not simply gather in Naples and wait to march. Rather, they used violence to combat various civilian issues.<sup>38</sup> On August 9, the *New York Times* reported that the Fascisti were "demobilizing" because their "battle was won on every front," referring to the brutal abuse inflicted upon "those who are agitating the workers against the country" by convincing them to go on strike.<sup>39</sup> In fact, the Fascisti had become so violent that the Italian government had insisted upon their demobilization because they were causing such "turmoil, bordering upon civil war," with "scores ... killed and thousands wounded in the fighting," leading to the institution of martial law in some areas.<sup>40</sup> The press also discussed

the fact that the Fascists killed Socialists in 1920.<sup>41</sup> While more people were happy about the “weakening of the Socialist power” than were upset about the “methods by which it was brought about,” the fact remained, the press said, that “Italy needs peace abroad as well as at home,” which was not something the Fascisti would provide.<sup>42</sup> Their attempt to use violence to show that they could bring order to Italy therefore backfired in this instance, at least abroad. By October 21, however, the *Los Angeles Times* was reporting “Fascisti Strength Grows by Terrorization,” with “ten felonies and two murders committed daily for political motives” by the Fascisti.<sup>43</sup> In the previous months, the paper reported, “the Fascisti strength has enormously increased ... due likely to ‘terrorization.’”<sup>44</sup> The Fascisti therefore hoped to capitalize on these gains by gaining control of the government. However, the paper noted, their support was “likely to diminish rapidly as soon as there [was] a government strong enough to enforce the laws.”<sup>45</sup> The popularity they were experiencing, the *Los Angeles Times* believed, was not based on actual support for their policies as much as fear of the disorder the nation was experiencing and fear of the Fascisti themselves.<sup>46</sup>

Though it seemed likely that the Fascisti would win a majority of the seats in the election and thus be able to control Parliament, Mussolini was not willing to leave anything to chance, and therefore organized several marches around the country, culminating in the march on Rome. As mentioned earlier, in early October, five thousand Fascisti “occupied the building of the Provincial Council” because the “dignity ... and the rights of Italian citizens [had] not been upheld.”<sup>47</sup> There was also a large gathering of “Black Shirts” in Cremona, with “thirty thousand Fascists – youths ... and young girls,” parading through the city chanting “Il nostro Duce” – “our leader” – in a clear display of support for Mussolini and the Fascisti.<sup>48</sup> By mid-October, things in

Italy were coming to head, and the press began publishing articles nearly every day with updates on the constantly changing situation.

On October 12, Facta retracted his resignation of the Premiership and the Cabinet, saying that “the government is ready to face whatever action is attempted against the constitutional power,” to which the Fascisti replied that “we shall have very troublesome times and a critical national crisis if the government does not agree to our stand,” indicating their continued plan to attack if Facta did not resign.<sup>49</sup> On October 15, the *Observer* reported that while “all parties ... would welcome the Fascisti taking a prominent part in the Government,” the possibility of a “fascist coup” was still highly concerning to Italians.<sup>50</sup> The next day, the Cabinet had again decided to resign and was expected to “hand in its resignation to the King” the next day.<sup>51</sup> The King would then “appoint a new Premier capable of facing the situation,” likely Giolitti.<sup>52</sup> Negotiations then began between Giolitti and the Fascisti to build a Cabinet together; however, the Fascisti refused as they did not want to “collaborate with any one, but wish[ed] to form a Ministry of their own.”<sup>53</sup> They would then be fully in control of the nation rather than simply having influence in the Cabinet. By October 19, the Cabinet had decided yet again to refuse to resign, and it appeared that the Fascisti would indeed go forward with negotiations with Giolitti and Orlando to form a “strong, coalition cabinet.”<sup>54</sup> Negotiations with the two ex-Premiers had fallen through by October 20, and Mussolini had instead signed an alliance with Gabriele D’Annunzio, “the Italian soldier-poet,” whose forces controlled Fiume.<sup>55</sup> The next day, Orlando was once again being considered as Premier, and Giolitti was attempting to negotiate with the Fascisti, although they were still uninterested and were hoping to “[gain] sole control of the government either by peace or force.”<sup>56</sup> Also, at this point, there was an important distinction

between the “overturning” of the Italian government and the march on Rome, with the latter, presumably, being a more peaceful demonstration rather than a violent endeavor.<sup>57</sup>

As the date of the gathering in Naples and the march drew nearer, the Fascisti continued accumulating power and allies. On October 22, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* reported that Francesco Nitti, another former Premier, had allied with Mussolini, despite their history of being “bitter political enemies” and the fact that the “Fascisti had repeatedly attacked the former premier.”<sup>58</sup> Continually accumulating political leveraging power, Mussolini began making more specific demands, such as control over the “portfolios of Foreign Affairs, War, Navy, Labor and Public Works,” after refusing Ministerial positions that lacked portfolios.<sup>59</sup> He also declared that “no peace was possible unless adversaries accepted the conditions of the Fascisti,” or that he was not willing to compromise on his terms with the current government or the Socialists.<sup>60</sup> Meanwhile in Naples, 90,000 Fascisti, including D’Annunzio’s Chief of Staff, General Ceccherini, and people from the “redeemed provinces” of Tripoli, Trieste, Trent, and Zara, had gathered to prepare for their meeting on October 27 and the increasingly likely march on Rome.<sup>61</sup>

### **The Threat of Action**

October 27, the day the Fascisti gathering was scheduled in Naples, saw a variety of headlines about the “coup” the Fascisti had planned. On October 26, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* reported, Facta’s Cabinet had resigned after the Fascisti displayed a “hostile attitude” and ordered a “general mobilization . . . if the cabinet declined to give up power.”<sup>62</sup> The King still had power, though, and was expected to join in “conferences with the political leaders” before any concrete decisions concerning the “formation of the new government” were made.<sup>63</sup> Meanwhile, it became clear that the Fascisti would definitely be the ones to take power in the new

government. Mussolini “ordered all the military leaders of the Fascisti to keep in readiness. The 800,000 workers who have joined the Fascisti organizations are ordered to cooperate at an opportune moment with the military sections.”<sup>64</sup> This military mobilization was, of course, to prepare for the coming march on Rome, and was “interpreted ... as preparation for the assumption of power by the Fascisti.”<sup>65</sup> Some, however, still hoped that Orlando or Giolitti would play some part in the new government, and would form a “strong administration ... capable of facing the Fascisti,” as there was “speculation as to whether the Fascisti would yield to offers of portfolios” that they had previously demanded if the government was controlled by someone other than Mussolini.<sup>66</sup> The Fascisti were certainly going to have some power in the new government, but it was unclear how much power they would insist upon, and if the power over most of the Ministerial positions would be enough to prevent them from using force.<sup>67</sup>

The situation was also complicated by the fact that the Fascisti had been offered different positions in the Cabinet than the ones they had demanded, making it seem likely they would fight for more power. A different article however, indicates that by October 26, the government had “grant[ed]” the requested posts to the Fascisti, meaning they might soon resolve the conflict.<sup>68</sup> They continually insisted, and it was believed, that they were truly “making their last great effort to obtain as much power as possible by peaceful means” rather than resorting to violence.<sup>69</sup> There appeared to a great deal of anxiety during this couple of days as the former government had resigned, the King was not in Rome, and a new government had yet to take over.<sup>70</sup> The *Giornale d’Italia* explained that Italian credit was therefore suffering, and a new government needed to take over as soon as possible to “restore foreign confidence in Italy.”<sup>71</sup> That last thing that anyone wanted to deal with were increased economic complications, so it was important that whoever took power did so quickly.

On October 28, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* opened with the enormous headline, “Fascisti March on Rome.” The Fascisti, the paper reported, had already taken Florence, Pisa, and Milan peacefully and had taken Cremona with only six of their own members dying.<sup>72</sup> The paper also included the text of a pamphlet the Fascisti had released, giving the reasons for their march:

Officers, soldiers, citizens: The Fascisti movement is neither against the country nor against the king. We want his majesty to be really king of Italy and not to submit himself to state actions which are cowardly imposed on him by his present weak ministers. We march on Rome to give Italy her full liberty; to give the Italian people an Italy as was dreamed of the half million dead in the great war, and by our own dead who continued at war during peace. Marching with the sincere desire of peace and love, our greatest shout shall always be ‘Long live the army; love live the king, and long live Italy.’<sup>73</sup>

This emphasis on maintaining the monarchy clearly differentiated the Fascisti from the Bolsheviks, whom most Italians were opposed to, as the Russian Revolution had toppled their monarchy. They also emphasized that they were only marching to allow Italy to reach her full potential as a great nation and that they wished the Italian people no harm, but rather hoped that “peace and love” would result.<sup>74</sup> The *New York Times* also reported on the Fascisti “seizing control of Italian cities” that day, and they asserted that it was now clear that Mussolini was the “dominant figure” to be consulted in the formation of the new Cabinet.<sup>75</sup> A speaker for the Fascisti, the Secretary General of the Party, said that day that “as it was Mussolini’s speech at Naples that determined the Ministerial crisis” – his threat that led the Cabinet to resign – “Parliamentary precedent required that he be entrusted with the task of forming new Ministry.”<sup>76</sup> However, as the Fascisti had not actually revealed their plan, nobody knew what exactly would happen in the immediate future concerning national politics, and the “rank and file” Fascisti wanted to wait until the regular elections to do anything further, so they could gain power both legally and completely.<sup>77</sup> They would not be able to pass anything until then anyway, they argued, as they did not have a majority in the Chamber, and if they gained power immediately



and were unable to pass any legislation, they would lose any confidence the citizenry currently had in them.<sup>78</sup> The leaders of the party, on the other hand, had exactly the opposite opinion, and therefore continued to seek immediate power.<sup>79</sup> Nonetheless, it was clear the Italy needed a strong and effective government to take over immediately to “place [Italy] on its feet again,” and the Fascisti “were masters of the situation” and would have to give their approval to any Cabinet formed in the near future.<sup>80</sup> Regardless of whether the people and Parliament truly wanted the Fascisti to be the ones leading the country, they were “relie[ved] ... that at least a decision will, and indeed, must be reached” regarding the political situation.<sup>81</sup>

### **The Aftermath**

After refusing to compromise by forming a government with Salandra, it became apparent that the only peaceful option available was to give Benito Mussolini the Premiership.<sup>82</sup> While some papers wrote that it was Mussolini who refused “co-operation even with Salandra,” or anyone who was not Fascisti, other papers reported that Salandra had been asked to head up the new government and had turned it down.<sup>83</sup> At the same time, Mussolini was refusing to even come to Rome until he had been “officially asked to form a new cabinet.”<sup>84</sup> Regardless of who refused to work with whom, on October 30 the press reported that King Vittorio Emanuele had formally asked Mussolini to assume the position of Premier and form a new Cabinet.<sup>85</sup> Only the day before, the Fascisti had “ordered a general mobilisation,” though they were still “insist[ing] upon the peaceful character of their movement, which they declare is only intended to enforce a swift solution of the crisis in harmony with Fascist aims.”<sup>86</sup> Therefore, this response from the King – choosing to ask Mussolini legally to take over the new government rather than fighting back against his threats and throwing the country into civil war – earned him much praise.<sup>87</sup>

The Facta cabinet had, as their last hurrah, written a piece of legislation instituting martial law throughout the nation to prevent the Fascisti from militarily overthrowing the government.<sup>88</sup> While the King had supported the legislation that day, he “must have changed his mind” during the night, and he refused to sign it in the morning.<sup>89</sup> Rather, “hoping for a peaceful settlement” with Mussolini, which “could not be strictly legitimate, and in any case would not correspond to the state of parties in Parliament,” he chose to avoid civil war and instead gave Mussolini the power he so desired.<sup>90</sup> Mussolini was becoming very insistent on Fascisti power, vowing that “any other solution [meant] desperate action by the Fascisti.”<sup>91</sup> The King, of course, hoping to “avoid bloodshed and civil war,” granted Mussolini the Premiership rather than sign the order to declare martial law.<sup>92</sup> While martial law was never signed into place, the military did have orders to “forbid” the Fascisti’s “entrance to Rome.”<sup>93</sup> At the same time, though, the Cabinet was “urging the people to remain calm,” as mass chaos would hamper the military’s ability to keep order within the city.<sup>94</sup>

Despite already eliminating the threat of civil war, the Fascisti continued their mobilization “happily.”<sup>95</sup> Having already gained power, the coming march was therefore simply a symbol of their power and a celebration that the revolution had occurred peacefully. While mobilizing, they “instructed the local prefects to transfer to them their authority,” which typically went smoothly, and military officers “treated the Fascisti with friendliness.”<sup>96</sup> That did not mean that they would not occupy certain areas as a show of their power, though. In an article prominently headlined “‘Black Shirts’ Rule Italy,” the paper both reported on Mussolini’s announcement that the “Fascisti military command” had control of the nation, as well as the Fascisti attacks on Socialist newspapers.<sup>97</sup> Another article explained how the Fascisti had “occupied the military fort” near Rome, though they promptly “returned it with all friendliness”

upon Mussolini's successful ascension to power.<sup>98</sup> Though the Fascisti had taken power, some troops still roamed the area, and the "various ministries and public buildings were occupied by troops," presumably to prevent any violence from occurring.<sup>99</sup> According to some, however, this was "nothing short of ludicrous" because "the only victims of [their] march [had] been a number of calves, commandeered but paid for, to feed [their] troops."<sup>100</sup> They were certainly not leading a violent revolution since power had already been handed over to them, and soon enough, the barricades around Rome were removed.<sup>101</sup> A member of the Fascisti, Deputy Di Vecchi, had a meeting with the King that day, during which he "insisted on the highly patriotic aims of the Fascisti, who ... had no intention of upsetting the institutions of Italy."<sup>102</sup> Causing more violence and upsetting the order would only cause more problems for them in the future, so they had no reason to attack the city anymore, and would continue in peace. While De Vecchi's pronouncement of patriotism showed "great emotion" and greatly "moved" the King to the point he hugged him, it was not entirely true as small skirmishes between the Fascisti and the Socialists would continue on.<sup>103</sup> However, any threat of a civil war between the government and the Fascisti had been eliminated, which was highly fortunate as many of the military officers would have likely sided with the Fascisti.<sup>104</sup>

October 31 brought more discussion of the future of the new Fascisti government, concerns other nations had, and descriptions of the coming march. One of the biggest concerns about the new government was that Mussolini was very capable of overthrowing government, but it was unclear whether he could build one. The *Washington Post* wrote, "The Fascisti are called upon to abandon the destructive [sic] role which they have hitherto played, and which they declare were forced upon them by the march of events, and adopt a constructive policy with all the responsibilities that go with power."<sup>105</sup> It is all good and well that he believed he could

effectively bring order to a country in the midst of chaos, but until he had concrete proof, it remained unclear whether the Italian people would “accept unquestioningly the domination of the Fascisti.”<sup>106</sup> The *Post*, at least, believed that the Italians would likely not have much of a choice in the matter, as it was unlikely that “under the terrorism undoubtedly exercised by the Fascisti any really representative parliament could be elected.”<sup>107</sup> Italian citizens, afraid of the Fascisti, would not vote them out of power so soon after they nearly set the country on a path toward civil war, for fear that the Fascisti might initiate another more violent coup.

Foreign nations especially were worried that Mussolini’s takeover of Italy – considering his love of militaristic language and trenchocracy – would lead to another war. After finally reaching peace in 1919, the thought of another war only three years later was terrifying to Europeans. “Europe at the present moment,” the *Post* wrote, “is so full of explosive material that any ill-advised act might have disastrous consequences.”<sup>108</sup> Many nations were unhappy with the peace terms reached at the Paris Peace Conference, and any small spark of controversy could cause major problems. France in particular was fearful of any future conflict between Italy and Yugoslavia, the most likely object of Italy’s expansionist tendencies at the time as it also lay on the Adriatic. At the same time, the French, along with everyone else, were happy that a civil war had been “averted” and recognized the King as being the one who prevented the bloodshed.<sup>109</sup> Having declared the situation as peaceful, however, Mussolini did not risk his popularity and brought no major conflict to Italy for several years.

On October 31, Mussolini formally announced his chosen Cabinet to the press. The new Cabinet consisted of “seven Fascisti, five Nationalists, one Democrat and one member of the Catholic Party,” which gave the Fascisti the most seats but still allowed for representation of other parties, with the exception of the Socialists, who were disbanded upon Mussolini taking

power.<sup>110</sup> The people believed that “Mussolini’s presence in the government” would “exert a moderating influence upon his followers throughout Italy” and prevent them from becoming extremists.<sup>111</sup> Hindsight of course would tell us that this was not the case, as Mussolini eventually eliminated the Parliament, making the party and the nation fully subservient to himself as the dictator. At the time, however, the party was attempting to enforce peace and curb Fascisti violence, so the Premier having more power than usual was deemed acceptable. A directive issued by the new government proclaimed that “orders have been issued to all the black shirts, imposing absolute calm, order, and discipline .... Attacks against shops and the selling of arms are absolutely prohibited,” which effectively banned any Fascisti from committing further violent acts.<sup>112</sup> It continued to say that “any action against the government institutions is rebellion against Mussolini.”<sup>113</sup> Therefore, the government was not only led by Mussolini, but the government was Mussolini, and thus the concept of “Mussolini the Myth” was born.<sup>114</sup>

Finally, the long talked of March on Rome came on October 31 and was described in the press on November 1. “Fascisti Enter Rome” the papers proclaimed; “The triumphant entry of Fascisti troops into Rome today was the apotheosis of Italy’s bloodless revolution.”<sup>115</sup> The Fascisti, they wrote, were the saviors of Italy, “for in 1870 ... Italy was born; today she has been saved from bolshevism.”<sup>116</sup> On top of this, the Fascisti were apparently better dressed than the Socialists, “a fact which is everywhere favorably commented upon.”<sup>117</sup> It is unclear whether Mussolini was sworn in or the Fascisti marched through Rome first, but it is clear that when Mussolini took his oath to “be true to the Constitution,” he also swore his loyalty to the King, who “was so deeply moved that he embraced Mussolini.”<sup>118</sup> In a lengthy description of the triumphal march through Rome, it was obvious that the Fascisti were a highly regimented and disciplined military group, and that, had there been a civil war, it would have been “dreadful” for

the Italian people.<sup>119</sup> A new day dawned on Italy, quite literally, as the sun finally broke through the previous day's storms to witness the Fascisti triumphantly marching through the ancient Roman capital, with each Fascist giving the ancient Roman salute as he neared the "eternal city."<sup>120</sup>

Throughout these days following the overturning of the Italian government to Fascisti power, there were several instances of violence. While the march itself was peaceful and there were no major clashes between the Fascisti and the Italian military, there were small skirmishes between groups of Fascisti and socialists, and occasionally Royal Guards. On October 29 in Rome, "one person was killed and several injured;" in Allessandra "the Fascisti ... seized 200 rifles, a number of machine guns and a quantity of ammunition;" and in Bologna "two Fascisti were killed" in a conflict with the Royal Guards, and another in Verona.<sup>121</sup> Meanwhile at the *Avanti* headquarters, "ten of the royal guards and two Fascisti were seriously injured," and four more Fascisti died in Cremona.<sup>122</sup> On October 30, there were many clashes between the Fascisti and the Communists, with "one person killed, and one Fascista ... wounded;" in one riot, another Fascist was murdered by a group of Communists for killing one of their "comrades;" four others were killed in Palestrina; four Fascisti were wounded in another clash; two Fascisti and one Royal Guard were killed in Bologna; and other "clashes between Fascisti and Communists [were] reported from various towns."<sup>123</sup> On the last day of the month, however, after a conflict near the Vatican, Mussolini announced that "any action taken by the Fascisti ... against Communists ... will be repressed with the utmost severity."<sup>124</sup> Clearly, though the Fascisti rose to power through violent methods, once in power, Mussolini wished to rid his party of that image, and instead chose to focus on creating a disciplined, militaristic society.

The English language press seemed to respect the Fascisti and Mussolini for the most part. One article, though, was an anomaly in that it portrayed the Fascisti as more violent and radical than others had described the movement. While the French had expressed concern about Italy's future foreign policy decisions, they conceded that Mussolini seemed intent on ensuring peaceful revolution and that he was doing his best to protect Italy.<sup>125</sup> The *Los Angeles Times*, however, asserted in a headline that Mussolini was "Viewed in Washington as Too Napoleonic and Radical for Italy's Safety."<sup>126</sup> The news of his ascension to power was "received ... with keening interest and no little apprehension as to the outcome of the Fascisti adventure."<sup>127</sup> Fascism, it seemed to some Americans, was unreliable. "The rapid rise of Mussolini," they said, "is regarded here with distrust .... The organization, originally formed for the purpose of combating Bolshevism, apparently has become subversive in character itself and constitutes a direct menace to the throne of Italy."<sup>128</sup> This description was of course exactly opposite of what the Fascisti themselves had been saying – that they were extremely patriotic and wished to keep the King on his throne.<sup>129</sup> Rather than believing Mussolini's claims that the revolution had been peaceful, they pointed to the myriad other violent incidents that occurred prior to the revolution. While the revolution itself may have been free of violence, the public had already been bullied into submission, and thus the threat of violence was all it took to dismantle the Facta Cabinet. Specifically, the paper referred to the attacks against the workers on strike, and the fact that there was a Fascisti army in addition to the "legal" army.<sup>130</sup> Essentially, the paper urged the people to remember that the Fascisti had been aggressive and violent toward their own people prior to taking power, and that aggressiveness could just as easily be used during their reign of power.

While there is no doubt that the Fascisti were violent, Mussolini preferred to portray the violence as more of a demonstration of law enforcement. For example, in his autobiography,

Mussolini described how the Fascisti were ordered to “break the back of the attempt of the red rabble” – the members of the Alliance of Labor who were on strike – after the government gave “no sign of any act of energy.”<sup>131</sup> Soon after, he mobilized the “squadristi” to continue to “crush” the strikes.<sup>132</sup> All of these events were, according to Mussolini, to enforce the law and bring order to the land, rather than “terrorizing” the people, as the newspapers asserted.<sup>133</sup> On the other hand, he tended to portray the march itself as more fraught with tension than it was. In describing his take on the march on Rome, Mussolini wrote that he heard of the “bloody clashes in Cremona, Alessandria and Bologna,” never referencing the fact that these were small conflicts.<sup>134</sup> Instead, he wrote that the clashes made Italian life into “an ardent atmosphere of revolution,” leading the “liberal chiefs” to go “into their holes” as they were “inspired only by fear.”<sup>135</sup> The Fascisti actions lent “the city a sinister echo of civil war,” contrary to the impression the newspaper articles gave, in which the Fascisti were forever preaching their preference for peaceful resolution.<sup>136</sup> He even went so far as to exclaim that “War is declared!” and “the struggle is blazing all over Italy.”<sup>137</sup> While there was certainly some violence, it was hardly on the scale of a civil war, especially as the King refused to sign orders for martial law. Mussolini did mention that “the King, in his profound wisdom, flatly refused to sign” the martial law decree, though he wrote that the King “understood that only with the victory of one party” – the Fascisti – could Italy find peace.<sup>138</sup> In contrast, in the newspapers, it was clear that the King refused to sign the orders because he “would have abdicated rather than that a single drop of blood should be shed in civil war.”<sup>139</sup> The King was therefore less a proponent of Fascism than simply in favor of his people not killing each other. Interestingly, after all the fuss Mussolini made about gaining power, once the Facta government had resigned and he made his way to



Rome, he deemed his first days as Premier “not important,” and made very little of the actual march in to Rome, other than a quick word on the “perfect order” of the “black shirts.”<sup>140</sup>

Here the “myth” of Mussolini is truly born: at his first meeting with the chamber of deputies he wrote that he announced to the room that he “called the attention of the audience to the fact that only by the will of Fascism had the revolution remained within the boundaries of legality and tolerance,” which was a bald faced lie, as the King’s refusal had been widely praised as the sole reason that civil war was avoided.<sup>141</sup> However, this proclamation made Mussolini appear to be truly a savior to Italy, rescuing the country from both a potential civil war and the myriad of other problems facing the nation. As Falasca-Zamponi argued, by portraying himself in this mythic manner, he took on a god-like role, with the state portraying him as the savior of Italy, omniscient, omnipotent, omnipresent, never aging, and virtually immortal.<sup>142</sup> Mussolini therefore portrayed the March on Rome very differently from the way it actually occurred. The Fascisti committed much more violence than he admitted to, while the march itself was much more peaceful than he portrayed. Likewise, the King was the one who truly prevented a civil war between the state and the Fascisti, not Mussolini.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Clarence K. Street, “Cabinet Near Fall in Rome,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 21, 1922, p. 14. All newspaper articles accessed via the ProQuest Database.

<sup>2</sup> Benito Mussolini, *My Autobiography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928), p. 197.

<sup>3</sup> Though I was limited to using only English language sources, the focus of this essay is Mussolini’s actions and portrayal of the march on Rome, not the American press’s reaction to the event.

<sup>4</sup> Eugen Weber, “Revolution? Counterrevolution? What Revolution?,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 9, no. 2 (Apr. 1974): 7.

<sup>5</sup> Weber also asserts that revolution always aims to go “forward,” to “progress,” which is always “towards the Left,” and so, we presume, counterrevolution tends to the Right. However, even though the Fascist revolution of Italy was rebelling against socialism, as it was “against the flabbiness and the failures of the existing [regime],” according to Weber, it was a revolution rather than a counterrevolution. Mussolini, in fact, prior to the March on Rome, noted “that one could be both revolutionary and conservative.”

<sup>6</sup> Giulia Albanese, “Reconsidering the March on Rome,” *European History Quarterly* 42, no. 3 (2012): 404, 405.

<sup>7</sup> Albanese, “Reconsidering the March on Rome,” 403, 404.

<sup>8</sup> Albanese, “Reconsidering the March on Rome,” 407.

<sup>9</sup> Albanese, “Reconsidering the March on Rome,” 407.

<sup>10</sup> Albanese, “Reconsidering the March on Rome,” 409.

<sup>11</sup> Albanese, “Reconsidering the March on Rome,” 414.

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For further information on the historiography of the March on Rome, see: Roland Sarti, "Fascism and the Industrial Leadership in Italy before the March on Rome," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 21, no. 3 (Apr. 1968). Sarti argues that while to contemporaries there appeared to be a very close link between industry and fascism, today we can see that "it makes little sense to speak of a systematic relationship between industry and fascism." In fact, he writes, "To Mussolini the industrialists were only one pawn to be manipulated in a subtle political game." While "personal contacts between fascism and industry undoubtedly existed," the relationship was not strong enough to "influence the political orientation of fascism appreciably." He goes on to explain that "industrialists became 'Mussolinians'" rather than fascists, because "Mussolini's political shrewdness is found in his ability to be all things to all men." That is, his contradictory policies and beliefs, or "contrasting currents," meant that the industrialists were led to believe that Mussolini was in full agreement with them, while in fact, in the end, they found that they were now subservient to him, rather than the other way around. Therefore, while the industrialists did offer some political support to Mussolini and the fascists, Mussolini "duped" them into that support leading up to the march on Rome, making them believe that they would have more power following the march than they received.

Also, see: Ruth Ben-Ghiat, "Fascism, Writing, and Memory: The Realist Aesthetic in Italy, 1930-1950," *The Journal of Modern History* 67, no. 3 (Sep. 1995).

Ruth Ben-Ghiat argues that "realism evolved in the early 1930s as part of an endeavor ... to create a culture that would reflect the notion of fascism as a revolutionary 'third way' after liberalism and Marxism." Fascism was presented as a "moral revolution" with an emphasis on the "spirituality" of the new political movement – a useful tool to allow for "conveniently vague" ideology to appeal to a large portion of the Italian people. Mussolini, however, felt that rather than being unclear, fascism "was the only political force 'adaptable' enough to survive in an uncertain social and economic climate." This "anti-ideological ideology" was then realist, according to Ben-Ghiat, because it "took its imperatives from 'fact' rather than theory" – an "aesthetic of the concrete." The article and its relation to the memory of Mussolini's reign is best summed up by Ben-Ghiat's final sentence: "If the writing of Italian realism in the early thirties testifies to the appeal fascism held for intellectuals on the peninsula, its writings in the postwar years sheds lights on the strategies utilized by these same intellectuals to reshape the collective memory of the relationship between culture and power under the dictatorship."

<sup>12</sup> "Leader of Fascisti Threatens Revolt," *New York Times*, July 21, 1922, p. 13.

<sup>13</sup> "Italian Deadlock Becoming Graver," *New York Times*, July 28, 1922, p. 11.

<sup>14</sup> "Italian Deadlock Becoming Graver," p. 11.

<sup>15</sup> "Leader of Fascisti Threatens Revolt," p. 13.

<sup>16</sup> "Leader of Fascisti Threatens Revolt," p. 13.

<sup>17</sup> "Leader of Fascisti Threatens Revolt," p. 13.

<sup>18</sup> "Leader of Fascisti Threatens Revolt," p. 13.

<sup>19</sup> "Italian Deadlock Becoming Graver," p. 11.

<sup>20</sup> "Italian Deadlock Becoming Graver," p. 11.

<sup>21</sup> "Italian Cabinet Won't Face Test," *New York Time*, October 16, 1922, p. 4.

Also, see: "Leader of Fascisti Threatens Revolt," p. 13.

<sup>22</sup> "Leader of Fascisti Threatens Revolt," p. 13.

Also, see: "Italian Deadlock Becoming Graver," p. 11.

<sup>23</sup> "Italian Deadlock Becoming Graver," p. 11.

<sup>24</sup> "Italian Deadlock Becoming Graver," p. 11.

Also, see: "Fascisti Demand Election," *New York Times*, October 6, 1922, p. 33.

<sup>25</sup> "Italian Deadlock Becoming Graver," p. 11.

Also, see: Associated Press, "Fascisti to Quit, Claiming Success," *New York Times*, August 9, 1922, p. 4.

<sup>26</sup> "Fascisti Demand Election," p. 33.

Also, see: "Leader of Fascisti Threatens Revolt," p. 13.

<sup>27</sup> "Fascisti Prepare to Control Italy," *New York Time*, October 7, 1922, p. 4.

<sup>28</sup> "Fascisti Demand Election," p. 33.

<sup>29</sup> "Fascisti Demand Election," p. 33.

<sup>30</sup> "Fascisti Demand Election," p. 33.

<sup>31</sup> "Fascisti Prepare to Control Italy," p. 4.

<sup>32</sup> "The Master of Italy," *The Observer*, October 1, 1922, p. 8.

Also, see: "March on Rome?," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 27, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>33</sup> "Fascisti Prepare to Control Italy," p. 4.

<sup>34</sup> "Fascisti Prepare to Control Italy," p. 4.

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- <sup>35</sup> "Fascisti Prepare to Control Italy," p. 4.
- <sup>36</sup> "Fascisti Prepare to Control Italy," p. 4.
- <sup>37</sup> "Fascist Coup Feared," *The Observer*, October 15, 1922, p. 14.
- Also, see: "Italian Cabinet Won't Face Test," *New York Times*, October 16, 1922, p. 4.
- Also, see: Street, "Cabinet Near Fall in Rome," p. 14.
- Also, see: Associated Press, "Fascisti Convene, Hear of Victories," *New York Times*, October 25, 1922, p. 4.
- Also, see: Associated Press, "Fascisti Force Facta Cabinet Out in Italy," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 27, 1922, p. 1.
- Also, see: Associated Press, "Fascisti Compel Cabinet to Resign," *Washington Post*, October 27, 1922, p. 1.
- Also, see: Associated Press, "Coup by Fascisti Forces the Fall of Italy's Cabinet," *New York Times*, October 27, 1922, p. 1.
- <sup>38</sup> AP, "Fascisti to Quit, Claiming Success," p. 4.
- <sup>39</sup> AP, "Fascisti to Quit, Claiming Success," p. 4.
- <sup>40</sup> AP, "Fascisti to Quit, Claiming Success," p. 4.
- <sup>41</sup> "Plans of the Fascisti," *New York Times*, October 20, 1922, p. 13.
- <sup>42</sup> "Plans of the Fascisti," p. 13.
- <sup>43</sup> Street, "Cabinet Near Fall in Rome," p. 14.
- <sup>44</sup> Street, "Cabinet Near Fall in Rome," p. 14.
- <sup>45</sup> Street, "Cabinet Near Fall in Rome," p. 14.
- <sup>46</sup> Street, "Cabinet Near Fall in Rome," p. 14.
- <sup>47</sup> "Fascisti Demand Election," p. 33.
- <sup>48</sup> "The Master of Italy," p. 8.
- <sup>49</sup> Luigi Barelli, "Fascisti Lays Down Law for Italy's Cabinet," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 13, 1922, p. 15.
- <sup>50</sup> "Fascist Coup Feared," p. 14.
- <sup>51</sup> "Italian Cabinet Won't Face Test," p. 4.
- <sup>52</sup> "Italian Cabinet Won't Face Test," p. 4.
- <sup>53</sup> "Italian Cabinet Won't Face Test," p. 4.
- <sup>54</sup> V. De Santo, "Italy's Cabinet Decides to Defy Fascisti Edict," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 19, 1922, p. 18.
- <sup>55</sup> "D'Annunzio to Aid Fascisti," *The Washington Post*, October 20, 1922, p. 6.
- Also, see: Associated Press, "Accord with the Fascisti," *New York Times*, October 20, 1922, p. 3.
- <sup>56</sup> Street, "Cabinet Near Fall in Rome," p. 14.
- <sup>57</sup> Street, "Cabinet Near Fall in Rome," p. 14.
- <sup>58</sup> "Ex-Premier Nitti Forms Alliance with Fascisti," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 22, 1922, p. 10.
- <sup>59</sup> AP, "Fascisti Convene, Hear of Victories," p. 4.
- <sup>60</sup> AP, "Fascisti Convene, Hear of Victories," p. 4.
- <sup>61</sup> AP, "Fascisti Convene, Hear of Victories," p. 4.
- <sup>62</sup> AP, "Fascisti Force Facta Cabinet Out in Italy," p. 1.
- Also, see: AP, "Fascisti Compel Cabinet to Resign," p. 1.
- Also, see: AP, "Coup by Fascisti Forces the Fall of Italy's Cabinet," p. 1.
- <sup>63</sup> AP, "Fascisti Force Facta Cabinet Out in Italy," p. 1.
- Also, see: AP, "Fascisti Compel Cabinet to Resign," p. 1.
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- <sup>64</sup> AP, "Fascisti Force Facta Cabinet Out in Italy," p. 1.
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- <sup>66</sup> AP, "Fascisti Compel Cabinet to Resign," p. 1.
- <sup>67</sup> AP, "Coup by Fascisti Forces the Fall of Italy's Cabinet," p. 1.
- <sup>68</sup> "March on Rome?," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 27, 1922, p. 1.
- <sup>69</sup> AP, "Coup by Fascisti Forces the Fall of Italy's Cabinet," p. 1.
- <sup>70</sup> AP, "Coup by Fascisti Forces the Fall of Italy's Cabinet," p. 1.
- <sup>71</sup> AP, "Coup by Fascisti Forces the Fall of Italy's Cabinet," p. 1.
- <sup>72</sup> Associated Press, "Fascisti March on Rome," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 28, 1922, p. 1.

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- <sup>73</sup>AP, "Fascisti March on Rome," p. 1.  
Also, see: "Fascisti Reported Seizing Control of Italian Cities," *New York Times*, October 28, 1922, p. 1.
- <sup>74</sup>AP, "Fascisti March on Rome," p. 1.  
Also, see: "Fascisti Reported Seizing Control of Italian Cities," p. 1.
- <sup>75</sup>"Fascisti Reported Seizing Control of Italian Cities," p. 1.
- <sup>76</sup>"Fascisti Reported Seizing Control of Italian Cities," p. 1.
- <sup>77</sup>"Fascisti Reported Seizing Control of Italian Cities," p. 1.
- <sup>78</sup>"Fascisti Reported Seizing Control of Italian Cities," p. 1.
- <sup>79</sup>"Fascisti Reported Seizing Control of Italian Cities," p. 1.
- <sup>80</sup>"Fascisti Reported Seizing Control of Italian Cities," p. 1.
- <sup>81</sup>"Fascisti Reported Seizing Control of Italian Cities," p. 1.
- <sup>82</sup>"Italy in Fascist Control," *Manchester Guardian*, October 30, 1922, p. 8.  
Also, see: Luigi Barella, "Hold North Italy," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 30, 1922, p. 1.
- <sup>83</sup>"Italy in Fascist Control," p. 8.  
Also, see: Barella, "Hold North Italy," p. 1.  
Also, see: V. De Santo, "'Black Shirts' Rule Italy," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 30, 1922, p. 1.  
Also, see: "Mussolini Demands Full Control in Choosing Staff," *Washington Post*, October 30, 1922, p. 3.
- <sup>84</sup>Barella, "Hold North Italy," p. 1.
- <sup>85</sup>"Italy in Fascist Control," p. 8.
- <sup>86</sup>"Italy in Fascist Control," p. 8.
- <sup>87</sup>Associated Press, "Civil Strife Marks Rise of New Rome Regime," *Los Angeles Times*, October 31, 1922, p. 11.
- <sup>88</sup>De Santo, "'Black Shirts' Rule Italy," p. 1.  
Also, see: "Mussolini Strikes," *Manchester Guardian*, October 30, 1922, p. 12.
- <sup>89</sup>De Santo, "'Black Shirts' Rule Italy," p. 1.  
Also, see: "Mussolini Strikes," p. 12.
- <sup>90</sup>"Italy in Fascist Control," p. 8.
- <sup>91</sup>Barella, "Hold North Italy," p. 1.
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- <sup>94</sup>"Italy in Fascist Control," p. 8.
- <sup>95</sup>"Italy in Fascist Control," p. 8.
- <sup>96</sup>Barella, "Hold North Italy," p. 1.
- <sup>97</sup>De Santo, "'Black Shirts' Rule Italy," p. 1.
- <sup>98</sup>Louis Barelli, "Fascisti Army Marches South in War Panoply," *Los Angeles Times*, October 30, 1922, p. 11.
- <sup>99</sup>Associated Press, "Fascisti Hold Italy," *Washington Post*, October 30, 1922, p. 1.
- <sup>100</sup>AP, "Fascisti Hold Italy," p. 1.
- <sup>101</sup>"King Awaits Mussolini," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 30, 1922, p. 1.
- <sup>102</sup>Associated Press, "King Victor Bows to Fascisti Power; Calls Mussolini," *New York Times*, October 30, 1922, p. 1.
- <sup>103</sup>AP, "King Victor Bows to Fascisti Power; Calls Mussolini," p. 1.
- <sup>104</sup>Edwin L. James, "French Think Victor Averted a Civil War," *New York Times*, October 30, 1922, p. 2.
- <sup>105</sup>"Triumph of Fascisti," *Washington Post*, October 31, 1922, p. 6.
- <sup>106</sup>"Triumph of Fascisti," p. 6.
- <sup>107</sup>"Triumph of Fascisti," p. 6.
- <sup>108</sup>"Triumph of Fascisti," p. 6.
- <sup>109</sup>James, "French Think Victor Averted a Civil War," p. 2.  
Also, see: "Triumph of Fascisti," p. 6.
- <sup>110</sup>"Mussolini Forms Cabinet for Italy with Fascisti Aids," *New York Times*, October 31, 1922, p. 1.
- <sup>111</sup>AP, "Civil Strife Marks Rise of New Rome Regime," p. 11.
- <sup>112</sup>"Mussolini Forms Cabinet for Italy with Fascisti Aids," p. 1.  
Also, see: Luigi Barella, "Italy Pledged by Fascisti to Peace Policy," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 31, 1922, p. 3.  
Also, see: Associated Press, "Fascisti in Coalition," *Washington Post*, October 31, 1922, p. 1.
- <sup>113</sup>"Mussolini Forms Cabinet for Italy with Fascisti Aids," p. 1.  
Also, see: Barella, "Italy Pledged by Fascisti to Peace Policy," p. 3.  
Also, see: AP, "Fascisti in Coalition," p. 1.

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<sup>114</sup> Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, "Mussolini the Myth," in *Fascist Spectacle: The Aesthetic of Power in Mussolini's Italy* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997).

<sup>115</sup> Associated Press, "Fascisti Enter Rome," *Washington Post*, November 1, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>116</sup> AP, "Fascisti Enter Rome," p. 1.

<sup>117</sup> "'Black Shirts' Hold a Roman Triumph in Assuming Power," *New York Times*, November 1, 1922, p. 1.

<sup>118</sup> "'Black Shirts' Hold a Roman Triumph in Assuming Power," p. 1.

<sup>119</sup> "Mussolini Forms Cabinet for Italy with Fascisti Aids," p. 1.

Also, see: AP, "Fascisti Enter Rome," p. 1.

<sup>120</sup> "Mussolini Forms Cabinet for Italy with Fascisti Aids," p. 1.

Also, see: AP, "Fascisti Enter Rome," p. 1.

Also, see: "'Black Shirts' Hold a Roman Triumph in Assuming Power," p. 1.

<sup>121</sup> AP, "Fascisti Hold Italy," p. 1.

Also, see: AP, "King Victor Bows to Fascisti Power; Calls Mussolini," p. 1.

<sup>122</sup> AP, "King Victor Bows to Fascisti Power; Calls Mussolini," p. 1.

Also, see: "Mussolini Strikes," p. 12.

<sup>123</sup> "Mussolini Forms Cabinet for Italy with Fascisti Aids," p. 1.

Also, see: AP, "Fascisti in Coalition," p. 1.

Also, see: AP, "Civil Strife Marks Rise of New Rome Regime," p. 11.

<sup>124</sup> "'Black Shirts' Hold a Roman Triumph in Assuming Power," p. 1.

<sup>125</sup> James, "French Think Victor Averted a Civil War," p. 2.

Also, see: "Triumph of Fascisti," p. 6.

<sup>126</sup> "Fascisti Move Distrusted," *Los Angeles Times*, October 31, 1922, p. 11.

<sup>127</sup> "Fascisti Move Distrusted," p. 11.

<sup>128</sup> "Fascisti Move Distrusted," p. 11.

<sup>129</sup> AP, "King Victor Bows to Fascisti Power; Calls Mussolini," p. 1.

Also, see: "'Black Shirts' Hold a Roman Triumph in Assuming Power," p. 1.

<sup>130</sup> "Fascisti Move Distrusted," p. 11.

<sup>131</sup> Mussolini, *My Autobiography*, p. 163.

<sup>132</sup> Mussolini, *My Autobiography*, p. 167.

<sup>133</sup> Street, "Cabinet Near Fall in Rome," p. 14.

<sup>134</sup> Mussolini, *My Autobiography*, p. 177.

<sup>135</sup> Mussolini, *My Autobiography*, p. 178.

<sup>136</sup> Mussolini, *My Autobiography*, p. 179.

<sup>137</sup> Mussolini, *My Autobiography*, p. 180.

<sup>138</sup> Mussolini, *My Autobiography*, p. 183.

<sup>139</sup> "Mussolini Forms Cabinet for Italy with Fascisti Aids," p. 1.

<sup>140</sup> Mussolini, *My Autobiography*, p. 187, 188.

<sup>141</sup> Mussolini, *My Autobiography*, p. 197.

Also, see: AP, "Civil Strife Marks Rise of New Rome Regime," p. 11.

Also, see: Falasca-Zamponi, "Mussolini the Myth."

<sup>142</sup> Falasca-Zamponi, "Mussolini the Myth."

<sup>143</sup> For further reading on Mussolini's discussion of the March, see: Emil Ludwig, *Talks with Mussolini* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1933).

In this book of interviews with Emil Ludwig, Mussolini answered questions about his rise to power. While Ludwig described Mussolini as "curt" and "ungracious," though he explained that this manner was unusual for Mussolini, and resulted from his "fatigue, and perhaps [was] in conformity with the military trend of his thoughts at the moment." When Ludwig asked, "When ... in the autumn of 1922, you sent your conditions to the Facta administration, were you confident that he would reject them?" Mussolini answered, "Certainly. Wanted to gain time." When asked how he "account[ed] for the fact that there was no resistance to [his] March on Rome," Mussolini responded that the lack of resistance was due to the "obsolete system," and that "in certain historical crises" revolutions "must happen." After asking what would have happened if "the King had agreed [to sign 'an ordinance declaring a state of siege'] and a state of siege had been declared," if Mussolini would have still "felt sure of victory," Ludwig followed by asking how Mussolini, "a soldier," could "be content during those last weeks to stay so far from the centre of action?" Mussolini then responded that the Fascisti "held the valley of the Po, and it is there that the fate of Italy has always been decided," and that he "was in command at Milan." Ludwig then asked if

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he had “expected ... the King’s telegram asking [him] to take over the government,” or if he had been “surprised,” to which Mussolini responded that he had “expected” it. Finally, when asked whether he “anticipate[d] this ... to sit ten years or longer at [his] table,” Mussolini responded that he “came her in order to stay as long as possible.” While this interview does not provide any direct evidence that Mussolini portrayed the March as particularly violent, both he and Ludwig used militaristic language, and he insisted that the Fascisti would still have won if it had come to the point of military conflict. Mussolini also noted that he needed more time, presumably to build up his Fascisti army, and that he had indeed anticipated the King’s cable requesting his presence in the government. Therefore, he must have felt that tensions were high enough that the King would have no choice but to ask him to join, else he would risk a civil war. While this interview certainly leaves room for inference, it is clear that Mussolini was confident that he would gain power as a result of the March, and that he intended to install a dictatorship from an early time.

# Victoria's Real Secret

Adriana Collins

History proves one thing; men will strive against all odds their entire lives to assert their superiority above other men. Whether it involves fighting in an arena or amassing so much wealth you can pay other men to bow to you and your wishes, men have died every day in all of the history of the Earth in pursuit of this one dream. The question then becomes, what did that struggle look like in Victorian England? Or perhaps more importantly, how could a man win?

Masculinity in Victorian England was one of the most complex concepts of the era and shaped every aspect of the period, from education and laws, to physical spaces. Because of the influence the concept of masculinity had on the lives of women, it was essential for Victorian men and women to have a deep understanding of the qualities that defined the perfect Victorian male. As is often the case, the knowledge of what constituted a good man was learned through experiences and cultural expectations, and was not generally stated explicitly. This paper will first describe what qualities have been discerned to be masculine during the Victorian era. After those have been established the paper will discuss what Victorians viewed as challenges to traditional masculinity, and then what were considered reinforces of the culture of ideal Victorian masculinity. Finally this paper will analyze how the expectations placed on Victorian men, changed the roles of women and became the defining factor in every aspect of Victorian life.



Masculinity is defined in *Oxford Dictionaries* as primarily physical. Someone who has “strength, muscularity, ruggedness and toughness.”<sup>1</sup> This modern definition only represents a fraction of what the Victorian definition of the word would have been. Because there is no explicitly stated list of qualities that make up the ideal Victorian man, deductions have to be made from resources of the time, such as literature. These resources give us several qualities that are generally unanimously accepted by Victorians as many qualities. These qualities have deep and somewhat changeable meanings during the era and it is because of that, that the concept of masculinity is so hard to define. The ideal Victorian man was several things, brave, intelligent, physically strong, emotionally independent, financially responsible, moral, independent, somewhat rugged and untamed. Finally all of these qualities had to come together for the protection of women in order for a man to be truly fulfilled and have worth in Victorian society. Although the listed qualities are the simple definition of what needed to exist in a man’s character for him to be respected as a man in Victorian England, the complexity of the issue lays in the exceptions to the rule. Seldom is a man found who is perfect in any era, including that of the Victorians. Because of this, although the concept of what created the ideal man was never in question, the amount of each quality a man had, or societal atonement of a lack of one quality if he displayed an excess of a different value meant that the definition of masculinity was constantly in flux. This inconsistency manifests itself in many ways throughout the Victorian period and rhetoric centered around what the minimum

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<sup>1</sup> "Masculinity.": *Definition of in Oxford Dictionaries (Thesaurus of English)*. Web. 03 Nov. 2014.

requirements to be masculine, and therefore a good man, can be seen in every aspect of the Victorian period. It can specifically be seen when analyzing what Victorians viewed as challengers to traditional masculinity.

The primary opposition to the ideal Victorian concept of masculinity was peace. Traditionally the English definition of masculinity was centered around bravery on the battlefield. The romanticism with which Victorians read stories about Arthur and Lancelot showed that they still dreamed of a man who could prove his merit through heroic acts on the battlefield, and honor in their personal conduct towards other men.<sup>2</sup> Traditionally in almost any historical culture, a man's ability to fight was what defined him as a real man, and as we read earlier, that physicality is what continues to be used to define what is truly masculine in nature. Because the Victorian era brought about an unprecedented period of peace, they had to search for new, and often less obvious ways to prove they had the characteristics that made them men. Stienbech argues that this period of peace meant that men replaced the traditional expression of their bravery on the battlefield with a much more domestic version, where the focus lied in their ability to protect their wives from things such as working and the cruel work-focused world.<sup>3</sup> While it is true that the movement away from a warrior-type masculinity changed the meaning of the concept in Victorian England, the belief of the English that an ideal man would still display some of those raw qualities, such as strength and physical presence

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<sup>2</sup> Girouard, Mark. *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981. 180.

<sup>3</sup> Steinbach, Susie L. *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Oxon: Routledge, 2012. 133.

did not change. Bravery, and especially ability to protect were central to the Victorians even while the peacetime forced them to change their expectations of men.

During the Victorian era men were no longer encouraged to both prove their bravery on the battlefield, which had also traditionally been a way in which they reaffirmed their loyalty to Christianity. It was because of this that the second challenger that Victorians pointed to, as a threat to ideal masculinity, was the Church. Ironically the role of men as protectors of the faith had shifted almost completely to women after the Crusades. In the approximately four hundred year span between the end of the crusades and the beginning of the Victorian era, several factors had led to the reversal of roles of men and women in protecting the faith. Most importantly the move from Catholicism by Henry VIII, was a major breaking point in the physical religion that had dominated England until that time. After Henry VIII the church in England lost much of its political power, and the new religiosity that emerged in the 1550s was decidedly different from the version that had dominated previous to that. As Protestantism began to take hold in England the Catholic call of active and physical conversion lost most of its appeal and grip in England. The Protestant teachings of philanthropy, accountability, and restraint were not appealing to a class of men who had seen bravery in fighting for religion as an ideal way to prove their masculinity and devotion. These teachings were much more appealing to women, who had until then been generally unable to participate in the physical religiosity that had dominated England.

By the time of the Victorian era, rhetoric complaining about the femininity of Christianity was prominent, and men were uninterested in being faithful Christians,

because the teachings of peace seemed to directly contradict what Victorians considered the natural state of all good men because it seemed distinctly passive. This passivity contradicted Victorian standards for men of being brave and able protectors of their family, a decidedly active task. It was because Victorian ministers understood the alienation of men in the Church as a way of protecting their masculinity that men such as Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes began to coin the term “muscular Christianity.”<sup>4</sup> This muscular Christianity was much more active and encouraged energetic evangelism such as missionary work.

The idea of missionary work as a way to display both a devotion for God, but also as a way to be included in the Biblical concept of “soldiers for Christ”<sup>5</sup> that had been dormant for four hundred years. The passion that muscular Christianity inspired in men can be seen in Jane Eyre in St. John Rivers. He believed that the only way he would feel personally fulfilled was through missionary work and the novel, although somewhat critical of his methods, also never causes the reader to question the righteousness and bravery of his becoming a missionary.<sup>6</sup> The idea that a man could prove himself through devotion and bravery in becoming a missionary was highly appealing to the Victorians and their understanding of how bravery was essential to masculinity.

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<sup>4</sup> Kimmel, Michael S; Aronson, Amy. *Men and Masculinities: A Social, Cultural and Historical Encyclopedia*. Web Publication: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2004. 557-558.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Timothy 2:3

<sup>6</sup> Brontë, Charlotte. *Jane Eyre*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 2011. 449-456.

If feminine interpretations of the Bible were detrimental to the Victorian understanding of masculinity, the Bible's viewpoint of the inherent sin of homosexuality was upheld without falter. Homosexuality challenged essentially every aspect of what Victorians considered idealistic qualities in a man. A man who was homosexual could not demonstrate arguably the most important quality that a man should possess, the ability to protect his wife. Victorian belief also understood that if a man was homosexual, he was most certainly also lacking in physical strength, and more feminine than he was masculine.

Victorian writing seems to understand that public schools were a huge institutional challenge in the fight to instill manly qualities in young men. While young men were expected to be educated in order to be well rounded Victorians and display masculinity through intelligence, public schools where men were confined from their usual experimentation with women meant that they experienced their own sexuality while confined to a school of only other men. This led to the temptation of experimenting with men and becoming gay. The Victorians faced the task of reforming public schools to protect standards of masculinity. While traditionally literary emphasis was heavily based in the Greek classics, the problem of the highly homosexual relationships that were seemingly glorified left the school leadership in an uncomfortable position. Because of the impossibility of removing the Grecian classics from a well-rounded education, the classics were supplemented with traditional English stories about knights such as Lancelot and brave men like King Arthur.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Girouard, Mark. *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman*. 170.

With all of the perceived challenges to Victorian masculinity it was a constant struggle to maintain the righteousness of those values in society, although most believed that it was essential to the survival of a good society that traditional masculinity be fought for and instilled in young men. This leads to the next aspect of masculinity in Victorian England, how Victorians fought back against the challenges to their values for men, and what was done to reinforce the culture of English manliness. There were three distinct and active methods that Victorians used to reinforce the ideals of masculinity in the nineteenth century. The action taken can be seen in the reaction of public school leaders to try to eradicate homosexuality and the homosexual culture in their systems, in the reiteration and glorification of social expectations through popular literature of the time period, and in the laws that were enacted during the time period.

It was because of this that sports were introduced into the curriculum for schools by John Percival, the headmaster of Clifton. He encouraged games because they, “developed manliness (about which he felt as fervently as any Victorian headmaster), but because they encouraged school pride and loyalty” They believed that by exhausting the students physically through activities that were competitive, they could revive the spirit of brotherhood formed in combat and through that, inspire masculinity in an increasingly homosexual environment.<sup>8</sup> This reaction and mentality is perfectly logical when reminded that strength and ruggedness was essential to the qualities that made up the ideal Victorian man. Disappointingly to the school leaders, even with the change in the emphasis on physicality and sports, the problem of homosexuality continued to exist in

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<sup>8</sup> Girouard, Mark. *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman*. 172.

the public education system. To combat this, school leaders began to reduce the emphasis of the Grecian classics in their curriculums and instead focus on the old English stories that included Knights.

The balance of the relationships between Knights that was seen in popular stories written by Tennyson allowed the schools to continue to teach literature, but with a much more Victorian focus on relationships between men as manly and based in loyalty and brotherhood formed in combat, rather than homosexual relationships.<sup>9</sup> It appears that the power of literature was not lost on the Victorians, and the agreement with their values and perceptions of masculinity were mirrored in popular novels at the time.

Because of the increasing emphasis on education for all classes during the Victorian era, a much higher level of the population were literate and the reading of novels began to dominate the era as a form of entertainment for both men and women of varying social status. Although reading of classics such as Greek epics generally remained a pastime of the elites, the popular literature of the Victorian era gives historians the ability to study various views of certain topics that while not being explicitly dealt with, reflect the social expectations of the period. The interest in Tennyson's writing that glorified the idea of traditional English masculinity as being equivalent to being a loyal soldier, a strong warrior, and intelligent displayed the English desire to return to the manliness of old, where a man could prove his masculinity through combat. The form of literature that was most popular with the populous during the Victorian era, however, were novels. Generally novels written during this time period that

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<sup>9</sup> Girouard, Mark. *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman*. 170.

were immensely popular dealt with romance, love and marriage. To support the concept of romance, it was essential that the novels discuss the qualities of the males in the books so that the readers could understand their motives and determine whether or not the author intended for the reader to approve or disapprove of a character. The methods and qualities that authors used to show that a character was either good or bad can be used to determine what qualities were most important to Victorians in determining what qualities of masculinity were essential for a male to be considered a good man.

There are many novels that compare and contrast both good and bad men. This is helpful when readers remember that the Victorian understanding of masculinity was constantly in flux. Men did not have to display all aspects of masculinity perfectly in order to be considered good, manly, men. They did, however, have to make up for qualities that they lacked in order to still be sympathetic characters by having another manly characteristic that could be so strong as to balance out the deficiency in that area. One book that shows imperfect men who are redeemed of their shortcomings in certain qualities by having strength in other qualities is *North and South* by Elizabeth Gaskell. In her novel readers are faced with four men who are imperfect in different ways. Mr. Hale is unable to support his family financially, Fredrick Hale is deemed unpatriotic because of his mutiny, Mr. Thornton is proud to a fault, and Nicholas Higgins is unable to support his family financially as well as somewhat emotionally unstable.<sup>10</sup> Through Elizabeth Gaskell's dissection of these characters, she makes them sympathetic to Victorian readers,

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<sup>10</sup> Gaskell, Elizabeth. *North and South*. London: Penguin Books, 1995.



even with their shortcomings in values that were essential to the Victorian understanding of a manly and therefore righteous man. The complexity in defining manliness can be seen in all of these cases where Gaskell creates sympathy by giving them an excess of another manly character that redeems them. In the case of Mr. Hale, his financial ruin of his family does not make him an unlikeable character because he chose his downfall to maintain his moral integrity. In the same way Fredrick is also redeemed because of the morality of his actions in defying his superior's unjust treatment. Mr. Thornton demonstrates that although a man can be too proud, if his intentions are still righteous, in this case his love for Margaret and desire to protect her, he is an admirable man. Finally even Nicholas Higgins is a good man by Elizabeth Gaskell's, and Victorian's standards because even his faults spring from a desire to protect the women and children around him.<sup>11</sup>

The changeability of the Victorian definition of masculinity and what levels of each characteristic of manliness that a man needs to have in order to be considered ideal only further demonstrates why it is so difficult to pinpoint the exact definition of masculinity to the Victorians. While it is obviously essential for the men in novels of the time period to demonstrate the list of qualities previously enumerated, the characteristics that can be substituted and still constitute a good man seem to be intrinsically understood, rather than actually being able to be explicitly stated. It is important to note that men who fall short of the standards that Victorian males were held to, and still wanted to marry the woman they loved in the novels had to overcome their own flaws in order to achieve their

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<sup>11</sup> Gaskell, Elizabeth. *North and South*.

happy endings. In *Middlemarch* readers see Fred struggle to overcome his financial irresponsibility in order to be worthy of the woman he loves.<sup>12</sup> In *Jane Eyre* Rodham has to overcome the sins of his past and his lies to Jane in order to be worthy of her love and able to have a happy ending.

One major manifestation of masculinity in Victorian England can be seen through the laws and the rhetoric surrounding those laws. The laws created during the nineteenth century are a demonstration of men's need to protect the women around them. Acts like the Miners and Collieries Act, passed in eighteen forty-two, had one specific purpose, the preservation of helpless women. The concept that it was the duty of the men who made the laws to protect women and children from danger was very Victorian in nature. The legislation also served to bolster already existing expectations of masculinity, that good men would be more suited to the dangerous jobs that legislators deemed too dangerous for women and children. In the, article Constant Contradictions, Philippa Levine argues that,

“In easing women out of segments of the workforce protective legislation both served to entrench a model of work culture more and more male in definition and set up a logical continuum of protection in which women were subsumed within a protective custody – protected from the corruption of public participation by legislation as well as

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<sup>12</sup> Eliot, George. *Middlemarch*. London: Penguin Classics, 1871.

by marriage. Marriage remained grounded in this period, of course, in the doctrine of coverture, according men and women respectively the role of protector and protected.”<sup>13</sup> The laws of protection further demonstrate how the concept of masculinity defined the Victorian period. These laws changed the lives of thousands of families and maintained a public understanding of what were appropriate roles for men and women in all society. This legislative expression of masculinity and social expectations for males defined gender roles and the future of industrialization for England.

Men’s ability to shape the lives of women through laws designed to protect them was not the only way in which men’s expression of their manliness affected the lives of women during the Victorian era. Expectations placed on Victorian men to constantly be proving their manliness through a display of masculine qualities meant that the role of women changed dramatically. Gender roles became much more polarized during the nineteenth century as a result of this expression. Women were also expected to enhance the masculine qualities of the men in their lives, without challenging those qualities. Finally the manifestation of masculinity in Victorian lives could even be seen in things as simple as spaces and their purposes.

Gender roles became extremely polarized in the Victorian era initially because of the Industrial Revolution. The Revolution caused a sharp decline in the number of families who supported themselves agriculturally. In almost all of English history women could be seen working alongside their husbands because they were essential to the

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<sup>13</sup> Levine, Philippa. “Consistent contradictions: Prostitution and protective labor legislation in nineteenth-century England” *Social History Vol.* (1994): 23.

survival of the family as viable workers. Initialization meant working as wage laborers and in much more specialized fields. This type of work was initially seen as inappropriate for women, as well as not financially beneficial in many middle class cases. In order for families to make the most out of the wages, it was often more cost effective for women to stay at home where they could raise the children and had the ability to wait outside of markets for hours in order to buy the cheapest and best food while spending the least amount of money possible. Steinbeck writes, “Keeping the family respectable- by constant cleaning, mending of clothes, careful shopping, budget-conscious cooking, and the like-was so time-consuming that some working-class women found it made more financial sense to confine themselves to unpaid family labor.<sup>14</sup> The polarization of gender roles also meant that women were expected to be the perfect examples of feminine qualities in order to exemplify the manliness of their husbands so that the men could feel fulfilled while their opportunities to show their masculinity continued to dwindle.

Any action made by a woman that challenged the masculinity of her husband was seen as both publically embarrassing and emasculating. Because the ability of a man to actively demonstrate his masculinity was seldom as obvious as it had been in the time of knights and battles, his ability to protect and provide for his family became his public expression of his merit. This meant that a woman’s interference in this duty, although potentially in her best interest, was totally discouraged by society. Any action taken by women on their own behalf was not seen by society as simply self-preservation, but actually as a sign that they distrusted the man who had the charge of protecting them to

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<sup>14</sup> Steinbach, Susie L. *Understanding the Victorians*. 119.

be able to fulfill that role. If women publicly demonstrated that they did not trust the man in their life to meet the expectations of Victorian manliness.

Any affirmative action taken by a woman in a situation for her own benefit or even the benefit of her child, taken publicly, would bring her husband's status as a man into question, and bring disrepute on his name. Because the fates of women were so intimately tied with their husbands, an action that caused him to lose respect in the eyes of other men because his manliness, and therefore status in society. It was because of the damage that could be done to both the husband's social status, and the status of the family and wife because of their inseparable ties, that the preservation of the image of the man as being the ideal of masculinity was so important for a woman to uphold.

In the novel *Middlemarch* written by George Elliot present day readers can glimpse how the interference of a wife on behalf of her husband left him open to public humiliation by even his relatives. Who went so far as to say that having his wife write to ask for money was a "roundabout wheedling sort of thing which I should not have credited you with. I never choose to write to a women about matters on business."<sup>15</sup> The dialogue expressed in this letter further serves to support the idea that men who were not able to be self-sufficient, especially in economic matters, and allowed themselves to be represented in public by their wives lost respect in the eyes of other men who were then allowed to public question their masculinity.

The separate spheres of men and women extended not only to societal expectations of their public roles, but also to how space became a division between men

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<sup>15</sup> Eliot, George. *Middlemarch*. 664.

and women. Space, because of women's roles as agricultural workers declining, meant that they were increasingly confined to the home. Places in the city were deemed either masculine or feminine and although men had the ability to move in those different areas with more freedom, the home became the realm of women and the family and the man was expected to have a passive and not very participatory role in the home. The domestic problems that dominated the house were typically seen feminine, and for a man to be involved in them would challenge his ability to be masculine. Instead of being an observer who would step in only in the case of protection of those in his care, who quietly and reliably made sure that financial needs were met, a man who became involved in the home life would be tainting himself by bringing on added stress that would challenge his emotional stability. Because of the rigidity and subtlety of what was deemed manly, it was even more important for women to perfectly fulfill their roles and stay in the spaces where they were allowed. This space separation can be witnessed in several novels of the period.

In *North and South* readers saw that Margaret Hale's action of being out with an unknown man after dark tainted her character in the eyes of Mr. Thornton.<sup>16</sup> In *The Woman in White* the Laura and Marian were not allowed to travel unaccompanied, it was Walter Hartright that had the task of restoring Laura's name without the public help of Marian, even though it was Laura's estate, simply because women were not allowed into that space or sphere because of the Victorian fear that they would either be contaminated by the negative aspects of the masculinity of the sphere or that they would taint the space

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<sup>16</sup> Gaskell, Elizabeth. *North and South*. 264.

with their femininity.<sup>17</sup> In *Middlemarch* the concept that Dorothea should not be alone because it meant that she would be generally confined to her house. Although George Eliot demonstrates her understanding of the difficulty that women had by their confinement through a comment made by Mrs. Cadwallar, “You will certainly go mad in that house alone, my dear. You will see visions. We have all got to exert ourselves a little to keep sane.”<sup>18</sup> In *Jane Eyre* she understood that her moral integrity would be questioned when people understood that she was a woman traveling alone after she had left the safety of Mr. Roderick’s home. Because of that many people in the town where she escaped to were distrustful of her, because a woman who traveled outside of the accepted spaces without the protection of a man was a challenge to Victorian understanding of space.<sup>19</sup> Even prominent newspapers of the time such as the *Guardian* were peppered with rhetoric from Parliament that included dialogue that said, “Reference had been made to what had been called the spherical argument, that was that the sphere of man and that of woman was entirely difficult.” and then went on to enumerate the physical spaces that were being tainted by a mingling of the sexes, such as schools.<sup>20</sup>

This paper has explored what social structures and aspects challenged the dominance of traditional masculinity, enumerated ways in which Victorians reinforced

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<sup>17</sup> Collins, Wilkie. *The Woman in White*. London: Sampson Low, 1860.

<sup>18</sup> Eliot, George. *Middlemarch*.

<sup>19</sup> Brontë, Charlotte. *Jane Eyre*. 336-370.

<sup>20</sup> “Women's Disabilities Royal Bill.” *The Manchester Guardian (1828-1900)*, Apr 27, 1876.

the culture of masculinity, and then how the expectations placed upon Victorian men to meet these standards affected women's roles in society. Through all of these studies one conclusion can be made, the concept of masculinity was essential to the entire history of the nineteenth century in England. Although it was a definition in flux, the demand for men to exhibit their masculinity to achieve social respect meant significant changes in politics, literature, education and women's roles. The social pressure to be the perfect Victorian man through the demonstration of masculinity was the driving factor in every aspect of what we now consider Victorianism.

The definition of masculinity to the Victorians was extremely complex and constantly able to be slightly altered in accordance with public opinion. Despite all of this masculinity was defined by several traits, bravery, intelligence, physical strength, emotional independence, financial responsibility, and a strong sense of morality. The most important aspect of these traits in creating the ideal Victorian male was that they came together for the benefit of his dependents, and especially his wife. In Victorian England the historical struggle between men trying to assert their superiority over other men was fought on this proverbial battlefield. A man's possession of all of the Victorian values became his weapon in the fight, and his adeptness at exerting each value at the proper time, with the proper audience, was how he then became superior to all other men and won the war.



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NIGHT OF BROKEN GLASS REMEMBERED:

HOW THE *NEW YORK TIMES* REPORTED KRISTALLNACHT IN A HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Paighen Harkins  
HIST 3120 Nazi German Culture  
December 2, 2014

**NIGHT OF BROKEN GLASS REMEMBERED:  
HOW THE *NEW YORK TIMES* REPORTED KRISTALLNACHT IN A HISTORICAL CONTEXT**

It is often said that news organizations write the first draft of history. However, news organizations are not just recording history and filing it away. They distribute this draft to the public, whose world perceptions are then molded based on those accounts, those initial drafts. Insofar as American newspapers are concerned—at least in the 1930s and 40s—the *New York Times* was the newspaper of record for not just New York, but also the entire United States. The way that organization did—or did not—cover current events shaped Americans’ understandings of those events, both as they were happening and as they would someday be remembered.

During those times, the *Times* was the ultimate purveyor of international going-on’s, which was important considering nearly the entire planet was involved in the second world war or soon would be. However, as the war raged the *Times* all but left out an important detail of the war: the Holocaust. When the *Times* did cover the events of the Holocaust, the events were either portrayed as a general—not Jewish—problem, or they were hidden on an inside page. The Holocaust, which had killed nearly 6 million Jews before it finally ended in September 1945, the *Times* hardly mentioned in comparison to the other wartime news, or at least did not mention in the same way by giving it front-page play with the day’s other most important articles. There has likely been no greater disservice done to the American public than the *Times*’ coverage, or more accurately its lack of coverage, of the Holocaust during and before World War II. On the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Holocaust, the *Times* itself referred to its coverage as “surely the century’s bitterest

journalistic failure.”<sup>1</sup> As Jewish people in concentration or extermination camps were killed in droves, the *Times* chose to limit its coverage of the targeted group, based primarily on its Jewish publisher, Arthur Hays Sulzberger’s, ideologies. As Laurel Leff said in *Buried by the Times*, “If other publishers worried about appearing neutral with respect to Republicans or Democrats, business or labor, the Dodger or the Giants, Sulzberger worried about the Jews.”<sup>2</sup>

For this paper, I will focus on the *Times*’ coverage of a single event, Kristallnacht, which occurred two years before the war on November 9 and 10 in 1938. I will explore the ramifications of the *Times*’ coverage of Kristallnacht, demonstrating that its front-page coverage was uncommon for stories about Jewish people’s plight, and ultimately showing that greater significance should have been given to this incident and other Holocaust-related happenings, as well as why adequate coverage and play were not given.

### **The New York Times: storied reputation and reaction**

To understand why the *Times*’ coverage of Kristallnacht was so inappropriate for a publication like the *Times*, one must first understand the newspaper’s historical and societal influence and reputation. As Leff puts it, the *Times* was “the pinnacle of 1940s American journalism.”<sup>3</sup> In particular, people read the *Times* for its comprehensive international coverage. The *Times*, of course, boasted the best foreign correspondents, with 30 correspondents in Europe as World War II began.<sup>4</sup> It was the go-to source for war news

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<sup>1</sup> Max Frankel, "150th Anniversary: 1851-2001; Turning Away From the Holocaust." *New York Times*, November 14, 2001, Accessed October 30, 2014.

<sup>2</sup> Laurel Leff, *Buried by the Times*, (Cambridge University Press: 2005), 21

<sup>3-4</sup> Leff, *Buried by the Times*, 9

simply because it printed more of it than anyone, an average 125,000 words per issue.<sup>5</sup> That is impressive considering news space was limited to 1 million words an issue during the war.<sup>6</sup> War coverage took up 12.5 percent of a newspaper on average.

If the *Times* did not appropriately cover the Holocaust—and they did not—it was not because they did not know it was happening. They did know. The decision to not focus wartime coverage on the Holocaust came from Sulzberger, a practicing Jew, and it was decided for two basic reasons. The first, as a Jew during a time of rampant anti-Semitism, Sulzberger did not want readers to believe he unduly covered Jewish issues and causes. Anti-Semitism in the U.S. had been rising since 1920, peaking in the 1930s and during World War II, spurred on by stereotypes and myths that Jewish people manipulated the capitalist system, among other things. As Rafael Medoff says in *Blowing the Whistle on Genocide*, as explanation for the rise, “Although such theories as a whole were too extreme to gain general acceptance, parts of this mythology spread through American society...”<sup>7</sup> Sulzberger had a newspaper’s reputation to protect, and it was a highly esteemed reputation at that. He took great lengths to protect it from any perceived bias, even if that meant inadequately covering the Holocaust, and therefore displaying reverse bias.

The second reason for the *Times*’ little or buried coverage of the Holocaust is that Sulzberger felt covering the Holocaust and framing it as a Jewish issue—which he believed it was not and could not be because Jewishness was a religious faith, not an ethnic group—was inherently incorrect and would do more harm than good. That did not mean the *Times* would not cover the Holocaust. It just meant they would not treat that wartime incident

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<sup>6</sup> Leff, *Buried by the Times*, 168

<sup>7</sup> Rafael Medoff, *Blowing the Whistle on Genocide*, (Purdue University Press, 2009), 2 and 3

any differently than they would any other event. As Leff says, “The *Times* could, indeed should, report what was happening to the Jews, but it would not treat them different than other groups. There would be no special attention, no special sensitivity, no special pleading.”<sup>8</sup> However, the *Times* broke its own rule. It treated the Holocaust differently in that it did not treat it as significantly as it would a similarly influential and important war story. It overcompensated to ensure no one would perceive it as a Jewish paper. It did not do enough to cover the Holocaust.

Part of the problem was Sulzberger’s ideologies about what constitutes a Jewish person. Sulzberger believed Jewishness was solely religious. Adolf Hitler had different views. By 1935, Germany already had citizenship laws in place, which designated citizenship only to those with pure Aryan blood. The law states, “A citizen of the Reich is only that subject who is of German kindred blood and who, through his conduct, proves that he is both willing and able to faithfully serve the German people and Reich.”<sup>9</sup> Sulzberger’s ideologies were problematic because he was trying to treat Jewish people like everyone else, and Hitler was trying the opposite. To Hitler, Jews were a distinctive and special group, which he wanted gone, gone from Germany and eventually gone from the world. The two men had entirely different viewpoints, neither of which, under those circumstances, helped the European Jewry. By fighting for his ideologies, Sulzberger ultimately did both the Jewish people and Americans a disservice.

### **Kristallnacht and the stories that defined it**

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<sup>8</sup> Leff, *Buried by the Times*, 22

<sup>9</sup> “Reich Citizenship Law,” *In Third Reich Sourcebook*, eds. Anson Rabinbach and Sander L. Gilman, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), Kindle location 7261

Kristallnacht, sometimes called the night of broken glass, took place on November 9 and 10, 1938, in protest against the assassination of the German diplomat Ernst vom Rath by a Jew named Herschel Feibel Grynspan. According to a report from the time of the protests, members of the Nazi regime rioted in the streets, breaking out the glass from Jewish-owned businesses and burning down apartments and synagogues.<sup>10</sup> In comparison to other Holocaust-related events, the *Times* devoted a fair amount of coverage to this incident, running at least two stories a day on the front page for at least five days after it happened. Despite this adequate placement, the *Times*' Kristallnacht coverage still falls victim to certain *Times* conventions for covering Jew-related World War II stories, such as shifted framing and uninspired headlines.

The *Times*' first story on Kristallnacht appeared on its second and final night, November 10, 1938. The story summed up the events of the first night's raids. The story ran in a one-column rail on the left side of the paper, third in line based on newspaper page hierarchy, an appropriate position based on its subject matter. Titled "Berlin Raids Reply to Death of Envoy," the story begins clumsily, backing into the heart of the issue, which is summarized in the deck underneath: "Nazis Loot Jews' Shops, Burn City's Biggest Synagogue to Avenge Paris Embassy Aid."<sup>11</sup> Even in the headline Sulzberger's bias shines through, even if he was not directly responsible for what it said. As per Sulzberger's request, articles were framed with as little emphasis on their Jewish roots, even if Jewishness was the article's main issue. This story's headline puts the emphasis on who is

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<sup>10</sup> "Secret Report of the Security Service of the Reichsfuhrer SS," and "Report on Kristallnacht" *In Third Reich Sourcebook*, eds. Anson Rabinbach and Sander L. Gilman, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), Kindle location 8016 and 8039

<sup>11</sup> "Berlins Raids Reply to Death of Envoy." *The New York Times*, November 10, 1938. Accessed October 31, 2014.

committing the raids (Germans) over whom and what was raided (Jews and their property).

Despite the problems with the headline, the story fairly portrays the incident, even going as far as to speculate that Nazi guards may have known about the seemingly spontaneously raids in advance. “The vandalism began in the downtown shopping district on the Leipzigerstrasse and Friedrichstrasse soon after 2 A.M. As if possessing a ‘premonition’ that something might happen, groups of uniformed Elite Guards were gathered at the corner of those two streets when demonstrators arrived,” the article read.<sup>12</sup>

The next day, November 11, 1938, the placement and sheer amount of coverage of Kristlnacht is even more appropriate. On this day, the *Times* ran two front-page stories on Kristallnacht, one about the fate of Vienna’s synagogues and another about the unprecedented looting of Jewish owned shops and offices.<sup>13</sup> In the way the November 10 story failed, these two stories do not. The headlines accurately portray the news, and the stories are framed around the Jewish experience. The looting story’s headline even uses rhetoric that implies that the events were orchestrated by the Nazi regime, noting that as rioters were burning Jewish-owned businesses and common places to the ground, “police stood idle.”<sup>14</sup>

On the third day of stories about Kristallnacht, there is a marked change in the *Times’* tone and focus. In the two stories packaged together as the dominant story on the right side of the paper under the combined headline “Nazis Warn Foreign Press ‘Lies’ will

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<sup>12</sup> “Berlin Raids Reply to Death of Envoy,” *New York Times*

<sup>13</sup> “Nazis Smash, Loot and Burn Jewish Shops and Temples Until Goebbels Calls Halt” *The New York Times*, November 11, 1938. Accessed on December 1, 2014.

<sup>14</sup> “Bands Roves Cities” *The New York Times*, November 11, 1938. Accessed on December 1, 2014.



Hurt Reich Jews; Arrests Run to Thousands,” the Jewish situation is now represented by those who perpetuated the riots and lootings and reactions by Americans. In the American perspective story, which featured prominently district attorney Thomas E. Dewey’s and former governor Alfred E. Smith’s comments on Kristallnacht. In the story Smith is quoted saying Kristallnacht “was not merely a Jewish question, a Catholic question, a Protestant question, a political questions or a labor question, but one which goes to the very foundation on which we have erected America and on which we have stood all during our political life to preserve civilization.”<sup>15</sup> From the article, it is clear that Smith feels similarly to how Sulzberger feels about the events leading up to the Holocaust, though neither man would have been calling it the Holocaust at the time. Both Smith and Sulzberger would rather focus on what they see as the bigger issue with the Holocaust, even though Kristallnacht was so obviously a Jewish-centered event.

On the fourth day, the coverage leans even farther away from the Jewish issue. While the stories are given the same dominant, right-side treatment they were given in the previous days, the larger story of the day is about how the events of Kristallnacht affected the Catholic population, not the Jewish population. The smaller story in the package focused on the Nazi party’s determination to liquidate Jews in Germany, a seemingly more important story than the one directly to its left, although page hierarchy suggests it is less important. Additionally, the two stories seem to contradict each other. Whereas the Catholic-focused story begins, “The wave of anti-Semitic lawlessness here has now been supplanted by a campaign of violence against the Catholic Church,” effectively saying that

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<sup>15</sup> “Dewey and Smith Lead Protests Here Against Anti-Semitic Riots in Reich” *The New York Times*, November 12, 1938. Accessed on December 1, 2014.

the Jewish bent of the original lootings has been completely erased by Catholic-focused violence. However, a quick glance to the right of the story confirms that the situation for Jewish people in Germany is becoming increasingly dangerous and concerning.

The story reports that after the events of Kristallnacht, owners would have to pay for the damages caused by looters. Although the story does not explicitly say—likely because of Sulzberger’s policies—the owners in question were Jewish. This is yet another example of the *Times*’ unwillingness to report the issue as it was: a Jewish issue. As well, the important news about new decrees that further limit the property and citizenships rights of Jewish people in Germany is buried underneath what appears to be a summary of the adjacent Catholic-focused story and reporting on the various reactions to the decrees and the events of Kristallnacht before the story even mentions what exactly the new decrees stated. However, once the story begins to mention the decrees, the reportorial voice was appropriate, sometimes even more scathing than is acceptable by current journalism conventions. For instance, at one point the story describes the decrees by saying they “can no longer be measured by standards of Western bourgeois civilization,” implying the Germans acted barbarically.<sup>16</sup>

On the fifth day of coverage the *Times* focuses on German reactions to the event, showing that many Berliners were “shocked by anti-Jewish actions.”<sup>17</sup> The story is paired with another describing the Nazi party’s quick ascension into political influence and control. The story says the Nazi party “is proceeding at an accelerating pace and has gradually shaken off the influence of what are designated abroad as ‘moderates,’ and in

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<sup>16</sup> “Arrests Continue” *The New York Times*, November 13, 1938. Accessed on December 1, 2014.

<sup>17</sup> “Many Berliners Shocked by Anti-Jewish Actions” *The New York Times*, November 14, 1938. Accessed on December 1, 2014.

both foreign and domestic affairs the ‘activists’ are now in unchallenged control.”<sup>18</sup> These two stories are packaged together in the dominant position on the right side of the paper similarly to the past several days of stories.

### **Impression of the *Times*’ Kristallnacht coverage**

The most unsettling thing about the *Times*’ coverage of Kristallnacht is that it seemingly covered every perspective on the event except for the perspective from the group of people the events targeted: the Jews. Reporters covered the logistics of the event: how many shops were burned, how many Jews were arrested. They covered Germans’ reactions to the raids and the effects on Catholics in the area, but they never voiced the concerns of the Jewish people—at least they did not do it on page one. They left readers to infer how the Jewish people were faring from the logistical coverage, but readers never heard from them directly.

One of the reasons journalism is particularly influential and important in people’s lives is because of its ability to tell stories from individuals who cannot tell it themselves, and with whom some readers may never come in contact. In showing the reader a different side of life, the coverage engenders a sense of empathy for the other people in certain situations. Facts and figures are one thing; a heart-wrenching emotional account is another. Readers in this instance did not get a chance to empathize with the Jewish people in Germany. They only read the hard figures associated with their liquidation from the country, likely forever molding those people’s perception of Kristallnacht in this instance, the entire Holocaust if you take the coverage as representative of the whole. After the *Times* moved on from its Kristallnacht coverage, it did not give another Jewish-centered story the

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<sup>18</sup> Otto Tolishus, “Threats to Further Steps,” *The New York Times*, November 14, 1938. Accessed on December 1, 2014.

same front-page play until the War Refugee Board gave its official statement regarding the extent of killing at the Auschwitz and Burkenau concentration camps in November 1944, six years after Kristallnacht.<sup>19</sup>

A large part of the reason the *Times* so appropriately and accurately covered the events of Kristallnacht is because it had no choice but to cover it well. While some events were easily hidden on inside pages, Kristallnacht caught the attention of the entire world for the sheer breadth and severity of the vengeance against the Jewish people. It got people talking, both from inside and outside Germany. The Nazi regime admits this. A November 1938 report on the populace's response to Kristallnacht states the following: "The brutal measures taken against the Jews have elicited outrage in the populace. People are rather open about it, and many Aryans have been arrested as a result."<sup>20</sup> While that quote only refers to the German populace, based on the *Times*' coverage, it seems the event was a topic of international conversation. Other stories, which elicited less international outrage, were not covered so well. For instance, a December 11, 1938, article headlined "25 'Traitors' Sentenced" received minimal play on page 54, dwarfed by other international stories and the adjacent full page shoe advertisement on the next page.<sup>21</sup> This is troubling because this story received that kind of unimpressive play despite so obviously—at least in retrospect, but likely during its time too—alluding to the coming atrocities of the Holocaust. This was the case for many stories; the *Times* either hid the story or reframed it to focus on a

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<sup>19</sup> Lawrence Baron, "The Holocaust and American Public Memory, 1945-1960," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 17 (2003), 3

<sup>20</sup> Sopade, "Reaction of the Populace to Reichskristallnacht," in the *Third Reich Sourcebook*, eds. Anson Rabinbach and Sander L. Gilman, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), Kindle location: 8112

<sup>21</sup> "25 'traitors' Sentenced." *The New York Times*, December 11, 1938. Accessed December 11, 2014.

perceived general and not Jewish problem. However, Kristallnacht was very obviously a Jewish-centric incident. German officials specifically said so. A set of instruction delivered to German police specifically asks them to not intervene in actions taken against “Places of business and apartments belong to Jews.”<sup>22</sup>

### **How could the *Times* do this?**

As aforementioned, Sulzberger believed Jews were a religion, not a race. This basic belief and his fear of perceived bias tarnishing the *Times*' reputation influenced the way the *Times* covered events both before and during the Holocaust. However, those were not the only factors at play. The first factor is that Sulzberger was not the only person making content decisions at the time. Sure, he believed the stories should be covered a certain way, but an entire bullpen of editors carried out the decision day after day, perhaps never personally consulting Sulzberger themselves and perhaps too carefully treading the line Sulzberger had drawn, which designated the extent to which they should cover Jewish-related events of the war. As Leff says, “Night after night, story after story, no matter the course of the war, the bullpen decided throughout 1943 that news about what was happening to the Jews should go inside the paper.”<sup>23</sup> Leff goes on to make the case that although the editors never came forward with their reasoning for running the stories as they did, they did not need to. The two thousand wartime editions of the *Times* spoke for them.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Reinhard Heydrich, “Instruction for Kristallnacht,” in the *Third Reich Sourcebook*, eds. Anson Rabinbach and Sander L. Gilman, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), Kindle location: 7970

<sup>23</sup> Leff, *Buried by The Times*, 171

<sup>24</sup> Leff, *Buried by The Time* , 176

Another factor was simply American's lack of interest in those events. Despite, as Antero Holmila says in *Reporting the Holocaust in the British, Swedish and Finnish Press, 1945-50*, the Holocaust being a "media event," Americans did not seem to want to follow the events closely.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, "in the West, the beginnings of the war meant less—not more—attention paid to Jews,"<sup>26</sup> and for a number of reasons. First, the Holocaust was not an appealing news event. Novick hypothesizes that people want to read about scandal and outrage, even in the 30s and 40s. These people preferred to read stories of "vice where [they] expect virtue."<sup>27</sup> Essentially, people did not want to read stories that reminded them that bad people perform bad deeds. As well, Americans just did not perceive Germany as the biggest threat in the war, instead focusing their attention on Japan after Pearl Harbor.<sup>28</sup> As well, the *Times* was not the only newspaper to under-report the Holocaust. European newspapers did not do much better, and they were housed on the same continent as the concentration camps, as Holmila infers in *Reporting the Holocaust in the British, Swedish and Finnish Press, 1945-50*.<sup>29</sup>

### **Conclusion on the *Times*' Kristlnacht coverage**

It is true that no matter what editorial decisions journalists make, someone will likely have a problem. Today, many criticize news organizations for covering celebrity gossip more vigorously than important political issues. Although that argument is tired, for instance, one cannot only cover 'important' news, the *Times* certainly made some questionable content placement decisions when it came to covering what would one day be

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<sup>25</sup> Antero Holmila, *Reporting the Holocaust in the British, Swedish and Finnish Press, 1945-50* (Basingstroke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 1

<sup>26</sup> Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 200)

<sup>27</sup> Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*

<sup>28</sup> Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*

<sup>29</sup> Holmila, *Reporting the Holocaust in the British, Swedish and Finnish Press, 1945-50*, 25

called the Holocaust. These decisions were made primarily because of its publisher, Sulzberger's, ideologies about Jewishness. In a memoir by Arthur Gelb, who started as a copyboy at the *Times* and eventually became managing editor, Gelb remembered an instance where the *Times* showed particularly terrible news judgment. In this example, the *Times* broke the news of American troops freeing inmates at Buchenwald as part of a three paragraph aggregated news brief. The news ran among such esteemed company as "War Dog Honored Here," on page eleven.<sup>30</sup>

Sulzberger's policies were not the only factors that prevented the *Times* from covering the Holocaust. American's attitudes toward the event also shaped coverage and placement in relation to other wartime content. However, that is not to say the *Times* could not have stressed the importance of the events leading to and throughout the Holocaust and effectively force people to take note of and react to the Holocaust through front page placement of stories.

While one cannot be too sure how the events of World War II would have played out had the *Times* given better and more appropriate coverage to the atrocities of the Holocaust, the way the newspaper covered Kristallnacht and other events certainly shaped American's perception of the Holocaust, likely for the worst. The *Times* masthead reads, "all the news that fits to print," and if the *Times* does not publish a story, readers could reasonably assume it was not important news; otherwise the newspaper would obviously have it. In some cases, while the *Times* certainly did print news about the Holocaust, the coverage was buried. In doing so, the *Times* effectively told its audience that the plight of millions of European Jews was not need-to-know. If people wanted to know about it, they

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<sup>30</sup> Arthur Gelb, *City Room*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 2003, 79

could dig through the newspaper. If they were not so ambitious, they would never see it. The book “Buried by the Times” is aptly named in two respects: literally because the news of the Holocaust was buried on inside pages and also because a huge portion of the European Jewish population were buried as the *Times* sat idly by, essentially silent on the subject.



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Religion and Resistance: An Analysis on the Influence of Christianity on the White Rose  
Resistance Movement

Laura Kincaide

HIST 3120: Nazi German Culture

Dr. Janet Ward

December 1, 2014

Because religion often leads people to do seemingly irrational things, understanding a person's religion is essential to understand his/her actions. This was especially true in Nazi Germany when religious conviction led some people to risk their lives to do what they believed was right, others allowed their religion to be transformed and co-opted by the Nazis to fit a political agenda while meeting spiritual needs, and still others simply tried to ignore the cognitive dissonance of obeying an authority that was acting in direct contradiction to a spiritual one. This paper will examine the role of Christianity in resistance movements against the Nazis with a focus on the White Rose in an attempt to explain how members of the same religion could have had such drastically different responses to the National Socialists.

The White Rose resistance movement officially began in June, 1942 when the group's first anti-Nazi pamphlet was published and distributed, although the activities and broodings of the members far predated this event. The movement started at the University of Munich, where a small group of students, most notably Hans Scholl, Sophie Scholl, Alex Schmorell, Willi Graf, Christoph Probst, and Traute Lafrenz, and their philosophy and musicology professor, Kurt Huber, discovered that they shared negative opinions of the Nazis and began meeting in secret to discuss their dissident political views.<sup>i</sup> Some of the most dedicated and passionate members felt the need to spread their ideas throughout the German populace and call upon their fellow citizens to passively resist the Nazis. For this purpose they published seven pamphlets containing philosophical and moral appeals, each ending in a request that the reader make and distribute as many copies as possible. These pamphlets never called for an active uprising of the people to fight against the Nazis, revealing the authors' view that such a revolution would be impossible given the Nazis' military strength.<sup>ii</sup> In addition, the authors saw the battle Germans faced as a spiritual one, not physical, in which the Nazis failed to govern correctly and robbed people of

free will. They urged the readers to stop turning a blind eye to the crimes the National Socialists were committing, realize the loss of German honor they were causing, and engage in passive resistance.<sup>iii</sup> This focus on the spiritual aspect of living under the Nazis and the high degree of change the authors thought a spiritual and moral revolution would bring about shows their emphasis on religion and faith in its power to rid the world of the evil of the Nazis.

On February 18, 1943 Hans and Sophie Scholl were leaving copies of their leaflets in the hallway of the University of Munich for students to find and pick up as they switched classes. Having some spare copies, they decided to strew them about the atrium and as they were doing so a custodian noticed them and called the police. Three members, Hans Scholl, Sophie Scholl and Christoph Probst were immediately arrested, interrogated, accused of treason, sentenced to death, and were beheaded on February 22, 1943.<sup>iv</sup> The interrogation and trial of other members and those with whom they were associated took longer due to multiple postponements, but by October of 1943 all of the identified White Rose members had been beheaded or sentenced to life in labor camps.<sup>v</sup> Some of the members believed that their fate would garner publicity and support for their cause, as can be seen in Sophie Scholl's statement from her prison cell that her death was trivial "as long as what we did served to stir up the people and make them think," and her firm belief that students would revolt.<sup>vi</sup> However, it seems Sophie Scholl placed too much faith in her fellow students and their ability to risk their lives as the White Rose members did, creating even more intrigue about what caused these particular University of Munich students to resist. Aside from a few groups of students in nearby cities, the White Rose movement never spread as the founders hoped it would and their voice was mostly silenced until the end of the war when the White Rose became an inspiration for postwar Germany.<sup>vii</sup>

One of the most interesting aspects of the White Rose resistance movement are the overt Christian references in the pamphlets and the religious influence on the members' decisions to risk their lives to resist the National Socialists. Although all of the members of the White Rose identified as Christian, they were from a variety of denominations with Hans and Sophie Scholl identifying as Lutheran, Christoph Probst as Catholic, and Alexander Schmorell as Orthodox.<sup>viii</sup> Although this divide may seem minimal from today's perspective in which religious diversity calls to mind believers in Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, and many other religions, it is important not to gloss over the potential for division created by these different denominations of Christianity, particularly between Catholics and Protestants as illustrated by the historically strained relationship between these two groups. It is impressive that members of these different denominations could collaborate effectively, especially when creating written works based so heavily on religious ideology. The fact that believers of these different religious traditions were able to agree on the line of thought to be followed and published in the pamphlets shows that the White Rose members deemed their goal of inspiring the German people to resist the Nazis to be more important than certain ideological differences. It also shows the universality within Christianity of their core beliefs since followers of practically any denomination could adopt them, and the members' view that the actions of the National Socialists, and Hitler in particular, violated the main tenets of Christianity.

As seen in their leaflets, the main grievances the students held against the National Socialists were that they attempted to rob the German people of their free will, were engaged in the murder of Jews, and constantly lied. Each of these criticisms has religious roots and is backed up textually through some reference to Christianity or through direct quotation of religious texts. The members of the White Rose placed a high degree of emphasis on the idea of free will and

free expression of ideas in any form, be it verbal, written, or visual, and saw Germany's situation of having a government for the government's own sake as "interfering with the progress of the spirit."<sup>xix</sup> This reveals that the White Rose members saw their resistance as a battle for morals and the human spirit rather than political gain. In fact, the White Rose leaflets do not include much political commentary at all, merely a call for freedom. The underlying cause for this passion for freedom comes from the idea that it is "God's will" that every individual pursue his/her happiness.<sup>x</sup> Although the idea of freedom is something contested in philosophy with regards to the issue of predestination and fate, the interpretation of the White Rose members was that God gives humans the ability to choose everything about their lives, and even to choose whether or not to accept the salvation offered by Jesus' death. The idea of freedom was so important to the authors that in letters to one another Hans wrote "I know how limited human freedom is, but... it is his freedom that renders him human."<sup>xi</sup> By this, Hans explains his view that although humans are subject to God, the meager freedom they have is so important that it determines humanity. This discussion of freedom determining humanity is central to the argument presented in the "Leaflet of Resistance" that the National Socialists were subhuman due to their blind following of Hitler and would continue to be so unless they "cast off the cloak of indifference" and began exercising their free will and listening to their conscious as it called them to resist the Nazis.<sup>xii</sup> The White Rose members knew that such resistance would require bravery, but they did not see fear as an excuse for passivity and exhibited courage themselves.

One of the aspects of the White Rose pamphlets demonstrating the bravery of the authors is the blunt and straightforward way in which they present their arguments against National Socialism. In contrast to the elaborate, fanfare-ridden speeches given by Nazis about the wonders of National Socialism bestowed upon the German people by Hitler, the authors of the White

Rose leaflets declared themselves the “guilty conscious” of the German people who were behaving passively in the face of crimes against humanity and ignoring their “responsibility as members of Christian and Western civilization,” furthering the idea that their primary aim was to appeal to people's senses of morality.<sup>xiii</sup> In their second leaflet the White Rose authors refused to discuss the “Jewish question,” writing that it was unimportant in light of the fact that Jews were human beings and were being slaughtered in Poland while Germans were aware of this abomination and doing nothing to stop it.<sup>xiv</sup> From this leaflet it is clear that the White Rose members took a more universal approach to the value of human life than some of their contemporaries and that this value stemmed from the religious belief that God too values all human life. This follows the logic of Michael Von Faulhaber, a Catholic Cardinal and the Archbishop of Munich, who argued that racial tension clouded the fact that Christianity was meant for all people.<sup>xv</sup> Just as the White Rose members overlooked ideological differences between themselves to deal with the greater issue of Nazism, they overlooked religious and racial differences in victims of Nazi violence because of the greater issue of human dignity. Further illustrating the members’ belief in the equality of humans, the White Rose members bemoaned the fate of German soldiers being “sacrificed” to Hitler in Stalingrad, despite the fact that most of these soldiers were likely supporters of Hitler and National Socialism themselves.<sup>xvi</sup> This shows the universal value the White Rose members placed on human life and a compassion for those they opposed, both of which stemmed from their religion.

The view of human life being innately valuable contradicts the beliefs of other Christians who held that they had no responsibility to help the Jews, who they blamed for the death of Jesus. These Christians believed that the Jews were fundamentally different and separate from Christ and therefore were less than human and “the real enemy of Christianity,” which justified



their murder.<sup>xvii</sup> In today's society many Christians attempt to distance themselves from these individuals, who were not merely passive but rather active agents in promoting Nazism, saying that they were not truly Christians. However, because these people identified as Christians, Bergen argues that they must be classified as such and brings into question whether Christians were actors or acted upon in the Third Reich.<sup>xviii</sup> This complicates the discussion of the Christian influence on the White Rose resistance movement since the same religion that led the White Rose members to resist also spurred Nazis to action, but also adds another level of depth to their resistance in their interaction with the church. The White Rose members were willing to criticize the church and members of their own religion, holding all people to the same moral standards in an attempt to have Christianity as they saw it put into practice by everyone. This criticism may have been rendered easier by the lack of affiliation with the church or a particular denomination which was entangled with the state, leaving the members free to focus their attention on their deep concern and love for humanity.<sup>xix</sup>

One of the main issues the White Rose members had with the Nazi co-opting of Christianity was their attempt to use the religion to garner support for Hitler, whom the authors saw as a vile human being. Because the National Socialists wanted to control all aspects of private life and ensure that their worldview was of the utmost importance to Germans, it makes sense that they sought to fill the spiritual needs of the German people through the idolization of Hitler. Hitler was portrayed as a Christ figure for Germany, a man sent from God or who was God himself who would redeem the Germans from their undeserved suffering. This religious attachment to Hitler can be clearly seen in the "Declaration of German Christians," in which Hitler is praised as the manifestation of God's law and affirms the belief that it is God's will for the German race to be purified.<sup>xx</sup> Through this religious devotion to Hitler, the National

Socialists created a way to meet the spiritual needs of the people that simultaneously deepened their devotion to the Nazi worldview. The members of the White Rose found this association of Hitler with Jesus abominable and wrote when Hitler invoked the name of the almighty in his speeches he referred not to God, but to Satan.<sup>xxi</sup>

To more completely understand the role Christianity played in the White Rose resistance movement it is necessary to examine the development of the members' non-religious demographics, religious beliefs, influence from other Christians, and the members' spiritual activity in the face of death. For this purpose this paper will now focus on two of the most prominent White Rose members, Hans and Sophie Scholl. As Baranowski points out in her discussion on the resistance of the Confessing Church to the Nazis, it is important to look at factors other than religious background, such as age, education, and financial stability when examining participants in resistance movements. Hans and Sophie Scholl, as well as most of the other White Rose members fit the mold of being relatively young, educated, and well-off financially and therefore the most likely to engage in resistance.<sup>xxii</sup> However, these factors alone do not necessarily lead to resistance, and the ample religious influences in the published leaflets as well as in personal letters and diary entries gives evidence to support the argument that Christianity was a driving force behind the White Rose movement.

Hans and Sophie Scholl were raised in a Lutheran household where Christianity was emphasized as a way of determining meaning and value in life, which helped the two students develop strong morals and a desire to live uprightly and help others do the same. This focus on religion can be seen in the letters and conversations between Hans and Sophie and their parents, many of which contain a reference to a Bible verse or a work by a religious author, and which Gilman writes prepared Hans and Sophie Scholl "for their valiant, doomed enterprise."<sup>xxiii</sup> In one

discussion about the presence of concentration camps and the deportation of a non-Nazi teacher, Hans and Sophie's father urged his children to realize the value of God-given free will and to "live in uprightness of freedom of spirit, no matter how difficult that proves to be."<sup>xxiv</sup> The Scholl children, however, were not raised to blindly follow religious teachings and spent long periods of time reading philosophical texts and questioning their beliefs to better understand them.<sup>xxv</sup> Not only did this exercise strengthen the members' religious beliefs, it gave them experience in independent thought and moral judgment that would later inspire them to resist the Nazis.

Both of the Scholl children experienced Nazism from an early age and seemed to have an immediate dislike for the contradictions and moral violations they noticed. Hans Scholl became a member of the Hitler Youth in 1933 and even became a squad commander before he resigned because of his inability to place his trust completely in Hitler and follow orders without thinking.<sup>xxvi</sup> The model for a perfect Hitler Youth can be seen in the film *Hitlerjunge Quex* where the main character gives his life to the Nazis figuratively and literally, becoming a martyr for the Nazi cause.<sup>xxvii</sup> To Hans Scholl this religious devotion to National Socialism seemed unfounded, especially after being drafted into the military in 1937, witnessing the horrors of war, and being forced to assist a government he did not support. His antipathy towards the war is illustrated by his statement that he did not know "how long I can bear to watch this butchery of ours."<sup>xxviii</sup> Hans Scholl avoided actually killing others by becoming a medic, but was still deeply troubled by the war. He often studied and drew from philosophical texts, particularly those with a Christian angle, which brought him peace during his service and later during his trial.<sup>xxix</sup> This can be seen in one of his letters, when he says that his heart is deeply troubled, but that he does not despair, and quotes the Catholic writer Paul Claudel, writing, "Life is a great adventure

toward the light,” revealing his view that life, while important, is simply a journey that one goes through to reach God.<sup>xxx</sup> This belief and experience of having it tested in difficult situations deepened his religious convictions and gave him the perspective that his fate was secure enough to risk losing his life.

Similarly, Sophie Scholl served her mandatory labor as part of the League of German Girls at about the same time that Hans was serving in the military. In her letters she complained about the constant, senseless stream of praise for the National Socialists from the other girls in her unit. Sophie made every effort to turn away from her peers, and spent her time reading the Bible and writings of religious scholars such as St. Augustine, which comforted her and clarified her view of life as a gateway to heaven, writing that when her heart was troubled by “petty anxieties” she reminds herself of “the great way home that lies before it.”<sup>xxxix</sup> This view of worldly life as nothing more than a precursor to the afterlife aided Sophie in her resistance when she was willing to risk her life for what she saw as the greater good and gave her peace during her trial.

In addition to reading others’ views on religion and Nazism and publishing their own opinions, the members of the White Rose fully entered the ongoing dialogue on morality and resistance to the Nazis, influencing the writings of other Christian resisters and sharing ideas. In his chapter “Political and Moral Motives behind the Resistance,” Ernst Wolf identifies two motives for Christian resistance to the Nazis: concern for humanity and concern for the church itself. This complicated Christian resistance because of the centuries of church subservience to the state, necessitating this subservience to “be overcome step by step out of religious conviction and not without profound altercation” and a “conversation” on the responsibility of humans to care for each other.<sup>xxxii</sup> One of the most well-known resisters within the church was Dietrich

Bonhoeffer, who argued that Christians, who live their lives for God instead of for themselves, are the only individuals who could sacrifice everything to “answer God’s question and his call” and stand up against the evil of Hitler and the National Socialists.<sup>xxxiii</sup> The White Rose pamphlets also include this idea of the Christian responsibility to resist, showing how the authors were connected to each other in the struggle to inspire people to look critically at their religion and values, realize that the Nazis contradicted these values, and resist the political regime that attempted to control every aspect of life, physical and spiritual. Another example of the back and forth rhetoric between the White Rose and other Christian resisters can be seen in these individuals’ assistance in spreading the pamphlets, particularly over the radio. In one broadcast in the United States the Nobel prize winning writer Thomas Mann, after hearing about the execution of the students, urged his listeners not to assume that to be German was to be a National Socialist. He pointed to the actions of the White Rose members and stated that their leaflets “contain words that go far to make up for many of the sins against the spirit of German freedom.”<sup>xxxiv</sup> These connections indicate that the White Rose members succeeded in entering the discussion on resistance at the international level and were respected by Christian scholars and church leaders who agreed that protecting humanity was more important than protecting the church.

The influence Christianity had on the members of the White Rose and their willingness to risk their lives to resist the Nazis is vividly revealed in their writings and statements leading up to their executions. The students knew there was little hope for their lives, especially since the interrogators and judges followed Nazi ideology even when it was irrational to do so. The Nazi officials showed a lack of understanding of White Rose leaflets, focusing not on the moral appeals to the German people, but on their supposed political motives and attempts to sabotage

the German war effort.<sup>xxxv</sup> This limited analysis and misinterpretation of the actions of the White Rose by the Nazis is itself an example of what the students were fighting against: a state in which human beings were unable to freely live and express themselves. In addition to Nazi ideology, inconsistency in the courts hindered the White Rose members' chance at receiving a just trial. A secret report of the SS shows that lower level courts, such as the one the White Rose members were hastily tried in, were more likely to respond to criticisms of Hitler with the death penalty than higher level courts, meaning that the White Rose members' sentences were harsh even by Nazi standards.<sup>xxxvi</sup> Hanser asserts that "the most convincing testimony to the moral impact of the White Rose" is the Nazi view of the pamphlets as "bold and uncompromising expressions of the free human spirit" and "an intolerable threat."<sup>xxxvii</sup> The authors of these "bold and uncompromising expressions," however, were calm in the face of danger, another aspect of their movement that was religiously influenced.

Despite the certainty that she would be condemned to death, during her time in prison before her trial and execution Sophie Scholl remained firm in her beliefs and was a vocal advocate for her cause to the very end, as portrayed in the film *Sophie Scholl: The Final Days*.<sup>xxxviii</sup> This emphasis on Sophie Scholl's confident and calm demeanor displays director Marc Rothmund's desire to portray her as a heroine, an incredible and innocent woman who stood up for her beliefs, in an attempt to influence the contemporary dialogue on the White Rose and give the students the credit and admiration he believes they deserve. In her account of Sophie Scholl's last days, Else Gebel, one of the few people who visited Sophie Scholl in prison, reveals the source of Sophie Scholl's resolve when she repeatedly marvels at the peace Sophie Scholl felt despite hours of interrogation and writes that her "deep faith gives [her] the strength to sacrifice [herself] for others."<sup>xxxix</sup> Other members were equally as calm, and as they shared a

cigarette before being beheaded, Christoph Probst commented on how being a Christian and having the promise of an afterlife made dying easy. After finishing his cigarette he said to his friends, “In a few minute we will meet in eternity.”<sup>xl</sup> Through these actions it is clear that religion was central to the lives of the White Rose members and that they believed so thoroughly in their cause that even death seemed a small price to pay.

Although the White Rose resistance movement did not succeed in overthrowing the National Socialists, or even in spurring a great number of others to resist, the actions of the students involved shed light onto the complicated and fascinating world of Nazi Germany in which members of the same religion could be diametrically opposed to one another. The members of the White Rose firmly believed that the National Socialists’ actions were opposed to Christianity and held the religious convictions that humans have a responsibility to God to use their free will to follow Him, that the value of human life is universal, and that worldly life is a precursor to the afterlife. Because of these beliefs the members of the White Rose sacrificed their lives to enter a dialogue they hoped would change their country for the better. Their story can be seen as dismal, but as Little notes, to measure the impact of the White Rose based on their role in overthrowing the Nazis is to miss the significance of their actions. Instead, we must realize that if there are people in the world such as those who formed the White Rose who are willing to stand up to injustice no matter the cost, even in the face of all the evil it can and does bring about there is hope for the human race and a reason for its continued existence.<sup>xli</sup>

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<sup>i</sup> Frank McDonough, “Student Protest: The White Rose,” in *Opposition and Resistance in Nazi*

<sup>ii</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>iii</sup> The White Rose, “The First Leaflet,” in *Students against Tyranny: The Resistance of the White Rose, Munich 1942-1943*, trans. Arthur R. Schultz (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1970), 73-75. First published in 1942.

<sup>iv</sup> McDonough, “Student Protest: The White Rose,” in *Opposition in Nazi Germany*, 25-26.

- <sup>v</sup> “Gestapo Interrogation Transcripts: Willi Graf, Alexander Schmorell, Hans Scholl, and Sophie Scholl,” trans. Ruth Sachs, (Phoenixville: Exclamation Publishers, 2003), 267. First written in 1943.
- <sup>vi</sup> Richard Hanser, *A Noble Treason: The Revolt of the Munich Students Against Hitler*, (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1979), 267.
- <sup>vii</sup> *Ibid.*, 305-310.
- <sup>viii</sup> McDonough, “Student Protest: The White Rose,” in *Opposition in Nazi Germany*, 22-23.
- <sup>ix</sup> The White Rose, “The First Leaflet,” in *Students Against Tyranny*, 75. First published in 1942.
- <sup>x</sup> The White Rose, “The Third Leaflet,” in *Students Against Tyranny*, 81. First published in 1942.
- <sup>xi</sup> Hans Scholl, “Diary Entry, August 22, 1942 Sunday,” in *At the Heart of the White Rose: Letters and Diaries of Hans and Sophie Scholl*, ed. Inge Jens, trans J. Maxwell Brownjohn (New York: Harper & Row, 1987), 232.
- <sup>xii</sup> The White Rose, “Leaflet of Resistance,” in *Students Against Tyranny*, 89-90. First published in 1943.
- <sup>xiii</sup> The White Rose, “The Fourth Leaflet,” in *Students Against Tyranny*, 88. First published in 1942; The White Rose, “The First Leaflet,” in *Students Against Tyranny*, 74. First published in 1942.
- <sup>xiv</sup> The White Rose, “The Second Leaflet,” in *Students Against Tyranny*, 78-79. First published in 1942.
- <sup>xv</sup> Michael Von Faulhaber, “What is the Stance of Christianity to the German Race?” in *The Third Reich Sourcebook*, ed. by Anson Rabinbach and Sander L. Gilman, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 419-420. First published in 1934.
- <sup>xvi</sup> The White Rose, “The Last Leaflet,” in *Students Against Tyranny*, 91. First published in 1943.
- <sup>xvii</sup> Walter Grundmann, “Jesus of Nazareth and Jewry,” in *The Third Reich Sourcebook*, 436. First published in 1940.
- <sup>xviii</sup> Doris Bergen, “Nazism and Christianity: Partners and Rivals? A Response to Richard Steigmann, *The Holy Reich. Nazi Concepts of Christianity, 1919-1945*,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 42, no. 25 (2007): 28-29.
- <sup>xix</sup> Ernst Wolf, “Political and Moral Motives behind Resistance,” in *The German Resistance to Hitler*, (Berkeley: University Press California, 1970), 202.
- <sup>xx</sup> “Declaration of the German Christians,” in *The Third Reich Sourcebook*, 420-421. First written in 1933-1934 and published in 1948.
- <sup>xxi</sup> The White Rose, “The Fourth Leaflet,” in *Students Against Tyranny*, 85.
- <sup>xxii</sup> Shelly Baranowski, “Consent and Dissent: The Confessing Church and Conservative opposition to National Socialism,” *The Journal of Modern History*, no. 1 (Mar., 1987): 59, accessed December 1, 2014, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1880377>.
- <sup>xxiii</sup> Richard Gilman, Preface to *At the Heart of the White Rose*, x.
- <sup>xxiv</sup> Inge Scholl, *Students Against Tyranny: The Resistance of the White Rose, Munich 1942-1943*, trans. Arthur R. Schultz (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1970), 12.
- <sup>xxv</sup> Gilman, Preface to *At the Heart of the White Rose*, x-xii.
- <sup>xxvi</sup> Inge Jens, *At the Heart of the White Rose*, 1.
- <sup>xxvii</sup> Hans Steinhoff, *Hitlerjunge Quex*, produced by Karl Ritter, starring Jurgen Ohlsen (1933; Munich: Universum Film AG Studios.), film.
- <sup>xxviii</sup> Hans Scholl, “Hans Scholl to His Parents, Jun 11, 1940,” in *At the Heart of the White Rose*, 53.



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<sup>xxix</sup> Hanser, *A Noble Treason*, 89-100.

<sup>xxx</sup> Hans Scholl, "Hans Scholl to Rose Nagele, February 16, 1943," in *At the Heart of the White Rose*, 279.

<sup>xxxi</sup> Annette E. Dumbach and Jon Newborn, *Shattering the German Night: The Story of the White Rose* (Boston: Brown, Little and Company, 1986), 62.

<sup>xxxii</sup> Wolf, "Political and Moral Motives behind Resistance," in *The German Resistance to Hitler*, 202.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "Resistance and Resignation," in *The Third Reich Sourcebook*, 441. Written in 1945 and first published in 1951.

<sup>xxxiv</sup> Thomas Mann, "German Listeners," radio series, in *Students Against Tyranny*, 152. First broadcast June 27, 1943.

<sup>xxxv</sup> Reich Attorney General, "'Indictment of Hans and Sophie Scholl and Christoph Probst, 21 February, 1943,'" in *Students Against Tyranny*, 106, 109.

<sup>xxxvi</sup> Secret Report of the Security Service of the Reichsfuhrer SS, "Reports on the Program to Combat Criminal Subversion," in *The Third Reich Sourcebook*, 857. First published in 1984

<sup>xxxvii</sup> Hanser, *A Noble Treason*, 309.

<sup>xxxviii</sup> Marc Rothmund, *Sophie Scholl: The Final Days*, produced by Fred Breinersdofer et al., starring Julia Jentsch (2005; Berlin: X Verleih AG.), film.

<sup>xxxix</sup> Else Gebel, "To the Memory of Sophie Scholl, 18-22 February, 1943," in *Students Against Tyranny*, 142.

<sup>xl</sup> Inge Scholl, *Students Against Tyranny*, 62.

<sup>xli</sup> Dumbach and Newborn, *Shattering the German Night*, 242.

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## Federalists, Songs, and the Populist Ratification of the Constitution

Despite elitist tendencies of the Federalists they used songs as a way to gain popular support for the Constitution. In order to ensure the ratification of the Constitution, Federalists published and performed songs to create the impression of a national movement towards the ratification of the Constitution.<sup>1</sup> Though they used popular politics, Federalists tended to distrust the people at large and, as David Waldstreicher states, saw republican government “in terms of elite leadership and popular spectatorship.”<sup>2</sup> Songs were a pithy and memorable way to package political ideas. Often a part of street culture such as parades and festivals, songs were easily learned and spread as well as widely published in newspapers. Their publication and use in public places meant that songs were accessible to people at all levels of American society. The use of songs to create popular support during the ratification process was part of a long tradition of employing songs for political purposes. Ballads and songs had long been a part of British culture and American colonists continued to use political songs in America.<sup>3</sup> Throughout the American Revolution, and continuing on into the party years of the nineteenth century, songs filled an important role in the popular political life of early Americans. From the distribution of songs during the New-Hampshire Grand Procession to the printing of songs in various newspapers throughout the American states, songs played an important role in the success of the Constitutional ratification process.

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<sup>1</sup> Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes*, 53-55

<sup>2</sup> David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes The Making of American Nationalism, 1776-1820*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997) for Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 55. For more on Federalists as elites see, Woody Holton, *Unruly Americans and the Origins of the Constitution*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007). Terry Bouton, *Taming Democracy “The People,” the Founders and the Troubled Ending of the American Revolution*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 171-184.

<sup>3</sup> E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1963).

Songs were an important part of the Constitution ratification process, but songs were used as a tool for social and political change long before the 1780's. Ballads formed an important part of British culture. As oral culture, it is difficult to know exactly when ballads became prevalent in Britain, but many ballads can be traced to the fifteenth century.<sup>4</sup> There are numerous examples of English ballads being used for political purposes. One account stated that, "ballad-singers were paid, and stationed at the end of streets, to chant the downfall of the Jacobins...",<sup>5</sup> another that, the singing of a parliamentary Civil Wars song in a tavern offended a fellow drinker.<sup>5</sup> These instances of political ballads were not anomalies; the use of ballads for political purposes was a common occurrence in England. One study found evidence of the publication of at least seven hundred ballads dealing with public affairs in England from the 1640's to the 1690's.<sup>6</sup> By the seventeenth century political ballads were used extensively throughout Britain. British Americans knew of the efficacy ballads held as political tools, it is therefore unsurprising that ballads became an important part of colonial American politics.<sup>7</sup>

Evolving from the English ballad tradition, the use of political songs and ballads continued in colonial America and were especially important during the Imperial Crisis. Liberty trees and poles became gathering places for America supporters and staging point for parades, feasts, and toasts, each of these events included songs and singing.<sup>8</sup> Revolutionary period street culture created opportunities for people of all races and genders to show support for the

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<sup>4</sup> Ruth Perry, "War and the Media in Border Minstrelsy: The Ballad of Chevy Chase," in Patricia Fumerton, et al., eds., *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800*, (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), 251.

<sup>5</sup> Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 133. Angela McShane, "'Ne sutor ultra crepidam': Political Cobblers and Broadside Ballads in Late Seventeenth-Century England," in Patricia Fumerton, et al., eds., *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800*, 208.

<sup>6</sup> Angela McShane, "'Ne sutor ultra crepidam,'" in Patricia Fumerton, et al., eds., *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500-1800*, 210.

<sup>7</sup> E.P. Thompson, *The making of the English Working Class*.

<sup>8</sup> Simon P. Newman, *Parades and Politics of the Street, Festive Culture in the Early American Republic*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 24-26.

revolution's ideals. Whether implemented during a gathering at a liberty pole or a mourning procession for 'liberty,' songs were an important part of colonial resistance to British rule.<sup>9</sup> The use of songs was particularly important in the street gatherings which reached multi-ethnic male and female audiences and led to widespread participation. Political songs, with simple melodies and easily remembered lyrics were made to learn and share easily.

Though intended to reach mass audiences, the political messages embedded within songs were clear to Americans. Colonial society took the implications of these messages within songs very seriously. In 1734, the printer of the *New-York Weekly Journal* was tried for libel because he printed a political ballad.<sup>10</sup> This incident demonstrates how the serious implications political songs could hold. The important meaning of political songs and ballads was not overlooked by colonial audiences. Printed in newspapers or distributed as broadsides throughout the Imperial Crisis and the Revolutionary War, songs and ballads played an important role in street culture. A 1770 broadside entitled, "A New Massachusetts Liberty Song," stated things like, "We led fair FREEDOM hither" and "torn from a World of Tyrants... We form'd a new Domain, a Land of LIBERTY"<sup>11</sup> This song and many like it, exemplify the predominant themes and ideas used in songs and ballads to inculcate positive feelings towards the American cause.

Songs were not always free-standing works performed in parades and public gatherings, they also appeared in plays. During the Imperial crises, plays served, much like street demonstrations, to instill support for the American cause. The American Company was one of

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<sup>9</sup> Simon P. Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street Festive Culture in the Early American Republic*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 24-26. Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes*, on page 12, Waldstreicher states that, "British America drew upon a rich spectrum of celebratory and anti-celebratory, or mourning, rituals through which they expressed their approval or disapproval of political institutions and events," and that such events "were the building blocks of the Whig rebels' resistance to the British Empire." Waldstreicher continues later to discuss these rituals in more detail (pg 20) stating, "Ballads, always a staple of festive culture, once again became key expressions of political opinions."

<sup>10</sup> Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes*

<sup>11</sup> "The New Massachusetts Liberty Song, (to the tune of The British Grenadier.)," 1770, Early American Imprints.

the most popular American theatre troupes, performing in New York, Philadelphia, Virginia, and Maryland. The American Company adhered to the prevailing political sentiment of the 1770's and their final pre-Revolutionary season displayed increasingly anti-British sentiments.<sup>12</sup> The songs and themes found within plays, much like the songs performed in the street, served to spread political messages that were salient in the colonies during the Imperial Crisis and beyond.<sup>13</sup> Whether performed in formal theatre productions or on the street by common people, songs were an important part of the effort to create popular support for the American cause in the years leading up to the American Revolution.

Though songs often served a political end, not all songs contained political themes. The songs printed in the years after the American Revolution focused on a variety of themes and ideas including nature, comedy, love, beauty, and morals. Songs appeared in newspapers throughout the United States with titles like, "A Parisian Song" (which mocked Parisians for drinking too much wine), "Ode to the Month of May," or "Ode to Modesty."<sup>14</sup> Whether they served to promote social values like the "Ode to Modesty," or to simply praise nature, like the "Ode to the Month of May," songs were a part of the daily lives of Americans. An article that was widely published in newspapers throughout America, speaks of the ways songs appeared in everyday life. In the article, the author comes across a "blind man singing a song of love," upon

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<sup>12</sup> Jason Shaffer, *Performing Patriotism National Identity in the Colonial and Revolutionary American Theatre*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 72.

<sup>13</sup> For in depth discussions on the role of theatre in the American republic see Heather S. Nathans, *Early American Theatre from the Revolution to Thomas Jefferson, Into the Hands of the People*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Jeffrey H. Richards, *Drama, Theatre, and Identity in the American New Republic*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

<sup>14</sup> I use the word song to refer to texts variously entitled 'ode' 'song' or 'ballad.' Ode's are pieces of poetry traditionally set to music and sung or recited, therefore having a functionality which is very similar to songs. "Ode on the Month of May," *Independent Gazetteer*, Philadelphia, May 2, 1787. "Ode to Modesty," *Virginia Journal*, Alexandria, May 17, 1787. "A Persian Song," *Newport Herald*, Newport, May 24, 1787,



hearing the song a passing sailor “stopped and purchased a ballad of the blind man.”<sup>15</sup> Whether fictional or not, the account of the blind man selling ballads and singing on the street shows how songs appeared within early American society. Songs were learned and spread in many different ways, and often performed in American homes as entertainment. Even if singers had little musical training the simple, short stanzas and melodies and variety of topics allowed for songs to pervade nearly every level of American society.<sup>16</sup>

Whether used as a political tool or for entertainment, songs diffused into nearly every sphere of American society. Transmitted through print and word of mouth in a time where recording and sharing were nonexistent, songs were at once part of oral and print culture. Because songs circulated widely throughout American culture, they became tools for unification. The act of singing together, especially during public celebrations, allowed people of different economic levels, races, and genders, to unite around a shared idea. Whether singing a song to the beauty of nature or to the downfall of the British crown, singing united people. They were printed, performed, and talked about in many settings including theatres, streets, and homes. As the delegates gathered to begin the task of creating a new constitution in 1787, they operated within a society in which songs played an important role. The delegates knew that songs had long been used in English and colonial American society to enforce social norms, they also knew of the political role songs played in the Imperial Crisis and in maintaining support for the American cause during the Revolution. Equipped with the knowledge of the social and political role songs had played before and during the Revolution, and of the prevalence of songs in the

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<sup>15</sup> For the first of many republications of this account available through America’s Historical Newspapers database see, “Sentimental Miscellany. Scene, a Street in New-Haven,” *Hampshire Chronicle*, Springfield, April 3, 1787.

<sup>16</sup> Nicholas E. Tawa, “Secular Music in the Late-Eighteenth-Century American Home,” *The Musical Quarterly*, 61:4, October 1975, 515-518.

everyday lives of Americans, Federalists began to utilize songs as the states considered the ratification of the Constitution.<sup>17</sup>

The Federalists believed in the necessity of a new government, yet the process of creating a new constitution was neither easy nor swift. The experiences of the Continental Congress during the Revolution highlighted what Federalists saw as the fatal flaws of the Articles of Confederation.<sup>18</sup> One widely published song noted several of the issues faced by Americans under the Articles of Confederation:

From Scenes of Affliction-Columbia opprest-  
Of credit expiring-and commerce distrest,  
Of nothing to do-and nothing to pay-  
From such dismal scenes let us hasten away<sup>19</sup>

With pressing debts owed to the French and Dutch governments, a recently suppressed armed rebellion in Massachusetts, a flagging economy, and holding little power to change the Articles, Virginia called the Annapolis Convention in 1786. The Annapolis Convention included only twelve delegates from five states, all who had “unusually strong views about the need for a significantly more powerful central government.”<sup>20</sup> The Annapolis Convention did not make a quorum, but recommended another convention to consider revisions to the Articles of Confederation meet in May of 1787. Continental Congress belatedly agreed to the Constitutional Convention in February 1787 with the condition that the Convention only discuss amendments to the Articles.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> For the use of songs to unify see, Newman, *Parades and Politics of the Street*, 177-185. Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes*, 20.

<sup>18</sup> Richard Beeman, *Plain, Honest Men, The Making of the American Constitution*, (New York: Random House, 2009,) 9-10.

<sup>19</sup> “The Grand CONSTITUTION: or the PALLADIUM of COLUMBIA: A NEW FEDERAL SONG,” *Massachusetts Centinel*, (Portsmouth), October 6, 1787.

<sup>20</sup> Beeman, *Plain, Honest Men*, 19.

<sup>21</sup> Paul A. Gilje, *The Making of the American Republic 1763-1815*, (Upper Saddle River: Pearson Education, Inc., 2006), 76-77.

The Constitutional Convention assembled in Philadelphia on May 25, 1787. Though the Continental Congress only authorized the Constitutional Convention to amend the Articles, they proposed an entirely new document which was fundamentally different from the Articles of Confederation.<sup>22</sup> The Convention recommended that the, “Constitution be laid before the United States in Congress assembled” and also, “be submitted to a Convention of Delegates, chosen in each State by the People thereof, under the Recommendation of its Legislature, for their Assent and Ratification.”<sup>23</sup> After nine states had ratified the Constitution, the Congress would set a date for the election of the president and for the start of the new government under the Constitution.

The ratification of the Constitution would span from September 17, 1787 to May 29, 1790 when Rhode Island became the last of the original thirteen states to ratify the Constitution. Though the Constitution went into effect by March 4, 1789, the ratification process lasted much longer; the length of the ratification process indicates the amount of contention that raged within the state conventions. As the debates unfolded the assenting and dissenting sides became known as the Federalists and the Antifederalists. The Federalists supported a strengthened national government led by a natural aristocracy and therefore promoted the ratification of the Constitution. Opposing the Federalists, the Antifederalists believed that the Articles should simply be revised and argued that the Constitution gave too much power to the national government. The Antifederalists critiqued the Federalists for favoring the wealthy elite interest and limiting the role of common people on the government.<sup>24</sup> Despite the eventual ratification

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<sup>22</sup> John K. Alexander, *The Selling of the Constitutional Convention, A History of News Coverage*, (Madison: Madison House, 1990), 2. Christopher M. Duncan, *The Anti-Federalists and Early American Political Thought*, (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1995), 99-100. Pauline Maier, *Ratification The People Debate the Constitution, 1787-1788*, (New York, Simon & Schuster, 2010), 29.

<sup>23</sup> *The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution Digital Edition*, ed. John P. Kaminski, Gaspare J. Saladino, Richard Leffler, Charles H. Schoenleber and Margaret A. Hogan. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 317-318, <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/RNCN-01-01-02-0008-0004>

<sup>24</sup> W.B. Allen, Gordon Lloyd eds., *The Essential Antifederalist*, (Lanham: University Press of America, 1985), viii-xiv. Gilje, *The Making of the American Republic 1763-1815*, 63-64.

of the Constitution, the Antifederalist position had salience during the ratification debates and “had a public referendum been called in 1787 it is unlikely that the Constitution would have been ratified.”<sup>25</sup>

Historians have identified many reasons for the Federalist victory in the ratification struggle; a list which should include the use of popular songs. The Federalists were better organized than the Antifederalists and the Federalists controlled more print outlets. For example, New York City had nine newspapers, eight of which were edited by Federalists.<sup>26</sup> Another important factor in the Federalist success was the people who endorsed their cause. Many Federalist leaders acknowledged the importance of having the right people associated with their cause. George Washington wrote to Henry Knox that, “It is highly probable that the refusal of our Govr and Colo. Mason to subscribe to the proceedings of the Convention will have a bad effect in this State.”<sup>27</sup> Federalist leaders recognized that the lack of support for the ratification of the Constitution by some of the leading men of the American Revolution was injurious to the Federalist cause. Yet the Federalist also had the support of many veteran politicians and war heroes, most notably, George Washington.<sup>28</sup> The strength of the Federalists and Antifederalists varied from state to state. Notable persons wrote for and against the ratification of the Constitution and the print war over ratification was fierce, but the last and most important element of the ratification debate was the utilization of popular political culture through political songs.

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<sup>25</sup> Gilje, *The Making of the American Republic*. 80.

<sup>26</sup> Rutland, *The Ordeal of the Constitution*, 21

<sup>27</sup> George Washington to Henry Knox, 1787: Oct 15, from Theodore J. Crackel ed., *The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008), <http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GEWN-04-05-02-0341> [accessed 29 Oct 2014]

<sup>28</sup> Rutland, *The Ordeal of the Constitution*, 17.

The role Federalist print and personages played in the success of the ratification has been studied extensively, but the Federalist success was due in large part to their utilization of popular street culture and political songs. The Federalists knew the successful history of political songs in America. As one historian stated, “The founding generation drew on music and harmony to create aural representations of national union.”<sup>29</sup> The songs that featured in Federalist organized parades and processions helped create popular support for the Federalist view. Though there is evidence that Antifederalists attempted to utilize street political culture to amass popular support for their cause, the Federalist’s use of street culture was much more successful than the Antifederalists.<sup>30</sup> Federalist planned processions where songs played an important role. Both performed during the processions, and afterward printed and spread throughout the states, songs served as oral and print tools for disseminating Federalist notions. The Federalists were particularly prolific songwriters, their songs appeared throughout America during 1787 and 1788. These songs created a popular movement towards the ratification of the Constitution.

Though some historians argued that American populist political appeals did not appear until the 1790’s, the use of songs and political street culture during the ratification debates show that the Americans appealed to mass politics long before the Jeffersonian era.<sup>31</sup> The political use of songs during the ratification debates was part of a long tradition of using out-of-door festivities, which included songs, in order to achieve political ends.<sup>32</sup> The American Revolution owed a great deal to the ability of common people to organize around outdoor events and resist

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<sup>29</sup> Kirsten E. Wood, “Join with Heart and Soul and Voice”: Music, Harmony, and Politics in the Early American Republic,” *American Historical Review*, Oct2014, 119:4, 1083-1116

<sup>30</sup> Harlow Giles Unger, *America’s Second Revolution, How George Washington Defeated Patrick Henry and Saved the Nation*, (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2007), 93. See also, Maier, *Ratification*, 120-122.

<sup>31</sup> Todd Estes, “Shaping the Politics of Public Opinion: Federalists and the Jay Treaty Debate,” *Journal of the Early Republic*, 20:3, Autumn 2000, 393-422.

<sup>32</sup> See Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes*. Robert W. T. Martin, *Government by Dissent*. Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street*.

British taxes and ideologies. Part of the revolutionary era's legacy was the songs used in many outdoor political events. The appeal to popular political participation continued to remain prolific during the 1790's. Closely aligned with the rise of political parties, in the street culture of the 1790's songs were a staple of popular political life. In 1798 Federalists and Democratic-Republicans engaged in a "singing contest," and many historians have explored the French and English origins of the songs which Federalists and Democratic-Republicans used to gain popular political support.<sup>33</sup> The use of songs in performance and print by Federalists during the ratification debates is no surprise, given the history of popular political culture in America. Songs were political tools that reached every level of American society; Federalists implemented them in a variety of ways to maximize the impact songs had on the ratification conventions. Often published in newspapers, songs aimed to draw attention to the ratification conventions. Songs were also used as a part of parades which celebrated the successful ratification of the Constitution and created a national push towards ratification.

Newspapers published songs in the months preceding a state's ratification convention. One of the most extensively published Federalist songs was the "The Grand CONSTITUTION: or, The PALLADIUM of COLUMBIA: a NEW FEDERAL SONG." First appearing in *The Massachusetts Centinel* on October 6, 1787, "the Grand Constitution" instructed singers:

With gratitude let us acknowledge the worth,  
Of what the CONVENTION has call'd into birth  
And the Continent wisely confirm what is done

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<sup>33</sup> Andrew W. Robertson, "Look on This Picture... And on This! Nationalism, Localism, and Partisan Images of Otherness in the United States, 1787-1820," *American Historical Review*, October 2001, 1275. Wood, "Join with Heart and Soul and Voice: Music Harmony, and Politics in the Early American Republic." Liam Riordan, "O Dear, What Can the Matter Be? The Urban Early Republic and the Politics of Popular Song in Benjamin Carr's *Federal Overture*," *Journal of the Early Republic*, Summer 2011. Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street*, 177-182.

By FRANKLIN the sage, and by brave WASHINGTON.<sup>34</sup>

This verse, by linking the Constitution and the Constitutional Convention to Benjamin Franklin and George Washington draws on the celebrity of both men to gain popular support for the Constitution. The chorus of “the Grand Constitution” called for widespread ratification with the line, “unite, boys, unite.”<sup>35</sup> Other Federalist songs slandered their Antifederalist opponents; one song stated that, “men of might with ranc’rous spite,” had “scatter’d forth...their Antifederal notions” which were,

Supported by some British spy,  
Who secret spreads his money,  
Which makes the Anti-Lawyers speak  
As smooth as any honey.<sup>36</sup>

By casting Antifederalists as unvirtuous traitors, this song utilized the ideal of republican virtue that was already prevalent in the American consciousness.<sup>37</sup> Rather than working for the common good, as republican thought upheld, the song cast Antifederalists as avaricious and immoral. Other songs highlighted the compatibility between republicanism and the Constitution. Many songs spoke of the economic gain the Constitution would bring for all Americans, a theme also ubiquitous within Federalist processions. Unlike the Antifederalists in the above song, this song shows that Federalists wanted all Americans to gain wealth. One verse stated:

Then, Men for men, shall each citizen,  
Adopting the *New Constitution*,  
Behold the increase, in plenty and peace,  
Of riches and same in profusion.<sup>38</sup>

The above examples demonstrate the many themes and tactics employed by Federalists through the publication of songs in newspapers throughout the United States. Often such songs were

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<sup>34</sup> “The Grand CONSTITUTION: or, The PALLADIUM of COLUMBIA: a NEW FEDERAL SONG,” *Massachusetts Centinel*, (Portsmouth), October 6, 1787.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> “A Federal Song,” *Freeman’s Oracle*, (Exeter), July 11, 1788.

<sup>37</sup> Gilje, *The Making of the American Republic*, 30-39.

<sup>38</sup> “The New CONSTITUTION. A Song,” *Massachusetts Gazette*, (Boston), July 4, 1788.

used in many different states as their ratification conventions neared and republished after the Constitution was ratified in order to maintain popular support.

Federalists used songs during the state conventions, often planning performances and distributing them during parades and other outdoor celebrations. Federalists frequently planned a procession in the weeks following a successful ratification convention; these processions often included a song composed expressly for the occasion. Reaching people of various backgrounds, genders, and races with their large numbers of participants and onlookers, processions spread Federalist ideas. For example, the New York Federal Procession featured approximately 66 different groups of artisans and professionals.<sup>39</sup> By including many groups in the actual procession as well as the audience, Federalists created the impression that the ratification of the Constitution was part of a popular, national movement towards ratification. An editorial, which preceded a description of the federal procession in Baltimore, demonstrated the Federalist desire to create the feeling that all thirteen states would inevitably accept the Constitution. The author stated that, “[Maryland] has erected the SEVENTH PILLAR, upon which will be reared the glorious fabric of American greatness...” he continued with, “O! may the happy moment soon arrive when the August temple of Freedom shall be supported by Thirteen Pillars...”<sup>40</sup>

Federalists did not immediately stop promoting their cause after a state had ratified the Constitution, the success in one state spurred other state’s ratifying conventions. A form of political peer pressure, Federalists published accounts of celebratory processions and parade songs throughout America. These accounts allowed states who had not yet ratified to see the political decisions of their neighbors. The celebrations which followed ratification included widespread participation and created the sense of broad support for ratification. By using

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<sup>39</sup> *Independent Journal*, (New York City), July 23, 1788. Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes*, 53-107.

<sup>40</sup> “Baltimore, April 29,” *Columbian Herald*, (Charleston), May 19, 1788.



processions and songs to celebrate one state's ratification, the Federalists created the impression of the inevitable American acceptance of the Constitution.

Designed to spread the feeling that ratification could not be stopped, accounts of post-ratification processions would not have been as effective without songs. Songs had a powerful immediate effect when sung during processions. The unification of participants and onlookers during the singing of political songs is extremely significant, but songs were also powerful tools when in print. Federalists widely published songs in newspapers as a part of descriptions of outdoor street celebrations. Not only did songs unite the participants processions, the account of the initial singing accompanied by the song allowed distant readers to associate with temporally and geographically removed processions. By reading an account of a celebration and song enacted in Boston, a Virginian could feel associated with the events and people who participated in the Boston celebration. Songs uniquely allowed distant readers to feel connected to the parades and processions. Reading a description of an event allowed a distant reader to visualize the Federalist celebrations in other cities, but without the use of etchings or pictures, these visualizations were necessarily imagined. On the other hand, singing a song performed at a celebration brought the reader a more realistic experience with geographically and temporally distant processions.<sup>41</sup> The 1787 Fourth of July celebration in Boston featured an “ODE-set to musick by mr. Sleby.” The “Ode to Independence,” was performed by a soloist and chorus consisting of a “select company of singers.” The article also included the verses of the ode.<sup>42</sup> A reader in New York or Connecticut could both read a description of the Boston celebration and

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<sup>41</sup> For a discussion on the importance of newspaper accounts of in celebration culture see Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes*, 32-34.

<sup>42</sup> “Boston, July 6. Fourth of July,” *Massachusetts Gazette*, (Boston,) July 6, 1787.

sing the song featured in the celebration.<sup>43</sup> By publishing the songs used in processions, the Federalists ensured that the songs reached more people than if the song was simply allowed to spread organically by people who attended the celebration where the song was first presented. Whether through print or performance, songs were an important part of the ratification debates throughout the United States. The close examination of the ratification process in New Hampshire, New York, and Pennsylvania show the specific ways political songs operated in individual state ratification debates.

When Massachusetts ratified the Constitution on February 6, 1788 many of the leading Federalists believed neighboring New Hampshire would quickly follow. Yet when the New Hampshire convention met in early February 1788 things quickly went downhill. The Federalists, fearing defeat called for the convention to adjourn without voting, claiming they could not vote without consulting their constituents. It would not be till June of 1788 that the New Hampshire convention would meet again.<sup>44</sup> Several songs appeared in New Hampshire newspapers between the Constitutional Convention and New Hampshire's ratification. Some of these songs used tunes and imagery from the American Revolution. The use of Revolutionary symbolism created the impression of the Constitution as the natural outgrowth of the Revolution. These songs included a history of the Constitutional Convention sung to the tune of Yankee Doodle. Yankee Doodle was a powerful symbol in early America; it harkened back to the Revolution and American victory over the British.<sup>45</sup> Another song was entitled, "Our Liberty Tree, A Federal Song" spoke of the loss of the liberty tree and closed with the line, "Our

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<sup>43</sup> "Boston, July 5," *Daily Advertiser*, (New York,) July 12, 1787. "Boston, July 5," *Independent Gazetteer*, (Philadelphia,) July 13, 1787. "Ode on the Anniversary of INDEPENDENCE, set to musick by Mr. Selby and performed at the Stone-Chapel, on Wednesday last," *Litchfield Monitor*, (Litchfield,) July 30, 1787.

<sup>44</sup> Maier, *Ratification*, 214-223. Beeman, *Plain, Honest Men*, 391, 395.

<sup>45</sup> William Gibbons, "'Yankee Doodle' and Nationalism, 1780-1920," *American Music*, Vol. 26, No. 2, (Summer 2008).

Constitution confirm- it firmly shall fix, its idol-our Liberty Tree.”<sup>46</sup> Liberty trees were also important during the Imperial Crisis and Revolution. Epicenters of political activity, liberty trees and poles served as gathering places for American sympathizers. The ‘loss of the liberty tree’ the Federalist song spoke of indicates that without the Constitution, Americans would lose their independence and ability to create political change. Another song published in New Hampshire spoke directly to the ‘federal mechanics.’ The American Revolution caused the view of mechanics to undergo a drastic shift. Once the considered lowly wage laborers, American mechanics became “central components of the new, virtuous republic.”<sup>47</sup> Though unusual in its specificity, the federal mechanic song took advantage of the mechanics’ role as the virtuous middle man between the elites and poor. The chorus claimed that mechanics supported ratification when it stated,

For our roof we will raise, and our song still shall be-  
A government firm and our citizens free.”<sup>48</sup>

By casting mechanics as supporters of the Constitution, this song used a powerful and admired group to advance the Federalist cause. The songs which appeared in New Hampshire newspapers promoted Federalists views. The songs published in New Hampshire were just part of Federalist efforts in that state. The second ratification convention met in June of 1788 and with the help of political maneuverings, New Hampshire did vote to ratify the Constitution on June 21.

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<sup>46</sup> “A Yankee Song,” *New-Hampshire Gazette*, May 12, 1788. “Our LITERTY-TREE: A Federal SONG,” *New-Hampshire Spy*, January 15, 1788.

<sup>47</sup> Paul A. Gilje, “Mechanics in New York City in the Era of the Constitution,” in Robert I. Goler ed., *Federal New York: A Symposium*, (New York City: Fraunces Tavern Museum, 1990)

<sup>48</sup> “The RAISING: A new SONG for the FEDERAL MECHANICKS,” *Freeman’s Oracle*, March 12, 1788. Also published in New Hampshire during their ratification process was “The Grand CONSTITUTION: or, The PALLADUIM of COLUMBIA: a NEW FEDERAL SONG,” *New-Hampshire Gazette*, October 13, 1787.

On June 28, the Federalists celebrated the ratification of the Constitution in Portsmouth where a “numerous concourse of inhabitants” from Portsmouth and neighboring towns gathered to watch and participate in a Grand Procession.<sup>49</sup> The parade that unfolded included a full sized ship named “Union” pulled by nine horses, representatives from multiple trades, and a fully operational printing press which was, “employed during the whole procession in striking off and distributing among the surrounding multitude, songs in celebration of the ratification of the federal Constitution by the state of New-Hampshire.”<sup>50</sup> Here we see a direct connection between songs and processions. Thus, New Hampshire federalists, more than most, utilized the power of songs. The lyrics passed out during the Grand Procession described the American Revolution, in terms of the “NINE,” a reference to the nine states which had ratified the Constitution by June 1788, rather than in terms of the original thirteen colonies:

In vain did Britian forge the chain,  
While countless squadrons hid the plain  
HANTONIA, foremost of the NINE  
Defy'd their force and took Burgoyne<sup>51</sup>

By speaking of the Revolution as a victory of the nine states who had ratified the Constitution, and associating it with the surrender of British general Burgoyne at Saratoga in 1777, the author made the Constitution into the natural and predestined end of the American Revolution. The “Federal Song” of New Hampshire was also extensively published, appearing throughout the United States. The publication of a song related to ratification in one state was a tool used by Federalists to help people in other states feel that the ratification of the Constitution was inevitable. The songs published throughout New Hampshire’s ratification process and the song

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<sup>49</sup> “Grand Procession at Portsmouth,” *New-Hampshire Spy*, VO. 4 NO. 19 pg. 74 (Portsmouth, June 28, 1788)

<sup>50</sup> “Grand Procession at Portsmouth,” *New-Hampshire Spy*.

<sup>51</sup> “Federal song, on the adoption of the federal Constitution, by the state of New-Hampshire, June 21st, 1788. (To be sung at the celebration, the 26th.)” Portsmouth, 1788, America’s Historical Imprints. Hantonia is an archaic name for Hampshire.

printed and handed out during the Grand Procession demonstrated the various ways which Federalists used songs to promote the adoption of the Constitution.

While Federalists thought the New Hampshire ratification would be easy and were surprised, there was no surprise at the difficult battle over ratification in New York. One of the most noted Antifederalists, George Clinton, was from New York. The refusal of New York to work with the Continental Congress highlighted the flaws in the Articles of Confederation.<sup>52</sup> By the time the ratifying convention in New York began, ten states had already ratified, meaning that the Constitution would become the nation's government. Yet as Richard Beeman pointed out, New York's hostile attitude toward the Constitution "posed a threat to the effectiveness and durability of the new union." As a commercially powerful state, it was important for the Federalists to ensure that New York ratified the Constitution even though they had already surpassed the nine state required for the adoption of the Constitution. New York was one of the states where Antifederalists took to the streets. On one occasion they celebrated the Fourth of July by burning a copy of the Constitution along with an announcement of Virginia's ratification.<sup>53</sup>

New York Federalists featured a song in the Grand Federal Procession which followed New York's ratification. Much like the other post ratification processions this parade included representatives from many different trades, artillery, and a full sized ship called, "Hamilton." The procession reached a massive audience; it was watched by six or seven thousand people according to contemporary sources.<sup>54</sup> The song composed for New York's Grand Federal

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<sup>52</sup> Beeman, *Plain, Honest Men*, 15.

<sup>53</sup> Maier, *Ratification*, 374

<sup>54</sup> "New-York, July 2," *New York Journal*, (New York City), September 24, 1788. For a detailed examination of New York's Grand Procession see Paul A. Gilje, "The Common People and the Constitution: Popular Culture in

Procession was written by Samuel Low, a poet and playwright.<sup>55</sup> Entitled “Ode for the Federal Procession,” this song was longer than other songs associated with ratification celebrations.<sup>56</sup>

Another interesting part of the “Ode for the Federal Procession” is the way it referred to the other American states. Earlier Federalist songs purposefully emphasized the number of states which had ratified the Constitution in their songs, for example the New Hampshire ratification song refers to “the nine” because only nine states had ratified the Constitution up until that point. The New York ode referred to “ten sovereign states in in Friendship’s league combin’d.” But later stated,

The Fed’rel System, which, at once, unites  
The Thirteen States, and all the people’s rights<sup>57</sup>

The song referred to the federal system as unifying thirteen states, though in July of 1788 only eleven states had ratified the Constitution. The reference to the federal system uniting the thirteen states rather than the eleven who had ratified, demonstrated the assumption that now that New York had joined the Union, the remaining two states had little choice but to do likewise.

As New York and New Hampshire’s ratification histories attest, the use of songs within state ratification debates varied, but nearly every state had a post-ratification procession which included a song composed especially for the occasion. The post ratification songs and processions served to create a feeling of national movement towards ratification. Pennsylvania, the second state to ratify the Constitution, shows how Federalists began to manipulate street politics in order to advance their cause. After Pennsylvania’s ratification on December 12, 1787

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New York City in the Late Eighteenth Century,” in *New York in the Age of the Constitution 1775-1800*, eds. Paul A. Gilje, William Pencak (Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 1992), 20-47.

<sup>55</sup> Thomas Edward Vermilye Smith, *The City of New York in the Year of Washington’s Inauguration, 1789*, (New York: Anson D.F. Randolph & Co., 1889), 200.

<sup>56</sup> “Ode for the federal procession, upon the adoption of the new government. Composed by Mr. L\*\*,” New York, 1788.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

a procession was announced for the following day. Yet after the procession Philadelphia papers stated that, “the conduct of our fellow citizens on the late glorious occasion of solemnly proclaiming to the people, the ratification and adoption of the proposed new constitution...does them no honor.” The papers went on to indicate that the many of the judges, justices, state officers, university faculty, militia officers, and citizens supposed to participate in the procession did not even attend.<sup>58</sup> The author also noted that, “the common people, I observed, were as inattentive as the others; they did not shew any attention...”<sup>59</sup> The first Pennsylvania procession was a resounding failure, perhaps due to factors outside of Federalist control, such as the weather. Regardless of the cause of failure, Federalists planned a second Pennsylvania procession, the makeup of which was very different from the first. On July 4, 1788, the Pennsylvania Federalists made up for the failed earlier procession in grand style. The July Fourth events aimed to celebrate, “the Declaration of Independence...and the establishment of the Constitution or Frame of Government.”<sup>60</sup> Unlike the earlier procession, the Grand Federal Procession featured participation from men of all classes. This included the elites of Pennsylvania, but also boat builders, porters, cordwainers, watchmakers, bricklayers, and taylor among many others.<sup>61</sup> The first procession included elites, the second included the lower sorts; the first procession was not noted by the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, the second was the subject of articles published throughout the American states. The inclusion of the lower sorts into the second Pennsylvania procession which celebrated the ratification of the Constitution indicates that the Federalists knew the import of having popular support and participation in the ratification process. The Federalists did not neglect songs in the second procession. The song

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<sup>58</sup> “Mr. Oswald,” *Independent Gazetteer*, December 21, 1787. Maier, *Ratification*, 120-122.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>60</sup> “Grand Federal Procession,” *Pennsylvania Mercury*, (Philadelphia,) July 10, 1788.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid*, “Grand Federal Procession,”

composed for the Pennsylvania Grand Federal Procession was written by Francis Hopkinson who was a signer of the Declaration Independence, known supporter of the Constitution, accomplished musician, and author of several articles which contributed to the ratification debates in Pennsylvania.<sup>62</sup> The song Hopkinson composed is similar to many of the Federalist songs used throughout the ratification process; it spoke to American greatness and strength and of future prosperity. One of the most telling verses stated,

My sons for *Freedom* fought, nor fought in vain;  
But found a naked goddess was their gain:  
*Good government* alone, can shew the Maid,  
In robes of SOCIAL HAPPINESS array'd<sup>63</sup>

Like many of the Federalist songs, this verse portrayed the Constitution, or good government, as the culmination to the American Revolution. The imagery of the 'naked goddess,' or America, who emerged out of the Revolution and who needed 'good government' to clothe her evoked popular depictions of America as the classically styled Columbia. The Pennsylvania ratification parades demonstrate an evolution in Federalist strategy concerning their utilization of popular political culture in the ratification debates. Though previously Federalists had been publishing songs that promoted their cause, after the failed December procession they created the July Fourth Grand Federal Procession. This procession became a model for many of the parades which followed ratification in various states. Both the inclusion of lower sorts in the procession itself and the composition and distribution of a song created expressly for the federal procession became hallmarks of federal processions throughout the American states.

As the state ratification conventions began, the Federalists realized that one way to further their cause was to utilize popular political culture, and particularly political songs. The Federalists tapped into a tradition which extended back centuries to England. Through their use

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<sup>62</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v. "Francis Hopkinson."

<sup>63</sup> Francis Hopkinson, "An ODE for the 4<sup>th</sup> of July 1788," Pennsylvania, 1788.



in colonial politics and the American Revolution, songs had been an integral part of American social and political life for many decades. Whether a simple secular tune or the political songs of the American Revolution, songs were an important part of American society. Federalists used songs in many ways, as freestanding works printed in newspapers and as a part of the highly orchestrated processions which followed the ratification of the Constitution in many states. The last lines of the Hopkinson song sum up Federalist thought best when he stated:

And let the PEOPLE'S Motto ever be,  
"United THUS, and THUS UNITED-FREE"<sup>64</sup>

Songs as a political tool were particularly useful for inspiring unity. The act of singing together allowed people of every class, gender, and race to unify around identical tunes, lyrics, and ideas. Federalists created songs in 1787 and 1788 to ensure that the Constitution received the popular support needed for ratification but the same songs also contributed to the success of the Constitution once implemented. All governments depend upon a population willing to obey the laws it decrees. The American Constitution needed the support not only of elites but also of the general population in order to be successful. A ratified Constitution would mean nothing if the America people did not recognize its authenticity and power. Federalists understood this principle and used the ratification conventions as the ground for creating the popular support for the government they created. The Federalist songs circulated during the ratification process were an important part of the success of the Constitution ratification and establishment of a new and stronger national government.

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<sup>64</sup> Hopkinson, "An ODE for the 4<sup>th</sup> of July 1788,"

## Out of the Ashes



### *African American Responses to the Second Italo-Ethiopian War*

Richard Blake Romines  
The University of Oklahoma  
Dr. Robert Griswold

Writing in 1938, two years after Fascist Italy conquered Ethiopia, the eminent African American intellectual and columnist George S. Schuyler proclaimed the *Rise of the Black Internationale*. Having faced the travails of white imperialism for over a century, Schuyler wrote of a new Negro, a more informed Negro, that is “no longer blindly worshipful of his rulers...” and went on to conclude that, “He has fewer illusions about the world.”<sup>1</sup> Schuyler looked forward to the future by looking back into the past, that is, the not too distant past. Three years before writing this particular article, in October 1935, Italy invaded Ethiopia, the last independent nation of Africa. While the world powers watched, African Americans united behind the cause of Ethiopia. African Americans formed committees, filled newly created political and diplomatic spaces with nascent leaders, opened up grass roots fundraising, and thus, in a sense, became aware of their political and social power, aware of their place in world society. Furthermore, Schuyler wrote that the new Negro “believes that to combat this white internationale of oppression a black internationale of liberation is necessary... He [the new negro] sees and welcomes a community of interest of all colored peoples.”<sup>2</sup>

In a sense, Schuyler got it right. The responses and lessons of the Second Italo-Ethiopian War (1935) had a significant impact on the future of the African American community in every dimension. In the social sphere, African Americans united to a common cause against white oppression in a distant land and discovered their grass roots fundraising ability. Protests, both written and tangible, as well as prayer vigils, captured the sentiment and spirit of African Americans domestic response to the fascists of Italy, the contemporary poster boy of white imperialism. In the political sphere, and despite the United States government's attempt to stifle efforts to become involved in the war, African Americans did not relent in their efforts to offer a hand, whether financial or political. Furthermore, new African American leaders arose to

conduct diplomacy on the world stage and one African American, ingeniously nicknamed the “Brown Condor,” even fought alongside his Ethiopian brothers in the face of the United States mandate banning such activity by any American citizen.

This relentless attitude, this awakening of sorts, signified the reality of Schuyler’s Black Internationale, both illuminating and adding depth to the roots of the movement that took shape in the 1950s. While the actual results of these reactions to war did not amount to much in the way of helping Ethiopia, the reactions did however serve a greater purpose.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the efforts of the African American community in the mid-1930s played a pivotal role in the development of what Schuyler called the Black Internationale, and what later African American intellectuals called Black Power. While not minimizing the pan-Africanist slant of African American’s reactions, this paper focuses on the social and political importance of their reactions and seeks to draw a connection between these newly developed postures and their influence on the Civil Rights Movement, Black Power, and the *Rise of the Black Internationale*.

One month before the fascists invaded Ethiopia in 1935, African Americans broadcasted their voice through newspaper op-eds.<sup>4</sup> The planned invasion was obviously no secret. The voice of African Americans overwhelmingly took a defensive and confident tone. Charles Lynch wrote in the *New York Amsterdam News*, “When Italy announces war against Ethiopia, she’ll be undoubtedly lighting a match which she cannot as readily put out... and, whereas she has designs against Ethiopia, these, too, have designs against her.”<sup>5</sup> In March 1935, the same newspaper referred to Mussolini as “a modern Caesar” and claimed he would have a tough time in defeating Ethiopia.<sup>6</sup> All this overflowing confidence reveals a community in transition from being the stereotypically outcast, segregated community of ex-slaves to a community of enlightened and increasingly involved citizens.<sup>7</sup> This attitude was part and parcel of African American’s response

to the invasion; an attitude of almost blind confidence in the abilities of the ancien régime of Ethiopia to repel the coming invasion. Although an overconfident attitude might be perceived as a weakness by some, their supreme confidence anchored their spirits and pushed them forward in the struggle of the “New Negro.”

Partly because Ethiopia found herself in a dangerous spot, the United States saw a rebirth of Pan Africanism. This event opened up a new political space that benefited African Americans more than it did anyone else. This space provided African Americans in particular a political *raison d'état*. Prior to the invasion any political activity was brutally suppressed by white supremacist groups. With the war so far away, and the United States uninvolved, African Americans could more securely protest in this space. A white country invading a black country was powerful symbolism. A cause worthy of protest that shows African American's discontent on the subject without inciting white backlash. The war looming over Ethiopia juxtaposed with the world's lack of movement to do anything made this space in the United States possible. Because the threat was an external one, unrelated to the majority, the African American community moved to occupy this space by using the media available to them; by hailing nascent leaders to put public faces with the long discarded voice. African Americans thus held this space by using socio-political powers newly acquired. Protesters of the war so far away deemphasized potential racial and political issues at home.

Inspiration to move toward this space flowed from more than one outside source. George Schuyler wrote in the *Pittsburgh Courier* on August 3, 1935, two months before the fascists invaded Ethiopia, hailing perhaps the most influential humanist and rebel leader of the twentieth century as a symbol of resistance. Of course, he spoke of Gandhi.<sup>8</sup> The use of Gandhi as a

symbol and a model signify a growing international awareness of culturally distinct ideas, and the adoption of those ideas. In practice, Gandhi's use of non-violent protest was a keystone in Martin Luther King's tactic for protest. More important for this history, non-violent protest was used on a massive scale in Harlem to protest Italy's invasion of Ethiopia. Hence, in between Gandhi and the Civil Rights Movement, African Americans reacted to the fascists by using non-violent protest. This signifies a valuable connection between the invasion and the Civil Rights Movement.

Central to understanding Schuyler's evocation of Gandhi, it is important to know that prior to Italy's invasion and subjugation of Ethiopia, African American's reactions were characterized by overconfidence in, and the mythical perception of, Ethiopia as a sacrosanct nation stemming from their place in biblical history.<sup>9</sup> Thus, Schuyler was essentially saying through his evocation of Gandhi two things. First, Schuyler wished to inspire hope and present a "colored" model for those of African American descent to hold up. Second, that political power can be amassed and used through group solidarity and unity, and furthermore, that through these non-violent methods of protest success can be achieved.

At the outset of the invasion, African Americans perceived the war as nothing more than white, greedy heads of state conspiring together for land and resources. In a newspaper article, the author uses the Ethiopian route of an Italian army at the beginning of the twentieth century as a symbol of past Ethiopian power and European greediness. The article used the old incident of Adowa to explain current Italian greediness. In Adowa, at the end of the first Italo-Ethiopian War, the Ethiopians destroyed an Italian army and treated with Italy. Hence, the article perceived nothing more than old fashioned European politics and scheming by Italy to get revenge against

Ethiopia for Adowa.<sup>10</sup> The African American press perceived the motives of the war as base and ignoble, nothing more than a white country scheming to control the last independent African country.

In early December 1935, the emperor of Ethiopia Haile Selassie lodged a complaint to the League of Nations. This complaint proved to be revealing of not only the manner in which the Italians sought to wage the war, but the resolve of the leader of the African country. Once the Italians obtained a foothold in Ethiopia, they immediately sought to enforce their rule in cities and villages they sacked. Of course, rapine, pillage, and martial law are part of warfare and the Italians were no strangers to savagery.<sup>11</sup> However, the complaint lodged by the emperor revealed a most brutal dimension of Italian warfare. On December 7, 1935 Haile Selassie complained that Italy had relentlessly bombed the defenseless town of Dessye, including the hospital, Red Cross building, and an imperial palace. No doubt the Italians hoped to catch Haile Selassie in residence.<sup>12</sup>

One can imagine the fervor spreading across the African American communities at the news of Italy's *planned* invasion of Ethiopia and the sanguine discourse of leading African American intellectuals in the papers. If Ethiopia could not completely help herself, then something must be done. A lone African American man took the onus on himself. In fact, a New York high school teacher, in an exquisite example of modeling and pedagogy, took himself out of his environment and into the fray.

Dr. Willis N. Huggins: doctor, teacher, and nascent diplomat, took time off from work and bought tickets to Paris, London, and Geneva. Huggins hoped to drum up political support and donations for Ethiopia's cause. He visited political leaders, exiled anti-fascist groups, and

black organizations.<sup>13</sup> Dr. Huggins met with some highly ranked officials in England during the last week of July 1935, obtaining “full diplomatic instructions in regard to... the situation, having received them as a result of his contacts in London, Paris, and Geneva.”<sup>14</sup> Representing the Provisional Committee for the Defense of Ethiopia, Dr. Huggins asked the world for support. In Geneva at the League of Nations in early August 1935, Dr. Huggins pleaded with the members of the council to intervene if Italy invaded Ethiopia in the months ahead.<sup>15</sup> Obviously the League’s response was hesitant and shaky, for Italy invaded, destroyed, and subjugated Ethiopia despite the League, England, France, or the United States.

Dr. Huggins also partook in speaking at public rallies and protests. In early December 1935, Huggins spoke before a modest size gathering in a junior high auditorium about how the war might be framed. Huggins insisted that the war was a test for Blacks and Whites. Dr. Huggins insisted that Blacks were not prepared for the test, but that “This war is dangerous not for its surface complications...but because it is arousing colored people all over the world...”<sup>16</sup> This observation is parallel to the concept of the Black Internationale posited by Schuyler in 1938. This energy, then, was felt as a rising tide of confidence and awareness swept over the African American community in late 1935.

Simultaneously, while Dr. Huggins parleyed in Europe, back home in the United States African American men and women took to the volunteerism spreading across their communities. Recruitment to the cause of Ethiopia began almost immediately. In late July 1935 about 200 men and women volunteered either to go help or fight in Ethiopia. Marching drills and group meetings filled their days.<sup>17</sup> Five hundred New York men were rumored to have enlisted in the Black Legion to go fight. Sufi Abdul Hamid, known as the “Black Hitler of Harlem,” proclaimed



that “they stand ready at any time to renounce citizenship and go to their mother country.”<sup>18</sup>

However, the United States had other ideas in relation to Italy and Ethiopia.

The State and Justice Departments commanded recruitment to halt, using a law almost as old as the nation to justify their decision. A law from April 20, 1818 prevented United States citizens from engaging themselves with any foreign country at war unless one was working in tandem with the US Government. A guilty charge brought a one thousand dollar fine and three years in prison.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, shortly after Hamid remarked about recruiting and fighting, Ethiopia’s consul general in the United States mysteriously pleaded for all recruiting and fundraising to end.<sup>20</sup> The United States position in this conflict was clear. Neither the government nor its citizens were going to involve themselves on either side, but the laws of neutrality no doubt benefited Italy over Ethiopia.<sup>21</sup> On October 5, 1935 President Franklin D. Roosevelt released a five page presidential proclamation prohibiting the sale of any implements of war. The proclamation also prohibited any citizens from travelling on belligerent’s vessels during war.<sup>22</sup>

Preceding the United States ban on foreign recruitment, however, African Americans took to the streets in protest. Around March 2, 1935, the Provisional Committee for the Defense of Ethiopia called for a mass protest against fascist Italy. The provisional committee used the African American newspaper, the *New York Amsterdam News*, and twenty black organizations representing nearly 15,000 people to promote the protest.<sup>23</sup> African American protest for a cause greater than any one person really coalesced in this period of Black history.<sup>24</sup> It is plain that the protest movements and organizers of the 1950s and 1960s were influenced by the reactions and success of African Americans in 1935 and 1936.

On August 3, 1935, mass protest was again organized through the *New York Amsterdam News*. War inched ever closer; Italy became ever more obstinate in international relations. Again the protest was promoted by the Provisional Committee for the Defense of Ethiopia among several other Black organizations including church groups, fraternal organizations, and Father Divine's Missions. Interestingly, Rev. William Lloyd Imes – chair of the Committee for Ethiopia – urged that no recruiting or fundraising activity take place during the protest.<sup>25</sup> It would seem that this calculation meant to reassure the United States whose side the protesters were on. In other words, that the protesters would play by the stated rules handed down by the government, but that they were not going to remain quiet, stand by, and do nothing in the way of helping the cause of Ethiopia.

On the same day that the mass protest in Harlem occurred, thousands of ministers proclaimed that Sunday August 18, 1935 would be a day of prayer and protest against war in Ethiopia.<sup>26</sup> This one unifying religious force or sentiment present in almost every great epic of our history, good and bad, informs us of its significance.<sup>27</sup> Religion stirs the emotions, influences the motivations of people, and encourages people to follow the leader(s). A day after Italy invaded Ethiopia, on October 5, 1935, several African American leaders stepped up their efforts to arouse public action in order to aid Ethiopia through mass vigil-protests.<sup>28</sup>

Interestingly, the African American leaders and their various committees intertwined religion and protest by including various ministers as speakers at these protests and church groups as donors. At these protests, many clergy spoke to the emotional crowd of people between marches. Alternative opinions expressed by youth organizers and communists presented themselves to the masses, but were a small minority of alternative opinions in comparison to the

ministers.<sup>29</sup> However, communist speakers were fewer by far than the religious officials involved in organizing and speaking at these protests. On another dimension, the act of recruiting men to go fight in a foreign army all but diminished with the government's evocation of the 1818 law prohibiting such actions and the executive branch's proclamations. This law, however, did not convince African Americans to desist in their efforts. Urging African Americans to continue to help Ethiopia, Dr. George E. Haynes proclaimed, "We can help Ethiopia and the cause of interracial peace through medical aid and by agitation to stop hostilities."<sup>30</sup>

However, one African American did not follow the same logic. In fact, he took a more active stance to help Ethiopia. The most fascinating story to come out of the African American community in relation to the war happened to be the amazing "Brown Condor." Colonel John C. Robinson, an African American male from St. Louis, Missouri, built his first airplane and shortly after sought to escape the ban on foreign recruitment set up by the United States to go fight in Ethiopia. Making contact with Emperor Haile Selassie's nephew Dr. Malaku Bayen, Robinson successfully made it to Ethiopia. Through a series of loopholes, Bayen successfully recruited Robinson as an engineer, rather than an air force pilot.<sup>31</sup> Robinson became the Emperor's "personal pilot and dispatch bearer."<sup>32</sup> Despite numerous injuries and being attacked with gas, Robinson stayed until the end of the war in 1936.

Back in the United States, the African American public viewed Col. Robinson with an eye of admiration; as a symbol of African American prowess and heroism. For Robinson was the only man successfully to have left the States to fight on behalf of the last, and most holy, African nation against a white power who sought imperial might. On Robinson's return from Ethiopia, several thousand starry-eyed African Americans welcomed him at the airport. Subsequently,

Robinson spoke to a throng of twenty thousand.<sup>33</sup> To inspire that much admiration and fascination speaks to something greater. Out of the ashes of the second Italo-Ethiopian war, the masses of African Americans half a world away suddenly became conscious of the struggle for freedom worldwide; they became aware of their social and political power despite the Depression and their segregation.

The protests in the streets and to the League of Nations did not stop at the conclusion of the war. The destruction wrought by Italy in Ethiopia is well documented, as it was then. The African American press evoked a sense of morality by relating Ethiopia to a woman, insisting that she had been ‘raped’ by Italy.<sup>34</sup> We see the same symbolic evocation today.<sup>35</sup> On January 25, 1936 Henry Rockel wrote in the *Chicago Defender* a scathing attack on the European powers entitled “The Rape of Ethiopia: An Indictment Against Italy, France, and England:” “The record has been written and such is the punishment when black rapes white. Let us turn a page of history and learn what occurs when white rapes black...by one in a position of high political power.”<sup>36</sup>

Rockel’s analysis reflected the sentiments of the African American press and their initial perceptions concerning Italy’s motives. That is, Ethiopia bore the brunt of the consequences of a European game of power politics. Leading up to the war and after the war, the idea that Ethiopia got caught as a pawn in European power politics differed only in that the latter was charged with a moral tone. In that sense, African American’s perception of world powers slightly worsened. Yet African American worldviews increased tremendously from the war and the idea of raping was further contrasted with opposing opinions.

Although the war officially concluded, Ethiopia was on fire and Italy held the only extinguisher. War or no war, the African American community carried on the diplomatic and political fight from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. On May 30, 1936, several African American ministers of the Springfield Ministers Association lodged a protest against the mayor for granting the Italian War Veteran's Association a permit to celebrate fascist Italy's conquest of Ethiopia, as the Italian Americans had styled it.<sup>37</sup> In contrast, the African American press styled it a rape of Ethiopia. The pattern of morality evoked by the raping of a woman began to inflect the titles and articles of the African American press immediately concluding the war. This symbolic evocation would be enough to anger any moral human being.

With a high moral tone added to the press coverage of the conclusion of the war and protests in full force, fundraising also took a step forward. On August 29, 1936 Chester C. Holder wrote an op-ed in the *New York Amsterdam News*. Holder argued that "The League of Nations and all the white powers of the world sold out Ethiopia to Italy, Britain and France, although they boasted about fair play in the past."<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, Holder proposed in this op-ed that ten committees be established across the region to collect funds to be sent to the Ethiopian legation holed up in London, England in order to continue the fight, although hopeless by this point. Holder proclaimed, "These are days for more action and less talk."<sup>39</sup> In mid-May 1936, African American protesters burned in effigy Mussolini, and the organization United Aid for Ethiopia cabled the League of Nations calling for sanctions and Ethiopian independence.<sup>40</sup>

In contrast, opposing talk continued to surface in the African American consciousness at the conclusion of the war in 1936 as well. W.E.B. Dubois, a prominent African American intellectual writing in the *Pittsburgh Courier*, relentlessly beat the drum of pacifism, despite his

overt misgivings about the outcome of Italy's invasion of Ethiopia. Dubois debated with himself about what it meant to be a pacifist and how societies might use war to deter rather than to conquer and shed blood.<sup>41</sup> Dubois also claimed that it "is time for Pan Africa to begin...moving toward understanding and co-operation among colored folk..."<sup>42</sup> Although WEB DuBois took part in the creation of the first Pan African congresses decades earlier, the general population of African Americans started paying attention, and reacting, to the world in a powerful way during and after Italy's invasion in 1935.

Thus, DuBois's words in mid-1936 probably resonated much more with his readers than ever before. The overlap between religious sentiment and mass protest; the fundraising of obstinate African Americans during a time of depression and segregation; the nascency of African American leaders and proto-diplomats all served to move Schuyler's concept of the "New Negro" to the "understanding and co-operation among colored folk" in the United States that DuBois urged. The vision of the African American struggle for freedom, so aptly embodied in Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in the 1950s, contained all of these elements.

These elements consisted of a unity not quite witnessed before, a common cause and a common goal; religious support systems and justifications for action; a common understanding and co-operation; resistance and perseverance, despite, or perhaps in spite of, the numerous state governments' attempts to stifle desegregation, non-violent protest, equality, and voting rights. Thus, the elements displayed by the African American community during the Italo-Ethiopian war, an external event, suddenly became palpable and relevant to their internal struggle for freedom at home between 1945 and 1970.

The reactions of African Americans to Italy's invasion of Ethiopia in October 1935 had a profound socio-political impact on the development of the struggle for freedom. It is to the elements observed in the African American community in 1935 that the Civil Rights Movement owes a great deal. In every dimension of social and political consciousness, African Americans benefited from their unity in response to Italy. The benefits of the social and political achievements transformed contemporary African American culture. African Americans found themselves reciprocally compelled by and receptive to foreign ideas framed in a vocal and tangible manner. In the social dimension, African American's unity was made manifest through their implementation of fundraising and, at first, recruitment.

Furthermore, African Americans displayed an overwhelming sense of superiority and confidence in Ethiopia and then in their own abilities to effect the war effort. In the political sphere, their unity coalesced around their efforts at protestation and diplomacy. African Americans showed an implacable determination vis-à-vis the obstacles placed about them by authority figures such as the US government and the League of Nations; by economic hardships like segregation and the Great Depression; and even in defeat African Americans persevered and continued to insist on protests and fundraisers.

The Italian invasion opened up a political space in the United States that African Americans filled quite readily. Italy's blatant racism and brutality in Ethiopia served to unlock this space. This space pushed forward hopes and bolstered African American's sense of the possible. The actions of Dr. Willis N. Huggins and Col. John Robinson signify the ascension of African Americans to this space. Prior to these events, African Americans on the whole found it difficult to stand up to their oppressors, conditions, and environment. White supremacist groups

terrorized any and all men and women who sought to affect the status quo. Their achievement is even more impressive when considered through this lens. Hence, an implacable determination and confidence in themselves, in their belief, in their cause, revolutionized culture, or at least set it upon the path to revolution.

Thus, the experience of the Second Italo-Ethiopian War for African Americans was really about an evolution of a sector of American culture, social and political culture. I propose that the life supporting roots of the Civil Rights Movement lie in African American's responses to the Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935. African American's unity in mass protest, religious justifications, diplomacy, foreign ideologies and models, fundraising, and recruitment should be considered when looking at the roots of the Civil Rights Movement. If World War II convinced African Americans that they deserved respect at home, then the Second Italo-Ethiopian war provided the community with the experience and the socio-political tools necessary to wage that battle.



**Cover Photo:** Archibald John Motley Jr., *Self-Portrait*, c. 1920, oil on canvas, 30 1/8 x 22 1/8 inches (76.3 x 56 cm), Art Institute of Chicago, Illinois.

<sup>1</sup> George S. Schuyler, "Rise of the Black Internationale," *Rac[e]ing to the Right*, Ed. Jeffrey B. Leak. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 2011), 35.

<sup>2</sup> Schuyler, "Rise of the Black Internationale," 36.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, we do not know exactly how much money was donated to Ethiopia, who collected it, and who ended up with it. The point is that the sentiment of doing so in a time of depression and suppression served to unite a community. A very power sentiment that would make its presence felt twenty years later under the auspices of Martin Luther King Jr.

<sup>4</sup> There was a contrary voice I discovered looking through these papers. This voice wanted to work on his own community first. Emmett Parker, president of the Newark branch of an African American organization, said "We are going to put our own house in order first. We are going to get rid of the beggars among our race, and make every man self-respecting... Then our unemployed can go down to relief headquarters and have their names taken off the rolls." "200 Mobilized for Abyssinia," *New York Amsterdam News*, July 27, 1935, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Lynch, "Italy and Ethiopia," *New York Amsterdam News*, August 31, 1935, p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> "Italy and Ethiopia," *New York Amsterdam News*, March 2, 1935, p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> It is commonly accepted that right up through this period African Americans were seen by the dominant social group as incapable of intellectual, social, and political thought and organization as evidenced by their segregation, exploitation, and obstinate marginalization in politics by the dominant group, (notwithstanding the small handful of African American intellectuals like Schuyler and DuBois who blatantly disproved this notion). For a glimpse into the prevailing white attitudes and behaviors toward African Americans in the late 1930s see: Ralph Bunche, *A Brief and Tentative Analysis of Negro Leadership*. ed. Jonathan Scott Holloway. (New York: New York University Press, 2005). ALSO see the story of Mr. Sam Jones of Seaport – pp. 106-118.

<sup>8</sup> George Schuyler, "Schuyler Reveals Gandhi's Power," *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 3, 1935, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup> "Ethiopia Picked to Defeat Italy: Pastor Gives a Vivid Picture of African Scene of War," *New York Amsterdam News*, October 19, 1935, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup> "Ethiopia War Result of Land Greed," *New York Amsterdam News*, October 12, 1935, p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> "Reports Tell of Cruelty of Italy in Ethiopia," *New York Amsterdam News*, December 5, 1936, p. 6. Also see, "Blood Purge for Ethiopia Was Hateful," *New York Amsterdam News*, April 24, 1937, p. 3.

<sup>12</sup> "Bombing Protest is Radioed to League Heads," *Atlanta Daily World*, December 7, 1935, p. 1. Also see, "Destroy Red Cross Unit in Ethiopia," *Atlanta Daily World*, January 6, 1936, p. 1.

<sup>13</sup> "New York Man Sails to Work For Ethiopia," *New Journal and Guide*, August 3, 1935, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> "American Who Seeks To Settle Italian-Ethiopian Fray Has Success In Europe" *New Journal and Guide*, August 24, 1935, p. A1.

<sup>15</sup> "To Seek Aid of League For Ethiopia," *Chicago Defender*, August 3, 1935, p. 2. Also, "In Geneva," *Chicago Defender*, August 24, 1935, p. 23.

<sup>16</sup> "Declares War in Ethiopia is Test for Whites and Blacks: Italy Scored By Speakers," *New York Amsterdam News*, December 7, 1935, p. 16.

<sup>17</sup> "200 Mobilized for Abyssinia," *New York Amsterdam News*, July 27, 1935, p. 16.

<sup>18</sup> "500 New Yorkers Enlist To Fight For Ethiopia," *New Journal and Guide*, July 27, 1935, p. 8.

<sup>19</sup> "Enlistments in Alien Army Are Alleged," *New Journal and Guide*, July 27, 1935, p. 8.

<sup>20</sup> "Move to Halt Recruiting For Ethiopia is Launched," *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 27, 1935, p. 1.

<sup>21</sup> This statement was elaborated on in some length at the beginning of the article. Ethiopia was clearly outmatched by Italy in the sphere of technology and war machines. The United States reluctance to intervene in the war, to send war implements of any kind, obviously benefitted Italy, the more aggressive, the more industrial power in the conflict.

<sup>22</sup> President Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Export of Arms, Ammunition, and Implements of War to Ethiopia and Italy," FDR Presidential Proclamations, October 5, 1935. Can be accessed online through FDRs presidential library.

<sup>23</sup> "Harlem Plans Mass Protest Against Italy," *New York Amsterdam News*, March 2, 1935, p. 1.

<sup>24</sup> I make this statement based on the lack of evidence in the African American press between 1900 and 1930 of mass protesting in the streets by African Americans. There is plenty of evidence suggesting other forms of protest, such as gaining signatures in protest of some crime for instance. The papers reported police cover-ups and lynchings. However, I could not find any organized protests in the streets for any reason until I dug through the papers relating to the invasion of Ethiopia. Albeit the protests and gatherings took place more in Harlem than any other place. Nonetheless, organized gatherings, rallies, and protests did take place numerous times between 1935 and 1936 in numerous places throughout the Eastern and Southern United States.

<sup>25</sup> "Will March Today in Protesting War in Ethiopia," *New York Amsterdam News*, August 3, 1935, p. 3.

<sup>26</sup> "Thousands of Ministers Pledge Sunday of Prayer Against War on Ethiopia by Italy," *The Pittsburgh Courier*, August 3, 1935, p. A10.

<sup>27</sup> E.g. The Crusades, The Crusader States, Spanish colonization of the New World, the myriad inquisitions, the colonies of North America in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and most relevant here: the Civil Rights Movement. While all these I list here are examples of Christian religiosity, Islam and Judaism also hold many examples. The point, however, is simply to show the power of religiosity as an historical force.

<sup>28</sup> "Leaders Urge Negroes Here to Aid Ethiopia," *New York Amsterdam News*, October 5, 1935, p. 1.

<sup>29</sup> As recently hinted, a major obstacle to this line of thought relates to the event's inclusion of communist party speakers.

<sup>30</sup> "Leaders Urge," *New York Amsterdam News*, p. 1.

<sup>31</sup> Joseph E. Harris, *African American Reactions to War in Ethiopia, 1936-1941*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994), 56-57.

<sup>32</sup> "Life Story of Colonel John C. Robinson, Brown Condor: Returns to U.S.," *Atlanta Daily World*, June 2, 1936, p. 2. ALSO in, Joseph E. Harris, *African American Reactions to War in Ethiopia, 1936-1941*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1994).

<sup>33</sup> David W. Kellum, "Twenty Thousand Greet 'Brown Condor' On Return: Local Flyer In Ethiopian War Lauded" *Chicago Defender*, May 30, 1936, p. 1.

<sup>34</sup> "Rape of Ethiopia," *Chicago Defender*, December 28, 1935, p. 18. "Rape of Ethiopia Rapped at Confab," *Chicago Defender*, May 16, 1936, p. 17.

<sup>35</sup> e.g. The 2007 documentary film *The Rape of Europa* documents the Nazis plundering and looting of Europe's collection of fine art during the war, particularly in France.

<sup>36</sup> Henry L. Rockel, "The Rape of Ethiopia: An Indictment Against Italy, France, and England," *Chicago Defender*, January 25, 1936, p. 11.

<sup>37</sup> "Protest Italian Celebration of Rape of Ethiopia," *Chicago Defender*, May 30, 1936, p. 17.

<sup>38</sup> Chester C. Holder, "Appeals for Ethiopia," *New York Amsterdam News*, August 29, 1936, p. 12.

<sup>39</sup> Holder, "Appeals," p. 12.

<sup>40</sup> "Thousands in Protest Here Against Italy," *New York Amsterdam News*, May 16, 1936, p. 1.

<sup>41</sup> Dr. WEB DuBois, "Forum of Fact and Opinion," *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 16, 1936, p. A1. Also, Dr. WEB DuBois, "Forum of Fact and Opinion," *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 6, 1936, p. A1.

<sup>42</sup> Dr. WEB DuBois, "Forum of Fact and Opinion," *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 4, 1936, p. A1.



**Much to lose by Revolution, Nothing to  
Dread from Reform: Education Reform  
as a Means of Class Alliance in Victorian  
England**

William Stringer

Many historians agree that the Victorian period was crucial in the development of education in England. In fact Dinah Birch, in her 2008 book *Our Victorian Education* goes so far as to say that it was the genesis of the current English education system.<sup>1</sup> However, the reasons for these education reforms and developments is a topic that is much less agreed upon. The reasons put forth by different historians are varied; ranging from increases in the need for a scientific knowledge to stress brought on by various religious sects and dissenters clamouring for their own schools and headmasters. Yet another factor commonly discussed is simply the drastic decrease in the infant mortality rate brought about by the industrial revolution and the subsequent increase in the amount of children living long enough to attend school. While I don't dispute any of these influences, I would argue that the driving force behind changes in education at the time was class interests. By that I mean that class conflict, and attempts to dissuade it, was the engine which drove the Victorians to reform first their choice of enfranchised and then their secondary education system.

As industrial capitalism grew throughout the Victorian Era, the expansion of the middle class which accompanies such a socio-economic system created stress for the political elite, the traditional producers of policy. In France, this transition from a feudal system with an absolute Monarchy ended in the French Revolution. But policy makers in England transitioned in a different way, reform. As Thomas Arnold, Headmaster of Rugby (1828-1842)<sup>2</sup> and avid political

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<sup>1</sup> Dinah Birch, *Our Victorian Education* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008), vii-ix.

<sup>2</sup> Michael McCrum, *Thomas Arnold, Headmaster: A Reassessment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 132-133.

writer,<sup>3</sup> put it in 1832, “I have much to lose by revolution; I have nothing to dread from reform.”<sup>4</sup> Thomas Arnold believed very strongly in reform and set about doing so in Rugby with a vengeance (although whether the changes he made were drastic or not is much debated).<sup>5</sup> This appeared to be the mindset which was adopted by the British politicians from the 1830’s until the 1870’s first via the enfranchisement of members of the middle class with the first reform act of 1832 and later with the Endowed Schools Act of 1869 which sought to improve middle-class education.<sup>6</sup> The enfranchisement of the middle class was therefore beneficial to two classes; obviously it benefitted the middle class but in a subtler way it also benefitted the upper class. The middle class, in gaining the right to vote and becoming fully fledged citizens, clearly benefitted. The upper class benefitted by creating an alliance with the middle class which weakened the potential for an alliance between the lower and middle classes.

The first reform act literally melded the interests of the two classes, by enfranchising the middle class, the English upper class gave them a stake in preserving the status quo and discouraging revolution. Once again we can look to Thomas Arnold to see the logic behind this,

Revolutionist, these .... are the party most to be dreaded. As yet, happily, they are but a small minority, and they may be made continually smaller and smaller if the government act manfully and honestly, and by fearlessly reforming whatever is bad in every existing

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<sup>3</sup> John Roach, *A History of Secondary Education in England, 1800-1870* (London: Longman, 1986), 246-247.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Arnold, *The miscellaneous works of Thomas Arnold, collected and republished*. London, 1845. *The Making of the Modern World*, web, <http://find.galegroup.com/ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/mome/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodlid=MOME&userGroupName=norm94900&tabId=T001&docId=U3610578273&type=multipage&contentSet=MOMEArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE> , 235-236.

<sup>5</sup> Roach, *History*, 245-248.

<sup>6</sup> David Ian Allsobrook, *Schools for the shires: The reform of middle class education in mid-Victorian England*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 11, 6-7.

institution, leave those who wish for *more than reform* without a single supporter, except the unprincipled and the desperate.<sup>7</sup> Here Arnold sees the number of truly revolutionary members of society as a “small minority” which through governmental reform can be made continually smaller. He then makes the further point, that reform makes revolution unattractive to anyone other than the “unprincipled and the desperate” or in other words, the lowest of the lower classes (in combination perhaps with other “unprincipled” and “desperate” members of other class, criminals, debtors, atheists, etc.). This then creates a more centrally located nexus of power politically by shifting power from the very far right towards the center-right. Any who are so conservative that they are against all reform are forced to see their actions as inciting revolution.

Therefore, with the interests of the top two classes tied together in one anti-revolutionary bulwark, how then did education reform become an important cog in this machine? In his book, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980*, Martin J. Wiener argues that the Victorian Era was one of accommodation and absorption in which the industrial middle class accommodated the cultural views of the aristocracy and the aristocracy absorbed the middle class into the ruling elite class.<sup>8</sup> Though his argument differs than mine in focus and purpose, I agree with him on a key point, that education was the primary institution of this merger.<sup>9</sup>

In my opinion the pressing need for education reform, and its role in class consolidation began before Wiener begins the focus of his book, in 1832 with the enfranchisement of the middle class. At this point the political system was now being voted on by a middle class which

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<sup>7</sup> Arnold, *The miscellaneous works*, 237.

<sup>8</sup> Martin J. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980: New Edition* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004), 11-16.

<sup>9</sup> Wiener, *Culture*, 11.

was not receiving any systematized secondary education. This worrying situation was commented on by Thomas Arnold who said in a letter to the Sheffield Courant as the reform bill of 1832 was being passed that, “the education of the middling classes at this time, is a question of the greatest National Importance.”<sup>10</sup> Arnold, as an educator and informed political actor saw the dangers of an uninformed and uneducated voting population. What then *was* the current state of education for the middle class?

Members of the Victorian middle class were faced with an unwieldy, unregulated, and often underfunded system of secondary education. David Ian Allsobrook describes it thus, “A copse of seven or eight hundred endowed grammar schools was accompanied by a dense and ever-changing thicket of private schools, and a staid and limited plantation of promising proprietary schools.”<sup>11</sup> In other words there were three basic types of secondary school for the middle class; endowed grammar schools of a very large number and varying levels of quality, private schools of a similarly large number and quality as their grammar school cousins, and lastly propriety schools of a small number and high quality. Of these, the type with the most literature and information available is the grammar schools. The private schools on the other hand, have far less information available but according to John Roach, the private schools were mostly small and provided a significantly large portion of the education for the middle class.<sup>12</sup> While Private schools were a critical part of the education system in the Victorian Era, the lack of information available for them makes them difficult to incorporate into the argument put forth in this paper, particularly when compared to the boarding schools which I will now discuss.

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid, 227

<sup>11</sup> Allsobrook, *shires*, 3

<sup>12</sup> Roach, *History*, 4.



The endowed grammar schools of the Victorian period were a smaller representation of the state of middle-class secondary education as a whole; widespread, differentiated, and increasingly unable to keep up with varied demands on education. The ancestor of the Victorian grammar school was the Tudor grammar school which first originated in 1518.<sup>13</sup> They were originally funded by endowments which paid for the charitable teaching of both genders and all classes the classics as well as basic elementary subjects.<sup>14</sup> Lowood Institution from *Jane Eyre* is almost certainly of this type of endowed grammar school. During the nineteenth century this changed. The lower classes no longer desired to send their children to a school which taught the classics and they stopped receiving a free elementary education at the grammar school.<sup>15</sup> Instead grammar schools of the Victorian period filled the gap between the lower classes who possibly received a basic elementary education and the upper classes who most likely received their education in the home from a private tutor or went to one of expensive public schools. In urban areas, members of the prosperous commercial middle class were the main consumers of the endowed grammar schools and they adjusted accordingly.

A key change in order to attract middle-class students made by the grammar schools was that of the curriculum, which began to include commercial and scientific subjects as an alternative to or along with the traditional classics.<sup>16</sup> This was done in order to prevent a decrease in attendance that could result from a curriculum lacking in more utilitarian subjects. Such a slump was observed in industrial Sheffield in 1828 where the commissioners of a grammar

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<sup>13</sup> Sanderson, *Change*, 33.

<sup>14</sup> Sanderson, *Change*, 34.

<sup>15</sup> Sanderson, *Change*, 34.

<sup>16</sup> Sanderson, *Change*, 34.

school noted of their school, “It’s present reduced condition is rather to be ascribed to the preference given by the inhabitants to a mercantile education, than to any neglect or inattention on the part of the teachers.”<sup>17</sup> In the increasingly utilitarian world of industrial capitalism, middle-class parents began to question the importance of the classics for their children, who in commerce would be better served with practical knowledge. An excellent example of this is found in the Novel *North and South* by Elizabeth Gaskell, the setting of which is roughly concurrent with the aforementioned commissioners report in Sheffield. This tirade by the caring but prickly mother of middle-class businessman John Thornton perfectly illustrates the problems that classics focused grammar schools had in attracting members of the commercial middle class,

I have no doubt the classics are very desirable for people who have leisure. But, I confess, it was against my judgement that my son renewed his study of them. The time and place in which he lives, seem to me to require all his energy and attention. Classics may do very well for men who loiter away their lives in the country or in colleges; but Milton men ought to have their thoughts and powers absorbed in the work of today.<sup>18</sup>

However, not all members of the middle-class wanted their children taught in commercial subjects rather than the classics. The classics were seen as the pillar and summit of English education as well as the mark of a gentlemanly education and were required in order to pass the entrance examinations into the Universities such as Oxford or Cambridge.<sup>19</sup> It was possible to pass the examination and gain entrance into these colleges if one attended a high quality grammar school.<sup>20</sup> It is possible that Fred Vincy attended one of these quality grammar schools before being accepted into college in the novel *Middlemarch* by George Eliot, in which the

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<sup>17</sup> Roach, *History*, 72.

<sup>18</sup> Elizabeth Gaskell, *North and South* (London: Penguin Books, 1995), 113.

<sup>19</sup> Allsobrook, *shires*, 5.

<sup>20</sup> Sanderson, *Change*, 35.

setting is sometime in the 1830's.<sup>21</sup> However, if Mr. Vincy's doting and spendthrift nature is anything to judge then Fred likely attended one England's public schools which were "highly attractive to social groups of parents somewhat below the traditional clientele... [evidenced by a] rise of business families beginning to send their sons... in the 1830s and 1840s."<sup>22</sup> Regardless of whether or not Fred Vincy attended a endowed grammar school or an expensive public school there is clear evidence that some wealthier or more ambitious middle class families expected their children to receive a quality education with a curriculum full of the classics.

What then was the state of the middle-class education in the Victorian period? Thomas Arnold, described it in 1832 as "a great multitude of what are called English, or commercial schools, at which a large proportion of the sons of farmers and of tradesmen receive their education... commonly they are private undertakings.... there is now no restriction upon the business of a schoolmaster; and no inquiry made as to his qualifications."<sup>23</sup> While this is not necessarily a condemnation of the current system of schooling it in no way expresses any confidence in the current system of education and rather stresses the unmonitored system and even brings into question the worthiness of the schoolmasters. In 1861 in the "Cornhill Magazine," John Sutcliffe gives a description of middle-class education which states,

The education of the children of all between the labouring and artisan class below, and the aristocracy and gentry above, may be characterized, with an extremely small grain of qualification, as shallow; covering an extensive area, showy, but unsubstantial, and

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<sup>21</sup> Rosemary Ashton, *Introduction to Middlemarch*, by George Eliot (London: Penguin, 1994), viii.

<sup>22</sup> Sanderson, *Change*, 38.

<sup>23</sup> Arnold, *The miscellaneous works*, 227-228.

especially wanting in thoroughness. This means, of course, that it hardly deserves the name of education at all.<sup>24</sup>

This description nearly three decades later is a scathing indictment of the current level of the education of the middling classes. Sutcliffe stresses the broad nature of the education received which is, by nature of its width, extremely shallow and insubstantial. This sentiment is echoed in the secondary sources which argue that grammar schools were often stuck in a strange limbo between secondary and elementary education with some students wishing to learn the classics and proceed to college and a larger number wishing to learn more basic and functional knowledge before leaving school to join the business world at an age younger than their more ambitious peers.<sup>25</sup> The differences in these two objectives made it difficult for the grammar schools to do either very efficiently.

This, then, was the state of middle-class education in the 1860's. And this mess was becoming an increasingly sore point among the growing middle-class who was paying to send their sons and daughters to these schools. An example of this is the searing critique by John Sutcliffe I transcribe earlier. This critique was not published in a newspaper or academic journal it was published in a popular magazine, *The Cornhill Magazine*, with a readership of "millions" of middle-class citizens according to the author.<sup>26</sup> As mentioned earlier, any unrest among the middle-class was always viewed with concern by the ruling class who still lived in the shadow of the guillotine looming on the continent. Therefore, it was in the interest of Parliament and the

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<sup>24</sup> John Sutcliffe, "Middle Class and Primary Education in England: Past and Present," *Cornhill Magazine*, July 1861, <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/docview/6825873/fulltext/1?accountid=12964>, 50.

<sup>25</sup> Roach, *History*, 3.

<sup>26</sup> Sutcliffe, *Cornhill*, 50.

ruling elite to address the educational concerns of the middle class, which were not only a question of knowledge, but also of opportunity.

The need for education reform for the middle classes was therefore an obvious one but it required Parliament to actually have an understanding of the current educational situation. To gather a more comprehensive knowledge of the state of middle-class education parliament created the Schools Inquiry Commission in 1864.<sup>27</sup> This commission set out to exhaustively research the state of education in both the endowed grammar schools and the private schools which were attended by the middle class.<sup>28</sup> In doing so they created reports, published in 1868, on over “seven hundred and eighty-two endowed schools... 36,874 boys were educated in them.”<sup>29</sup> This represents a complete list on all of the endowed grammar schools in England and it shows that a relatively small number of boys attended them. In fact, the commission estimated that there were approximately 255,000 boys who required secondary education which meant that only about 20 percent were attending grammar schools and that the rest were either “educated in private schools, or at home, or not at all.”<sup>30</sup> That number represents a large majority, and while many were likely being educated at home or in private schools there was still a very large number which were probably not receiving any education at all. The commission also found proof, in the form of interviews and surveys; namely that different middle-class families were seeking different levels of education for their children. Often the schools nearby were either too

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<sup>27</sup> Allsobrook, *shires*, 2.

<sup>28</sup> Roach, *History*, 282.

<sup>29</sup> Roach, *History*, 282.

<sup>30</sup> Roach, *History*, 262.

expensive, not comprehensive enough in their curriculum, or simply nonexistent.<sup>31</sup> This state of affairs demanded address.

The Schools Inquiry Commission did not limit their report to a list of the current state of affairs, but also gave recommendations on what they thought should be done. These recommendations, given in 1869, came to be known as the Taunton Commission and were named after the head of the Schools Inquiry Commission, Lord Taunton.<sup>32</sup> This commission recommended a three-tiered system of grading for the schools.<sup>33</sup> These grades would be based on the length of time the students were expected to stay in school and on the curriculum they would be taught. The grades were thus,

The first grade would be basically classical, would be based on the requirements of a university course, and would take boys up to the age of 18. The second grade, taking boys up to about 16, would prepare boys for business and for many professions. Parents of such boys had no desire for Greek and little for Latin, while there was a strong interest in English, mathematics, natural science and modern languages. The third grade would take boys up to about 14. These schools would be designed for the sons of small farmers, shopkeepers and superior artisans.<sup>34</sup>

The commission hoped that this grading system would help inform parents of the level of schooling that would be achieved at each school and would also help lead to more clarity for the cost and worth of each school. Of all of these grades, the grade which the commission recommended the most immediate attention was the third grade of which there “was hardly any public provision.”<sup>35</sup> I would argue that the reasoning for the focus on this level of schooling was

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<sup>31</sup> Roach, *History*, 262-263.

<sup>32</sup> Allsobrook, *shires*, 4-5.

<sup>33</sup> Allsobrook, *shires*, 6.

<sup>34</sup> Roach, *History*, 263.

<sup>35</sup> Roach, *History*, 263.

two-fold. First, as the commission stated, this sector of schooling was the one most in need of attention. Second, and less obviously, because these schools were typically attended by the lower-middle-class and that was the level of society closest to the working class and therefore closest to becoming revolutionary. It was therefore necessary for commission and for Parliament to address their concerns in an expedient manner.

Another interesting recommendation of the commission found in the commission was repeated appeals to stop or alter the system of free admission to the endowed grammar schools. In his report T H Green “judged that the result of free admission to school was ‘so to lower the general character of the school.’ ”<sup>36</sup> The removal of free admission to the grammar schools would create a further difference between the lower-middle-class and the lower classes by keeping their children from mingling together. This differentiation would also bring the middle class closer into common cause with the Upper classes who also received secondary education and whose donors helped subsidize the secondary education of their children. This had the effect of creating a “remarkably homogenous and cohesive” social elite which shared common values, outlook, and education which were cultivated in the Public Schools and in the Grammar schools which came to be modeled after them.<sup>37</sup>

In conclusion, the collective effect of first the First Reform Act of 1832 and then the later Education Reform Commissions of the late 1860’s was the consolidation the social elite in Victorian England. This social elite was composed of the traditional aristocracy, but also the newly included middle-class. The merger took place over the course of several decades beginning first in 1832 with the inclusion of the middle-class in the political system by

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<sup>36</sup> Roach, *History*, 287.

<sup>37</sup> Wiener, *Culture*, 11,17.

enfranchisement. The integration continued throughout the middle of the Victorian period and was carried out primarily by the education system which sought to educate the upper two classes together at the exclusion of the lowest class. The combined effect of first enfranchisement and then cultural and social education was that middle-class interest became welded together with upper-class interest and were separated from the lower class. This had the effect of preventing any revolution or overthrow of the aristocratic upper class which continued to be member of the ruling hegemony.



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