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Letter from the Editors

The publication of a historical journal requires a great deal of time, critical analysis, and determination. *Historia*, in addition to showcasing the depth and breadth of student research at Eastern Illinois University, also provides our student editors with valuable insight into how history papers are published as well as written, and gives them hands-on experience in bringing academic writing to a wider audience. For this 2013 issue, we received eighty-one submissions, on an incredible variety of subjects, papers that reflect the writing and researching talents of students from diverse academic and professional backgrounds, and written for every level of class offered at the university. Needless to say, the scale of this number made the final selection very difficult. The Historical Publishing course offered by the Eastern History Department, for which *Historia* forms the main class project, also had an unprecedented number of enrolled students, a situation that lent itself to lively and even contentious debate as we pondered and argued over the merits of each paper and the mission of the journal overall. We made a firm commitment to keeping the journal as a student-run project that reflected the excellent and original work written by Eastern students, to keeping a high level of professionalism for the journal in content and appearance, and of course giving aspiring writers and academics the chance to get published, many for the first time.

Historical writing and publishing is a collaborative effort. We owe a debt of gratitude to the faculty in Eastern Illinois University's History Department, for without their work in educating students as well as encouraging them to write, this journal would not be possible. In particular, thanks are due to Dr. Michael Shirley, our faculty advisor who guided our class through the process and continuously challenged us to re-examine our own attitudes. Special thanks also go to Dr. Anita Shelton, department chair, and Ms. Donna Nichols, whose tireless efforts keep the History Department running. Finally, we would like to thank all of the students, published and unpublished, who submitted papers to this year's *Historia*. Without their original work, the journal you are about to read could not exist.

We hope you enjoy the 2013 edition of *Historia*.

The Editors.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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Northumbria in Stone: Material Evidence and Tenth Century Politics

Shawn Hale

The dominant narrative surrounding the history of Anglo-Saxon England features the House of Wessex as the primary catalyst in the formation of an English state. Northumbria, on the other hand, usually plays the obstacle to such unity. In these works Alfred the Great, and the Wessex kings put the disparate English kingdoms, in the ninth and tenth century, on the path to unification through retaining independence, reforming royal administration, and town planning. Thus winning the game of chess played in Northumbria against various rival kings of Viking descent. Sir Frank Stenton declared that King Alfred of Wessex's ability to defend and expand his dominion in the face of Viking invasion was "the achievement of a new stage in the advance of the English peoples," and "expressed a feeling that he stood for the interests common to the whole English race."[1] Whereas the feats of Alfred's progeny illuminate our knowledge of Wessex, our understanding of Northumbria is comparatively fragmented. The reason for this north-south disparity is due to the fact that the only surviving records were produced by ecclesiastical writers who were indelibly linked to the Wessex monarchs.

Our primary guide to tenth century England is the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, a series of copied texts that survive in a handful of different forms, each with its own particular interests and caveats. These documents are largely concerned with events happening within Wessex and occasionally mention important events elsewhere. Many questions surrounding the Northumbrian kingdom, however, are left unanswered. For example, an entry for 941 devotes a few sentences to the death of King Aethelstan of Wessex and announces his heir and ends with a final sentence: "This year the Northumbrians abandoned their allegiance, and chose Anlaf of Ireland for their king."[2] Such a remark raises a number of questions concerning the political and cultural makeup of tenth century Northumbria. To further complicate matters, chronicle writers refer to the inhabitants of Northumbria as Northumbrians as well as Danes, often interchangeably.[3] Anlaf, whose

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[1] Frank Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), 259.
[2] James Ingram, trans. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, Lmtd, 1938), 217.
[3] Clare Downham, "'Hiberno-Norwegians' and 'Anglo-Danes': Anachronistic Ethnicities and Viking Age England," *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 19 (2009): 145.

name corresponds to the Norse Olaf, was a prominent leader of the Norse-Gaels of Dublin. Did a clear ethnic distinction exist between Danish Vikings inhabiting Northumbria prior to Anlaf's arrival and newcomers from Dublin's Norse-Gael population? What was Anlaf's relationship to the Northumbrians that they would willingly choose him as king? Finally, how does this convoluted episode of Northumbrian-Viking relations fit into the bigger picture of English unification? This paper will illustrate how different forms of evidence provide disparate answers regarding the political situation in tenth century Northumbria. The results from such an exploration point towards the existence of a particular hybrid culture developing in northern England and practiced by individuals throughout the British Isles for much of the tenth century leading to the Norman Conquest. While combining Scandinavian, Celtic, and traditional Anglian sensibilities, the political culture was essentially Northumbrian.

The great distance between tenth century Northumbria and the present is often accentuated when looking at the fate of individual pieces of evidence. In 1870 at All Saints Church in Kirkby Hill, fragments of a peculiar stone sculpture were found in a nave. This stone, probably part of a cross originally, contained an L-shaped ribbon dragon whose body is pierced by a sword. By comparing this iconography to other found works, art historians can deduce that this work was commissioned sometime in the tenth century. The knots of the dragon's torso can be seen in similar carvings found at York Minster; in Buskerud, Norway; as well as on a Viking-Age axe in Russia. On the Russian example, the sword is shown in the exact same manner, without the appearance of a hand.[4] The Kirkby Hill stone depicts a popular scene that appears in a number of Scandinavian inspired works of art throughout Europe: the Viking and Old Germanic hero *Sigurð*r slaying the dragon *Fáfnir*. This stone was clearly reused and its original purpose remains unclear. To complicate matters, it currently only survives in the form of drawings as the piece has been missing since 1974![5] Regardless of its original form, however, this stone was probably commissioned by a secular leader to be used as a graveyard monument. There exists a tremendous amount of similar sculpture found throughout the churchyards of northern England. Some carvings display Christian iconography, while others display secular images of hunting and warfare. A few, like the Kirkby Hill

[4] James Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture: Vol. VI Northern Yorkshire.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001),133.

[5] Lang, *Corpus*, 133.

stone, undoubtedly point to a pagan influence. The patron of this stone was a man of wealth and status, and leads inevitably to the question of what sort of meaning would a funeral stone showcasing a Viking hero hold for tenth-century Northumbrians?

Stone funerary sculpture suggests a Viking presence that is already accounted for in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Revealing patterns emerge when looking at carvings, such as the missing Kirkby Hill stone, within the greater context of sculpture production in tenth century Northumbria. Compared to the preceding Anglian period, sculpture finds in the Viking Age double and the total number of carvings increase by a factor of five. [6] Many of these Northumbrian carvings contain the warrior iconography utilized in the Kirkby Hill stone; others display zoomorphic carvings and themes that were popular in Denmark and Norway. The most popular form of monument, however, remained the free-standing cross.[7] Interestingly, the ring- and plate-headed cross, which was very popular in tenth-century Northumbria, ultimately hails from Celtic derivation.[8] It is also important to remember that while Irish and Scandinavian art styles influenced large numbers of stone sculptures produced in tenth century Northumbria, very traditional Anglian motifs and iconographies were used throughout the period, sometimes in tandem with Irish and Scandinavian tastes.

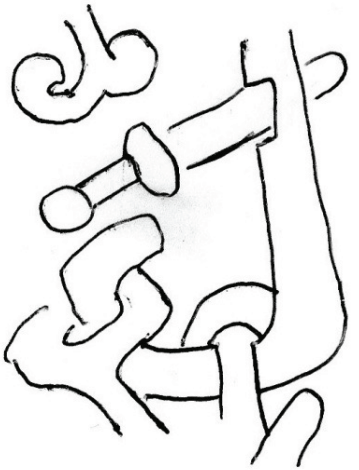

Figure 1. Sigurðr pierces a dragon as depicted on a stone in Kirkby Hill, North Yorkshire.
Drawing based on Richard N. Bailey (1980). Redrawn by Shawn Hale.

[6] Richard Bailey. "The Chronology of Viking Age Sculpture in Northumbria," in *Anglo-Saxon and Viking Age Art in its Context*, edited by James Lang. (Oxford: BAR, 1979), 174.
[7] James Lang, *Anglo-Saxon Sculpture*. (Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire: Shire Archaeology, 1988), 9.
[8] Lang, *Corpus*, 26.

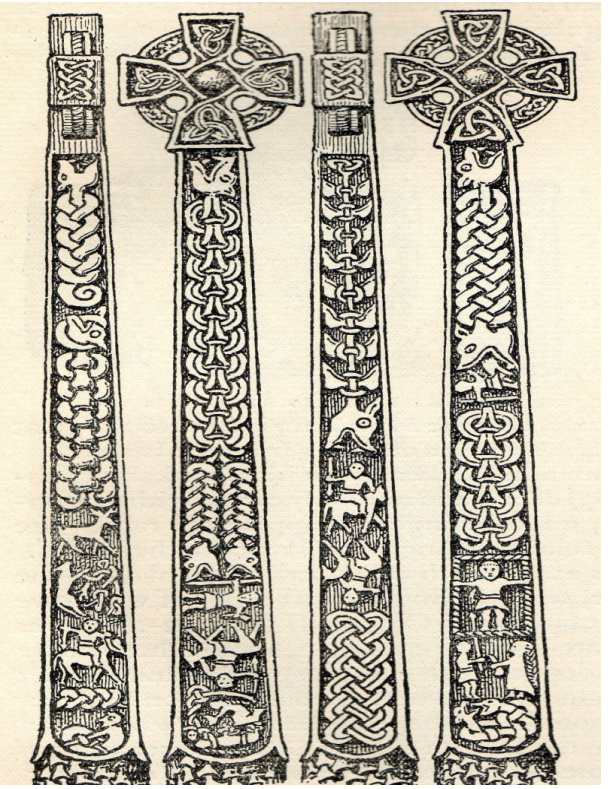

Figure 2. Ring-headed cross at Gosforth, Cumbria, containing both Christian and pagan iconography.
Drawing by W. G. Collingwood, 1927.

In terms of innovation the most unique feature of tenth century Northumbrian sculpture was the hogback. A recumbent monument with a curved ridge, hogbacks feature prevalently throughout northern English churchyards. These sculptures are similar to other tenth century Northumbrian carvings in that they contain a synthesis of Anglian, Irish, and Scandinavian influences; often in seemingly contradictory fashion. Different theories have been proposed regarding the stylistic origins of the hogback, but it remains a unique feature of the hybrid culture of tenth century northern England.[9] Hogbacks,

[9] Dawn Hadley, *Vikings in England: Settlement, Society and Culture.* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 222-3.

however, do not exist in isolation within the traditional boundaries of Northumbria. They are found with some uniformity within the Viking Age trading network radiating from the Irish Sea. Hogbacks in Cumbria, Northumbria, Scotland, and the English Midlands display regional variations but also borrow heavily from each other. Ireland has only one hogback, but in Ireland sculpture production remained a strictly monastic art. While hogbacks contain secular iconography and were commissioned by local leaders, many still display Christian symbols and iconography and many have been found *in situ* over graves in churchyards. While ichnographically suggestive, the message imparted on the stones is still presumed to be of a Christian milieu.[10]

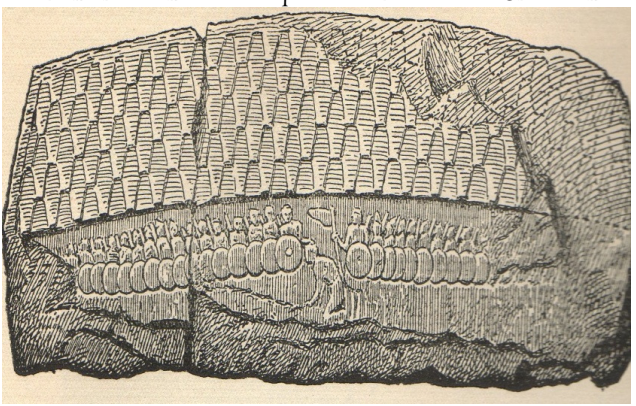

Figure 3. Hogback at Gosforth, Cumbria.
Drawing by W.G. Collingwood, 1927.

Some scholars have used the distribution of hogbacks and other monumental sculptures to trace the "skeleton of a medieval parochial system," where secular leaders would patron the building of a church where their remains would lie, memorialized in stone.[11] This pattern can be corroborated by the popularity of placing inscribed sundials on churches to commemorate patrons, such as the sundial in Skelton-in-Cleveland, North Yorkshire. The carving pattern of the sundial link it to the twelfth century and appear to honor the patron, whose name is obscured by both the condition of the stone and the literacy on the

[10] Richard Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England.* (London: Collins Archaeology, 1980), 131-2.
[11] Aleksandra McClain, "Local Churches and the Conquest of the North: Elite Patronage and Identity in Saxo-Norman Northumbria," in *Early Medieval Northumbria: Kingdoms and Communities, 450-1100,* edited by S. Turner and D. Petts. (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishing, 2011), 9.

carvings themselves. The language displayed on the stone is heavily influenced by Old Norse.[12] The Skelton-in-Cleveland sundial is further proof that this Northumbrian culture lingered on even after the unification of the English kingdoms.

The distribution patterns also hint at the existence of a network of sculptors in the Viking dominated areas of northern England who serviced the tastes of elite Northumbrians. While hogback styles differ by region the variety displayed by some hogbacks illustrate that perhaps craftsmen were itinerant and sculptures could blend various regional developments. At Bedale, southwest of Brompton in North Yorkshire, a hogback fragment was found of the enriched shrine variety. This model is most popular in Eastern Yorkshire and frequently contains zoomorphic and abstract ornament. The enriched shrine model is remarkably absent in Northern Yorkshire, except for eight found at Lythe. On its long-face, below the pitched roof is a vertical side with a peculiar image that can only be *Völundr* the Smith. Indeed, it matches the iconography of others sculptures at Leeds, West Riding, and Sherburn in the East Riding. Like *Sigurðr*, *Völundr* has Germanic roots and features prominently in the written myths of twelfth century Iceland. According to these sources, *Völundr* was a powerful smith who was captured and hamstrung to produce works of wonder against his will for a rival king. *Völundr* enacts his revenge by building himself wings, slaying his rival's sons and seducing his daughter. This overtly secular and Viking-inspired symbol, much like *Sigurðr*, hints at the potential meaning for contemporary Northumbrian viewers. The ornament on face C of the monument, has a "very Anglian appearance and demonstrate[s] the tenacity of the tradition in the Viking Age."[13] Here we have a funerary monument in a parochial churchyard in Bedale, containing conservative ornament and ribbon-beasts with the image of a pagan hero. The carving owes more artistically to pieces found in Yorkshire proper than the northern milieu in which it belongs, illustrating the complex and regional web of art style transmission. The Bedale stone, and the greater Northumbrian sculpture corpus, are remarkably different than those carvings produced contemporaneously in Wessex. In the South, funerary sculpture was less prevalent, carving was monastic, and architectural expressions were the more popular medium of expression.

[12] Lang, *Corpus*, 195-6.
[13] Lang, *Corpus*, 62.

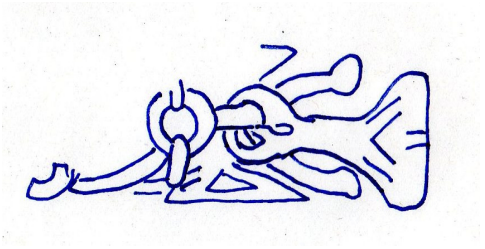

Figure 4. Völundr depicted hamstrung on a hogback stone in Bedale, North Yorkshire. From Lang, (2001). Redrawn by Shawn Hale.

The production, distribution, and carving styles hint at how Northumbrian political culture was fundamentally distinct from Wessex. These sculptures are evidence for what was happening in Anlaf's time. As politically volatile as Northumbria was in the tenth century, the elite subscribed to cultural sensibilities that hinted at an amalgamation of Anglian, Irish, and Scandinavian tastes. Perhaps it is not so puzzling that the Northumbrians would take Anlaf as king in 941, they identified with him more than the distant kings of Wessex.

The details of Anlaf's life are handed down to us in several medieval records. The *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, a late medieval translation of a lost Irish chronicle, charges that Anlaf came to England in 940 and a relative was sent to rule Dublin in his place.[14] The Irish chronicles describe Anlaf and his greater family as belonging to the *Uí Ímair*, or descendents of Ivar. Ivar was one of the original leaders of the Great Heathen Army that terrorized the British Isles in the second half of the ninth century. A direct connection between Ivar and the Viking kings at Dublin have been explored but direct proof does not exist.[15] Regardless, the *Uí Ímair* is easily recognized in the written record. The popularity of certain *Uí Ímair* names, such as Anlaf/Olaf, Sictric/Sygtrygg, Ragnall/Ragnvald, and Godfraid/Guðrøðr, have led some historians to see this line of Norse-Gaels as dynastic and chart the influence of the family throughout the medieval period.[16]

Anlaf, like his father Sictric, ruled both Dublin and Northumbria at York intermittently. By the time the Northumbrians chose Anlaf as king in 941 power had already exchanged hands between the House of Wessex and select Norse-Gaels from Dublin for nearly twenty years. Whether Anlaf recognized this himself or not, Viking power in the

[14] Dennis Murphy, trans. *The Annals of Clonmacnoise.* (Dublin: University of Dublin Press, 1896), 151-2.

[15] Clare Downham, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland: The Dynasty of Ivarr to A.D. 1014.* (Edinburgh: Dunedin Press, 2008), 48-9.

[16] Benjamin Hudson, *Viking Pirates and Christian Princes: Dynasty, Religion, and Empire in the North Atlantic.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 6.

region was on the verge of decline. Between 941 and 954 King Edmund of Wessex and his brother Eadred fiercely contested control of Northumbria from Anlaf and rival Vikings, in particular an individual named Erik Bloodaxe. While some discrepancies exist between different copies of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, they are unanimous in detailing a very rapid exchange of brief kingships between Anlaf and King Edmund. In 946 Edmund's brother Eadred ascended the throne and Northumbria submitted to him. Again, the reign was brief and by 947 the Northumbrians "had taken Erik as king".[17] The E-text of the *Chronicle* states that in 949 Anlaf re-entered Northumbria at York and no record exists of Eadred retaliating. Political stability remained elusive, however, and the annals relate that the Northumbrians drove out Anlaf in 952 and Erik in 954.[18] Afterwards, events relating to Northumbria become less frequent in written entries. England would not have another king linked to Scandinavia until Cnut the Great's reign over a more consolidated English state in 1016. This survey of the documentary evidence paints a startling picture for tenth century Northumbria. Power changed hands regularly and while occasionally a chronicle mentions a battle, our knowledge of the more common Northumbrian people is stark. An investigation of the stone sculpture suggests a synthetic cultural cohesion in tenth century Northumbria where the documentary evidence suggests cultural volatility. Many historians have turned to medieval coinage to help make sense of the puzzling political situation of tenth century Northumbria. While numismatics cannot inform the historian of the political sympathies of the people who used the coins, they can illuminate a great deal of information regarding the people who minted them.

Blackburn's numismatic assessment of York coinage provides a sequence of coin types spanning the changes of control between "Danish, Norse, and English kings."[19] That the coins present a distinction between Danish and Norse power is contested. The first issues emanating from the Viking area are imitative coins bearing similarities with Wessex and Mercian issues before 895. The next phase of coin minting is regal, displaying the names of Sigeferth, 895-900; Aethelwold, 900-902; and Cnut, 900-905. This group of coinage is remarkable in that it provides us with names of political leaders when they are absent from written sources. The York coinage also contrasts

[17] Dorothy Whitelock, trans. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1961), 72.
[18] Dorothy Whitelock, trans. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 75.
[19] Mark Blackburn, "Coinages at York and in the Five Burroughs, c. 885-954," in R.A. Hall *et al. Anglo-Scandinavian* York (York: York Archaeological Trust, 2004):325-6.

with coins issued from Wessex and Mercia in that uniformity is not pursued. Some forty designs and combinations of obverse and reverse designs appear; chosen carefully, many illustrating the name of both the moneyer and the mint location.[20] This coinage was also distinct from Wessex issues in that they contained the names of saints rather than rulers. This has led some to speculate that perhaps it was ecclesiastical centers, rather than kings, producing coinage for Northumbria.[21] Historically, however, Anglo-Saxon kings oversaw coin minting and gave portions of yearly re-minting proceeds every year to the church. Viking and Norse-Gael overseers would likely do the same. Indeed, if ecclesiastical centers controlled coinage one would expect literacy on the coins to be much improved.

That foreign rulers who came from regions that lacked coin economies perpetuated them in their new kingdom is instructive. Much like the distribution of stone sculpture, coin issues hint at the complex relationship between secular and ecclesiastical leadership. At first it seems puzzling that Viking overseers at York would mint coins containing the names of saints, but it must be remembered that secular leaders commissioned the building of parishes featuring stone sculpture erected in their honor. More examples exist highlighting this give-and-take relationship between secular and ecclesiastical leaders. A twelfth century manuscript from the monk and chronicler, Symeon of Durham, records that a vision of St. Cuthbert appeared to his community of monks and instructed them to find a Viking slave named Guthfrith and make him king in 883.[22] Likewise, during the tenth century when power was switching hands in Northumbria between Wessex and the Norse-Gaels, a certain Archbishop Wulfstan was precariously able to retain his post throughout the power struggle. There are several instances where he would appear to acquiesce to Wessex overlordship, only to abandon his pledge and side with a Norse-Gael, like he did with Anlaf when the two barely escaped the clutches of King Edmund in the aftermath of a battle at Tamworth in 943.[23] While these episodes help illuminate the seeming reciprocal administrative relationship between secular and ecclesiastic officials in tenth century Northumbria they do not explain them. For instance, why would Northumbrian ecclesiastical leaders side with incoming Norse-Gael kings? First, Vikings had settled the region since the late ninth century. The relationship between the Vikings who already settled in Northumbria and the

[20] Mark Blackburn, "Coinages at York and in the Five Burroughs, 329.
[21] Hadley, *Vikings*,49.
[22] Joseph Stevenson, trans. *The Church Historians of England: The Works of Symeon of Durham*. (London: Bread Street Hill, 1855), 664.
[23] Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 72.

Norse-Gael Vikings is unclear but there is little evidence to suggest they were antagonistic towards each other. Also, submission to Wessex might infringe on the power of Northumbrian bishops. Like Symeon of Durham's account of the St. Cuthbert community choosing a Viking as king in 883, it was likely beneficial for Viking leaders and bishops to work together in retaining Northumbrian autonomy. Indeed, one instrumental way Edmund and his kin eventually gained a foothold in Northumbria was by controlling the appointments of clerical leaders, placing bishops with Wessex sympathies inside the Northumbrian bishopric at York.[24] The coordinated findings from the documentary, sculptural and numismatic evidence illustrate a cooperative relationship between secular and ecclesiastical administration, providing more evidence for a distinct Northumbrian political culture. Certainly Wessex monarchs had their own relationship with southern bishops. The northern material evidence, however, hints at distinctive Northumbrian administrative practices and celebrated symbols of power. Perhaps the most suggestive symbol was not found on a sculpture, but on a coin.

Coin issues from 919-927, and again from 939-944, contain assertive cultural expressions. The images used in these issues mirror the distinctive Northumbrian symbols present in the sculptures. The most striking cultural icon present in the coins is not an image of *Sigurðr* or *Völundr*; it is a raven. The writing on the coin is not in Latin or Old English, but in Norse. The coinage belonged to a certain king, a man named Anlaf.

Now this Anlaf could be the man chosen by the Northumbrians as king in 941, or a cousin of his who was also active in the region who died around the same time. While the raven has associations with Odin, the prominent god of the Norse pantheon, others have pointed to a Christian connection as well. The saint-king Oswald, who allegedly had his right arm retrieved by a raven from a stake on which it had been impaled, was a celebrated seventh century Northumbrian king.[25] Ravens, however, were popular symbols in the Viking world. Their images can be seen in Vendel era weaponry in Sweden, and on banners identified on the Bayeux Tapestry and other Anglo-Saxon era coinage. Ravens also feature in all sorts of medieval Norse poetry and literature. Snorri Sturluson's *Edda* described two pet ravens that belong to the Norse god Odin; the ravens were responsible for relaying information

24 Pauline Stafford, *Unification and Conquest: Apolitical and Social History of England in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries.* (London: Edward Arnold, 1989), 54–5.

25 David Rollason, *Northumbria, 500-1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 226.

to their master.[26] An 878 entry in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* mentions a Viking defeat in Devon where "the banner which they call Raven," was captured.[27] Much like the sculpture, the ravens on Anlaf's coins remind us that Norse symbols of power appealed to the cultural sensibilities of a vast swathe of elite Northumbrians.

Figure 5. Raven coin of Anlaf as catalogued by Charles Francis Keary, 1887.

When comparing the political situation in tenth century Northumbria and Wessex some historians have noted that Northumbrian history at this time was lamentably obscure.[28] A brief exploration of the sculptural, numismatic, and documentary evidence, however, is fruitful in illustrating key differences between the two tenth century kingdoms. While tenth century Wessex churches were intrinsically connected to West Saxon monarchs and nobles, Northumbria had its own model featuring wealthy secular patrons who worked with ecclesiastical leaders in the building of churches. These parishes contained a significant number of funerary monuments that bear iconographies, symbols, styles, and forms unseen in Wessex and southern England. Likewise, coin mint images in tenth century Northumbria appealed to the tastes present in the sculpture. While borrowing from traditional Anglo-Saxon methods the coins were distinct from Wessex issues in their weight, variation, and use of both overt Christian and pagan themes.

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[26] Anthony Faulkes, trans. *Edda, Snorri Sturluson.* (North Clarendon, VT: Everyman Press, 1987), 33.
[27] Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 49.
[28] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon*, 262.

The sculptural and numismatic evidence demonstrates the polyphyletic culture developing in tenth century Northumbria. This political culture was an amalgamation of second-generation Viking settlers, Norse-Gael Vikings from Dublin, and native Northumbrians who viewed Wessex involvement in their kingdom derisively. These disparate groups of people cohabited and intermarried. The material record shows that they borrowed heavily from each other in terms of how they lived, what they wore, and how they chose to honor their dead.[29] Styles, symbols, and techniques from these works point towards earlier Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, and Irish developments but are displayed in unison and should be viewed as fundamentally Northumbrian. The chronicled exploits of Anlaf and the images of Viking heroes and ravens present in their material culture may not reveal the entire political situation but they certainly hint at a Northumbrian culture that celebrated its own symbols and autonomy. While the historical focus of Anglo-Saxon England traditionally lies with steps towards a unified English state, the northern material evidence demonstrates that a window existed in the tenth century when the Northumbrians raised constant doubts as to whether they would assimilate.

[29]Richard Hall, *Viking Age Archaeology*. (Oxford: Shire Archaeology Publications, 2010), 22.

Homer in Schliemann, Blegen and Korfmann

Aaron Psujek

Homer has had a powerful influence on the entirety of Western civilization. Through his epics and the tradition they represent, western culture traces many of its tropes, stereotypes and narrative techniques. Homer's influence extends well beyond the poetic and literary however. He has also had a tremendous influence on modern sentiments regarding how the classical Greeks saw their place in the world. Homer helps modern scholars better understand the entirety of the classical Greek tradition. Homer's *Iliad* in particular has been an influence and can still be viewed as the Greek national epic to this day. It is no wonder the *Iliad* has heavily influenced Greek and Anatolian archaeology. The quest for Troy dominated early archaeology and would eventually lead to the advent of many of the archeological tools and systems in place today. It remains to be seen, however, if the influence of Homer on the site of Hisarlik, believed today to be the location of ancient Troy, has diminished with time..

To examine this question, I will look at three excavators: Heinrich Schliemann, Carl Blegen and Manfred Korfmann. I chose these three because each sparked considerable debate and discussion concerning their findings. This is not to discount the work done by the early travelers to Hisarlik, nor to other excavators, specifically Wilhelm Dorpfeld. However, in the interest of focusing my paper I settled on these three excavators, since they can easily represent the beginning, middle and contemporary nature, styles and attitudes toward the site and excavation. In this paper, I hope to show that Homer casts a shadow of influence over the site of Hisarlik and the study of ancient Troy. Yet, this shadow takes different forms for different excavators. For Schliemann, he wished to find the true Homeric Troy and was quick to use Homer as a historical source. Blegen, too, wished to find the Homeric Troy but was interested in fitting the stories of the *Iliad* to the evidence found on site. Korfmann's relationship with Homer is the most complicated and hardest to pin down. Yet in examining the responses to Korfmann's excavation, it becomes clear that by this point the shadow of influence that Homer casts over Hisarlik is impossible to escape for an excavator. Thus, despite the complexity, it becomes clear Korfmann had a relationship with Homer. However, even more important is by Korfmann's excavations modern scholars could no longer discuss Hisarlik without invoking the name of Homer. Despite the differences between the three excavators they all used Homer in a very similar way: as a sell to the layman. Taken together, it will be seen that Homer became inseparable from Troy by the time of Korfmann.

Homer and Schliemann

Schliemann wears his love of Homer, the *Iliad* and the quest for Homeric Troy on his sleeve. His writing commonly seems more of a romanticized adventurer than a scholarly account of his finds. For this reason, as well as his early and oftentimes destructive excavation style, Schliemann cuts a controversial figure in the archeological world. One look at modern writings on Schliemann can cast this controversy in a clear light. Books such as *Golden Treasures of Troy: The Dream of Heinrich Schliemann* clearly contrast with the negative connotations inherent in the title *Schliemann of Troy: Treasure and Deceit.* This controversy may seem only partially related to the discussion of Homer's influence on Schliemann, but it occupies an important place in that discussion. One of the core issues is whether Schliemann distorted his finds in order to claim he had found Homer's Troy. Thus, the quest for Homer's Troy is at the heart of the controversy that surrounds Schliemann.

Schliemann lays out his goal of finding Homeric Troy neatly in *Ilios: The City and Country of the Trojans.* In its conclusion, he states, "May this *research with the pickaxe and the spade* prove more and more that the events described in the divine Homeric poems are not mythic tales, but that they are based on real facts."[1] He goes on to write,

> In humbly laying this account of my disinterested labours before the judgment-seat of the civilized world, I should feel the profoundest satisfaction, and should esteem it as the greatest reward my ambition could aspire to, if it were generally acknowledged that I have been instrumental towards the attainment of that great aim of my life.[2]

This highlights another important facet of Schliemann's character: he desperately wanted to be known as a scholar and an academic. "Heinrich Schliemann, in his younger years, might be called an unsophisticated reader of Homer; and in his maturity he aspired to the status of professional scholar." [3] This, too, is important because it highlights another issue of the deep controversy surrounding Schliemann: how much were his actions driven by this desire?

At this point, one is left with other questions. Did Schliemann really wish to find Homeric Troy because of some love of Homer? Did Schliemann just invoke the name of Homer and lay out that it was his

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[1]Heinrich Schliemann, *Ilios: The City and Country of the Trojans* (Salem: Ayer Company, Publishers, Inc., 1989), 672.

[2]Schliemann, *Ilios: The City and Country of the Trojans*, 672.

[3]William A. McDonald, *The Discovery of Homeric Greece* (London: Elek Books Limited, 1967), 9.

life's goal to excavate Troy in an attempt to lend credence and invoke attention to his finds, fabricated or otherwise, in order to be labeled as an academic? Even granting that he did not fabricate claims and went about his quest with the noblest of intentions, should his findings still be colored by the fact that he was searching for a myth? The answers to these questions are not simple and the truth likely exists somewhere in the middle.

It would be overly cynical, however, to attribute Schliemann's invocation of Homer's name and his statement of his passion for Troy and the *Iliad* as little more than a farce, as Calder and Traill have argued.[4] While it is undeniable Schliemann was a constant exaggerator and has been caught in his fair share of lies, the mere fact he chose his quest for Homeric Troy as his life's work is evidence he had a deep respect and love of Homer and the *Iliad*. Mark Lehrer and David Turner craft a much better picture of Schliemann's interest in Homer, stating, "Schliemann's interest in archeological excavations, with his characteristic intermingling of scientific and pecuniary motives, is thus documentable almost as far back as his enthusiasm for Homer, although these interests presumably did not merge until 1868."[5]

What Lehrer and Turner's picture gives us is more of a middle ground. Schliemann had embraced Homer and classical archaeology at different points in his life. While he may have exaggerated his early desire to excavate Homeric Troy, that does not mean his love of Homer and the *Iliad* was anything less than genuine. Also, while Schliemann may have had less than noble intentions (he did earn the label "treasure hunter" for a reason) that does not mean he was against searching for Homeric Troy for its own scientific benefit. At the same time, Calder and Traill are right to acknowledge Schliemann was a savvy salesman and knew what the public wanted. In writing about Schliemann's finding of Priam's Treasure, Traill argues, "I think that [Schliemann's description] can be more accurately attributed to a canny sense of what the public wanted to hear and an ability to satisfy that demand."[6] Selling Homer to the public was a smart move by Schliemann as it allowed him greater security in his excavations. However, Schliemann playing the

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[4]D. F. Easton, "Heinrich Schliemann: Hero or Fraud?" *The Classical World* 95 (1998): 335.

[5]Mark Lehrer and David Turner, "The Making of an Homeric Archeologist: Schliemann's Diary of 1868," *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 84 (1989): 224.

[6]David A. Traill, *Schliemann of Troy: Treasure and Deceit* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 114.

salesman does not mean he did not draw any legitimate influence from Homer or that he was merely playing off the public.

The other side of the argument labels Schliemann as a hero and the founder of modern Aegean archeology. This view in particular is evident in the public eye. In *The Golden Treasures of Troy*, a book written for a public audience, Herve Duchene writes, "Schliemann's point of departure was simple-a refusal to read the Homeric poems as mere stories… He gave them a geographical setting… He thus revived the Aegean world of the second millennium BC and became the father of pre-Hellenic archaeology…" [7] Duchene here is obviously casting Schliemann in a very positive light, contrary to the very negative conception of Schliemann presented above.

A full examination of the disconnect between the scholarly and public perception of Schliemann is beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice to say that, as Schliemann's name carries quite a bit of baggage in scholarly circles, to the public he is still described as the successful, adventurous hero who discovered Troy. This perception obviously misses the mark just as much, if not more, than the negative one above. It is not my intention to argue Schliemann should be cast necessarily in a strictly positive light. Instead, I am arguing between the positive and negative views of Schliemann lie the reality of his contributions to archaeology and his use of Homer in his excavations.

A question still remains to be answered, however. How, exactly, did Schliemann use Homer in his writings? It has been stated repeatedly, both in this paper and others, that Schliemann wore his love of Homer and the *Iliad* on his sleeve. What needs to be shown now is how this love took form in Schliemann's works. There are two ways Homer is actually used in Schliemann. First, Homer is defended using corroborating evidence from other sources and from the site of Hisarlik. On the other hand, Homer is also used as evidence himself. These two styles intertwine throughout Schliemann's writing. This is noteworthy because today one would be expected to show first that a source is historically reliable, especially one as controversial as Homer, and then use that source as evidence. Instead, Schliemann uses Homer as evidence at the same time he defends him. This is likely because Schliemann already recognized Homer as a reliable source. However, it still reinforces the controversy surrounding Schliemann.

A good example of Schliemann looking to outside sources to corroborate and defend the literal historical truth of Homer comes from the book *Troja*. In it, Schliemann argues that Egyptian documents corroborate the assertion that the kingdom of Troy existed as Homer

[7]Herve Duchene, *The Golden Treasures of Troy: the Dream of Heinrich Schliemann* (New York: Abrams, 1996), 15.

envisaged it.[8] Writing on various kingdoms mentioned in the Egyptian sources, he goes on to state, "What struck me still more was, that these are precisely the same peoples who are enumerated in the second book of the *Iliad* as auxiliaries of the Trojans in the defense of their city."[9] From the Egyptian evidence, Schliemann sees proof for the historical interpretation of Homer. Not just the more middling position that the *Iliad* could have a kernel of historical truth in it, but that Homer was writing the truth when stating that there were peoples that rode to the defense of Troy against the Mycenaeans.

As stated above, the other way that Schliemann uses Homer is in defense of Hisarlik as Troy. An example of this can be gleaned from *Troja* in a passage discussing the geography of Troy—specifically, discussing the location of tributaries that are fed by the Scamander. Schliemann writes,

> Supposing now these springs did not exist, and we were asked to indicate the place best suited for the situation of the two Trojan springs flowing into the Scamander, with the stone wash-basins, in which the women of Troy used to wash their clothes, and where the single combat between Hector and Achilles took place, we should certainly indicate this precise spot, because it answers in all its details to the Homeric description.[10]

Schliemann states here that even without the physical remains found to point to these springs being used by Troy and leading into the Scamander one could still tell that they were important to the Trojans. Achilles and Hector's famous duel took place there and it matched the physical descriptions found in Homer. Therefore, Homer can be used as a guide to the region. In fact, Homer is such a good guide one does not need to find any corroborating evidence because his descriptions were so accurate.

It is easy to see how Schliemann used Homer in his excavations of Troy. Homer was his guide and his objective. Schliemann both wished to defend a literal, historical reading of Homer's *Iliad* and actually openly used the *Iliad* as a source in his work. This action, along with his desire to be labeled as a scholar and the potentially shady course he took to achieve that goal, placed Schliemann in a maelstrom of controversy in which he has remained to this day. There are those who would see Schliemann as a hero and there are those who would see him as a rogue and a treasure hunter. It would be unfair to label Schliemann as solely

[8]Heinrich Schliemann, *Troja* (Salem: Ayer Company, Publishers, Inc., 1989), 2.
[9]Schliemann, *Troja*, 3.
[10]Schliemann, *Troja*, 65.

responsible for Homer's influence over Hisarlik, as any mention of Troy would have likely invoked Homer's name rather quickly. However, Schliemann is still the one to pull the trigger, and he is the one who actively and happily placed Homer at the center of Hisarlik, a spot, it could be argued, Homer has occupied ever since, no matter how hard excavators wish to ignore him.

Blegen and Homer

Carl Blegen took up the excavations of Hisarlik after Schliemann and Dorpfeld. He approached the site much differently than Schliemann, looking to refine the stratification with the new archaeological developments maturing during his time, as well as conduct his own excavation. Blegen and his search are more reminiscent of the classical conception of an excavator and excavation: quiet, reserved, and scientific. This clashes remarkably with Schliemann and his characteristic "adventuring" spirit and, what some would call, brashness. Blegen, however, soon became embroiled in his own controversy, and again, at the center was Homer and Homeric Troy. This time the controversy centered on a debate between Blegen and Schliemann's immediate successor: Dorpfeld. Blegen felt as though Homeric Troy was embodied in the level Troy VII while Dorpfeld believed Homeric Troy was Troy VI.[11] Blegen clearly uses the name Homer and looks to corroborate his findings with stories from the *Iliad*, but is much more muted than Schliemann. Therefore, his use of Homer is markedly different from Schliemann's, but despite these differences, Homer was still at the heart of Blegen's excavations.

It would probably not be possible to have two people more different from each other than Blegen and Schliemann. Fitton writes that "amidst the clashes of temperament that characterized the debate on Minoan and Mycenaean relations, Carl Blegen seems to have provided an oasis of calm."[12] Compare this description to Schliemann, whose name has likely never appeared in the same sentence as the word *calm*. Where Schliemann sparked controversy and engaged in exaggerated self-characterization, Blegen gathered friends and quietly but assuredly went about his business. It is also very true Blegen was no pushover; to characterize him as such would be a grave mistake. Fitton goes on to write, "Blegen was to be distinguished by his restrained but firm insistence on the truth as he saw it," and "one has the sense of his quietly putting into position building-blocks of knowledge while storms

[11]J. Lesley Fitton, *The Discovery of the Greek Bronze Age* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 159-160.
[12]Fitton, *The Discovery of the Greek Bronze Age*, 155.

raged around him."[13] A quiet but strong figure, he did not look for debate but would not shy away from it..

When Blegen came to Troy he had multiple objectives. The first, as he lists, was to "reexamine the whole problem of the Trojan stratification in the light of present-day knowledge of Aegean archaeology." [14] He wished to go back over the work done by Schliemann and his team, not because what they did was necessarily wrong, but because of the developments the field of archaeology had undergone since Schliemann's day. He also states two other aims were to search for pre-classical tombs in the region around Hisarlik, as well as conduct a major study of the entire Troad in an attempt to complete the ancient geography of the region.[15] It is when he discusses the base reason for returning to Hisarlik that most concerns this paper. He writes,

> Not much is needed in the way of justification…whatever contrary theories and speculations may be brought forward by those who oppose the identification, it was also surely the actual citadel—if there ever was one—that came to be immortalized, magnified, and gilded with poetic glamor, in the *Iliad*. Both from the side of general human interest and from the strictly archaeological point of view it was, and is, a place of unique appeal.[16]

The above quote says much to the way that Blegen views Homer. To begin, he starts by stating, "not much is needed in the way of justification." The appeal to go back to Hisarlik and the need to further the understanding for the site is self-evident for him. This is especially true since he does not give the time of day to arguments that the site of Troy was still lost or located elsewhere. On the other hand, he also acknowledges there may not have been a historical site of Troy when he states "if there was one," but he seems to quickly discard that by also saying that its connection to Homer and to myth grant it a special place in both archaeological terms and in terms of the general public. However, he also grants that Homer's vision is not necessarily historical when he writes that it was "immortalized, magnified, and gilded." For Blegen, then, Homer's *Iliad* recounts real places and a real conflict between those places. However, Homer's account is poetry and myth, not history, and it is up to archaeologists and historians to find the truth behind the myth.

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[13]Fitton, *The Discovery of the Greek Bronze Age*, 156.
[14]Carl Blegen, John L. Caskey, Marion Rawson, and Jerome Sperling, *Troy* v.1 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 7.
[15]Blegen, et al., *Troy*, 8.
[16]Blegen, et al., *Troy*, 5.

One of the few ways Blegen and Schliemann's excavations were similar is Blegen also used Homer to sell the site. After the publication of his four-volume set of texts detailing his excavations, he set out to write a book for a lay audience. This book took the form of *Troy and the Trojans* and was Blegen's attempt to make his work digestible for a modern audience. It is no coincidence Homer has a much stronger presence in this book than he did in any of his scholarly publications. Blegen's book begins with Homer and spends an entire chapter discussing Homeric Troy and evidence for the historicity of the epic in the site. Indeed, Blegen takes a stronger stance on Homer than in any of his other publications when he states, "[The Trojan War] must have a basis of historical fact, furthermore a good many of the individual heroes-though probably not all-who are mentioned in the poems were drawn from real personalities."[17]

Like Schliemann's characterization of the treasure of Priam, Blegen appears to be using Homer to sell to the public. While it should be said Blegen's book is in no way reminiscent of the larger than life adventures Schliemann painted, Blegen still appears to be cannily using Homer because the public wants and expects it in a book about Troy. More so than with Schliemann, this selling of Homer should not blemish his scholarly works. The tone and narrative used in a book geared toward the layman should by no means affect the contributions Blegen made to archaeology and scholarship on Hisarlik.

Blegen's use of Homer is inseparable from his debate with Dorpfeld. The core of their debate was a fight over which Troy level embodied the Homeric Troy. Dorpfeld's excavations led him to believe that the grandiose settlement of Troy VI, along with the length of time that the settlement stood, was Homer's Troy.[18] Blegen, as stated, felt Troy VIIA represented a siege mentality and thus better fit Homer's picture of the Trojan War.[19] It is clear why this debate is so important in studying Homer's influence over the site of Hisarlik. Here are two esteemed archaeologists and scholars debating over which settlement at Hisarlik best embodies the truth behind the *Iliad*. It is not just a debate over which site seemed to represent being destroyed by human hands, but which site seemed to show Agamemnon's clash with Priam. Homer has taken as much of the center stage as he had with Schliemann, despite his name being invoked less in published scholarly material.

Dorpfeld was the successor to Schliemann and had worked with Schliemann himself on his later campaigns. Because of this, Dorpfeld understandably had a continued interest in Hisarlik and finding Troy.

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[17]Carl Blegen, *Troy and the Trojans* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger), 20.
[18]McDonald, *The Discovery of Homeric Greece*, 9
[19]Fitton, *The Discovery of the Greek Bronze Age*, 159-160.

Indeed, he held great respect for Schliemann and the work they did together at Hisarlik. However, he also understood the limitations of those early excavations and had doubts concerning Schliemann's conclusions about the nature of various settlements, as well as Troy II being labeled Homer's Troy.[20] Dorpfeld concentrated his excavations on Troy VI and in both of his excavations uncovered large, well-constructed walls and spacious and advanced housing.[21] Lastly, in terms of dating, Dorpfeld writes, "one need scarcely mention that this dating is in harmony with the time-setting now held for the Trojan War and the destruction of the citadel by the Greeks."[22]

The importance of when these different settlements fell was very important for Dorpfeld and Blegen. Too early an approximation and neither Troy would be important enough to assault, nor would the Mycenaeans have had the ability to attack. Too late and the Dark Age would have descended and the old powers of the Bronze Age would have been destroyed. Therefore, there was a very narrow time frame in which the war in Homer's *Iliad* could have taken place. Getting the correct dates became vital for both Blegen and Dorpfeld. The importance of the chronology and the timing is brought into focus when, in a preliminary season report, Blegen states, "Professor Dorpfeld has informed me that he is unable to accept the dating of Troy VI and Troy VIIA which we proposed in our preliminary report for the season of 1934," and he goes on to outline how he hoped further excavation would better establish the proper chronology.[23]

Blegen, too, examined the later settlements of Troy. In particular for this paper, his work on Troy VI and especially Troy VIIA is important. Blegen saw the grand structures of Troy VI and the shantytown of Troy VIIA. However, his conclusion, as stated before, was far different than Dorpfeld's. Blegen felt the scraping together of shelters, the sinking of storage pots into the earth and the hastily rebuilt defenses of Troy VIIA pointed to a siege mentality that pervaded the history of that stratum of the settlement.[24] As for how the two settlements ended, Blegen holds "Troy VI came to its end, probably in a severe earthquake," and Troy VIIA fell "doubtless by human agency, in a great conflagration in the early years of the twelfth century."[25] Blegen would eventually write that there is only one way to see this data:

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[20]McDonald, *The Discovery of Homeric Greece*, 218.
[21]McDonald, *The Discovery of Homeric Greece*, 218-219.
[22]McDonald, *The Discovery of Homeric Greece*, 219.
[23]Carl Blegen, "Excavations at Troy, 1935," *American Journal of Archaeology* 39 (1935): 550.
[24]McDonald, *The Discovery of Homeric Greece*, 225.
[25]Blegen, "Excavations at Troy, 1935," 550-551.

> As shown by persuasive archaeological evidence, [the settlement] was besieged and captured by enemies and destroyed by fire…just as Hellenic poetry and folk-tale describe the destruction of king Priam's Troy…It is Settlement VIIA, then, that must be recognized as the actual Troy, the ill-fated stronghold, the siege and capture of which caught the fancy and imagination of contemporary troubadours and bards.[26]

His conclusion is obvious: there is only one Troy that can be labeled as Homeric Troy, the "actual Troy" as he calls it, and that Troy is settlement VIIA because its situation corroborates that of the Troy of Homer's *Iliad*.

The goal here is not to persuade the reader one way or another in regards to Dorpfeld and Blegen's debate. Instead, it was to use the debate to highlight how Homer was utilized in the excavation of Troy. Through the debate, we can see the excavation of Troy was still dominated by the search for Homer's Troy, or the "actual Troy." Thus, Homer still remained at the heart of the excavations and the shadow of his hand was still felt by the different excavators. Blegen and Schliemann may have utilized Homer differently, but one need only flip open to the index of a book written by Schliemann and compare it to one written by Blegen to know that Blegen was not using Homer as source nor invoking his name as much. However, their goals remained largely the same: both embarked on a quest to find Homeric Troy.

Korfmann and Homer

Korfmann's relationship with Homer is perhaps the most complicated of all of the excavators. It is clear he tried to actively avoid Homer influencing his excavations. However, Homer's name is still invoked in Korfmann's writings, the writings of his team members and the writings of his critics. What seems to be the case is, with Korfmann's excavations, Homer has bled more into the background of the site itself. Because of the work that preceded Korfmann, Hisarlik and Troy became nearly impossible to discuss without mentioning Homer. However, Korfmann clearly went to great lengths to make it so Homer was not in the limelight for the excavation—that Hisarlik was excavated for its own merits. Indeed, one of the key objectives of Korfmann was to approach Hisarlik from an Anatolian, rather than Greek, direction.[27] This shift of direction speaks volumes about any potential primacy Homer could have as well as the direction of the

[26]McDonald, *The Discovery of Homeric Greece*, 226.

[27]Joachim Latacz, *Troy and Homer* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 20.

excavations; gone were the days of excavators looking specifically for proof of Homer's Troy. However, the situation becomes complicated since Korfmann often used Homer in order to set the scene and contextualize his excavations. For these reasons it can be said Korfmann had a relationship with Homer and Homer still influences the site of Hisarlik and how scholars discuss it.

Like Blegen before him, Korfmann had his own debate at the center of his excavation. He became embroiled in a vicious argument with Frank Kolb over the nature of the site of Hisarlik and the size of the city. Specifically, the fight was over the lower city, with Korfmann arguing for a very large lower city housing thousands and Kolb arguing for only a minor settlement around the citadel, if any. This debate divided scholarship on Troy and grew to include everything from the nature of trade at Hisarlik to the cultural orientation of the site. One of the topics of debate is the establishment of which stratum of Troy represented Homeric Troy. However, Homer still held a key position in the debate and his name was invoked often on both sides. Homer's influence over Hisarlik was such that, even without looking for his Troy, his name still occupied a key position in the argument.

It is best to begin by analyzing how Korfmann uses Homer in his writing on the site, since Kolb is oftentimes responding to Korfmann's conclusions. In Korfmann's writings Homer is mentioned by name many times and the *Iliad* is commonly referenced. Korfmann wrote little in English, . yet even so, Homer's presence is obvious. In the article *Troia, an Ancient Anatolian Palatial and Trading Center* alone there are seventeen references to Homer.. Oftentimes these references occur in the context of a larger argument. Korfmann never goes the Schliemann route where he blatantly uses Homer as a historical source. Instead, he seems to utilize Homer more like Blegen, as a means to set the scene for the site and invoking his name in contexts that are reminiscent of the *Iliad*.

For example, in outlining the discovery of a defensive ditch and wall at Troy, Korfmann writes,

> Both constructions are described in detail by Homer in connection with the ship camp of the attackers. The question is whether such features represented standard building techniques or whether instead they embodied specific bardic traditions relating to Troy and its vicinity. At Troy, these two defensive features have now been archaeologically established.[28]

[28] Manfred Korfmann, "Troia, an Ancient Anatolian Palatial and Trading Center," *The Classical World* 91 (1998): 372.

In this passage, Korfmann arrives at Homer after he and his team had already found the defensive structures described. Until these constructions were found, it was unclear whether they were created by Homer or some other poet as part of a non-historical tradition, or whether the defensive structures were common and employed at Hisarlik. Korfmann's use of Homer here is not as a source like in Schliemann or even as a guiding light like in Blegen; instead he is using Homer to set the scene as that scene is corroborated by archaeological finds.

In the same article, Korfmann does state his conclusion concerning the historical nature of the *Iliad*. In discussing Homer's list of Troy's allied cities, he writes, "Homer's list of allied peoples and regions is completely plausible and convincing even for the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C.E. In its nucleus, the *Iliad* may reflect historical reality."[29] It is not a strong statement by any means; Korfmann is clearly far removed from Schliemann. However, this is still telling of where Korfmann places Homer in his excavations at Hisarlik. Just as he argues that at the nucleus of the *Iliad* there could be a kernel of truth, Homer is thus placed at the nucleus of Troy. The implication here, especially in light of Korfmann attempting to defend Homer's account of the allies of Troy, is that there is a kernel of Homeric truth to find and that truth is, at the very least, one of the goals of his excavations.

One of Frank Kolb's many criticisms of Korfmann centers on Korfmann's use of Homer in his excavations. According to Kolb, Korfmann's description of the potential Trojan lower city could account for as many as 10,000 citizens, "thus confirming the description found of Troy found in Homer's *Iliad*."[30] In the following few paragraphs Kolb goes on to deride such a description and Korfmann's classification of Troy as a trading city, going so far as to say Korfmann did not provide any evidence for such claims. The use of Homer here could be a simple descriptor; Kolb could just be invoking Homer's name to set the scene and give a sense of the scale that Korfmann was attributing to Troy. However, when looked at in conjunction with other reactions to Korfmann, the above quote begins to look very critical. Kolb is accusing Korfmann of letting Homer get in the way of his work, for either inspiring his digs too much or for Korfmann utilizing Homer for notoriety.

As stated, Kolb's other reactions corroborate the above statement. In another publication, Kolb writes, "Korfmann stands out not only as continuing the long tradition of scholars who account for the historic

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[29]Korfmann, "Troia, an Ancient Anatolian Palatial and Trading Center," 383.
[30]Dieter Hertel and Frank Kolb, "Troy in Clearer Perspective," *Anatolian Studies* 53 (2003): 73.

significance of Troy as revealed in the Homeric epics by its strategic importance controlling the entrance to the Dardanelles, but also as attributing to Troy hitherto unprecedented economic importance."[31] He also states the history of the research into the Homeric epics show that literary traditions cannot fit easily into archaeological strata and historical records.[32] Indeed, in another publication, Kolb denies any connection between the actual site of Troy with the Homeric epic: "Troy VI and VIIA, which might be considered a chronological match for Homer's Troy, were wretched little settlements which could make no serious claim to the title of city.'"[33] From these statements, it is clear Kolb would deny any such "kernel of truth" to exist in the Homeric epics that Korfmann argues for; he would probably argue such a statement is childish at best. It is clear, then, one of the roots to the Korfmann/Kolb argument is Korfmann's use of Homer in his dig—not just that Homer is used improperly in Korfmann's excavations, but that he is used at all.

This argument, like the Blegen/Dorpfeld debate, can grant great insight into any particular excavator's relationship with Homer. From his debate with Kolb, it is clear Homer is at the heart of Korfmann's argument. However, Kolb's argument seems unfair: while it is true it is best to approach Hisarlik for the site itself and not to prove Homer right or any such goal, to remove Homer from Troy is to remove a vital essence of that site. Korfmann, it appears, understands this. He utilizes Homer where necessary to set the scene and recall Homer where the evidence fits. Indeed, his personal view on the matter is laid out neatly in one of his publications after an early excavation season at Hisarlik: "Our present task, however, is excavation and study of the finds. Should some among our finds cast a significant light upon the historical question of the Trojan War, that would indeed be a most felicitous by-product of our efforts."[34] First and foremost is to study the finds for themselves. Any connection found with Homer is fortuitous but that is not the primary reason for the excavation.

As was made clear earlier, however, this does not stop Korfmann from utilizing Homer's name. The first reason posited was Homer is an inseparable part of the site of Hisarlik. While Homer has bled into the background more and more since Schliemann first started digging

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[31]Frank Kolb, "Troy VI: A Trading Center and Commercial City?" *American Journal of Archaeology* 108 (2004): 578.

[32]Kolb, "Troy VI: A Trading Center and Commercial City?" 578.

[33]Latacz, *Troy and Homer*, 25.

[34]Manfred Korfmann, "Besik Tepe: Trojan Sixth and Seventh Settlements," in *Troy and the Trojan War: A Symposium Held at Bryn Mawr College*, ed. John Lawrence Angel, Machteld Mellink (Bryn Mawr Commentaries, 1986): 28.

there, Homer still remains a root to draw from and an inspiration for excavations. The other reason is that Homer sells. There is still a wide affinity for Homer and for the *Iliad*. Homer is present in everything from movies to television to video games. It is not merely scholars and classicists who are interested in his works or in the story of the Trojan War. Korfmann, along with Blegen and Schliemann, understood this. Korfmann was in a position to take advantage of this and he likely did, as evidenced by his characterization of the site to colleagues compared with how he characterized it to visitors.

A recent lecture and discussion I attended with Liz Riorden (an architect who worked with Dr. Korfmann on site for many years) highlights the last point. In this, she stated Homer was never mentioned on site during the digs as far as she knew. There was only one instance she could recall in which someone made a reference that the ditch the team found could have been a good defense against Mycenaean chariots. However, she also mentioned when visitors would come to the site, those unfamiliar with Hisarlik or unaffiliated with the excavation, Korfmann would not hesitate to use Homer's name or to reference different finds in the context of the Homeric epic.[35] On the one hand, Korfmann could have been utilizing Homer in much the same way he did in his publications: invoking Homer's name to set the scene, which could be especially useful for the uninitiated or the layman. On the other, Korfmann could be utilizing Homer's epic to create popular support for his excavations. Homer could have been used as an easy sell for those not familiar with or uninterested in academic archaeology. This type of selling of Homer's name reflects Schliemann's use of the various treasures he found in order to drum up popular interest, along with the utilization of Homer in Blegen's book on Troy for laymen.

It would be unfair to label Korfmann as a rogue for utilizing Homer to sell the site; indeed, more popular support means more money. It would also be unfair to say Korfmann had no personal or scholarly interest in Homer and was simply using his epic for money or fame. By the time of Korfmann's excavations Homer had become inseparable from the site of Hisarlik, so to use Homer as inspiration is only natural. It is true Korfmann approached the site from a new angle and did not come to Troy in order to specifically search out the historic Trojan War. That did not stop him from utilizing Homer where he could and from invoking the Trojan War where he deemed appropriate, however. With Korfmann, Homer became an ends, a conclusion to be arrived at by examining the finds. That does not mean Korfmann's relationship with

[35]Liz Riorden, Personal Communication, 11/14/12.

Homer was any dimmer than Blegen or Schliemann's, simply that Homer was more behind the scenes.

Conclusion

Schliemann, Blegen and Korfmann all contributed to our understanding of Hisarlik in different ways. At the heart of each of their excavations, however, was Homer. Homer's inspiration manifested differently for each excavator, but his influence was still present.. While it would probably not be true to say Homer was an intrinsic part of the site of Hisarlik itself before Schliemann, he was still always going to be a key part of the larger search for Troy. As Schliemann performed his excavations and time progressed, Homer bled further into the site of Hisarlik itself, becoming as much a part of the site as the ruined walls and houses. By the time of Korfmann, he had bled further into the background and it was no longer professionally acceptable to excavate Troy looking to prove the historicity of Homer. However, despite this, Homer clearly has a presence in Korfmann's digs and his publications.

This presence was one aspect that led to an intense debate between Korfmann and Kolb. One of the issues was Korfmann going out of his way to fit the finds of the site to the Homeric myth. It seems as though Homer has a penchant for being at the heart of great debates, as before Korfmann and Kolb butted heads there were Blegen and Dorpfeld. It is true the two debates were far different: Kolb was looking to argue against the size and importance that Korfmann was ascribing to Troy, Blegen and Dorpfeld were arguing over which settlement was Homer's Troy. That being said, these debates confirmed Homer was one of the core aspects to all of these excavations, as they would have either not happened or taken dramatically different paths without his influence.

There is one aspect all three excavators share in their utilization of and inspiration by Homer. That is their use of Homer in order to create popular interest and support for their excavations. Such interest and support meant wider notoriety and more resources for all three excavators. From Schliemann's treasures, to Blegen's layman book to Korfmann's utilization of Homer in describing Troy to the uninitiated, all three have used Homer to their own ends. This is not necessarily roguish, as receiving popular support is good security for any excavation. Nor does this use of Homer mean that the excavators' interest in and inspiration from Homer is any less real or sincere. Instead, it is one of the key connecting strands running through all three excavations and further points to Homer's influence over Hisarlik, as all three excavators called upon his name in their public campaigns.

Classical Athenian Homosexuality: Pederasty and Controlling One's Desires

Seth Fisher

The modern world is one where a person's sexuality is used to determine much about them. To say that one is gay or straight brings with it an untold level of understanding, whether accurate or assumed, about the person who speaks up on the issue of their sexuality. So much of the present western world has also been influenced heavily by the current Judeo-Christian paradigm of what makes one heterosexual or homosexual. Thinking in this sense, it can be easy to assume that the world has always been this way. However, history is a giant collection of contradictions. Where the present Judeo-Christian stance clings to the belief that men sleep with women and that it has always been this way, there is a mountain of resources that claim otherwise. Comfortable or not to think about, humans have been sleeping with members of the same sex for millennia.

Classical Athens, from late sixth century C.E. to the late fourth century, was a society where being gay, at least from the modern description of two males engaging in sexual action with the other, was so engrained in the culture as to be inseparable. Even then, there were vast differences in Athenian homosexuality from the current. Pederasty, the homosexual relationship between an adult man and an adolescent outside his family, was an everyday occurrence and almost every man of some wealth partook in the 'beautiful' and hairless boys of Athens. It was not shameful to be the one penetrating his lover either; it was only shameful to be the one penetrated, as that would defy common gender roles. Classical Athens was a world where pederasty was seen as a moral good and the present understanding of homosexuality was shunned for its effeminizing influence on the citizen-elite of Athens.

The Clouds, written by the playwright and satirist Aristophanes of Athens, is about a son learning to think and disagreeing with his father. While there is much more going on in the play about the role of the infamous Sophists who taught around Athens during the end of the fifth century and the use of knowledge, one passage in particular is a useful tool into seeing some of the Athenian viewpoints on adult homosexuality. Two men—called Better Argument and Worse Argument—try and sway the son of a prominent man into entering their school to learn rhetoric. Note that the term 'wide-assed' was the popular slang used against adult males who partook in homosexual behavior and should be seen as an insult.

> Better Argument: Will (the son) have any argument he can use to save himself from being wide-assed?

> Worse Argument: And if he does become wide-assed, how will that harm him?
> B: You mean, what further misfortune could he ever suffer that would be greater than that?
> W: Well, what will you say if I confute you on this point?
> B: I'll remain silent; what else?
> W: Come on then, tell me: from what type of person do advocates come?
> B: From the wide-assed.
> W: I agree. Again, from what type do tragedians come?
> B: From the wide-assed.
> W: Quite right. And from what type do politicians come?
> B: From the wide-assed.
> W: Then do you realize you were talking nonsense? Again, look and see which are in the majority among the audience.
> B: There, I'm looking.
> W: Well, what do you see?
> B: That, heavens above! the wide-assed are the *vast* majority. At any rate, I know *that* one is, and that one over there, and that one with the long hair. (Whoever was playing Better Argument was allowed to point to whoever he wanted)
> W: Well, what are you going to say?[1]

Better Argument is convinced that being a 'wide-ass' was the supreme dishonor for an Athenian—nothing else. Worse Argument replies that every man in attendance of the play has taken part in homosexuality behavior, whether he admits to it or not. The humor of the play may have been lost on the men that Better Argument claimed to personally know were involved in homosexual intercourse no matter how in jest the allegation was made. Classical Athens may not have wanted its male population to engage in the behavior, but to assume that a law was followed so closely as to destroy itself would be foolish. The reason for the shame of two men engaging in intercourse was not a religious one either, nor was it to ensure a steady population.

This is where understanding Athenian homosexuality can become difficult. There was no shame in two men loving each other to the Athenians, no shame in loving your fellows. There was great shame, however, in acting like a woman and being anally penetrated by another man. There was the shame to the Athenians. Being penetrated caused a normal relationship to become something taboo and shunned by many. A short fragment attributed to the orator Hyperides, dated around 343

[1] Aristophanes. "Clouds," in *Homosexuality in Greece and Rome: A Sourcebook of basic documents*, ed. Thomas K. Hubbard, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), lines 949-1113.

to 322 B.C.E. makes known just how strongly at least some took the issue of gender roles in Athens:

> "Finally, what if the judge in this case I am arguing were Nature, which has divided the male personality from the female in such a way that it allots to each its own work and duty? If I were to show you that this man abused his body by treating it like a woman's, would Nature not be utterly astonished if anyone did not judge it the greatest gift that he was born a man, but hastened to turn himself into a woman by a corrupted gift of Nature?"[2]

Hyperides makes known that nature itself is disgusted by men who act like women; men who are passive in the homosexual relationship are defying their gender role, and that simply does not sit right with Hyperides, or Athens for that matter.

This general distaste for 'soft' men also appears to influence more of Aristophanes' work, as the comic playwright would accuse men of having a "hot-tempered anus" or possessing the "asshole of a furnace" to convince the audience of the character's passive role in homosexuality and, therefore, earn the audience's scorn. To the Athenians, men were men and women were women. To be accused of being a passive homosexual was a grave insult for any Athenian man to suffer as it meant a lack of strength and courage; "Plato in the *Laws* assumes the passive homosexual will be a coward, on the following logic: 'Women are cowardly, that pathic is penetrated like a woman, ergo the pathic will be a coward.'"[3] . In another of Aristophanes' plays, a character is sentenced to death, but is clothed in women's attire; he pleads to be displayed nude rather than in women's garb so everyone knows that he is in fact a man. This man would rather leave his body open to birds to pick and feed than be mistaken for a woman. Not being mistaken as a woman appears to have been a very important task for any man worth his *hoplon.*

Receiving anal penetration also spoke of something else important to the Athenians—self-control. Any shame about homosexuality came about because of the Athenian's image of themselves as proud, selfless, and most importantly, full of self-rule or *enkrateia.* Greece's old enemy Persia provides an example of everything the Athenians believed themselves not to be: "[The Persians were] self-indulgent, seduced by

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[2] Hyperides."Fragment 215 C," in *Homosexuality in Greece and Rome: A Sourcebook of basic documents*, ed. Thomas K. Hubbard, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 155.

[3] Bruce S. Thornton, *Eros: The Myth of Ancient Greek Sexuality* (Westview Press, 1997), 107.

luxury, ruled by a monarch, and above all, effeminate."[4] The opposite of these effeminate Persians must surely be an ideal for the Athenians and that ideal was found, however much romantically, in the hoplites.

Much like Jefferson's view of the gentleman farmer in Colonial America as the ideal person, the hoplites were seen as the ideal Athenian. These were the middle class of Athens, men who could afford the necessary shield, armor and weaponry of the hoplite. They were also seen as the most 'manly' of their compatriots for "[the hoplite] was a strong, well-disciplined man whose emotions and desires were under his own control…. The essential quality of the hoplite was manliness, *andreia*."[5] One need only look at the Sacred Band of Thebes to know that homosexual relationships existed between hoplites and that loving one's fellow man was not deemed unmanly. It was losing control of one's senses that alienated the Athenians towards homosexual behavior and being anally penetrated by another man was seen as succumbing to one's desires. That loss of control meant that no responsibility could be given to the 'wide-assed.' How could they be expected to live in a democracy and have all the responsibility that entailed when they could not even control their own desires?

In Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, Socrates stands in the camp of self-rule above all else as well, but his approach to keeping that self-rule intact appears to involve not risking temptation. Socrates said "one (must) abstain resolutely from sex with beautiful boys, for it was not easy for a man who engaged in such things to behave moderately"[6] . Socrates soon explained that beautiful people were similar to tarantulas with the ability to ensnare men with limited effort. Comparing beautiful women or men or, as will be discussed later, boys to tarantulas may appear somewhat cruel, but Socrates was adamant that falling for the charm of someone beautiful was a very real threat to any moderate man.

Xenophon was still somewhat weary of accepting the advice. Socrates insisted, "Unhappy man, what do you think you would experience by kissing a beautiful boy—if not instantly becoming a slave instead of a free man, spending money on harmful pleasures, having no time to give thought to anything fine and noble."[7] To Socrates, the risk of losing one's rationality and sense was not worth the short pleasure of kissing someone beautiful. Athenian tradition was to maintain this

[4] Kirk Ormand, *Controlling Desires: sexuality in ancient Greece and Rome* (Praeger, 2009), 47.
[5] Ormand, *Controlling Desires: sexuality in ancient Greece and Rome*, 49.
[6] Xenophon. "Memorabilia," in *Homosexuality in Greece and Rome: A Sourcebook of basic documents*, ed. Thomas K. Hubbard, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 169-170.
[7] Xenophon. "Memorabilia," 11.

rationality as well. Living in a democracy, having plentiful self-rule meant that rationality and moderation must be ever present in the citizenry or else the city would collapse. Socrates' advice for the men tempted by beautiful women or hairless youths was to simply abstain from sexual intercourse.

Male prostitution also helps shine a light on Athenian understanding of male homosexuality. The Athenians took the issue of male prostitution very seriously as any male citizen found prostituting himself to his fellow men and could be proven to play the passive role in homosexual intercourse would lose some of his citizenship rights including the right to introduce legislation and bring criminal cases to court. The reason for this draconian measure can be seen above. How could men who readily sell their bodies for money be trusted in a democracy to act honorably? Indeed, men proved to be prostitutes were to stand on the same level of deserters:

> [there are] four classes of men whom the law prohibits from speaking in the assembly: those who beat their father or mother, or do not support them; those who fail in their military duty; those who have prostituted themselves; or those who have squandered their patrimony.[8]

Strangely, male prostitution was not illegal in Athens for the citizenry. If a man desired to take part and risk losing some rights if discovered then he was free to do so. The reason for this appears to be due to the state-subsidized brothels that employed both male and female, Athenian and foreign prostitutes. There was also "no great shame…attached to visiting a prostitute for recreational sex" for Athenian men who could afford the rather inexpensive rates.

Another absolutely crucial component of homosexual relations in classical Athens is that of pederasty. Quite simply, prominent men in Athens took along boy lovers for sexual gratification as well as to become a moral guide for the young Athenian boys. So prevalent and strong was this love of boys that Xenophon relates a story in his *Anabasis* of a soldier rescuing a beautiful boy from being put to death:

> "There was a certain Episthenes from Olynthus, a boy-lover, who, seeing a beautiful boy, just at the beginning of adolescence, holding a light Thracian shield and about to be put to death, ran up to Xenophon and appealed to him to come to the rescue of the beautiful boy…'Episthenes, would you be willing to die in the place of this boy?' So Episthenes stretched

[8] Ormand, *Controlling Desires: sexuality in ancient Greece and Rome*, 83.

> out his neck and said, 'Strike, if the boy wishes and will be grateful to me'"[9]

Here, presumably after a battle, is a soldier willing to have himself killed to rescue a boy, not even a teenager because the boy is beautiful, quite a powerful thing to see.

Today, the issue of pederasty is one of complete and total rejection on all counts. To Athenians, however, the relationship was meant to improve both the boy and elder:

> Because of the importance they attached to the role of these sexual relationships in molding noble and virtuous citizens, the Athenians and other Greeks went to great pains to protect the ennobling character of these relationships."[10]

These pains included not allowing some low-class or undesirable citizens from entering the *gymnasia* where a great bulk of homosexual activity took place.

The typical relationship between boy and older man is seen in the *erastes* and *eromenos*. The former is the elder who actively pursued the youths with presents and promises of imparting wisdom. The latter is a youth who was expected to play a demure acceptor of his elder's advances. The age for the *eromenos* would begin at twelve or thirteen and continue until the first signs of manhood began appearing—things such as facial or body hair, muscles or a deeper voice. When manhood eventually set upon every boy, they became the *eromenos*. This was a man, ideally under thirty, as that was the marrying age for Athenian men, who would pursue a boy of his choice. Accepting the advances was up to the boy.

The *eromenos* walked a very small tight rope of social interactions as the older men pursued them. Accept too many advances and love too many men and the boy would risk being called indecent for his lack of control. Deny too many and the boy chanced the loss of connections with Athenian elite for his later life. The proper acceptance and denial of lovers also helps explain the attitude of classical Athenian pederasty; the 'nobility' of it all as mentioned earlier. By learning what was just and good from his elders, the boy was becoming a proper Athenian citizen. Many believed that "The boy's brilliance…lies in the direction of

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[9] Xenophon. "Anabasis 7.4.7," in *Homosexuality in Greece and Rome: A Sourcebook of basic documents*, ed. Thomas K. Hubbard, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 66.

[10] James Neill, *The Origins and role of same-sex relations in human societies* (Mcfarland & Co., 2009), 169.

encouraging the right kind of lover. He gladly gives those favors 'which are just and good."[11]

It is also possible to see the relationship as a baser thing, one of unequal reciprocity and favored towards the *erastes*. The trade was sexual enjoyment for wisdom or lessons. In Plato's *Symposium*, one finds that "Plato's Pausanias…calls on this ideal as the justification for the boy's physical gratification of the lover—it's acceptable as long as its purpose is 'virtue/excellence' and the lover will make the beloved wise and good, that is, reciprocate a benefit for a benefit received"[12] . So long as receiving pleasure from the youth made it capable for the *erastes* to dispense wisdom and proper ethics then the relationship was more than okay—in fact, it was preferred.

These relationships were not one-sided however, a man forcing himself on a boy without the youth's consent would be breaking a rather serious law in Athens designed to protect the people of the citizenry. *Hybris* was the unwilling penetration of someone and would result in the loss of citizenship rights for the accused. This law covered women and children, as well as men. In fact, penetration of boys was forbidden because, again, it was seen as womanly and against the noble intentions of the relationship. To assume it never happened would be foolish however. Remember the insults of Aristophanes and that no rule is ever always enforced. Some boys would even lie about being penetrated to save face in front of their *erastes* to guarantee continued instruction on the proper path of life.

A story by Phanias, a pupil of Aristotle, shows an ideal relationship of boy and man. A beautiful boy enchanted another man, Antileon of Heraclea in Italy, but, alas, the boy did not feel Antileon's love. For weeks, the man would try and win over his love with, what can be assumed, sweet words, promises of wisdom, and gifts. The boy refused to budge. The boy asked of Antileon a favor: take a bell guarded by the local tyrant. A most impossible task it was believed, but Antileon grew his courage and snuck to where the bell was placed. Antileon would kill the guard and steal the bell. This murder and theft won over the boy and the two loved each other dearly until the tyrant caught wind of the boy and sought after him as well. Antileon refused to share his love, "Antileon was outraged. He told the boy not to incur risks by refusal; but he himself, when the tyrant was leaving his house, rushed up and assassinated him."[13] The history of the story is dubious as there appears

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[11] Ormand, *Controlling Desires*, 54.

[12] Thornton, *Eros: The Myth of Ancient Greek Sexuality*, 198-199.

[13] Phanias. "Hyperides, Fr. 215 C," in *Homosexuality in Greece and Rome: A Sourcebook of basic documents*, ed. Thomas K. Hubbard, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 62.

to be no account of a tyrant at Heraclea other than this one, but the tale of a man torn apart by his love of a boy is an apt one and shows just the relationship Athenian pederasty was meant to create—a relationship of improvement for both and the assurance of morally strong and manly citizens.

Again, Athenian pederasty was meant to make the *erastes* and *eromenos* the best they could be in order to keep the city strong and morally virtuous. This may sit uncomfortable for the modern reader, but the men this system created included the likes of Demosthenes, the great orator who spoke against the growing tyranny of Philip II, who would move a boy into his house where his wife lived. Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, the larger than life philosophers of ancient Greece all spoke on the virtue of the *erastes/eromenos* relationship. Sophocles, the playwright, would pursue young boys well into his sixties. The moral validity of this system is completely rejected by the modern world, but the Athenians would be shocked by these present social mores.

Classical Athenian homosexuality is a radically different thing from the current western mindset. In the modern world, homosexual love is expected to involve two adult men, but this would be considered immoral to the Athenians. It is crucial to know that the reason for this supposed immorality was not religious, but because of the belief that being penetrated revealed the passive homosexual to be womanly and unfit to control himself, let alone the state. The most prevalent homosexual love was between a man and boy, something very different from today. The morality of the issue can be debated until the end of time, but the history of it is rather clear in what the Athenians saw in homosexual love. In an ideal situation, Athenians believed pederasty improved both *erastes* and *eromenos* as the two would have to work at being worthy of the other's attention and love.

A Leaf of Relief: Medicinal Herb Use in Southern and Central Illinois, 1800-1850

Danielle M. DiGiacomo

Southern and central Illinois pioneers faced laborious conditions in their agricultural region. Settlers had a difficult time acclimating to the land because of illness, bad luck, poverty and limited education. It was also challenging to meet the health needs in rural areas. Although this essay is a specific regional account of Illinois in the 19th century, the problems discussed reflect national trends.[1] With a focused look at southern and central Illinois settlers from 1800 to 1850 this essay of ethno-botany examines how pioneering families used herbs to cure illness and injuries as they struggled to be self-sustaining in the rural wilderness, as well as the practice of home remedy gleaned from folklore and Native American influences.

Previous research on this subject is limited and often dispersed within collections that address the Midwest or the West as a whole. Focusing on a narrow time and space limited the available research for this paper, but some historians have written on the subject of Midwestern pioneers and their health practices. Two of the main historians that do discuss the topic are John K. Crellin in his book, *Medical Care in Pioneer Illinois* and Clarence Meyer in his guide, *American Folk Medicine.* Crellin provides a compact overview of conditions faced by pioneer peoples, prevalent medical problems and ways in which settlers self-medicated; Meyer comparatively focuses on home remedies and their sources. This essay offers the historical context provided by these authors and others with the addition of specific herbs and cures used by the pioneers.

There is limited data on medical practices in the early years of Illinois' statehood, which is reflective of the small population in the center and south of the state. The region had approximately 2,000 European settlers at the turn of the nineteenth century. The population rose quickly, reaching 1.5 million by 1850 and almost three million by 1900, with about seventy-five percent of early settlers coming from southern states. These pioneers came well-equipped to break the state's wilderness land for agricultural use, however, life was still extremely strenuous and hygiene was not to today's standards.

Illinois saw three cholera epidemics in the early and mid-nineteenth century (1832-33, 1849 and 1866).[2] Advice columns found in

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[1] John K. Crellin, *Medical Care in Pioneer Illinois (*Springfield, IL: The Pearson Museum, 1982), ix-x.

[2] Crellin, *Medical Care in Pioneer Illinois*, 18.

newspapers of the time often made recommendations based on folk myths. An example found in the Jacksonville Illinois Patriot cautioned its readers to, "Abstain from fruit and unwholesome vegetables—avoid exposure to the night air—keep the mind cheerful and tranquil, and carefully watch the symptoms of approaching disease."[3] Often doctors' prescriptions did more harm than good. Doctor A.G. Henry prescribed bloodletting, opiate enemas and an ointment containing camphor, mercury and cayenne pepper among other things to cure cholera, believing this traditional calomel (mercury chloride) treatment would heal his patients.[4]

Additional chronic problems include seasonal flus and malaria (also called ague). River valley settlers would often brush off the symptoms of malaria, saying they were not sick, but just had ague. Ague was a sickness without set symptoms, much like what today's patients refer to as a "cold." However, Malaria was a serious illness for which there was no known cure, and work on the farm could not be stopped for rest. Milk sickness also prevailed among early Illinois pioneers. This ailment had no effective sure, and killed many settlers, including Abraham Lincoln's mother. One Illinoisan wrote about his experience with milk sickness in his autobiography: "It was brought on by using milk cows that were allowed to run at large on the range in the Muddy River bottom…the disease struck me and for two or three months, I was of but little account. My system seemed fully saturated with the poison, which finally worked its way out in rising boils on various parts of my body…."[5]

Data on the impact of disease is almost non-existent for the first half of the century due to the cause of individuals' death not being recorded. The federal mortality record of the time has been proven unreliable.[6] There was no State Board of Health until 1877; only then was health seen as a larger, state-wide issue, as rapid immigration had caused cities to develop too quickly, allowing sickness to prevail. At this time, the State Board of Health put regulations into place that forced quarantine and sanitation in places of sickness, as well as the create of licensure laws that eradicated many unqualified medical practitioners from Illinois.[7] This effectively put many physicians using folk medicine out of practice.

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[3] *Jackson Illinois Patriot*, October 17, 1832, found in Crellin, *Medical Care in Pioneer Illinois*,18.

[4] Crellin, *Medical Care in Pioneer Illinois*, 19.

[5] Daniel Harmon Brush, *Growing Up with southern Illinois, 1820 to 1861, from the memoirs of Daniel Harmon Brush*, edited by Milo Milton Ouaife (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, R.R. Donnelley & Sons co., 1944).

[6] Crellin, *Medical Care in Pioneer Illinois*, 11.

[7] Crellin, *Medical Care in Pioneer Illinois*, 15.

Newspapers in the early nineteenth century did not include much factual information about the health problems of the region because they wanted to encourage outsiders to move to Illinois. Writers would not conceal cholera or other disease-caused deaths but they did make the region seem less sickness ridden than others. Dr. John Snyder wrote in the Illinois gazetteer in 1850, "As to health, I honestly believe Southern Illinois will compare favorably with any portion of the West. That scourge of the north, consumption, is almost unknown here."[8]

Settlers believed that the environment in general contributed considerably to their health. This included the soil, dampness, swampy grounds, surrounding vegetation and the climate. These beliefs ignored the more important factors of nutrition and hygiene.[9] The difference between food plants and medical plants is that vegetables and herbs for eating contain more starch and basic nutrients. "Herbs" to pioneers referred to any plant that could be eaten *or* used as a medicine.

Pioneers were often missing the nutrients found in green vegetables, especially in the winter months. When drinking their herbal cures in the spring to cleanse the system and "thin the blood," they were replacing the vitamins they had been missing throughout the winter, therefore making themselves feel better.[10] Though pioneers did not yet know the names for vitamins and minerals found in their food they did understand what food supplied energy and restored health. Medicinal plants that kept pioneers feeling inwardly clean were bountiful in nature.[11]

Medical attention beyond day-to-day nutrition was hard to come by. It was difficult to find a physician in emergency situations and settlers had to respond with whatever means they had on hand. Sometimes a Native American doctor would be called for instead of a physician of European descent.[12] As pioneers moved west they learned about native plants from Native Americans.[13] Native peoples and their physicians gave recommendations to settlers on how to use these native plants. For example, Dr. Jacob Bigelow gave this advice in 1818: "The inner bark of the butternut tree [Juglens cinera], especially that obtained from the root, affords one of the most mild and efficacious

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[8] Dr. John Snyder, *Illinois Gazetter*, 1850, John Snyder Papers, Missouri Historical Society Library, St. Louis, Missouri.
[9] Crellin, *Medical Care in Pioneer Illinois*, 8.
[10] Schaeffer, Elizabeth R., *Dandelion, Pokeweed and Goosefoot, How the Early Settlers Used Plants for Food, Medicine, and in the Home*, Illustrated by Grambs Miller (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1972), 10.
[11] Meyer, *American Folk Medicine*, 16.
[12] Crellin, *Medical Care in Pioneer Illinois*, 17.
[13] Schaeffer, *How the Early Settlers Used Plants*, 9.

laxatives which we possess…."[14] When Europeans settled in the United States they had to leave many of their plants behind. The Native Americans knew about plants found in North America and their effective uses for treating many illnesses and irritations. [15] The treatments they used proved helpful at times, just as European cures did.

Physicians were not consulted for minor health issues, since many pioneers considered home remedies as sufficient cures. Medical recipes handed down from generation to generation in home recipe books were less prevalent than they had been in the previous century because they were being replaced by prescribed and store bought medicines, but they were still used.[16] As a treatment for cholera one family recipe book called for the patient to drink the whites of three eggs beaten in apple vinegar (the stronger the better) followed by hot "new milk just from the cow containing a lump of loaf sugar as large as a walnut."[17]It is impossible to know how many settlers followed this advice and old family recipes like it to cure serious ailments, but the number is most likely high.

Native Americans taught the settlers their herb usage techniques that they quickly adopted.[18] Dr. Jonas Rishel, a self-taught doctor of the early nineteenth century wrote his own guide in 1824 about cures learned from the Native Americans. *The Indian Physician* contains recommendations to treat illness as well as advice for proper diet and exercise in day-to-day life. Though Dr. Rishel worked predominately in Pennsylvania and Ohio, it is recognized that remedies and folk medicine recommendations made by him travelled into the west with settlers in the nineteenth century. He strongly believed in looking to the wilderness and gardens for remedies. "It most undoubtedly cannot be contradicted; that our country is productive of every species of plant flower or root- that will prove the most conducive to the prevention of diseases- or the most speedy remedy in case of illness or debilitation; (that effects our climate) if duly attended to and rightly prescribed."[19]

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[14] Jacob Bigelow, M.D. *American Medical Botany, Being a Collection of the Native Medicinal Plants of the United States (*Boston: Cummings and Hilliard, 1818), 55.

[15] Werner, William E., Jr., *Life and Lore of Illinois Wildflowers*, Illustrated by Sharron Davis Schumann (Springfield, IL: Illinois State Museum, 1988), xiv.

[16] Crellin, *Medical Care in Pioneer Illinois*, 26.

[17] Moore Family Papers (1820-1834), Macoupin County, Illinois, Manuscript Section, Illinois State Historical Library Crellin, *Medical Care in Pioneer Illinois*, 26.

[18] Moore Family Papers, xv.

[19] Dr. Jonas Rishel, *The Indian Physician*, (New Berlin, PA: Printed for the Author and the Proprietor By Joseph Miller. 1828), 6.

Pioneer folk remedies that contain native plants often originated with Native Americans. [20]

Pioneer families liked to give advice and health tips to those who were ill, often times resulting in an overwhelming amount of suggestions that could be contrary to each other. Historian John K. Crellin states that "Home recipes in Illinois incorporated many folk remedies, reflecting the diversity of ethnic backgrounds and of necessity, the availability of local plants."

Settlers weren't past turning to the woods or to crude drugs (often advertised in newspapers) for remedies because of the difficulty of getting medical attention. Vegetable medicines were the most plentiful.[21]

Books on home doctoring were frequently purchased in the nineteenth century, especially in rural settlements where knowledge of home doctoring was essential to survival. One such book was Dr. John C. Gunn's *Domestic Medicine: or, Poor Man's Friend.* Published in 1830, it was the first American version of its kind. Gunn explained, in simple terms, body functions and the effects of exercise and emotions on one's health. His book became an indispensable part of many households in small settlements and log cabin homes in the Midwest. A revised copy was printed, in 1857 and it became the most popular medical publication of its time. Beyond these "professional" books advice was also shared through cookbooks, economy books, encyclopedias, farm books, government publications, newspapers, magazines and almanacs.[22]

Self-medication was different in the nineteenth century than what we think of today. Instead of potent and dangerous modern drugs the substances used by self-healers were relatively harmless therapeutic remedies. The most important mediums for herb use are infusions and decoctions. Twenty-first century Americans however, can relate best to the use of herbs in teas. When water was taken from local springs and rivers it was boiled for safety. Aromatic herbs could be added to this boiled water do disguise its bad taste or smell. As is expected some of the local herbs became used in herbal teas. Some were used in teas for curing a variety of ailments. For example: what was called boneset herb (Eupatorium perfoliatum) was prepared into a strong, hot tea that would produce perspiration to raise phlegm from the lungs or to cause the patient to purge. If the tea was allowed to cool it was drunk to give strength. This tea was also said to relieve symptoms of the common

[20] Meyer, *American Folk Medicine*, 3.
[21] Crellin, *Medical Care in Pioneer Illinois*, 26.
[22] Meyer, *American Folk Medicine*, 14.

cold, influenza, indigestion and general weakness depending on how it was prepared and ingested.[23]

Healing teas of the early settlers were most often made with leaves of the mint family such as horehound, catnip, horse balm, sage thyme, spearmint, peppermint, and hyssop. Some accounts exaggerated the value of these herbs and their power to heal, but they did do some good. Herbal teas given to cure fevers helped for several reasons. They hydrated the drinker, which would help reduce the fever, the sugar or honey added would give the patient energy, and the mild flavor of the tea would soothe an upset stomach.[24]

There were a wide variety of herbs found in southern and central Illinois to be made into tea and other medicinal concoctions. Immigrants of European countries also brought their own herbs and folklore about using them for healing when they settled in Illinois. Many plants were brought to the United States from Europe, so many that by 1890 twenty-nine percent of plant species growing in Illinois were non-native.[25] Polish immigrants, for example, brought seeds with them to recreate outdoor apothecaries like the ones they had in their homeland. Polish women in rural areas with more land would roam meadows looking for the herbs they needed to treat their families' needs.[26] "American fields and forests proved to be a rich source of new drug plants and substitutes for foreign products"[27]

Westward expansion and herbal remedies have always gone hand in hand. Since the ordinance of 1785, in which the United States government aimed to raise money by selling land in the yet unsettled west, generations of Americans had travelled westward. They settled on fertile soil determined to convert the wilderness into farmland.[28] There were always gardens present in the newly settled west whether the pioneers lived in rural farmlands, small villages or developing urban communities. These gardens, tended by the women of the household, were necessary for daily sustenance.[29]

Pioneer families relied on women to know how to use teas, salves and poultices to treat ailments and illnesses.[30] Home remedies often

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[23] Meyer, *American Folk Medicine*, 17.
[24] Schaeffer, *How the Early Settlers Used Plants*, 18.
[25] Werner, *Life and Lore of Illinois Wildflowers*, xii.
[26] Deborah Anders Silverman, *Polish-American Folklore*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 101.
[27] Meyer, *American Folk Medicine*, 18.
[28] David G. Vanderstel, Jane M. Wheeler and Joyce A. Newsby, *Gardens of the Early Midwest: As Presented at Conner Prairie Museum*, edited by Timothy Crumrin (Fishers, IN: Connor Prairie Press, 1998), 1.
[29] Vanderstel, Wheeler, and Newsby, *Gardens of the Early Midwest*, 3.
[30] Silverman, *Polish-American Folklore*, 101.

meant life or death for sparsely settled communities like those in southern and central Illinois. Settlers saw cases of choking, broken bones, hemorrhages, poisoning, gangrene, gunshots, snakebites and common fevers that had to be treated with what was available. "The kitchen, garden and woods were often the sole sources of medical material for emergencies as well as lingering illnesses."[31]

Women were given the responsibility of family doctors. Mothers, many settlers believed, were qualified by their inborn common sense and skills handed down by their female family members. Women knew and understood that there was a relationship between food grown in soil for eating and herbs used for medicinal purposes in the same location. It was believed that these mother's cures prevented disorders and serious illnesses because they were used when symptoms arose rather than waiting for the illnesses to take their course. Many observers attributed success to the fact that mothers acted sympathetically toward their patients, keeping them in bed and devotedly nursing them back to health.[32] Faith has always been a helpful ingredient to folk remedies as often times the extravagant medical claims made by recipes and cures were far from the truth. Placebos would not work if a patient did not believe in the mother or doctor prescribing them.[33]

Fever was one of most common illnesses a mother would see. A Saline County cure for fever was to put numerous peach leaves under the patient's clothing to induce sweating. Another popular remedy is one we still see today: ginseng, a general tonic with aphrodisiac properties. Ginseng is a common plant in Illinois and was advertised by drugstores in newspapers. Mineral and chemical remedies were also commonly used in early 19th century Illinois. Some families enjoyed an annual "sick tartar day" every spring. This involved ingesting tartar emetic, a diaphoretic, to sweat out the winter's sicknesses. Some stones and minerals were also thought to have therapeutic remedies; one example being the madstone, which was used to draw poison out from snake or dog bite wounds. [34]

Animal remedies were less common into the nineteenth century, but those still practiced included using a rattlesnake (or a piece of it) for the bite of a rattlesnake. The folk belief was that a poison contained the components of its antidote. The vegetable snakeroot was also used on snakebites. One schoolteacher treating a bite of one of her students in the 1820's wrote:

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[31] Meyer, *American Folk Medicine*, 15.
[32] Meyer, *American Folk Medicine*, 16.
[33] Clarence Meyer, *American Folk Medicine*, (New York: Plume, 1973), 3.
[34] Crellin, *Medical Care in Pioneer Illinois*, 26.

> I soon found some Seneca snake root and gathering a quantity, bruised some between two stones and bound it with handkerchief on to the wounded foot and took him, with a quantity of the snakeroot, home to his mother, instructing her to steep some of it in milk and give him to drink, and to bind some fresh root on the wound, which she did; and much to my surprise and satisfaction the next morning he came to school just a little lame, and soon recovered entirely. What a blessing Providence to provide an antidote for that deadly poison within our reach; and thanks to my mother's instructions, knew just what to do.[35]

Non-tea based liquid medicine was not unknown to pioneers. Seasonally, various tonics and antidotes were taken to prepare the body for the following months. Spring tonics cleansed the system after living so long in smoke filled homes. "Blood thinning" root beers and herb teas were used in the summer for cooling the body temperature. [36] Vinegar, a folk medicine from Europe, was diluted with water to cure thirst and to diminish the heat from a fever. It was also used as an astringent in hemorrhages of the nose, lungs, stomach and uterus. Vinegar could be gargled and used as a wash on burns or skin that itched. It was one of the most useful remedies for home medicine. Pioneer settlers thought of vinegar as a disinfectant and antiseptic; this logic was not wrong. Additional chemicals used by pioneers included salt, sulfur, and lime as they were easy to find. If pioneers could not find the herbs, chemicals or other ingredients they need to concoct their cures they would improvise, especially when the situation was dire.[37]

Historian Clarence Meyer writes: "wines and liquors were also much used in folk medication when available. Like aromatic teas, wines were often taken with pulverized botanicals that could not be boiled in water. Wines, such as port, sherry and madeira, were used with recipes for female weakness and general debility."[38]Gin was used as a diuretic while brandy and whiskey, which acted as stimulants and restoratives, were used as the base for numerous bitters recipes. A "hot toddy" mixture of bourbon and spices was used for the sniffles, while rum was used in mixtures for coughs, catarrh, and rheumatism.[39]

Clarence Meyer's *American Folk Medicine* includes examples of cures that early pioneers used. The recipes in the book were gathered over two generations or more and many have unknown sources as they were

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[35] Lee County Columbian Club, *Recollections of the Pioneers of Lee County* (Dixon, Illinois: Inez A. Kennedy, 1893), 95.
[36] Meyer, *American Folk Medicine*, 16.
[37]Meyer, *American Folk Medicine*, 20.
[38]Meyer, *American Folk Medicine.*
[39]Meyer, *American Folk Medicine.*

intended for family use. The recipes however are only those for which the ingredients could be found in herb gardens, general stores and through peddlers. Examples of treatments found in this text and others below.

For the Cure of Eczema:

> Wash the parts thoroughly with pure castile soap, and dry carefully; then apply borax and Vaseline. To cure this disease radically a powerful blood purifier is needed. Apply 2 ounces glycerin with a teaspoon of boracic acid dissolved in it. A sure cure and there is no danger of using too much. Use freely a wash made with water and a little dissolved alum. Add flour of sulfur to lard and use paste as salve. Bathe parts with strong vinegar. [The strength of vinegar may be increased by boiling it.] Rub part with lemon. Make poultice of fresh potato with a small quantity of camphor and apply.
>
> Take beef bones, burn them in a fire till they become white, pound them fine, sift them, mix the powder with molasses; take it 3 times a day, before eating. Continue this for several days, take a cabbage stump, scrape out the inside, put it into cream and simmer it well. Anoint the part affected, this has been known to perform great and wonderful cures.[40]

Another cure for eczema or any sort of itch; the Illinois bundleflower, (Desmanthus illinoensis) also called the spider bean or prairie mimosa, could be boiled and then used to wash the skin. The plant could be found on wet, sandy soils.[41]

For the Cure of Inflamed Bowels:

> Take a tablespoon of St. John's wort oil nightly. First take a tablespoon of olive oil and place hot water bag over the affected part. Change bag frequently, make up an infusion of elder flowers. Strain, add to this a little peppermint oil. Stir well and give in frequent doses.
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> Steep 1 ounce of slippery bark bruised and sliced in 1 pint of boiling water for 2 hours in closed vessel, then strain. Use freely as a drink.

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[40] Bowker, Pierpont E, *The Indian Vegetable Family Instructor (*Boston: Pierpont E. Bowker, 1836), found in Clarence Meyer, *American Folk Medicine (*New York: Plume, 1973), 104

[41]Mildred Fielder, *Plant Medicine and Folklore*, Illustrated by Juan C. Barberis (New York: Winchester Press, 1975), 49.

> Maidenhair fern made into strong tea is excellent where there is inward inflammation, and may be freely used, for it is perfectly harmless.
> Take agrimony, cranesbill root 1 ounce, marshmallow root 1 ounce. Mix. Place 1/3 of the mixture in a vessel and pour on 1 point boiling water. Allow to cool. Strain Drink 1 wineglassful 3 times daily between meals.
> Spermaceti [wax found in the head of a sperm whale] is good in pain, and erosions of the intestines.[42]

Included below are examples of some of the most frequently grown and used herbs by southern and central Illinois pioneers in the early nineteenth centurylisted in alphabetical order. This is by no means a complete list of plants used, but rather a sampling that demonstrates the variety of illnesses and complaints settlers attempted to cure with medicinal herbs. Take note that most plants had more than one use and many had several.

Basil (Ocimum basilcum), a mint, was used as a tea to cure nausea and dysentery; though today we use it most frequently for cooking.[43]

Catnip (Nepeta) was originally found in Europe, Asia and the Himalayas but it was brought to the United States and used by settlers as a carminative (gas relief), stimulant and to induce sweating. It was also smoked to relieve respiratory illnesses, made into a tea for colds or to relieve indigestion, and put into poultices to reduce swelling, and was used to relieve toothache when mixed with cloves and sassafras. Native Americans adopted the Catnip and the settler's uses for it as well. For example, the Chippewas used it to relieve fevers while the Menominees used it for pneumonia.[44]

Chamomile (anthemis nobilis) has been used for thousands of years to soothe upset stomachs, cold and fevers as a tea. In the nineteenth century Midwest it was also used to treat toothaches, earaches, rheumatism, sprains, to stimulate appetites, and sometimes as a poultice with vinegar and laudanum to cure ulcers. Chamomile is an example of a plant brought to the United States by immigrants, in this case from southern Europe. Pioneers regarded the plant as an indispensable medical herb. Mosquitoes do not like the scent of chamomile. It was therefore used to repel the insects by spreading the tea over the face, hands and ankles. It was understood that bees do not like the scent

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[42] John Monroe, *The American Botanist and Family Physician.* (Vermont: Jonathan Morrison, 1824), 127.
[43] Vanderstel, Wheeler and Newsby, *Gardens of the Early Midwest*, 40.
[44] Werner, *Life and Lore of Illinois Wildflowers*, 138.

either and gardeners were careful to keep the plant away from others that needed pollination.[45]

There are two common types of chamomile, anthemis cotula and anthemis nobilis. Cotula was also known as white stinkweed, stinking daisy and pig-sty daisy. It has a very distinct, foul smell. Anthemis however has a pleasant smell and is used as a tea to cure upset stomachs, fever or as a scent in soaps and hair rinses. Both chamomile plants look like small daisies with fern leaves and grow throughout the plains, all summer long.[46]

Dandelions (taraxacum officinale), though extremely common across North America today, were brought to the United States and across the Midwest by settlers who depended on the plants for food and medicine. It was, at one time, the official remedy for sicknesses that came on in the winter. The dandelion is seen as a weed and pest to present day gardeners and lawn owners, but the plant is very hardy, providing vitamins to early settlers. "The dandelion stays green long into the winter and grows green again with the first warm sun of early spring. It can do this because the food it stores in its deep taproot."[47] Pioneers used the greens as a spring tonic and food while the roots were roasted into a drink resembling coffee. Wine could also be made from the blossoms.[48]

Eupatorium (eupatorium purpureum) is an autumn flowering plant given its name for its poison healing powers. In the United States it was more often called feverwort, boneset or Joe-Pye-weed after a Native American, Joe Pye, who used the plant to cure fevers. White snakeroot is a member of the Eupatorium family. It is a deadly plant as it poisoned settler's cows and subsequently gave the owners milk sickness.[49]

Feverfew (chrysanthemum parthenium)is a plant native to Britain that was brought with settlers for medicinal purposes. It was used to cure fevers, colds, and coughs and like chamomile was used as an insecticide. Feverfew was also used to ease the wounds of insect bites and stings.[50]

Purple Coneflower (echinacea purpurea) grows naturally in dry open woods or prairies and was cultivated by Plains Indians to cure more diseases than any other plant. It was used as an antidote for snake bites, a cure for toothaches, sore throats, stomach pains, burns and even as a treatment for syphilis. The Sioux tribe used the coneflower to treat

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[45] Vanderstel, Wheeler and Newsby, *Gardens of the Early Midwest*, 42-43.
[46] Schaeffer, *How the Early Settlers Used Plants*, 44.
[47] Schaeffer, *How the Early Settlers Used Plants*, 42.
[48] Schaeffer, *How the Early Settlers Used Plants.*
[49] Schaeffer, *How the Early Settlers Used Plants*, 27.
[50] Vanderstel, Wheeler and Newsby, *Gardens of the Early Midwest*, 46.

rabies. "To treat headaches, it was burned to screate [sic] smoke. For toothache, pieces of the root were applied to the afflicted area. It was even used to treat distemper in horses, and was also employed in the Indian saunas to make the heat easier to withstand."[51] Europeans adopted these cures from the Native Americans and added their own uses for the flower, such as blood purification, curing eczema, acne, and boils (symptoms of impure blood as pioneers believed).[52]

Sage (salvia officinalis) was one of the most widely used medicinal and cooking herbs. Decoctions and teas were used to cure mouth sores, epilepsy, rheumatism, "female complaints", and when mixed with vinegar, to defend against plague or cholera.[53]

Wild Ginger (asarum canadense) is a native North American herb that settlers used as a substitute for similar spices that could not be found in the American Midwest. The ginger flavor comes from the root of this flower and it was used as a spice as well as a cure for indigestion and whooping cough.[54]

Wild Thyme (thymus serphyllum) is another herb brought to the United States by Europeans. It was used as cure for coughs and stomachaches.[55]

Witch hazel (hamamelis virginiana) is a settler's herb that is still widely used today for the same purpose it was in the nineteenth century. It is a soothing astringent for insect bites and other skin irritations. The herb was widely used by Native Americans that used it in balms and teas for similar astringent purposes.[56]

There were significant changes in home medicine in the late eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth centuries. These changes are attributed to the changes in orthodox medicines and their inclusion in the home. Examples include steam inhalation and the administration of enemas. Home medicine chests that could be purchased at the local drugstore and domestic medicine manuals were very popular in the late nineteenth century.[57] By about the mid 1800s, recipes became chemical composition in nature due to the increase of professional practice.[58]

Folk medicines are still used and researched all over the world, for it was through natural treatment remedies that drugs such as aspirin, quinine, digitalis, cocaine, and many others were discovered. [59]

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[51] Werner, *Life and Lore of Illinois Wildflowers*, 166-167.
[52] Werner, *Life and Lore of Illinois Wildflowers*, 166-167.
[53] Vanderstel, Wheeler and Newsby, *Gardens of the Early Midwest*, 51.
[54] Schaeffer, *How the Early Settlers Used Plants*, 25.
[55] Schaeffer, *How the Early Settlers Used Plants*, 49.
[56] Schaeffer, *How the Early Settlers Used Plants*, 31.
[57] Crellin, *Medical Care in Pioneer Illinois*, 34.
[58] Meyer, *American Folk Medicine*, 3.
[59] Rishel, *The Indian Physician*, 5.

Physicians have warned their students not to look down upon those who use folk medicines for many years, as some of them prove to be valuable.[60]

The father of medicine, Hippocrates, has been quoted saying; "One should not abhor asking the simple folks whether a thing is a good remedy, as many drugs have been found often enough by plain people and by mere chance, rather than by planned scientific investigation." [61] The hardships southern and central Illinois pioneers faced required them to use "simple folk" remedies to survive. Without the benefits of a large city, educated physicians and supplies settlers turned to their gardens, family recipes, Native American advice and folklore for cures to their illnesses and injuries. Using the wildness around them allowed these early pioneers to be self-sufficient and even to thrive in a foreign land.

[60] Clarence Meyer, *American Folk Medicine*, (New York: Plume, 1973), 3.
[61] Clarence Meyer, *American Folk Medicine*, 3.

Chocolatiere Connections: Prestige and Culture in the Early Modern Atlantic

Nathan Allison

Commodities played an integral role in the shaping forces of the Atlantic World. Chocolate is a true trans-Atlantic commodity. From the cultivation of cocoa beans, its shipment and trade, its production into chocolate, and its consumption, chocolate exemplifies Atlantic World connections through commodities. Exploring chocolate as a commodity from the late sixteenth century to the eighteenth century demonstrates a commodity chain that interconnected the Atlantic World through its production and consumption. Subsequently, links across the Atlantic allowed cultural ideas and practices to move from people and places. Evidence from advertisements, state records, and material culture vividly illustrate the extensive role prestige goods played in this network. Furthermore, studying the accoutrement of chocolate gives insight to the spread of culturally significant trends throughout the Atlantic. This paper will also explore the use of chocolate pots in France, England, and colonial America during the seventeenth and eighteenth century in order to analyze and explore cultural practices in these regions and the relationship between their cultures. This evidence exemplifies the connectivity of people and places in the Atlantic World by looking at the spread of a chocolate culture through the tools necessary for its production and consumption.

Cocoa's introduction to Europeans began with the arrival of Columbus to the Americas. The Aztec and Maya had a long tradition of drinking chocolate in connection with spiritual practices. Spanish conquistadors witnessed this and wrote of it in their accounts of contact with the indigenous people in the Americas. However, commoditization of chocolate in a greater Atlantic context is somewhat ambiguous. The first account of chocolate being introduced into Europe was by the conquistador de la Casas. In 1544, Dominican friars and a delegation of Kekchi Maya nobles sent by de la Casas visited the royal court of Philip II of Spain, bringing many exotic gifts from the Americas including chocolate.[1] Finally in 1585 the first shipment of cocoa beans arrived in Seville from Veracruz.[2] For the next hundred years, the Spanish controlled cocoa imports into Europe. Cocoa imports came from Spanish colonies in the Americas to Spain via the port of Cadiz.[3]

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[1] Sophie D. Coe and Michael D. Coe, *The True History of Chocolate* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1996), 133.
[2] Coe and Coe, *The True History of Chocolate*, 133.
[3] Coe and Coe, *The True History of Chocolate*, 80.

The success of chocolate occurred at this time. The consumption of chocolate began in the royal courts of the Spanish and mansions of the wealthy. It was consumed as a hot beverage similar to native traditions in the Americas. The exotic drink drove Spanish and Portuguese merchants to see opportunity in cocoa production, leading to the establishment of cocoa plantations in the Americas. The cocoa tree or *Theobroma Cacoa* only grows within twenty degrees of the equator below one thousand feet in elevation.[4] The Portuguese were the first to take advantage of their territorial acquisitions and established cocoa plantations on the coast of Brazil at Bahia.[5]As the demand for cocoa grew throughout Europe, roughly ten percent of African slaves transported across the Atlantic went to work in Brazilian cocoa plantations.[6]

Over a short period, European demand for chocolate created multiple variations of cocoa. By the seventeenth century, two forms of cocoa had been introduced into the market- the preferred *Caracas* type from Socunusco and Venezuela and the *Forestaro* from the Guayaquil coast in Ecuador, which was a hardier variety with a stronger flavor.[7] Venezuela ultimately became the chief exporter of European cocoa through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. *Forestaro* cocoa became known as the "cocoa of the poor", and provided colonies with cheap cocoa for the production of chocolate.[8] Success of the Spanish and Portuguese initiated Dutch and English privateers to work directly with Venezuelan merchants and planters to illegally acquire cocoa. This contraband included cocoa confiscated from Spanish flotillas. In 1655, the British confiscated Jamaica from the Spanish.[9] Previously operating cocoa walks or plantations in Jamaica were subsequently taken over by the British. The French Antilles islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe also produced cocoa for the metropolitan market in France. The saturation of cocoa into the European market drove cocoa prices down, resulting in chocolate becoming accessible to a much broader consumer base.

The cultivation of cocoa beans in colonial territories of the Americas was but one link along chocolate's extensive Atlantic commodity chain. The consumption of chocolate highlights the second part of this commodity chain. By 1660 tracts were being printed in

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[4] Sarah Moss and Alexander Badenoch, *Chocolate: A Global History* (London: Reaktion Books, 2009), 7.
[5] Moss and Badenoch, *Chocolate*, 29.
[6] Moss and Badenoch, *Chocolate*, 29.
[7] Coe and Coe, *True History of Chocolate*, 189.
[8] Coe and Coe, *True History of Chocolate*, 188.
[9] Coe and Coe, *True History of Chocolate*, 197.

London on the medicinal benefits of chocolate. One tract stated that "by this pleasing drink health is preserved and sickness is diverted".[10] Included in the author's benefits of drinking chocolate is where and by whom chocolate was being sold by in London. Having moved from the elite houses of court officials and nobles, chocolate arrived in the public sphere as a luxury good. In the later part of the seventeenth century, chocolate houses were established across England and became a meeting place for men. Chocolate was beginning to intertwine itself into the cultural milieu of European life.

By the 1760s and 1770s, watermills were put to use to grind the imported cocoa beans in England. However, the consumption of chocolate largely maintained the use of its original indigenous techniques of grinding the cocoa beans on a *metate* a stone grinding table and grinder and chocolate beaters or *molinillos* to create the recognizable foam at the top of the drink through the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.[11] In France, the cultural prestige of chocolate within the elite homes of the aristocracy led to the development of couture chocolate pots called *chocolatiers* being introduced into the market.[12] The proliferation of chocolate consumption in England and the rest of Europe quickly moved back across the Atlantic to Britain's colonies in North America.

During the 1700s, cocoa was a highly demanded luxury good being imported into the American colonies by Britain. Luxury goods like cocoa were highly taxed. The "Three Way Trade System" that had developed across the Atlantic allowed Britain to capitalize on its profits from luxury goods like cocoa being imported to the colonies. Ultimately, the taxation of luxury goods like cocoa led American merchants to trade directly with Caribbean cocoa planters by the mid-1750s.[13] In 1765, John Hannan opened the first chocolate mill in North America, located in Dorchester, Massachusetts.[14] By the later part of the eighteenth century, cocoa production was taking place in four major colonial American cities; Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and New Port.[15] Cocoa production and consumption in America was being controlled in practice by the colonies. In the five year period from 1768-

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[10] Anon, *The Vertues of Chocolate East-India Drink*, in the Early English Books Online,http://proxy.library.eiu.edu:2154/search (accessed March 10, 2012).

[11] Moss and Badenoch, *Chocolate: A Global History*, 50

[12] Coe and Coe, *The True History of Chocolate*, 161

[13] Marcia and Frederic Morton, *Chocolate, an Illustrated History* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1986), 33.

[14] Moss and Badenoch, *Chocolate*, 51

[15] James Gay, "Chocolate Production and Uses in 17th and 18th Century North America," In *Chocolate: History, Culture, Heritage*, Louis Grivetti and Howard Shapiro,eds., (Hoboken: Wiley, 2009), 285.

1773, seventy percent of American cocoa was imported from foreign origins while only twenty percent came from British controlled West Indies.[16]

For example, Philadelphia became the second largest producer of cocoa in the colonies. *The Pennsylvania Gazette* contained numerous advertisements for cocoa producers and chocolate makers during this period. One advertisement for a store owned by a Benjamin Jackson and John Gibbons stated, "CHOCOLATE, in the very best Manner, which they will sell at very reasonable Rates: Likewise grind up COCOA NUTS for others."[17]Over the five years from 1768-1773, Philadelphia imported nearly six hundred thousand pounds of cocoa and exported only seventy five thousand.[18] We can infer from these figures that Philadelphia and the surrounding areas were consuming nearly all the cocoa being imported into the colony; equating a high demand for chocolate within the colonial culture.

In roughly two hundred and fifty years, chocolate had become a highly desired commodity. The cultivation of cocoa beans established by the Spanish and Portuguese in the New World created a mass European market for the consumption of chocolate. This consumption traversed imperial designations. As evidenced, chocolate became a luxury good that Britain profited on by exporting it to its American colonies. Once there, consumption of chocolate fueled the production of cocoa in places like Philadelphia. Following the commodity chain of chocolate demonstrates the connectivity of the Atlantic world. Chocolate clearly shows that a greater trans-Atlantic network facilitated the cultivation, shipment, production, and consumption of the commodity.

Chocolate Culture

As a rich hot beverage, chocolate found its place in the royal courts of the Spanish and French.[19] Chocolate was served from highly ornate serving pots into specialized cups and their accompanying dishes. The marquise de Sevigne, Marie de Rabutin-Chantal expressed her concern for her daughter's clear disadvantage:"but you have no chocolatiere [chocolate pot]; I have thought of it a thousand times; what will you do?"[20] The marquise's words demonstrate a widespread use of chocolate

[16] Gay, "Chocolate Productions Uses in the 17th and 18th Century North America," 289.
[17] The Pennsylvania Gazette, *Benjamin Jackson, and John Gibbons, at Their Mustard and Chocolate*, in the Accessible Archives, http://proxy.library.eiu.edu:2202 (accessed March 10, 2012).
[18] Gay, *Chocolate Production and Uses in 17th and 18th Century North America*, 289.
[19] Coe and Coe, *The True History of Chocolate*, 125.
[20] Coe and Coe, *The True History of Chocolate*, 158.

pots in the homes of aristocrats by the end of the seventeenth century. Aggressive cultivation of cocoa trees in the Antilles by the Spanish and Portuguese had created an influx of chocolate in the European market, driving prices down and creating a mass market for its consumption. This process allowed chocolate to move from the royal courts and homes of elite nobles to the broader public as a luxury good with attached cultural and social prestige. Chocolate pots became a signifier of that cultural prestige. By the beginning of the eighteenth century chocolate, was consumed around the Atlantic.

France

The *chocolatiere* or chocolate pot was most likely invented by the French during the late part of the seventeenth or eighteenth century.[21] Wherever its origin, the royal courts of France influenced the spread of chocolate pots to the rest of Europe. The design of the chocolate pot facilitated the stirring, frothing, and serving of the beverage. The very definition of the word chocolatiere, which first appeared in a French dictionary in 1680, stated that the pots purpose was as "a metal vase in which one keeps chocolate until one wishes to take it".[22] This practice maintained the traditional preparations of chocolate developed by the indigenous people from the New World.[23] The pot itself is a small metal container with a lid and a spout at a ninety-degree angle to its handle. The lid has a hole in the top for the wooden stirring stick called a *molinet*.

Within its French context, the chocolatiere became a fashionable expression of aristocratic life through the eighteenth century. The common medium for the chocolate pots in this setting was silver. For example, Marie Antoinette had a one hundred piece silver dining service made that showcased her chocolatiere. [24] Paintings of the period demonstrate the cultural prestige of chocolate. Commissioned portraits showcase aristocratic families around their chocolatieres. Jean-Baptiste Charpentier's *La Tasse de Chocolate* or Boucher's *Dejeuner* suggest the pleasures of life that chocolate can bring.[25] Evidence from a 1713 Basque inventory of Pau demonstrates a proliferation of lower base metal chocolatiers in the middle and lower social classes.[26] Bronze, copper, and tin chocolate pots in France were affordable alternatives to the silver

[21] Coe and Coe, *The True History of Chocolate*, 160.
[22] Coe and Coe, *The True History of Chocolate*, 159.
[23] Suzanne Perkins, "Is It A Chocolate Pot?" In *Chocolate: History, Culture, Heritage*, Louis Grivetti and Howard Shapiro, eds. (Hoboken: Wiley, 2009), 158.
[24] Perkins, "Is It A Chocolate Pot?," 169.
[25] Perkins, "Is It A Chocolate Pot?," 167.
[26] Perkins, "Is It A Chocolate Pot?," 160.

pots of the elite. This demonstrates a high demand in French culture for chocolatiers.

England

Garthorne made the earliest example of an English silver chocolate pot in 1685.[27] English silver smiths quickly started imitating the French design as the prestige associated with the chocolatier spread. The consumption of chocolate took on new forms in England. A key difference between French and English chocolate culture was the space in which chocolate was consumed. Unlike the French, who tended to use their chocolatiers within the home for private functions, or at times, at large parties and galas, the English consumption of chocolate most frequently took place in public establishments. The first chocolate houses were established in England in the 1650s.[28] These locales became the meeting places for men and quickly became associated with politics, literary circles, and debauchery. Base metals were the common mediums used for commercial chocolate pots in the chocolate houses.[29] As the prestige of consuming chocolate increased, so did the demand for chocolate related accoutrements. This led to the theft of luxury goods like chocolate pots. In the records of the *Old Bailey*, there are several proceedings related to these thefts. On December 5th, 1711 Charles Goodale was sentenced to death for breaking into a home and stealing a silver chocolate pot worth twelve pounds amongst other items.[30]

Colonial America

Chocolate, and subsequently the chocolate pot, reached colonial America through Britain.[31]As in Europe, chocolate was perceived to be a luxury good attached with cultural prestige; thus, increasing the demand for these items. The use of chocolate pots demonstrates the connection with the prestigious elite. In 1740 the *Pennsylvania Gazette* advertised the importation and sale of these chocolate pots. One Isaac Jones, a Philadelphia merchant listed that "he has the following European Goods, which he will dispose of very reasonable for ready

[27] Coe and Coe, *The True History of Chocolate*, 162.
[28] Moss and Badenoch, *Chocolate: A Global History*, 35.
[29] Louis E. Grivetti and Howard-Yana Shapiro, *Chocolate: History, Culture, and Heritage*,Louis Evan Grivetti, eds. (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley, 2009), 151.
[30] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 7.0, 25 September 2012), December 1711, trial of Charles Goodale (t17111205-29).
[31] Moss and Badenoch, *Chocolate: A Global History*, 30.

Money or short Credit" among those goods listed were chocolate pots.[32] By 1742 the demand of colonial Philadelphia was great enough for craftsmen to go into business making chocolate pots. One advertisement for a brazier was for making and selling chocolate pots "and other sort of Copper work when spoke for, cheaper by Retail, than imported from Europe."[33] This demonstrates a mass market for chocolate pots in America, as well as a cultural shift.

In an article by Amanda Lange titled "Chocolate Preparation and Serving Vessels in Early North America," her research found that copper, brass, and tinned sheet iron chocolate pots appear more frequently in America than their silver counterparts.[34] For example, only eight silver chocolate pots survived from Boston during this period.[35] The low number of existing silver chocolate pots points to a relatively few number of them made. More affordable base metal constructions provided lower classes with alternatives to silver chocolate pots of the elites. Thus, the chocolate culture was changing from a prestigious item used only by the aristocratic elite to a common good.

Proliferation of chocolate pots through Europe and into colonial America demonstrates a consumer culture that attached prestige to chocolate-related accoutrements. The aristocratic elites of Europe embraced their gold and silver chocolatiers as a symbol of their power and regality, often depicted in portraits of the time. As affordable alternatives became available to the masses in colonial America, everyone could interact in the consumption of chocolate through their serving pots. This creates a divergence in cultural imperatives that can be seen in examples of surviving chocolate pots from Europe and colonial America. The gentile and simple base metal designs of American chocolate pots can serve as a statement of colonial American culture. Colonists did not want the decadence of an Old World aristocracy. A lack of highly ornate chocolatiers in colonial everyday life

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[32] The Pennsylvania Gazette, *Isaac Jones Intending for London This Spring, Desires All Pe,* in the Accessible Archives, http://proxy.library.eiu.edu:2202/ (accessed March 10, 2012).

[33] The Pennsylvania Gazette, *By Peacock Bigger, Opposite the Presbyterian Meeting House,* in the Accessible Archives, http://proxylibrary.eiu.edu:2202/accessible/print?AADocList=1&AADocStyle=&AAStyleFile=&AABeanName=toc1&AANextPage=/printFullDocFromXML.jsp&AACheck=5.1.1.1.1(accessed March 10, 2012).

[34] Amanda Lange, "Chocolate Preparation and Serving Vessels" In *Chocolate: History, Culture, Heritage,* Louis Grivetti and Howard Shapiro, eds. (Hoboken: Wiley, 2009), 134.

[35] Lange, "Chocolate Preparation and Serving Vessels," 151.

and expressions i.e., paintings, can parallel the growing rejection of imperial and monarchical fetters.

Focusing on a commodity allows for a more in depth analysis of the interactions and connections established and maintained in the Atlantic World. By following chocolate from its production in the Americas to its consumption in Europe, a commodity chain is clearly established. Luxury items, like chocolate, created prestigious goods that participants in chocolate consumption illustrated through their chocolatiers. As discussed, the expression of consumption took on many forms and practices by various groups involved in a broader chocolate culture. While further research can advance this limited historiography, chocolate and its serving accoutrements demonstrate a diverse and dynamic relationship over vast territories and people.

Republican Motherhood: Coverture and Virtue in Early National America

Kim Lorton

Women in Colonial America were defined by their relations with men. They could not own property, bring a lawsuit or vote without the help of a husband or father. Their personal value was in the work they could do in the home; that is cooking, cleaning and caring for children. Any activity outside of the home was the dominion of man and very few women had the ability to venture into it independently. The American Revolution, however, opened new opportunities for women. During the war women assumed responsibilities traditionally held by men, and by doing so they earned limited independence. After the war women were viewed as the perfect patriots – virtuous, selfless and pure. It became their job to raise patriotic children needed to make the fledgling nation successful and strong. Women were allowed for the first time to marry for love and were given an education equal to men. Though their rights and responsibilities expanded, women were still considered the dominion of man. Republican Motherhood still relegated women to the private sphere of home and family, but it laid the foundation for future rights that no woman of the Early National Era could have imagined. The focus of this essay will be to define the precedent of Coverture, explain how it affected women's lives and show that it did not vanish after the Revolution.

Married women's legal status in Colonial America was defined by English Common Law. The most important precedent that ruled their existence was Coverture. Under this doctrine women were relegated to the dominion of men – that is they were not considered independent individuals. In William Blackstone's work, *Blackstone's Common Law* coverture is defined as, "By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law: that is, the very being or legal existence of woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband: under whose wing, protection, and cover, she performs everything…"[1] Single women were considered to be covered by their fathers or guardians. Coverture extended to both property and legal rights. Any property a woman owned, whether it be land or material possessions, passed to her husband when she married. He had full legal rights to use it as he saw fit, and he did not have to ask her permission to sell or alter it in any way. She was also not able to

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[1]William Blackstone, *Blackstone's Common Law* (1775).

inherit her husband's estate unless he had no male heirs or relatives. He was also liable for any criminal or monetary legal suits brought against her because she was considered to be acting on his will.[2] This precedent of women acting only on behalf of men had important implications for the type of work she could do and how she should behave in public. Coverture became a way of defining women's work and traditional gender roles.

Coverture affected the lives of women from the settling of the first British colonies. The British ethnocentric views of a woman's place extended to the different groups of people encountered during their imperial expansion – native women who had no experience with English Common Law were perceived to be unwomanly if they performed tasks Europeans delegated to men or if they did not follow the same moral principles. Sara Evans wrote about European views on Native American women in her book *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America.* In Native communities women did the farm labor as well as more domestic tasks like raising children. When the British saw this they immediately assumed the women were slaves; why else would they do such heavy labor? They did not see that the Natives divided responsibility between men and women. Men hunted while women tended to crops and domestic skills.[3] African women brought to the colonies were also treated with such skepticism. They were described as sexually promiscuous and as a danger to men. European men had to use black women's sexuality as a way to degrade them into servitude; moral consciousness could not exist in such women. They were also said to have easier childbirths which made them more fit for manual labor.[4] These notions were used to defend slavery.

Coverture effected European women in two ways – by defining their legal status and by assigning them a particular gender role. Laws relating to the establishment of women's rights were strict. In Connecticut, for example, an act was passed in 1667 defining suitable grounds for divorce. The only grounds on which a suit for dissolution could be made were for adultery, fraudulent contract, or willful

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[2]Blackstone,

[3]Evans, "The First American Women" *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York: Free Press, 1989, 1997), 28-37.

[4]Jennifer L. Morgan, "Some Could Suckle over Their Shoulder": European Depictions of Indigenous Women, 1492-1757, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 37-46.

dissertation.[5] There was no mention of ill treatment or unhappiness. Because these women lived under coverture it was extremely difficult for them to be single. Widows could expect to retain only one-third of their husband's property for as long as they lived. They could not will it away; it was to go fully to her husband's son when she died. The property was only maintained by her so she was ensured a place to live until her death—it never belonged to her.[6] If she did inherit a man's property she was put in danger. Carol L Karlsen writes about one particular danger single, inheriting women faced in "The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: The Economic Basis of Witchcraft". She argues that single or inheriting women faced charges of witchcraft more than married and/or non-inheriting women. The stories of many women accused of witchcraft in the late 1600's are used to present her case. Ann Hibbens' husband died in 1654 leaving her his full estate (they had no sons together) of £344. Two years later she was accused, convicted and executed for witchcraft.[7] Martha Corey, set to inherit her husband's estate, was convicted before her husband died (he died during interrogation about his involvement in witchcraft).[8] Though by no means the only reason women were charged with witchcraft, these stories are telling. They show that coverture was extremely important in Colonial America; those who defied it put themselves at great risk.

Coverture defined gender roles. If a woman cannot own property or take part in her own legal affairs, then she is confined to a domestic role. Mary Beth Norton describes how very important gender roles were to Colonials. Using the story of T. Hall, a hermaphrodite, Norton shows that men and women were expected to adhere very tightly to their distinct roles. T. Hall broke from these roles when Hall switched back and forth between men's and women's clothing. Hall's peers were so confused they took Hall to court to have Hall's sex made clear by judges. Ultimately the judge and council decided that Hall was both a man and a woman, but Hall was never supported by either sex in

[5] "An Act Relating to Bills of Divorce", *1667*, reprinted in *Women's America: Refocusing the Past*, 7th ed., edited by Linda Kerber, Jane Sherron de Hart, Cornelia Hughes Dayton, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 58.

[6] "An Act Concerning the Dowry of Widows, 1672", reprinted in *Women's America: Refocusing the Past*, 7th ed., edited by Linda Kerber, Jane Sherron de Hart, Cornelia Hughes Dayton, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) 59-60.
[7] Carol F. Karlsen, "The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: The Economic Basis of Witchcraft," *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1987), 76-87.
[8] Karlsen, 76-87.

society. The women were convinced that Hall was not a woman. The men seemed less concerned, but Norton points out that, as Hall reported not being able to use his male parts, they would have viewed him as being unmanly. Norton explains the meaning behind clothing, "Clothing, which was sharply distinguished by the sex of its wearer, served as a visual trope of gender. And gender was one of the two most basic determinants of role in the early modern world."[9]

Dress was not the only way a woman could break gender bounds. Anne Hutchinson was tried in 1637 for "promoting and divulging of those opinions that are causes of this trouble… [Speaking] divers things as we have been informed very prejudicial to the honour of the churches and ministers… and maintained a meeting and an assembly…not tolerable nor comely in the sight of God nor fitting your sex…." [10] The Governor, Mr. Winthrop, argued that Anne had dishonored the colony by encouraging dissenting opinions. It is interesting; however, that Mr. Winthrop's main concern was that she allowed men into her meetings. He says, "For this, that you appeal to our practice [of holding women's meetings] you need no confutation. If your meeting had answered to the former it had not been offensive, but I will say there was no meeting where women were alone, but your meeting is of another sort and there are sometimes men among you."[11] Obviously it did not matter to the governor that women were dissenting, but if men were as well then it was a problem. This shows that women had relatively little political power outside of men. Who cared what they thought?

Overall coverture greatly affected the lives of women. It remained forceful until the Revolution when war disrupted most traditions. Suddenly women were forced to act in society because the men were not there to do it for them. Many women joined men in the fighting, an unprecedented change in gender roles. Sarah Osborn wrote about her experiences traveling with troops to Yorktown. When General George Washington asked her if she was afraid on the battlefield she replied, "The bullets would not cheat the gallows…."[12] This meant she would

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[9] Mary Beth Norton, "'Searchers Again Assembled': Gender distinctions in Seventeenth-Century America," *Founding Mothers and Fathers: Gendered Power and the Forming of American Society* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996), 65.

[10] "The Trial of Anne Hutchinson, 1637", reprinted in *Women's America: Refocusing the Past*, 7th ed., edited by Linda Kerber, Jane Sherron de Hart, Cornelia Hughes Dayton, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 73-75.

[11] "*The Trial of Anne Hutchinson*", 74.

[12] Sarah Osborn, reprinted in *Women's America: Refocusing the Past*, 7th ed., edited by Linda Kerber, Jane Sherron de Hart, Cornelia Hughes Dayton, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 135-136.

stand in defiance of the king just as the men did. She was not afraid. Other women remained in their traditional roles, but they were optimistic that their lives would be changed by the revolution. Judith Sargent Murray wrote, "I expect to see your young women forming a new era in female history."[13] Linda Kerber expands this idea in her article "The Republican Mother and the Woman Citizen: Contradictions and Choices in Revolutionary America." Women were to become Republican Mothers. A Republican Mother is described as: "…competent and confident. She could resist the vagaries of fashion; and she was rational, independent, literate, benevolent, and self-reliant."[14] This idea was greatly at odds with coverture, and the battle women faced after the Revolution was to see which idea would remain. Kerber argues that ultimately coverture was dominant. Republican Mothers could only survive in the family – they were to teach their children to be good citizens. So, really, very little was changed for women by the Revolution.

One example of strong Republican Mothers became extremely important during the first two decades after the Revolution. When the capital of the new nation was moved to Washington D.C. in 1801, white, middle class women were crucial to building both the physical and social structure of the new city. Catherine Allgor writes extensively about these women in her book *Parlor Politics: In Which the Ladies of Washington Help Build a Great City and a Government:*

> Washington women—both well-known and not—appear as political actors in their own right, using social events and the "private sphere" to establish the national capital and to build the extraofficial structures so sorely needed in the infant federal government. Unlike their more lurid political sisters, these women acted not as femmes fatales but as mothers, wives, sisters, and daughters. Like other women on farms and in shops, they participated in the family business—in this case, however, the family business was politics.[15]

The "private sphere" Allgor mentions was critical to the world these women lived in. It implied living behind the closed doors of the

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[13] Linda K. Kerber, "The Republican Mother and the Woman Citizen: Contradictions and Choices in Revolutionary America," *Women of the Repubic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 147.

[14]Kerber, 147.

[15]Catherine Allgor, *Parlor Politics: In Which the Ladies of Washington Help Build a Great City and a Government*, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001), 1.

home where women could indirectly affect the world from their parlors. Men lived in the public sphere where the daily actions of government and business occurred. Women could not be an active participant in the public world because it was not viewed as suitable. Though they did not act in the public world of their husbands they did have considerable power over it. Women like Martha Washington and Dolley Madison held elaborate parties, or levees, where their husbands could mingle with like-minded (or decidedly different) men and women. At these levees important social connections were made and the political questions of the new nation answered. Even though Washington women did not argue on the capital floor, they did have influence on how the government functioned. It is important to remember, however, that this all occurred under the guise of Republican Motherhood. These women all worked on behalf of their husbands.[16] Allgor writes of Dolley Madison's role, "It is important to note that Dolley Madison succeeded not in spite of her gender, a female achiever in a male world, but precisely because she was a woman, and therefore a politically innocuous, a mere wife and mother… Dolley visibly, even flamboyantly, embodied the traditional roles of wife and helpmeet, mother, hostess, lady, and physically attractive woman from which she derived her authority. Her power came not from being like James Madison or trying to do what he did, but from playing to the hilt the role her culture had given her."[17] Coverture was alive and well in Washington D.C.

If Washington women enjoyed the privilege of being indirect players on the national political scene did that hold true for common women? For the majority of women life was much like had been before the Revolution. Coverture affected their lives. They still did not enjoy full liberty of their lives or possessions. They were also not included in the new rights espoused by the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution. By not giving women the right to vote or hold property the Revolutionary generation reduced one half of the citizenry to virtual non-citizenship. Joan Gundersen argues in her book *To Be Useful to the World: Women in Revolutionary America* that by not allowing women to hold estates separate from her husband the new government of the United States denied women the right to be full citizens by controlling property ownership. Since in early America property ownership was one condition of full suffrage, women were excluded from being active participants in government.[18]

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[16] Allgor, 1.
[17] Allgor, 100.
[18] Joan R. Gundersen, *To be Useful to the World: Women in Revolutionary America 1740-1790,* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1996), chpt 10.

Another important distinction of Republican Motherhood was that it prized the domestic, private sphere over the worldly public arena. Economic status played a large role in their day-to- day lives. Gundersen states, "Women's production was no longer defined as 'work.' Women were seen as dependent consumers in a market economy."[19] They still produced goods like clothing and food, but these tasks were seen as being for the family and not for the larger society. Tied to the idea of family economy was the notion that women were to be virtuous mothers for society. Gundersen writes, "…virtue had been domesticated. Public virtue (civic responsibility) had been merged with private virtue. If virtue was to check power, women would have to civilize men and teach them virtue. For women the way to serve the public was to purify their lives and pray for the community."[20] Implicit in this was the idea that mothers should teach their children to be virtuous citizens. It was believed that mothers had the power to shape their children's morals. In the early republic citizenship was a very virtuous and moral matter. Patriotism was also something mothers must teach their children. For the nation to survive the citizens must remain true to the ideas espoused in the Declaration of Independence.

> We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.--That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, --That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness...But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.[21]

With these words Thomas Jefferson painted a picture of American virtue. Independence and government for and by the people would be the goal for all white, American men in the early republic. To this end they firmly believed that women, mothers in particular, were vital to the following generation's virtue and patriotism. "Women's virtue now

[19] Gundersen, 171.
[20] Gundersen,172.
[21] Thomas Jefferson, *The Declaration of Independence*, 1776.

stood for that of the nation. Just as women could be seduced by conscienceless men, so could a citizenry. Only through marriage (republican government) could seduction be thwarted and virtue and innocence maintained. If women did not remain pure, what hope was there for men?"[22] She was a disinterested patriot above the pettiness of elective politics. By keeping women in their domestic sphere the virtue of the nation was ensured.[23]

Although women remained in the private sphere they enjoyed some expansion of their rights. For the first time women were encouraged to choose their own marriage partner based on emotional love and not just economic advantage. "They were encouraged to stay single until they were sure of their choice."[24] They were responsible for their own virtue, and pre-marital sex and pregnancy gained a stigma that had not existed prior to the Revolution. Also, they gained better access to divorce because of the idea that citizens should not have to live under tyranny at any level.[25] Because education was believed to be helpful for women to teach their children, women gained better access to schooling. "Women's education could no longer focus on 'graces' – music, dancing, drawing, and needlework (although these remained subjects) – but rather on the practical subjects they needed to share with sons – grammar, history, geography, and arithmetic."[26] The Boston School Act of 1789 stipulated that boys and girls should receive schooling in the same subjects. Also, school mistresses appeared widely for the first time in the United States. The expansion of these rights can be misleading. If one were to look two hundred years later it may seem that women were becoming members of the wider world, but that was not the case. Women only received these rights because they were deemed necessary for the creation of virtuous *men* needed to run a virtuous nation. A good marriage was needed to control a man's desire to be selfish, and education was needed to teach sons morality and patriotism. Women still lived to serve the needs of their husbands and sons. Gundersen points out that, "widespread literacy among the upper- and middle-classes helped to spread the ideas of domesticity, separate spheres, and republican motherhood."[27] Even these new rights expanded coverture.

Coverture defined women's role in the legal system and in society. Traditionally women could not own property or speak for themselves in

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[22]Gundersen, *To Be Useful to the World*, 173.
[23]Gundersen, 173.
[24]Gundersen, *To Be Useful to the World*, 173.
[25]Gundersen, 173.
[26]Gundersen, 173.
[27] Gundersen, *To Be Useful to the World*, 174.

court. Everything they owned, including their liberties, became their husbands when they married. This ownership had a great impact on their lives. If women tried to break the rules they were at risk of being disciplined or killed. Indigenous women were not immune – the ideas implicit in coverture were applied to them as well. Many women believed the American Revolution would change their standing, but it was not to be. Republican Motherhood and strong women were quickly incorporated into the family; essentially taken out of the public sphere. Women lived for their husbands and children in Colonial and Early National America.

"Can't Prove it? Didn't Do it": The Difficulty of Convicting Defendants in Infanticide Cases in Early Modern Britain

Andrea Morgan

In Britain during the 1820s there appeared to be multiple cases reported in which women were driven to murder their own children. During this time period, proof of murder was a requirement for conviction.[1] A woman could have all evidence of the crime painting her as a killer, including the media coverage, but the court could deem her not guilty based on the laws set in place about infanticide. Evidence shows the courts ruled a certain way based upon the social and economic situations at this time. Yet the media and literature of the 1820s cast these murdering mothers as sadist wretches who killed their children without just cause. Why did the criminal justice system and the media land on opposite sides of the spectrum in concerns to opinion on infanticide? Was the media too cruel or the court too lenient? To answer this question one must look into what life was like during the 1820s, the laws on infanticide, criminal trials based on these laws and the media coverage of the accused. The primary and secondary sources used for this paper clash over what causes a woman to murder her own child. Infanticide was a social problem. Looking at the evidence it is clear that both the courts and media had legitimate reason for their stances, and in a way were both completely right.

The 18th Century is considered to be a transitional era of early industrial Britain.[2] It was a time when social classes became even more defined. With the creation of the working class came the middle class[3] and class movement, at least upward mobility, was virtually unheard of. Because of Laws such as the Corn Laws of 1816, which kept the price of grain high, England was plunged into a depression and unemployment skyrocketed. There were periods of farmers' distress in 1820-1823 and 1826-1829.[4] This led to a lack of food since the Corn Laws forbade anyone from buying imported wheat until the home price was a certain

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[1] Clive Emsley, Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker, "Crime and Justice - Crimes Tried at the Old Bailey," *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbailey online.org, version 6.0, 09 April 2012).

[2] Peter Clark, *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain Volume II 1540-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 505.

[3] Clark, 324.

[4] J.D. Chambers, *The Workshop of the World* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 77

height.[5] Because of this immigration from the country to cities to find work took place, with more female immigration than male. The "overwhelming reason for female migration to towns and cities in this period was the expanding demand from the middle class for domestic servants. "[6] Moving to towns and cities did not mean that single women received any relief from the poor system. In fact the only way to get relief is by being employed. [7] So many women turned to the job market that needed the most workers, middle-class servants. Servants during this time period typically lived within the home of the family they worked for. *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain Volume II 1540-1840* points out 18th century London's rich and poor lived so close together that "it was the type of milieu in which illicit sexual activity was likely very high and in which illegitimacy was a perpetual hazard."[8] Here we have the core two reasons as to why a woman would commit infanticide during the 1820s: the social consequences of illegitimate children and low economic situations. Because servants were a status symbol for their employers they were expected to behave a certain way to represent their proprietors in the right manner. It was common belief that "no respectable mistress would allow her servant the opportunity to transgress moral laws"[9] Becoming pregnant outside of wedlock was considered a sin against the moral laws and, in turn, social laws of Britain during the 1820s. But this did not stop servant women from having sexual relationships with their employers or other men in hopes of marriage and the possibility of social mobility. Some women did not in fact want the advances of the men within the families they worked for but since the master servant relationship was based upon a paternal system they had no choice. Because of these reasons the servant population had high rates of illegitimate births and infanticide.[10] Piecing together all the evidence will bring us to the same conclusion as it did for these servants. The birth of an illegitimate child meant immediate dismissal and the end to the mother's career in service.[11] With the likely outcome of no job, no shelter and no poor relief if it was known she had child, it is clear to see why some women responded to these trying circumstances with infanticide. The high rate of infanticide shows the

[5] Chambers, 79.
[6] Clark, *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain Volume II 1540-1640*, 496.
[7] Theresa McBride, *The Domestic Revolution The Modernisation of Household Service (*New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1976 *)*
[8] Clark, *Cambridge*, 507.
[9] Theresa McBride, *The Domestic Revolution: The Modernisation of Household Service* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1976) 24.
[10] McBride, 99.
[11] McBride,102.

despair that many servants faced with the prospect of an illegitimate child.[12] Considering the fact that most immigrants from the countryside were female and did end up as servants the problem of infanticide within Britain during the 1820s was a large one.

Industrialization and depression created the economic situation in which the government became aware of infanticide. What would become of a female servant if she had a child out of wedlock was also was well known within society. In fact, "rather than face disgrace and dismissal which the birth of a child would cause the servant-mother would kill the child to hide her crime against social mores."[13] This helped to justify the court leniency on women who were tried for committing infanticide during the 1820s. The criminal justice system in the decades previous was not always so lenient upon women who committed infanticide. England was a Christian nation and because of this, Christian morals bled into state laws. "In Christian ethics infanticide was regarded in the same way as the murder of adults, and this view was reflected in British law."[14] This meant that the government valued life above all things. If one was found guilty of murdering their child they would be put to death. "Not only was infanticide punishable by death, but a law passed in England in 1623 and in Scotland in 1690 made some alleged infanticides the only offences in which the burden of proof was on the defendant."[15] This meant that the crown was not charged with proving you guilty, rather you would be charged with proving your innocence. If a mother could prove she had intended to care for the child, like producing to the court baby clothes she bought, then it could be proven that she did in fact want the child and be declared not guilty. Law makers realized that "many children of the early 1800s were desperately unwanted," [16] and that socioeconomic situations were to blame for mothers killing their children. Because of this, the Act of 1803 was established. "The 1803 Act made it possible to punish infanticide without recourse to the death penalty,"[17] This lessened the harshness of sentences. Because of the 1803 Act, infanticide was treated in the same way as adult murder, where the burden of proof fell on the Crown rather than the defendant. The 1803 Act also created concealment of birth, which was considered a lesser offense. [18] If there was insufficient

[12]McBride, *The Domestic* Revolution, 106.
[13] McBride, 105.
[14] R. Sauer, *Infanticide and Abortion in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Publication Investigation Committee, 1978) ,82.
[15]Sauer, 82.
[16]Sauer, *Infanticide and Abortion in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 81.
[17]Sauer, 82.
[18]Sauer, 82.

evidence of infanticide but the birth and death of a child was concealed than a woman would receive jail time of two years. In the 1820s many courts understood the economic and social burdens women had to face and because of that became lenient upon the accused. In 1826, one observer remarked: "Prosecution takes no pains to convict, and judges and juries are determined not to believe that a child has been murdered, unless they find it with its throat cut, or its brains dashed out upon the pavement." [19] It can be conveyed from the law changes that the government, once they learned that the "constraints of social norms and laws provoke some women to commit infanticide," [20] adapted to the socioeconomic situation at hand.

Many court trials found women not guilty of infanticide based on the fact that no one could prove that the child belonged to the woman and the cause of death for the baby could not always be determined. The primary source of the old bailey proceedings shows multiple cases in which this is found to be true. In the trial of one woman, Susan Hyde, it is clear that the court was extremely lenient upon her. Susan was a maid in the Thomas home. Her mistress found blood on the maid's sheets and floor. Mrs. Thomas found the baby in the privy. There was also blood on the seat where the baby was found head down. So much evidence against Miss Hyde was clear and present, and yet she was found not guilty. While there was a large amount of evidence that could condemn Miss Hyde the fact remains that no one saw her murder the child. No proof of murder meant no conviction. Also the surgeon that inspected the child could find no proof that they child was not born stillborn.[21] Even in cases where it was clear that the murdered infant was born to a certain woman she could be cleared of murder. A sixteen-year-old maid named Susan Strubbings delivered her baby on her own while her mistress and aunt got a coach. The baby had marks around its neck and died shortly after birth. The surgeon that inspected the child stated: "he observed the neck to be black and lacerated in several places, which might have happened by the prisoner's delivering herself." [22] So the charge of willful murder by the Coroner's inquisition was dropped. In the cases of Elizabeth Saunders, Mary Lay and Julia Barry all these women were charged with the murder of their infants and then tossing

[19] Sauer, 82.

[20] Karen Heimer, and Candace Kruttschnitt. *Gender and Crime Patterns of Victimization* (New York: New YorkUniversity Press, 2006), 93.

[21] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 6.0, 09 April 2012), June 1821, trial of SUSAN HYDE (t18210606-36).

[22] *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (www.oldbaileyonline.org, version 6.0, 09 April 2012), February 1823, trial of SUSAN STUBBINGS (t18230219-37).

them into the privy. They were found not guilty because of the inconclusiveness of whether the infants were born alive or not. The one woman who had been found guilty was seen multiple times with a baby, her body still produced milk and she was seen at the crime scene at the time of death. The baby was thrown into a ditch filled with water and either drowned to death or died from the head injury. Because this was not concealment of birth but actual proof of infanticide the defendant was found guilty and put to death. Out of all the records found in the Old Bailey records only one was of a woman found guilty. Another case that was different dealt with concealment of birth. A servant named Harriet Farrell was found not guilty of murder, but guilty of concealing the birth from her masters who later found the infants body in the garden. From all of these cases we find the courts' reluctance to condemn women who committed infanticide. We also see a pattern of female servants being the offenders committing this crime. Yet there was no evidence found of a mother torturing her child or trying to make them suffer out of desire to be cruel. It was because of the socioeconomic reasons that women committed infanticide during the 1820s. It appears that the criminal justice system handled the situation the best way they could by not condemning these desperate women for trying to survive in a society in which single mothers of illegitimate children fail. During the 1820s "most of those apprehended for infanticide and abortion were single women, and it was believed that the desire to avoid the stigma arising from illegitimacy was the most common motive for these crimes."[23] If only the media could have been so kind.

Religion was a central factor within life of the 1820s. It not only affected law but social and moral belief as well. Because of this it is clear to see why the media continued to describe these women as evil murderesses, because that is how the people viewed them. Newspapers and journal articles were designed to appeal to popular culture and opinions. It makes sense that in order to do so they would have to condemn these women.. There is also the fact that sensational news sells, especially when it is dark and shocking. So it is no wonder that the media would portray these women in very descriptive and negative ways. By calling them "wretches" or "evil murderesses" the media created the belief that they murder the children for their own sadistic pleasure. Prior to the Act of 1803 the media and the law matched up fairly well on feelings on infanticide. The law would punish the offenders with death and the media would paint horrendous pictures of evil mothers who kill their children for no reason. While the law may have changed, the media still created ghastly stories. In one news article

[23]Sauer, *Infanticide and Abortion in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 84.

"the most dreadful charges of infanticide"[24] were reported about a midwife who would take babies from mothers murder them and then bury them in her garden. The paper proclaims this woman to be a wretch in using descriptive wording paints a gruesome tale meant to sell papers and incite horror in the masses. It does not mention that anything about the mothers and whether or not they could have actually taken care of the children. Just that the babies were killed and by leaving important information out the newspaper created a sensational story. "If a desperate woman was afraid or unable to obtain an abortion she might resort to infanticide"[25] in this case relying upon the midwife to get rid of the child. In the article it mentions that the midwife told the mothers that she was taking the babies to the hospital. This means that the mothers may in fact have had no idea what the midwife was truly doing with the babies.

Another article brings up the fact that a mother, unhappy and looking to end her own existence, tried to poison her children with toxin given to her by a "quack doctor,"[26] thereby casting blame not only upon the mother but a doctor for giving her the means in which to murder her children. The interesting part of this piece is that the mother gave her eldest daughter the key to the house and bid her to go inform her father that his wife had poisoned the little ones. It was almost like a cry for attention according to the paper article. Which would make sense considering the woman turned herself in and explained that she wanted to end her own existence. The news was particularly good at exposing what was considered unsightly information. One report of infanticide discusses a woman considered to live in "conformable circumstances"[27] becoming pregnant by a Catholic clergyman. To cover up this scandal her family, more importantly her mother, murdered the baby. The article even declared that a maid of the house told them she heard a baby cry and the mother said to her own mother "oh, mother, don't kill my child."[28] This story is the perfect example of one of the main causes of infanticide mentioned earlier in this paper, that of illegitimacy. The irony of the article is the end when "we are sorry the character of a Clergymen should be connected in any manner with so dreadful an offense."[29] It appears that the writers who are so accepting of condemning the mother and her family are not so

[24] *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle.* November 3, 1822: 285.
[25] Sauer, *Infanticide and Abortion in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 83.
[26] *Bell's life in London and sporting chronicle.* "Dreadful Case of Infanticide." November 23, 1823: 723.
[27] *Bell's life in London and sporting chronicle.* "Infanticide." September 19, 1824: 299.
[28] "Infanticide" 299.
[29] *Bell's life in London and sporting chronicle.* "Infanticide," 299.

quick to cast a damaging light upon the clergyman. In these cases above we see both the causes mentioned in previous paragraphs. These women were in desperate circumstances either economically, socially or all of the above. Yet the news articles still condemned them for the crimes, not ever once looking into the reasons as to why these women would go so far as to murder their own babies. It appears that the media was extremely cruel to these women who committed infanticide. They did not even do the proper research to determine why women would murder their infants. The fact does remain though, that they did still commit murder. Combine this with a very Christian set of ideals and morals for British society and it creates an explanation of why the media printed the stories that it did.

When looking at Britain in the 1800s research shows that "two of the oldest and most wide-ranging forms of population control are infanticide and abortion."[30] When looking at how the criminal justice system and the media viewed infanticide it is clear as to how they fell on opposite sides of the spectrum. The criminal justice system understood the structural and cultural forces of gender inequality and women's relative powerlessness"[31] as reasons for which a woman would commit infanticide. Because of this the court system adapted to situations of the time. The media on the other hand borderline exploited infanticide cases. The works of authors such as Thomas DeQuincy "exposed the periods' abiding fascination with accounts of violence,"[32] within the lower and working class. Infanticide was just another thing in which the public appeared to be curious about. This combined with the social and cultural stigmas associated with infanticide provide just reasoning for why the media reacted so cruelly to women who committed infanticide. It is fascinating to see a situation like this that mirrors current day struggles with similar issues. A prime example is that of abortion within the United States. While lawmakers are trying to adapt to the political and socioeconomic situation of current America certain media and religious groups are condemning women who choose abortion. While our society feels that we have made a great deal of progress, it is clear that problems of yesterday still affect today and possibly tomorrow.

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[30] Sauer, *Infanticide and Abortion in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 81.
[31] Karen Heimer, and Candace Kruttschnitt. *Gender and Crime Patterns of Victimization*, 91.
[32]Henkle *Comedy and Culture England 1820-1900*, 48.

Marginalized Order: Apprentices and Crime in Early Modern London

Katherine Payne

In June 1719, Abraham Wood was tried and convicted at London's Old Bailey hearings. He was condemned for assault and highway robbery. The Ordinary of Newgate summarized his life just before Wood was executed. Wood, he noted, "was 19 Years of Age, born at Epping in Essex...the Parish bound him Apprentice for 14 Years to a Shoemaker in Little George-Ally in Spittlefields: That he serv'd 8 Years of his Time, and then went from him, grew very loose...indeed his chief Employment...was that of Pilfering and picking of People's Pockets."[1] This life-in-a-snapshot contains all the components of early modern London society that this paper wants to examine: the link between rural youth and the city, the role of apprenticeship in young lives, and the relation between apprenticeship and crime. Were, for example, apprentices more likely to engage in crime than others? Or were apprentices part of the policing culture, watching for crime? Historians and historical theories of early modern youth, violence, and crime can help answer these questions somewhat. Early modern London saw a rise in economic activity and social disorder. With no enforced education, higher death rates, and little guidance for children of working households, placing youths into an apprenticeship guaranteed them a type of freedom and eventually, if they completed their training, citizenship in their city or borough when they became members of a guild. Many historians have focused on the social and economic transformations that took place in early modern England, associating the rise in crime to a number of different circumstances, all of which affected the apprenticeship system. To test their theories on a focused sample, I will examine apprentices and their involvement in criminal activities in late seventeenth and early eighteenth century London. By using records in "The Proceedings of Old Bailey" between 1675 and1725, I will determine the degree to which apprentices helped maintain public order by apprehending criminals and aiding their masters or became a part of a marginalized group of former apprentices who fell into a form of idleness and despair. The evidence provided suggests that apprentices were respectable youths, usually between the ages of 15 and 25, who still maintained political and social order, unlike those who became marginalized criminals. Indeed, even among the

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[1] *Old Bailey Proceedings* (www.oldbaileyonline.org,version 6.0, 17 August 2012), *Ordinary of Newgate's Account*, 8th June 1719 (OA17190608).

latter are a large group of "former apprentices," who stole from their masters or committed other felonies after leaving their apprenticeships.

William Hogarth's *Industry and Idleness* (1747) is a contemporary depiction of two youths who have chosen to train for seven years in order to become a master craftsman in the weaving and cloth industry.[2] One apprentice is a studious learner who does his best to master the skills needed to succeed in the economically challenging world, while "Tom Idle" strays from his duties, and becomes disinterested in his employment pursuits. The former eventually becomes the "Lord Mayor of London" and the idle apprentice is punished for a number of dishonorable deeds. As a result of his disreputable actions the latter is sent to work at sea (not an uncommon punishment), when he returns he lays with a prostitute and travels to a "Night Cellar," is charged for his immoral actions, and, finally hangs at Tyburn for his indiscretions.[3] According to historian Philip Rawlings, "idleness" was a prominent fear in English society. Contemporary authors, such as Daniel Defoe thought "vice was like a disease, and youths, especially male youths, were particularly susceptible to it." [4] Only through a strict apprenticeship would youths be safe from the evils of the world and in order to guide apprentices down a morally correct path. "Conduct books" were created and they outlined the rules of a "regulated apprenticeship"; instructing the apprentice, as well as the master, on appropriate behavior during their seven years of training. [5] Contemporary authors found apprentices to be "'poisonous weeds of pride and arrogance'" and had the ability to subvert the social order.[6] Hogarth's carvings are slightly later than our timeframe, but represent common fears of early modern English society, and London in particular. The apprenticeship system gradually declined as the major cities became more industrialized, but immigrants still traveled to London in search for new economic opportunities.

London in the seventeenth century experienced a dramatic growth in population. Lawrence Stone finds that between 1600 and 1700,

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[2] William Hogarth, "Industrious and Idleness," from Michael Finney, *Michael Finney: Antique Books and Prints*, http://www.michaelfinney.co.uk/uploads/images/catalogue/5128_Industry-%26-idleness-all_1000.jpg (Accessed August 17, 2012).

[3] Greg and Connie Peters, "The Art of Print," http://www.artoftheprint.com/artistpages/hogarth_william_industrious_1looms_2duty.htm (Accessed August 10, 2012).

[4] Philip Rawlings, *Drunks, Whores and Idle Apprentices: Criminal Biographies of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 19.

[5] Rawlings, *Drunks, Whores, and Idle Apprentices*, 19.

[6] Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 17.

London's population grew from 225,000 to 550,000.[7] Death rates usually exceeded the number of births, but in many cases it was not internal growth which prompted the population expansion, but immigration.[8] Mobility increased during this time as well and immigrants, according to Stone, were split into three distinct social groups, "a numerically very large influx of the drifting poor; a substantial but regulated flow of urban artisan apprentices, amounting in 1700 to about 1,900 a year; and a small but highly significant movement, temporary or permanent, of landed and professional classes."[9] In order to be apprenticed the youth had to supply sufficient funds, usually provided by the family, to his potential master. Apprentices were typically "the younger songs of gentlemen, as well as the male offspring of yeomen, merchants and professionals...[who] took up valuable apprenticeships in London's great merchant or banking houses."[10] Many would travel to London for better employment opportunities, some emigrating from other countries or and others coming from as close as the English countryside. Stone believes that London "drained off" the countryside's excess population by taking the poor and young apprentices, allowing for better relations between the urban and rural populations that "facilitated the process of agrarian consolidation and enclosure which were essential preliminaries to the expansion of agricultural output," feeding the city and avoiding famine.[11] These connections were only a step in the overall process of population increase, but they show how apprentices did not only originate from the city proper, but traveled from the outside areas to better their professional opportunities. It became evident through the Old Bailey proceedings that as the population increased, so did crime.

Rawlings makes the useful comment that while London "was a place for crime and disorder and a source of moral corruption, it was also the centre of wealth and power."[12] Apprentices can be difficult group to place in popular social history as they are many times considered, by contemporary and modern historians, as the root of crime and disorder. Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos identifies many of the contemporary authors, such as William Fleetwood who believed "the 'humour' of most young people...made them 'grow wanton, insolent and

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[7] Lawrence Stone, "Residential Development of the West End of London in the Seventeenth Century, " in *After the Reformation: Essays in honor of J.H. Hexter* ed. by Barbara C. Malament (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980), 168.
[8] Stone, "Residential Development of the West End," 171.
[9] Stone, "Residential Development of the West End," 171.
[10] Robert O. Bucholz and Joseph P. Ward, *London: A social and Cultural History, 1550-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
[11] Stone, "Residential Development of the West End," 172.
[12] Rawlings, *Drunks, Whores and Idle Apprentices*, 24.

head-strong."[13] Recent historians have not only looked at youth culture, but the concept masculinity and the increase in violence. The majority of apprentices at this time were male and Garthine Walker finds that violent tendencies might be "symptoms of budding masculinity."[14] This is an accepted theme, but while this might contribute to the rise in crime in other social arenas, my research suggests that apprentices in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries are more prone to avoid disorder in fear of the repercussions. Also, many apprentices had to pay their masters in order to be trained in their craft. Perhaps unsurprisingly, those who did not stray from their responsibilities and become "former apprentices" and marginalized criminals were more likely to be successful later in life. Income usually equals less crime, or at least less punished crime. After they join their master's household, the apprentices entered into a "little Great Chain of Being...the master/husband/father (and, usually, guild member) at the head supervising the moral and economic discipline of his family."[15] Failing to successfully become a journeyman would not only bring shame to the individual, but to their master's household as well. Each person looked out for the overall wellbeing of the family, home, and trade, and many of those who abandoned the system due to idleness or misbehavior became part of the marginalized group of criminals.

Tim Hitchcock's *Down and Out in Eighteenth-Century London* blends literary models, intertwining fact and imagination through a historians "admittedly constructed, but convincing, vision of the past." [16] He studies the London poor and illustrates how their lives and struggles helped create a more modern cityscape in a rapidly changing economy. He finds, through extensive research, the poor were "smart, resilient and flexible, and in the process of surviving, forced many changes."[17] This relates to the apprentice research as it shows how even with an industrializing society, the apprenticeship system adapted to the ever-changing economy and maintained their core values in times of economic and political hardship. Hitchcock does not mention apprentices often in his book, but one of the most interesting and prominent examples is their participation in the "culture of Christmas begging," where men, women, and children of all social standings

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[13] Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth*, 17.

[14] Gunthrie Walker, *Crime, Gender, and Social Order* in Early Modern England[and subtitle?] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 47.

[15] Bucholz and Ward, *London*, 102.

[16] Tim Hitchcock, *Down and Out in Eighteenth-Century London* (London: Hambledon, 2004), 234.

[17] Hitchcock, *Down and Out*, xvi.

partook in the tradition of "ritual begging."[18] This showed the spirit of giving and allowed the poor to "ask for relief in safety and confidence," demonstrating the cities "shared culture of dependence." [19] London apprentices took part in this custom, but they had a "traditional right to collect this money from all their master's customers...it gave meaning and substance to the season of good will, and embedded every apprentice in an almost universal culture of begging."[20] As mentioned above many of the apprentices usually came from a more prominent social background, but as they earn very little while in their seven years of instruction, this provides them with funds enough to enjoy the city life.

Robert Shoemaker, comparatively, also provides a detailed social history of England, but focuses on the collective action of the people, or what became known as "the mob" instead of solely the London poor. The mob was not limited to one specific group, but instead consisted of all "public disorderly activities, whether committed individually or collectively, and whether with or without official sanction."[21] While he believes that all young men, including apprentices, are prone to violence, he sees an overall decline in criminal activity in the eighteenth century. The secondary literature above is clear, but in some cases is based on literary sources and qualitative summaries. I would like to test those theories by examining specific lives using, largely, Old Bailey records (supplemented where possible with London Lives and other records based on lists and registers).

My research seeks to discover how apprentices participated in crime as perpetrators, witnesses, and victims during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. From data collected from the *Old Bailey Proceedings* focusing solely on apprentices and crime, I find that the majority of active apprentices attempted to keep social order through their actions, such as testifying as witnesses, apprehending the criminals which attacked their masters business, or avoiding criminal activity altogether. In many cases, the testimonies which I found indicated the victims and perpetrators age, sex, and occupation. Those who I have classified as "former apprentices" never truly completed their seven years of training, while "active apprentices" were still in the process of receiving their journeyman status. Due to the high volume of cases involving apprentices, I have limited my time frame to a sample of fifty years (1675-1725) in order to best represent the social significance

[18] Hitchcock, *Down and Out*, 182.
[19] Hitchcock, *Down and Out*, 182.
[20] Hitchcock, *Down and Out*, 182.
[21] Robert Shoemaker, *The London Mob: Violence and Disorder in Eighteenth century England* (London: Hambledon, 2004), xiii.

of the apprentices and the increased rate of crime in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. I have done my best to include cases which represent the apprenticeship system and how important it was in a young person's life. It provided a stable environment in a turbulent society, and my records indicate that in the majority of cases, those who failed to complete their training were more likely to commit a criminal act.

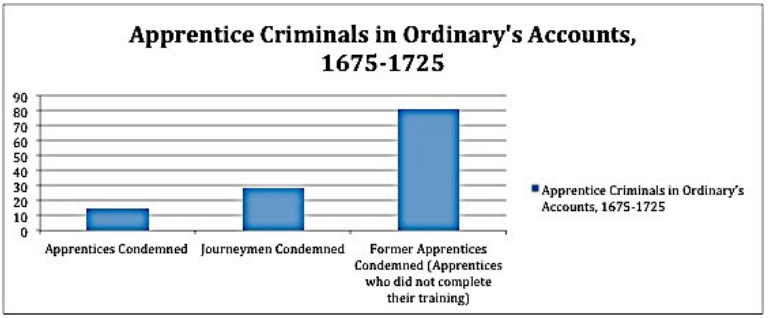
Many of the reports are of "former apprentices" who became part of a marginalized social group of criminals, influenced by "bad company." The study of criminal records has only recently become a large part of the social history. J.A. Sharpe's *Crime in Early Modern England: 1550-1750* (1984), suggests that "crime can no longer be regarded as a trivial, peripheral subject...It is a serious subject which amply repays scholarly attention."[22] By analyzing the Old Bailey database, a new and separate "youth culture" can be identified within the criminal records of London. The most common cases involve burglary, assault, and highway robbery, many of which were perpetrated by young adults in their late teens and early twenties. Apprentices were not immune to this increase in crime, but overall they were less likely to be involved in public disorder. As Figure 1 illustrates, out of 95 cases, there were 124 individuals convicted of a crime. This chart indicates that apprentices actively seeking journeyman status were more than fifty percent less likely to commit criminal acts than "former apprentices." Those who had achieved journeyman status were also less likely to commit crimes than those who had abandoned their training.

Sharpe describes the necessity of criminal and court records and how some liberties must be taken by historians and authors when reviewing data, but overall the data "shows us how power was expressed and conflicts were resolved at the very base of society."[23] If apprentices were disobedient or committed criminal acts, not only did they have to face the possibility of their master terminating their employment, but also punishments such as branding, whipping, transportation out of the country, or even death. Paul Griffiths attempts to answer some of the broad questions surrounding youth and culture, and he explains the benefits and limitations of judicial records. One of his warnings is that they "must be treated with care... [as] court records can tell us much about aspects of youth which adults in place of authority found distasteful, threatening, and in need of reform."[24] In

[22] J.A. Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England: 1550-1750* 2nd ed. (London: Addison Wesley Longman, 1999), 269.
[23] Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England*, 270.
[24] Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England, 1560-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 13.

other words, young people's response to such questions of crime and immorality differ from their elders, many of which probably acted as the judge and jury in these cases.

One of the best ways to find any information about convicted criminals was through the Ordinary of Newgate's accounts. Judicial documentation evolved from limited information on trials, to more widely publicized accounts of criminal biographies and their final words before they were executed at Tyburn. Just as the "conduct books" acted as moral guides for apprentices and masters, the Ordinary's Accounts documented the "convict's lives [and] usually outline their descent down the slippery slope of immorality from minor delinquencies such as idleness and profaning the Sabbath into a life of crime."[25] These were sold by the thousands and acted as a warning to readers to live a devout life and avoid temptations to sin. These accounts are invaluable for historians recording criminal, social, economic, and cultural history. They provide insight into the convicts employment, social life, and past sins. As mentioned above, apprentices were not immune to lives of crime, but the ways in which they were connected to the acts varied. Figure 2 illustrates how out of 120 records of Ordinary's of Newgate accounts, more than half (81/124) of all condemned convicts were "former apprentices." There are a few drawbacks to using these accounts, including what J.A. Sharpe has amply named the "'dark figure,' that body of criminal behaviour never prosecuted or even reported."[26] What is reported through the trial records, or Ordinary's accounts, in all probability, does not match the true degree of crime in London in the early modern era. I have placed the criminal records into three distinct categories, apprentices, journeymen (or master), and former apprentices.



[25] *OBP*, "Ordinary of Newgate's Accounts," http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/Ordinarys-accounts.jsp (Accessed August 17, 2012).
[26] Sharpe, *Crime in Early Modern England*, 61.

By separating the information into three categories it makes it easier to trace frequency of when, where, and what apprentices were participating in criminal activities and how, overall, apprentices were less likely to cause a disturbance. I will begin with the Ordinary Accounts of former apprentices. In order to begin an apprenticeship there needed to be a proposal of work and a private agreement between the individual, or their family, and the master. It was not uncommon for these contracts to be broken and in many of the Old Bailey cases, it was the youths who ran away for various reasons. John Winshipp, for example, who was "born in the Parish of St. Paul Covent Garden; was put Apprentice to a Carpenter, but was of too roving a Mind to follow that Business."[27] He fell out of service and instead turned to highway robbery, causing a great deal of disorder in his wake until he was convicted of assault.

Apprenticeships are extremely long training periods and it is not unusual for apprentices to become complacent or bored in their work. Robert Bucholz and Joseph Ward state that "in fact, most trades hardly required seven years," but many consisted of hard labor that pushed many apprentices away.[28] They also mention how "some 60% in the first half of the period - never completed their terms of service. Some died. Others fled, perhaps...resentment towards a strict master."[29]John Allen was an apprentice to a weaver and was "not willing to take pains in that Employment. He ran away from his Master, and fell into Thieving Company."[30] He was then convicted of robbing and sentenced to death for his sins. Running from a strict master was also prevalent within the accounts. Henry Abbot fled his apprenticeship to a carpenter in White-Chapel due to "the account of his great Severity to him and Hastiness in giving him Blows on the Head."[31] This was not the main reason apprentices abandoned their work, many cases involved the young men and women falling into friendships with people of dishonorable natures.

Highway robbery, assault, and burglary are three of the most prominent acts of crime committed by all three categories of apprentices. October 1684, James Shaw decided to burgle the "House and Goods of John Coghil Esq."[32] Shaw is considered a former apprentice because after his master died, he refused to find a second smithing master in which to complete his studies. After a number of years of thieving, he was finally convicted of burglary and robbery and

[27] *OBP*, *Ordinary Accounts*, 28 July 1721 (OA17210728).
[28] Bucholz and Ward, *London*, 109.
[29] Bucholz and Ward, *London*, 109.
[30] *OBP*, *Ordinary Accounts*, 23 April 1697 (OA16970423).
[31] *OBP*, *Ordinary Accounts*, 31 October 1718 (OA17181031).
[32] *OBP*, *Ordinary Accounts*, 17 October 1684 (OA16841017).

sentenced to death at Tyburn. In another instance, Mary Poole was convicted of burglary in May 1702. At twenty-two years old she had served as an apprentice to a "fish-woman," but had left that life six years prior and fell upon "robbing and stealing."[33] She admitted she had loose morals and had fallen into a life of sin. In comparison, John Edwards was an active apprentice to a bricklayer. Just as the contemporary authors feared, many young men (apprentices especially) were easily swayed if they did not follow a morally correct and regulated apprenticeship. Edwards was convicted of burglary and theft and even though he had "never committed any Robbery before... being a little loose, he was easily brought into the Commission of this."[34] Edwards was one of only three active apprentices to have been convicted of burglary. While burglary was common in all three of the apprentice categories, it was most prominent in the "former apprentices" due to the sheer quantity of criminal records. Frequent offenders, such as James Shaw and Mary Poole, fall out of the categorization of a true apprentice and instead formed a marginalized criminal youth culture.

One of the key differences between the former apprentices and the journeymen is their age. While active apprentices and former apprentices range primarily between 15 and 25, journeymen are anywhere from 26 to 30. They are not considered part of the apprentice culture anymore, but they also do not fit into the marginalized youths. They form their own category of professionals and this could be one of the reasons journeymen are less prone to criminal activity than former apprentice. They have a stronger work ethic and have learned discipline over time. Most journeymen "had no desire to spend their most productive years living and working under another man's roof," instead they wanted to open their own shops and start a family.[35] After they completed their apprenticeship they could swear an oath and pay a fee to become a "freeman" and join a guild. They could then be considered citizens and have a right to vote "for all sorts of minor offices."[36] This is important as it supports the argument that apprentices and those who had once been apprentices upheld the order of the city.

While active apprentices had some social power (as they were usually connected to more prestigious families), they had little political power except for the occasional riots. This is not to say that journeymen and masters did not commit any crimes. Two of the most common excuses are falling in with bad company, and having tragedy strike. James Boyce served out his apprenticeship on a ship and as he was

[33] *OBP*, *Ordinary Accounts*, 29 May 1702 (OA17020529).
[34] *OBP*, *Ordinary Accounts*, 22 June 1715 (OA17150622).
[35] Bucholz and Ward, *London*, 110.
[36] Bucholz and Ward, *London*, 110.

serving he fraternized with "several other Men of War; falling into ill Company, and doing ill things, he brought himself under this Condemnation," and eventually being convicted of highway robbery.[37] John Snipe also completed his apprenticeship but instead worked for a "Dyer in Thames-street" and following his completion set up his own trade. Unfortunately "his House and Goods being Burn'd, he was reduced to extream Poverty," after which he was convicted of breaking into a home in order to get money.[38]

Those active apprentices which still served their masters at the time of the crime are split into three subcategories; witnesses, victims, and criminals. Andrew Boswell, an apprentice shoemaker, gave testimony against Henry Harrison, claiming he could recognize his voice, but this was never to occur. Midway through the trial Andrew Bowsell disappeared and it was only his original testimony which the court was able to read. Harrison was eventually found guilty and Bowsell was never found.[39] Another victim to crime was Philip Avery, also an apprentice shoemaker, who was killed by Alice Enterys. Both Avery and Enterys were servants in their masters shop and when the twenty-five year old male ended up "striking her over the Shoulders," she retaliated by stabbing him with a shop knife.[40] Eventually she was acquitted of murder, but charged with man-slaughter of the young man. The final subcategory is the criminality of the active apprentice. As illustrated in both charts, apprentices in training are less likely to be involved in disorder within the city and avoid, at least in part, committing criminal acts.

While apprentices political and social behavior might be best demonstrated by participation in rioting or rebellions, few apprentice riots in the early eighteenth century are reported in Old Bailey. Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos does mention prior to the 1640s "London apprentices were indeed notorious for their riotous activities, especially on Shrove Tuesday and to a lesser extent on May Day...they organized wrestling matches, football games, cockfights and other sports, but they also harassed prostitutes, attacked brothels, and assaulted foreign trades or gentlemen and their serving-men."[41] Robert Shoemaker finds that "there was a significant increase in rioting in London in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries."[42] With only three recorded incidents of apprentices being involved in any type of rioting,

[37] *OBP*, *Ordinary Accounts*, 29 April 1713 (OA17130429).
[38] *OBP*, *Ordinary Accounts*, 16 December 1687 (OA16871216).
[39] *OBP*, 6 April 1692, Henry Harrison (t16920406-1).
[40] *OBP*, 20 May 1681, Alice Enterys (t16810520-4).
[41] Ben-Amos, *Apprentice and Youth in Early Modern England*, 183.
[42] Shoemaker, *The London Mob*, 111.

Shoemaker's argument does not seem to hold much ground with this specific group. It would seem plausible as the ascension of the Hanoverians was dramatic political shift and as Ben-Amos has pointed out, apprentices were not unfamiliar with popular action, but due to lack of evidence this would reinforce the idea that apprentices were not ones who were creating disorder in London, but instead keeping order by not participating.

Rioting is considered a criminal act and the first incident reportedly took place on April 21st, 1680. While this account does not give great detail as to why the apprentices were rioting, it is possible it was due to political turmoil that England struggled with at this moment in time. Charles II held the throne and many questioned his rule into the 1670s, wondering who truly held power after the Restoration, the King or Parliament. In a controversial move, Charles decided to disband parliament for the last four years of his reign when they threatened to exclude his natural successor, his brother James, a Roman Catholic convert.[43] Due to this controversial matter, it is possible that the riots revolved around political questions. Those "several apprentices" rioting in April were "turned over to "Gaol Delivery" for Treasonable Intentions of making a Combination to levy War against the King."[44] This did not turn into a full trial and they were let go on bail for good behavior, but as Charles II became more demanding it is not unreasonable that politically active young men (the apprentices and journeymen) would have an opinion on the subject.

The second incident took place on December 6, 1682 when a group of apprentices were charged with breaking the peace and assault of William Spencer. Only three were acquitted, the others found guilty and sentenced to the pillory, and one Thomas Langham punished with a fine for the assault of William Spencer, but acquitted of the riot itself.[45] Unfortunately no further information was given as to why they were rioting. The third and final riot took place "Salisbury-Court, Fleetstreet" on July 24, 1716. William Price, an apprentice to a sword-cutler, had never committed a crime before being caught in the riot.[46] He originally ran there out of curiosity, but eventually "he join'd with others there, and assisted them in demolishing Mr. Read's Mug-house,

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[43] William B. Willcox and Walter L. Arnstein, *The Age of Aristocracy: 168-1830* 7th ed. (Lexington: Heath and Company, 1996), 3.

[44] *OBP*, "Old Bailey Proceedings supplementary material, 21st April 1680," http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=o16800421-1&div=o16800421-1&terms=apprentice|apprentices#highlight (Accessed on August 10, 2012).

[45] *OBP*, "Old Bailey Proceedings supplementary material, 21st April 1680," http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/browse.jsp?id=t16821206-7&div=t16821206-7&terms=apprentice|apprentices#highlight (Accessed August 10, 2012).

[46] *OBP*, *Ordinary Accounts*, 21 September 1716 (OA17160921).

destroying his Goods, and crying, high Church and Ormond, &c."[47] This is interesting as it shows one of the rare instances in Old Bailey when an apprentice is taking part in both political and religious demonstrations. On their way to the gallows, price and the other convicts of the riot begged forgiveness of both God and the king for their actions.

Following the criminal records chronologically, the last five years of the study presented twenty-eight criminal offenders, somehow linked to apprenticeship, and who had been convicted of various crimes. Of those twenty-eight there were no active apprentices, five journeymen (or masters), and twenty-three former apprentices. The evidence provided supports the hypothesis that former apprentices, or the marginalized criminal youth culture, were the true culprits of disorder in London, while the apprentices acted in a more respectful manner. There could be a number of factors for this behavior, including a declining apprenticeship system in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. As the population grew, apprenticeships decreased in number and grew more competitive with the oncoming industrialization. While apprentices usually originated from more affluent families, those who left their service, no matter their status, seemed to find themselves in desperate straits, and while Tim Hitchcock believes the poor influenced changed, they also instigated some of the criminal activity in London.

This is only a brief look into the study of apprentices and their research association to crime as perpetrators, witnesses, and victims. In economic uncertainty, social demographic change, and political upheaval, apprentices adapted to London's diverse culture and survived a slowly industrializing nation. One theory that does not seem to support the idea that apprentices, as part of the youth culture, are more peaceful than others is Garthine Walker's theory of "budding masculinity," which does not support violent tendencies amongst those in an enclosed and structured system, such as an apprenticeship. Apprentices do not always play the main characters, but the authors mentioned above, Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, Tim Hitchcock, and J.A. Sharpe all seem to support a strong youth culture and the benefits of a strong apprentice presence. By looking at the trial records and Ordinary's accounts, the reader is able to draw connections to the different aspects of apprenticeship and the multiple channels in which it can be studied; youth, crime, geographic location, politics, economic, etc. There are a number of avenues in which this research can be expanded upon, including this idea of a marginalized group of criminals. I would personally like to look more closely at the "Court of Assistants" records

[47] *OBP*, *Ordinary Accounts*, 21 September 1716 (OA17160921).

which are mentioned in Bucholz and Ward's, *London: A Social and Cultural History*, in which records of disagreements between masters and their wards are available. There are only a handful of cases involving the questionable cruelty of masters, but it seems to be a debated topic amongst historians. This study was also restricted to a limited time frame and by extending this we could answer if apprentices truly became perpetrators of disorder or advocates for peace, while also studying the overall effects of crime and population growth on the apprenticeship system. To find criminal records which reflect the fears of contemporary authors of idleness and sin and how apprentices acted as the advocates of the youth. In the end, were apprentices more or less likely to engage in crime or keep young Londoners away from crime? I believe the evidence provided points towards the latter. Apprentices were more likely to keep themselves and other young Londoners away from crime due to the systems endurance, professionalism, and structure. Apprentices not only represented the youths, but the larger community of guilds and their political and economic influence within the city.

The Necessity of the Transportation Act of 1718
And it's Implications for "the Poor Unhappy Transported Felon"[1]

Nichole Garbrough

William Eddis, a Maryland colonist, wrote letters to family and friends in England regarding life in the American colonies during the late eighteenth-century. As an observer of servitude, Eddis wrote:

> Persons in a state of servitude are under four distinct denominations: negroes, who are the entire property of their respective owners; convicts, who are transported from the mother country for a limited term; indentured servants, who are engaged for five years previous to their leaving England; and free-willers, who are supposed, from their situations, to possess superior advantages.[2]

The case of convicts, sent over from England in ever-increasing numbers during the eighteenth-century, is of most importance for this paper. Information regarding this aspect of British settlement has largely been overlooked. Historians have written about the logistics behind the Transportation Act of 1718 and there has been documentation regarding the response by colonists. Despite such scholarship, not much research has been conducted on the reactions of the convicts themselves in learning of their deportation to the American colonies. The historiography of this topic is not only scarce but also contradictory. This paper will look at those historians who have written on the transportation of convicts and will introduce these conflicts in thought. Yet, most importantly, I wish to look to the convicts themselves in order to decipher their feelings about the American colonies and their forced servitude there. While documentation of this is not very extensive to come by, the documentation we do have implies

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[1] Title taken from James Revel, *The Poor Unhappy Transported Felon's Sorrowful Account of His Fourteen Years Transportation, at Virginia, in America. In Six Parts. Being a Remarkable and Succinct History of the Life of James Revel, the Unhappy Sufferer Who Was Put Apprentice by His Father to a Tinman, Near Moorfields, Where He Got into Bad Company and Before Long Ran Away, and Went Robbing with a Gang of Thieves, but His Master Soon Got Him Back Again; Yet Would Not Be Be [sic] Kept from His Old Companions, but Went Thieving with Them Again, for Which He Was Transported Fourteen Years. With an Account of the Way the Transports Work, and the Punishment They Receive for Committing Any Fault. Concluding with a Word of Advice to All Young Men Electronic Edition (*University of North Carolina: Chapel Hill, 2004), http://docsouth.unc.edu/southlit/revel/revel.html , (Accessed February 3, 2013).

[2] William Eddis, *Letters from America.* ed. Aubrey C. Land (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1969), 35.

that most convicts were not happy about their plight, even if it was a substitute for certain death.

A. Roger Ekirch argued in *Bound for America: the Transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies 1718-1775* that transportation became Britain's primary remedy for rising crime during the course of the eighteenth-century.[3] Approximately fifty-thousand convicts were sent to colonies in Virginia and Maryland.[4] Ekirch noted most significantly that transportation represented a major innovation in the administration of Britain's justice system after 1718.[5] Transportation proved to be an efficient remedy for an excessive number of capital sentences, and mitigated against having to create a massive corrections system and the sizable work force that would have been needed to staff it.[6] Abbot Emerson Smith noted in *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America 1607-1776* that the English believed transportation to be an "excellent and humane thing."[7] In 1773, Sir John Fielding stated that transportation "removes the evil, separates the individual from his abandoned connexions, and gives him a fresh opportunity of being a useful member of society, thereby answering the great ends of punishment, viz., example, humanity, and reformation…."[8] Ekirch disagreed, implying that transportation was not a means of rehabilitation or discouragement, but simply the desire to rid England of dangerous offenders.[9] However, A. G. L. Shaw and Bernard Bailyn combine these two conflicting ideas to create a more concrete and convincing explanation for the Transportation Act of 1718. Shaw wrote in *Convicts and the Colonies: A Study of Penal Transportation from Great Britain and Ireland to Australia and other parts of the British Empire* that the Transportation Act was created in order to deter criminals and supply colonies with much need laborers.[10] Bailyn in *The Peopling of North America: An Introduction* suggests that transportation was meant to be a "core-and-periphery relationship" in which the deportation of criminals would be punitive, as their location would be remote and

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[3] A. Roger Ekirch, *Bound for America: the Transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies 1718-1775* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1987), 1.

[4] Ekirch, *Bound for America*, 35.

[5] Ekirch, *Bound for America*, 223.

[6] Ekirch, *Bound for America*, 223.

[7] Abbot Emerson Smith, *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America 1607-1776* (University of North Carolina Press: Chapel Hill, 1947), 128.

[8] Abbot Emerson Smith, *Colonists in Bondage*, 128.

[9] Ekirch, *Bound for America*, 3.

[10] A. G. L. Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies: A Study of Penal Transportation form Great Britain and Ireland to Australia and other parts of the British Empire* (Faber and Faber: London.,1966), 25.

primitive enough to be a form of punishment, while also proving to be economical, constructive, and socially therapeutic.[11]

The Transportation Act of 1718 stated that all "persons convicted of 'grand or petite larceny or any felonious stealing or taking of money or goods and chattels, either from the person or the house of any other,' might be sentenced to seven years transportation to America."[12] England's Parliament and citizens believed this legislation to be a more useful and merciful substitute for execution and other techniques, such as consigning felons to the stocks.

In the mid-eighteenth century, areas within the Chesapeake region needed large amounts of cheap labor as tobacco and grain economies grew. A demand for a wide variety of skills necessitated the increasing amount of convicts, as well as other sources of servitude, for the agricultural and manufacturing needs of the Chesapeake backcountry. A majority of convicts were sent to these planting areas while a few found themselves working as domestic servants in the iron industry, or as tradesmen, depending on their specific skills. William Eddis noted on convicts, after their time had been served:

> Those who survive the term of servitude seldom establish their residence in this country: the stamp of infamy is too strong upon them to be easily erased; they either return to

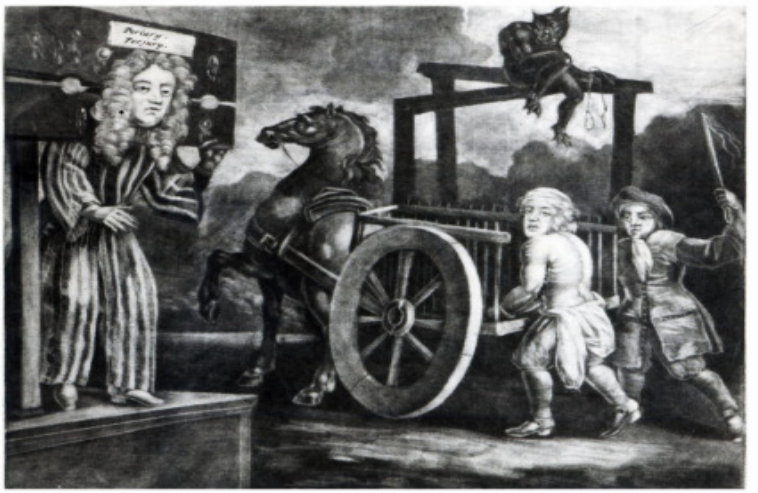

Image *1: A Picture on the Punishment of Titus Oates (1685), showing principal punishments before the Transportation Act.*

[11] Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction*, (Vintage Books: New York, 1986), 121.
[12] Shaw, *Convicts and the Colonies* , 25.

> Europe and renew their former practices; or, if they have fortunately imbibed habits of honesty and industry, they remove to a distant situation, where they may hope to remain unknown, and be able to pursue with credit every possible method of becoming useful members of society.[13]

For most, the end of transportation terms meant economic hardships because of convicts' unsavory reputations. William Thomson, a convicted robber sent to the American colonies in 1732, found this out personally when it was stated of him, "'Tis a great hazard if any one will employ him here and then he will be in danger of returning to the same course."[14]

While transportation could be an upsetting long-term sentence for convicts, some capital offenders were banished to the American colonies for life, which created much distress for its settlers. Beginning in 1670, Virginian legislators outlawed the transportation of convicts, citing that their residence might tend to universal depravity because of their bad example.[15] Colonists also worried about the transference of disease brought on by the long and harsh boat rides across the Atlantic. The threat of gaol fever, small pox, and other diseases were significant concerns. Yet, most important was the believed menace convicts posed. It was believed that because these individuals had been cast out of Britain for threatening the social peace, they could not make good laborers or industrious servants. Their transgressions seemingly made them not only immoral, but lazy. Convicts endangered the very foundations of society and colonists feared that their vicious habits would corrupt honest men and women, including other servants and laboring poor. As William Eddis noted, "the Virginians have inflicted very severe penalties on any masters of vessels, or others, who may attempt to introduce persons under this description to their colony."[16]

As mentioned previously, A. G. L. Shaw and Bernard Bailyn noticed that many colonists were excited by the prospect of the growth of cheap labor supplied by the Transportation Act. Convicted servants represented 7% of all laborers in 1755.[17] In comparison to the 13% of hired and indentured servants and the 80% of slaves, this percentage may seem minute; however, the number of deported convicts continued to increase, in part due to the desire to be rid of them in England, but also because of their usefulness in the American colonies.[18] Indentured servants and slaves were considered a higher commodity because of the

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[13] Eddis, *Letters from America*, 37.
[14] Ekirch, *Bound for America*, 220.
[15] Eddis, *Letters from America*, 36.
[16] Eddis, *Letters from America*, 36.
[17] Ekirch, *Bound for America*, 142.
[18] Ekirch, *Bound for America*, 142.

servants' lack of ill-reputable activities and the slaves' long-term commitments to their owners. Abbot Emerson Smith believed that resentment against the English government in regards to the Transportation Act has been overdone despite loud outcries in the press and the ineffectual attempts of colonial legislatures.[19] In fact, Smith argued deported convicts were welcomed with open arms by the greater proportion of planters who wanted cheap labor.[20] Again, A. Roger Ekirch disagreed, stating that transportation provoked some of the most heated denunciations of imperial policy voiced by Americans before the

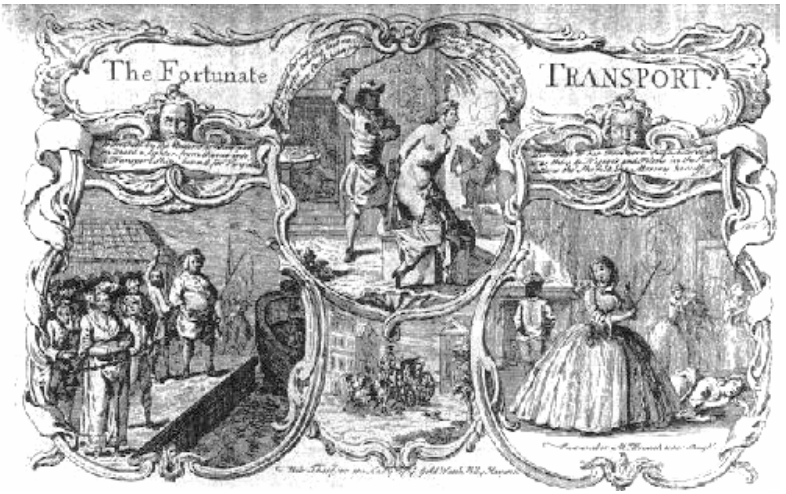

Image 2: Illustration for The Fortunate Transport . . . (1742), the fictional story of a young woman's tribulations as a transported convict.

Revolutionary Era.[21] In the case of this debate, both sentiments were clear among the settlers, in that many were outraged by the increased amount of convicts sent to their colonies of which they worked so hard to create for prosperity and peace sake. Yet, just as many, perhaps, found this same increase to be a blessing, as many needed help for the rapidly developing colonial economy.

While historians debate over the effect convict transportation had upon colonists, there seems to be little argument about how the convicts themselves felt about their sentences. This is in part because of the lack of documented confessionals of convicts. The limited record paints a more disturbing picture than one of good sentiments. James Revel is

[19] Smith, *Colonists in Bondage*, 132.
[20] Smith, *Colonists in Bondage*, 132.
[21] Ekirch, *Bound for America*, 139.

one such convict, turned poet, who wrote of his experience in 1660, including the journey across the Atlantic, his being poked and prodded before being sold, his life in servitude, and his return to England afterward.[22] Revel's tale is not unlike many other convicts- most found their conditions quite harsh. Petitions to county courts made by convicts requesting relief from excessive abuse by their masters displayed such treatments. However, petitions were often discouraged as many convicts were whipped and given extended sentences if their petitions were found to be fabrications. George Smith from Westmoreland County, Virginia, petitioned in 1738 stating that his master "beat and abused [him]" and "starved him for want of Necessary victualls".[23] Unfortunately, the judge accepted his owner's explanation that Smith was a thief and a runaway. If the masters were found guilty of these acts, a fine would be imposed. Yet, worst of all, regardless if found guilty or not, convicts would still be returned to their abusive master which presumably did not make for better conditions.

Runaways were commonplace amongst convicts. Not only did convicts run away in the American colonies, but many attempted to escape before crossing the Atlantic. Non-capital offenders hoped to avoid seven years in exile away from families and their homeland. Those already transported felons who did successfully run away did so by blending in with the growing populations of America's urban areas, such as Philadelphia and New York. Many more attempted to return to England. However, if caught, not only could time be added to their sentences, but their non-capital offence could be upgraded, adding with it a capital punishment of execution.

Few transported convicts found their sentences to be beneficial or pleasing. Capital offenders who were banished for life may have enjoyed the fact that they had not been executed; however, the conditions most endured implied that some may have found death more appealing. Tradesmen faired the best of transported convicts. These servants held

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[22] James Revel, *The Poor Unhappy Transported Felon's Sorrowful Account of His Fourteen Years Transportation, at Virginia, in America. In Six Parts. Being a Remarkable and Succinct History of the Life of James Revel, the Unhappy Sufferer Who Was Put Apprentice by His Father to a Tinman, Near Moorfields, Where He Got into Bad Company and Before Long Ran Away, and Went Robbing with a Gang of Thieves, but His Master Soon Got Him Back Again; Yet Would Not Be Be [sic] Kept from His Old Companions, but Went Thieving with Them Again, for Which He Was Transported Fourteen Years. With an Account of the Way the Transports Work, and the Punishment They Receive for Committing Any Fault. Concluding with a Word of Advice to All Young Men Electronic Edition (*University of North Carolina: Chapel Hill, 2004), http://docsouth.unc.edu/southlit/revel/revel.html (Accessed February 3, 2013).

[23] Ekirch, *Bound for America*, 150-151.

positions of privilege and responsibility. Additionally, their working conditions were less regimented. Some convicts, such as Richard Kebble, enjoyed relatively close relationships with their owners. Kebble was given "great Liberties" because his master "looked upon him as a civil young Man."[24] While most convicts found life after their terms difficult because of their perceived status as social outcasts, some were able to rejoin society as productive members. William Sherwood became a respected inhabitant of Virginia after his sentence was completed in 1668.[25] However, Sherwood did not reach this reputable status until after he had been a sub-sheriff and lawyer for thirty years, to which he was then noted as being a useful and honorable person.[26] Sherwood wrote that he had "great penitence for his offence," as it was even engraved on his tombstone by his direction in his will, "here lies a miserable sinner waiting a joyous resurrection."[27]

It is certain that the experiences of Richard Kebble and William Sherwood were not the average of transported convicts. Most were not reformed, as life after servitude proved to be continuously difficult. Many experienced horrible conditions, to which death may have been preferred. Additionally, most convicts worked a rough life as a field hand in the backcountry of the Chesapeake. Colonists, besides those who appreciated cheap labor, were not welcoming of these disease ridded, lewd, and immoral characters. However, the Transportation Act of 1718 served a purpose for England and for the American colonies. Transportation allowed for the decline of executions and the impeded creation of massive correctional facilities in England; it gave a place to put individuals not wanted on England's land; and it added to the labor pool needed to facilitate the growing agricultural and manufacturing economy of colonial America. Many historians debated the cause and effects of convict deportation to the American colonies, yet while not the most ideal of circumstances for many convicts and colonists alike, it indeed did serve a purpose for England and the growing American colonies.

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[24] Ekirch, *Bound for America*, 148-149.

[25] W. Noel Sainsbury, ed., *Calender of State Papers, Colonial Series America and West Indies, 1669-1674* (TannerRitchie Publishing, 2005), xii, in *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* Vol. 17 (Whittet & Shepperson, Publishers, Richmond, VA.,1909), 269.

[26] *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, 269.

[27] *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, 269.

Were the Turks So Terrible: How British Authors Demonized the Ottoman Empire in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century

Ian Yazbec

Historian Linda Darling, in her article "Ottoman Politics through British Eyes: Paul Rycaut's 'The Present State of the Ottoman Empire,'" remarks "Paul Rycaut's book ostensibly fits within a tradition of reporting on the Ottoman Empire for defense purposes."[1] Paul Rycaut and virtually everyone else who reported on the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries displayed a sense of repugnance towards the Islamic Empire's policies and religious practices. Similar books of the time are concerned with how difficult it would be to defeat the Ottomans. This paper seeks to examine the content of several primary sources from seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century authors dealing with the Empire. Did these authors produce unfavorable reports of the Ottoman Empire's religious tolerance and civil practices, and why? Were their reports truthful? What could these authors have gained by slandering the Ottoman name? I will compare my primary sources to secondary ones, and determine whether they are accurate. I will also reveal the reasons for my primary sources' rhetoric, such as the one put forth by Darling. I posit that the Ottoman Empire was much more tolerable and less barbaric than what seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century travelers reported.

The Ottoman Empire extended all the way across Africa, to the Middle East, around to Greece and north into the Balkans.[2] Ottoman cities were considered very cosmopolitan, and Istanbul was called an "urban monster," with inhabitants numbering about 700,000.[3] In the 1500s, the rising Ottoman Empire was *the* threat to European civilization. The Empire possessed a large and dedicated military. A Venetian diplomat said of the military in 1573, "This most powerful emperor's forces are of two kinds, those of the sea and those of land, and both are terrifying."[4] The empire also managed Mediterranean trade, a valuable asset to a world power such as Britain.

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[1] Linda Darling, "Ottoman Politics Through British Eyes: Paul Rycaut's 'The Present State of the Ottoman
Empire,'" *Journal of World History* 5, no. 1 (Spring, 1994): 74.

[2] Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560-1660* (New
York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 49.

[3] Games, *The Web of Empire*, 54-55.

[4] Molly Greene, "The Ottoman Experience," *Daedalus* 134, no. 2 (Spring, 2005): 90.

In 1570, the Pope excommunicated Elizabeth I, thus freeing protestant English merchants from Catholic prohibitions on trading with Muslims.[5] This fact, along with an Ottoman demand for war material to use against Persia, gave way to informal trade agreements.[6] William Harborne, a British diplomat, traveled to the Empire's capital of Istanbul in 1578 to set up a formal trade agreement.[7] In the 1580s permanent trade relations were established between England and the Ottoman Empire. After this agreement, diplomats and merchants began traveling to the Empire and writing about their experiences with more frequency.[8]

In the early-seventeenth century, Britain traded lead and tin to the Ottomans for armaments, and many British trading companies were set up in the Empire.[9] The relative stability and security established as a result of the new trade agreements allowed curious Brits to travel to the Empire. They were now able to peruse the plethora of historically significant sites within the Ottomans' domain.[10] Englishmen could now experience, first hand, the mysterious realities of the Empire. Darling writes that until this relationship was founded, a typical British image of the Empire was "compounded of prejudice against Islam, fear of a powerful empire, lure of Eastern trade, and ignorance of hearsay."[11] I argue this fear manifested itself throughout the Ottoman reign.

Alison Games contends that English travelers were safer in the Ottoman Empire than in other European states. She explains that while the Empire gave Christians fewer privileges than Muslims, they did not go over the top in their policies. In "Historical and Political Observations upon the Present State of Turkey," from 1683, the author explains the first law of Islam is the toleration of other religions.[12] The Muslims of the Ottoman Empire accepted Jesus as a prophet, but did not believe in Christ's passion. Jews were seen as fellow people of the book, and were indeed valuable because of their work ethic and desire to make money.[13] One Spaniard, on the subject of expelling Jews from Spain, said with their exit they "took with them the substance and wealth of these realms, transferring them to our enemies the trade and

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[5] Games, *The Web of Empire*, 50.
[6] Games, *The Web of Empire*, 50.
[7] Games, *The Web of Empire*, 50.
[8] Darling, "Ottoman Politics," 73.
[9] Games, *The Web of Empire*, 50.
[10] Games, *The Web of Empire*, 51.
[11] Darling, "Ottoman Politics," 73.
[12] R.D., *Historical and Political Observations upon the Present State of Turkey* (London, 1683), 3.
[13] Mark Mazower, *Salonica: City of Ghosts, 1430-1950* (New York: Vintage Books, 2004), 47.

commerce of which they are the proprietors not only in Europe, but throughout the world."[14] Jews and Christians had a lot to offer. They were beneficial to the Empire in terms of their various skills. The Ottoman Empire welcomed persons of different religious affiliation, but did levy some regulations on them, as I will discuss farther on.

Possibly the worst thing that could happen to a Christian or Jew in the Empire was being pressured into converting to Islam.[15] If a conversion took place, their children under fourteen years old had to convert as well. Many Christians converted for the simple fact Christians and Jews were forced to pay an extra tribute to the Empire for not being Muslim.[16] Jews paid the highest *cizye.*[17] One traveler reported in 1656 that the Jews were forced to pay eighty-eight silver coins compared to a Christian's fifty-six. Furthermore, Jews were charged thirty-eight silver coins to lodge, and Christians thirty.[18]

Mark Mazower's "Salonica: City of Ghosts" explains that Christians converted to Islam for reasons other than to avoid the *cizye.* Mazower asserts that poor young Christians converted to Islam when they immigrated to the Ottoman city for security, as they were oftentimes without any family. Boys also converted because they had apprenticed to economically powerful Muslims, and girls because they were servants to them.[19] Still, more young Christian boys converted because they were forcibly made janissaries, or soldiers of the Ottoman Empire.[20] All in all, involuntary conversions were rare, especially compared to many European states of the time that were simply killing or expelling those who refused to convert to Christianity.[21] The *cizye* was a major source of income for the Empire, so many Ottoman administrators did not stress conversion.[22] As long as non-Muslims submitted to Ottoman rule and paid the *cizye*, they attained the status of *dhimmi*, or protected people. They were allowed to practice their faith, and the Sultan could not legally persecute them, contrary to the arguments that several of primary sources put forth.[23]

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[14] Mazower, *Salonica:City of Ghosts*, 47.
[15] R.D., *Historical and Political Observations*, 3.
[16] I.S., *The History of the Turks* (London, 1683), *Early English Books Online*, 391.
[17] Poll tax levied upon non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire.
[18] Games, *The Web of Empire*, 56.
[19] Mazower, *Salonica: City of Ghosts*, 84.
[20] Mazower, *Salonica: City of Ghosts*, 78.
[21] Suraiya Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire: A Short History* (Princeton: Marcus Wiener Publishers, 2009), 75.
[22] Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire*, 75.
[23] Feroz Ahmad, *Turkey: The Quest for Identity* (Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2003), 4.

Besides paying the *cizye*, non-Muslims were disadvantaged in a few other areas. For example, they could not testify against Muslims in court. [24] This was a major problem in business matters, but by registering transactions with a local judge, non-Muslims could create an indisputable paper trail.[25] Also, Christians and Jews were not allowed to ride horses or carry weapons, as these were Muslim privileges. Furthermore, non-Muslims were not permitted to build houses higher than their Muslim neighbors, and oftentimes they were forced to sell their houses and move to allow more Muslims to live by places of worship.[26] "A New Account of the Present Condition of the Turkish Affairs," written ambiguously by a "Person of Quality," contends that the Alcoran[27] does not keep Christians from using their churches as long as they stand, but if the Church is destroyed it cannot be repaired or rebuilt.[28]

"A Survey of the Turkish Empire," confirms the dress code: non-Muslims in the Empire were required to wear certain cark colors to denote their religion, while Muslims wore green. In a more serious tone, the author writes that it was a choice between the code and death.[29] He goes on to say that if a Christian struck a Muslim, he was oftentimes put to death. Conversely, the primary source explains that if a Muslim struck a Christian, he was only fined.[30] It seems as if the author had a bone to pick with the Ottomans, because according to Ahmad, the persecution of the *dhimmi* was prohibited.

Christian travelers to the Empire were relatively safe from violence at the hands of Muslims. Relatively, that is not to say they were completely safe. During Muslim festivals, Christians and Jews in the streets could be subject to violence from Turks. Yet, "Surest Way to Destroy the Ottoman Empire" contends that Ottomans were more concerned with killing Persians than Christians: "Their religion obliges them to believe that there is more merit in killing one Persian heretic…than if they flew threescore and ten Christians."[31] If anything, there was more tension between Jews and Christians. Mazower points to a 1700 court case in which Christians complained to authorities about

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[24] Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire*, 74.
[25] Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire*, 74.
[26] Faroqhi, *The Ottoman Empire*, 75.
[27] Alcoran or Qu'ran, the holy book of Islam.
[28] *A New Account of the Present Condition of the Turkish Affairs* (London, 1688), *Early English Books Online*, 31.
[29] "A Survey of The Turkish Empire," *The Critical Review* (January 1799): 9.
[30] "A Survey of The Turkish Empire," 9.
[31] *The Surest Way to Destroy the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1687), *Early English Books Online*, 11.

their Jewish neighbors throwing garbage into a churchyard and ridiculing them during Christian holidays.[32] Karen Barkey agrees with Mazower in her article "Islam and Toleration," arguing "fear of losing religious identity and the potential for violence existed between Muslims and non-Muslims, but especially between Christians and Jews."[33]

"The Surest Way to Destroy the Ottoman Empire" writes about the weak aspects of the Ottoman Military, confirming the hypothesis that most writings about the Empire in the time period were directed at how to defeat the Empire. "A New Account of the Present Condition of the Turkish Affairs" explains Turks had always been aggressive and had ignored treaties. The author laments the Empire consistently astonished enemies with huge armies. "The Ottoman of Lazaro Soranzo" gives insight into Ottoman war qualities as well. The source argues that Ottomans were confident in the size of their armies, so much so that discipline was not stressed.[34] "The Ottoman of Lazaro Soranzo" alludes to the fact that the Turks used Jewish and Christian spies to gain information against their enemies. [35] "Surest Way to Destroy the Ottoman Empire" hypothesizes that the reason the Ottomans were so successful in battle was their belief in predestination and the honor associated with martyrdom. The Ottomans held the belief that if you died in battle, you would immediately ascend into "paradise." Furthermore, if a Muslim fled in battle, he would lose his honor, and was oftentimes killed by his commanders shamefully.[36] To defeat the Ottomans, the author suggested that an army attack first by sea, band together as Christians, and pray to God for help.[37]

"A New Account of the Present Condition of the Turkish Affairs" gives more insight into Ottoman civil matters. The author wrote: "The people, which is the last of the three orders… of this empire, is tyrannized over by the two others…the military, and that of the law." The source goes on to claim, "They are almost beggar'd, and employed in the vilest and meanest services; and the tyranny goes so far that the ministry of religion and justice serves for a means to the continual persecutions… against the third."[38] "I.S." confirms that the "Grand

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[32] Mazower, *Salonica: City of Ghosts*, 49.
[33] Karen Barkey, "Islam and Toleration: Studying the Ottoman Imperial Model," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 19, no. ½ (December 2005): 15.
[34] Abraham Hartwell, *The Ottoman of Lazaro Soranzo* (London, 1603), *Early English Books Online*, 31.
[35] Hartwell, *The Ottoman of Lazaro Soranzo*, 39.
[36] *Surest Way*, 33.
[37] *Surest Way*, 34.
[38] *A New Account*, 14.

Seignor's power was so absolute, that his subjects term themselves his slaves." Once again, in my review of secondary sources, I did not come across anything that depicted the Ottomans as being particularly cruel to their subjects.

In keeping with the pattern of demonizing Ottoman rule, "The Ottoman of Lazaro Soranzo" explains "Mahomet is a name dreadful to Christians." He continues, writing the "Emperour" is a fierce and cruel ruler who abhors peace and threatened to kill his own mother.[39] Another source contends Mahomet had once sworn to put all Christians in his empire to death.[40] "The Ottoman of Lazaro Soranzo" also writes that the Ottoman's possessed noisy "warrelike instruments" and a "horrible, barborous shout." The author also vilified the Ottoman administrators for employing dwarves and the mentally handicapped to fight for their own entertainment.[41] This was not the only primary source that criticized the Emperor for strange practices in his court. "I.S.," in "The History of the Turks," explains that the Sultan paid a thousand eunuchs to service his virgins and concubines. The author described the practice as an inhuman barbarity.[42] Furthermore, 500 of the most beautiful Christian virgins, taken at eight years old, were constantly kept in the Seraglio.[43] "I.S." also conveys that Ottoman citizens were slaves to the tyrannical government.[44] I did not necessarily come across anything in my secondary sources to debunk the claims of keeping eunuchs, dwarves, or virgins, but following the pattern, I can say they were made to demonize the Ottomans.

A song called the "The Bloody Siege of Vienna" again attempts to display the "barbaric" nature of the Ottomans. The song contains verses that explain how "they sacrificed peasant and peer with fier and sword, they laid all to wast." The song also articulates the Ottoman Empire's military prowess: "Three hundred thousand Turks in rage, who never spared sex or age, in seven hundred leagues they march, til they Vienna did invest." The melody ends with the massacre of the "Terrible Turke," proclaiming the Christian protectors of the city "at every blow cut down a Turk," and killed 70,000 of them.[45] The song was certainly another attempt at slandering the mysterious and threatening Empire.

In conclusion, I claim the primary sources I reviewed were written in order to malign the Ottoman Empire because of the military and

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[39] Hartwell, *The Ottoman of Lazaro Soranzo*, 3.
[40] *A New Account*, 33.
[41] Hartwell, *The Ottoman of Lazaro Soranzo*, 39.
[42] I.S., *A History of the Turks*, 382.
[43] I.S., *A History of the Turks*, 382.
[44] I.S., *A History of the Turks*, 384.
[45] *The Bloody Siege of Vienna* (London, 1688), *Early English Books Online*.

religious threat it posed to Europeans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. I cannot say they are completely wrong in their attempts, as fear is a powerful emotion. By writing unflattering stories about the Ottomans, the authors hoped to breed hatred, which can enable people to do extraordinary things. They attempted to build revulsion in their readers so that, in case of an attack, a hateful and devoted population could defeat the heretical Muslims. In reality, the Ottomans were more tolerant of differing religions than most nations and were less barbaric than the claims brought against them. Karen Barkey said it best in her article "Islam and Toleration:" "As Ottoman conquerors incorporated vast territories and an extraordinary medley of peoples into the Empire, they — as many other large imperial states did in history — understood and managed difference. Ottomans understood 'difference' and accepted it as such, showing no effort to transform 'difference' into 'sameness.'"[46]

[46] Barkey, "Islam and Toleration," 13-14.

The South African War of 1899-1902: A Historiography

Noah Sangster

In 1899, the British Empire and the two Afrikaans-speaking Republics of South Africa waged a devastating war against each other that would last for the better part of three years. The grievances between British and Boer in Southern Africa were longstanding, and the scorched earth and guerilla tactics used by the combatants were brutal. However, in the aftermath of a long and bitter struggle, British South Africans in the Cape and Natal regions would be united with the citizens of the former Orange Free State and South African Republic (also known as the Transvaal) who had fought them during the war. The former enemies were brought together in the Union of South Africa in 1910, a semi-autonomous dominion of the British Empire that formed the political and territorial foundation of the modern-day Republic of South Africa. The nation's three capital cities represent the nations that fought in the South African War: Cape Town, the center of British power in the region by 1899, and Bloemfontein and Pretoria, the capitals of the two Boer Republics to the northeast. Reflecting the divisions in the nation, the conflict has been called variously the Boer War (or Second Boer War, to distinguish it from an earlier conflict of the 1880s), the Anglo-Boer War, the Second War of Freedom to Afrikaners, and more recently the South African War.[1]

The war of 1899-1902 proved to be one of the most pivotal events of modern South African history, and fertile ground for academic writing, with historians often seeking lessons from the conflict for modern South Africa and its people. Using four historical writings, published from 1975 to 2009, this paper analyzes a few of the different theoretical approaches to writing the history of the South African War. The political and social atmosphere in South Africa has changed radically in the past four decades; the range of publishing dates for the works used in this paper encompasses the independence of neighboring Angola and Mozambique after lengthy anti-colonial wars, the escalating violence in resistance to the White-dominated government in South Africa, and the end of apartheid and election of Nelson Mandela as President in 1994. Through such upheaval and uncertainty, academic history in South Africa has been full of controversy. The historiography of the South African War has been a source of contention among historians, who have clashed with one another over the direction and purpose of South African history.

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[1] Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 141.

The span of works covered in this paper includes *From van Riebeeck to Vorster: 1652-1974*, by one of the most famous historians of South Africa. F.A. Vvan Jaarsveld, a member of South Africa's Afrikaans-speaking community, presents the war as an ultimately unsuccessful struggle for Afrikaner "nationalism" and "republicanism," the distinctive identity forged by the rural Boers who had sought throughout much of the previous century to establish independence from the growing power of the British in Southern Africa. While he incorporates narratives of racial conflict in South Africa during the war, his main focus is on the Afrikaners and their political and ideological struggle with the British Empire that came to a head in 1899. Although certainly eminent in the South African historical field by the time of his book's publication in 1975, his account of the South African War has been criticized for glorifying the Afrikaners at the expense of both the British and native Africans. Leonard Thompson's *A History of South Africa*, which contains a section detailing the war, its origins, and its aftermath, is an example of the recent liberal tradition in South African historical writing. Emerging as a new, distinct style that brings liberal Africanist history into a modern and post-colonial Africa by emphasizing the tribulations of South Africa's Black community during what has traditionally been portrayed as a "White man's war."

Thompson and other liberal historians have sometimes clashed with those who insist on a more materialist approach to analyzing events of the past, usually treating class and economic conflict, rather than race, as the prime moving force of history. These include historians such as Shula Marks, whose chapter from the *Cambridge History of South Africa* on the war emphasizes the conflict as time of upheaval for class, race, and gender relations in South African societies, driven by long-standing tensions over land and political control that were unleashed in the chaos of war. Another materialist history of the war comes from Diana Cammack's *The Rand at War, 1899-1902: the Witwatersrand and the Anglo-Boer War*, which presents a macro-historical study of the war by analyzing the relationship between geography and natural resources, economics, social and political instability, the movement of populations, and the war experience, focusing on the specific region of the *Witwatersrand*, or "Rand," the gold-mining region that includes the city of Johannesburg and surrounding areas.

The history of the war and of South Africa in general has proved fertile ground for debates, involving issues of race and class, freedom and oppression, and the historians treated in this essay are by no means immune from these conflicts. The war represents a time of disruption in South African society, and although earlier histories tended to treat the war as a struggle only between the Boers and the British, most of the

recent history written on the war goes well beyond this limited scope to encompass the experience of a much more diverse society. This paper, while by no means a comprehensive depiction of South African historiography on the war, will attempt to portray the major trends and approaches observable in the history of the 1899 war written in recent decades, when the long twilight of colonialism produced profound changes in the focus and methodology of historians of South Africa and of African historians in general. The war of 1899-1902 was, to quote Shula Marks, "South Africa's 'Great War', as important to the shaping of modern South Africa as was the American Civil War in the history of the United States."[2] Although the historians treated in this essay differ in key aspects over the interpretation of the war, they all place it as a pivotal event in the modern history of South Africa.

Naming a War and Writing a History

For many years, most writers that dealt with the South African War referred to it as either the "Boer War" or the "Anglo-Boer War."[3] The story was one of a nation forged in bloodshed between two white, European peoples who had settled South Africa and brought civilization to a benighted land. Early historians tended to embody white supremacy, and although some favored the British as more progressive than the agrarian Boers and others lauded the Afrikaners for their independence, most saw the European presence in South Africa as a positive and civilizing mission that benefited all races and peoples living in the region. Native African history, except where it intersected with the Europeans, went largely ignored.[4] In this context, the most important outcome of the war for the early writers of South African history was the eventual reconciliation and union between the British and Boers that created the Union of South Africa, a British dominion that provided the foundation for the modern Republic of South Africa.

The issue of naming the war has produced its own debate, much like the American Civil War (War of the Rebellion versus the War of Northern Aggression), and of the four historical works discussed in depth in this paper, three weigh in on the controversy. Van Jaarsveld

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[2] Shula Marks, *War and Union, 1899-1910, The Cambridge History of South Africa* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009),157.

[3] As in the field of American history, most of the writers of South African history during the time of the war itself were not professional historians, and South African universities would not develop a corps of academics versed in the historical discipline until after World War I (Ken Smith, *The Changing Past: Trends in South African Historical Writing (*Athens, OH: Ohio University Press 1988), 57-58).

[4] Ken Smith, *The Changing Past*, 25-26.

provided perhaps the most extensive list of names given to the conflict, referring to the early English usage of the "Boer War" and the Boer use of the "English War" (both placing the blame for the conflict squarely on the opposing side), the more forceful "War of Independence" or "White Civil War," and the more neutral "Anglo-Boer War" (which van Jaarsveld and Diana Cammack both use) and "South African War."[5]

Already in use by 1975 and van Jaarsveld's publication of *From van Riebeeck to Vorster*, the "South African War" has received increasing acceptance among historians seeking to emphasize the multi-faceted conflict and counter the notion that the conflict only touched White and not Black South Africans. Shula Marks describes the shift as a sign that "it is no longer possible to conceive of it traditionally as a 'white man's' war…it was neither white nor the gentleman's war of Victorian mythology."[6] Leonard Thompson also refutes the notion that Blacks were uninvolved or mere spectators in the war, favoring the "South African War" designation but acknowledging the use of "Boer War" and "Second War of Freedom" by English and Afrikaner partisans, respectively.[7] The debate over nomenclature continues, evidenced by the divide between the authors covered in this paper. The contested history of South Africa, however, goes well beyond the many names of the war. It is a piecing together of the past from the many perspectives of a diverse and often divided country. To better understand the philosophical and academic origins of the contemporary historiography of the war, it is necessary to reach much farther back in time, to when the field of South African history was in its infancy.

G.M. Theal, a Canadian-born amateur historian whose writings form the basis of what has been termed the "Settler" school of South African history, focused on the history of the European colonizers of Southern Africa and their struggles against the native Africans. Ironically, he was also outspoken in his criticism of many European imperial practices, such as the British lust for gold and diamonds that almost precluded annexation of the Boer Republics, and the presence of English missionaries who often spoke out against expansion of White settlement and the mistreatment and exploitation of the Black population.[8] Many of his assumptions about the racial inferiority of Blacks would be adopted by later historians, and although he criticized British policies he still conceived of South African conflicts in terms of

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[5] F.A. van Jaarsveld, *From van Riebeeck to Vorster: 1652-1974*, Johannesburg: Perskor Publishers (1975), 202.

[6] Shula Marks, *War and Union*, 160.

[7] Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 141.

[8] Christopher Saunders. *The Making of the South African Past: Major Historians on Race and Class*. Cape Town: David Philip (1988), 24-25.

Social Darwinism, a system that placed all "civilized" Europeans as naturally triumphant over "barbarian" Africans.[9]

Theal was not a professional historian in the modern sense, publishing the first volume of his well-known *History of South Africa* in 1888. He would come under great scrutiny and criticism among later historians for his lack of historical perspective, his unabashed racism (something that was certainly not limited to Theal), his seeming ignorance of the impact of economics and geography on historical development, and his failure to cite many of his sources.[10] He was not an Afrikaner nationalist historian, and wrote in English rather than Afrikaans, but he conceived of the Boers as a distinct people forged by a frontier that demanded self-reliance, personal industry, and a willingness to fight for survival and their way of life. Indeed, his interpretations were similar in many respects to ideas about the American character espoused by Theal's American contemporary Frederick Jackson Turner, whose speech on his country's connection between history, expansion, and progress still resonates with American audiences.[11] His sympathy for the Afrikaners, deepened by the South African War, endeared him among many Afrikaner nationalists, and his ideas would greatly influence later historians such as F.A. van Jaarsveld.

Theal's interpretation formed part of a larger discourse on South African history that assumed White supremacy. Many of Theal's early critics among historians (most writing in English), especially during the South African war, took exception with his anti-imperial and anti-British stance, but it took until the 1920s for liberal historians to bring up the omission of Blacks.[12] After World War I especially, industrial and urban growth put many impoverished Blacks and Whites, formerly from rural communities, in close contact and competition in South Africa's growing cities. Founded on classical liberalism of the Enlightenment, these historians became increasingly concerned with the welfare of Blacks, whose complete subordination in South African society had only been consolidated with the South African War that united the country.[13]

One of the most famous of the early liberal school was W.M. Macmillan. Born the son of a minister in Scotland but living in South Africa since childhood, the teenaged Macmillan was personally impacted by the South African War. He recalled feeling his way of life threatened

[9] Christopher Saunders, *The Making of South African Past*, 27-28.
[10] Ken Smith, *The Changing Past*, 38.
[11] Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (1893).
[12] Ken Smith, *The Changing Past*, 39.
[13] Ken Smith, *The Changing Past*, 103.

by the growth of Afrikaner nationalism, exemplified in the dismissal of his father from his teaching post (possibly because he was British), which would leave his family struggling financially and perhaps fueled his social conscience. He served the British cause, volunteering as a bugler and then a member of the Stellenbosch Town Guard during the war, while his brother Bertie enrolled in a volunteer unit and was killed fighting for the British in 1900.[14]

Part of a small Scottish community in the largely Afrikaner town of Stellenbosch, Macmillan would become increasingly hostile to the history he was exposed to, which largely demonized the British and the Africans. The first Rhodes Scholar (he believed himself to be perhaps the only one to have actually met the eponymous Cecil Rhodes), he traveled back to Britain to study at Oxford and there developed a view that included desire for "reformist and evolutionary change" within societies struggling with inequality and oppression, while at the same time disavowing revolutionary upheaval and violence.[15]

Macmillan's research into writings of early European missionaries, the same despised by Theal for "meddling" in race relations on the frontier, led him to the firm conviction that actions by the White government systematically oppressed Blacks throughout the entire history of European settlement, and began to ask how and why this racist system had developed rather than assuming the natural distinctions of racial hierarchy that had been central to Theal's worldview.[16] He was an early advocate of social history, paying close attention to the lower classes, to systems of inequality, and to the close relationship between economics and human experience. [17] For Macmillan, as for later liberals, however, material causes rarely formed the dominant basis for racial oppression or acceptance in society; race formed an ideology of its own, forged in a struggle between Black and White on the frontier, a physical mark of human bodies in a divided society that had provided the justification for imposing inequality, one that continued to result in poverty and unrest in Black communities throughout the country.

The early liberal historians had limited influence on South African historiography, and indeed would be challenged for still failing to put African societies on equal terms with Europeans in history, and at times for giving British too much benefit of doubt in the Imperial claims of humanitarian intervention in 1899, made ostensibly on behalf of Blacks mistreated and enslaved by Boers in the two Republics. Despite these

[14] Christopher Saunders, *The Making of South African Past*, 48.
[15]Ken Smith, *The Changing Past*, 104-105.
[16]Christopher Saunders, *The Making of South African Past*, 163.
[17]Christopher Saunders, *The Making of South African Past*, 165.

shortcomings, their challenge to the assumption of White supremacy would provide the foundation for a modern liberal and Africanist historical tradition to emerge with historians such as Leonard Thompson during the 1960s, when post-colonial attention to indigenous influence in African history sprang forth across the entire continent.[18]

The liberal school, however, did not end the contest to set the tone of discourse in South African history. After the 1970's, criticism came at the liberal school from historians who felt that liberal history had partially ignored material causation in history and had generalized Africans, British, and Boers as monolithic groups with unified interests. The delineation between liberal and what has often been called "radical" schools of history is not always clear (a single historian may well write one work termed "liberal" and another "radical"), and many radicals were influenced by the liberal Africanists and vice versa after 1970, in addition to being influenced by earlier materialist interpretations of history.[19]

However, there were distinctive criticisms leveled against Thompson and the other liberal Africanists by radical historians (particularly in response to the *Oxford History of South Africa*, the authoritative liberal history of the late 1960s co-edited by Thompson and released in 1969 and 1971).[20] Shula Marks moved beyond using race as the main force in South African history, incorporating class and gender struggles for power in the story of the South African War, and stressed the diversity of responses within African, Afrikaner, and *Uitlander* ("foreigner," often British) communities, as well as the growing South Asian immigrant community of South Africa. This theme would be carried by Diana Cammack as well, in her focus on the chaotic political and social situation in the gold-mining region of the *Witwatersrand* during the war. The effects of race, economics, and ideology on the South African War would prove to be just as contentious for historians of recent decades as for Theal, Macmillan, and the earlier writers of South African history, a sign that some rifts left by the war have never fully healed.

Afrikaner at the Dawn of a New Age: F.A.van Jaarsveld

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[18]Christopher Saunders, *The Making of South African Past*,143.

[19]Ken Smith points out that the clear critique of the liberal school that began in the 1970's became more muddled by the 1980's, when many historians, responding to criticism, endeavored to write more eclectically and not remain beholden to theoretical dogma, Marxist or otherwise. (Ken Smith, *The Changing Past*, 163.)

[20]Ken Smith, *The Changing Past* , 139.

F.A. van Jaarsveld remains one of the most prolific writers of South African history, and one who provoked both profound admiration and intense criticism, even hatred, for his outspoken views. He focused much of his analysis on Afrikaner efforts to forge themselves into a distinct nation and people, and his desire to use history in the service of Afrikaner nationalism clashed sharply with calls for increased objectivity in the historical profession after World War II, when "nationalist" history increasingly fell out of favor due to its associations with the Nazis and other totalitarian states that had made heavy use of history for the purposes of propaganda.[21] Van Jaarsveld, however, was often times unapologetic in his Afrikaner bias, and his support for elements of the old "Settler" tradition of G.M. Theal (whose histories had long been under attack by the time of van Jaarsveld's writings) put him at odds with many of his contemporaries.[22] Although his writings were controversial, they struck resounding cords among many Afrikaners, who saw van Jaarsveld as one of their own and a champion of Afrikaner nationalism.

Having received his M.A. at the University of Pretoria in 1946, van Jaarsveld mastered the historical discipline in the same city that lay at the heart of old Boer Republic of Transvaal and is modern South Africa's administrative capital. He wrote in Afrikaans, the common language of Afrikaners, derived from the Dutch spoken by settlers and traders who traveled to the Cape of Good Hope in the seventeenth century. By the time that he published *From van Riebeeck to Vorster* in 1975, he had gained attention for his histories of Afrikaner nationalism, especially in the independent states of the Orange Free State and the South African Republic (Transvaal) that fought the British in 1899. Ken Smith, in his study of South African historiography, described van Jaarsveld as a historian who "identified with the struggles and fears of the Afrikaners as they contemplated the future."[23] With increasing agitation against White rule, which would culminate in the formal end of the apartheid regime in 1994 (the year before van Jaarsveld's death),

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[21]Richard J. Evans, *In Defense of History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999), 30-31.

[22]In his notes on the movement of peoples in South Africa, van Jaarsveld cites Theal's *History of South Africa* and its claim that the Black Bantu-speaking peoples and Whites had both arrived as migrants in South Africa around the same time, implying that both groups have equal claim to the land. He admits that more recent histories have challenged this idea by placing Bantu migration at dates prior to European settlement, but van Jaarsveld insists that "none have been proved conclusively." See F.A. van Jaarsveld, *From van Riebeeck to Vorster: 1652-1974* (Johannesburg: Perskor Publishers, 1975), 54.

[23]Ken Smith, *The Changing Past*, 84.

many Afrikaners felt deeply uncertain about the future of South Africa, and what place they would have in it.

Living in the midst of this cloud of doubt and uncertainty, van Jaarsveld wrote *From van Riebeeck to Vorster: 1652-1974*, meaning to provide a summation of South African history. The starting date chosen by van Jaarsveld is telling, and indicates the preeminence that he gives to the story of the Afrikaners and their Dutch-speaking forebears; Jan van Riebeeck was the original head of the Dutch East India Company expedition that claimed the Cape of Good Hope and founded Cape Town in 1652. Indeed, his views on pre-European history in South Africa could be described as dismissive; in his first chapter he references the indigenous history included in the *Oxford History of South Africa* (edited by noted Africanist historian Leonard Thompson and anthropologist Monica Wilson) as archaeology and anthropology rather than the "proper" history obtained from written records of the European settlers.[24]

Although he does not gloss over the violent history between the Afrikaner settlers and the native Africans, he clearly treats the Boer struggle to colonize and control the South African interior, culminating in the South African War, as key to the nation's history. He claimed the status of the Boers as that of an independent-minded and rugged people defined by a frontier, accustomed to fighting for survival and to preserve their culture. Van Jaarsveld even gave the Afrikaners a more independent streak than the American frontier settlers described by Frederick Jackson Turner, who "were dependent on their Government, while the Voortrekkers had surrendered their loyalty and created a new Government, and had to themselves try out constitutional institutions which made high demands on them."[25]

In his treatment of the South African War, the theme of Boer nationalism is strong. He describes how, by the time of the war, the two Boer Republics had firmly settled into the policy of defending their independence from the British, "to protect it at all costs" after having migrated to the interior and established the Afrikaner Republics in order to escape growing British dominance of the Cape of Good Hope. In light of the independent spirit shared among the Boers, van Jaarsveld points to a common culture that unified the Trek Farmers in the two Republics during times of crisis, when that independence was threatened. Coupled with the expanding land claims of the Boers (the desire for access to the sea as well as *lebensraum* for Boer farmers eager to add grazing lands for their cattle herds), and with British designs on the vast mineral wealth of the interior and the need to protect their

[24]Van Jaarsveld, *From van Riebeeck*, 1.
[25]Van Jaarsveld, *From van Riebeeck*, 119.

strategic interests in Africa, van Jaarsveld's story of the growing conflict between British and Boer is portrayed as "self-evident."[26] With his partiality to the Afrikaners, van Jaarsveld emphasizes the sympathy that the Boers gained, both from fellow Afrikaners remaining in the British colonies and throughout the wider world as a part of their anti-imperial struggle, but he also describes the war as containing "an element of tragedy in the fact that two White cultural groups of Western European origin should fight one another on African soil."[27]

For van Jaarsveld, the British provoked war with the Boers by maneuvering to cut off their expansion and exploiting British sympathies within the large population of foreign *Uitlanders* within the Republics, many of them workers in the rich gold-mining districts around Johannesburg. After the Jameson Raid of 1896, an attempted coup against the Transvaal backed by members of the British government, van Jaarsveld points out that the two Boer Republics were drawn closer together into a formal defensive alliance.[28] The spirit of Afrikaner nationalism would unite them in war against the British in 1899, although the large number of *Uitlanders* in the rich mining districts of the Transvaal would continue to be a source of conflict and anxiety for the Afrikaner leaders.

Van Jaarsveld claims that the British exaggerated both the numbers of *Uitlanders* and their pro-British sympathies, in the hope that by pressuring the Transvaal to extend formal voting rights to foreigners they could use the ballot to vote the Republic into a union with the British colonies in South Africa. If the government in Pretoria refused to submit to the suffrage claims of the *Uitlander* reformers in Johannesburg, then the stage would be set for British intervention, war, and the crushing of the Boer power in Pretoria by military means. For van Jaarsveld, the British motives for war were twofold: an attempt to remove the threat of Afrikaner nationalism cradled in the Transvaal and Orange Free State (there were still large numbers of Afrikaners living in the British South African colonies, especially in Cape Colony) and in the process to gain control of the gold mines of the interior.[29] Against this, he judges the Boer actions as "preventative," with early offensives against the British driven by a desire to secure access to the sea and prevent future immigration of British and other foreigners that would make the Afrikaners a minority among South Africa's White population.[30]

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[26]Van Jaarsveld, *From van Riebeeck*, 166.
[27]Van Jaarsveld, *From van Riebeeck*, 188.
[28]Van Jaarsveld, *From van Riebeeck*, 197-198.
[29]Van Jaarsveld, *From van Riebeeck*, 198-200.
[30]Van Jaarsveld, *From van Riebeeck*, 202.

Although the Boers achieved early military successes in the war, van Jaarsveld points to their failure to advance on the British harbors and secure free access to the sea as the source of their ultimate defeat. This left them surrounded by the British, who would use their control of the coast to muster a vast army that would capture all of the major cities of the Orange Free State and Transvaal by the summer of 1900. At this point, those Boer commando units that refused surrender resorted to guerilla tactics, while the British began a scorched earth policy of destroying farms and placing Boer civilians in concentration camps. Although van Jaarsveld acknowledges that Bantu Africans were placed in similar camps, he remains largely silent on hardships suffered by Blacks during the war, while emphasizing the destruction of Boer property, the suffering of women and children in the camps, and the imposition of martial law on Afrikaners in the British colonies.[31]

Van Jaarsveld describes a "war of attrition" against the Boers (and the arming of Bantus by the British) that would destroy their ability to continue fighting and lead the last of the "bitter-enders" to surrender in May of 1902, bringing the South African War to an end. Although the Orange Free State and the Transvaal were now British colonies, van Jaarsveld's conclusion of the war details a *triumph* of Afrikaner nationalism. British prestige suffered abroad during the war, and the Afrikaner struggle was seen as symbolic of freedom and anti-imperialism, although the frontier that had forged the unique identity of the rural Boers was closing, and many Afrikaners were forced to move to urban areas. In spite of British victory, the Afrikaners formed a majority in the colonies of South Africa after the war, and van Jaarsveld points to a political and cultural awakening of the Afrikaners that would cement Afrikaner nationalism by giving the nominally defeated people histories, poems, and literature in their own Afrikaans, and political power in the new nation formed from the defeat of the Boer Republics.[32]

Liberal Africanism and the Myth of the "White Man's War": Leonard Thompson

Leonard Thompson approached the subject of the South African War in a much different way than van Jaarsveld and other Afrikaner nationalist historians. He described the Afrikaner historiography as a type of nationalist mythology, one filled with "bitter grievances and solemn heroics." As newly independent nations throughout Africa sought to establish their own Africanist traditions of history, Thompson worried that South Africa would be left behind. He began to work with other members of other academic disciplines, notably anthropologists

[31]Van Jaarsveld, *From van Riebeeck*, 204-205.
[32]Van Jaarsveld, *From van Riebeeck*, 209-212.

and archaeologists, to present a picture of the South African past that gave unprecedented significance to the role of native Africans in shaping history.[33]

Successor to Macmillan and the earlier liberal historians of the 1920s and 1930s, Thompson adhered to the model of Progressive historians in seeking to use history to reform contemporary society, a view that was common with historians in Britain and America that held classically-liberal (or Whig) views of history. However, the history of South Africa before and after the 1899 war seemed to portray not progress, but regression, as the racial hierarchy that had defined South Africa for years became increasingly codified into law following the South African War and unification; the fiftieth anniversary of the creation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 coincided with the massacre of Blacks by the police in the township of Sharpesville in 1960, even as nation after nation in Africa was declaring independence.[34]

In compiling the *Oxford History of South Africa* in 1969, Thompson drew on archaeological and anthropological evidence to create a history of South Africa that included substantial attention to pre-European history. Like Macmillan, he worked to counter the old racist view that Africans had lived in constant struggle and conflict before the arrival of Europeans, and also compared the British favorably to the Boers in terms of their treatment of Blacks. The use of archaeological and anthropological evidence, however, led to sharp criticism that his history did not form an integrated narrative, and accounted for neither the internal dynamism of societies nor the material and economic causes in historical change.[35] Interestingly enough, many of the leaders of the attack on the *Oxford History* were Thompson's old students from his teaching days at the University of Cape Town: his former pupils Martin Legassick, Anthony Atmore, and Shula Marks all formed part of the "radical response" of the 1970s.[36]

Leonard Thompson's *A History of South Africa* represented some of Thompson's later work, being first published in 2000, and in some ways it reflected a response towards earlier criticism of his writings. As

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[33]Christopher Saunders, *The Making of South African Past*, 145-146.

[34] Christopher Saunders, *The Making of South African Past*, 95. See also Ken Smith, *The Changing Past*, 160.

[35] Ken Smith, *The Changing Past*, 140. Ironically, this accusation differentiates Thompson's early work from Macmillan's considerably, as the latter worked hard to incorporate economic causes into his historical analysis. Smith posits that the change in South African liberalism came with the election victory of the pro-Afrikaner National Party in 1948, when liberals increasingly focused on the political dynamics of South Africa to explain the "defeat" of liberalism, at the expense of more economic and material analysis (Ken Smith, 137).

[36] Christopher Saunders, *The Making of South African Past*, 152-153.

before, Thompson held race as central to the understanding of South Africa, and contained within his story of the South African War, its buildup, and aftermath are plenty of examples of racial conflict and exploitation as key factors in driving historical development. However, *History of South Africa* also connects many of these conflicts to economics, and to the material causes and consequences of the struggle. The section on the South African War bears the title "Diamonds, Gold, and British Imperialism," and seeks to establish that the mining industry and British Imperialism were intimately connected to each other, and to the war of 1899.

Even so, Thompson continued to insist that race held the greatest determining factor in determining social and political standing in the White-controlled lands (British as well as Boer), both before and after the South African War. Tracing the expansion of first the diamond and then gold mining industries in the interior, Thompson pointed out that the mining industry segregated the labor force, and when disputes arose between Whites and Blacks in mining districts, both the government and the mine-owning capitalists (increasingly banding together to protect their interests and lobbying power in Pretoria, at the expense of any small-scale mining going on) sided with White interests and granted them more concessions than Black workers.[37] In their dealings with non-White kingdoms in the region, Thompson asserted that Whites practiced a dubious and underhanded diplomacy, generally willing to betray African allies, foster divisions among Africans, and to forgo their own internal differences (such as Boer versus Briton) in order to promote White interests over Black.[38]

However, the South African War proved that Whites were indeed willing to fight each other as well as the native Africans. For this, Thompson placed much of the blame on Afrikaner nationalism. He stresses the formation of two "distinct paradigms" among the Afrikaners of the Cape (those still under British control in 1899), which grew out of the victory of the Transvaal over the British in the early 1880s that secured an independent Boer Republic, at least for the time being. Those Cape Afrikaners who were more pragmatic felt that British rule had plenty of benefits, even for the Afrikaans-speakers, and that British hegemony in the region was practically a foregone conclusion. The other more idealistic strain, one that Thompson connected to the rural Boers, declared the Afrikaners to have a distinct and exclusive identity, and a divine mission to occupy the land of South Africa and "civilize" its inhabitants.[39]

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[37] Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 120-121.
[38] Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, , 122-123.
[39] Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 135.

Thompson claimed that the "pragmatic" Afrikaner community held more sway during the time of the war, and some of its members actively worked with the British in their plans for Imperial expansion. Key among these was the journalist Jan Hofmeyr, who led the Afrikaner Bond political organization into an alliance with Cecil Rhodes, the British imperialist and mining magnate who held much of the economic and political clout in South Africa by the end of the nineteenth century. They agreed to mutually promote British and Boer attempts at expansion in the region, with the aim at eventually uniting Afrikaner and British territories into a single South African state that could effectively control Blacks. [40] The increasing mistrust between the leadership of the Republics (concerned primarily with preserving Boer cultural and political independence) and the industrialists in control of the mining industry (concerned mostly with keeping loose restrictions on the mines and a steady supply of cheap, often non-Afrikaner labor), coupled with British designs on the diamond and gold fields would heighten Boer/British tensions in the region and put dreams of unification on hold until the bloody struggle of 1899 played out.

As for the war's ultimate cause, Thompson seemed to agree with van Jaarsveld that the currents of British imperialism and Afrikaner nationalism had been on a collision course for years. During the 'Scramble for Africa' by European powers in the late 1800's, when Germany began to grab territory in the region, Thompson argued that the British feared losing their traditional position of power and any deal between the Germans and Boers that would bring the riches of the South African interior into the camp of a potential enemy. Although public opinion worldwide was largely sympathetic to the Boers, the lack of a seaport meant that no foreign government sent direct aid during the war. British political culture in this age of new imperialism, awash with chauvinism and arrogance, "enabled members of the ruling class to maneuver Great Britain into a war in the belief that brute force would solve the problem."[41]

Thompson divided the South African war into three phases: first the initial Boer offensives to the South and West, aided by the strength of Boer conviction in the Republican cause and the skill of rural farmers at military skills such as riding and shooting, then the British counter-offensive following the Boer failure to capture any main ports or cities, which would see the conquest of the Republican cities by the end of 1900, and finally the disorganized guerilla war that continued until 1902, when British measures of attrition would convince those Afrikaners without land and a vested interest in the Republics to side

[40] Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 136.
[41] Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 141.

with the British, and the remaining commandos to lay down their arms. The Peace of Vereeniging, the British hoped, would enable them to dictate the terms of the peace and to "de-nationalize" the Afrikaners. However, as with van Jaarsveld's account, Thompson concluded that British policy during and after the war failed to Anglicize the Boers or end their desires for cultural and political control, instead giving them a strong position within the Union government formed in 1910.[42]

For the native Africans, who had traditionally been left out of histories of the South African War altogether, Thompson reserved a place of importance, if not one of preeminence. After detailing the scorched earth tactics and use of concentration camps for Afrikaners, he brought up the denials given by both sides that they used Blacks for any military purpose, although "both sides made extensive use of black labor, and Africans as well as Afrikaners suffered from the scorched earth policy."[43] Thompson also emphasized the clause in the Peace of Vereeniging that promised to restrict the voting franchise in the Transvaal (at this point a British colony) to Whites. As the British turned increasingly to the Afrikaners for support in reconstructing South Africa, Thompson pointed to what he viewed as an age-old theme of White consolidation and unity that appealed to South Africans wary of Blacks as competition for labor and a source of civil unrest and potential revolution.[44]

Social History on the Rand: Diana Cammack

Of the four main works surveyed in this paper, Diana Cammack presented the most in-depth analysis of the South African War. *The Rand at War, 1899-1902: the Witwatersrand and the Anglo-Boer War*, published in 1990, represents a strongly materialist interpretation of the South African War. It contains elements of Macro-history, typified by the influential Annales School, centered in France during the 1950s and 60s, which Fernand Braudel describes as "long-term equilibriums and disequilibriums." Focusing extensively on economic causality, Braudel describes pre-market economies where peasants live in "an almost autonomous way," but where they are connected, without any agency or even conscious thought of their own, into the emerging forces of an "expanding capitalism…two universes, two ways of life foreign to each other, yet whose respective wholes explain one another."[45]

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[42] Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 142-144.
[43] Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 143.
[44] Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 148.
[45] Fernand Braudel, *Afterthoughts on Material Civilization and Capitalism*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press (1977), 5-6.

This method also describes the nature of Cammack's work, an in-depth look into the saga of the Witwatersrand during the South African War, the ridge extending south and west from Pretoria through what was once the western edge of the Transvaal Republic, and an area that holds some of South Africa's most profitable gold reserves. The mining industry, ever-hungry for cheap labor that often came from immigration (both from rural areas of the South African subcontinent and from overseas in Europe and Asia), as well as the saga of urban Johannesburg, are both intimately connected with the development of a modern and capitalist economy in South Africa. The discovery of gold in 1886 would bring the Rand town of Johannesburg from a sleepy mining community to the largest city in modern South Africa.[46] Cammack connects the geography and natural wealth of the region to the movement of human populations through the area, a trend that intensified during the war. On top of the geographic, economic, and demographic statistics used, Cammack describes the faster pace of social and political conflict, and how all contributed to the unique war experience of the Rand and its people, and the focal point that Johannesburg and its nearby gold mines played in the conflict.

Cammack's book begins with a series of maps and descriptions of the city of Johannesburg and surrounding areas at the time of the war. Clearly visible are the segregation and stratification of a diverse city with a growing urban center, the crowded "Coolie" (Chinese) and "Kaffir" (African) slums centered around the railroad, more affluent neighborhoods such as Doornfontein that housed many urban professionals, the old Burgher farmer district of Braamfontein that had become one of the city's main suburban areas by 1899, the cemetery, and the outlying fields and mines that formed the economic engine of the region.[47]

Rather than Thompson's recurring themes of White unity and Black oppression, Cammack's view of the war is more nuanced, and she describes a situation of labor unrest, with a major strike occurring at the Robinson Deep mine in August 1899, mere months before the start of the war. Johannesburg, she says, only had the "illusion of unity" that was used in a contradictory fashion by the government in Pretoria and by the British imperialists to try to extend their control over the wealth of the Rand. The Rand's growing social and political instability, however, presented problems for prospects of effective governance; Cammack points to other strikes, high unemployment, alcoholism, prostitution, and a steady exodus out of the region by the non-Boer

[46] Diana Cammack, *The Rand at War, 1899-1902: the Witwatersrand and the Anglo-Boer War*, London: University of California Press (1990), 1.
[47] Diana Cammack, *The Rand at War*, viii-ix and 4-9.

Uitlanders (foreigners), whose lower classes, along with Africans from neighboring regions, formed the core of the city's workforce. The *Uitlanders* tended to constitute higher-skilled and higher-paid labor, and threats to "deskill" the industry and either force down wages of White workers or replace them with Chinese or Africans formed a recurring conflict between classes in the mining city.[48]

Cammack asserts that the city's emerging industrial and capital-owning class, seeking cheap labor, clashed often with the White miners and other workers, but also with the Transvaal government of Paul Kruger (1883-1900). The Boer Republican often presented itself as the defender of White workers' rights and working conditions, and the government's interference in the mining industry especially did not endear the Afrikaner government to the mine-owners. However, Cammack also highlights the use of labor agitation by pro-British *Uitlander* reformers, who were pressuring the Transvaal government for the vote in the interest of using their sheer numbers to force the Transvaal, the Rand, and the gold into a union with the British colonies.[49]

The conflicts Cammack points to are often economic ones, and not generally political in nature, and she claims the sincerity of *Uitlander* agitation for the vote is suspect; Cammack uses the general decline in their population on the Rand to indicate that it may have been merely a pretext to invite British intervention while the *Uitlanders* still held some power in Johannesburg. Although the elite of the *Uitlanders* tended to favor the British, Cammack insists that much of the working-class of this often-transient population favored Kruger as a champion against both the mining magnates and the demands of the non-White workforce.[50] When war broke out the diverse people of the Rand held divided loyalties and Cammack describes the attempt by the Boers to rein in the Rand, force out potentially subversive populations, and use its gold to finance the war with Britain as the occupation of "essentially a foreign district."[51]

Cammack's story of human movement picks up during the war, fueled by rumors of conscription to Boer commando units and attempts to place the town under martial law, with the result that the city of Johannesburg became rather depopulated during much of the war. Those who remained behind lived in terror of the lawless conditions and festering racial animosity, those who left and "voted with their feet" left their homes and property vulnerable to looters, and later to seizures by

[48] Diana Cammack, *The Rand at War*, 14.
[49] Diana Cammack, *The Rand at War*, 15.
[50] Diana Cammack, *The Rand at War*, 10-11.
[51] Diana Cammack, *The Rand at War*, 61.

Boer commandos and British officers.[52] According to Cammack, the spike of petty crime coupled with the dire manpower needs led to many criminals being released wholesale from jail, either to be expelled or used for labor in the mines.[53]

The gold from the Rand formed a primary cause of the war in Cammack's view, key to the material-economic determinism of her argument. If either side could harness it, the war could be paid for handsomely, without it the Boer Republics would surely not survive.[54] For the Boers, the loss of the Rand and the capitals in Pretoria and Bloemfontein in 1900 essentially sealed their fate. Attempts by the British to "Anglicize" the Rand met with mixed success, hampered by competing interests over control of the region's economic and political axes of power, especially the mines, and providing for the remaining civilians in Johannesburg, many left without jobs or reliable access to food and housing.[55] In spite of these obstacles, Britain would maintain control of the territory through the rest of the war (in part by following the earlier practice of the Boer authorities in seeking to drive out "undesirables").[56] Although some Boer commandos would continue to fight for two more years, with accompanying human and material devastation that only served to heighten social tensions in the Rand and elsewhere, Cammack presents the period of guerilla fighting as a long-drawn lost cause, a complication for the British as they struggled to turn the Rand into a loyal and productive British asset, one that they hoped would pay off the debt incurred in blood.

Race, Class War and Gender Upheaval: Shula Marks

Another example of a materialist history of the South African War came from Shula Marks, an English historian who studied under Leonard Thompson at Cape Town, but began to come into her own in South African history during the "radical turn" of the 1970s. Rather than Thompson's portrayal of an ultimate White unity that coalesced against the Blacks, Marks elaborated divisions within White South Africa along the lines of class and gender, and added an element of class conflict to the escalating tensions between Blacks and Whites in the frontier region that accompanied the war. Her chapter on the war included in the *Cambridge History of South Africa*, entitled "War and Union: 1899-1910," posited the conflict as a "total war," one that touched all aspects of South African society. Although, for Marks, class

[52] Diana Cammack, *The Rand at War*, 62.
[53] Diana Cammack, *The Rand at War*, 68.
[54] Diana Cammack, *The Rand at War*, 83.
[55] Diana Cammack, *The Rand at War*, 135-138.
[56] Diana Cammack, *The Rand at War*, 153.

remained a main focus of historical causality, she also brought in a gendered analysis to her account of the South African War.

Embodying historian Joan Scott's description of gender, class, and race, as three of the main axes along which power inequalities are expressed, Marks weaved together a variety of conflicts into the wider story of the South African War.[57] Marks included a section on the role of Afrikaner women in the war effort, women who provided men on commando with food, clothing, and shelter, an even more important role after the fighting moved from regular to guerilla phases (and would lead the British to target Boer civilians as well as fighting men). According to Marks, the upheaval led to a shift in gender relations within the Afrikaner community as men came back beaten and demoralized from the battlefields. While the men were away from their farms, Marks asserted that Afrikaner women had taken the lead in resisting British occupation and encouraging the men to keep fighting, even taking up arms themselves. All this occurred even while many men found that they had lost their farms and livelihoods to British scorched earth tactics, a severe blow to Boer identity of self-reliance and masculinity for those who lost their homes.[58]

In the aftermath of war, cultural nationalists, both British and Boer, male and female, sought women as the main way to indoctrinate youth with civic and cultural pride and responsibilities. Afrikaner women, who had suffered greatly during the war, became a potent symbol of Afrikaner grievances and a source of solidarity for the defeated people, although Marks admitted that such power by these women came through their identity as suffering victims, rather than having agency of their own. This, she claimed, was far from the true story of the Afrikaner women at war, who had been "assertive participants in their own right." The peace of 1902 largely meant, for men and women, a return to "traditional" gender norms, but although female activities during the reconstruction consisted of more conventional charity work, such as teaching, nursing, and welfare in the camps, they did not embody a separate, non-political world for women, as groups such as the Afrikaans Christian Women's Society became deeply involved in Afrikaner nationalism after the war.[59]

In addressing race, Marks emphasized that as the fighting continued, increasing numbers of Boers and their African servants and collaborators went into the British camp, further destabilizing Afrikaner society that remained divided between the die-hard "bitter-enders" and

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[57] Joan Scott. "Gender: A Useful Category of Analysis." *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (December 1986): 1054.
[58] Shula Marks, *War and Union*, 160-161.
[59] Shula Marks, *War and Union*, 183.

those who began to advocate a peace settlement to ensure survival.[60] Similar to Thompson, Marks cited escalating fears by White Afrikaners of an armed uprising of the displaced Africans. She included a letter by one of the main Boer generals and statesmen, Jan Smuts, written in early 1902, decrying the British practice of employing "armed barbarians under white officers in a war between two white Christian peoples." Smuts and others foresaw a dangerous future in which the Whites would live at the mercy of the Black majority, and Marks asserted that native African attacks were instrumental in convincing the Boers to sue for peace.[61] However, unlike many liberals who to a greater or lesser extent had put stock in the British claims to be "defending" the Blacks from the more "unenlightened" Boers, Marks's portrayal of British actions pointed to a coldly-calculated imperial interest and a desire to claim the riches of South Africa for themselves. As with the Boers, if Africans served this interest they were allowed to continue unabated; if they proved themselves obstacles to British policy, they stood to face violent retribution.

Marks, in elaborating on racial conflict during the war, connected it closely with class conflict. She claimed that by 1902, lands from which Boers who were evicted in the Transvaal were often reclaimed by Africans. The dispossessed landowners sometimes came back after the war to find their old homes closed to them, with former tenants refusing to work or pay rent and even holding off the Boers with force of arms. "The wartime expropriation of the Boer landlord class, and the role played by the rural underclass, had turned the Transvaal world upside down. In effect…an agrarian class war accompanied the South African War and its aftermath, as black peasants struggled for land and liberty in the countryside." Marks went on, with a somewhat Marxist flair attached to the older liberal line of triumphant white supremacy, to describe how the "former enemies (British and Boer) had joined hands to shore up the supremacy of white men and to defend white property rights in the face of what amounted to a widespread black jacquerie in the Transvaal."[62]

Marks also cited Diana Cammack's *The Rand at War*, key to the linkage of economic causes for the war and the growing power of industry and the mining interests in Johannesburg. By the time of the city's capture in 1900, "the centre of gravity in South African politics had already shifted definitively from the Cape to the Transvaal."[63] The industrialists of the Witwatersrand had hedged their bets during the

[60] Shula Marks, *War and Union*, 161.
[61] Shula Marks, *War and Union*, 163.
[62] Shula Marks, *War and Union*, 164-165.
[63] Shula Marks, *War and Union*, 165.

war, and the pro-(White) labor stance of the Republican presidents, coupled with the foreign or transient loyalties of the workers, had created a liability for the Boers, turning the mining industry into a source of both potential wealth and unrest. In the end, the British had to deal with the occupation, with labor shortages and disputes at the mines, and with anti-capitalist reformers who sought to limit the power of the mine-owners. Marks detailed the maneuverings and deals by the British colonial leadership and mining magnates with some of the old Boer leaders such as Jan Smuts and Louis Botha (who came to see the future of a White-dominated South Africa as one linked to unity between British and Boer) to create the foundations of a modern and capitalist South Africa.[64]

Conclusion

The four main writings addressed in this paper do not represent a comprehensive historiography of the South African War, but they provide a look into some key examples of the different schools of thought that have developed in South African history. Although the authors all share some conclusions on the South African War, such as the collision between British aims on the mineral wealth of the interior and Republican desire to remain independent, or the dire conditions imposed on civilians during the war, or the consolidation of White rule following the war, they are also deeply divided over the significance of the war itself. While the historiography of South Africa and its most infamous war has changed much since the days of Theal and Macmillan, and indeed since the new Africanist historians encountered the "radical" or materialist response to their writings, many of the same rifts exist today. Afrikaner nationalism, far from being dead in the post-apartheid era, lives on with the same contemptuous attitude towards Black South Africans that brought van Jaarsveld so much controversy. The murder of white supremacist Eugene Terreblanche in 2010 brought white power movements into public displays of mourning.[65] The mining and labor disputes so central to the war's history also continue to this day, with the 2012 massacre of dozens of striking workers at the Marikana platinum mines, accompanied by accusations that police hid weapons on the dead bodies.[66] Social and political inequality, disease and despair, corruption, and poverty all remain alive and well in South Africa.

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[64] Shula Marks, *War and Union*, 167-169.

[65] Pumza Fihlani. "Terreblanche laid to rest in South Africa." *BBC News*, April 9, 2010. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8612017.stm.

[66] "Marikana mine killings: South African police 'planted weapons'." *BBC News*, November 6, 2012. http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-20218828.

The historians who wrote the history of the war lived through similar tales of hatred, corruption, and oppression. The central theme of the war for these historians, whether one of white redemption and unity or of a downward-spiraling society with sharp racial and class divisions, seems to offer little more to those living in the present except perhaps a warning of the costs of greed, arrogance, and hatred. Even though the South African War has been over for more than a century, it has continued to inspire heated debates over its meaning and significance for modern South Africa. Only time will tell if the next generation of South African historians can justify a more optimistic direction to the nation's history, or any more of a consensus on the war.

Black and White and Red All Over: Racial Equality in the Early American Communist Party

Logan Bruce

When the Communist Party of America formed in 1919, its members faced numerous challenges, both internal and external. In the midst of the Palmer Raids and the Red Scare, the party also had to overcome the challenges of establishing a cohesive platform and the necessary processes to achieve that platform. Perhaps the most controversial, and the most uniquely American, obstacle concerned the black population. The majority of party members accepted the inclusion of African-Americans, a substantial portion of the working-class, as a step toward proletarian consciousness and the eventual overthrow of capitalism. However, members could not agree on how to approach the "negro question." The debate essentially boiled down to whether the Communist Party should recognize the peculiarities of African-Americans' struggles or treat them as if they were no different from white workers. This issue officially ended in 1928 with the "Resolution on the Negro Question," which proposed black self-determination in the South and full social and political equality. Although the Communists presented a formal stance, both the realities of race relations within the party and on the ground proved contentious with the new platform. This included not only differences in thought between whites and blacks, but discord among various black leaders and organizations. Despite the difficulties, the Communist Party proceeded to campaign for civil rights throughout the 1920s and 1930s in an attempt to recruit black workers to their ranks.

African-Americans had a long history of radical thought before the creation of the Communist Party in 1919. Numerous black labor organizations arose in the mid-nineteenth century, and after the Civil War, as northern industry rapidly expanded, so too did these unions. White counterparts also grew in size during this time, and in 1866 workers formed the National Labor Union. As part of its agenda, the organization aimed to unite white and black workers in a single front against unfair work conditions. However, discrimination and exclusion within the National Labor Union stifled any actual biracial class solidarity. Black workers pressed on with new organizations catering to their specific needs, but neither these unions, nor the prior efforts, possessed any true sense of radicalism. The closest black workers came was in cooperative labor ventures, such as the Chesapeake Marine Railway and Dry Dock Company in Baltimore, which operated from 1865 to 1883. Other similar black-owned cooperative business appeared,

and these enterprises, plus the long-standing tradition of black labor unions, marked the beginning of a black working-class consciousness, one that socialists would soon attempt to espouse.[1]

As American socialism developed in the mid-to-late-nineteenth century, the plight of black workers was almost wholly left out of the discourse. There existed only a handful of instances in which blacks and reds commingled. The American section of the International Workingmen's Association created a committee to organize black workers, but had little results. Blacks also participated with their socialist counterparts in various eight-hour day demonstrations; in a September 1871 parade in New York City, African-Americans marched alongside IWA members under a banner proclaiming "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." Similarly, the Skidmore Light Guard, a black militia unit, rallied with the IWA in December 1871 to honor the martyrs of the failed Paris Commune.[2] However, these cases proved to be outliers. The fact that the IWA in America had not a single black member in its ranks exemplifies the true nature of separation between socialists and black workers. The radicals' disinterest in the black struggle, according to one historian, stemmed from the German-American Marxists' isolationist perspective and the lack of counsel on the black issue by the theoretical leaders of socialism.[3] Such a chasm would narrow in the post-Reconstruction era, not because of shifts in socialists' perspectives, but due in large part to the activities of prominent African-Americans.

Peter H. Clark emerged in the 1870s as the pioneer black socialist. As a career educator in the Cincinnati area, Clark's spirit of advocacy started within the school system, where he campaigned for blacks' right to proper education, but he also committed himself to abolitionism in the antebellum years. After growing disenchanted with the Republican Party, Clark renounced his membership and publicly proclaimed his support for the Workingmen's Party in March 1877.[4] Foreshadowing the rhetoric of future radicals, Clark characterized the black struggle as a consequence of capitalism. "Go to the South and see the capitalists banded together over the poor whites," Clark said in a speech to his new political party. "They carefully calculate how much, and no more, it will require to feed the black laborer and keep him alive from one year to another…. Not a foot of land will they sell to the oppressed race who

[1] Earl Ofari, "Black Activists and 19th Century Radicalism," *The Black Scholar* 5, no. 5 (February, 1974): 19-20.
[2] Philip S. Foner, *American Socialism and Black Americans: From the Age of Jackson to World War II* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977), 37.
[3] Foner, *American Socialism and Black Americans* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1977), 44.
[4] Foner, *American Socialism and Black Americans*, 46-48.

are trying to crowd out the degradation into which capital has plunged them."[5]

Clark became an activist for the Workingmen's Party, giving numerous speeches at party functions and trade union congregations, but his breakthrough came with the 1877 railroad strike. At a mass meeting in Cincinnati, Clark spoke out against the railroad companies who cut wages and the federal troops who attempted to break the strike. Clark went on to suggest socialism would be the solution to working-class struggles, declaring, "Capital has been challenged to the contest . . . the American people will sit as judges, and just as surely as we stand here, their decision will be against monopolists and in favor of the workingmen…. The miserable condition into which society has fallen has but one remedy, and that is to be found in Socialism."[6] Historians have cited Clark's speech as the first time a black American proposed the tenets of socialism on such a public scale. Likewise, *The Emancipator*'s remarks on the speech constitute the first time a popular socialist publication acknowledged the contributions of blacks to the radical cause.[7] This recognition alone affirms Clark's inclusion in the history of relations between African-Americans and socialists. Clark continued his radical activism, eventually joining the Socialist Labor Party when it formed in 1877. The following year Clark unsuccessfully ran for Congress on the SLP's ticket (the first black socialists to do so), but by 1879 Clark become disillusioned with the party and left, blaming internal factionalism and a decrease in discussion on black issues within the party.[8] This argument would be repeated by other black socialists in the years to come.

After the turn of the century, a West Indies immigrant took to both the African-American and socialist causes, and fathered what would be known as the Harlem Renaissance and the "New Negro" Movement. Settling in the US in 1900, Hubert Harrison became a political activist against myriad institutions, from organized religion to Booker T. Washington and his "Tuskegee Machine," all of which Harrison believed exacerbated black oppression. By the 1910s, Harrison grew to be a leading African-American in the Socialist Party, and undoubtedly the premier black socialist in New York City. Harrison organized the Colored Socialist Club in 1912, the first socialist organization aimed at recruiting African-Americans. That same year Harrison published two

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[5] *Cincinnati Commercial*, March 27, 1877.
[6] Peter H. Clark, "Socialism: The Remedy for the Evils of Society," *Cincinnati Commercial*, July 23, 1877.
[7] Foner, *Socialism and Black Americans*, 51.
[8] Foner, *Socialism and Black Americans*, 59.

influential articles, "The Black Man's Burden" and "Socialism and the Negro," for the *International Socialist Review*.

Harrison believed the duty of the Socialist Party was to combat racial prejudice: "the Socialist party will do this because it cannot do otherwise and live as the Socialist party . . . Socialism is here to put an end to the exploitation of one group by another, whether that group be social, economic or racial."[9] However, just as Peter H. Clark became resentful toward the Socialist Party's policies on blacks, so too did Hubert Harrison, claiming white socialists "have all along insisted on Race First and class after when you didn't need our help."[10] Harrison responded to his white comrades' prejudice by developing his own "race first" perspective in which he placed his black heritage before his class. Harrison's philosophy took hold, especially in New York, and although he remained a radical, he continued to use this new view against the Socialist Party: "You will find a Negro Harlem reborn, with business enterprises and cultural arrangements. And these things have been established without any help from you or those who eat your bread…. All of these things are the recent products of the principle of 'race first'…some day, perhaps you will know enough to put Socialism's cause in the hands of those who will refrain from using your party's organ for purposes of personal pique, spite and venom."[11] Although Harrison's radicalism never faltered in the ensuing decades, his break with the Socialist Party left it without its most prominent African-American spokesman and in conflict with a growing black pride movement.

Through this brief history of interactions between socialists and African-Americans (which included other notable figures, such as A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen) one can extrapolate common themes in the decades preceding the creation of the Communist Party. The established socialist organizations of the era made very few attempts to woo African-Americans, especially in the early years, with any progress coming mostly from blacks themselves. These black socialists often framed racial injustice as a result of capitalism. When African-Americans became more involved in socialist activities, however, they witnessed the hypocrisy of the formal organizations, which were controlled by white men who placed their race before class interests. Although African-Americans had come to embrace socialism

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[9] Hubert Harrison, "The Duty of the Socialist Party," in *A Hubert Harrison Reader*, ed. Jeffrey B. Perry (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2001), 59.

[10] Hubert Harrison, "Race First versus Class First," in *A Hubert Harrison Reader*, ed. Jeffrey B. Perry (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2001), 109.

[11] Hubert Harrison, "An Open Letter to the Socialist Party of New York City," in *A Hubert Harrison Reader*, ed. Jeffrey B. Perry (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2001), 115-116.

more than they ever had previously, they still faced an uphill battle. Prominent black socialists would continue to fuel changing racial perspectives within their movements and organizations, but they would soon be accompanied by internal policy shifts in their favor.

Two years after the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, American socialists formed the Communist Party of the United States of America.[12] By definition, the CPUSA aimed to unite the working class in a revolution against capitalism, resulting in a socialist state. Simply given the size of the black population, most of which was working-class, the Communist Party knew they would need black support to attain their radical objectives. The early Communist leaders, like socialists before them, linked racial tensions with those of economy and class, claiming the social oppression of blacks resulted from capitalists: "The Negro problem is a political and economic problem. The racial oppression of the Negro is simply the expression of his economic bondage and oppression, each intensifying the other. This complicates the Negro problem, but does not alter its proletarian character. The Communist Party will carry on agitation among the Negro workers to unite them with all the class conscious workers."[13] Despite this last claim, the CPUSA made few attempts to unite black workers with their white counterparts in the early years of the party.

Since its inception, the CPUSA debated the status of African-American proletarians. The party recognized the inclusion of black workers in the revolution, but the racial discrimination throughout the country, and especially in the Jim Crow South, put them in a unique position. In essence, black workers were doubly oppressed, as both racial minorities and proletariats. Most Communists believed capitalism to be the cause of both forms of oppression, but the question remained on how to approach, and ultimately recruit, black workers. Various growing black nationalist movements, like that headed by Marcus Garvey, fueled the debate, for now the Communists had an ideological

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[12] In 1919, the Socialist Party of American joined the Comintern. Debate within the party leadership led to two other factions splitting and forming their own organizations, the Communist Labor Party and the Communist Party of America. The Comintern would not allow separate Communist parties in the US and ordered them to merge. Most did so, but factionalism continued until the CPUSA was finally made whole in 1921. The party was forced underground during the Palmer Raids, but sponsored a legal party called the Workers Party of America. Membership and policies overlapped between the secret CPUSA and the WPA. The WPA formally renamed itself the Communist Party USA. For the sake of clarity, all of these groups shall be referred to as the Communist Party USA in this paper.

[13] Convention of the Communist Party, "The Program of the Party," in *The Communist*, September 27, 1919.

opponent that stressed race and disregarded class as a byproduct. A lack of guidance from Marx himself compounded this problem further; although he thoroughly opposed the antebellum slavocracy of the South, and viewed its demise as a necessity for revolution, Marx made no definitive stance on post-Civil War African-Americans. Thus the CPUSA had to rely on its own perspectives and interpretations. Many party members followed the view of John Reed, who addressed the issue as a delegate at the Second Congress of the Comintern: "The only proper policy for the American Communists to follow is to consider the negro first of all as a laborer . . . In both the northern and southern parts of the country the one aim must be to unite the negro and the white laborer in common labor unions; this is the best and the quickest way to destroy race prejudice and to develop class solidarity."[14] This sort of rhetoric counteracted the "race first" perspective experienced by previous black socialists like Hubert Harrison, but a true disregard for color in exchange for class solidarity did not emerge immediately.

The dominant theory among the CPUSA of class over race did not completely discourage blacks from joining the party. Much of the initial black membership came from the breakup of the African Blood Brotherhood. While only active for a few years in the early 1920s, journalist Cyril Briggs founded the ABB as a black liberation group for self-defense against racial violence. The socialist leadership of the ABB, though, also focused on the economic well-being of blacks, aiming to better working conditions and "establish fellowship and coordination of action within the dark masses and between these masses and the truly class-conscious White Workers who seek the abolition of human exploitation."[15] Although the success of the ABBA remains debatable, Communists commended the group over other black liberation movements: "It is the only Negro organization that the capitalists view with any degree of alarm . . . because the ABBA recognizes the capitalist-imperialist system as the cause of the Negro people . . . It seeks to imbue the Negro workers with a sense of the necessity of working class solidarity to the success of the struggle against the capitalist-imperialist system, which it asks Negroes to wage both as Negroes and as workers."[16] The ABBA supplied most of the early Communist Party's black leadership, including Cyril Briggs himself.

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[14] John Reed, "Speech by John Reed at 2nd Congress of Communist International on Negro Question," *The 2nd Congress of the Communist International* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1920), 154.

[15] "Summary of the Program and Aims of the African Blood Brotherhood (1920)," Early American Marxism Archive. www.marxisthistory.org.

[16] C. Lorenzo, "The Negro Liberation Movement," *The Toiler* IV, no. 200, December 10, 1921.

The first CPUSA effort on an organizational level to address the "negro question" resulted from its 1922 convention. Reacting in part to pressures from the Communist International to curtail ethnic factions and issues on African-Americans, the American Communists admitted the differences in treatment of black workers, and that this more severe oppression resulted in blacks developing purely racial goals. Such a statement appeared to be a rebuttal to Garveyism and other black nationalist movements. However, the party still gave no concrete plans for assisting black workers. The convention did not end the "negro question," and some Communists even at this early stage spoke out in favor of social equality, which would be the core of the party's Negro resolution years later. In 1923, Israel Amter, a white party member, published an article detailing imperialism's oppression of blacks. As "the most docile, inexpensive form of labour imaginable," blacks (Southern blacks specifically) would be used by capitalists to lower white wages and break strikes. The only solution: "the white workers, in their own interest, throw down the bars, and admit the negroes to their unions. More, in fact: they must make a special effort to overcome the justified prejudice that the negroes feel toward them and induce them to join the unions." [17] Naturally, Amter blamed racial tensions on capitalism, writing, "Otherwise, we shall have bloody repetitions of, race riots, shootings, rapes and burnings at the stake—fomented on some slight pretext, but always having an economic basis." [18] Although some CPUSA members believed in an expanded perspective on the "negro question" and the 1922 convention acknowledged the unique dual oppression of blacks, nothing of substance manifested in terms of actually aiding African-Americans. Instead the party turned its attention to established black organizations.[19]

In March 1923, an "All Race Assembly," led by the NAACP and the National Equal Rights League, congregated in New York. Sixty-one black organizations participated in the "Negro Sanhedrin," including delegates from the Communist Party. The point of the meeting concerned the development of a civil rights and equal opportunity program. However, the assembly quickly turned into a political debate over communism. The CPUSA largely brought it on themselves, proposing resolutions on nationalizing railroads and schools to promote integration, and suggesting the Sanhedrin send delegates to the Communist's Farmer-Labor Party convention, which would imply a

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[17] Israel Amter, "The Black Victims of Imperialism," *The Communist International* 26-27 (1923), Marxists Internet Archive.
[18] Israel Amter, "The Black Victims of Imperialism," Marxists Internet Archive.
[19] Earl Ofari Hutchinson, *Blacks and Reds: Race and Class in Conflict, 1919-1920* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1995), 13.

partisan recognition of a Communist-tied party. Obviously, the convention adopted none of these resolutions, and instead casted out the Communists. The Sanhedrin proved to be an ultimate disaster, and despite intentions, it never met again. Likewise, the events furthered tarnished the Communists' image in the minds of black organizations.[20]

The CPUSA then turned its attention to the NAACP, the biggest and most influential black organization in America at the time. The party sent James Ford, a rising black Communist, to speak at the NAACP's 1926 conference. Ford's mission involved gaining the NAACP's cooperation in unionizing black industrial workers to combat the racial discrimination of established unions, specifically the American Federation of Labor. Although the NAACP had openly battled against the AFL, the organization did not want to be connected to the Communist Party, and thus quietly rejected Ford's proposals. Again, the fault can be placed on the CPUSA itself: it did not take into account the varying opinions of the members of such a multifaceted organization, and it underestimated the NAACP's pragmatism with regards to its focus on racial justice.[21] This defeat not only foreshadowed the conflict between the NAACP and the Communist party, but also proved to be the last effort to appeal to established black organizations.

The Communist Party decided to take matters into its own hands, and established the American Negro Labor Congress in 1925. The ANLC aimed to eradicate industrial discrimination in all sectors of the labor market. The Communist Party was careful to distance itself from the ANLC, knowing full well the public distaste for radicalism. The ANLC would act as a union for black workers of all stripes, and it succeeded in recruiting delegates from numerous labor associations, unions, community organizations, and even international movements. Such diversity did indeed reduce the connection to Communism, and ultimately led to the Congress declaring race, not class, caused black oppression.[22] By placing race before class, the ANLC found some gains: in two years the Congress had grown to include forty-five local chapters. However, overall membership remained relatively low. In addition to general disinterest on the part of rank-and-file workers, the ANLC took blows when it began attacking Christianity as an oppressor of the black people, and after Marcus Garvey emphasized the congress's Communist links. In the end, the ANLC became an explicit arm of the Communist Party and continued on its downward trajectory, ultimately disbanding in 1930.[23]

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[20] Hutchinson, *Blacks and Reds: Race and Class in Conflict, 1919-1920*, 16-20.
[21] Hutchinson, *Blacks and Reds: Race and Class in Conflict, 1919-1920*, 22-24.
[22] Hutchinson, *Blacks and Reds: Race and Class in Conflict, 1919-1920*, 29-31.
[23] Hutchinson, *Blacks and Reds: Race and Class in Conflict, 1919-1920*, 35-38.

With a series of failures on its record, and an expanding Garveyist movement stealing its momentum, the CPUSA officially altered its position in 1926. The party recognized both black and whites workers suffered the same exploitation by capital, but African-Americans also fell victim to racial discrimination. Therefore, the party decided, "the workers and farmers must fight for the repeal of all laws discriminating against the Negro and for complete political, industrial, educational—in a word, complete social equality for the Negro."[24] This new platform had been advocated by black Communists like Cyril Briggs, Lovett Fort-Whiteman, and Harry Haywood for some years, but only when other possibilities proved futile and external forces gained strength did the party start to fully accept the change. Despite the new policy, nothing materialized on the ground. Part of the problem came again from the Garvey movement, which gave blacks self-assertion. Likewise, after decades of racial prejudice, blacks simply wanted to conquer injustice with their own organization. This also tied into the suspicion blacks generally held toward whites. Such skepticism was expected given rampant racism, even within the Communist Party itself.[25]

The actual watershed moment came with a decision by the Comintern's Sixth World Congress in 1928. The International had been pressuring the American party since its inception to curtail ethnic factions among Communists and develop a solid African-American policy. Apparently the Comintern had enough of the Americans' vagueness. The Executive Committee created a Negro Commission to address the issue and released the "Resolution on the US Negro Question." The resolution defined African-Americans as a distinct "nation within a nation," one who's growth had been stifled by capitalist, racist Southern society.

Now that the status of African-Americans had been clearly defined, the "Resolution on the US Negro Question" then laid out the foundations for policy. First, the party advocated "the right of the oppressed Negro race for full emancipation." The "central slogan" of the party would remain "full social and political equality for the Negroes," while also championing "the right of Negroes to national self-determination in the southern states, where the Negroes form a majority of the population."[26] The resolution relayed little on the actual mechanisms of black self-determination, but such advocacy, as well as

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[24] Workers' Party of America, "Workers' (Communist) Party Congressional Program," in *American Labor Yearbook* (New York: Rand School of Social Sciences, 1927), 130.

[25] Hutchinson, *Blacks and Reds: Race and Class in Conflict*, 47.

[26] Communist International, "Resolution on Negro Questions in U.S.," *The Communist* (January 1930): 49.

the call for social and political equality, would have a lasting impact on future Communist policies.

Additionally, the party recognized the widespread racism within its own ranks, and aimed to diminish it: "The time is ripe to begin within the Party a courageous campaign of self-criticism concerning the work among the Negroes. Penetrating self-criticism is the necessary preliminary condition for directing the Negro work along new lines. … . The Party must bear in mind that white chauvinism, which is the expression of the ideological influence of American imperialism among the workers, not only prevails among different strata of the white workers in the U. S. A., but is even reflected in various forms in the Party itself."[27] The fight against internal racial prejudice would have to coincide with a "widespread and thorough educational campaign in the spirit of internationalism within the Party . . . This educational work should be conducted simultaneously with a campaign to draw the white workers and the poor farmers into the struggle for the support of the demands of the Negro workers."[28]

The Communist Party's tactics of both attempting to work with existing black organizations and establishing their own should continue, the Comintern declared, although the Americans should focus solely on working-class groups. This exclusive approach would be of "much greater importance than the work in bourgeois and petty-bourgeois organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Pan-African Congress, etc."[29] The failure of the CPUSA to coordinate with such organizations had been duly noted, and the Comintern suggested the party stick to what it knew best: the working-class.

The Comintern heavily emphasized the role black workers would play in the Communist Party's policies in the future. "The Party must link up the struggle on behalf of the Negroes with the general campaigns of the Party," the resolution stated. "The Negro problem must be part and parcel of all and every campaign conducted by the Party."[30] The commitment to black workers would have to transcend mere rhetoric: "It must be borne in mind that the Negro masses will not be won for the revolutionary struggles until such time as the most conscious section of the white workers show, by action, that they are fighting with the Negroes, against all racial discrimination and persecution."[31] As always, despite any level of grandstanding, the

[27] Communist International, "Resolution on Negro Questions in U.S.," 52.
[28] Communist International, "Resolution on Negro Questions in U.S.," 52.
[29] Communist International, "Resolution on Negro Questions in U.S.," 51.
[30] Communist International, "Resolution on Negro Questions in U.S.," 53.
[31] Communist International, "Resolution on Negro Questions in U.S.," 53-54.

success of the resolution's objectives would have to be won on the ground.

Given that "the agrarian problem lies at the root of the Negro national movement,"[32] the resolution focused largely on the South. "The Party must consider the beginning of systematic work in the south as one of its main tasks," the Comintern declared, "having regard for the fact that the bringing together of the workers and toiling masses of all nationalities for a joint struggle against the land-owners and the bourgeoisie is one of the most important aims of the Communist International."[33] In keeping with the new outlook, the Comintern not only approached the issue from an economic and class angle, but also looked to fight civil rights abuses rampant in the South: "Special stress must be laid upon organizing active resistance against lynching, Jim Crowism, segregation and all other forms of oppression of the Negro population."[34] Acting on the resolution's call, the CPUSA achieved much success from campaigns sympathetic to the plight of Southern African-Americans.

Now with a formal stance on the issue, the CPUSA sought to implement new programs. As mentioned, the resolution emphasized the need for self-reflection within the party to purge white chauvinism from its ranks, and beginning in 1929, the CPUSA did just that. The party expelled white Communists accused of racism in Seattle, Washington; Norfolk Virginia; Youngstown, Ohio; and Greenville, South Carolina, among other cities. [35] Most of the accusations involved whites prohibiting blacks from joining the local branches or disturbances at newly created interracial dances, which were ironically designed to foster camaraderie and show the public the party's commitment to the black cause. The expulsions may have impressed black members, but they also helped ignite resentment among some white Communists who came to believe African-Americans received special treatment from party leaders. Some members also feared the reform could be used as a witch hunt for the purposes of disruption or factional conflict.[36] One historian attributed the backlash and general white chauvinism to the prevalence of ethnics in the Communist Party. Most immigrant workers desired to be American, and thus tried to adopt American behaviors, which they believed included anti-black sentiment. At the same time, excluding blacks from the party helped protect the ethnic factions that

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[32] Communist International, "Resolution on Negro Questions in U.S.," 49.
[33] Communist International, "Resolution on Negro Questions in U.S.," 49.
[34] Communist International, "Resolution on Negro Questions in U.S.," 49.
[35] Mark Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity: Communists and African-Americans, 1917-1936* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1998), 132-137.
[36] Mark Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 134, 136.

ruled many of the local branches.[37] Nevertheless, the CPUSA leadership maintained its support for racial equality, and amped up its program of self-criticism in the following decade.

Beginning in January 1931, the CPUSA held a series of show trials to display its seriousness through grandiosity. These trials were filled with Communist party members and held as if for major violations, despite how relatively insignificant the accusation may have been. Most importantly, however, they were not internal affairs like previous expulsions—these trials were public attempts at showboating. The first, and perhaps most influential, took place in Harlem. August Yokinen, a Finnish immigrant and Communist Party member, was a janitor at the Finnish Workers Club. When three black men came to the club for a dance, Yokinen and/or other white men (sources vary in interpretation) made derogatory remarks, forcing the black men to leave. Unfortunately for Yokinen, the black men were card-carrying Communist Party members. They informed the higher-ups, who ordered an investigation. The other white men admitted their transgressions, but Yokinen stubbornly stood by his actions and was thusly brought before a CPUSA trial. More than 2,000 people attended the trial, five hundred of whom were black. With a confession on the record, the interracial jury of fellow Communists found Yokinen guilty of betraying the tenants of the party and expelled him. Of course, the jury did not blame Yokinen's racism on his personality or character, but claimed it stemmed from American imperialism and capitalism, which artificially separated workers by race and nationality to pit them against each other.[38] They allowed Yokinen to reenter the CPUSA if he proved himself reformed by participating in other racial equality organizations. [39] According to Harry Haywood, one of the most prominent black Communists, Yokinen returned to the party after six months "as one of the staunchest fighters for its program of Negro liberation."[40] Whether the trial succeeded in rehabilitating Yokinen or the party merely wanted its members to believe so remains unclear. Either way, the trial, as a reflection of Communist leaders' commitment to its racial program, held great significance for the future of the party.

The CPUSA tried other members accused of white chauvinism until 1933. These trials, like that of Yokinen, were widely publicized in both

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[37] Mark Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 138.

[38] Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 253.

[39] Communist Party, U.S.A., *Race Hatred On Trial* (1931), in *American Communism and Black Americans: A Documentary History, 1930-1934* ed. Philip S. Foner and Herbert Shapiro (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 176.

[40] Harry Haywood, "The Struggle for the Leninist Position on the Negro Question in the U.S.A.," *The Communist* 12, no. 9 (September 1933), 893.

party publications and the mainstream media. While many journalists commended the CPUSA for its efforts, the effect on black recruitment proved vague. That said, the Communists dwelled on any success they achieved. Explaining why the press latched on to the Yokinen story, one party member claimed, "because all America was interested in a public challenge dramatically flung into the face of a basic bourgeois principle of social relationships in America . . . the result was a big wave of sympathy and approval, in the first place among the Negro masses, but also among the white workers."[41] The trials did, however, stir up a sense of caution and self-reflection within the white rank-and-file of the party. Members knew they would be held accountable for any behavior deemed racist. Party leaders viewed the stronger sense of self-criticism, plus a growing number of whites in the street demonstrating against Jim Crow and mob violence, as progress in their campaign to rid the CPUSA of white chauvinism and induce interracial solidarity.[42]

While Communist Party leaders believed purging its ranks of white chauvinism would help the party appeal to blacks, it also began proactively addressing the grievances of black workers. First, the party established a National Negro Department in 1928 to develop initiatives and manage all activities regarding black affairs. Some early efforts to support black proletarians proved successful: that year, 200 blacks led a rent strike in Harlem, black Communist leader Otto Hall's national tour resulted in 300 membership applications from blacks, and numerous strikes involving black workers aroused under the CPUSA banner.[43] With the Great Depression looming, the part decided to focus on bread-and-butter issues most important to black workers. In 1930, the CPUSA formed the International Workers' Order Mutual Benefit Society. The organization allocated aid to dues-paying members, providing funds for groceries, health care, funerals, and other benefits. The IWO also reformed standard CPUSA meeting structure. Instead of long lectures on highbrow Marxist ideology, meetings scheduled entertainment such as movies and plays. The informal atmosphere, plus the aid in a time of need, attracted many black workers to the IWO. By 1936, the IWO's roster included over 31,000 members in 700 branches throughout the country. According to Samuel Patterson, Field Organizer of the New York IWO, who took a four-month nationwide trip to build support, blacks were more likely to join those branches in which white members fought actively for black rights, such as Detroit, Chicago, Cleveland,

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[41] Earl Browder, "For National Liberation of the Negroes! War Against White Chauvinism!," *The Communist* 11, no. 4 (April 1932), 298.
[42] Hutchinson, *Blacks and Reds: Race and Class in Conflict*, 67.
[43] Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 97.

and Philadelphia.[44] The central IWO, too, sponsored racial equality programs, including a Conference for Constitutional Rights for Negros in 1937, a segregation protest at a Pennsylvania theater, a resolution calling for the National Baseball League to open its doors to black athletes, and a request that President Franklin D. Roosevelt strengthen the Social Security and the Old Age Pension Acts.[45] The IWO remained a prominent benefit organization until the McCarthyism era of the 1950s.

As noted earlier, the Comintern Resolution emphasized the South as a particular area of interest, and the CPUSA focused much of its efforts there. In 1930 the Communist Party appointed James S. Allen to the editorship of the party's first Southern newspaper, the *Southern Worker*. From that appointment, Allen became one of the most prominent Communist organizers in the South. Among the various economic and labor troubles of the South, Allen also concerned himself greatly with civil rights. "The *Southern Worker* stands unalterably for full social, economic and political equality for the Negro workers and farmers," the newspaper's credo declared. "This is one of its chief planks."[46] Indeed, the paper focused mostly on the struggles of black workers. While racial equality was a party mandate, not all members—especially in the Deep South—came on board. One frustrated white Communist wrote to the *Southern Worker* editors that he could not sell the publication because "it was nothing but a Negro paper . . . a paper that devotes 90 of its news to Negroes and 10 percent to the whites . . . when you approach a white worker who still has the race hatred in them, they won't take it."[47] The editors took half a page to meticulously refute the "misled" worker's arguments.

Although the CPUSA had established some outposts in the South, the party began to push hard in early 1930. The Communists centered their organizing activities in Birmingham, Alabama, though it soon spread. Being a workers' party, the CPUSA sought to unionize proletarians, both black and white, but they always brought in racial equality as well: "The Party emphasized the fight for unemployment relief and social insurance, militant industrial unionism, and the organization of sharecroppers, other farm tenants, and small landowners. A central theme in all these endeavors was the need to fight Jim Crow and racism in order to meet even minimum demands."[48] Most

[44] Hutchinson, *Blacks and Reds: Race and Class in Conflict*, 75.
[45] Hutchinson, *Blacks and Reds: Race and Class in Conflict*, 76.
[46] James S. Allen, *Organizing in the Depression South: A Communist's Memoir* (Minneapolis: MEP Publications, 2001), 135.
[47] *Southern Worker* 1, no. 13 (November 15, 1930).
[48] Allen, *Organizing in the Depression South*, 51.

of party activities, however, lacked a sense of self-determination as proposed by the Comintern Resolution of 1928. Allen's own experiences with suggesting self-determination to black workers resulted in little interest: "the croppers were most concerned with how they were going to get through the winter. I can only conjecture that they probably felt Black self-government was utopian, and in any case, far off.... Obviously, this was not then considered a suitable agitational theme in the daily work of the Party, at least in the South."[49]

James Allen, as did other Southern Communists, devoted much energy to fighting lynchings. With this sentiment strong among radicals and other black advocates, the American Negro Labor Congress held an All-Southern Anti-Lynching Conference in Chattanooga, Tennessee on November 9, 1930. Fourteen organizations and three churches from three states sent a total of fifty-four delegates to the convention. The final resolutions passed by the congress proved to be a radical departure from previous anti-lynching organizations: the Chattanooga congregation demanded the death penalty for convicted lynchers. The congress also supported a resolution claiming "lynching will only be finally done away with in the South when the Negro masses have won for themselves the right of self-determination, the right to set up an independent Negro state if they so choose."[50] The argument was widely accepted among the conference, despite Allen's pessimism about blacks' acceptance of self-determination. With resolutions on the books, the congress aimed to implement its ideas in the South and on a wider scale, sending nine delegates to a national anti-lynching convention in St. Louis. The national congress expanded upon its Southern counterpart, and called for mass violation of Jim Crow, the liquidation Negro farmers' of debts and mortgages, and the confiscation of white lands to solve the lynching and oppression of Southern African-Americans.[51]

Another important group in the Communists' equal rights campaign emerged in 1930. From the ashes of the American Negro Labor Congress, which had been slowly dying away the past few years, arose the League of Struggle for Negro Rights. Like its predecessor, the League aimed to organize black workers and eradicate prejudice within established labor unions, but also took on broader social goals. Although not confined to one geographical area, the League put a great deal of effort into its Southern activities. For one, the League prescribed to black self-determination, blatantly declaring the organization "stands for the complete right of self-determination for the Negro people in the

[49] Allen, *Organizing in the Depression South*, 51-52.
[50] *Southern Worker* 1, no. 13 (November 15, 1930).
[51] *Southern Worker* 1, no. 15 (November 29, 1930).

Black Belt with full rights for the toiling white minority."[52] To realize this goal of an independent African-American state, the League advocated the confiscation without compensation of large landholdings to be redistributed among blacks and small white farmers and sharecroppers.[53] Additionally, the League fought "Jim-Crowism, and discrimination in all forms…all forms of forced labor…all ideas of 'white supremacy' and 'superiority'…[and] lynching and all forms of terror, violence and abuse against negroes."[54] It also supported the All-Southern Anti-Lynching Congress's resolution calling for the death penalty for lynchers. Although the League organized public demonstrations and pickets, published their newspaper the *Liberator*, and held numerous rallies and anti=lynching conferences, it never gained strong momentum independent of the Communist Party. Part of the reasons was the compartmentalization of the party's black programs: the International Labor Defense had become active in lynching cases and various unemployment councils fought eviction and hunger. With these and other CPUSA-tied organizations fighting for blacks, the League was left without a niche. Also, the party gave the League little authority in manifesting black self-determination in the South and demanded the League not hide its Communist ties. Although the League had some successes, it ultimately faded out by 1936.[55]

While it still existed, the League contributed to one of the most successful Communist campaigns regarding African-American rights. Alabama's Scottsboro Boys case exploded in early April 1931. Police charged nine black youths, ages twelve to nineteen, with the rape of two white women while they all were hoboing on a train. A lynch mob formed at the jail where the boys were held, but no violence ensued. After a quick trial without proper legal representation, and despite shoddy evidence which would later point to their innocence, all of the boys except the youngest were convicted and sentenced to death. As soon as word came, the Communist Party mobilized support for Scottsboro Boys. The *Southern Worker* quickly began to publicize and criticize the injustice, printing numerous articles that gave updates on the events and probed the bias of the all-white jury. The newspaper also advocated the boys' safety, declaring, "To prevent a certain lynching on April 6, the white workers and farmers of Scottsboro will have to get

[52] League of Struggle for Negro Rights, "Draft Program of The League of Struggle for Negro Rights," in *Equality, Land, and Freedom: A Program for Negro Liberation* (New York: League of Struggle for Negro Rights, 1933), 11.
[53] League of Struggle for Negro Rights, "Draft Program of The League of Struggle for Negro Rights," 10.
[54] League of Struggle for Negro Rights, "Draft Program of The League of Struggle for Negro Rights," 18-19.
[55] Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 190-191.

together with the Negroes and defend the nine youths."[56] The central CPUSA, too, issued statements in support of the boys: "The Communist Party demands…the immediate release of the nine innocent Negro lads framed up and sentenced to death at Scottsboro!"[57] The party held conferences and protests around the country, and even organized demonstrations internationally.[58] The League of Struggle for Negro Rights organized anti-lynching rallies throughout the country to protest the Scottsboro Boys case and others.[59] Just a year after the initial round of trials, the League published a pamphlet on the Scottsboro case. While retelling events in a particularly extravagant manner, the pamphlet also acted as a Communist tool: "the Scottsboro case is a symbol of the bloody reign of American white ruling class perspective of the Negroes…. It lays bare the fact that the barbarous oppression of the Negroes is a link in the chain of American capitalist exploitation and plunder of the entire working class."[60]

The CPUSA also provided practical support. In addition to raising money, the party ordered two International Labor Defense lawyers to represent the Scottsboro Boys. The lawyers began a series of appeals and retrials, which reached the U.S. Supreme Court in 1932. The court reversed the convictions, and sent the case back to Alabama for a retrial. The CPUSA remained the backers of the Scottsboro Boys, but also brought New York attorney Samuel Leibowitz on board. Though one of the white female victims recanted her story, by 1937 judges convicted the Scottsboro Boys in individual courts and sentenced all but two to prison.[61]

The Communist Party proved unsuccessful in completely freeing the boys, but their aid prevented their lynching and brought constitutional issues to the U.S. Supreme Court. These victories, and the Communists' efforts in general, boosted the party's image among blacks nationally.[62] Some within the Communist Party believed the Scottsboro case pushed the party into new territory. The "Negro petty-bourgeois leaders" involved in the case turned against the Communists, creating a

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[56] *Southern Worker* 1, no. 33 (April 4, 1931).
[57] Central Committee, Communist Party of the United States of America, "Stop Reign of Terror Against Alabama Negroes," *Daily Worker* (December 21, 1932).
[58] Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 196-197.
[59] *Southern Worker* 1, no. 33 (April 4, 1931).
[60] League of Struggle for Negro Rights, *They Shall Not Die!: The Story of Scottsboro in Pictures* (New York: Workers' Library Publishers, 1932), 3.
[61] Solomon, *The Cry Was Unity*, 195-206.
[62] Hutchinson, *Blacks and Reds: Race and Class in Conflict*, 69.

chasm in the black community[63]. But, some Communists favored this distinction: "Here we begin to see the slogan of unity of white and black workers, taking on its full political significance, while the masses begin to understand that the Communists are quite different from the liberal humanitarians who speak of 'human brotherhood' and 'class peace,' but tolerate and actively support the machinery of legal and extralegal lynchings and jim-crowism."[64] While the mainstream media portrayed the Communist Party as exploiters of the Scottsboro Boys, the mere fact the national press was covering the case displayed the party's influence.[65] Lynchings occurred frequently in the South, and while some were mentioned in the media, none matched the massive exposure of the Scottsboro case. Part of this resulted from the Communist Party raising awareness of the case, which helped bring it to the forefront of national news.

The Communist Party's campaign for African-American rights dwindled with the onset of the Popular Front era and World War II. Despite efforts in later decades to revive a strong push for racial equality, the CPUSA's heyday in this regard ended by the late 1930s. The party spent its first twenty years of existence trying to gain a foothold in the African-American community, and after much debate and failures, finally developed a policy in 1928 that addressed the unique position of black workers in America. With this new platform, the Communist Party began a genuine movement to end racial discrimination, segregation, and violence. Their efforts often aroused suspicion, and the party did not recruit a substantial amount of African-Americans (the party did not recruit a substantial amount of Americans in general), but the Communists did find much success in their various organizations and campaigns. Many blacks could not wholly dismiss a party who fought on the ground for racial equality. Perhaps it was the party's ultimate goal—socialist revolution—that prevented African-Americans from joining the party en masse.

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[63] The NAACP attempted to have its lawyers represent the Scottsboro Boys; a debate ensued between the NAACP and CPUSA, with the Communists coming out victorious.

[64] Earl Browder, "For National Liberation of the Negroes! War Against White Chauvinism!," *The Communist* 11, no. 4 (April 1932), 299.

[65] A survey of the *Chicago Tribune* and the *New York Times* reveals nothing but suspicion about and contempt for the Communists' actions involving the Scottsboro Boys case.

Masons at War: Freemasonry during World War Two

Mark Stanford

In 1933 Adolph Hitler and the Nazi Party gained control of Germany. Six years later he plunged the world into the horrors of a second World War and the Holocaust, which resulted in nearly fifty-five million deaths across the world.[1] World War II affected many different peoples and groups, and the Freemasons were no different. Internationally they faced repression and execution at the hands of Nazi Germany, but also emerged as key leaders of the free world. Locally the war brought "out the best"[2] in United States Masons as they threw their support behind the war on the home front. This paper will cover the oppression of Freemasonry by Nazi Germany, the influence of Freemasonry on the leadership of the Allied powers, the support of Illinois Freemasons on the home front, and will also show how WWII influenced the increase of Freemason membership in the United States. This paper will demonstrate that even though Freemasons faced persecution internationally throughout WWII, they aided in the winning the war both on the battlefield and in the background at home and emerged stronger than before the war began.

When the Nazis gained power in Germany after Hitler was named Chancellor on January 30, 1933, they began targeting their political enemies, Jews, and also Freemasons. General Erich von Ludendorff, who had joined Hitler in the failed 1923 Right-wing revolt in Munich, published in 1927 the anti-Freemasonry book *The Destruction of Freemasonry through the Disclosure of its Secrets*, in which he claimed Freemasonry, was controlled by the Jews.[3] Hitler also put forth this belief that Freemasonry had "succumbed" to the Jews and was an "excellent instrument with which to fight for his [the Jews] aims and put them across" in his autobiography *Mein Kampf*.[4] Because of this, the Nazis quickly began suppressing the Masonic Lodges within Germany. On January 16, 1934 the Prussian Premier Herman Wilhelm Goering

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[1] "World War II in Europe," *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, last modified, May 11, 2012, http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007187.

[2] Karl J. Mohr, "Freemasonry Enlists in the War," *Grand Lodge Proceedings*, (1942), in *Illinois Freemasonry*, (2005): 16, accessed October 14, 2012, http://www.illinoisfreemason.org /files/magazine/Ill inoisFreemasonry-SpringSummer2005.pdf.

[3] Jasper Ridley, *The Freemasons: A History of the World's Most Powerful Secret Society*, (New York: Arcade Publishing, 2001), 230.

[4] Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, (1926): 227, http://www.angelfire.com/folk/bigbaldbob88 /MeinKampf.pdf (accessed March 30, 2013).

"wiped out" the three main Prussian Masonic lodges, stating that there was "no further need for their existence."[5] He also sent a warning with a threatening undertone to remaining lodges "he simply saw no further use for them [Masonic lodges] and then left it to the lodges themselves to vanish from the picture voluntarily."[6] Then in September of 1934 Nazi Minister of Interior Wilhelm Frick dissolved thirteen Masonic lodges claiming that Freemasonry was "'controlled by international Jews and is useless to the third Reich.'"[7] As the war escalated Germany captured new territories and dissolved Masonic lodges under the newly established occupational regimes.[8] After the Gestapo disbanded a lodge "it was ransacked for membership lists, important library and archival items, furnishings, and other cultural artifacts."[9] The Nazis used the confiscated materials to fuel their anti-Masonic propaganda campaign. They set up anti-Masonic exhibitions throughout occupied Europe with stolen artifacts attempting to create fears of a "Jewish-Masonic conspiracy."[10] One such exhibition entitled "'Der ewige Jude" (The Eternal Jew)" (see Figure 1)[11] was set up in Munich, Germany. The Munich exhibition used a fusion of actual Freemason symbols and style; it was arranged like a Masonic lodge room would be, but it also had Jewish symbols mixed in. It used symbols of the sinister with skulls and skeletons to play on people's fears.

Nazi propagandists printed cartoons and wrote articles that linked Jews and Masons in a world domination conspiracy.[12] They also used slogans such as "All Masons Jews---All Jews Masons!"[13] Hitler used an

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[5] "Masonic Lodges in Prussia Wiped Out by Goering," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Jan 17, 1934, 9.

[6] "Masonic Lodges in Prussia Wiped Out by Goering," 9.

[7] "13 Masonic Lodges Dissolved by Nazis; no Reason is Given," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Sep 19, 1934, 4.

[8] "Freemasonry Under the Nazi Regime," *Holocaust* Encyclopedia, last modified, May 11, 2012, http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007187.

[9] "Freemasonry Under the Nazi Regime."

[10] "Freemasonry Under the Nazi Regime."

[11] "An antisemitic and anti-Masonic display at the exhibition "Der ewige Jude" (The Eternal Jew) Munich, Germany, November 10, 1937," *National Archives and Records Administration*, College Park, Md. http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/media_ph.php?ModuleId=10007187&MediaId=5781.

[12] "Freemasonry Under the Nazi Regime."

[13] Paul M. Bessel, "Freemasonry & Judaism," (paper was revised for presentations September 5, at Skidmore Daylight Lodge No. 237; and October 2, 1995, at Elmer Timberman Lodge No. 54), http://www.bessel.org/masjud.htm#N_29_.

earlier Russian anti-Jewish and anti-Mason propaganda book written in the late 1800s, translated into German in the 1920s, entitled *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* to support his theory of a Jewish, Freemason world domination plot.[14] Eventually, along with having their lodges forcefully closed, many prominent Masons were sent to concentration camps, which forced many Freemasons to go underground.[15] To identify fellow Masons they replaced the traditional square and compass pin with the small blue Forget-Me-Not flower lapel pin.[16]

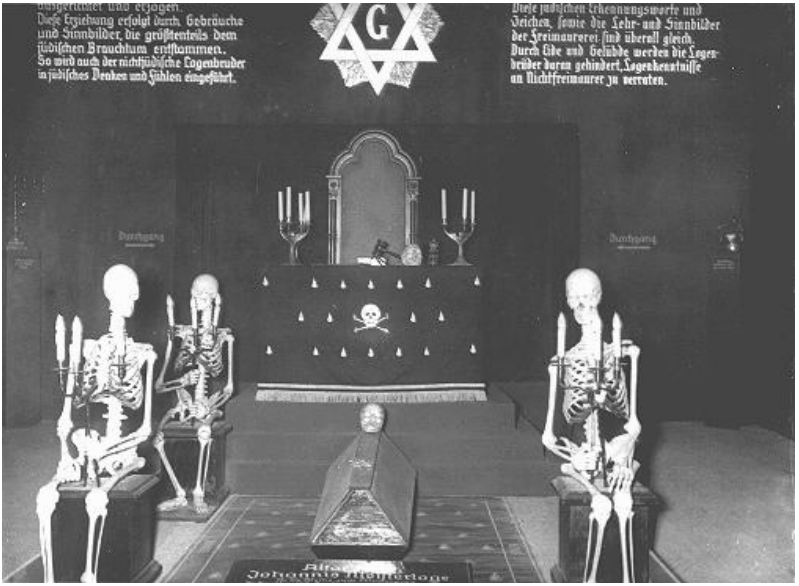

Figure 1

While Freemasonry was being suppressed in Nazi controlled Europe, Freemasons in the free world emerged as key leaders in the Allied fight against Nazi expansion. The heads of state for both Great Britain and the United States were Freemasons. Sir Winston Churchill the Prime Minister of Great Britain, while not vigorously involved in the fraternity, joined as a young man and "was initiated in Studholme Lodge No. 1591, London and raised March 25, 1902 in

[14] Bessel, "Freemasonry & Judaism."
[15] Paul M. Bessel, "Bigotry and the Murder of Freemasonry," accessed March 30, 2013, http://bessel.org /naziartl.htm#N_28_.
[16] "The Forget-Me-Not (Das Vergissmeinnicht) The Story Behind This Beloved Emblem Of The Craft in Germany." *Phoenixmasonry.* http://www.phoenixmasonry.org/masonicmuseum/forget_me_not_lapel_pin.htm.

Rosemary Lodge No. 2851."[17] Another of Great Britain's leaders, King George VI, was also a Mason. He would state at the "end of his reign…that he had always regarded Masonry as one of the strongest influences of his life." [18] Freemasons also led the United States throughout the war; both Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman were Masons. Truman remained active even as President, rendering Masonic services and even receiving the 33rd Degree while in office.[19] Freemasons also took a leading role in the military. Some of the most famous were General Douglas MacArthur, U.S. Commander in the Philippines, General Omar Bradley, who "was raised in West Point Lodge No. 877, Highland Falls, N.Y. in 1923," and General Henry "Hap" Arnold, the commanding general of Army Air Forces.[20]

On the home front, United States Freemasons threw their wholehearted support behind the war effort, and Masons in Illinois were no exception. During the war thousands of Illinois men and women served in the armed forces and thousands of others were stationed or temporarily housed on bases in Illinois.[21] To provide for the comfort and morale of all these servicemen Illinois Grand Master Karl J. Mohr, like other Grand Masters across the country, began to establish Masonic Service Centers throughout Illinois similar to today's USO Centers. Each of the seven service centers were located near major military bases at "Waukegan for the Great Lakes Training Station, at Highland Park for Fort Sheridan, at 912 N. LaSalle St., Chicago, for Navy Pier and Northwestern, at Rockford for Camp Grant, at Rantoul for Chanute Field and at Belleville for Scott Field." [22] The service centers were located in local Masonic lodges each "fully equipped to furnish fun, recreation, and comfort to the men of the service." [23] However, these service centers were not just for Freemasons; Grand Master Mohr stated in 1942 that "'Our facilities are proffered alike to

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[17] William R. Denslow, *10,000 Famous Freemasons*, (Richmond: Macoy Publishing & Masonic Supply Co., 1957), "Sir Winston L. Churchill," http://www.phoenixmasonry.org/10,000_famous_freemasons/Volume_1_A_to_D.htm.

[18] Denslow, *10,000 Famous Freemasons*, "George IV King of England (1895-1952)."

[19] Denslow, *10,000 Famous Freemasons*, "Harry S. Truman Thirty-third President of the United States." Truman had served as Grandmaster of Masons in Missouri while a Senator.

[20] Denslow, *10,000 Famous Freemasons.*

[21] Rodger D.Launius, "Illinois in World War II," *Illinois Periodicals Online*, (1995), http:/ / www .lib. niu.edu/1995/ihy950449.html.

[22] Mohr, "Freemasonry Enlists in the War," 16.

[23] Mohr, "Freemasonry Enlists in the War," 16.

members of the Fraternity and those in uniform, regardless of whence they may come."[24] The Masonic service centers provided free hot meals daily, games such as ping pong and billiards, and even dancing.[25] The centers serviced hundreds of thousands of servicemen throughout the war and between 1942 and 1945 the 912 N. LaSalle St. Center "served 372,000 meals."[26] The service centers also provided for the morale of the servicemen by holding forums for the men to discuss their complaints. They discussed issues such as "how to get along with their officers, what their future will be after the war, and the present state of the nation."[27]

The Masonic Service Centers not only provided for the physical comforts and morale of the servicemen at home, but also for troops overseas. Committees on Service to the Armed Forces were appointed in every Illinois lodge with the purpose of furnishing "the names of all members in service and a multitude of names of relatives in the service" and each was written a "warm letter of good luck and good cheer."[28] By 1943 Mohr stated, "Over 26,000 men in uniform, one-third of them brother Masons, have received letters from this committee, and have been the recipients of its activities."[29] In response the Committees on Service to the Armed Forces received letters from service men that "replete with grateful, enthusiastic, responsive and appreciative letters, evidences the value of our endeavors."[30]

The Masonic Service Centers were run entirely by volunteers from local lodges but by far the majority of the volunteers came from the women of the Order of the Eastern Star led by Grand Matron Ester Gielow. The Order of the Eastern Star is a Masonic affiliated fraternal organization that includes both men and women. The Order was started in 1850 by Dr. Rob Morris, who believed "Masonry should be for the whole family." The Order of the Eastern Star was

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[24] Everett R. Turnbull, *The Rise and Progress of Freemasonry in Illinois, 1783-1952*, (United States: Pantagraph Printing and Stationery Co., 1952), 294.
[25] "Eastern Star's Center Mecca to Service Men," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Mar 17, 1944: 19.
[26] "Masonic Service Center Reports 372,000 Meals," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 13, 1945.
[27] "Forum Reveals Major Worries of Service Men." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Dec 05, 1943.
[28] Mohr, "Freemasonry Enlists in the War," 16.
[29] Turnbull, *The Rise and Progress of Freemasonry in Illinois*, 294.
[30] Turnbull, *The Rise and Progress of Freemasonry in Illinois*, 294.

"dedicated to charity, truth and loving kindness," [31] The women would volunteer every day of the week "mending for the men, bringing refreshments, and doing hostess duty." [32] In 1944 Illinois Grand Master Pierson gave high praise to the women of the Order, saying:

> Words cannot express our appreciation to the members of the Order of the Eastern Star for their generous assistance in making our Service Centers a success. Without their contributions in money, food, time and more especially in actual work, it would have been well nigh impossible to have given the Service Centers the home touch that has been so appealing to the men in our country's armed forces. Every day, Sundays and Holidays included, they have worked tirelessly and gladly cooking and serving delicious food, acting as hostesses, and doing all in their power to make a 'Home away from Home' for the boys. The Masons of Illinois can never forget the wonderful services they have rendered.[33]

The Grand Lodge of Illinois funded the Masonic Service Centers through a combination of savings, donations from lodges, and private donations. At the beginning of the war, to start up the service centers Grand Master Mohr used the Illinois Grand Lodge's savings "that conservative management has accumulated over the years."[34] To fund the upkeep of the service centers Mohr called for donations from the lodges. Illinois Masons willingly gave more than was asked of them. "I asked every lodge in the state to send our Grand Secretary a check for a minimum of ten cents a member. We have 986 lodges in Illinois; 986 sent in checks. The amount was over subscribed by twenty-five percent."[35] The centers also received private donations from fundraisers like the benefit musical held on April 4, 1943 featuring "Milton Treshansky, concert pianist, and Lois Colburn, first cellist with the Women's Symphony of Chicago."[36] After the war ended in 1945, the Grand Officers held a conference and "decided that as the Centers were primarily organized for the purpose of building morale and furnished some pleasure and comfort for those who were being trained for combat

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[31] "About the Order of the Eastern Star" and "History of the Order of the Eastern Star," General Grand Chapter Order of the Eastern Star, accessed March 30, 2013, http://www.easternstar.org/index.html.

[32] "Mrs. Gielow to be Feted at Luncheon." *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Apr 25, 1943.

[33] Turnbull, *The Rise and Progress of Freemasonry in Illinois*, 294.

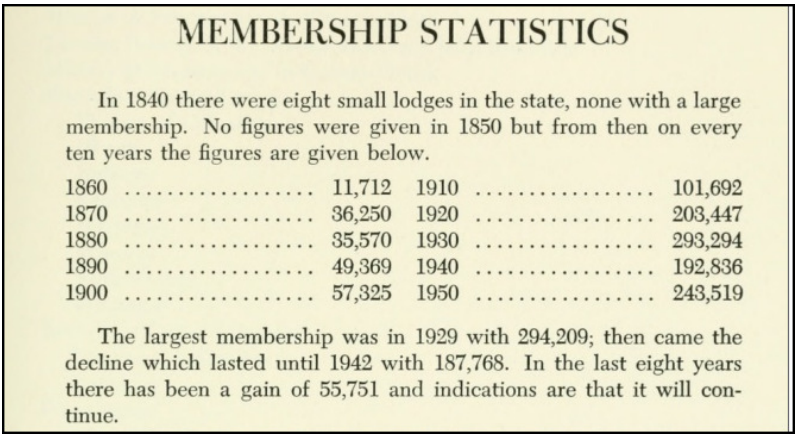
[34] Mohr, "Freemasonry Enlists in the War," 16.

[35] Mohr, "Freemasonry Enlists in the War," 16.

[36] "Revere Masonic Lodge Plans Benefit Musical," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Apr 04, 1943.

duty, their principle function expired with the declaration of peace."[37] The Masonic Service Centers in Illinois were closed down on September 28, 1945.

Before World War II, Freemasonry had been facing a decline in membership in the United States however, after the end of the war membership steadily increased.[38] The popularity of all fraternal organizations like the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion received a surge in popularity as the men returning sought fellowship. Freemasonry in Illinois was no different. This surge in membership is shown in this chart (see figure 2).[39] Between 1940 and 1950 Illinois Masons gained 50,683 members and the number was still rising.[40]



MEMBERSHIP STATISTICS

In 1840 there were eight small lodges in the state, none with a large membership. No figures were given in 1850 but from then on every ten years the figures are given below.

1860	11,712	1910	101,692
1870	36,250	1920	203,447
1880	35,570	1930	293,294
1890	49,369	1940	192,836
1900	57,325	1950	243,519

The largest membership was in 1929 with 294,209; then came the decline which lasted until 1942 with 187,768. In the last eight years there has been a gain of 55,751 and indications are that it will continue.

Figure 2

William J. Jones of Villa Grove, Illinois, explains why these men joined the Masons after the war.

> I think immediately after WWII the Veterans experienced a great fellowship when they were in the service or whatever it was. They were together with other men and felt a close kinship and when they came home they didn't have that same feeling about the general people that they were acquainted with and stuff so they were, they liked to join a fraternity, a men's

[37] Turnbull, *The Rise and Progress of Freemasonry in Illinois*, 295.
[38] "Membership Totals since 1924," Masonic Service Association of North America, accessed March 30, 2013, http://www.msana.com/msastats_09to10.asp.
[39] Turnbull, *The Rise and Progress of Freemasonry in Illinois*, 303.
[40] Turnbull, *The Rise and Progress of Freemasonry in Illinois*, 303.

> organization, so they could have fellowship similar to what they had when they were in the service either in the country or overseas.[41]

Mattoon Lodge #260 faced a steady decline in membership since the beginning of the Great Depression; however, at the end of WWII the opposite was true.[42] In 1948 "forty-eight Master Masons were raised," then in December of the same year the lodge had to purchase "eight dozen linen aprons," the following year another "fifty-six Master Masons were raised."[43] The growth continued steadily so that by 1958 Lodge membership was up to 765.[44] Charleston Lodge #35, who had thirty-three members who served in WWII, also had a surge in membership that reached its peak in 1955 with 412 members.[45] Membership across the United States reached a record high in 1959 with 4,103,161 members.[46]

Freemasonry was heavily involved throughout World War II both internationally and domestically. They faced suppression through propaganda, expulsion, and violence in Germany and occupied Europe by the Nazi regime that feared a "Jewish-Masonic conspiracy."[47] Even through this suppression Freemasons emerged as leading figures both in the allied civilian government and military command. I Illinois, Freemasons, with the help of the Order of the Eastern Star, threw their support behind the war effort with the opening of Masonic Service Centers that provided for the physical comforts and morale of the servicemen stationed in Illinois. Veterans returning from the war seeking the same fraternity they had with each other during the war joined the Freemasons causing a widespread upsurge in Masonic popularity. World War II brought "out the best"[48] in Freemasonry,

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[41] William J. Jones, Interview by Alyse Bennett and Mark Stanford, Transcript, Villa Grove, IL. September 21, 2012. William J. Jones, 33°, is Past Grand Master of Knights Templar in the United States.

[42] Kim Torp transcriber, "Mattoon Lodge No. 260: A. F. & A. M. One Hundredth Anniversary 1858-1958," *Illinois Genealogy Trails*. (2002), http://www.genealogytrails .com/ill/coles/masons100th.html.

[43] Torp, "Mattoon Lodge No. 260: A. F. & A. M. One Hundredth Anniversary 1858-1958. "

[44] Torp, "Mattoon Lodge No. 260."

[45] Kim Torp transcriber, "One Hundred Fifty Years of Freemasonry in Charleston, Illinois 1845-1995."

[46] "Membership Totals since 1924," Masonic Service Association of North America, accessed March 30, 2013, http://www.msana.com/msastats_ 09to10.asp.

[47] "Freemasonry Under the Nazi Regime."

[48] Mohr, "Freemasonry Enlists in the War," 16.

they faced adversity around the world and still managed to emerge stronger than when the war began.

Women Journalists During World War II

Jessica Braundmeier

"I can't change my sex. But you can change your policy."[1] Helen Kirkpatrick's response to the editor of the *Chicago Daily News* provides a great example of the difficulties women journalists and war correspondents faced during World War II. The editor, who of course was male, informed Kirkpatrick that the *Chicago Daily News* did not hire women. Women journalists found it difficult to land jobs simply because they were female. World War II offered women reporters job opportunities and a chance to shine. Men were called to fight in the war, leaving their jobs open and only women left to fill them, though women reporters were criticized and stereotyped. Many women reporters and war correspondents overcame the critics and stereotypes set upon them by reporting on the war, despite their difficulties. Marguerite Higgins, Margaret Bourke-White, and Dorothy Thompson were just a few of the successful women journalists who reported on the war. World War II changed the view of women in the newsroom and gave them the same opportunities as men.

Challenging the stereotype of female reporters was easier said than done for women. Due to stereotypes, editors refused to hire women or treated them differently if they did get hired. Negative opinions of women originated before World War II. One example was t that women simply were not strong enough to face the war. One source says, "Society had believed women were fragile creatures who lacked the mental skills to interpret the news."[2] However, by "society" they meant "men." Men assumed women were incompetent, bound to stay home and cook for the strong working men. In the newsroom, men referred to women as paper dolls, a term from the Great Depression. "Paper dolls became a popular children's toy. The flat figures cut from cardboard were flimsy. The cardboard bends; the paper rips." The name "paper dolls" insinuated that women reporters lacked sturdiness and substance.[3] In a 1944 article for the *Saturday Evening Post*, Stanley Frank and Paul Sann, said women reporters "(a) can't spell, (b) don't ask the right questions, (c) lack imagination, (d) won't get specific

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[1]Julia Edwards, *Women of the World: The Great War Correspondents* (Boston: Houghton-Miffin Company, 1988), 108.

[2]Catherine Gourley, *War, Women, and the News: How Female Journalists Won the Battle to Cover World War II* (New York: Atheneum Books For Young Readers, 2007), 3.

[3]Gourley, *War, Women, and The News* 91-92.

information."[4] Editors flat out thought women were not smart enough to report the war and should stick to writing about beauty.

However, just because men thought women reporters were not smart enough does not mean they were right. The Library of Congress Exhibit, "Women Come to the Front," explains that "at the turn of the twentieth century, the women's suffrage movement opened opportunities for female reporters…[Women] often worked without permanent office space, salaries, or access to social clubs and backrooms where men conducted business."[4] They put up with these horrible conditions because they wanted to work in the newsroom. Despite their poor treatment, women started forming their own organizations. The most popular of these organizations was the Women's National Press Association.[5] It was dedicated to achieving equal rights for women journalists and played a vital role in the women's rights movement. The movement started gaining momentum before World War II and grew rapidly during the 1940s. War allowed women to step up and take over the positions that were vacated by men going to fight. "Women have invaded," Frank and Sann explained, "masculine precincts on newspapers as finance, politics, sports, and the police beat. Paper dolls are reading copy, working on the rewrite desk, taking pictures. They are covering riots, crimes of purple passion, train wrecks, fires and suicides without swooning. Much to the astonishment of the misogynists who work along-side them, the paper always appears on time, it is reasonably free of errors and there has not yet been a deluge of libel suits or indignant readers canceling their subscriptions."[6] Women were no longer just making copies or writing about fashion. They were able to cover the positions men left behind without struggling like men thought they would.

Women war correspondents also had to deal with restrictions set on them by the United States' War Department. Nancy Caldwell Sorel said, "Every reporter and photographer moving into the war zone had first to be accredited to a particular branch of the service (usually the U.S. Army) so that the War Department could keep track of them."[7] Though this applied to all correspondents, male or female, the women

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[4]Library of Congress Interpretive Programs Office, "Women Come To The Front: Journalists, Photographers, and Broadcasters During World War II." http://www.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aopx?id=45716

[5]Stanley Frank and Paul Sann, "Paper Dolls," Saturday Evening Post. May 20, 1944, 20, 93.

[6]Frank and Sann, "Paper Dolls" 20.

[7]Nancy Caldwell Sorel, *The Women Who Wrote the War* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1999), 170.

correspondents experienced more restrictions than men. Women were not permitted to go further than women's services, such as the Red Cross Nurse's stations. Thus, they could not cover actual combat zones. "Any women correspondents in a war zone were to be accompanied by an officer…if such officers were not available for escort service, the women would be in violation of the rules."[8] Women had to find alternate ways to accomplish what they set out to do. For example, Margaret Bourke-White, when informed she could not fly, took a ship to her destination instead. Iris Carpenter, a reporter fighting for a story on the war, complained, "The only chance a newspaper girl had of talking to troops was by touring camps with the Red Cross doughnut girls."[9] Peggy Hull, a correspondent stationed in Hawaii, felt the pressure of the restrictions under General Douglas MacArthur that did not allow women reporters in the Southwest Pacific.[10] Rather than giving up, Hull pushed back and soon the restrictions were lifted. However, Hull said, "Our presence in various fields is bitterly resented by the men we compete with…Overwhelming obstacles are frequently set up to prevent us from working."[11] After the War Department abolished the restrictions, women still fought harder than men to report their stories. Mark Jenkins wrote in his article, "'Gal Reporters': Breaking Barriers in World War II", women reporters "had to hustle harder than their male colleagues. For theirs was a double war: the war against the enemy, and the war against the system. They had to fight red tape, condescension, disdain, outright hostility, and downright lewdness."[12] Women were not only fighting for a chance to report the war but also for an equal playing field with male reporters.

The most famous of female war correspondents during World War II was Marguerite Higgins. In her lifetime, Higgins "received fifty journalism awards, including the 1951 Pulitzer Prize for Foreign Correspondence. [She was] the first women ever to receive this award." She earned all these before she turned thirty-six.[13] One of the first awards she received was from the "New York Newspaper Women's Club for her story – and participation in – the May 1945 liberation of

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[8]Julia Edwards, *Women of the World*, 149.

[9] Lilya Wagner, *Women War Correspondents of World War II* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), 21.

[10]Sorel, *The Women Who Wrote the War* 293.

[11]Sorel, The Women Who Wrote the War 293-294.

[12] Mark Jenkins, "'Gal Reporters': Breaking Barriers in World War II." http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2003/12/1210/_031210_warwomen.html.

[13] Madelon Golden Shilpp and Sharon Murphy, *Great Women of the Press* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983), 191.

Dachau."[14] Dachau was one of the largest Nazi death camps. Higgins and fellow reporter, Peter Furst, from *The Stars and Stripes*, "were the first two Americans to enter the [enclosure] at Dachau."[15] Instead of waiting for the troops to arrive and deal with the guards, Higgins "spoke in forceful German to the guards…[saying] 'Come here, please. We are Americans."[16] The guards surrendered to the reporters and Higgins and Furst opened the gates to free the prisoners. This was remarkable at the time because people were not used to women accomplishing great achievements.

Higgins' award-winning article about the liberation of Dachau was published in the *New York Herald Tribune*. From reading this article, it is obvious that she was proud of herself for being the first on the scene. By repeating the same fact multiple times, Higgins ensures the reader could not miss it. She starts off saying that her and "Peter Furst, of the army newspaper 'Stars and Stripes,' were the first two Americans to enter the enclosure at Dachau." But later in the article she explains once more that she "happened to be the first through the gate."[17] She wanted to clarify that although they were both there, she was before Furst, making her literally the first person through the gates. Not only was she a woman reporting the war, but she had a role in the war. Higgins was a prime example of women overcoming the difficulties of being a female journalist.

Margaret Bourke-White was the first American female war correspondent recognized by the U.S. Department of War. This allowed her to wear a uniform as if she was a soldier, differing only with a letter "C" on the arm, standing for "correspondent." Unlike most women in the field, she was allowed to work in combat zones without arguing with officials. The Department of War allowed her to accompany air force pilots and take pictures as they went on a bombing raid, making her the first female photojournalists to do so.[18] She covered many aspects of the war, including the London Blitz, the Russian war efforts, and other battles in World War II.[19] She did not let the fact that she was a women stop her from reporting and taking pictures of the war. Sorel's

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[14] Barbara Belford, *Brilliant Bylines* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 289-290.

[15] Belford, *Brilliant Bylines*, 293.

16 Gourley, War, Women, and the News, 138.

[17] Marguerite Higgins, "33,000 Dachau Captives Freed by 7th Army," *New York Herald Tribune*, May 1, 1945.

[18] Gourley, *War, Women, and the News*, 70-71.

[19] Gerry J. Gilmore, "Women Journalists Came of Age Covering World War II." Defense.gov.

The Women Who Wrote the War quoted Bourke-White, saying, "You can do one of two things: put your mind on your work, or worry about what people are saying about you. The two do not mix."[20]

Even with a respectable reputation, Bourke-White still encountered bumps in the road. "She was denied access to cover the Allied invasion of North Africa, the excuse being that it was too dangerous for a woman to fly there from England."[21] Instead of admitting defeat, she took a ship. She was determined to catch the story and did whatever was needed to acquire it. During a military ban on civilian cameras, she would sneak "photographs however she could, including from her hotel balcony….she turned her bathroom into a darkroom filled with her paraphernalia, and hid out under her bed when air-raid inspectors knocked on her door."[22] The laws that tried to keep journalists out of war zones acted more like guidelines to Bourke-White, seeing as she still gathered information for her stories with them in place.

Bourke-White's book, *They Called It "Purple Heart Valley,"* describes her experiences in Italy during the war. Unlike most male writers, she makes the war front seem almost peaceful. In a part of her book she writes,

"Everything was so still, so pure, that it seemed impossible that from this same mountain such hell could have gushed forth the night before. As we drove toward the front, in this crystalline light, even the signs of war took on a softened character. The tanks and half-tracks and mules, crowded under olive groves so as to be screened from the air, seemed there for some peaceful purpose. The soldiers peeping out of caves and clustered in sheltered ravines might have been resting during a hiking trip planned by a tourist agency. Ancient villages, hanging like fairy castles in the cliffs, took on such magic in the slanting sun that one forgot that every wall was pockmarked and every roof had crashed into rubble. The Italian landscape became a picture-postcard background for war."[23]

Like many women, she tried to find something good or beautiful within the ugly war and she did. Rather than saying she saw tanks and soldiers hiding, she chose to depict the scene as if it was a picture.

Another American journalist, Dorothy Thompson, wrote her opinions in her own column, "On the Record," which was printed in

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[20]Sorel, *The Women Who Wrote the War*, 191.
[21]Mark Jenkins, "Gal Reporters".
[22]Shilpp and Murphy, *Great Women of the Press* 187.
[23] Margaret Bourke-White, *They Called it "Purple Heart Valley"* (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1944), 134.

over 170 newspapers. She also reported for the *New York Tribune.* In her writing, she tried to warn her readers about the "up-and-coming Adolf Hitler." In her opinion, Hitler and his National Socialist followers were a "threat to world peace"[24] She warned America that "Germany was preparing for war." In 1931 she wrote, "Nazism… Fascism…Totalitarianism…For the sake of these words and what they represent, bombs fall; yesterday in Ethiopia, today in China and in Spain, tomorrow – where?"[25] War had not yet begun but Thompson, as well as many other correspondents, knew it was coming. She tried to warn her readers but, even though many people followed her reporting, very few took Thompson's warnings seriously.

In Thompson's writing, she made the war, specifically the people, seem less horrific. In her article, "There Was a Man," she had nothing but great praises for Winston Churchill. Her writing was somewhat poetic, as if she was writing a love poem about him. When describing Churchill's speech, she said,

> Not in generations have such words of passionate love and measured indignation fallen from English lips as Churchill uttered in the series of speeches called 'While England Slept.' And while he spoke to them, while he spoke mostly to unheeding ears, the shadow was lengthening and finally loomed so tall and menacing that all the world could see. And then, when it was over them with all the full darkness of its horror and destruction, the people of England, the common people of England, lifted Churchill on their hands, crying, 'Speak and fight for us!'[26]

With nothing bad to say about Churchill, it seems as if she admired him greatly. Usually, male journalists would not sound this poetic, as they would stick strictly to the facts. Thompson, along with other women reporters, gave readers a new perspective. Rather than regurgitating facts, they wrote with great detail, as if writing a poem.

At the war's end, things in the newsroom started to go back to the way things were before the war. "Paper dolls across the country gave up their typewriters as they had agreed to do. Normalcy in the newsroom was a return to the days of labeling women as 'newshens.' Some women kept their jobs, but their assignments shifted from front-page news back to the women's pages again." [27] However, some women reporters

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[24]Gilmore, "Women Journalists Came of Age Covering World War II."
[25]Gourley, *War, Women, and the News,* 46-47.
[26]Dorothy Thompson, "There Was a Man," *Life,* January 24, 1941, 69.
[27]Gourley, *Women, War, and the News* 163.

defended themselves and insisted other women reporters do the same. Margaret Barnard Pickel urged women to fight against stereotypes. In a 1945 article for the *New York Times* she states, "Citizens in the fullest sense, American women must shoulder their full responsibility, for they cannot hide behind the excuse that they have to put up with a man-made world." She tried to prevent women reverting back to the male-dominated business world before the war. She wanted them to keep the momentum of the female journalists and challenge themselves even further. Later in the article, she continues, "The world of the future will not be a man's world…it will be the kind of world that men and women, citizens equally, choose to make it." Pickel believed that women will be treated the same as men in the future, but only if women stand up for themselves.[28] This idea was not the belief of Pickel alone; many women in this time agreed with her. At the war's end, women were expected to "make room" for men returning from war, who wanted their reporting jobs back. However, "Women began to question social and economic rules and demand equal access to educational and career options."[29] Helen Rogers Reid, of the *Herald Tribune*, believed that "women, married or not, should work and be economically independent."[30] Many female reporters who agreed with Reid did not want to give up their jobs, which they earned with hard work and dedication during the war.

Though the quote by Marilyn Monroe is over used, it still holds true: "Well behaved women rarely make history." Women fought harder to report the war just to prove to everybody, especially their male colleagues, that they could. If they had given up when editors and the government told them to, the classic stereotype of women being inferior to their male colleagues would still apply after the war. The war allowed female news writers to start reporting on a more level playing field and started a movement towards more equal rights for women in the newsroom. A political reporter and war correspondent May Craig, in her speech to the Women's National Press Club in 1944 said, "The war has given women a chance to show what they can do in the news world, and they have done well."[31]

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[28]Margaret Barnard Pickel, "There's Still a Lot for Women to Learn," *New York Times*, November 11, 1945.
[29]Library of Congress, "Women Come to the Front."
[30]Sorel, *The Women Who Wrote the War*, 179.
[31]Library of Congress, "Women Come to the Front."

Environmentalism in Charleston, Illinois: a Snapshot of April 1970

Katherine Unruh

An examination of the decade between 1962 and 1972 in U.S. history reveals a building concern for the state of the planet. Environmental issues such as air and water pollution, the use of toxic chemicals, depleting natural resources, and the buildup of waste permeated many aspects of U.S. society. Previous research indicates that the contemporary environmentalist movement in the United States surfaced in many areas including: popular literature, public policy, religion, and education. It did so to the point that it saturated much of American society and settled into mainstream culture, pushing many Americans to reflect on their country's negative impact on the natural world. An analysis of articles published by the *Coles County Daily Times-Courier* in April 1970 provides a brief snapshot of how environmentalism touched not only large cities but, also, smaller communities such as Charleston in rural east-central Illinois. [1] The month of April 1970 holds significance because President Nixon dedicated 22 April 1970 as the first annual Earth Day. The *Coles County Daily Times-Courier* was the primary newspaper for the 16,400 citizens of Charleston, Illinois.[2] Over the course of the month, the *Coles County Daily Times-Courier* published thirty-seven newspaper articles, twenty-one photographs, and three editorial cartoons on subjects related to the health of the planet. This evidence shows that concern for the environment and conservation not only reached this small community, but generated a multifaceted discussion that touched a variety of people in many ways, from farmers and agricultural practices to academic students and local politics.

In a 2003 article for *The Journal of American History*, "'Give Earth a Chance': The Environmental Movement and the Sixties," Adam Rome expresses his disappointment with the lack of scholarly attention to the environmental movement thus far. According to Rome,

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[1] Eastern Illinois University's presence in Charleston makes the community somewhat atypical because EIU's student population accounted for about half of the city. EIU's student population numbered 8,214 in 1971. Therefore, this analysis is not representative of every rural U.S. town. "EIU University Foundations," www.eiu.edu/~eiu1111/complete%20text%2008.pdf

[2] Today known as the *Charleston Times-Courier*. "Demographic Data," *City of Charleston, IL*, http://www.charlestonillinois.org/index.asp?Type=B_BASIC&SEC={6F208E00-3AEB-4137-BD15-8B1068A18427}

> The rise of the rise of the environmental movement owed much to the events of the 1960s. Yet scholars have not thus far done enough to place environmentalism in the context of the times. The literature on the sixties slights the environmental movements, while the work on environmentalism neglects the political, social, and cultural history of the sixties.[3]

In fact, Rome found that, "several historians of the decade fail even to mention Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* – a best seller in 1962."[4] Attention to the natural world and its resources appears in many phases of U.S. History, from America's frontier mentality and westward expansion, to its growing industrialization and conservation practices under President Theodore Roosevelt.[5] Historians traditionally view environmentalism as merely a product of the 1960's activist climate. On the contrary, the contemporary movement forms part of a larger history of the United States' relationship with the natural world and its resources. The topics of environmentalism, conservation, and cleaning up pollution reveal insights into a cross-section of American history: its cultural products, politics, religious beliefs, and education.

Issues such as pollution, chemical use, and strained natural resources sparked popular texts read by the wider public, such as Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* and Paul Ehrlich's *The Population Bomb.* With the support of many Americans, governments formed new legislation to reduce pollution and improve the quality of air and water. All of this national attention caused environmentalism to begin seeping into social institutions such as religion and education. Religious groups participated in discussions, arrived at varying conclusions, and published articles about it in their religious periodicals. Conservation efforts also developed in the educational sphere, where children participated in Earth Day or other conservation activities in their classrooms and communities, and educators created resources for their colleges on teaching environmentalism. Overall, based on the variety of articles published on these issues in the *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, the same held true in Coles County Illinois.

National and International Political Contexts

The newspaper published a mixture of articles: some pertain to conservation on a very local level while others stretch to national and

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[3]Adam Rome, "'Give Earth a Chance': The Environmental Movement and the Sixties," *Journal of American History* 90, no. 2 (2003): 525.
[4]Rome, "Give Earth a Chance", 525.
[5]Benjamin Kline, *First Along the River: A Brief History of the U.S. Environmental Movement*, 3rd ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007), 51.

international scopes. Most of the latter articles focus either on whole political parties or specific newsworthy events taking place across the nation.

Beginning April 8, John Chamberlain's "These Days" column called for a "non-partisan Earth Day."[6] He reminded readers that besides a few professional ecologists, "the most fervent environmentalist in the State of California is none other than Republican Governor Ronald Reagan."[7] In the late 1960s, many politicians believed environmental issues resonated with a variety of Americans and as a result both Republicans and Democrats competed to pose themselves as environmental leaders.[8] In his article, "The Environmental Movement and the Sixties," Rome creates a context for the movement by examining it through liberal politics, the activism of middle-class women, and the student counterculture. He describes the movement as liberal in some ways and conservative in others, "Though liberal Democrats argued for environmental protection . . . the cause attracted Republicans too."[9] The progressive Democrats in the 1960s wished to protect the environment in order to maintain the biodiversity of life and live in harmony with the planet. More conservative Republican Americans, who also supported environmentalist causes, tended to do so because they viewed nature as a valuable commercial or recreational commodity and wanted clean neighborhoods that reflected their middle class values.[10] For example, many Americans increasingly favored government controls on pollution. Surveys from 1965 and 1970 documented that the number of American citizens who wanted the government to reduce air and water pollution rose from seventeen percent to fifty-three percent over those five years.[11] From a political perspective, environmentalism appealed to a wide variety of Americans, even if they expressed concern for different reasons.

However, some generational miscommunication existed. Chamberlain's column returned to conservation a week later when he lamented how young members of the environmentalist movement failed to give "homage to the ecological pioneers" of an older generation who first started generating awareness to problems.[12] He reminded readers

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[6]John Chamberlain, "These Days: A Non-Partisan Earth Day," *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, 8 April 1970.
[7]Chamberlain, "These Days", *Coles County Daily Times-Courier* 8 April 1970.
[8]Thomas Robertson, "Environmentalism," *Postwar America*, vol. 2, edited by James Ciment. (New York: Sharpe Reference, 2007), , 500.
[9]Rome, "Give Earth a Chance" 554.
[10]Kline, *First Along the River*, 73.
[11]Kline, *First Along the River* 80.
[12]Chamberlain, "These Days: Homage to the Ecological Pioneers," *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, 14 April 1970.

that "the fight for a clean environment wasn't born yesterday" and pointed out disconnections where high school and college students ignored the "veterans" of the ecology field. [13] Despite conflicts, environmentalism still appealed to a growing number of Americans.

Perhaps in response to such increased support, the U.S. government investigated issues such as pollution. In one instance, the *Coles County Daily Times-Courier* reported that President Nixon signed an executive order creating the Industrial Pollution Control Council, a group of fifty-five "top businessmen" to make recommendations and help coordinate how large businesses approach pollution. [14] This underlines just one small example of how the government involved itself with environmentalism. The newspaper also referenced an international perspective to environmentalism. While running for the United States Senate, Illinois Treasurer Adlai E. Stevenson III, "proposed a new international league of nations to promote conservation and control pollution." [15] In all, the *Coles County Daily Times-Courier* incorporated articles that set the movement within national and occasionally international political contexts.

Defining the Problem

"Environmentalism" and its close cousin "conservation" encompass a wide variety of subjects. Likewise, Americans framed their discussions about it in everything from scientific terms on energy use to religious questions of morality and good stewardship of the earth. The thirty-seven articles in the *Coles County Daily Times-Courier* mirror the United States at large. They approached the subject from almost every conceivable angle: energy use; concern for the conservation of wildlife; discussions over the earth's booming population; as a law enforcement issue; as a biological health and safety risk; and, of course, as a pollution problem.

Interestingly, energy use did not receive a lot of attention in any of the articles. However, Chase McDenough, a ComEd engineer, spoke at an EIU Earth Week event. [16] He admitted that the company polluted the air with coal burning generators to produce electricity, but also described the ways ComEd curbs pollution and investigates alternative

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[13] Chamberlain, "These Days," *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, 14 April 1970.

[14] *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, "55 'Top Businessmen' On Pollution Council," 10 April 1970.

[15] United Press International, "Adlai Proposes New Conservation League," *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, 23 April 1970.

[16] Jim Jones, "ComEd Engineer Speaks at 'Earth Week' Kickoff," *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, 21 April 1970.

energy sources. Aside from this article, none of the others focused exclusively on energy use.

Concern for the conservation of plant and animal wildlife appeared in the newspaper. Kearney Bothwell's article from San Bernardino, California pinpointed the cause for sick and dying Ponderosa pine forests in the west. Forest service researchers realized that the lingering smog in the area damaged the 1.3 million Ponderosas. [17] The newspaper's editors even highlighted one conservation issue from as far away as Africa. David Creffield's article discussed wildlife poaching in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.[18] In one instance a group of poachers poisoned a water hole and collected the skins and hooves of 255 zebras. [19] Interestingly, this conflict tied in with Tanzania's economy; while the poachers profited, their activities also removed the animals that attracted tourists. On a more local level, a small article from Charleston announced Mrs. Oglesby's re-election as president of the Wildlife Society, a group going on nine years. The Wildlife Society also presented Mr. Stoltz with a membership, "for his connections and contributions to wild life and conservation." [20] In these and other instances, the newspaper clearly frames environmentalism in terms of wildlife protection.

Another piece from Chamberlain's "These Days" column brought up population, famine, and agricultural practices. As in his other articles, Chamberlain made a distinction between his point of view and those of others. In this case, he trusted genetically modified crops to feed the growing global population. He supported "slowing down our population growth," "for I like room in which to move about," but for Chamberlain, "the first priority is to push back socialism so that we shall have time to master the problem of 'too many people.'"[21] Chamberlain's attention to population and agricultural production mirrored similar discussions taking place around the same time. For example, Paul Ehrlich's 1968 text, *The Population Bomb*, underlined the world's ever increasing population as the largest threat to a sustainable earth.

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[17]Kearney Bothwell, "Smog Killing Stately Trees in California," *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, 21 April 1970.

[18]David Creffield, "Wildlife Slaughtered by Poaching Gangs," *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, 21 April 1970.

[19]Creffield, "Wildlife Slaughtered," *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, 21 April 1970.

[20]*Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, "Mrs. Oglesby Heads Wildlife Society," 16 April 1970.

[21]Chamberlain, "These Days: The World Could Feed More People," *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, 21 April 1970.

Ehrlich, a Stanford biologist, expressed grave concern for the sustainability of humanity given the booming population and the limited capacity for agriculture to feed everyone.[22] His book sold more than three million copies and added the surplus population to the growing list of environmental issues.[23]

By April 1970, taking some responsibility for the planet included enlisting the help of law enforcement. Sheriff Mike Curtis and State's Attorney L. Stanton Dotson "jointly declared a crackdown" against dumping trash on public and private property without permission.[24] Law enforcement planned to take people caught dumping trash to the County Jail and fine them $25 to $500.[25] A similar story appeared in Texas. A small excerpt on "Litter Cost," told that Texas spent $1.9 million a year cleaning up litter along its roads, despite campaigns against littering and laws against throwing trash out of vehicles.[26] These stories reveal that not all Americans expressed a high level of commitment toward not littering, but Coles County law enforcement found it worthwhile to announce their continued pursuit on illegal dumping.

In some cases the newspaper articles framed environmental issues in terms of health and safety hazards to humans and animals. One article highlighted a government report finding that non-persistent pesticides could cause accidental deaths. Although the non-persistent chemicals "may help clean residues out of man's environment and food," the article explained that the newer chemicals were highly toxic to bees and warm-blooded animals.[27] In addition, they caused a number of human poisonings, some fatal. In "Ecological Group Holds Community Cleanup," university and high school students worked to clean up a huge dump on Sleepy Hollow Road. Among the thousands of broken glass bottles and rusty tin cans they found, "Several refrigerators, discarded washing machines, food scraps . . . [and] the remains of several animals."[28] They also located more dead animals along a creek

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[22] Paul R. Ehrlich, *The Population Bomb* (Cutchogue, NY: Buccaneer Books, 1968), 5.

[23] Robertson, "Environmentalism," 499.

[24] *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, "Dumping Crackdown Declared," 18 April 1970.

[25] *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, "Dumping Crackdown Declared," 18 April 1970.

[26] United Press International, "Litter Costs," *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, 21 April 1970.

[27] *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, "Non-Persistent Pesticides Could Cause Deaths," 27 April 1970.

[28] *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, "Ecological Group Holes Community Cleanup," 30 April 1970.

that drained into Lake Charleston, "the only source of drinking water for Charleston."[29] Unsurprisingly, the newspaper commented that "the stench…was hardly bearable." [30] Both of these articles linked environmental issues to the health and safety of humans and wildlife.

Last but not least, the newspaper discussed pollution. It mentioned water, air, land, and thermal pollution throughout the month. However, water pollution, by far, received the most attention especially in Coles County itself and the surrounding area. Within the larger mid-west region, Nixon called for the halt of pollution in the Great Lakes.[31] Closer to home, the Soil Enrichment Materials Corporation (SEMCO) applied 90,000 gallons of diluted sludge from Chicago to a farmland test plot near Humboldt, Illinois. Although SEMCO intended to recycle the sludge as fertilizer and eventually establish a market for it in Douglas County, it ironically created problems when runoff from the field started draining into a Coles County culvert.[32] Later in the month, the *Coles County Daily Times-Courier* ran a United Press International article from New Orleans, Louisiana, "Pollution Hits Shoreline." It illustrated an incident where fisherman and pilots spotted two oil spills in the Gulf of Mexico.[33] In addition to these and other articles, the paper published photos of soapsuds in the Embarrass River, a polluted stream in Lakeview Park, and oil pollution in Riley Creek (north of Mattoon). Based on what the newspaper published, people in Coles County expressed much concern over water pollution.

In conclusion, the April publications from *Coles County Daily Times-Courier* generate insight into how Charleston defined environmentalism. Here, as in the rest of the U.S., people portrayed it in a multitude of ways. To those living in Charleston, environmentalism and conservation pertained to energy, wildlife, global population, law enforcement, health and safety, and most often pollution. Most of the time, the newspaper illustrated this in stories that applied directly to local situations and immediate community involvement.

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[29] *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, "Ecological Group Holds Community Cleanup" 30 April 1970.

[30] *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, "Ecological Group Holds Community Cleanup" 30 April 1970.

[31] United Press International, "Nixon Calls for Halt in Pollution of Lakes," *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, 16 April 1970.

[32] *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, "Sludge Being Spread on Douglas Farmland," 23 April 1970.

[33] United Press International, "Pollution Hits Shoreline," *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, 27 April 1970.

The Community Takes Action

In response to the national attention environmentalism received and the slew of issues that appeared to affect Coles County, Illinois, the *Coles County Daily Times-Courier* shows how people started taking action. Over the course of the month youth participated in projects, Eastern Illinois University scheduled educational events, and people cleaned up dumpsites, and organized petitions.

Young people ranging from Girl Scout Troops to university students became involved. In one article, "Buzzard Students Study Pollution," two classes from Buzzard Laboratory School said they learned about pollution concerns on television and decided to start their own extracurricular initiatives.[34] The article included a photo of the class and recounted that they made posters about pollution for one of their projects and distributed them to local businesses in the downtown square to put on display. Just before Earth Day, class 9B from the EIU Laboratory School published an article in the paper listing all the environmental problems impacting Charleston and possible solutions.[35] The students used the newspaper as a means for sending out a call to action. A captioned photo showed a Girl Scout Troop cleaning up garbage along the lakefront at Lakeview Park. Their efforts resulted in several dozen bags of garbage.[36] Just after Earth Day, EIU students staged an antipollution march on April 24.[37] In each of these instances students promoted a cleaner local environment and encouraged the rest of their community to get involved.

The state sponsored opportunities for students and public audiences to learn about conservation through workshops and Eastern Illinois University's sponsored Earth Day events. "Conservation Workshops Offered by Universities" advertised a summer program for high school students across Illinois to learn about conservation and the professional careers available in the field.[38] The EIU Ecological Study and Control Board held meetings, a teach-in on April 20, and a cleanup day on April 25. The group's purpose "is to fight the spreading menace of air and water pollution," by organizing days to "clean up the illegal dumps in

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[34]*Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, "Buzzard Students Study Pollution," 14 April 1970.

[35]Class 9B EIU Lab School, "Pollution Here? Class Finds It," *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, 21 April 1970.

[36]*Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, "Girl Scout Troop 91," 21 April 1970.

[37] *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, "EIU Students to Stage Antipollution March," 24 April 1970.

[38] *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, "Conservation Workshops Offered by Universities," 13 April 1970.

Coles County."[39] In celebration of Earth Day, EIU also hosted a full day of speakers to discuss the state of the planet.[40] These examples illustrate how EIU and the State of Illinois sponsored educational opportunities for Charleston and the surrounding areas.

A number of cleanup projects took place in and around the city during April. Besides some of the Girl Scout Troops, the *Coles County Daily Times-Courier* published a photo of a biology class from Charleston Junior High School who cleaned up debris from their school grounds.[41] On April 25, EIU's Ecological Group held a cleanup day for "one of the many illegal roadside dumps in the Charleston area."[42] This constituted the largest effort of all the cleanups documented by the newspaper. Two donated trucks made a total of thirteen trips to the Ferrier Land Fill in Lafayette Township, the only legal landfill in the county. The group coordinated with the landfill, which agreed to remain open four extra hours to accommodate the all-day operation.[43] In anticipation of Earth Day a Senior Editor of United Press International, David Smothers, made the comment: "No one can seriously come out against a clean environment." [44] Likewise, none of the articles in the Charleston newspaper reported anyone upset by EIU's Earth Day events or by the various cleanup projects around town. All the cleanup efforts appeared successful, if only for a short period of time.

In addition to picking up trash, local parks also received attention in the newspaper. Besides briefly mentioning the official dedications of two local parks, the *Coles County Daily Times-Courier* followed a story on construction plans for the nearby Fox Ridge State Park.[45] A group of people sent in petitions protesting plans for constructing sixty campsites and electricity poles at Fox Ridge. The Coles-Moultrie Electric Co-op promised to run the wires for free if they installed them above ground. To the dismay of some citizens and students, that required cutting a thirty-foot right-of-way path through the forest.[46]

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[39] *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, "Pollution Topic of EIU Group," 8 April 1970.

[40] John Tracy Jr., "Earth Day Comes to Coles County," *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, 23 April 1970.

[41] *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, "The Biology Classes," 24 April 1970.

[42] *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, "Ecological Group Holds Community Cleanup," 30 April 1970.

[43] *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, "Ecological Group Holds Community Cleanup," 30 April 1970. .

[44] David Smothers, "Nation is United for 'Earth Day'," *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, 14 April 1970.

[45] *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, "Charleston Parks Dedicated," 20 April 1970.

[46] John Tracy, Jr., "60 Camper Spaces Scheduled for Construction at Fox Ridge," *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, 18 April 1970.

The petitions of 100 Charleston citizens and EIU students cited "'potential damage to wildlife and vegetation'" among their concerns for plans to clear the trees.[47] They also questioned the necessity for constructing campsites. The state eventually agreed to run the wires underground, a procedure that would not disturb the trees, but expressed the need to continue the plans for campsites. As it turned out, Fox Ridge desperately needed the designated campsites to help contain human activity within the park. The visitation nearly doubled in just five years; the park's 1965 annual visitation rate of 100,000 jumped to almost 200,000 by April 1970.[48]

Overall, the citizens of Charleston and students of all ages definitely participated in the environmental movement by cleaning up trash and negotiating better plans for Fox Ridge. "On April 22 or any other day we, in Charleston, must begin to clean up our environment," concluded students from the EIU Lab School, "We must start NOW."[49] Based on evidence from their local newspaper, members of the Charleston community made a considerably positive effort.

Conclusion

Concern for the environment and conservation not only reached rural Charleston, Illinois, but generated a multifaceted discussion that touched a variety of people in many ways, from farmers and agricultural practices to academic students and local politics. Between 1 April 1970 and 30 April 1970, the *Coles County Daily Times-Courier* printed thirty-seven articles, twenty-one photographs, and three political cartoons highlighting pollution, Earth Day, or other conservation issues. These articles covered environmentalism on multiple levels by including news stories that reached national and international scopes as well as regional and local events. These documents mirrored the many facets of environmentalism found on the national level and, likewise, defined the problem in many different ways by looking at it from angles such as energy, wildlife conservation, increasing population, law enforcement, as a health and safety risk, and pollution.

A rapid burst of concern for the environment infused itself into many aspects of life in the United States between the 1960s and early 1970s. Sparked, in part, by the awareness generated with popular texts,

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[47] *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, "Petitions Sent Protesting Fox Ridge Construction," 22 April 1970.

[48] *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, "No Overhead Wires for Fox Ridge Project," 28 April 1970.

[49] Emphasis in the original. Class 9B EIU Lab School, "Pollution Here? Class Finds It," *Coles County Daily Times- Courier*, 21 April 1970.

such as Rachel Carson's bestselling *Silent Spring*, the environmental movement produced new government legislation for regulating pollution and monitoring environmental change. Although new conservation laws, alone, did not guarantee continued public support, they did legitimize some of the concerns expressed by environmentalists. In doing so, it pushed more Americans to grapple with what they sometimes portrayed as an ethical struggle that lay behind human beings' relationships with the planet. Environmentalism also manifested itself in the educational sphere. There, EIU sponsored speakers as part of their Earth Day events and students of many ages participated in cleanup activities around Charleston.

Historians traditionally identified the environmental movement as one of several protest groups present in the turbulent 1960s. On the contrary, the United States's relationship with the natural world and its resources packs a more complex story. As historian Benjamin Kline stated, "The environmental movement found its place in every part of American life – political, economic, generational, urban, and rural."[50] The same holds true for Charleston. An Eastern Illinois University class summed up the history well when they wrote, "Our environment is becoming unhealthy. This is a problem that affects everyone, including the citizens of Charleston, Illinois."[51] By the end of April 1970, concern for the state of the planet reached this small city in rural, east-central Illinois and convinced its people to take action.

[50]Kline, *First Along the River* 82.
[51]Class 9B EIU Lab School, "Pollution Here? Class Finds It," *Coles County Daily Times-Courier*, 21 April 1970.

Reflections on Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan: The United States' Aid to the Mujahadeen and the Jihad against the Soviets

Jacob Welch

On a July morning in 1979, the day before the United States' anniversary of independence, a Georgian man stood solemnly in his office, hands in his pockets, peering out across the south lawn. The heat outside was a stifling mix of humidity and stagnant winds, emotions of what he had just done hung heavy in the air. As he turned around to face the cavalcade of aides and secretaries bustling through their business, he appeared unyielding and determined. Moments prior President Jimmy Carter had signed a presidential mandate that would authorize the funding of anti-communist guerilla fighters in Afghanistan known as the Mujahideen. The plan had been put together and forwarded by National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski. This arrangement would be known as Operation Cyclone and would lead Soviet Russia into its own particular version of America's embarrassing Vietnam Conflict, through augmenting the resistance of the Mujahedeen, Muslim fundamentalist fighters who harbored no love for the Communists.[1] The combat between the two superpowers during the Cold War would be catalyzed in the shadows over the land and lives of a people that many Americans at the time did not know existed. America seized the opportunity to embarrass their global competitor in a costly military loss, as well as inflict very real damage to Soviet military might through the direct attacks of the Mujahideen. Unfortunately an unseen consequence would ferment in the region after the war, stemming from the legacy that United States' foreign policy left behind: righteous indignation, interference with foreign governments, and inserting ourselves as the world's moral character despite violent resistance from America's former allies.

Some five months after Independence Day, during an address to Congress, the President angrily announced to the gathered crowd, "The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is the greatest threat to peace since the Second World War."[2] In a speech later that day, addressed to the Nation, President Carter blasted the invasion as a "callous violation of international law and the United Nations Charter." Fifty nations, he went on, had petitioned the U.N. Security Council to condemn the acts of the Soviet Union. Carter also delayed the United States Senate from ratifying the SALT II treaty, and reduced international trade on

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[1] John Prados, "Notes on the CIA's Secret War in Afghanistan," *The Journal of American History* (September 2002): 466.
[2] Mark Urban, *War in Afghanistan* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), 56.

technology, fishing privileges, and grain exports, as well as threatened a United States boycott of the 1980 Summer Olympics to be held in Moscow. The President also vowed assistance in the form of food, military equipment, and other necessities to Pakistan and other nations in the region; showing definite willingness and determination to halt the aggression of the Soviets in attempting to crush the Afghanistan resistance. Carter ended his speech simply saying: "The United States will meet its responsibilities. Thank you very much."[3] The Soviet invasion that President Carter had referred to had taken place in the evening on December 27, 1979 when Soviet troops quickly assaulted key government installations in the Afghan capital city of Kabul.[4]

Political Background of Afghanistan

Political and religious turmoil has always plagued Afghanistan, much of this resulting from military coups amongst rival political factions. During the middle part of the twentieth century, it was realized that the socio-economic system ruling Afghanistan was a two handed institution, based on a feudal society on one side, and imperialism on the other.[5] This condition led many politicians in Afghanistan to see a need for change, but also proved to be one of the greatest obstacles standing in the way of progress. People had become loyal to their local landlords, which made unity and centralized power difficult to achieve.

Afghanistan's political leadership rested with a king whose very actions gave rise to the circumstances that spurred a growth of Marxist thought. King Zahir Shah aimed to turn the traditional dictatorship into a growing constitutional monarchy but decisively failed due to the lack of preparedness of the primitive Afghan country, the king's own hesitancy over permitting the development of necessary institutions for a functioning government, and administrative incompetence that compounded economic difficulties.[6] On January 1st, 1965, Nur Mohammad Taraki and a group of Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries grouped together in Taraki's home to form the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). The immediate goal of the party was to

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[3] Jimmy Carter, "Soviet Military Intervention in Afghanistan: Actions to be Taken by the United States" (Presidential address, delivered to the Nation, Washington, D.C., January 4, 1980).

[4] Anthony Arnold, *Afghanistan: The Soviet Invasion in Perspective* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1985), 95.

[5] Beverly Male, *Revolutionary Afghanistan*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 107.

[6] Henry S. Bradsher, *Afghanistan and the Soviet Union* (Durham, N.C., Duke Press Policy Studies) 32.

form a socialist society in Afghanistan based on the principles of Marx and Lenin.[7] The PDPA sought to modernize the government of Afghanistan and bring the people into an international world through education and political action. Most of their recruiting was made amongst the already-educated: the students and teachers. As the PDPA grew in members it required, as many Communist parties did, an expansion of leadership in order to maintain unity amongst ever widening political gaps and the PDPA splintered into competing factions.

In 1973, King Mohammad Zahir Shah's cousin, Mohammad Daoud, staged a non-violent coup with the support of the PDPA. Daoud had taken power while Zahir was on a trip to Rome[8] and quickly implemented many politically-isolating changes as well as attempts at eliminating Islamic extremism in favor of Soviet-leaning policies. Daoud's progressive policies upset the highly ritualistic society that permeated Afghan culture, as well as contributed to further economic downfall amongst the Afghan people. Under Daoud's rule Afghanistan floundered, and came short of the changes necessary to bring Afghanistan out of the failing feudal system due to his politically repressive and economically over-reaching plans. Many historians see the end of Daoud's friendship with the Soviets as the result of a crucial conversation between the president of Afghanistan and Secretary Brezhnev of the Soviet Union. During the exchange, Brezhnev had acted the part of the insidious benefactor demanding payback for years of assistance in order to control policies in Afghanistan. The plan backfired and Daoud exclaimed in anger, "Afghans are masters in their own house and no foreign country could tell them how to run their own affairs."[9] This caused Daoud to look to the west for assistance in the form of financial and military support instead of continuing the long tradition of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

In April of 1978 Daoud was killed during a violent military coup d'état known as the Saur Revolution. The PDPA, who had been isolated and left out of mainstream governance, seized the reins of power and became the very definition of revolution, changing all manners of Afghan life. The PDPA implemented distinctive changes, many of which ran in the face of traditional Islamic ideology; they changed the national flag, painted school buildings red, encouraged education and rights for women, cancelled all rural debts, and began to impose land redistribution measures that upset the clan and tribal system of the

[7] Male. *Revolutionary Afghanistan*, 36

[8] David Loyn, *In Afghanistan: Two Hundred years of British, Russian and American Occupation* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2009), 136.

[9] Bradsher, *Afghanistan and the Soviet Union*, 66.

Afghan country society.[10] The abrupt changes sparked by the use of force and alienating government tactics drove a growing resentment amongst the rural population. As events spiraled out of control, the Islamist extremists now had a readily identifiable enemy in the PDPA government. The communist shock tactics of governance were a threat to their ways of life and it was necessary to conduct a resistance protecting their conservative values against democracy, progress, the education of girls and godless communism.[11] As 1978 began to draw to a close and upheaval in the countryside continued, the PDPA was near collapse. The party was again split between factions, and the Mujahideen were gaining strength. On December 5th of that year the newly established Khalqi regime made a grand public display of pro-Sovietism. The Soviet Union and the newly established Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA) signed the Soviet-Afghan Treaty of Friendship, which would pledge the two countries to support one another in the "creation of an effective security system in Asia on the basis of joint efforts by all the countries of the continent." The pact also contained a clause that would allow the DRA regime to petition the Soviet Union for military assistance.[12]

The Afghan leader Taraki made a call to the Soviet Union for military aid, dressed as Afghani soldiers so they would appear as troops who were ethnically similar to Afghans from the North. When the Soviets asked Taraki what had become of the thousands of Afghan soldiers who were sent to Moscow for training over the past ten years, he replied only that they had become "Muslim reactionaries."[13] It took nine months for the Soviets to agree and when they arrived they found a decidedly different situation than previously anticipated. The leader Taraki had been overthrown and murdered by his advisor Hafizullah Amin, who was not in high favor with the Soviets. They believed him to be a stooge of the Central Intelligence Agency due to his time spent in the west, calling him an "ambitious, cruel, treacherous person…insincere and two-faced."[14] The Soviet Union then looked to Babrak Karmal, a founder of the PDPA who had been cast aside as an ambassador, to place at the head of the Afghan Communist government. He was not given the high command until the invasion on December 27th after Amin had died in a firefight with Soviet attackers.[15]

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[10] Loyn, *In Afghanistan*, 138.
[11] Loyn, *In Afghanistan*, . 139.
[12] Urban, *War in Afghanistan*, 24.
[13] Loyn, *In Afghanistan*, 140.
[14] Loyn, *In Afghanistan, 140.*
[15] Arnold, *Afghanistan: The Soviet Invasion*, 95.

US Foreign Policy: Why help the resistance?

"What Are the Soviets Doing in Afghanistan," the title of a memorandum sent to National Security Advisor Brzezinski in September of 1979; the first line of the memo read: "Simply, we don't know."[16] In 1979 the United States held limited intelligence as far as the Soviet involvement in Afghanistan. Luckily for the U.S., the Soviets also had little intelligence as to what the United States was planning. U.S. intelligence at the time was worried that Taraki's communist regime in Afghanistan might collapse, inviting the Soviets to intervene and strengthen the communist agenda there. This could lead to Pakistan, Iran, and maybe even China supporting the Afghan rebels. General Mohammed Zia-ul-Haq of Pakistan, a political 'thorn in the side' of the Jimmy Carter administration, might then ask the United States to "openly oppose or deter any Soviet military thrust across Pakistan's border."[17] It was evident to the CIA and other intelligence agencies that the recent Soviet foreign policy, with regards to the Persian Gulf area, was that "Moscow's activities are guided by geopolitical considerations (i.e., concern for ports and strategic access) and by the desire to counter Western (and Chinese) influence positions."[18] Furthermore, "one long-term Soviet objective in the Middle-East was the creation of an anti-Israel, anti-American front composed of Gulf and Middle-East states under Soviet leadership."[19]

The United States had become worried after the 1974 oil embargo on shipments to the west from the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. The embargo had caused gasoline prices in the United States and Western Europe to rise and had contributed to economic downturns across the Western world. This was a clear and present representation to the dependence of the free world's interests in the Persian Gulf. The Middle Eastern country that continued to sell oil to the States despite the embargo was Iran. The Shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, had been a staunch supporter of the United States. This support eventually led to his downfall in 1979 by Ayatollah Khomeini, who installed a theocratic Islamic regime.[20] Less than a

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[16] Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001*, (New York: The Penguin Press, 2004) 48.

[17] Coll, *Ghost Wars*,, 43.

[18] Carol R. Saivetz, *The Soviet union and The Gulf in the 1980's.* (Boulder, CO: Westview press 1989) 20.

[19] Saivetz, *The Soviet Union and The Gulf*, 21.

[20] Robert J. Pauly, *Jr. US Foreign Policy and the Persian Gulf: Safeguarding American Interests through Selective Multilateralism.* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005) 28.

month later, the Soviets invaded neighboring Afghanistan. This caused many Western intelligence officials to feel concerned that Moscow might eventually attempt to control the Gulf through the use of force.[21] The aggression by the Soviets prompted President Carter, who had been troubled by the hostage situation caused by the Khomeini coup, to issue an extremely resolute address to Moscow: "Let our position be absolutely clear: An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America, and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force."[22]

As Zbigniew Brzezinski, Jimmy Carter's preeminent "cold warrior," gathered intelligence and information about the building situation in Afghanistan, it grew apparent that the Soviets would act decisively in order to save the foundering communist government. In a memo to Carter entitled "Reflections on Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan", Brzezinski spelled out his feelings of the Soviets possible invasion. Brzezinski voiced fears that the Soviet military power would crush the Afghans mercilessly, as they had done years before over the Hungarians in 1956 and the Czechs in 1968. Brzezinski wrote: "We should not be too sanguine about Afghanistan becoming a Soviet Vietnam. The guerrillas are badly organized and poorly led. They have no sanctuary, no organized army and no central government—all of which North Vietnam had. They have limited foreign support, in contrast to the enormous amount of arms that flowed to the Vietnamese from both the Soviet Union and China. The Soviets are likely to act decisively, unlike the U.S. which pursued in Vietnam a policy of 'inoculating' the enemy."[23]

Brzezinski had earlier laid out a plan for the CIA to channel medical kits and other aid to the Afghan resistance. "It is essential that Afghanistan's resistance continues," he wrote to Carter. "This means more money as well as arms shipments to the rebels, and some technical advice. To make the above possible we must both reassure Pakistan and encourage it to help the rebels. This will require a review of our policy toward Pakistan, more guarantees to it, more arms aid, and, alas, a decision that our security policy toward Pakistan cannot be dictated by our nonproliferation policy. We should encourage the Chinese to help the rebels also. We should concert with Islamic countries both in a propaganda campaign and in a covert action campaign to help the

[21] Pauly, *U.S. Foreign Policy and the Persian Gulf, 28.*
[22] Jimmy Carter, "State of the Union" (Presidential address, delivered before a Joint Session of Congress, Washington, D.C., January 23, 1980).
[23] Coll, *Ghost Wars*, 51.

rebels."[24] In March of 1979, a Pakistani official related to a CIA executive officer while discussing assistance to the Mujahid rebels, that without a firm commitment from the United States, Pakistan "could not risk Soviet wrath."[25]

Questions over the possible success and repercussions of enabling the Afghan insurgency were prevalent in the CIA and State departments. It was uncertain that any degree of support would be sufficient to halt the Soviet spread of influence into the oil rich Persian Gulf. In March of 1979, Deputy National Security Advisor David L. Aaron presided over a meeting between members of the State and Defense departments. During the meeting Department of Defense representative Walt Slocombe raised the question if there was any true value in keeping the Afghan insurgency afloat, "sucking the Soviets into a Vietnamese quagmire."[26] Aaron responded by asking the key question: "Is there interest in maintaining and assisting the insurgency, or is the risk that we will provoke the Soviets too great?"[27]

This proved to be the main issue when attempting to funnel funds to the Mujahid fighters, what level of support could the United States figuratively get away with, without prompting an international response, or worse yet, Soviet accusations. Brzezinski said in a Top Secret memo to the White House, a week after Soviet invasion: "Our ultimate goal is the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, even if this is not attainable; we should make Soviet involvement as costly as possible."[28]

From April to July of 1979, the SCC would decide on a wide range of possible aid to the resistance fighters. These included:

- A small-scale propaganda campaign publicizing Soviet activities in Afghanistan;
- Indirect financial assistance to the insurgents;
- Direct financial assistance to Afghan émigré groups to support their anti-Soviet, anti-regime activities;
- Nonlethal material assistance;
- Weapons support; and
- A range of training and support options[29]

The overall mood of the meetings was heavily intent for an active role in assisting fighters, but only through nonlethal assistance.

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[24] Coll. *Ghost Wars*, 51

[25] Robert Gates. *From the Shadows: The Ultimate Insider's Story of Five Presidents and How they Won the Cold War.* (New York : Simon & Schuster 1996) 144.

[26] Gates, *From the Shadows*,. 145.

[27] Gates, *From the Shadows*, 145.

[28] Coll, *Ghost Wars*, 51.

[29] Gates, *From the Shadows*, 146.

Eventually the plan signed by Jimmy Carter on July 3rd would provide monetary aid by the CIA covertly through Pakistan to assist the Mujahid rebels. Initially, around half a million dollars was allocated for assistance, almost all of the money being drawn within six weeks.[30]

When Ronald Reagan was elected President in 1981, his administration took the role of "cold warriors" more seriously, developing a heavy-handed and consistently growing support for the insurgency. The Reagan administration contributed more than $625 million in aid to the Islamic insurgency groups, as well as around $430 million worth of commodities to the Afghan refugees in Pakistan. [31] One CIA observer noted that, "overall US covert action funding for the year, as of September 1989—that is nearly ten years after the war began—was estimated at nearly $2 billion.[32]

The Invasion and the Mujahideen

The Soviet massing of rapid-response troops initially began on Christmas Eve in 1979 when Soviet heavy transport planes landed in Kabul's international airport. They carried roughly 4,000 troops and equipment,[33] but would only be the beginning of the initial invasion forces. Three days later, the KGB directed a full-scale invasion of Afghanistan's capital city of Kabul and the surrounding areas. Due to misdirection and particularly clever ruses by the Soviet forces, the Afghani army provided little resistance. In one particularly comical episode, Soviet representatives had sold the story to an Afghan armored unit that new tanks were to be delivered to that unit; but as diesel was in short supply the fuel in the existing tanks would need to be siphoned out in order to fill the replacements upon arrival, which left the armored unit uselessly immobile. [34] Other measures particularly aimed at reducing the combat effectiveness of the standing Afghan army were taken. Soviet advisors sometimes instructed Afghan units to turn over their ammunition for inspection, and due to the decade of rapport that had developed between the two militaries; in some cases the Soviet advisor's suggestions were adhered to without question.[35]

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[30] Gates, *From the Shadows*, 146.

[31] Hafizullah Emadi, "New world order or disorder: armed struggle in Afghanistan and United States' foreign policy objectives". *Central Asian Survey vol 18.*(1999). 59.

[32] Emadi, "New world order or disorder," 59.

[33] Edward R Girardet, *Afghanistan: The Soviet War*, (New York: St. Martin's Press 1985), 12.

[34] W. Stroock. "Afghanistan: The Soviet Union's Vietnam." *Military Heritage 11.* (August 2009): 48.

[35] Stroock, "Afghanistan: The Soviet Union's Vietnam," 48.

By dawn on December 28th the Soviets had possession of all important government buildings and controlled most Afghani military installations. The initial Soviet invasion force was represented by elements of the 105th Guard Division which secured the strategic positions in the capital in preparation for the inclusion of 300 tanks and APC's of the 360th Motorized Division and an entire host of supply trucks driving towards Kabul. Some eighty miles to the east, two more motorized divisions from the Red Army; the 201st and the 16th made up the armored column that would occupy Faizabad and Baghlan.[36]

The resistance of the Afghani peoples proved staunch from the very beginning. By the end of the first week of January 1980, barely two weeks since the night of invasion, Soviets had recorded more than 4,000 firefights.[37] As the Mujahideen engaged Soviet forces along roads, highways, and outside of critical installations, the Soviet's superior firepower quickly overwhelmed them and caused a retreat into the mountainous terrain. The freedom fighters adopted a guerrilla-style tactic of combat. The massive Soviet force followed the Afghanis into an unfamiliar countryside with unfamiliar combat requirements. Partly due to the Soviets inability to establish a handle on the main Mujahideen fighting force, the invading Soviet military began to wage war on the civilian population of Afghanistan, causing a refugee exodus of massive proportions. Here, their aim was to eliminate any possible local support the Mujahideen might garner from the villages and their civilian populations.[38] This particular tactic yielded little success; the destruction of their homes led many of the Afghani people to resent the Soviets. This ultimately helped the Mujahideen, who were becoming ever more adept at simply disappearing into the difficult terrain or melting directly into the very population the Soviets had been aiming to dissuade from assisting the freedom fighters.

As the invasion and occupation continued, many Mujahideen realized the fighting would continue for quite a while. The war had produced a dire need for improved weaponry and a stable supply of ammunition. The Mujahideen, although brave and zealous warriors, rarely made great modern soldiers. The average fighter refused to partake in sabotage missions, preferring instead to combat the Soviets head-on. They similarly disliked field craft and were reluctant to crawl under fire, as these were not seen as glorious and honorable ways to fight.[39] Prone to bouts of excessive enthusiasm for combat and the possible honorable death in the *Jihad* against the Soviets, the Mujahid

[36] Girardet, *Afghanistan: The Soviet War*, 15.
[37] Girardet, *Afghanistan: The Soviet War*,. 16.
[38] Stroock. *Afghanistan: The Soviet Union's Vietnam*, 49.
[39] Stroock,*Afghanistan: The Soviet Union's Vietnam*, 50.

fighters would often fire excessively and inaccurately whenever they had the opportunity without thought of supplies.[40] The obstacles faced by the Mujahid commanders when searching for supplies from external sources lay in the Mujahideen's political disunity. The leaders of the Peshawar Seven rejected any proposals of declaring a unified government-in-exile, understanding that to do so would be admitting to their followers that they were not in the field fighting; which was not only dishonorable but practically condemned in the *Jihad*.[41] The United States' had a dog in the fight early in the war; through Operation Cyclone the CIA had contributed an estimated $325 million in early 1984.[42] These funds of support typically came in the form of arms that were copies of the Soviet Kalishnikov assault rifle, RPG-7s, 122mm rockets, mortars, and land-mines[43] purchased from Egypt which were originally Russian supplied from the Six Days War in June of 1967.[44] The source of armaments from Egypt ceased, however, after the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat on October 6, 1981.[45]

American support continued to come from the CIA filtered through neighboring Pakistan. The closest thing to a central command structure was the Afghan Bureau of the Pakistani Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) which was led by General Mohammed Yousaf. [46] President Regan's presidency dramatically increased the amount of spending that was to be allotted to the Mujahideen, increasing to between $30 and $50 million a year during 1980-83.[47] Unfortunately the CIA took a great deal more control in the actual operation of the 'aid' than Mujahideen leaders or even ISI commander General Yousaf would have liked. Yousaf later attributed a "never-ending source of friction between ourselves (the ISI) and the CIA arose over their apparent total ignorance of military logistics."[48] General Yousaf went on to insinuate that the entire operation was conducted with great detriment to both the Mujahideen fighters, as well as the American taxpayers, claiming that "the CIA spent the US taxpayers' money to provide third-rate, and in one instance totally unserviceable weapons, for use against a modern

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[40] Edgar O'Ballance. *Afghan Wars 1839-1992: What Britain Gave Up and the Soviet Union Lost.* (London: Brassey's 1993) 119.
[41] O'Ballance, *Afghan Wars, 119.*
[42] Girardet, *Afghanistan: The Soviet War*, 66.
[43] O'Ballance, *Afghan Wars*, 119.
[44] Girardet, *Afghanistan: The Soviet War*, 67.
[45] O'balance, *Afghan Wars*, 119.
[46] Stroock, *Afghanistan: The Soviet Union's Vietnam*, 50.
[47] Urban, *War in Afghanistan*, 122.
[48] Mohammad Yousaf. *Afghanistan-The Bear Trap: The Defeat of a Superpower.* (Havertown, PA: Casemate, 1992). 83.

superpower."[49] The less-than-reputable circumstances under which the CIA was purchasing arms for the resistance were not hidden from the American public. In an article in the *Washington Post* dated May 8th, 1987, the author writes: "We have found that the CIA's secret arms pipeline to the Mujahideen is riddled with opportunities for corruption. The losers are the poorly equipped guerrillas fighting the Soviets in Afghanistan, and the American people whose congressional representatives have been betrayed by the CIA."[50]

After Mikhail Gorbachev took control of the Soviet Union in 1986, he announced plans for a phased withdrawal from Afghanistan, which he famously called "a bleeding wound,"[51] which was exactly what the United States had sought to do by funding the resistance. During the fundraising campaign for the fight, Representative Charlie Wilson stated, "there were 58,000 dead in Vietnam, and we owe the Russians one."[52] Such was the thoughts of American officials as the Reagan Presidency picked up steam and Reagan's "Cold Warrior" nickname was realized. The Reagan administration declared its policy of covert support against the Soviets in March of 1985 as Ronald Reagan signed a new decree: National Security Decision Directive 166.[53] Funding for 1986 was increased by more than $125 million over what it was in 1985 for the purpose of buying weaponry of all kinds.

In late 1985 or early 1986 the CIA began to supply the advanced Stinger anti-aircraft missile systems to the Mujahideen fighters via Pakistani officials.[54] With these new and highly accurate weapon systems the Mujahid fighters had a reliable and fearful method of defeating the plague of Soviet air-support. The Stinger missiles were incredibly successful for the freedom fighters; the first day they were used in combat the Mujahideen scored a 75% success rate. Their success caused the Soviets to implement night-flying operations until five months later, when the CIA developed a targeting system allowing the Stinger's effectiveness at night as well.[55] With the introduction of these new anti-aircraft weapons, the Mujahideen had a deadly and effective way of combating the Soviet air-support, which was the largest bane to Mujahid fighters during the ten-year struggle. So successful were the Stingers that the Mujahideen began to attribute them as a kind of "magic amulet" that would protect the wielder from the Soviets, and the

[49] Yousaf, *Afghanistan-The Bear Trap*,. 85.
[50] Yousaf, *Afghanistan-The Bear Trap*, 97.
[51] Stroock, *Afghanistan: The Soviet Union's Vietnam*, 53.
[52] Urban. *War in Afghanistan*, 163
[53] Gates, *From the Shadows*, 349.
[54] Urban, *War in Afghanistan*, 162.
[55] Gates, *From the Shadows*, 350.

resistance fighters became even more emboldened in their fight than before.[56]

Throughout military skirmishes over the next three years, the Mujahideen would drag the Soviet Union through a devastating conflict, ruinous to the Afghani countryside. Throughout the course of the war, 1,814 schools, 31 hospitals, 11 health centers, and almost 9,000 miles of phone cable were destroyed, along with roughly 1.5 million casualties.[57] The conflict caused Afghanistan to resort back to its pre-industrial, feudalistic economy. Ultimately the Soviets decided to withdraw their troops in late January of 1989, as the only options the Soviets faced were to renew their commitment, or to lose, "because they clearly were not winning."[58] The Mujahideen had become well armed, and now had a decade of experience in fighting the Soviet Red Army. Red Army commanders never seemed to grasp the concept that in order to defeat an insurgency, it is first necessary to win the loyalty of the civilian population. Due to this, the Soviets had been forcing millions into Pakistani refugee camps, from which the Mujahideen had a "limitless pool of angry youth" from which to recruit.[59] On February 15, 1989, the Soviets had officially withdrawn from Afghanistan, and Pakistani station-chief of the CIA Milton Bearden sent a two-word message to Langley, VA; it said simply, "WE WON."[60]

Conclusion

The United States, through subversive means, had helped combat the superpower Soviet Union, it had cost the United States millions, but Congressman Charlie Wilson said, "I have been of the opinion that this money was better spent to hurt our adversaries than other money in the Defense Department." [61] Operation Cyclone was a counter-interventionist strategy intended to drag the Soviets through their own bloody "Soviet-Vietnam," and halt possible aggression from Moscow towards the Persian Gulf. The Mujahedeen fighters would come to attribute their fight with the downfall of the Soviet Union, and it is certain that the war they won was paid for by American tax dollars and Afghani blood. Some have since attributed the terrorist attacks on Western culture by Islamic extremists to the training and funding from the CIA along with the Western-leaning reforms of former President

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[56] Gates, *From the Shadows*, 350.
[57] Loyn, *In Afghanistan*, 157.
[58] Gates, *From the Shadows*, 350.
[59] Stroock, *Afghanistan: The Soviet Union's Vietnam*, 55.
[60] Coll, *Ghost Wars*, 185.
[61] Emadi, *New World Order or Disorder*, 59.

Daoud, which included political representation for women.[62] The argument being that America had no place or authority to place pressures on other peoples about how they should live their lives and what morality to follow. Ultimately the goal of the CIA was to defeat the Soviets and win the Cold War. What happened afterwards in Afghanistan was the Afghans problem; as Charlie Wilson once said, Afghanistan was "the only place in the world where the forces of freedom are actually fighting and killing Russians."[63]

[62] Loyn, *In Afghanistan*, 158.
[63] Loyn, *In Afghanistan*, 158.

David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace: Creating the Modern Middle East, 1914-22*

Aaron Psujek

David Fromkin's *A Peace to End All Peace* is a strikingly ambitious book. Fromkin not only seeks to explain in a single volume the entire story of the creation of the Middle East, he also attempts to craft a well written book, one that is appealing to both scholars and, especially, layman. This goal to create an exciting narrative for the uninitiated out of political details that spans from the English parliament to isolated outposts on the fringes of the European empires seems to be a daunting one. Between his emphasis on backroom dealings, as well as the conspiratorial language and strong, nearly novel-like characterization, Fromkin accomplishes this goal. However, Fromkin's primarily European focus and his tendency to not fully develop some arguments serve to weaken the historical aspect of the book.

Fromkin writes, "The Middle East, as we know it from today's headlines, emerged from decisions made by the Allies during and after the First World War."[1] He goes on to write, "as you will see when you read the book, Middle Eastern personalities, circumstances, and political cultures do not figure a great deal in the narrative that follows, except when I suggest the outlines and dimensions of what European politicians were ignoring when they made their decisions."[2] Fromkin's thesis is that the modern Middle East emerged out of the Western Powers' imperialistic motives during and after the first World War and that the effects of the slap-dash nature in which the European powers went about dissolving the Ottoman Empire can still be felt today.

The staunchly European focus is a detriment to the work. While one could argue that a narrower focus or lens is required, especially when attempting to discuss in a single volume an event as complex and broad as the partition of the Middle East, even a cursory glance over the sources used point to Fromkin not creating a context in which it would be possible to successfully defend the Euro-centric nature of his thesis to any extensive criticism. The vast majority of the sources credited are those from Western Europe. Those few that do come from the Middle East seem to concentrate mainly on the heartland of the Ottoman Empire. While there is no specific number of sources needed in order to

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[1]David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1989), 15.

[2] Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace,* 17.

be deemed 'acceptable', the few provided are clearly not sufficient in order to offer the type of complete analysis that his book advertises.

On the other hand, the book offers much that would attract a popular audience. It is thematically organized, introducing and tackling various topics as they appear in the narrative. , The way that Fromkin brings those topics to the forefront is more akin to how a traditional author would write a novel than how a historian generally operates. Take Fromkin's analysis of the introduction of Zionism into World War I politics. Throughout many chapters he slowly lays a narrative foundation, rather than devoting an entire chapter to the Zionist issue from its beginning to its end. For example, from page 210 to 211 he writes much on the expulsion of Zionist Ottoman subjects, the fear they inspired in the Ottoman government and how baseless that fear was.[3] However, it is not until much later, like in the chapters "Lloyd George's Zionism", "The Promised Land" and "Jerusalem for Christmas" that the foreshadowing of the importance of Zionism in the above example really comes to fruition. This serves to highlight Fromkin's admirable sensitivity toward narrative in *To End All Peace*.

Another way this sensitivity is highlighted is in Fromkin's careful characterization. He goes to great lengths to truly paint a portrait out of the various personalities that he deemed to be the major players in the partition of the Middle East. The first chapter of the book is a good example of this. He constructs a picturesque image of British elites sailing the Mediterranean aboard the *Enchantress*; describing what they would eat, their activities for the day and their hobbies and interests.[4] In short, he is interested in portraying these men and women as people, not simply as policy-making machines.

A Peace to End All Peace is perhaps a better example of how to write history well than it is a good history. The focus on narrative and characterization lends it a strength that carries it through what could be very dry and dull political proceeding. However, Fromkin bites off a bit more than he could chew with the book. In attempting to paint a complete picture of the creation of the modern Middle East in a single volume he does not give himself enough time, nor look at the proper resources in order to make the attempt, to give a full context and an accurate account of this complex period of history.

[3] Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace*, 210-211.

[4] Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace*, 23-26.

A Review of Thierry Rigogne's *Between State and Market: Printing and Bookselling in Eighteenth-Century France.*[1]

Christopher Schilling

In his book *Between State and Market: Printing and Bookselling in Eighteenth-Century France*, Thierry Rigogne examines the book printing and selling industry of *ancien regime* France. He relies primarily upon a series of surveys taken of the French government officials in charge of administering the trade of books, most notably a survey taken in 1764 by Antoine de Sartine, *directeur de la Librairie du rayaume*[2]. However, he uses this survey as a baseline to compare to other surveys conducted during the eighteenth century. In doing so Rigogne provides a picture of the way the book trade developed over the course of the eighteenth century, especially in the countryside. He paints a picture of an absolutist government trying, and failing, to control this market.

Rigogne starts off with an analysis of the 1764 survey. It was essentially a printed questionnaire sent out to Sartine's subordinates, known as *intendants*. The replies were largely based on statements by government officials in charge of the book trade in certain areas, or by members of book printing/selling guilds. The responses seem to have been remarkably frank, given much of what they report.

Specifically, the survey paints a picture of the failures of policing the French book trade. Inspections of booksellers were not carried out. Whether because of a problem in determining jurisdiction, or due to sheer laziness, the policing action that was supposed to be taken up was not. This applied to booksellers as well as importers of foreign French language books. The jurisdictional problem was that it was not always clear whether enforcement was in the hands of local guilds, local police or royal officials. This lack of clarity created a window through which books that did not pass censorial muster could be relatively easily obtained.

One place the *ancien regime* was successful in controlling the trade to some degree was in the publishing houses. Rigogne argues this was done largely by brute force, however. The government tended to discourage the development of new publishers, and tried to limit printing to large publishing establishments found in cities. These establishments could be more easily monitored. What publishing

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[1] Thierry Rigogne, *Between State and Market: Printing and Bookselling in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2007).
[2] Rigogne, *Between State and Market*, 10.

remained in the rural areas of France was largely dependent on support from local political leaders to survive. They would essentially use these print houses as propaganda distributors. But over time the rural print shops closed up.

This seems to be in direct opposition to what happened in the book selling industry. Once a heavily protected guild that required specific entry requirements, the government began issuing rights to sell books for money. This practice undermined the guild structure. And these were just the sellers authorized by the French Crown; others were authorized by local authorities, as the law outlining who could allow a person to become a bookseller was not clear. Add in the mercers and peddlers who were essentially unregulated, and the situation grew increasingly problematic. So while the French printers/sellers had to deal with escalating control from the government, retail outfits had many fewer restrictions. Thus the system benefited the retail outfits at the producers' expense.

As time went on the retailers began to dominate the book trade. Able to sell books published outside of France, they had a distinct advantage, especially given the lax enforcement. Ultimately this led to a wealth of books being available to the general public, many of which would never have been approved or had been banned in France. Rigogne claims a 1923 law regulating the publishing industry in Paris was the origin of much of this confusion. When the law was expanded to cover the whole of France vast parts of it did not apply to many of the new areas it covered, leaving them in a legal gray area. This led to situation where the government had strict censorial control of the publishing industry, but actually had very little control over the book trade. The idea that this contributed to the proliferation of ideas contrary to the interests of the French Crown is not explicitly stated, but is implicit in the argument.

Rigogne does attempt to look at the actual market for the books by looking at what was sold by the printers/sellers. But more interesting is his picture of a large trade network of books linked to outside foreign markets. By this means the structure which was supposed to ensure books that were not approved did not enter the country actually was used to move books, which might or might not be legal, around the country. Given the small towns in which these books often ended up had no enforcement arm of their own this often meant if a book managed to avoid being inspected in a city it would make its way to some bookshop somewhere to be sold under the pretense that it had been approved on the way to the store. Once a book passed from one area to another it was easy to claim one had no reason to suspect a book was not approved.

Rigogne does put together a very good picture of the overall structure of the book trade in the eighteenth century. The surveys he uses as his primary evidence are quite detailed in their quantitative data. The numbers of booksellers and printers in each area are present, as is a great deal of other information about the printers. The sellers get a much less intensive treatment, again showing support for Rigogne's thesis. His sources give a very good picture of this structure.

Beyond that, the sheer breadth of the research he has done is quite astonishing. His study entailed looking at a large number of these surveys that were conducted throughout the eighteenth century. None were as detailed as the 1764 survey, but they held important information nonetheless. Putting these surveys together to form a narrative is an excellent piece of scholarship. It provides a good map of the book trade during this period, giving places, movements and numbers. In this respect it is not only a good analysis, but it adds substantially to our understanding of the overall nature of the French economic world.

That is not to say it is without limitations. He does not really examine the content of the black market trade. This is not quite fair, as he does examine what types of books are being published by the French printers/sellers. But as Rigogne showed, this is only a small portion of the books being imported and sold in France. He never makes the crucial step of examining what books are actually entering the market through extra-legal means. There is some justification for this. No one was going to confess to selling illegal books. This is more of a limitation on Rigogne's sources rather than his scholarship. But in choosing these sources he certainly limits himself to an "official" account as opposed to a more detailed look at the content of the trade he is describing. Given the idea that illegal material was entering the country due to lax controls by the government is a part of Rigogne's thesis, one would think he would actually try to prove his hypothesis. Ultimately I am not sure what evidence of this actually exists. Nevertheless, it is not very well addressed and somewhat lessens the impact of his analysis.

One note that should be made about this book is that Rigogne often quotes heavily from the French surveys. This is acceptable, as having the original text is always more useful than merely having a translation. But every quote in his book is in French and he provides no translation. This limits the utility of the book at least for the purposes of this review. The book will mainly be useful to those who are fluent in both English and French, which would include most American French historians. Also, at times the sheer number of quotes becomes somewhat ponderous. This is not so much of a critique as it is an explanation of

why this analysis is limited by the amount of information that is actually presented in English. *Je n'ai pas lis des français très bien.*[3]

Still, Rigogne's book is quite useful as an analysis of the French book trade from the top. It is a thoughtful look at an aspect of the Enlightenment that has often been overlooked. It answered a great many of my questions about the relationship between the absolutist monarchy and what it saw as the politically charged, socially destabilizing and religiously heretical texts that the Enlightenment authors produced. It brings into question just how absolute absolutist France was, given how much difficulty the government had in censoring objectionable literature.

[3]"I don't read French very well."

Review of *Death in the Haymarket: A Story of Chicago, the First Labor Movement, and the Bombing that Divided Gilded Age America*, by James Green

Kara Batts

James Green's, *Death in the Haymarket: A Story of Chicago, the First Labor Movement, and the Bombing that Divided Gilded Age America*, is a depiction of early labor movements and industrial capitalism, highlighting the plight of Chicago's working class in Industrial Age America. Green devotes most of the text to creating a sense of the rising tensions between unskilled laborers and big business employers, tensions that ultimately led to the catastrophic bombing in the Haymarket Square of Chicago in May 1886.[1] While Green outlines a multitude of factors that played a role in the hostilities leading to the bombing, he spends a great deal of time examining the role of propaganda, which added to growing societal and racial tensions, but also set the scene for the events that unfolded after the bombing. Green's research into the prominent media outlets during this time, and their effects on the labor movement, is a strength to this work; however, Green's greatest success is in his analysis of why the Haymarket bombing has been overlooked as an important part of United States history. Perhaps Green's only flaw, also found in his source work, is his over reliance on the views of the leading anarchists of the labor movement, which hinders the ideas of common working class individuals.

The breadth of Green's book comprises his research into the plight of lower-class workers during the Industrial Age. Chicago's working class began unionizing in hopes of increasing wages and decreasing the workday. Government intervention and legislation was unsuccessful in creating desirable working conditions for the working class poor, which largely consisted of a disillusioned immigrant population.[2] Clashes between the working class and the middle and upper class were intensified in the media; all outbreaks of unrest and violence were

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[1] The Haymarket bombing on May 4, 1886 refers to a violent clash between American socialists and unionists of the working class and Chicago police forces. The events that unfolded are still controversial and unknown; however, reports claim that when a labor meeting on Desplaines Street was asked to disperse by police forces, a bomb was thrown into the throng of policemen who then opened fire.

[2] Further reading suggests that Chicago's upper and middle classes were often wary of the city's immigrant populations. Immigrants were viewed as mysterious and were often suspected of holding socialist and anarchist ideas that would impede on democracy.

printed for public consumption. Green flourishes in utilizing newspaper headlines to showcase how the media terrified middle and upper class readers into believing that the working classes were "tiger anarchist⌊s⌉" [3] and communists who were "working to undermine society". [4] Green references a meat cutters strike, reported in The *Chicago Times*, which displayed the persuasively terrifying headline, "Terror's Reign". [5] *Harper's Weekly*, a mass distribution magazine that found followers in the middle and upper class ranks, published an illustration depicting police forces firing into crowds of union workers armed with sticks and stones. [6] As Green proposes, these headlines suggested a virtual war occurring on American soil, between the working class and business leaders.

Green also does an excellent job utilizing newspaper sources to showcase worldwide labor unrest during this time, especially in the context of labor conflicts occurring in France in 1871. When disgruntled Parisians armed themselves and created an independent Commune of Paris, American newspapers delivered news of the uprising, calling the citizens of Paris "rugged democrats and true republicans," [7] just like the Americans who only a hundred years prior had fought for their own republic, free from a kingdom of disenfranchisement. However, as worry spread that a similar situation could occur on American soil, response to the Parisian citizens' stance drastically transformed. The vigilantes soon became viewed as "communists who confiscated property and atheists who closed churches." [8] The media compared the citizens of the Paris Commune to savage Native Americans, and stated that they were nothing more than "tramps and criminals," [9] demonstrating America's fear that labor unrest could easily put a halt to the well-oiled machine of industry.

On the other hand, Green demonstrates how the unionists also used the media to their advantage, in hopes that the inflated newspaper headlines would scare business leaders into caving to union demands. Plainclothes detectives, sent to union meetings, brought back stories of

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[3] Art Young, *On My Way: Being the Book of Art Young in Text and Pictures* (New York: Horace Liveright, 1928), 201. Reprinted in James Green, *Death in the Haymarket: A Story of Chicago, the First Labor Movement and the Bombing That Divided Gilded Age America* (New York: Anchor Books, 2006), 242.

[4] James Green, *Death in the Haymarket* (New York: Anchor Books, 2006), 44.

[5] Green, *Death in the Haymarket*,78.

[6] Green, *Death in the Haymarket*, 81; picture found in James Green, *Death in the Haymarket*, 207.

[7] Green, *Death in the Haymarket*, 40.

[8] Green, *Death in the Haymarket*, 40.

[9] Green, *Death in the Haymarket*, 40.

"bloody threats and plots to dynamite buildings."[10] Augustus Spies, one of the four men executed for the Haymarket incident, distributed a pamphlet asking the working class to "rise in [their] might…and destroy the hideous monster that [sought] to destroy [them]."[11] This pamphlet, known as the "Revenge" circular, was used as evidence in the Haymarket bombing trial, but was also used as a means of wrangling union support and terrifying corporate America.[12]

As indicated, this culmination of discontent grew over a long span of time, and resulted in the Haymarket bombing on May 4, 1886. The deaths of citizens and police forces, and the subsequent hangings of four prominent men in the union movement led to a significant number of outcomes; however, another success of Green's work is showing how the largest impact of the Haymarket incident can actually be found outside the United States. While many Americans today have heard little of the Haymarket incident and are naïve to its impacts, those currently living in repressed South American countries, run by dictators, share stories about the Chicago Haymarket bombing, and remember the socialists as martyrs, unlike many Americans who remember the socialists as terrorists. Green suggests that "no other event in United States history after the Civil War has [exerted] the kind of hold the Haymarket tragedy [has] maintained on the popular imagination of working people in other countries."[13] Furthermore, Green asserts that we do not look back at the Haymarket incident "as a victory of democracy over anarchy, but as a travesty that betrayed American ideals of liberty and justice for all."[14]

Green's book, intended to please a general audience as well as a scholarly one, provides an excellent background of information, adequate enough to allow his audience to become up-to-date with the labor quarrels of the late nineteenth century. His research is exceptional including over forty pages of references and notes. His most used resource- newspapers- fairly portrays both sides of the story, as references to *The Chicago Tribune* and *Harper's Weekly* take on a pro-industry stance, whereas, the German newspaper, *Arbeiter Zeitung*, and the *Workingman's Advocate*, showcase the plight of the working class. Furthermore, in showcasing a variety of newspapers and their differing testimony on the Haymarket bombing, Green demonstrates how these sensationalized headlines swayed historical opinions. Shortly after the Haymarket bombing, newspapers like the *Chicago Tribune* and *Harper's*

[10] Green, *Death in the Haymarket*, 143.
[11] Green, *Death in the Haymarket*, 171.
[12] Green, *Death in the Haymarket*, 171-172.
[13] Green, *Death in the Haymarket*, 311.
[14] Green, *Death in the Haymarket*, 320.

Weekly agreed that the bombing was planned and orchestrated by union leaders. Over one hundred years later, many Americans still believe this as fact; however, today's research suggests that Chicago's police force may have been behind the attack, in hopes to stop the advances made by labor unions. Unfortunately, this is a side to the Haymarket story that we rarely hear about.

Green's weakness lies in his strong focus on the eight anarchists who were arrested and tried for the various crimes surrounding the Haymarket bombing. Four of these eight men were eventually hung, including August Spies, a socialist newspaper editor; Albert Parsons, a socialist, anarchist, and activist of rights for former slaves; and Adolph Fischer and George Engel, both German born socialists. Green's overreliance on the memoirs of these leading labor activists is so extensive that their views can easily become confused with those of the working class in general. Readers must keep in mind that the vast majority of Chicago's working class individuals and union members were not socialists or anarchists, but were simply people who desired a shorter work day and a raise in wages.

Overall, *Death in the Haymarket* is an excellent read for those interested in early American labor movements, the rise of capitalism and industry, or for those simply interested in learning about a fascinating, yet widely forgotten event in American history. Green does not disappoint in his study, providing ample resources for those interested in conducting their own research on this topic. Furthermore, he does an excellent job conveying the importance of newspapers as a source of media and propaganda, as in today's internet world, newspapers have widely been disregarded as sources of information. Green's concentration on the leading anarchists in the labor movement can easily warp the reader's sense of the working classes' views and ideologies; however, his multitude of sources provides readers with enough research opportunities to form their own opinions.