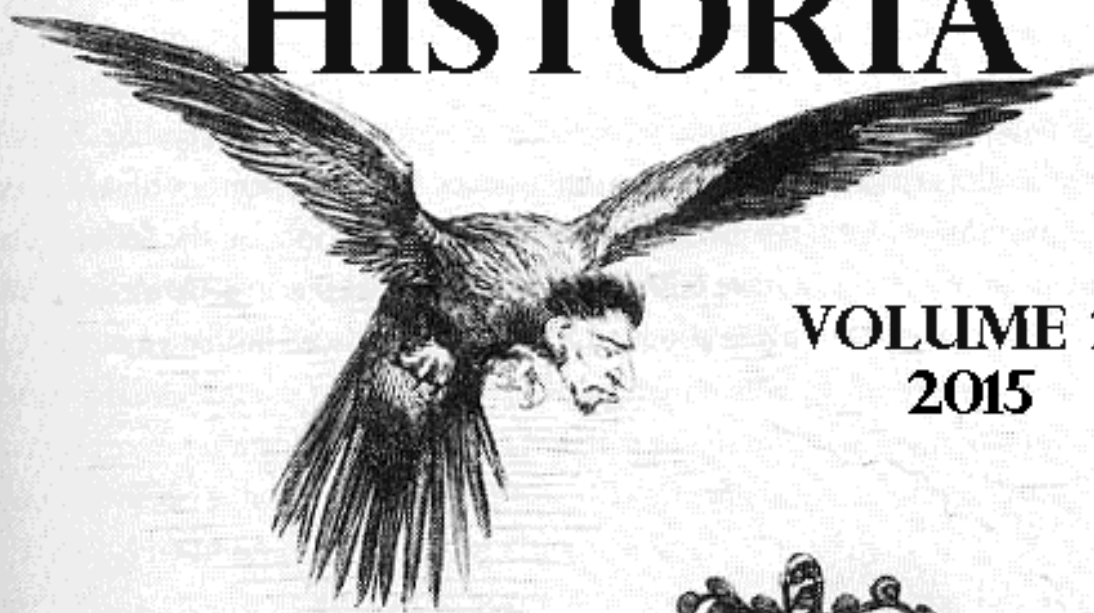
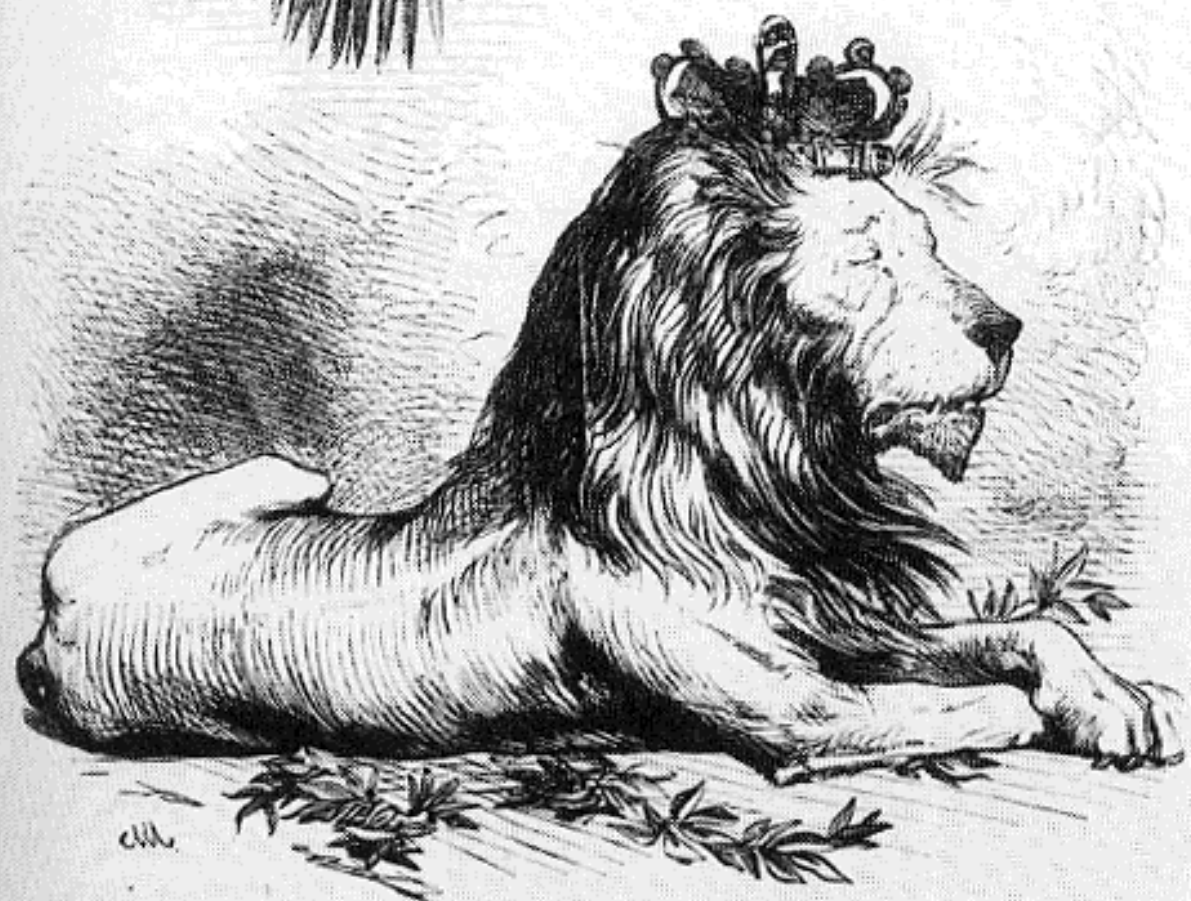


HISTORIA



VOLUME 24
2015



THE YANKEE EAGLE AND THE LION.

YANKEE.—WAKE UP, OLD HOSS! I'M GUN TO SWOOP DOWN ON YER BIGGEST JEWEL.

Historia

**A Publication of the Epsilon Mu Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta
& the Eastern Illinois University
History Department**

**Volume 24
2015**

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Letter from the Editors

We, the editors of this first completely electronic edition of *Historia*, would like to thank Eastern Illinois University and the wonderful faculty and students that made this edition possible. In these pages you will find a selection of the fine work produced by the students of this University from a multitude of courses with subjects ranging from the ancient Byzantine Empire to Michelle Obama.

We had a record number of submissions this year, but we believe that we have condensed it down to the best twenty. Once again, thank you to everyone who submitted their papers for publication, there were many good papers, and we are sorry that we could not publish more. Although this issue is not in a print edition, students should still be proud to have been selected for publication. *Historia* will continue the tradition of showcasing some of the best student-written, student-edited historical papers.

We hope you enjoy the 2015 edition of *Historia!*

Sincerely,

The Editors

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Mattoon, Illinois's Involvement in WWI as Told Through *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, 1917-1918

Mark Stanford

In February 1917, Germany announced that it would renew unrestricted submarine warfare and resumed their U-boat attacks on the shipping of neutral countries including vessels of the United States. Following this announcement President Woodrow Wilson and the United States government strongly condemned Germany's actions. A patriotic fervor swept the United States, with many calling on the government to declare war on Germany for violating the United States' neutrality. On February 9, 1917, in the central Illinois city of Mattoon, the Mattoon council No. 1057 of the Knights of Columbus placed an advertisement in *The Daily Journal-Gazette*. In the ad, the Mattoon Knights of Columbus pledged "its support to President Wilson" in response to Germany's unrestricted submarine warfare stating that "we do hereby pledge you our unswerving, loyal and patriotic support in this our nation's most serious crisis."¹

This advertisement placed by the Mattoon Knights of Columbus is the first example in *The Daily Journal-Gazette* of Mattoon's involvement in World War I. The focus of this paper is on Mattoon's response to the Great War as told through the Mattoon newspaper *The Daily Journal-Gazette* from 1917-1918. I have narrowed my research almost exclusively to only include stories and events covered in *The Daily Journal-Gazette* between February 1917 and December 1918 that in some way show a direct connection between the city of Mattoon and the Great War. Because of this my research should not be seen as an all-inclusive history of Mattoon during the war years, since this paper excludes many major and minor events in Mattoon's history that had no connection to the First World War.

Where Mattoon's involvement in the Great War is most obvious is in stories about the many patriotic rallies, gatherings, and parades that were held throughout 1917-1918. These drew large crowds and the full support of Mattoon's citizens. They began almost two months before the United States officially entered the war. On February 13, 1917, it was announced there would be a "Patriotic Rally" to be held on Washington's Birthday, February 22. The rally's purpose was to show Mattoon's support of the United States' severing of diplomatic relations with Germany as a result of their policy of unrestricted submarine warfare.² The rally was well attended by a sizable and spirited crowd at the Majestic Theater. During the rally a parade was held led by a brass band, flags were raised and hung all around, and, of course, many patriotic songs were sung, and several patriotic orations delivered by politicians. The main speaker at the rally was State Senator Frank Wendling from Shelbyville. Senator Wendling's speech called for the young men of Mattoon to prepare to answer the call of their country:

I believe that the hour has arrived in the history of our American nation when it behooves every patriotic citizen and more particularly the young manhood of this country to pay attention to that injunction that was inscribed upon one of the ancient temples, 'Know Thyself,' two words more

¹ "Knights of Columbus Back President Wilson." *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, February 9, 1917.

² "Patriotic Rally Feb. 22." *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, February 13, 1917.

intensely suggestive it has been said, than any two words ever uttered by the lips of man.³

Following the United States' declaration of war against Germany on April 6, 1917, Mattoon planned another "Patriotic Rally" and parade for April 19. Its stated purpose was to aid in the "effort to stimulate patriotism and further the recruiting of the army and navy to war strength."⁴ The parade proved to be a great success. An estimated 3,038 people participated in the parade, including 1,000 school children from Mattoon and the surrounding area as well as workers and members of local clubs. Many businesses closed for the day to allow their employees to participate in the parade.⁵ Interestingly, the local shop-men from the Illinois Central Railroad that participated in the parade were led by Frank Wise "who was born in Germany and had served three years in the German Army." He emigrated to the United States, in the 1890s, joined the United States Army and served during the Spanish-American War.⁶ The final rally held in 1917 was on September 5, and was intended as a send-off for Mattoon's first six young men called up by the draft. They were headed to Camp Taylor, Kentucky where they were to receive their training. Hundreds gathered at the train station to cheer for Thomas Morgan, James Edward Hill, John Marley, Joe E. Gray, Joseph Greenwood, and Orlie Rue who travelled in a special railroad car with a banner reading "Berlin or Bust" on its side.⁷ *The Daily Journal-Gazette* even published their pictures with short biographies in their September 5 edition (See Image 1, pg. 5).

In 1918 there were fewer large-scale patriotic rallies held in Mattoon than in 1917. The largest patriotic gathering was on March 2, 1918 when thousands gathered to hear patriotic music played by the Great Lakes Naval Training Station band that was "touring the country at the expense of the federal government in the interest of the war stamp and thrift stamp campaign."⁸ So many people came to hear the band play that "thousands" were turned away at the door because the Majestic theatre was too crowded.⁹ The final patriotic gathering and parade held in Mattoon during the war was not planned ahead of time as all the others had been. Instead it was completely spontaneous. On November 7, 1918, news arrived in Mattoon that there was a ceasefire declared with Germany and the Kaiser had capitulated and it was only a matter of time before the war would be over.

³ "Washington Day Observed." *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, February 22, 1917.

⁴ "Patriotic Rally 19th." *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, April 10, 1917.

⁵ "Parade is a Big Affair." *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, April 19, 1917.

⁶ "Praise For Big Parade." *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, April 20, 1917.

⁷ "Cheered as they Leave." *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, September 5, 1917.

⁸ "Big Crowds Hear Jackies." *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, March 2, 1918.

⁹ Ibid.

Mattoon's "First Quota" Off For Camp Taylor



THOMAS MORGAN.

Tom is a son of Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Morgan, 509 North Twenty-second street. He was a member of the Mattoon Fire Department until several weeks ago, when he resigned to take employment with the Big Four.

being only one day late. Having been called I made every possible effort to get in the first group to leave. I feel sure that I will come back when the war is over." Joe's call number was 460. His service number was 2611.

"I'm going into training first of all," said Tommy Morgan. "Later I may have to go to war. If so, I will be ready. This is going to be good for all of us. I might not have been ordered to service in the first army, if I had not volunteered. Soon after my examination I decided to offer my services with the first contingent." Morgan's call number was 863. His service number was 2049.

Eddie Hill's call number was 430. His service number was 2051. "I feel like going to war is expected of me, and so I volunteered to go today," said he.

"I'm mighty glad to get to accompany this first group of young men to their camp," said Mr. Kinzel on departing. "I think that each of the boys really wants to go to camp."

Friends Remember Joe.
Public Service Company employees, just before the interurban train departed, presented Joe Gray with a beautiful gold ring bearing the emblem of the Elks lodge, he being the secretary of the local lodge of the order and an active worker in the organization.

**THOSE EXEMPTED
BY LOCAL BOARD**



JAMES EDWARD HILL.

Ed is a son of Mr. and Mrs. R. C. Hill, 1824 Platt avenue. He was graduated from the Mattoon High School, the Charleston Normal School and the University of Illinois. He is well-known in baseball and other sports circles, being at one time a pitcher for the Moose team in the old City League.



JOSEPH GREENWOOD.

Joe is a son of Mr. and Mrs. A. L. Greenwood of 604 Shelby avenue. When his call for military service came he was working in the railroad yards at Rawlins, Wyo. He worked for the Illinois Central for a few months before going to Rawlins. Prior to that he worked for a number of years as a Big Four switchman, his fellow workers honoring him by electing him to the presidency of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. He is a Knights Templar, his membership being with the local commandery.



JOHN MARLEY.

John is a son of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Marley of Mooresville, Ind. For the past five years he has been employed in the J. W. Harris coal office. He attended the first officers' training camp at Fort Benjamin Harrison, after severing his connection with the Harris office.



ORCIE RUE.

Orlie is a son of Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Rue of 1217 Marshall avenue. He was widely known in athletic circles while a student of the University of Illinois. He was a member of the football team at the university and became famous by his superior playing. He was graduated from the Mattoon High School and later from the University of Illinois. He has been employed by the Public Service Company in its water department.



JOE E. GRAY.

Joe is a son of Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Gray, 401 North Twenty-second street. For the past few years he has been employed in the accounting department of the Public Service Company. He has been prominent in the work of the Elks lodge, having been its secretary for several years.

LAWYERS IN PROTEST

MEMBERS OF BAR ASSOCIATION
TAKE EXCEPTIONS TO GER-
MANY'S WAR PROGRAM.

ARE NINE PROTESTS

Say Germany Has No Right to Sink
Merchant Vessels Without Due
Warning.

By The United Press.
Saratoga Springs, N. Y., Sept. 5.—
Protests against Germany's war pro-
gram as violating international law
were contained in the report of the
committee on international law, sub-
mitted to the American Bar Assoc-
iation in convention here today.

Nine Protests.
The protests were in nine sections
denouncing:
Sinking of merchant ships without
warning;
Assuming to close the seas to our
ships by proclamation;
Conspiracies conducted against the
country by German secret agents;
Wanton murder of civilians and non-
combatants;
Devastation of occupied regions;
Looting of occupied territory and

Image 1- "Mattoon's 'First Quota' Off for Camp Taylor," *The Daily*

Journal-Gazette, September 5, 1917.

Once this news began to spread “Bedlam broke loose” as workers left their jobs, school children and teachers left their classrooms and all poured into the streets to celebrate.¹⁰ An impromptu parade quickly formed, joined by six youths carrying a coffin with a sign attached saying, “Here lies the kaiser.” Following the parade an effigy of the Kaiser was hung in front of city hall and “a boy with a shot gun, loaded with shells filled with shot, fired into the image four times, inflicting ‘wounds.’”¹¹ Although there were fewer large-scale patriotic rallies held in Mattoon in 1918 compared to 1917, this does not mean Mattoon’s patriotism or support for the troops had waned. It is clear from several different articles that whenever troops passed through town on the railroad, or when local volunteers and draftees boarded the train on their way to their units, a crowd always gathered to cheer and to give them a proper send-off.

There was a down side to the patriotic fervor that swept Mattoon and inspired patriotic rallies and parades. It also inspired anti-German sentiments and accusations of disloyalty began to be made against local citizens of German ancestry. In April 1917, it seems many people began to question the loyalty of local baker Fred Messmer. He was a recent German immigrant who had arrived in Mattoon in 1903. This questioning of his loyalty led Messmer to place a statement affirming his total loyalty to America in the newspaper throughout April:

When I left Germany several years ago and came to America, I left that country for good, and when I became an American citizen I entrusted the protection of myself and family to the United States and the Stars and Stripes, and I have certainly tried to conduct myself to show my gratitude and devotion to the country whose citizenship I am certainly proud to enjoy.¹²

Messmer goes on to affirm his willingness to answer his adopted country’s call if called upon to serve. “I give you my word that if the time shall come in the present crisis when America, my adopted country, should call me to the colors to help defend the flag which I have learned to love and respect, I will be ready to respond.”¹³ While some German immigrants like Fred Messmer were willing and happy to renounce their allegiance to Germany, others were not. On September 5, 1917, Frank A. Geeter, a son of German immigrants and a blacksmith with the Big Four railroad, committed suicide in his back yard by shooting himself in the head. In the article reporting his suicide Geeter’s wife claimed that Geeter, “worried over the war against Germany” and “he often said that he believed he would leave home to go and fight with the Germans.” He also worried that his son Charles would be called up and have to go and fight against Germany. Falling into a depression, Geeter began to drink heavily until his conflicting loyalties became too much and he committed suicide.¹⁴

People of German descent were not the only group whose loyalty was questioned in Mattoon. Throughout 1917-1918, several disloyalty trials were held to punish those that were not seen as patriotic enough by the authorities or their neighbors. On December 8, 1917, six local men were summoned to appear before Judge D. T. McIntyre to face charges of disloyalty. Lawson Reynolds a grocer was placed on trial because it was reported that he had “failed to buy a Liberty

¹⁰ “Town Goes Mad Over Good News.” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, November 7, 1918.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² “A Statement by Fred Messmer.” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, April 14, 1917.

¹³ “A Statement by Fred Messmer.”

¹⁴ “F.A. Geeter is a Suicide.” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, September 5, 1917.

bond. He did not join the Red Cross or contribute to it [and] he failed to subscribe to the Young Men's Christian association red triangle war fund." During the trial, Reynolds admitted he was wrong and that he would in the future appreciate "what the Y.M.C.A., the Red Cross and others are doing for the soldiers." Because of his youth Judge McIntyre decided to be lenient toward Reynolds and released him with the strong suggestion that Reynolds and his wife both join the Red Cross.¹⁵ W.E. Millar, a well-to-do sixty-five year old retired farmer who owned "\$150,000 worth of property," was charged with not contributing enough money to the different war and tornado relief funds. Millar was publicly shamed and ruthlessly lectured by the judge:

You have not done your duty. You are not a loyal American citizen. You have no worries because of sons about to go to war. You lost no members of your family, no property of any kind in the tornado disaster, to which you contributed \$15. No one here thinks of you as a loyal citizen. I don't know what they will say, whether they will ask you to move away or not.¹⁶

John W. Baker, "a veteran of the civil war and a retired farmer," was also accused of disloyalty and lectured by the judge, but not as severely as Millar had been. His crime was not buying any Liberty bonds, which he believed were not a good investment.¹⁷ Dr. J.C. Walker, "a physician," L.C. Young, "a hotel man and hardware dealer," and Vincent Broviak, "a retired employee of the Big Four," were all accused of making pro-German statements.¹⁸ The article does not state the punishment these three men received.

In February 1918, a much more serious case of disloyalty was presided over by Judge McIntyre in Mattoon. On February 25, 1918, both G.W. Walters and Emma Timm, members of the International Bible Students Association, were arrested on suspicion of treason and violating the Espionage Act. Both were charged with:

Unlawfully, wickedly, feloniously and traitorously mak[ing] certain false and disloyal statements and utterances, and publish[ing] certain disloyal pictures, papers and documents with the intent and purpose of discouraging enlistment in the army and navy of the United States, as well as to breed discontent and insubordination among its soldiers, and also to hinder, obstruct and prevent the collection of funds to support and carry on the work of the Red Cross...for the use of wounded and sick soldiers of said United States.¹⁹

Both Walters and Timm claimed that they were morally against war based on their religious beliefs and the International Bible Students Association also supported their pacifist view. Both also refused to lend any support to the war effort through contributions to any of the different war fund drives. There is no account of the actual trial given in the *Daily Journal-Gazette*, so it is not known what the actual outcome was. It would be reasonable to assume, however, that they both were

¹⁵ "Disloyal Citizens." *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, December 8, 1917.

¹⁶ "Disloyal Citizens."

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ "Treason Charges are to be Pushed." *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, February 25, 1918.

found guilty by Judge McIntyre, given the fact he set both Walters' and Timm's bonds at "\$1,000" and continuously referred to both of them as "traitors" during the arraignment.²⁰

Following the United States' declaration of war against Germany in April 1917, Mattoon became the center of the area's military mobilization efforts. On March 23, 1917, the government announced that the local recruiting station in Mattoon would become the headquarters for the Terre Haute recruiting district. Following the move recruits from Kankakee, Champaign, Hillsboro, Effingham, and other local stations would be sent to Mattoon for their medical examinations and to consolidate the recruits before they were sent on the railroad to their respective training camps.²¹ Initially hundreds of local volunteers, and then, after the draft was enacted in May 1917, hundreds of draftees, were processed through the Mattoon recruiting station and shipped out to their camps from the Mattoon train station. One of the first volunteers was nineteen-year-old Lawrence Whitfield, a "colored youth" who operated a "West Side shoe shining parlor." He volunteered on April 12, 1917, for the Colored Infantry, the first man of color from Mattoon and the surrounding area to enlist.²²

There is no definitive list of all the men from Mattoon who served in the armed forces during the Great War. The lists of draftees and volunteer found in *The Daily Journal-Gazette* from 1917-1918 are too repetitive and incomplete to give an exact number. It is safe to say, however, that over one hundred Mattoon men served in the United States armed services during the war. From the variety of letters publish in *The Daily Journal-Gazette* from 1917-1918, we can also conclude that the majority of those men never made it overseas. Most remained instead stationed in the United States until the war's end.

Not all of the Mattoon men who were drafted were willing to give up their civilian lives and serve in the armed forces. On January 11, 1918, Odes Bosley was arrested as a deserter. Bosley had deserted Company L, Fifth Illinois Infantry at Camp Logan, Houston, Texas in November and traveled to Mattoon because of "an attachment for a Mattoon woman."²³ Eight days after Bosley's arrest Norbert Bence, ironically the son of Mattoon's truant officer, was arrested for failing to register for the draft. Bence claimed he was not twenty-one when the draft was enacted and because of this the authorities gave him the chance to prove his age before being placed on trial.²⁴ In May 1918, authorities arrested Charles Prichard for attempting to dodge the draft. After learning he would be drafted once his number was drawn Prichard secluded himself by refusing to read any newspapers, receive any mail, or go to any public places in an attempt to claim he had no knowledge of being called for service.²⁵ Prichard's attempt failed and he was sent to Jefferson Barracks to begin his military training.

In May 1917, Mattoon's leaders announced that Mattoon was seeking selection by the State of Illinois for the site of a mobilization camp for Illinois troops where draftees and volunteers could be concentrated in one place to prepare to go to war. Mattoon was one of twenty-seven Illinois towns, which included Mattoon's neighbor Charleston, being considered for the camp by the state authorities.²⁶ On May 22, 1917, Mattoon published a list of reasons why it would be the most ideal spot for the military camp:

²⁰ "Treason Charges are to be Pushed."

²¹ "Headquarters for Recruiting Station." *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, March 23, 1917.

²² "Mattoon Colored Man Joins Army." *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, April 12, 1917.

²³ "Bosley Arrested on Desertion Charge." *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, January 11, 1918.

²⁴ "Evades the Draft Act." *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, January 19, 1918.

²⁵ "Prichard is in Jail." *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, May 17, 1917.

²⁶ "Work Hard for Camp." "Charleston is After Concentration Camp," *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, May 22, 1917.

Mattoon is located on two big railroad trunk lines. Mattoon has a water supply that is not equaled by any other city in the state outside of Chicago...Mattoon is so located that its railroad facilities place it in touch with all directions of the state. Mattoon was a concentration camp during the civil war. Mattoon can supply a big military camp with all needed electric power...Mattoon has no malaria. Mattoon or the surrounding territory have no ponds of stagnant water to make breeding places for typhoid mosquitoes. Mattoon is in great corn and oats growing district and closely adjacent to hay producing territories.²⁷

Mattoon was one of the final four Illinois cities being considered for the camp by the state board who were scheduled to come visit the Mattoon site on May 26, 1917.²⁸ However, on that day the Great Tornado of 1917 hit the northern part of Mattoon at about 3:30 p.m., devastating everything in its path. It is estimated that in Mattoon alone “sixty people were killed, and five hundred homes demolished and others seriously damage.”²⁹ The major damage caused by the tornado effectively ended Mattoon’s chances of getting the concentration camp. The state officials determined that Mattoon would not have enough laborers to build and work in the camp because they would be too busy reconstructing the area damaged by the tornado.³⁰ In a sadly ironic twist, Mattoon did in a way receive a military camp. In Peterson Park a refugee encampment was built to house those left homeless by the tornado. The Illinois National Guard sent “six hundred tents...with them came 2,000 cots, hundreds of army kitchens for outdoor cooking, kitchen implements, and hospital supplies.”³¹

The people of Mattoon also provided both material and financial support for the war. The Mattoon Hospital Aid Society had been gathering medical supplies to send to France since before the United States entered the war. In May 1917, the Society began to organize a local chapter of the Red Cross after learning the United States government would only take medical supplies from the Red Cross.³² In August 1917, Mattoon’s newly formed Red Cross sent several boxes of medical supplies over to France. The boxes held a wide array of medical materials: 1061 rolls of medical bandages that required 553 yards of gauze to make; 144 sponges; 18 pillows; 36 hospital shirts; 9 knitted sweaters; and 25 knitted scarves.³³ In December 1917, the Mattoon Red Cross sent “6500 gauze sponges.”³⁴ Throughout 1917-1918, the local chapter held several memberships drives. *The Daily Journal-Gazette* aided the Red Cross’s efforts by publishing several advertisements (See Images pg. 13). By July 1917, the Mattoon chapter of the Red Cross had recruited nine hundred and fifty pledged new members.³⁵

Mattoon also provided funds for the war effort by participating in Liberty Bond drives. Between 1917 and 1918 there were four major Liberty Bond drives held in Mattoon. *The Daily Journal-Gazette* played an active role in each of these drives by placing several advertisements

²⁷ “Mattoon is After Camp.” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, May 21, 1917.

²⁸ “May Visit Site May 26.” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, May 25, 1917.

²⁹ J.P. Carey, “The Central Illinois Tornado of May 26, 1917,” *Geographical Review* 4, no. 2 (August, 1917): 123, accessed November 12, 2014, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/207291>.

³⁰ “Won’t Consider Mattoon in Plans for Army Camp.” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, June 4, 1917.

³¹ “Mattoon Lays Plans for Rise Out of Wreck.” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 29, 1917.

³² “Plan to Organize Red Cross Chapter.” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, May 14, 1917.

³³ “Boxes Sent by Red Cross.” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, August 18, 1917.

³⁴ “Red Cross Notes.” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, December 13, 1917.

³⁵ “Red Cross Campaign Ends Successfully.” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, July 31, 1917.

promoting Liberty Bonds (See Images pg 14). The first drive was held in May 1917, just before the tornado struck the city. After that, the newspaper focused its coverage on the recovery from the storm so there was no articles saying how much was raised. We do know that on May 4 the National Bank of Mattoon requested \$50,000 worth of Liberty loan bonds from the Federal Reserve Bank in Chicago.³⁶ The second drive was held in October 1917. Mattoon, along with the smaller townships that surrounded the city, raised \$695,200, which exceeded their \$492,000 goal. Coles County as a whole fell just \$99,800 short of its \$1,370,250 allotment.³⁷ The third Liberty bond drive was held in May 1918, and met with overwhelming success. Mattoon township “oversubscribed its quota fifty percent,” raising \$417, 250. The total subscription for Coles County was \$1,054,200, which was \$274,000 more than its quota.³⁸

**Would
 you leave
 your son
 to die neglected on some
 foreign battlefield? If
 not, help the RED
 CROSS to care for him if
 he falls.
 JOIN
 TODAY**

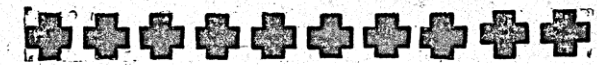
39

³⁶ “Subscribe to War Loan.” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, May 4, 1917.

³⁷ “Comes Near its Quota.” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, October 29, 1917.

³⁸ “CO. Total is \$1,054,200,” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, May 6, 1918.

³⁹ Images: *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, July 22, 1917, pp. 27, 28



Join The Red Cross Today!

Enlist in The Army Of Humanity!

Do **YOUR** part to secure skilled aid for the boys of our county who will soon be in the trenches and for their families at home.

Mail this Coupon today to Mrs. H. F. Kendall, secretary, Mattoon, Illinois.

Date.....
 Please enroll my name as a member of the American Red Cross
 I enclose the sum of One Dollar therefor.
 Name.....
 Street No.....
 City..... State.....
MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO AMERICAN RED CROSS



WILL YOU STAND AND FIGHT—OR RUN?

The war is coming directly home to YOU. When it does, will you be proud or ashamed? Thankful or filled with wild regret?

The war is soon to be brought home to every man and woman in Illinois. Every county, every township and city precinct, every city block is to furnish its share of men who will fight under the Stars and Stripes. Many of these brave sons of Illinois will fall in battle.

When word comes back that YOUR son or YOUR brother or YOUR neighbor has been hurt you will be thankful that you have done YOUR share in easing his pain and aiding in his recovery, if you are a member of the Red Cross.



Men

Tomorrow—Saturday, October 27—is the last day of the Second Liberty Loan Campaign. Millions in many thousands of dollars await of its quota.

"Would you rather loan Uncle Sam some money at 4 per cent. interest (even if you have to borrow it) or would you rather pay tribute for the rest of your natural life to a man in uniform with the decoration of the Prussian eagle around the collar of his coat?"

It happened in Belgium; do you want it to happen here?

It's up to you—and tomorrow is "The Day of Judgment."

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The Government will pay you \$4 interest every year on each \$100 of Liberty Bonds of the Second Liberty Loan of 1917, and as security you have all the resources of the United States.

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LIBERTY BONDS WILL HELP SUPPORT YOUR NAVY

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⁴⁰ Images: *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, October, 13, 1917, pp. 14, 26.

The fourth and final Liberty bond drive was held in October 1918, and again Mattoon gave more than their quota. Mattoon gave \$635, 750, which exceeded their quota of \$597,600.⁴¹

The local men that were members of the United States armed forces represented the most direct connection the city of Mattoon had to the Great War. These Mattoon men, stationed throughout the United States and France, represented all the branches of the military; the Army, the Marine Corps, and the Navy. Throughout 1917-1918 many of these servicemen wrote a steady stream of letters back home to their family and friends. Several of these letters were passed on to *The Daily Journal-Gazette* who published them for the curious public to read. A letter from Verne E. Allen to his sister in Mattoon was the first soldier's letter to be published in the newspaper, appearing on November 22, 1917. Allen wrote from Camp Cody, in New Mexico, where he was training as a machine gunner. From the letter's tone it seems that Allen was bored with life in a training camp and was eager to "get a whack at 'Kaiser Bill'."⁴² On May 1, 1918 the newspaper published a humor-filled letter from John F. Lane, who was serving "'somewhere' in France" with the First Provisional Company, Thirteenth Engineers, A.E.F., to his sister, T.J. Alabaugh. Lane opens his letter with a brotherly jab at his sister, "Here I am again somewhere in France. I know where but you don't Ha ha. Some kidder. Ah! Can't say much, you know over here. It's not over there any more."⁴³ Before going to France it appears that Lane was not very supportive of the Red Cross, but now he is full of praise for the organization. "Never will I forget the Red Cross...if I ever get out of this I will always be glad to donate to the Red Cross for they are here, there and every place waiting with a helping hand, always with something good to eat which is good too."⁴⁴ In a letter from David L. Tomlin, who was serving on the transport ship the *U.S.S. Louisville*, to his parents, Tomlin describes a moment of excitement during his voyage over to France, "[e]verything went smooth until we were out about a week, then we sighted something that looked like a periscope. Several shots were fired from other boats, but we did not get a chance to shoot any. No harm was done to us as the 'submarine' was a piece of floating spar, but we took no chances."⁴⁵

In a letter from Lawrence E. Kunkler, who was serving with the 150th Field Artillery Battery A, A.E.F., to his parents, Kunkler describes a German plane crashing, "[t]he other day a German plane burst into flames and fell over 2,000 feet to the ground...One German, a captain, jumped out while it was in the air. He was dead when they got to him. The other fell with the machine. He and the machine were burned to a crisp."⁴⁶ In a letter to his brother Moran, Leo C. Moran describes the gas training that he had received at Camp Fremont, California:

Last Saturday morning I took my last gas test and came out alive. It was the—gas test [sic] and is a deadly gas. If your mask has a leak in it when you enter the gas house, you might as well say farewell to the world, as it causes suffocation. There were eighty-seven of us who took it and we were all lucky as no one was gassed. I have taken four different tests and passed all without any trouble. I have five months gas drill and I can put my mask on in four and three-quarters seconds after the command is given. We are

⁴¹ "Coles CO. Over Top." *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, October 21, 1918.

⁴² "Receives a Letter from Her Brother." *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, November 22, 1917.

⁴³ "John F. Lane Writes Letter to His Sister." *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, May 1, 1918.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ "Letters from Soldiers Boys." *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, June 26, 1918.

⁴⁶ "Letters from Soldiers Boys." *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, July 10, 1918.

supposed to get them on in seven seconds at the longest, and the record of the camp is four and a quarter and is held by a young man in my troop.⁴⁷

Private Farley J. Wilkinson, a soldier in the 80th Co. 2nd Batt. 6th Regt. U.S. Marines, A.E.F., described in a letter to his parents what a night attack looked like: “The first night-battle one sees, looks as if the world was coming to an end. The sky all lit up with rockets and flares of all colors, shells screeching and bursting, machine guns going spat! spat!, the whirl of unseen air planes, occasionally dropping a bomb in the distance.”⁴⁸

Not all letters and reports were filled with good news and good health. The people of Mattoon quickly became well aware of the realities and horrors of war as reports of casualties began to arrive. In August 1917, Paul Rutherford McVey became the first man from Coles County killed in the war. McVey was from Charleston and had been serving in the 50th Battalion Canadian Infantry since April 1916. The article does not say where he died, other than “on the battle front in France”, or how he was killed.⁴⁹ Mattoon’s first casualty in the war came the following month. John Moore had been born in Mattoon but had left the city when he was four. He had been a constant visitor, however, as many of his closest friends lived there and he was well known throughout the city. Moore had been serving as an ambulance driver in France for the French Army since February 1917. During an attack Moore was gassed and because of this he was sent back to the United States to recover. In an interview he described his experience:

You are simply ‘gassed’ without knowing it. A day or so later the face and hands become blotched, the blotches grow rapidly; the third day after the first blotch appears convulsions set in, and vomiting. The simultaneous vomiting and convulsion causes death by strangulation...I just got a sniff of it when our ambulance was running up pretty close to the line of action, but it was enough to sicken me.⁵⁰

In February 1918, Corporal Roy Matthews became the first Mattoon man to die in the war. The thirty-five year old Matthews was not killed in action, but died from a severe attack of pneumonia.⁵¹ In June 1918, a bullet wounded Private Theodore T. Baker, a machine gunner serving in the Marines, in the jaw. Baker described his wound in a brief postcard to his mother, E.M. Baker, “I am slightly wounded in the jaw...Bullet wound; on my way to rest camp. I am still able to growl, so you may know I am all right. We had some time of it.”⁵² On July 19, 1918, a machine gun bullet wounded Lieutenant Robert Rayburn during “the Soissons battle.” He described his wound in his letter to his cousin, C.H. Douglas, from a hospital in France. “The bullet entered at my knee and passed up my leg imbedding itself in the groin. Took two operations to find it.”⁵³ In July 1918, another Mattoon man serving in the Marine Corps, Private Farley J. Wilkinson, received “a little hole” in his left arm from a machine gun while going “over the top.” Wilkinson explained, however, that the wound was not serious. “It didn’t touch the bone so it don’t amount to much. I never left the field, but kept at it until we were relieved, in fact I didn’t know it

⁴⁷ “Letters from Soldiers Boys.” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, July 31, 1918.

⁴⁸ “Letters from Soldiers Boys.” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, August 27, 1918.

⁴⁹ “First Coles County Man Killed in War.” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, September 8, 1917.

⁵⁰ “John Moore Gets Gassed.” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, September 19, 1917.

⁵¹ “Corporal Matthews Dies from Pneumonia.” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, February 20, 1918.

⁵² “Mattoon Boy is Wounded.” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, July 1, 1918.

⁵³ “Letters from Soldiers Boys.” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, August 19, 1918.

had gone clear through until the next day. The Lord was good to me, is the only reason I am here, as well as I am.”⁵⁴ On September 8, 1918, Mrs. Isaac Ervin received a message from the War Department informing her that her husband, a member of Company C, 102d Infantry, “had been seriously wounded in action in France” on July 24. The article goes on to say that the information from the War Department regarding the severity of the wound was not accurate. It seems that the day after receiving his wound Ervin had written to his wife telling her “he had been wounded in the left arm but that it was not serious.” Then, the day before the message from the War Department arrived, Mrs. Ervin got another letter from her husband telling her “that he was getting along fine.”⁵⁵

In November 1918, V. L. Reed received a letter from France written by Mattoon native Estle Clifton of Company M, 130th Infantry explaining how Reed’s son Rosamond Reed had been killed in action on September 29, 1918. In his letter Clifton recounts how Reed was killed and his admiration for his bravery:

Mr. Reed, Skeet [Skeet was Rosamond’s nickname] was a brave and a good soldier. He died fighting bravely on September 29, while leading his men over the top. He always did his duty as a soldier, and didn’t fear the whole German army. And if I have to die in the war I want to meet death like Skeet did. He died like a man and for his country.⁵⁶

Clifton goes on to explain where he and Skeet’s comrades buried him, “We dug a grave about a mile behind the battle ground and put a wooden cross over it. Skeet’s identification tag, his company number and regiment number were placed upon it.”⁵⁷ Mattoon’s final causality of the war was Sergeant Lawrence Scott Riddle. In a sad twist of fate Riddle was killed in action while in France on November 10, 1918, just “one day before the signing of the armistice.”⁵⁸ Today out of all of the men of Mattoon who served during World War I it is Riddle’s name that is the most remembered, since both the American Legion Lawrence Riddle Post 88 and the Riddle Elementary School are named after him.

There were also a few lighter moments found in *The Daily Journal-Gazette* concerning Mattoon’s involvement in World War I. In May 1918, a British tank loaded on a flatbed railroad car passed through Mattoon on its way to St. Louis. The newspaper gives a humorous account of what happened after the train stopped for a short time in Mattoon for repairs:

The Tank had no guards. Its hatches were unlocked, and a large number of persons entered it for an interior inspection. The machine guns found inside the tank were inspected. One or two of them were discharged, the bullets entering the ground. The indications were that one machine gun had been stolen, there being provisions inside the car for six.⁵⁹

Another interesting event, which happened to also involve newly developed technology for the war, occurred on August 20, 1917. A United States military balloon with six soldiers in the basket

⁵⁴ “Letters from Soldiers Boys.” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, August 21, 1918.

⁵⁵ “Husband Seriously Wounded in France.” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, September 13, 1918.

⁵⁶ “Died Bravely for Country.” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, December 16, 1918.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ “Riddle Memorial Services are Held.” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, December 7, 1918.

⁵⁹ “Many Disappointed at Not Seeing Tank.” *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, May 9, 1918.

surprised the Ames family, who lived on a farm just north of Mattoon, as it dropped down toward their house. When it was one hundred feet from the ground one of the soldiers yelled out a question. He asked how far away were they from Terre Haute. It seems that the balloon crew, who had left St. Louis earlier that day, were lost. After passing the Ames' house the balloon passed over Thomas Seaman's house. As they flew over the house "the men in the balloon called to members of the family to ask if breakfast was ready to serve. Mr. Seaman chatted with the men for a minute or so, following the balloon on foot for a short distance."⁶⁰

There is almost nothing that has been published on the history of Mattoon during World War I. *The Daily Journal-Gazette* from 1917-1918, however, proved to be a rich source of information on Mattoon's involvement in the Great War. *The Daily Journal-Gazette* showed that Mattoon, Illinois was heavily involved throughout the Great War both on the home front, through patriotic rallies and parades, involvement in the raising of war funds, and being central toward the region's military mobilization, and on the war front by sending its young men to serve in the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps. Although this paper should not be viewed as an all-inclusive history of Mattoon's involvement in World War I, hopefully it can serve as a starting point for anyone interested in researching and writing such a history or for that matter any history of Mattoon.

⁶⁰ "U.S. Army Balloon is Near City." *The Daily Journal-Gazette*, August 20, 1917.

A History of Freeburg in the First World War: As Told by the Freeburg Tribune

Daniel Eppel

The First World War affected the lives of people across the entire world and continues to influence events today. It is easy to look at an event this big and use it to study the major changes that Europe and the rest of the world underwent as a result. But with a topic as large and all-encompassing as the First World War, it can be hard to look at and study how it affected the everyday lives of people living half a world away, in areas completely untouched by the fighting. Though hard, it is not impossible. This essay will look at the history of a small town in Illinois called Freeburg and examine how it was impacted by the First World War. Freeburg is fortunate in that there exists an almost complete collection of every newspaper printed by the local paper, the *Freeburg Tribune*, during the war, thereby providing a solid foundation for the study of its past.

In this paper I will examine the lives of Freeburg's residents, as told in the pages of the *Tribune*. It offers a picture of the town before and during the war, the men who fought on the warfront, and how the citizens on the home front in Freeburg made significant contributions to the war. Freeburg was, and remains, a small town with many families that for generations have called it home. Freeburg is truly lucky to have such a wealth of information about its past so easily accessible to anyone who wishes to look.

Before the United States entered the Great War the conflict was very far removed from the daily lives of the people living in Freeburg. There was actually little to no mention of the war other than occasional articles and entertainment based fiction about spies and intrigue in Europe. These stories and articles depicted the war and the Germans in very unrealistic and sometimes comical ways. One article told a story about a group of German soldiers, who, at night, accidentally repaired a British communication wire before being captured. The writing suggests that the Germans were stupid and lumbering men who should not be taken seriously as threats.⁶¹

In fact, most of the reporting in the *Freeburg Tribune* was dedicated to the description of birthdays, deaths, and day-to-day events affecting the lives of the town's residents and its visitors. Today, it does not make for very exciting reading. The closest the newspaper had to an 'interesting' story at the time was when the body of a resident, George Vogel, was undergoing a postmortem medical examination and was discovered to have a broken arm, an injury he did not have when last seen alive. This led some people to believe that there was some form of foul play involved. It was later revealed the limb was broken by the nurse after he had already died. It is interesting to note that in the same issue that the mistake was reported in, there was also an ad looking to hire a new nurse for the town.⁶² Another example of the somewhat carefree attitude of Freeburg before the war can be seen in an article declaring two men as 'Heroes of the Burg'. A team of mules had begun to walk around town with no driver present, until G.C Huber and Ruben Browning put a stop to the mules' slow jaunt.⁶³ The first real reporting on the impact of the Great War occurred in the March 30th, 1917 issue of the *Tribune*. An article discussed the massive casualties of the war thus far, citing a number of over 10,000,000 men. It is also in this issue that the Postmaster of the

⁶¹ *Freeburg Tribune*, July 7, 1916; *Freeburg Tribune*, March 2, 1917.

⁶² *Freeburg Tribune*, February 23, 1917; *Freeburg Tribune*, March 9, 1917.

⁶³ *Freeburg Tribune*, March 2, 1917.

town, John Reuter, began to accept applications for the armed forces.⁶⁴ This was before President Wilson declared war on Germany in the first week of April 1917.

Just after the Postmaster began accepting applications, the first group of young men from Freeburg went to St. Louis to take their enlistment examinations. Eight of them went, though only four were enlisted at the time. One of them, Dewey McBride, would later go on to earn a Silver Cross.⁶⁵ Though war was declared in the previous week, since this was a weekly newspaper it was the April 13th issue that reported on the declaration of war against Germany. Not much commentary was provided, and the article itself mostly focused on the official proclamation. On the other hand, a patriotic song was published that encouraged all the young men to sign up for the military and defend their country and save the people of Europe from the rule of German tyrants. This is the first sign of the patriotism that later ran rampant through Freeburg during the war.⁶⁶ Another example of this patriotism is that for the first time ever, there was a shortage of flags in the area. The patriotic fervor that had gripped people had caused the supply of flags to rapidly disappear and caused the remaining ones to nearly double in price.⁶⁷

The *Tribune* also began to encourage the farmers in the area to employ schoolboys as farmhands instead of the usual young adult workers, to free up the men of fighting age so that they could go to war. In the same issue the *Tribune* informed the town there would be a census to help determine how many men in the country were of fighting age.⁶⁸ From here on out, the war is something that is always on the mind of Freeburg's citizens. It is difficult to not find some sort of story about the war in almost every issue of the *Tribune*. The newspaper began to publish articles about the organization of the various branches of the armed forces, likely to further encourage young men to sign up, while at the same time helping them choose a branch of service in which to enlist.⁶⁹

Besides encouraging young men to enlist, they also tried to discourage anyone who might try to shirk their duty. For example, the *Tribune* warned the young men of Freeburg that getting married would not help them avoid the war. Anyone married after the declaration of war against Germany would not be exempt from military service. They also informed any bootleggers in the area that they would receive a pardon if they agreed to sign up for military service. The *Tribune* was also not afraid to use scare tactics to get men to sign up,

Slackers who sneaked away from registering June 5, and now find themselves facing prison sentences and compulsory military service at the end of their incarceration, will get no sympathy from the public at large. Instead, they will be viewed with scorn and disgust, and to their dying day they will carry the obloquy which they have smeared themselves.⁷⁰

There continued to be calls for men to enlist, as well as a call for the local farmers to grow more food than usual so that they could help supply foodstuffs to the forces that would be going to Europe.⁷¹

⁶⁴ *Freeburg Tribune*, March 30, 1917.

⁶⁵ *Freeburg Tribune*, April 6, 1917; "Valor Awards for Dewey T. McBride." Military Times Hall of Valor. Accessed November 5, 2014. <http://projects.militarytimes.com/citations-medals-awards/recipient.php?recipientid=75681>.

⁶⁶ *Freeburg Tribune*, April 13, 1917.

⁶⁷ *Freeburg Tribune*, April 27, 1917.

⁶⁸ *Freeburg Tribune*, April 27, 1917.

⁶⁹ *Freeburg Tribune*, April 27, 1917.

⁷⁰ *Freeburg Tribune*, June 22, 1917.

⁷¹ *Freeburg Tribune*, May 4, 1917; *Freeburg Tribune*, May 11, 1917.

Initially, seventeen men from Freeburg signed up for the armed forces to “do their bit.” The editor noted that for a town as small as Freeburg, that was a large percentage of men. One of them, Dewy McBride, was a US Marine who was deployed with the 15th Company, and was among the first Americans to fight in France. Not all of Freeburg’s military men were sent to France however. One of them, William Grommet, was deployed with the Fourth Illinois Regiment to East St. Louis, to help control a race riot that had broken out.⁷² Later that month, seventy-one more men were called to take a physical examination to determine if they met the qualifications to be drafted. Of those seventy-one, around thirty of them were deemed acceptable for service.⁷³ The town was very proud of its new military men, and the *Tribune* published a message for all the new service men: “you are to fight in the noblest cause in which men ever took up arms and for a nation the most generous in all the world to her soldier sons.” The rest of the town had the same enthusiasm, and on August 16th, 1917, an ice-cream social was held for all the new servicemen at the Baptist Sunday School, free of charge. There were even more reasons to celebrate, as William Grommet, who had previously been in East St. Louis putting down the riot, was able to return home and get married before being deployed to France.⁷⁴

After the first of Freeburg’s soldiers went to Europe, it was not until September that the first letters started arriving home. The first of these to be published in the *Tribune* was from Phil Schiek. In his letter Schiek talked about how he had just arrived in England. He said that he and the other men had been greeted by a parade upon their arrival, but had yet to see any combat. He said that he was enjoying life in the army thus far.⁷⁵ The letter from Phil Schiek caused a slight problem between the *Freeburg Tribune* and the newspaper of a nearby town, the *Belleville News Democrat*. The *Democrat*’s editor, Mr. Brandenbeig, published Schiek’s letter, and claimed that he was from Belleville. This caused the *Tribune*’s editor to tell Brandenbeig to “sweep the bowwebs from his brain and know the people whom he writes about.”⁷⁶

The good-natured tone of Phil Schiek’s letters was incredibly short lived. His second letter home, which arrived later in the same month, depicted the war as something terrible. In this letter he revealed that he was now in France and had begun to see combat. He described the war as “a million times worse” than hell. He complained about the wet and mud he had to live in, the inadequate pay, and described his commanding officer, a General Sherman, as a drunk and crazy. He also warned all the drafted men in the town that had yet to be shipped to training camps that the ‘fun’ of the war would wear off when they reached France.⁷⁷

Between the end of September and the middle of October 1917, nineteen of the drafted men were sent to Camp Zachary Taylor in Louisville, Kentucky.⁷⁸ The town gave these men a parade sendoff, which consisted of thirty-six cars adorned with flags, and many of their friends and family lined the streets. The Red Cross also provided each man with tobacco, candy, and

⁷² *Freeburg Tribune*, July 6, 1917.

⁷³ *Freeburg Tribune*, July 27, 1917; *Freeburg Tribune*, August 17, 1917.

⁷⁴ *Freeburg Tribune*, August 3, 1917; *Freeburg Tribune*, September 7, 1917.

⁷⁵ *Freeburg Tribune*, September 7, 1917.

⁷⁶ *Freeburg Tribune*, September 14, 1917.

⁷⁷ *Freeburg Tribune*, September 21, 1917.

⁷⁸ These nineteen were: Albert L. Friess, George Herberer, Frank Schneider, Robert Etling, Lawrence Fournie, Arthur Kutp, John Wolz, George Williams, AF Heiligenstein, Adolph Wold, Mike Dambacher, Fred Meyer, Albert Kaburek, Clarence Holcomb, Benard Hartman, Herman Joseph, Walter Procasky, Elmer Hexter, and Clarence Vielweber.

chewing gum.⁷⁹ After the first few rounds of draftees left the area, a third letter from Phil Schiek arrived in November of 1917. In this letter Schiek talked about how things in France were starting to come together. There were more permanent camps being set up and the men were getting plenty to eat. He expressed how happy he was to hear of the patriotism back home. He also mentioned a woman that had though he had only joined the army to “act smart” and he hoped that she had rethought her position. He also mocks the unnamed woman’s son-in-law for “hiding behind his wife’s skirt” to avoid having to fight in the war. He also talked about there being a reason that the United States was fighting in France and that it was a noble cause. He ended by encouraging the family members of soldiers to mail upbeat messages to the front more often as it made all of the soldiers’ lives better.⁸⁰

Around the same time that Schiek’s letter arrived describing the improvements in France, a letter from Mike Dambacher at Camp Taylor, in Louisville, KY, also arrived. In his letter he told the town that everyone from Freeburg was doing well and that they were adapting to military life. They didn’t have all the luxuries of home, but would be all right. He also mentioned that another Freeburg soldier, George Williams, had been promoted to Sergeant.⁸¹ Hearing that everyone was doing fine in the camps, the town sent a few different groups to Camp Taylor to visit the men. The first group was organized by Warren Hamill, and included people from Freeburg and other surrounding towns. They left in mid-November. The second group visited in mid-December, and was largely made up of girls from the town who wanted to visit their friends and loved ones. The weather was poor at Camp Taylor, and the snow prevented the soldiers from picking them up from the station. This prompted a few of them to stay for a few more days, to make up for the lost time.⁸²

Over in France the soldiers from Freeburg continued their fighting, though there was still some time for more creative endeavors. One such example was a poem written by Dewy McBride, titled, “Life of a Private.”

I am sitting here a thinking of the things I left behind;
and I hate to put on paper. What is running through my mind.
We’ve dug a million trenches, and cleaned ten miles of ground;
But a meaner place this side of hill, I know is still unfound;
But there is one consolation, gather close while I tell;
When we die we’re bound for heaven, for we’ve done our hitch in hell.
We’ve build a hundred kitchens for cooks to bake our beans,
We’ve stood a hundred guard mounts, and cleaned the camps canteens;
We’ve washed a million mess-kits, and peeled a million Spuds,
We’ve rolled a million blanket rolls, and washed a million duds;
The number of parades we’ve made would be very hard to tell,
But our last parade will be in heaven; For we’ve done our hitch in hell.
We’ve killed a million bed bugs that tried to take our cots,
and shook a hundred cock-roaches from out our lousy socks,
We’ve matched a hundred thousand miles and cleaned a thousand camps,

⁷⁹ *Freeburg Tribune*, September 21, 1917; *Freeburg Tribune*, September 28, 1917; *Freeburg Tribune*, October 5, 1917.

⁸⁰ *Freeburg Tribune*, November 9, 1917.

⁸¹ *Freeburg Tribune*, November 9, 1917.

⁸² *Freeburg Tribune*, November 16, 1917; *Freeburg Tribune*, December 14, 1917.

we brushed a lot of mud from out our baggy pants,
But when our war on earth is o'er. Our friends on earth will tell,
when he died he went to heaven for he did his hitch in hell.⁸³

It could be said that some of Freeburg's soldiers were starting to have a more positive outlook on the war. In a letter from Phil Schiek to his friend, Howard Tague, who was back home, Schiek talked about how the war was going well, and that the German soldiers were mostly old men and boys who just wanted to be captured. He also mentioned that he had seen several German planes shot down already.⁸⁴ For the rest of the war more men from Freeburg would join the military and leave for camp and then to France to fight. They went to various training camps, including Camp Taylor, Camp Dix, Camp Creek, and Camp Grant. There were some notable individuals from the town that joined the military during this time. One man who voluntarily enlisted for the army was Xavier Heiligenstein. He was past the draft age and had already been exempted from the service, but he signed up to fight anyway. "He had proven his patriotism" was how the *Tribune* put it. Another notable individual was Charles Saxton, the editor of the *Tribune*. He was called to service, yet continued to write pieces and mail them back home to be published. And finally, Dr. Tegtmeier, a highly respect doctor in the area who served on the Board of Health at one point and was also the town mayor, gave up his practice so he could join the war and help fight.⁸⁵

As the war continued for Freeburg, the *Tribune* continued to publish the letters sent by the soldiers in France. Some of them were more lighthearted than others. Good examples were a letter from Leroy Staehle, where he writes about how much he was enjoying army life and traveling, or one from Frank Hillesheim who considered the experience one great adventure. Not all the letters were like that though. In one letter from Stanley Smith, he painted a not unpleasant picture of the war, but at the same time alluded to some of the more serious problems the men were facing, and mentions that their letters were getting censored.⁸⁶

Fortunately for the historian, the *Tribune* published more letters dealing with the gritty and real side of the war than cushioned letters meant to reassure the families back home. In one letter from John Barratt, he discussed how hard military life was. The men did not get enough rest, there was constant hard work, and their guns always had to be on the ready. There were also good depictions of the no-man's land between trenches in letters by Lawrence Sylvester and Nolan Smith. They both described the rotting corpses lying in the sun for days, the stench, and the constant fear of death.⁸⁷

Other letters sent home gave the people of Freeburg an idea of what their friends and family in the trenches were experiencing. In a letter from Lery Staehle, he asked people back home to stop sending tobacco to the soldiers. He explained that if they got gassed, it would spoil. He also talked about how the Allies were taking more territory than ever before. He also discussed how he had found a dead German soldier who looked like he had been praying before he died. He said that he hoped the war would end soon. In another letter, from Frank Hillesheim, he explains how he and the other soldiers never know when they are going to die and that they never hear much

⁸³ *Freeburg Tribune*, January 25, 1918.

⁸⁴ *Freeburg Tribune*, January 25, 1918.

⁸⁵ *Freeburg Tribune*, February 22, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, March 1, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, March 22, 1918., *Freeburg Tribune*, April 19, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, May 17, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, June 21, 1918., *Freeburg Tribune*, June 28, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, September 6, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, September 13, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, July 26, 1918.

⁸⁶ *Freeburg Tribune*, July 12, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, July 26, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, August 2, 1918.

⁸⁷ *Freeburg Tribune*, September 6, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, October 4, 1918., *Freeburg Tribune*, October 11, 1918.

news about the overall war. He mentions how horrible the constant shelling is, how bad the gas attacks are, and that the men are only given two meals a day. But not all news was bad, in a letter from Emmett Perrin, he talked about how the Allies were advancing through fields of dead Germans, and that soon the world would be safe again.⁸⁸

In this hellish landscape the men from Freeburg were not immune to harm, and there were many injuries throughout the war. Dewy McBride was shot in the arm, Edwin Koesterer was severely wounded, having his thumb and forefinger on his left hand shot off, as well as a wound in his leg. Fred Kriegeskotte was shot in the left arm, and Herbert Erlinger was the victim of a gas attack.⁸⁹ With all these men fighting and sacrificing themselves for the war effort, the people back in Freeburg could not stand idle. Miss Kathy May Blattner signed up to become an overseas Red Cross Nurse, becoming the first woman from Freeburg to do so. Not long after, her example was followed by Miss Margaret Hendrick. The *Tribune* praised their decision to serve the Red Cross by saying, “Next to the soldiers life the nurse’s life is one of the noblest of all occupations.”⁹⁰

While the young people of Freeburg went to France, the town itself continued to have its own interactions with and opinions of the war. One incident involved a man named Ralph Emke. Emke was a man from St. Louis who was well-known in Freeburg. He was arrested under the name of Walter Hempfing on the charge of being a German spy. He had been married for about a month, and it was his wife who told the authorities that she thought her husband was sending information to Germany.⁹¹ Unfortunately, there is no mention of Emke in the *Tribune* after this incident, leaving his final fate, unknown. Surprisingly enough, some Freeburgians had a very realistic view of how hard the war with Germany would be. In an article titled “A Solemn Hour,” published in August 1917, the author observed that soon many more men would be called to leave their homes and that the reality of war would soon set in. There would be loss and sadness for the town and that “the time for make believe and hurrah has passed and the stern terrible reality is upon us.”⁹²

In September 1917 there appeared a very informative article of how horrible life in the trenches was. The article came from the account of a French soldier named Jean Picard, who had given a talk at the Jefferson Barracks in St. Louis. The article held nothing back and worked to reinforce the description from Phil Schiek’s early letters about the horrors of the war. The *Tribune*’s editor accompanied the article with a declaration that the *Freeburg Tribune* would not censor itself, and that it would report what it wanted to report, even if the townspeople did not want to hear it. He explained that his goal was not to discourage men from signing up, but also not to paint them a false impression of the war.⁹³

Even the average people of Freeburg had some interactions with the war. One notable example was when the *Tribune* asked for all of the people not in the armed forces or the Red Cross to adopt ten principles so that they could ‘do their part’ in helping the US win the war. The points were as follows:

1. Keep themselves well informed on the causes and progress of the World War.
2. Recognize and report internal enemies to the authorities.

⁸⁸ *Freeburg Tribune*, October 25, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, November 8, 1918.

⁸⁹ *Freeburg Tribune*, July 5, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, October 4, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, October 18, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, November 15, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, November 29, 1918.

⁹⁰ *Freeburg Tribune*, August 16, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, August 23, 1918.

⁹¹ *Freeburg Tribune*, August 17, 1917.

⁹² *Freeburg Tribune*, August 17, 1917.

⁹³ *Freeburg Tribune*, September 28, 1917.

3. Change eating habits to help conserve wheat, meat, animal fats, dairy products, and sugar.
4. Encourage the increased production of foodstuffs.
5. Buy Liberty Loans.
6. Avoid luxuries whose resources could be used for the war effort.
7. Help stabilize public opinion by not spreading rumors.
8. Be a friend to the families of soldiers.
9. Be calm and patient with the various events of the war.
10. Work harder in their jobs to make up for the loss of manpower.⁹⁴

One unique aspect of the Freeburg area's involvement in the First World War was the formation of one of the first eight aviation training camps in the nearby town of Belleville. Scott Camp was built to house 2,000 servicemen and the people of Freeburg looked forward to watching the daily flying practice. One exciting day for the town was when an airplane from Scott Field landed in town. The townspeople were initially worried that there had been a mechanical failure, or that someone had been injured. Luckily, there was nothing to worry about as the plane had landed there intentionally, and for the next hour people from all over town came to see the plane and the aviators who flew it. While many planes had been seen flying overhead since the construction of the training camp, this was the first to land in town. When the war finally ended Scott Field was not abandoned, and it eventually became Scott Air Force Base.⁹⁵

The townspeople of Freeburg also suffered hardships throughout the war, although not as severe of course as its young soldiers were experiencing in Europe,. One way that the war impacted Freeburg was economically. Early on in the war the price of meat began to soar. The Freeburg Meat Market, on June 1, 1917, stopped accepting credit and only accepted cash transactions. Despite the economic challenges the people of Freeburg were encouraged to continue spending their money to try and to keep the local economy strong and healthy throughout the war.⁹⁶ The stress of the war also affected people's lives and sometimes this resulted in real tragedies. One of the worst of these occurred when one of the newly enlisted men, Albert Petri of Fayetteville, murdered his girlfriend, Margaret Pfliffner, and then committed suicide. The two had been together for a time and were planning to get married until a religious misunderstanding ended the relationship. Petri kept trying to call her, but she would not reciprocate his feelings. He eventually went to her house and shot her several times before turning the gun on himself.⁹⁷

Some of the worries in the town were more political. For example, there was a concern that being drawn into the war would cause the United States to slowly become a dictatorship. An article was published to reassure the people of Freeburg, that although the United States would soon undergo a great deal of stress, both social and economic, everything possible would be done by the people of the country to prevent the president from becoming a dictator.⁹⁸ One of the biggest concerns that the people of Freeburg had to deal with was a potential food crisis. The *Tribune* actively encouraged the townsfolk to grow food in their personal gardens and to stock up on preserves, so that in the event of a real food crisis, Freeburg would be able to support itself. The fears were not unfounded, as throughout the war the price of wheat rose from \$1.75 to \$2.00, an

⁹⁴ *Freeburg Tribune*, November 30, 1917.

⁹⁵ *Freeburg Tribune*, June 22, 1917; *Freeburg Tribune*, September 13, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, November 15, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, November 23, 1917.

⁹⁶ *Freeburg Tribune*, May 11, 1917.

⁹⁷ *Freeburg Tribune*, May 18, 1917.

⁹⁸ *Freeburg Tribune*, June 1, 1917.

incredible increase for that time. By the end of the war food prices had increased by nearly seventy percent.⁹⁹ The steady increase in price caused lots of anger being directed toward the “Robber Food Barons” for raising the price on food so much for no other reason than to make a profit. Another problems that the people of Freeburg were angry about were food hoarders. There was an incident, not in Freeburg, where a ‘spud hoarder’ was uncovered by the military and forced to sell his stockpile of food at a fair price. The *Tribune*’s editor reported this occurrence with absolute glee. The idea that anyone would take advantage of the situation was seen as deplorable.¹⁰⁰

Chris Heilgensten was appointed as the Food Administrator of Freeburg Township to deal with the food concerns. This was regarded as a good decision, and the editor noted that “the food hogs had better hunt their holes.” Initially Heiligenstein was very adamant about enforcing his duties. He put out several notices encouraging anyone who sought to serve food needs to be careful about following any and all regulations, or he would report them to the proper authorities. Heilgenstein eventually resigned his position as the Food Administrator to Theo Krauss. His reason was lack of time to attend to all of his duties.¹⁰¹

However, like before, the *Tribune*’s editor was unwilling to allow his readers to have an unrealistic view of the war. He said that the people who claimed that they were suffering “War Hardships” due to meatless or wheat-less days had nothing to complain about. He then discussed some of the deplorable conditions overseas. Specifically the paper trousers being worn by men in Germany, that leather boots were unobtainable, and that shoes were being made out of old ship sails, tents, and burlap. He did not feel like anyone in the area had any right to complain.¹⁰² While conditions may have not been as bad as in Europe, there were still some issues in Freeburg that were indeed worth complaining about, specifically two different diseases that struck the town. The first was a smallpox outbreak in March of 1918, which resulted in seven cases of the illness. The *Tribune* did not release the names of any of the victims.¹⁰³

The second major outbreak was of the Spanish Flu in October of 1918. The town handled it quite well and published many influenza warnings in the *Tribune*, asking people to avoid contact with people with colds, keep their hands clean, and if there is any sign of illness, to go home and call a Doctor. They also asked residents to not use patent medicines, to report cases of suspected influenza, and to burn any cloth that a sick person spit or sneezed into. They also stressed that one in five might die if they contacted it.¹⁰⁴ Despite all the preparations, there were still some fatalities in the township. It is difficult to say how many people died as a result of the flu. The *Tribune* mentions eight individuals that died from the flu, but many more that died of phenomena, which may have been the flu, or a result of the flu.

Despite the war, food issues, and illnesses, the people of Freeburg were able to pull together and perform an astonishing amount of fundraising and charity for the war effort. Even when exempt from the service, the men of Freeburg tried to do their part for the effort. One example was Charles Becker, who was exempt from the draft but was appointed to, and accepted, the position of fundraiser for the district’s Red Cross Fund. Eventually, a Red Cross Society based in Freeburg was formed. R.E. Hammill was elected as the Chairman and F.X. Heiligenstein as the

⁹⁹ *Freeburg Tribune*, June 22, 1917; *Freeburg Tribune*, July 20, 1917; *Freeburg Tribune*, October 11, 1918.

¹⁰⁰ *Freeburg Tribune*, December 14, 1917; *Freeburg Tribune*, December 28, 1917.

¹⁰¹ *Freeburg Tribune*, April 4, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, April 26, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, August 30, 1918.

¹⁰² *Freeburg Tribune*, February 22, 1918.

¹⁰³ *Freeburg Tribune*, March 22, 1918.

¹⁰⁴ *Freeburg Tribune*, October 18, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, October 25, 1918.

Vice-Chairman. They encouraged every resident of Freeburg to join, charging a yearly membership fee of only one dollar.¹⁰⁵

The Red Cross held several different events throughout the war. One of which, a Social and Dance raised \$172. The Social included a talk by Professor Oscar Weber from the Belleville Public School system and there was a band from Millstadt providing music for the dance. The Social was a huge success and the Red Cross was able to add to the \$325 that they had already raised.¹⁰⁶ After their first event, the Freeburg Red Cross continued its work. Volunteers made bandages, put on picture shows, asked women to knit sweaters for the soldiers, and threw picnics. The work that the Red Cross received such wide-spread support that the *Tribune* even threatened to publish the name of every resident of Freeburg that did not join or donate to the Red Cross in some way.¹⁰⁷ Even the soldiers overseas were grateful and supported the local Red Cross. In a letter from William Wisnewski, he expressed deep gratitude to the Freeburg Red Cross. Dewy McBride commented on how immensely beneficial the organization was to the boys on the front line. And Pvt. Lewis S. Locklar, while still in training, sent money back through the mail just to donate to the local Red Cross.¹⁰⁸

Even the *Freeburg Tribune* engaged in charitable actions during the war. The *Tribune* organized a mass gift sending to Camp Taylor for Christmas in 1917. They called for urgency in donating money for presents and gave examples of things to send and not to send. They suggested that people not send perishable goods, wine or other liquors, and that clothing such as neckties would not be needed by soldiers either. What was suggested were pipes, tobacco pouches, wrist watches, fountain pens, pocket books, slippers, knives, mirrors, tobacco, cigarettes, dictionaries, compasses, pencils, playing cards, and hard candy.¹⁰⁹

Where the people of Freeburg truly shined, however, was in the raising of Liberty Bonds. In the first Liberty Bond drive, Freeburg had a quota to raise \$46,000 in Liberty Bonds. The town raised \$75,000. The First National Bank of Freeburg at this point had sold more Liberty Bonds than any other bank in the district. Local stores even offered discounts to people that bought Liberty Bonds, further encouraging the people of Freeburg to invest in them. In the Third Liberty Loan drive, the quota of \$61,000 was easily surpassed with over \$76,000. Freeburg did so well that it received an Honor Flag for its incredible contributions to the Third Liberty Loan drive.¹¹⁰ The town of Freeburg made it through the First World War relatively intact. The same could not always be said about some of the young men from Freeburg that went off to war. The first of Freeburg's soldiers to return home with an honorable discharge was Sergeant Isadore Friedreich, soon followed by Mahlon Weber. On the other hand, some of Freeburg's soldiers decided they liked the army. Dewy McBride remained behind in Officers training school, and considered volunteering to stay behind even longer.¹¹¹

Not every man from Freeburg returned home though. Two of the boys from Freeburg never came home. Nolan Smith and Lewis Locklar were the only two fatalities from the town. Nolan Smith was in the same unit as his brother Stanley. Nolan was killed and his brother severely

¹⁰⁵ *Freeburg Tribune*, June 29, 1917; *Freeburg Tribune*, July 27, 1917.

¹⁰⁶ *Freeburg Tribune*, August 24, 1917.

¹⁰⁷ *Freeburg Tribune*, February 1, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, February 8, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, April 26, 1918., *Freeburg Tribune*, July 5, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, November 16, 1917.

¹⁰⁸ *Freeburg Tribune*, February 22, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, May 24, 1918., *Freeburg Tribune*, May 31, 1918.

¹⁰⁹ *Freeburg Tribune*, November 23, 1917.

¹¹⁰ *Freeburg Tribune*, November 2, 1917; *Freeburg Tribune*, April 19, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, April 26, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, June 14, 1918.

¹¹¹ *Freeburg Tribune*, December 13, 1918.

wounded in the same battle, the day before the war ended. Lewis Locklar died of wounds that he had sustained in battle on November eight. In his last letter home, Locklar asked his mother to not worry about him, and talked about how proud he was of what he was doing.¹¹² It took until 1921 that Lewis Locklar's remains were returned to the United States, making him the last of Freeburg's fighting men to return home. He and Nolan Smith are now immortalized in Freeburg with the American Legion post being named after them, Locklar-Smith Post No. 550.¹¹³ Today, the St. Clair County World War I monument resides in Freeburg's central park. Engraved on it are the names of all the men that served during the First World War.

¹¹² *Freeburg Tribune*, December 6, 1918; *Freeburg Tribune*, December 13, 1918.

¹¹³ *Freeburg Tribune*, March 25, 1921.

The Lion and the Eagle: Great Britain and the American Civil War

Thomas Travis

“If England’s ruling Ministers shall cower before the bravado of the United States, their places will soon be replaced by other,” declared the *Charleston Mercury* in December, 1861.¹¹⁴ So began the Confederate State’s efforts to appeal to Great Britain. The war, which began earlier that year, threatened to disrupt both the long-treasured peace and unity of the United States as well as the economic prosperity of overseas investors. Lincoln’s blockade of southern ports threatened Great Britain’s dependency on southern cotton. Great Britain stood to lose more by intervening in the conflict on the side of the Confederacy than remaining neutral.

When Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States in 1860, the country was at a crossroad. Decades of bitter dispute between pro and anti-slavery factions left many Americans politically, culturally, and even spiritually divided. Significant events such as the publishing of Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* and John Brown’s praised and often denied martyrdom after the Raid on Harper’s Ferry turned the attention of the international community towards the slavery issue in the American South. Lincoln’s election to the presidency pushed the plantation states to the brink, and in December 1860, South Carolina became the first state to secede from the Union. Once South Carolina had left the Union, other states followed suit. The Confederacy had been declared by its government to be separate from the remaining United States and the task of gaining international recognition now lay before Confederate President Jefferson Davis.

An article published in *The Christian Recorder* stated that Lancashire alone contained one third of Great Britain’s textile factories.¹¹⁵ As the war continued, Great Britain faced an economic crisis as a cotton shortage soon set in. *The Charleston Mercury* reported in October, 1861, that the people of South Carolina as well as a majority of the Southern population anguished at the sluggish reaction of Great Britain towards the Union blockade which threatened to disrupt Great Britain’s economic investments.¹¹⁶ Confederate victories early in the war boosted Southern morale as the possibility of foreign intervention on behalf of the Confederacy moved closer to reality. It did not come as quickly as Southerners had hoped for, however.

Up until the outbreak of the Civil War, relations between the United States and Great Britain had steadily been improving. A tour made by the Prince of Wales in the summer of 1860 to the eastern United States ended with a formal ball held in his honor at the White House. Both British and American citizens glowed in the face of the others cordiality, and even His Royal Highness expressed satisfaction with the reception he received. With the sudden outbreak of secession and the coming conflict between North and South it was uncertain whether or not this friendship would survive. With the victory at Bull Run still fresh in the minds of many Southern troops, the Confederate congress in Richmond now turned to England and France for support and recognition of their sovereignty.

As 1861 drew to a close and another bloody year loomed, more Confederate victories against Lincoln’s armies had been achieved in the east. After turning back General McClellan’s advance on the Confederate capital of Richmond, Virginia, in 1862, the Peninsula Campaign, as it

¹¹⁴ “Great Britain and the Civil War,” *The Charleston Mercury*, December 21, 1861.

¹¹⁵ “The Factory Statistics of Great Britain,” *The Christian Recorder*, May 10, 1862.

¹¹⁶ “Great Britain and the Confederate States,” *The Charleston Mercury*, October, 1861.

would come to be known, turned into a disastrous defeat for the Union. Victories against the Confederacy in the West, though joyfully celebrated back home, had lost significance as a result of such a devastating defeat for McClellan's army in Virginia. Parliament declared the current status of the conflict a stalemate, though Confederate President Jefferson Davis felt it was only a matter of time before Great Britain would intercede on his behalf.

Lincoln's blockade of southern ports hindered the South's ability to maintain a system of trade with Great Britain, as "King Cotton" brought both parties economic prosperity. In the years prior to South Carolina seceding from the Union, American political writers stressed the importance of the cotton production in the South. In his book, *Great Britain and the American Civil War: Volume II*, Ephraim Douglas Adams states, "cotton was one of the great wealth-producing industries of America and as the one product which would compel European intervention in American policies."¹¹⁷ The question was asked passively at the time, what would happen if cotton were not manufactured for three years? The answer was that Great Britain would literally destroy itself and the rest of the civilized world in order to save the South. There was not a doubt in either British or Americans minds that cotton was king.

"The cards are in our hands," reported the *Charleston Mercury* on June 4, 1861, "and we intend to play them out to the bankruptcy of every cotton factory in Great Britain and France, or the acknowledgement of our independence."¹¹⁸ Great Britain's cotton industry had no rivals up to 1861. Liverpool and Lancashire were the top manifesting locations for textiles. The previous year America enjoyed a bountiful cotton harvest—the largest recorded yet at nearly 4 million bales. Some 3.5 million bales of cotton had been exported abroad and Liverpool received a large portion of it.¹¹⁹ When the war came there was no shortage of cotton in the American South. A collection of what was left was even shipped to the North. So much cotton had been produced and exported abroad that in the following two years there was a lull in the demand for cotton by manufacturers in Great Britain because cotton mills had managed to catch up following earlier depressions in the late 1850s.

The cotton trade was in jeopardy due the mass import of cotton from the American South and not enough exports from Great Britain. There were some mills that had to cut their labor almost in half. The effects of the beginning months of the war were felt in Great Britain's cotton districts, as prices rose to over a shilling per pound of cotton in October, 1861.¹²⁰ Widespread rumors swirled of certain British intervention in the conflict in order to save the cotton trade. The opinion that the war in America would be short collapsed after the Battle of Bull Run in Virginia proved the South's resolve to defend their rights. In the beginning of December, 1861, there was nearly a complete cessation of cotton transports to Great Britain. Up until the end of May, 1862, only 11,500 bales of cotton had been received in Great Britain. This was less than one percent of shipments made in the same period.¹²¹ Even more distressing for British manufacturers was southern planters in the coastal regions of the Confederacy who were moving their slaves further inland and away from Union blockade vessels. At first, the opinion of intervention in the American conflict was seldom given. Even businessmen from the Lancashire cotton district hesitated to insist upon entering into a war with the United States in order to save their industry. Officials in

¹¹⁷ Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War: Vol. II*, 2.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 7. In 1850, cotton cost \$4.35 a pound.

¹²⁰ Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War*, 8.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 9.

Parliament began questioning whether or not it would be of any use to attack the Union blockade of southern ports.

South Carolina was one of the largest cotton-producing states in the Union prior to the outbreak of the Civil War. South Carolina had a complicated history with Great Britain during the American Revolution. When Charleston surrendered to British commander Sir Henry Clinton in May 1780, the people of the city were content to recognize the sovereignty of Great Britain. The state's agricultural wealth did not go unnoticed during the time of the British occupation. After South Carolina seceded from the Union, Great Britain feared for the loss of one of its chief suppliers of raw cotton. This was made even more difficult as a result of the blockade for which many southerners resented Britain. The Confederacy believed both Great Britain, as well as France, would do well to recognize its independence.

The next step would then be to break the blockade. Again, the idea of a war with the United States had put Great Britain in a desperate situation. *The Charleston Mercury* printed an article detailing the response of the Queen of England's proclamation concerning the conflict in America and the blockade of southern ports. In her proclamation, Queen Victoria urged the people to avoid coming between certain policies being implemented by the Union against the Confederacy.¹²² This included action against the blockade. In response, the Confederacy declared that cotton and tobacco from the South would not be exported any other way out of the Confederacy but through their ports and that Great Britain was now faced with the decision of whether or not to support the Confederacy. If Great Britain decided to remain neutral in the conflict, the Confederacy believed it—who is “it” would only hurt them—who is them? severely for the South “was a power to be recognized.”¹²³ The Confederate congress in Richmond had even gone so far as to ensure the protection of British citizens who would take up arms in support of the Confederacy. They would be considered belligerents in the service of the Confederate Army and if captured they were to be treated as prisoners of war. If the Union failed to recognize them as such then the repercussions would be severe.¹²⁴

One of Lincoln's cabinet members, William H. Seward, was now faced with the daunting task of ensuring peace between Great Britain and the United States. As Lincoln's Secretary of State and a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, Seward traveled frequently throughout the country as well as overseas. He faced the mission of keeping Great Britain from interceding on behalf of the Confederacy and thus destroying the Union all together. Seward believed the president would not be able to afford him much help. Norman B. Ferris's *Desperate Diplomacy* argues that Lincoln, prior to his inauguration, had declared to foreign diplomats: “I do not know anything about diplomacy. I will be very apt to make blunders.”¹²⁵

Seward was well aware that the conflict between the Union and the Confederacy would attract the attention of Great Britain politically as well as economically. He was convinced that Parliament would move to strike a blow at the democratic ideals established by the American and French Revolutions.¹²⁶ In May 1861, Sir John Ramsden announced to the British House of Commons that it was now witnessing the destruction of the great republican system, which the United States had prided itself on and had at one time attempted to convince England to rewrite its

¹²² “The Queen's Proclamation and the Blockade,” *The Charleston Mercury*, June 4, 1861.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ Norman B. Ferris, *Desperate Diplomacy: William H. Seward's Foreign Policy, 1861*, 1.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

own constitution.¹²⁷ Great Britain continued to hint at interference with Lincoln's blockade, but Seward was relentless. Diplomats warned of Seward's aggressiveness. Great Britain was faced with the decision of joining together with France in recognizing the Confederacy following the final export of Southern cotton in September, 1861. With their combined forces, Seward would have to stand down for he would not be able "to shout them both down."¹²⁸ Britain's Prime Minister, Lord Lyons, refused to accept this as an ultimatum; he believed that a joining of the two European powers against the United States would lead to a future conflict between themselves. Seward's relentlessness was coupled with Lyons's caution and for a brief period tensions eased.

Yet, tensions remained high between the Lincoln's administration and the factions of Parliament in favor of intervening in the American conflict. Great Britain had yet to step into the ring. It appeared as though Lincoln's administration would be able to hold off further interference with Great Britain until in December, 1861, when a diplomatic crisis tested the political endurance of both Great Britain and the United States--the Trent Affair. The captain of the USS San Jacinto intercepted a British mail ship carrying two passengers from the Confederate government on a diplomatic mission to Great Britain. Both passengers were arrested. The capture of Mason and Slidell, received bitter protest from Parliament, which viewed the actions of the Union Navy as a breach of Great Britain's neutrality.

Captain Wilkes, commander of the USS Jacinto that intercepted Mason and Slidell, became a hero to many Northerners for his actions. The British Parliament raged when news reached London. A message reached Lincoln's cabinet demanding the release of Mason and Slidell as well as an official apology for abusive actions taken on the seas against Great Britain.¹²⁹ This appeared to be the final straw for Great Britain and preparations for war began. Parliament implemented a ban on exports of war materials to the United States and the deployment of troops to Canada. The Union blockade became a possible target for a naval attack by Great Britain as well as a blockade of Northern ports. France had even announced that it would back Great Britain's endeavor. Any hope the Confederacy had at aid was now at a minimum.

The Trent Affair would be resolved after Britain's Prime Minister to the United States, Lord Lyons, met with Seward. Their discussion concerned the welfare of Mason and Slidell and a way to avoid armed confrontation between the two countries. Lyons later wrote to the British Foreign Minister, "I am so concerned that unless we give our friends here a good lesson this time, we shall have the same trouble with them again very soon. Surrender or war will have a very good effect on them."¹³⁰ Lincoln and his administration took into careful consideration the situation they now found themselves in with Great Britain. An agreement was reached that it would be sensible to fight one war at a time. The issue with the Confederate diplomats would be pressed no further and on December 27, 1861, Seward sent a message to British officials denouncing the actions of Captain Wilkes and ensuring them that Mason and Slidell would be released, avoiding an armed confrontation. Following their release from prison, Mason and Slidell attempted again to reach out the Great Britain for support and recognition of the Confederacy. This second and final attempt failed. In January, 1862, *The Christian Recorder*, an African American newspaper out of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, reported on the discussion held between Seward and Lyons regarding *The Trent Affair*. In an article published on January 4, 1862, stated that Seward's intention on

¹²⁷ Ferris, *Desperate Diplomacy*, 6.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹²⁹ Ferris, 6.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.

releasing Mason and Slidell was for the best interest of the Union.¹³¹ Satisfied by the agreement made between Seward and Lyons, *The Christian Recorder* reported that the question was rightly settled between a peaceful solution and war between Great Britain.¹³²

Another key figure during this period was Lord Palmerston. Palmerston served twice as British Prime Minister in the mid-nineteenth century. In the years before the outbreak of war between the Union and Confederacy, Palmerston was in agreement with Queen Victoria that relations between Great Britain and the United States were improving. In fact, it was Palmerston who decided it would be a great opportunity for improving relations if the Prince of Wales took a diplomatic trip to the United States. He was, however, of the old aristocratic sect and secretly held animosity towards the United States and desired destruction. Palmerston, supported the South during this time, but he was careful not to show as much favor as his colleagues. Members of Parliament agreed that the war in America was being fought over the institution of slavery and that their economic dependence on Southern cotton would be caught in the middle.¹³³

Palmerston actively supported the abolition of the international slave trade. He even met with Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, during her visit to Great Britain. Though he delighted in the news of intercepted and captured slave vessels, Palmerston was not pleased to hear news of the situation of slaves on the cotton plantations of the Confederacy being freed by the armies of the Union. Palmerston was not the least impressed by these men who were under the command of “cigar-smoking Generals in ill-fitting uniforms who came to symbolize radical democracy such as was experienced during the French Revolution.”¹³⁴ For the time being, however, Britain would remain neutral in the conflict. A war with the United States appeared not to be in the best interest of the economy of Great Britain. Palmerston knew of threats made by Seward and other American politicians towards foreign nations who aided and supported the Confederacy. Palmerston went so far as to send additional troops to Canada in the chance that peace between the Union and the Confederacy was made and their attention turned towards invading the British-held territory.¹³⁵

Palmerston had taken advantage of certain events such as *The Trent Affair* to gain more favor for his cause of convincing Parliament to wage war against the United States. He was known for his bitterness towards Irish immigrants going to America. The notion that the Irish controlled many major Northern newspapers was falsely spread. Lincoln's decision to release Mason and Slidell, Palmerston believed, was because of the troops he had sent to Canada.¹³⁶ But following the Confederate defeat at Antietam in September, 1862, and the issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation, Palmerston turned away from any notion of war against the United States. All further attempts to intervene in the conflict were rejected because the military situation in America did not appear to require any.

A final obstacle Palmerston faced during his time as Prime Minister during the American Civil War was the issue of the construction of a Confederate raiding vessel in Birkenhead, England. Palmerston ordered the vessel's immediate detainment, as it was a violation of Britain's neutrality. Before the order reached Birkenhead, however, *The Alabama*, as it was named, had captured or destroyed several Union ships as did other raiders that were constructed in Great Britain.

¹³¹ “*The Trent Affair Settled – Mason and Slidell to be Released*,” *The Christian Recorder*, January 4, 1862

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ Jasper Ridley, *Lord Palmerston*, 549.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 550.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 553.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 556.

Palmerston was ordered to pay reparations following the end of the war for the damages *The Alabama* had caused. He refused to do so. Following his death, the new British Prime Minister, Lord Gladstone acknowledged the claims made by the United States and agreed to pay. Great Britain was made to pay a total of \$15.5 million in damages.¹³⁷

Great Britain remained divided about events in America. On one hand it stood to lose a fortune economically with the blockade of Southern ports, but on the other hand there remained the long standing peace between two great nations that could have destroyed one another if it came to war. Seward, Palmerston, Lyons and Lincoln each held the cards in their hands at one point during the war and were given the important task of playing them correctly. Several times the Union was faced with the possibility of war with Great Britain. The political cunning of these men prevented this. Great Britain remained neutral during the American Civil War and did not intervene on the side of the Confederacy.

¹³⁷ Ridley, *Lord Palmerston*, 559.

Crossing Borders Using Class, Femininity, and Gender: How Northern Women Spies Shortened the American Civil War

Emily McInerney

Loyalty is never certain. The Civil War showed how easily humans could be influenced under certain circumstances. As men went off to war women were in charge of the home. This allowed them to make their own choices and some anti-secessionist southerners to even turn against the Confederacy. Spying became one of the major ways women were able to directly help the North, aside from fieldwork like nursing and cooking. A number of women, in the North and South, were able to find out secrets and give them to Union generals. Author Mike Wright wrote, “It was brother against brother, neighbor against neighbor. We may call it a ‘Civil War,’ but there was nothing civil about it.”¹³⁸ This passage can be interpreted in several ways; it showed families that became divided, but also can show how neighbors and families may not be able to trust one another based on beliefs. Spies arguably helped the war end as quickly as it did, since they were able to pass along information. Author Philip Van Doren Stern argued that the North had fewer spies because they had greater numbers in the army, making deaths not as detrimental to regiment quantities; the South had to rely on strategy due to a finite number of soldiers available.¹³⁹ Van Doren Stern suggested spies in favor of the South were more abundant than Union spies. Even if this were accurate, without Union spy information the commanding officers would have had to rely on their uniformed scouts and would not have been able to get as close to military information as women could. Without Union spies, critical information would not have been found, drawing out the war. Overall, Northern spies, specifically women spies, outperformed men because of their ability to fit into a variety of social situations. What follows is an examination of several of these women and how they employed class, femininity, and gender roles to drastically shorten the war.

Allan Pinkerton, who eventually helped start the United States Secret Service, created one of the first “spy agencies.” He “had a special way of determining if a woman had the ability to be a spy. He used phrenology, the ‘science’ of reading the bumps on an individual’s head.”¹⁴⁰ Although there is no proof of success, it was a popular method. There is also no telling how many women went to him for employment, or how many he passed as spy-worthy. His progressive thinking allowed women to realize they had the skills to step out of their gender norms and help with the war effort in a way very few had before.

One of the more prominent spies in historical scholarship was Elizabeth Van Lew. She grew up in Richmond, Virginia after her family relocated to the south from New England. They immediately became part of the elite class due to their wealth, large home on a large property, and ability to entertain other elites at dinner parties. However, “The Van Lews simultaneously held blacks in bondage and lamented the evils of slavery, hoping all the while that through individual acts of kindness, charity, and manumission they could erode slavery gradually.”¹⁴¹ Her maternal grandfather took part in the American Revolution as a Patriot and aided in the creation of

¹³⁸ Mike Wright, *What They Didn't Teach You About the Civil War*. (New York: Random House Publishing Group, 1996, 121).

¹³⁹ Philip Van Doren Stern, *Secret Missions of the Civil War*. (Garrett County Press, 2012), 11-12.

¹⁴⁰ Wright, *What They Didn't Teach You About the Civil War*, 187.

¹⁴¹ Elizabeth R. Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy: The True Story of Elizabeth Van Lew, A Union Agent in the Heart of the Confederacy*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 9.

Pennsylvania's constitution, where he served as governor and later died in office. Elizabeth idolized Baker and inherited his progressive thinking, which influenced the whole family into becoming "Unionists" and working against the Confederacy. In her journal, Elizabeth Van Lew wrote,

"If I am entitled to the name of 'Spy' because I was in the secret service, I accept it willingly; but it will hereafter have to my mind a high and honorable signification. For my loyalty to my country I have two beautiful names—here I am called, 'Traitor,' farther North a 'spy'—instead of the honored name of 'Faithful.'"¹⁴²

It is clear she was hurt by the way her neighbors, who watched her develop into a then-respected woman, treated her. Van Lew knew she was acting in a moral, patriotic way. She alluded to the desire of having some kind of gratification bestowed on her, if even in a name.

Once the Civil War began Van Lew believed she could help influence her neighbors to end slavery. In a personal narrative, reflecting on Virginia seceding from the Union in 1861, she wrote, "Think of a community rushing gladly, unrestrainedly, eagerly, into a bloody civil war! Imagine how the spirit of evil reigned. . . . One day I could speak of my country, the next was threatened with death. Surely madness was upon the people!"¹⁴³ Van Lew's thinking, if known, put her in a potentially dangerous position. If she openly opposed the Confederacy the Richmond elite could harm her family, physically or socially, and capture the family's slaves, taking away any chances of being freed. She had to choose her words carefully and be cautious of her surrounding company when talking ill of the Confederacy. "In what was now a familiar routine, the Van Lew women deflected such charges by conspicuous acts of Confederate sympathy; they entertained young men from the Richmond Howitzers¹⁴⁴ and other prominent citizens."¹⁴⁵

Only select few knew Van Lew's intentions and aided her in getting others to trust her. Because of her social class and wealth it was hardly considered a possibility she would be a Unionist. "Southern ladies had a natural and unimpeachable devotion to the 'Cause' and that disloyalty was a disease that only afflicted the riffraff."¹⁴⁶ This gave Van Lew an advantage when providing intelligence to the Union and helped to minimize the risk of being caught by the Confederacy.

Union General Butler began getting aid from her in 1863 after Union soldiers were broken out of the Libby Prison, which was less than a mile from Van Lew's home, with her aid. Unionists devoted to undermining the Confederacy worked within Richmond, serving as double agents calling themselves "the underground"; they appeared to be loyal southerners while aiming to free Union POWs in the Libby Prison. "The fact that they chose to stay in the South and court danger rather than flee to the North bespeaks their commitment."¹⁴⁷ Their abolitionist thoughts would help transform the South during Reconstruction; they were not only loyal to their nation but also their state.

¹⁴² David D. Ryan, ed., *Yankee in Richmond: The Civil War Diary of "Crazy Bet" Van Lew*. (Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, 2001), 22.

¹⁴³ Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 35.

¹⁴⁴ Richmond Howitzers refers to a Confederate regiment; having them attend dinner parties would have helped others be less suspicious of Van Lew being a traitor.

¹⁴⁵ Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 78.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 106.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 82.

Van Lew was not allowed to enter the prison less than a mile from her home, but visited Union soldiers in hospitals. Then she was able to convey their messages, give them food and tend to their wounds. Bribery was common to get past Confederate soldiers and guards as well as children, who were also encouraged to use their assumed innocence to get past prison guards to send food to Union soldiers. They claimed to want souvenirs from Union supplies and even cried as a last resource in order to get inside the prison to pass messages along.

This was the main way Van Lew was able to aid the North. Prisoners would overhear Confederate plans, messengers would inform the underground, and Union generals would be informed in attempts to gain an upper hand. “Van Lew extracted information directly from members of the Confederate bureaucracy itself...she had ‘clerks in the rebel war and navy departments’ in her confidence.”¹⁴⁸ Since she was a lady of status it would not be unusual for her to ask questions about the war under the assumption she wanted to do what she could to aid the Confederacy.

In a letter from Butler to his friend and topographical engineer, Charles O. Boutelle, Butler said, “Miss Van Lieu [sic] is a true union woman as true as steel.”¹⁴⁹ Butler and Van Lew had a deep respect for one another that drove them to work harder for the Union cause. In their correspondence special ink was used to keep their messages secret. What appeared to be regular letters showed Confederate secrets after the paper was soaked in milk or heated. Butler often began letters to her as “My Dear Aunt” and “My Dear Niece” to keep their correspondence unknown.¹⁵⁰ A secret code was also created in case the letters were intercepted. Van Lew’s niece remembers that she “always carried [the key] in the case of her watch.”¹⁵¹ Van Lew sent Butler letters containing information, as she was able to get it from prisoners. He believed “her information too important for him to act on alone and sent [letters] to Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton.”¹⁵² Without her aid, hundreds of Union soldiers would have remained in prison and may have died while incarcerated, taking away the chances of a funeral attended by family.

Her work also gave inmates hope of safely escaping. Van Lew accomplished this by providing “only one of many safe houses in the Richmond area.”¹⁵³ Union Colonel D. B. Parker referred to her as, “the ‘guiding spirit’ of the band of brave men and women, white and black, who aided runaway soldiers.”¹⁵⁴ Her aid was for more than just the government; it helped individual soldiers mentally stay strong while being in captivity. Even if this hope was false, the thought of being able to go home and see their families helped keep the incarcerated soldiers to remain optimistic.

After the war was over, and Van Lew was exposed as being a Union spy, she was seen as an outcast. Her inheritance had been largely spent on helping the Union, thus removing her class status. In 1869, President Grant named her Richmond’s “postmistress” giving her a salary from the federal government as a way to thank her help during the war.¹⁵⁵ Her friends recommended she begin fresh in a different area. Leaving Richmond and possibly moving to a northern city would put her around people with similar abolitionist ideas, and they may even admire her for her wartime actions. “In this atmosphere of hostility, Elizabeth [shrank] from every thing like a

¹⁴⁸ Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 93.

¹⁴⁹ Ryan, *Yankee in Richmond*, 51.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁵¹ Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 112-113.

¹⁵² Ryan, *Yankee in Richmond*, 14.

¹⁵³ Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 132.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ Ryan, *Yankee in Richmond*, 19.

gathering of my fellow beings, church, concerts, everything.”¹⁵⁶ This hatred took a toll on her mentally and physically. She would live the rest of her life hated in the South and largely forgotten in the North. “Because of her moral belief in the necessity of preserving the Union, she, after all, had betrayed her city.”¹⁵⁷ Her grave did not even have a headstone until Boston residents raised money for one, showing how much those in Richmond still resented her.¹⁵⁸

Another spy, Pauline Cushman was also a Union asset. By trade she was an actress and used those skills to acquire information about the Confederacy. Women were seen as being the delicate, fashionable gender. Her up-to-date fashion sense and etiquette skills made her an ideal woman. Men would have wanted to be seen near her and women would have wanted her company at dinners, making her an ideal spy. She “passed on information to [Union] General Rosecrans—the goings and comings of Southern troops in Kentucky and Tennessee.”¹⁵⁹ While not a prostitute, her attractiveness and charming personality made Confederates open up to her and invite her into their private tents.

Unlike Van Lew, Cushman was found to be a spy during the war. General John Bell Hood sentenced her to death by hanging when he discovered the deceit. Thankfully for her, the information given to the Union led them to where she was held captive and she was able to escape death. Even though she openly lied by saying she was a southern sympathizer, “no one doubted for a moment that she was the most virulent secessionist.”¹⁶⁰ Her biography is often discredited, according to Van Doren Stern, because the author was known to embellish and therefore create false stories in a grammatically “lush” style.¹⁶¹

A third spy, Sarah Emma Edmonds, employed different tactics to get information. Where Van Lew had used her role as an elite woman to bring food to prisoners and Cushman used her femininity and beauty. Edmonds engaged in a more drastic approach by changing her identity. It was unheard of to imagine a woman wearing men’s clothing, let alone take on the persona of one. While we know today there were dozens of women who changed their appearances in order to fight, few knew at the time. It was an assumption that men wore pants and women wore dresses; questioning differently would have gone against society’s constructed gender roles of what men and women were supposed to look like.

Sarah Emma Edmonds enlisted in the Union army after coming to America from Canada. In a book she published in 1864, she wrote,

“An insatiable thirst for education led me to [come to America], for I believed then, as now, that the ‘Foreign Missionary’ field was the one in which I must labor, sooner or later...I thank God that I am permitted in this hour of my adopted country’s need to express a tithe of the gratitude which I feel towards the people of the Northern States.”¹⁶²

Working in hospitals was not fulfilling enough for her. She disguised herself as a runaway male slave, forcing her to shave her head and color her skin and went by the name “Frank Thompson.” While in the Second Michigan Infantry, Thompson/Edmonds was a male nurse as well as a private

¹⁵⁶ Varon, *Southern Lady, Yankee Spy*, 244.

¹⁵⁷ Ryan, *Yankee in Richmond*, 20.

¹⁵⁸ Wright, *What They Didn’t Teach You About the Civil War*, 189.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 183.

¹⁶⁰ Linus Pierpont Brockett, *Scouts, Spies, and Heroes of the Great Civil War*. (Star Publishing Company, 1892), 106.

¹⁶¹ Van Doren Stern, *Secret Missions of the Civil War*, 12.

¹⁶² Sarah Emma Evelyn Edmonds, *Nurse and Spy in the Union Army*. (Bedford, Massachusetts: Applewood Books, 1864), 18-19.

on the battlefield. It can be argued she used both “masculine” and “feminine” skills; serving as a nurse she would be around other women, doing stereotypical woman’s duties, like sewing, cooking and washing linens, all while being extremely masculine when actively fighting in skirmishes.

As a spy, she acquired information about the Rebel strategies, “was even given a gun and put on picket duty. She slipped back to the Federal side, taking all the information *she* had gained while pretending to be a *he*.”¹⁶³ In her book, Edmonds recalls what should have been a routine supply trip and described how a woman who provided food to the troops shot at Edmonds as she was getting on her horse to leave. Naturally, it began a firefight. “I did not wish to kill the wretch,” she wrote, “but did intend to wound her.”¹⁶⁴ Eventually, Edmonds gave up the male persona, even though Frank was not known to be Sara until several decades later. An African American named Bob became her companion, rarely leaving her side. Edmonds claimed even he did not know she was a woman.

Edmonds also went by the alias of Bridget, an Irish baker. Under this alias, she was able to cross freely between Union and Confederate lines. By using food sales as a front, Edmonds was able to get into camps and learn about troop movements. Once she had accurate information she was able to go back to Union lines and report her findings, giving them an advantage. While she did not have the “honor” of being killed in battle, “she did fight valiantly and received a serious wound.”¹⁶⁵ Some historians credit Edmonds with being the first woman to receive a military pension; since some female soldiers never revealed their true identities there is no way to be certain.

Each of these women who were considered to be spies risked their lives every day. Some were threatened with death; others socially shunned. At the time they were “These strong, independent women [who] took the prohibited step of ‘unsexing’ themselves to gain access to male space and authority.”¹⁶⁶ Their strengths of having an elite social status, femininity and gender changing gave them the skills needed to aid the North. They used very different strategies to work towards one goal: preserving the Union by ending the war. By “fighting battles and carrying information across enemy lines offered proof enough of their right to believe as they chose and to act as they believed right,” which gave them a new form of empowerment.¹⁶⁷ Their daily actions showed not only how important preserving the Union was, but also that women could go beyond society’s constructed image of what a woman could do. Van Lew, Cushman and Edmonds helped the Union achieve victory; without their actions the war could have continued for several more years.

¹⁶³ Wright, *What They Didn’t Teach You About the Civil War*, 189.

¹⁶⁴ Edmonds, *Nurse and Spy in the Union Army*, 93.

¹⁶⁵ Matthew Teorey, “Unmasking the Gentlemen Soldier in the Memoirs of Two Cross-dressing Female US Civil War Soldiers,” *International Journal of the Humanities*, 78.

¹⁶⁶ Teorey, “Unmasking the Gentlemen Soldier in the Memoirs of Two Cross-dressing Female US Civil War Soldiers,” 74.

¹⁶⁷ Wright, *What They Didn’t Teach You About the Civil War*, 191.

The Art of War: A Study of Japanese POW Artwork

Rachael Sapp

In the words of E. McClung Fleming, “To know man we must study the things he has made.”¹⁶⁸ Man creates objects to fulfill needs of self, reaffirm beliefs, and establish symbols of meaning.¹⁶⁹ These objects make up material culture. Scholars of material culture learn about the ideas or values of a community through the study of artifacts.¹⁷⁰ The study of artifacts facilitates a study of culture because objects embody and reflect cultural beliefs.¹⁷¹ But artifacts can document culture clash and culture bias, as well. Studying material culture requires thinking outside one’s personal cultural beliefs or understanding because all things arose in different contexts.

This paper presents a model for the study of Japanese prisoner of war artwork created during and immediately following World War Two and collected by Allied soldiers. No study currently known has addressed these artifacts of individuals who survived conflict and conquest. It identifies and analyzes examples of Japanese POW art housed in private collections and museums across the world, but focuses on two pieces from a private collection in Tuscola, Illinois. The model is based upon Fleming’s model of artifact study from his text “Artifact Study: A Proposed Model.” His model utilizes a system of collecting factual evidence or factual identification, evaluation and comparisons, cultural analysis, and object interpretation.¹⁷² While Fleming applied the model to furniture, the objects this paper analyzes all share a similar form—two dimensional artwork drawn in various medias, such as colored pencil, ink pen, and pencil and applied to different canvases of silk, linen, burlap, and cotton fabrics. The artworks serve as souvenirs that occupying soldiers brought back from the Pacific Theater and indicate Allied soldier and Japanese POW relations. Finally, they provide evidence of Japanese POW cultural identity. Drawing on Fleming’s model, this paper endeavors to discover what kinds of symbolism are present in these works of art, decipher their meanings, create a model for understanding Japanese POW’s cultural identity through art, and discuss their relevance within the modern world.

Factual Identification

As a child I vaguely knew the story surrounding the two pictures hanging on the second-story staircase landing of my parents’ house. I knew my grandfather, Paul Jones, originally owned them and that he came to possess them long ago. I would not say that I forgot about or neglected their presence in my home while growing up, but their seemingly uncelebrated placement on the staircase wall contributed to my, perhaps, overlooking them. For years, those pictures hung over my family as our household underwent change. And while many things did change, such as three structural renovations and a few distinct periods of interior designing, the pictures remained in the exact location my mother placed them twenty-two years before.

The pictures themselves, two Japanese women, do not coincide with a chosen color scheme or my parents’ specific aesthetic design preference. After spending a few moments observing them one day a question sprang to mind: why keep them? Undeniably these objects held more meaning

¹⁶⁸ E. McClung Fleming, “Artifact Study: A Proposed Model,” *Winterthur Portfolio*, (Vol. 9, no. 6, 1974), 153-155.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 153.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 154.

¹⁷¹ Jules Prown, “Mind in Matter: Intro to Material Culture Theory and Method,” *Winterthur Portfolio* (Vol., no., 1982), 1-3.

¹⁷² Fleming, “Artifact Study: A Proposed Model,” 153-157.

than I initially assumed. My mother, the obvious person to answer these style questions, offered an explanation to satisfy my curiosity. She discovered the drawings in her parent's belongings in the 1970s and asked her father, Paul Jones, about their history.

When prompted about their provenance, she explained that the pictures came into my grandfather's possession during World War Two amid his stationing at a camp in the Philippine Islands in 1946. A Japanese Prisoner of War created the pictures for him and he gave them to his mother as a gift. After her death, my grandfather took possession of them before passing them down to his daughter, my mother. Since these pictures were my grandfather's war mementos, they held special meaning, and my mother wanted to retain them. Although my mother's knowledge of the pictures ended here, the answers gave me greater insight into why the pictures had been a staple within my home. Still, questions lingered on. Where exactly did they come from? Who made them? Why were they made? And why would Paul hand over two objects that denoted his military career?

A man of many talents, Paul died having lived a full life as a husband, father, grandfather, retired postal worker, businessman, master gardener, and World War Two veteran. I never thought much on his wartime service, partly because it was not overtly visible in his home and somewhat because he never spoke on the matter to me; nor did I ask. Now that it is too late to ask him about these objects, I must piece together evidence from others. I questioned Paul's other children and his only surviving brother about the drawings only to learn that everyone knew less than my mother, if anything at all. My father, on the other hand, offered a wealth of information to the artwork's provenance. I did not ask my father at first since he joined Paul's family by marriage and therefore seemed least likely to know about the drawings, or so I believed. A military veteran himself, my father found deep connections with those parts of Paul's life, connections that I cannot fathom nor comprehend, and he proved to house a wealth of information.

According to my father, Paul solicited the drawings from two Japanese prisoners of war in exchange for some sort of small luxury, such as cigarettes or toiletries. The drawings were supposedly of the creator's female relation or girlfriend, at least as explained by my father. Paul supplied the men with two handkerchiefs and colored pencils to draw with. Upon their completion, Paul sent them home to his mother as a souvenir, along with a paper folding fan and pair of carved wooden shoes. Shortly after discovering these souvenirs, I stumbled across two boxes of letters my grandfather wrote to his mother while serving in WWII. Paul's mother kept almost every letter he sent her, along with several other souvenirs from his time overseas. After hours of reading, a letter surfaced that reinforced the information Paul told my father:

Manila

P.I.

June 25, 46

Dear Mom:

Your

letters are kinda getting ahead of me so I thought I had better start to write... I got one letter to-day from you. Yesterday I got two from you and two from Jo one from Carroll. You are the only one so far that has addressed my letters S/Sgt. You wanted to know if I got to watching the show. Well they have a top over the curtain. But the way it rains over here you get wet any way. The wind blows right thru. You have to wear your rain coat. We got payed Monday. I don't know how much I will draw but it will be more. I had a Japanese prisoner to draw the picture of Jo Ann that she sent me. I think it is pretty nice. I'll send it to you! Have you gotten those pictures I had made on those handkerchiefs? You should be getting them soon... Well Mom will close for now.

Love,
Paul

Although mention of the drawings exists briefly in this letter, it stands as the only documentation of their provenance and makes reference to another picture drawn by a Japanese POW. This letter presents other useful information regarding the approximate time of year the pictures were created, sent to Paul's mother in Tuscola, Illinois, and narrows the location of origin to the area around Manila, Philippines.¹⁷³

Paul worked as a farm laborer until late January of 1945 when the United States Army drafted him. He was nineteen years of age upon his entrance into boot camp in early February (Fig 0.1).¹⁷⁴ Paul began his boot camp in Arkansas before transferring to Texas, then later again to California. In late April of 1945, Paul received word of his deployment overseas to a POW camp in Manila, Philippine Islands and boarded the S.S. *Cape Canso* in early May. The war ended before the S.S. *Cape Canso* made landfall in Manila, Philippine Islands, but Paul remained at the U.S. camp in Manila guarding Japanese POWs over one year. During this time, the Philippines gained independence from the United States with the Treaty of Manila. On October 19, 1946 the S.S. *Cape Canso*, along with Paul, returned to San Francisco Bay, California, having completed its service (Fig 0.2).¹⁷⁵ He saw no combat during his deployment, but Paul collected many souvenirs from his time in the Philippines, including the two handkerchiefs.

The pictures on these handkerchiefs depict women in Asian attire with representational backgrounds. The artist drew on two different types and sizes of handkerchief.¹⁷⁶ Neither handkerchief offers any indication as to the date of creation. However, it must have been created prior to Paul's letter mentioning the objects, thus dating the handkerchiefs to before June of 1946.

One handkerchief (Fig. 1) is approximately sixteen inches in length and sixteen inches in height. Density of weaving created decorative line contouring borders and a thick seam encases all four edges. Microscopic analyses of this handkerchief's fibers indicate it is linen. The handkerchief shows degrees of discoloration in several areas varying from off-white to light tan. A drawing completed in colored pencil encompasses an eleven square inch section at the handkerchief's center. Colors used in the drawing include black, green, brown, blue, red, and yellow. The letters P.J. are stitched in the upper left-hand corner in red thread – Paul's monogram signifying his personal ownership.

The second handkerchief (Fig. 2) differs in size from the first as it is fifteen and one half inches in width and eighteen inches in height. This handkerchief lacks any particular decoration, but like figure one, a thick seam runs along each of the handkerchief's sides, and its selvage edge is rough. A microscopic analysis of this handkerchief's fibers also indicates it is linen. Another colored pencil drawing covers the handkerchief save a two-inch boarder along its four edges. Colors used in the drawing include black, green, brown, blue, red, and yellow.

Evaluation and Cultural Analysis

No secondary analysis of this type of POW art exists. After months of searching, only four comparable artifacts surfaced: one at the Australian National Maritime Museum, two at the Pacific

¹⁷³ Paul Jones, letter to Mrs. Hubert Jones, June 25, 1946.

¹⁷⁴ Paul Jones, Courtesy of Kathy Sapp.

¹⁷⁵ S.S. Cape Canso-Arrived in San Francisco Bay From Manila, Philippine Islands, October 19, 1946, Strand Photos 611 Larkin Street, San Francisco. Courtesy of Kathy Sapp.

¹⁷⁶ Handkerchiefs are a form of kerchief or thin piece of hemmed fabric typically carried within a pocket for the intent of personal hygiene.

War Museum in Guam, and a fourth at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum in Springfield, Illinois. Several similar Japanese POW artworks appear online in blog spots and World War II memorial forums but unanswered questions surround them, as well. No other information or literature on the artwork produced by Japanese POWs exists in text form. The information in this paper shall begin the process of evaluation.

One drawing (Fig. 4) depicts a woman standing outside. She wears a flat black hat, green, blue, and red kimono with white birds on the shoulders, and her hair falls to roughly chin length. Only the woman's portrait is drawn. The woman wears a blue and green kimono with a red collar, and a tree branch and fence appear in the background, along with a faded green pagoda. Japanese characters drawn on the left side of the picture read "Drawn by Shumei" or Hidemasa, according to Ayumu Ota, Exhibit Coordinator of the National Museum of Japanese History in Sakura-city, Chiba, Japan.¹⁷⁷ Ayumu translated the signature and indicated that the first symbols represent the name of the person and the last symbol means "drawn by" or "painted by," depending on the reader (Fig. 3).

Shumei also drew the image on the second kerchief. The second drawing (Fig. 5) contains a Japanese woman's portrait. She is dressed in a green kimono, with a blue and black collar, and white red, and yellow bust detailing. A bridge railing, parapet, deer, and mountains appear in the background of the picture. According to Dr. Hisashi Horio, Professor Emeritus at Kobe University in Japan, the tops of the parapets most likely had metal coverings in actuality and the entire picture "expresses the scenery of the famous town, Nara."¹⁷⁸ Horio claims the deer in the background easily identifies with the town of Nara. The city of Nara, Japan is located in the Kansai region at the base of Mount Wakakusa and houses the Nara Park, established in 1880.¹⁷⁹ Nara Park, one of the Japanese locations of Scenic Beauty, contains over one thousand wild sika deer, temples, and gardens. Native to East Asia, all Sika deer notably retain their white spots through maturity. The deer in the drawing of the second handkerchief, a male based upon its antlers, contains these spots. Japanese culture holds this park in high esteem and holds these deer as spiritually sacred beings.¹⁸⁰ After 1946, these deer became stripped of this cultural value and were instead viewed as national treasures. The deer's important spiritual symbolism may offer insight into Shumei's artistic intentions, because at the time of the drawings' creation these deer still held sacred importance. Shumei even included one in his drawing to signify the importance of his spirituality.

Horio believes that because this drawing (Fig. 5) describes the city of Nara, the first drawing (Fig. 4) may depict either Nara or Kyoto, as "painters usually imagined those two towns when [drawing] pictures."¹⁸¹ Kyoto, located in the Kansai region, contains thousands of religious shrines and gardens, which can be seen in figure two. According to Horio, Shumei did not possess any exceptional talent and the handkerchiefs produced do not bear high quality or value. He believes the drawings were not created for cultural value, but instead for monetary value. Horio's analysis of the pictures depicted on the handkerchiefs offers only one explanation to their meaning. Additional comparison with Japanese art, culture, and symbolism provides an even deeper understanding.

Every culture has its own set of symbols connected with experience and beliefs. Scholars

¹⁷⁷ Ayumu Ota, email to Rachael Sapp, September 13, 2014.

¹⁷⁸ Hisashi Horio, email to Debra Reid, October 20, 2014.

¹⁷⁹ Pradyumna P. Karan, *Japan in the 21st Century: Environment, Economy, and Society*, (The University Press of Kentucky, 2010), 237-240.

¹⁸⁰ Dale R. McCullough, Seiki Takatsuki, and Koichi Kaji, eds., *Sika Deer: Biology and Management of Native and Introduced Populations*, 2009 ed. (Tokyo: Springer, 2008), 347-350.

¹⁸¹ Horio, October 20, 2014.

must interpret and reinterpret these symbols to divulge their meanings and understand changes over time.¹⁸² Thomas Schlereth, a scholar of material culture, believes that material culture serves important abstract functions outside their obvious realms. In his text “Material Culture Studies in America, 1876-1976” he argues that these abstract functions might include unconscious beliefs, ideas, values, or hidden meanings. Schlereth supports his argument based upon a text by E. McClung Fleming. The danger of symbolism in material culture study claim both Fleming and Schlereth are over analyzing or looking too deeply into symbolism. Therefore, scholars must carefully distinguish between what objects contain symbolic meaning and those that lack overtly symbolic natures.¹⁸³

Scholars understand that symbols play an important role in Japanese art and design and have done so for centuries. Did these prisoners use their knowledge of Japanese symbolism and imagery to convey meaning through art? Both drawings contain patterns on the kimonos. Closer examinations of these patterns is necessary since symbolism carries such a significant weight within Japanese art culture. Unfortunately, only one pattern on a kimono (Fig. 5) is discernable. If identified, however, this symbol may provide insight into Shumei’s drawings. *Symbols of Japan: Thematic Motifs in Art and Design*, by Merrily C. Baird, identifies and explains themes within Japanese art. Baird breaks the text down into different categories, such as the cosmos, plants, insects, and land mammals, detailing specific objects in each.¹⁸⁴ Although no example of Japanese POW artwork is discussed in *Symbols of Japan* it does aid in analyzing the drawings for potential symbolism. The kimono pattern from figure two closely resembles that of the karabana or China flower, a flower containing four petals in a diamond shape. A closer view of this can be seen in figure four. While the figure two kimono pattern appeared similar, the example in the Baird text does not entirely match.

Legend in Japanese Art, by Henri L. Joly, also recognizes and classifies symbols in Japanese artwork.¹⁸⁵ Again, much like the Baird text, it provides useful understandings of Japanese symbolism, however no China flower example is shown. The only example of a China flower bearing a nearly exact match to the figure two kimono comes from *The Elements of Japanese Design: A Handbook of Family Crests, Heraldry, and Symbolism*, by John Dower.¹⁸⁶ Categorized as a Japanese heraldic motif, China flowers represent symmetry and courtly connotations. Perhaps Shumei used the symbolism behind the China flower in tandem with the idea of Nara Park to convey status or beauty and symmetry within nature. Although no other distinguishable patterns present themselves in Shumei’s drawings, others might find this type of analysis useful, if not crucial, to dissecting and interpreting their own POW artworks.

Interpretation

Japanese people greatly respect both art and nature, and their culture thrives in rich oral, symbolic, and written traditions. These traditions carry over to all aspects of their lives, including military service. *The Anguish of Surrender: Japanese POWs of World War II*, by Ulrich Straus,

¹⁸² Thomas Schlereth, “Material Culture Studies in America, 1876-1976” *Material Culture Studies* (Nashville, TN: AASLH, 1982), 42-46.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 43-45.

¹⁸⁴ Merrily C. Baird, *Symbols of Japan: Thematic Motifs in Art and Design*. (New York: Rizzoli, 2001), 7.

¹⁸⁵ Henri L. Joly, *Legend in Japanese Art: a Description of Historical Episodes, Legendary Characters, Folk-Lore Myths, Religious Symbolism, Illustrated in the Arts of Old Japan* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle Publishing, 1989), 11-21.

¹⁸⁶ John Dower, *Elements of Japanese Design: Handbook of Family Crests, Heraldry and Symbolism*, New ed. (Weatherhill, 1990), 35-36, 137.

yields invaluable insight into the lives of Japanese soldiers.¹⁸⁷ The *Anguish of Surrender* delves into warrior home life, military expectations, and what “surviving” the war meant for their future.

By the end of 1945 an estimated twenty to fifty thousand Japanese fighting forces surrendered to Allied militaries. Allied governments and military commanders stipulated that Japanese POWs receive treatment in agreement with appropriate international regulations.¹⁸⁸ This is not to say every Allied soldier followed protocol. Many held racist judgments and treated Japanese soldiers harshly and unjustly. The Japanese government accepted western practices towards prisoners of war throughout the first quarter of the twentieth century, but the support fell from favor following World War I, claiming that surrender challenged military beliefs.¹⁸⁹ During the years leading up to WWII, the Imperial Japanese Army espoused a philosophy that obligated soldiers to fight to the death rather than surrender, a procedure that mirrored the practices of Japanese conflict amid the pre-modern period. This policy and the attitudes surrounding it became indoctrinated in Japan’s youth, and a code of conduct, known as Senjinkun, forbade soldiers to surrender. The Senjinkun, a small booklet on military codes of conduct, delineated “concrete rules of conduct...so that those in zones of combat may wholly abide by the Imperial Rescript and enhance the moral virtues of the Imperial Army.”¹⁹⁰ It forbade surrender and retreat, stating that doing so caused all visible ties to their nation and families to permanently sever.

Japanese governmental propaganda campaigns celebrated the soldiers who perished in armed combat. This propaganda told troops that Allied forces tortured and killed prisoners as a means to motivate soldiers to die rather than accept defeat. According to the Japanese government, defeat also included being captured by the enemy. The phrase, “never live to experience shame as a prisoner,” cited in the Senjinkun, reportedly caused countless soldier suicides. In the event a soldier incurred a serious injury on the battlefield, medical officers often either killed them or gave them a grenade to commit suicide rather than fall into the hands of the enemy.¹⁹¹ Although debates regarding the Senjinkun as legally mandatory and strictly followed by Japanese combatants remain prevalent among scholars, the text echoed Japan’s cultural patterns and affected both military personnel and civilians alike.

In 1943, the U.S. War Department published an Intelligence Bulletin entitled “Morale, Characteristics of Japanese Soldier.” The bulletin discusses the morale and characteristics of Japanese soldiers in WWII, essentially “[providing] enlisted men and junior officers with all the useful information possible about the individual enemy soldier they expect to face in battle.”¹⁹² The Bulletin claims that the current state of morale and combat qualities “are frequently missing,” from Japanese leaders and that “this [evidence] is borne out by...observers in the field, by documentary evidence, and by prisoners of war.”¹⁹³

Good characteristics of a Japanese soldier, as observed and documented by U.S. soldiers, include physical and mental strength, tenacious unto death, boldness, courage, at home in the

¹⁸⁷ Ulrich Straus, *The Anguish of Surrender: Japanese POW's of World War II.* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2004), 4, 65-70, 256.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 17-20.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 17, 25.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 39, 40-45.

¹⁹¹ Ikuhiko Hata. "From Consideration to Contempt: The Changing Nature of Japanese Military and Popular Perceptions of Prisoners of War Through the Ages". In *Prisoners of War and Their Captors in World War II.* (Oxford: Bloomsbury Academic. 1996),269.

¹⁹² “Morale, Characteristics of Japanese Soldier,” Intelligence Bulletin, Vol. II, No. 3 (Military Intelligence Service: November 1943) <http://www.lonesentry.com/intelbulletin/index.html> (Accessed November 24, 2014).

¹⁹³ “Morale, Characteristics of Japanese Soldier,” (Accessed November 24, 2014).

jungle, and discipline. Unacceptable behaviors of a Japanese soldier, as witnessed by U.S. soldiers, include poor marksmanship, occasional panic, and lack of imagination. U.S. soldiers also documented that there is nothing “super” about a Japanese soldier that sets him apart from any other country’s soldier. In another issue of the Bulletin, one soldier commented on his experiences of fighting hand-to-hand combat with Japanese soldiers. “[They] were expert at camouflage and [were] thoroughly trained to operate in the jungle. [They] obeyed orders very well and...officers lied to [them] frequently to bolster morale.”¹⁹⁴ Another stated that not every soldier was “willing to die when the odds were against him.”¹⁹⁵

Japanese sources mentioned in the same Bulletin issue quoted one soldier explaining the “Guide to Certain Victory,” something all soldiers were taught by superior officers. The guide instructed Japanese soldiers to

Fight hard; leaving nothing undone. If you are afraid of dying, you will die in battle; if you are not afraid, you will not die; if you are thinking of going back home, you will never go; if you do not think of it, you will go home. Under no circumstances become a straggler or a prisoner of war. In case you become helpless, commit suicide nobly.¹⁹⁶

Despite the regulations and pressures outlined in the Senjinkun thousands of Japanese soldiers still chose to surrender. Their reasons vary from deeming suicide inappropriate or lacking courage to end their lives, to the Allied propaganda reassuring fair treatment. A study conducted by Richard Aldrich on the diaries of Japanese soldiers challenged the perceptions that soldiers lived zealously for the Emperor and that family members would not accept their shameful returns home.¹⁹⁷ Unfortunately, no mention of Japanese POW artwork occurs in these diaries.

“We Have Been Reborn: Japanese Prisoners and the Allied Propaganda War in the Southwest Pacific,” by Allison Gilmore, discusses how Japanese prisoners of war interacted with their Allied captors. Because the Japanese artworks are doubly products of Allied and Japanese relations, this text supplies useful awareness into Japanese-Allied relations in prisoner of war camps.¹⁹⁸ Not all Allied soldiers treated Japanese prisoners with disdain. The information label discussing the two drawings at the Pacific War Museum in Guam supports this. It states that,

The works of art in this display were painted by a Japanese POW between 1945 and 1946. When not performing menial tasks or duties as prescribed by the American forces, the Japanese soldiers relaxed or passed the time playing games, writing poetry, or painting. Painting might include scenes of their homeland, sweethearts, or happier pre-war memories. The soldiers often traded for their painting materials or simply used spare materials at hand. In this case bed sheets

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ “Japanese Characteristics and Reaction in Battle,” Intelligence Bulletin, Vol. II, No. 8 (Military Intelligence Service: April 1944) <http://www.lonesentry.com/intelbulletin/index.html> (Accessed November 24, 2014).

¹⁹⁶ “Japanese Characteristics and Reaction in Battle,” (Accessed November 24, 2014).

¹⁹⁷ A Richard Aldrich, *The Faraway War: Personal Diaries of the Second World War in Asia and the Pacific* (London: Corgi Books, 2006), 8-10.

¹⁹⁸ Allison Gilmore, “We Have Been Reborn: Japanese Prisoners and the allied Propaganda War in the Southwest Pacific”, *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 64, No. 2 (May 1995),195-215.

were cut into squares and used as canvas.¹⁹⁹

In her article, Gilmore discusses one Japanese prisoner who shared his feelings of rebirth and renewal with being captured. Coinciding with Buddhist beliefs, some prisoners felt they died as soldiers figuratively and were reborn spiritually in the POW camps.²⁰⁰ If this is true, the drawings could indicate spiritual symbolism. To answer this, more analysis is needed.

Each POW artwork that contained entire or partial provenance, those from Paul Jones, the Pacific War Museum, the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and Museum, and the Australian National Maritime Museum, all indicate Japanese soldiers trading the drawings for small luxuries, such as cigarettes. However, comparing the provenance collected by Paul's relatives with the information given by Ayumu and Horio reveals inconsistencies and suggests altered memories at play. Where one relative stated Paul asked two different POWs to create them, the Japanese characters identified by Ayumu, "Drawn by Shumei," on both pieces suggest otherwise. Another inconsistency develops with the suggestion that both women drawn held personal connections to the creator, Shu-sei. In a correspondence with Horio, he suggested the drawings characterized a "pin-up" photo and that Shumei most likely never implied that he depicted one of his personal acquaintances.²⁰¹ While this remains a valid point, Shumei may very well have connected with his drawings in a deeper cultural sense.

The "pin-up" photo concept may, in fact, help explain one of the drawings from the Pacific War Museum in Guam.²⁰² The drawing in question depicts a naked woman of Japanese ancestry bathing in a body of water. Pin-up artwork ran rampant within soldier barracks. American troops received millions of magazine's containing these images during WWII. Some pin-up paintings even found their way onto military bombers. But does this mean these Japanese POW drawings all stand as examples of mid-twentieth century pin-up girls? Not necessarily. The drawing from the Pacific War Museum stands as the only drawing yet discovered containing a naked woman. Each example of this artwork preserved in museums or in private collections, including those owned by my family, contain a female figure. However, not every Japanese POW drawing available for public display includes them. While it is easy to suggest pin-up girls as a cure-all answer for the creation of these drawings, would the men who so painstakingly drew them, who incurred so much grief and pain and who lived in a culture where everything contained meaning, haphazardly construct drawings to fulfill Allied soldiers' attraction for pin-ups? None of the drawings, except the Guam example, resemble American pin-up girls. These drawings show women fully clothed in uncompromising situations. Furthermore, Paul most certainly did not send home drawings of pin-up girls to his mother. Additionally, the inclusion of the sika deer, at the time a sacred animal, proves that the drawings were more significant to the artist than just a pin-up drawing made to appease a U.S. soldier's desire for souvenirs.

Something significant occurred in these camps; two groups of men, supposed enemies, one imprisoned and the other captors, developed a unique form of trade. The relations between Allied forces and Japanese prisoners developing in these camps obviously caused changes in both the racist tendencies amongst Allied troops and the perceptions held by Japanese prisoners. Statistically speaking, morale of the Japanese soldier deteriorated severely by the beginning of

¹⁹⁹ "Japanese World War Two Relics." Guam and Beyond, August 31, 2011. Accessed September 15, 2014. <http://dangerboyandpixie.wordpress.com/2011/08/31/japanese-world-war-two-relics/>.

²⁰⁰ Gilmore, "We Have Been Reborn," 201.

²⁰¹ Horio, October 20, 2014.

²⁰² Guam and Beyond, September 14, 2014.

1944. However, the notion of rebirth as a prisoner of war encircled many of the prisoners and bolstered their spirits.²⁰³ Did they anticipate death and therefore create them as reminders of happier times? Did they produce these drawings as articles to appease the Allied soldiers guarding them? Did they create them as tokens of appreciation for the soldiers who spared them death? Or did the soldiers' desires for normalcy drive them to use whatever means possible, including their artistic abilities, to produce items of value to serve as currency? Any or all may have motivated the artist and the occupier. Until the Japanese POW artists who created these artworks are located to understand for certain, the answers may very well lie somewhere between them all.

This analysis of Japanese POW drawings during occupation provides guidelines in analyzing other POW drawings created in the same context, through factual identification, evaluation and cultural analysis, and interpretation. Most who own or view these drawings are unaware of the stories they tell or the cultural significance surrounding them. Japanese POW artwork during occupation holds value today not only as surviving souvenirs from Allied soldiers to their mothers and sweethearts back home, or items for trade, but also as Japanese symbols of beauty, cultural expressions, and tokens of rebirth. My own family's drawings hold new meaning for us, as representations of my grandfather's military service, and now as windows into Japanese culture at the start of its reconstruction.

²⁰³ Gilmore, "We Have Been Reborn," 201-202.

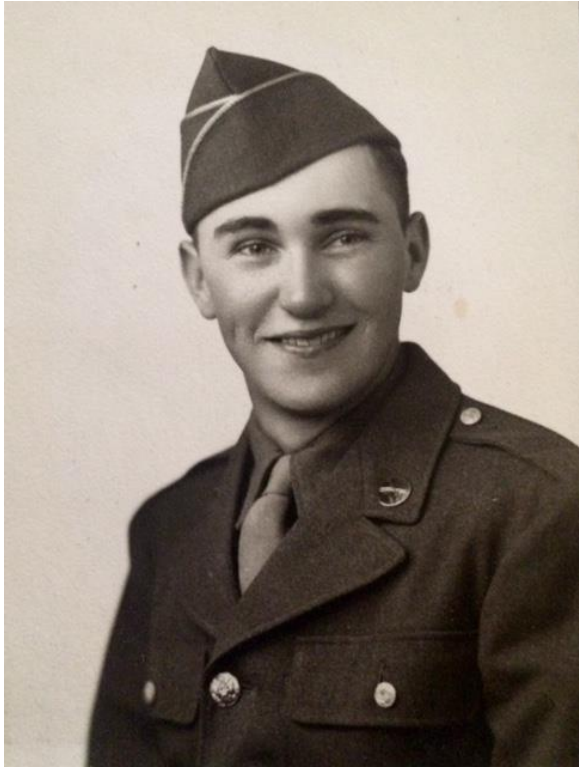


Fig. 0.1



Fig. 0.2

Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

秀正書
→ Hidemasa or Shūmei
→ Drawn or painted by



Fig. 4

Fig. 5



The Trojan War in Greek Art

Taylor Yangas

The legacy of Homer's *Iliad* is far-reaching and intense on many levels. It had a major influence on the societies that followed the story, especially Greek society. Ancient Greek memory knew the story of the Trojan War because of its importance in society and its prevalence in life. In Greek society, the themes from these epic tales were prevalent in the works of Greek art in a multitude of mediums. Greeks viewed their own culture through the lens of the Trojan War myth and evidenced this through art. The tales were constantly reshaped and seen through new lens as people sought to utilize the epics of the Trojan War.

Myths in general played an important role for the ancient Greeks. According to a quote from Walter Burkert, Greek myths can be considered as “traditional tale[s] with secondary, partial reference to something of collective importance.”²⁰⁴ The purposes of myths have always been complex, as “the narratives of myths were never meant solely to entertain, but always possessed a meaningful content.”²⁰⁵ This could involve the invocation of several themes that would have been familiar to ancient Greeks, amongst other purposes. Greek myths had a special attribute, however: the imagery “never constituted a religious dogma... and could thus be much freer in both its choice of subject and mode of representation.”²⁰⁶ There was a much greater freedom in how art could depict certain scenes and events. For example, a scene depicting Achilles helping Patroclus with a wound does not appear anywhere in the *Iliad*, but makes an appearance on pottery.²⁰⁷ Overall, many of the stories from the epic cycle that includes the *Iliad* “must have been part of the common heritage of Greeks during the Archaic and Classical periods, and as with stories of other heroes, conflicting details and even different versions could exist side by side.”²⁰⁸ Therefore, Greek artists could take liberties in the scenes they depicted without ruining the overall effect of the mythology.

Details from works of art could contribute to different meanings. The popular scene in Greek art concerning Achilles and Ajax playing some sort of game was depicted in a multitude of ways that all lend different meanings. In three different vases, this scene is shown with varying details that give completely different perspectives on the event. In the black-figure amphora painting by Exekias, Achilles is clearly the more important of the two warriors, since he is the one wearing his helmet and thus looks taller than his fellow Ajax.²⁰⁹ On another black-figure amphora painting by the Lysippides Painter, the two warriors are both shown bareheaded, implying an equal status shared by the two.²¹⁰ In a red-figure amphora painting by the Andokides painter, both of the men appear with helmets on, and the use of the most sophisticated red-figure painting technique allowed for a more detailed scene to emerge.²¹¹ Even with such a minor scene, the artists were able to convey different meanings to suit their own needs, even though these cups came from the sixth

²⁰⁴ Klaus Junker, *Interpreting the Images of Greek Myth: An Introduction*, trans. Annemarie Kunzl-Snodgrass and Anthony Snodgrass (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 19.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ H. A. Shapiro, *Myth into Art: Poet and Painter in Classical Greece* (London, New York: Routledge, 1994), 7.

²⁰⁷ Junker, *Interpreting the Images*, 5.

²⁰⁸ T. H. Carpenter, *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1991), 195.

²⁰⁹ Black-figure amphora refers to the Greek art style of black figures being painted on to red clay. Susan Woodward, *The Trojan War in Ancient Art* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), 60.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 61.

²¹¹ Red-figure amphora refers to the Greek art style of red figures being painted on to black pottery. Ibid., 61-62.

century rather than the fifth century BC.²¹² This ability to manipulate the perceptions of a scene even so well known in Greek art, as Achilles and Ajax playing a game, shows just how much power the artist has and just how easy it is to influence people through the art they come into contact with.

The arguments for a historical Trojan War and how the tale is perceived today are endless, but another perspective lends itself to the argument about the Trojan War in Greek art--how the Greeks would have perceived the Trojan War themselves. There are two differing opinions on the role these myths played. On one hand, for ancient Greeks “the Trojan War and the return of Odysseus in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* respectively were considered historical events.”²¹³ Our modern conceptions of myth were for Greeks “the early history of their own people... they saw themselves in a direct line of descent from men of the Heroic Age.”²¹⁴ The tale was integral to their history with support for the basic facts. Thucydides considered the epic poem to be historically accurate to the extent that he bases his estimates about the size of the expedition to Troy on the numbers given in the Catalogue of Ships located in Book 2 of the *Iliad* (Thuc. 1.10.2-5)²¹⁵ The heroes themselves were considered to be historically accurate as well, including Achilles, Helen, and Odysseus.²¹⁶ Later uses of kinship ties were deemed to be accurate, as Aristotle and Thucydides trusted in a historical Minos and Pausanias and Aristotle believed there to be a historical Theseus, even if their more fantastic endeavors were questioned.²¹⁷ At most levels of Greek society, the stories in the epic cycle were treated as a part of their history.

On the other hand, there was some doubt amongst ancient Greeks about the details considering the Trojan War. Some intellectuals recognized certain issues and thought “the traditional myths about gods and heroes, with their unreal happenings, were without exception to be classified as untrue, as simple stories which had been used by people in earlier times to try to make sense of certain aspects of the world.”²¹⁸ Xenophanes, Hecataeus, and Pindar all criticized Homer’s tales, stating that they were exaggerated.²¹⁹ However, some of them, like Plato, agreed that the tales themselves were not wholly rejected: they communicated universal ideas and certain truths that could be used to advantage.²²⁰ Myths invaded daily life for the Greeks, and “there is hardly an aspect of human life that is not in some way touched upon by one myth of another and its meaning.”²²¹ The higher classed Greeks in society, especially the more educated ones, included “kings, statesmen, and politicians who might manipulate kinship myth, even invent it, knowing full well the myth’s fictiveness but recognizing its efficacy in the deliberations of a democratic assembly or a royal court or even on a campaign.”²²² Overall, the credulity of Greek myths must be seen as an inconsistent view, since there were in truth a variety of reactions to mythology’s historical accuracy and it was fairly easy to manipulate myth such as kinship and genealogies for specific purposes.

²¹² Woodward, *The Trojan War in Ancient Art*, 61-62.

²¹³ Jonas Grethlein, “Homer and Heroic History,” in *Greek Notions of the Past in the Archaic and Classical Eras*, ed. John Marincola, Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, and Calum Maciver (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 14.

²¹⁴ Shapiro, *Myth into Art*, 1.

²¹⁵ Quoted in Grethlein, “Homer and Heroic History,” 14.

²¹⁶ Grethlein, “Homer and Heroic History,” 14.

²¹⁷ Lee Patterson, *Kinship Myth in Ancient Greece* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 5.

²¹⁸ Junker, *Interpreting the Images*, 28.

²¹⁹ Grethlein, “Homer and Heroic History,” 14.

²²⁰ Junker, *Interpreting the Images*, 28.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 29.

²²² Lee Patterson, *Kinship Myth in Ancient Greece*, 4.

The *Iliad* also served another function for the ancient Greeks: it outlined a history within a history that helped Greeks to maintain their identities. The *Iliad* itself is rife with documentation of kinship lineages that tie the story itself back to an even more remote past.²²³ This phenomenon is known as ‘epic plupast,’ or *mise en abyme*, which means “the embedded past of the heroes figures as a mirror to the heroic past present in epic poetry.”²²⁴ Homer included several mentions of age and an allusion to the previous pre-Trojan War generations in the *Iliad* (*Iliad* 1.259-64, 1.271-2, 9.527-8).²²⁵ Homer’s accused exaggerations came into play when referencing the heroes of the Trojan War, such as Achilles and Diomedes.²²⁶ However, there is a limit to the extent that the *Iliad* employs the epic plupast. Oral traditions are typically limited to the most recent generations, as the memorization of more than a few generations might seem excessive and unnecessary after a while.²²⁷

The epics, on the other hand, do not envisage a development, which leads from the heroic age to the present. According to scholar Jonas Grethlein, “the difference between epic past and the present is rather quantitative than qualitative.”²²⁸ In many cases, “present interests prompt the heroes to turn to their past.”²²⁹ There are three modes identified that explain the links to the past: causal, in which past and present are linked by heroes own experiences; continuity, which is often displayed by tracing genealogies in the text; and exemplum, which “directly juxtaposes a past event with the present” or searches for parallels to the past.²³⁰ These modes are not only important to assessing how the characters in Homeric epics understood their own pasts, but also how Greeks understood their epic pasts.²³¹ However, while myths are given a sort of special authority in the realms of morality and identity, they still lack power when it comes to more “pragmatic interactions.”²³²

While an understanding of the Greek perceptions of the Trojan War is important, it is also useful to see how these perceptions played out in art, particularly in the fifth century BC. In Athens, there is the idea that monument are not just “architectural or art-historical works, but...forms of commemoration, as places of memory, as one of the conspicuous forms of making ‘history without historians.’”²³³ Tonio Holscher explains their purpose quite concisely:

Monuments are designed and erected as signs of power and superiority. As such, they are effective factors in public life: not secondary reflections but primary objects and symbols of political actions and concepts. Monuments have their place in public space ... they inevitably address the community and, precisely because of

²²³ Grethlein, “Homer and Heroic History,” 15.

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ Quoted in Grethlein, “Homer and Heroic History,” 16.

²²⁶ Grethlein, “Homer and Heroic History,” 17.

²²⁷ Grethlein, “Homer and Heroic History,” 15.

²²⁸ Ibid., 17.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid., 18.

²³¹ Ibid., 19.

²³² Ibid., 20.

²³³ H.A. Shapiro, “Attic Heroes and the Construction of the Athenian Past in the Fifth Century,” in *Greek Notions of the Past in the Archaic and Classical Eras*, ed. John Marincola, Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, and Calum Maciver (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 160.

their public nature, challenge it, provoking consent or contradiction; they do not allow indifference because recognition automatically means acceptance.²³⁴

Athenian monuments are especially useful when assessing the history of the area because they usually involve inscriptions that can give valuable information to the viewer.²³⁵ There is also a shift in the purposes of monuments, as was described by Holscher previously: the emergence of political monuments, rather than monuments meant just for funerary purposes or votive offerings.²³⁶ Monuments by nature cannot be hidden, and so their purpose becomes political because they will have a profound impact on the people who see them. Wars became an easy way to create a political agenda.

There is a frequent connection between the Trojan War and the Persian Wars against the Greeks throughout many forms.²³⁷ The Persian Wars consisted of a series of wars spanning the beginning of the fifth century BC between the Greek states and the Persians.²³⁸ The Persians attacked the Greek mainland at the Battle of Marathon in 490 BC and were defeated largely by a significantly smaller army of Athenians and Plataeans.²³⁹ In a naval and land battle near Thermopylae in 480 BC, the Persians defeated the Spartan forces and later burned down Athens.²⁴⁰ The Persians were later defeated in the naval battle at Salamis and their invasions of the Greek mainland ended with their defeat at the Battle of Plataea in 479 BC.²⁴¹ However, conflicts between the Persians and the Greek states continued for another 30 years as Athens created the Delian League to free certain Ionian city-states from Persian control, which was finally ended by the Peace of Callias in 449 BC.²⁴² It is clear that the conflict between the Greeks and the Persians was intense and long lasting, which made it a major theme for art during the fifth century BC.

One of the earliest forms of this connection in art between the Persians and the Trojans comes from an epigram that is located on a herm.²⁴³ The herm bears the following inscription:

Once from this city Menestheus, together with the Sons of Atreus,
Led his men to the divine Trojan plain;
Menestheus, who Homer said was an outstanding marshaller of battle (kosmeter)
Among the well-armoured Achaeans who came to Troy.
Thus there is nothing unseemly for the Athenians to be called
Marshallers (kosmetais), both of war and of manly prowess (Plut. *Kimon* 7.5;tr.
author).²⁴⁴

²³⁴ T. Holscher, "Images and political identity: The case of Athens," in *Democracy, Empire and the Arts in Fifth-Century Athens*, ed. D. Boedeker and K. Raafaub (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 153-183, quoted in Shapiro, "Attic Heroes," 160-1.

²³⁵ Shapiro, "Attic Heroes," 161.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 162.

²³⁷ Grethlein, "Homer and Heroic History," 19.

²³⁸ "Greco-Persian Wars," Encyclopaedia Britannica, accessed May 1st, 2014, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/244117/Greco-Persian-Wars>

²³⁹ Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Greco Persian Wars."

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Greco-Persian Wars."

²⁴³ An epigram is a short poem, especially a satirical one, having a witty or ingenious ending. Shapiro, "Attic Heroes," 166.

²⁴⁴ The translation comes from Shapiro, "Attic Heroes," 166.

Between the bravery and power of the Achaeans who stormed Troy in the *Iliad* and the Athenians who fought against the Persians. This association was very common for the Greeks and occurred as almost natural, and it served a very specific purpose. Menestheus was the leader of the Athenian regiment that fought in the Trojan War (*Iliad* 2.552), and as such he became a major figure for the Athenians to look to.²⁴⁵ However, his small role in the Trojan War as a whole meant that Athenians had to focus on him when connecting their heritage and trying to promote their own prestige during the Persian War.²⁴⁶ Even though their contribution to the Trojan War was minimal, Athenians still turned to their epic past to find a basis for their prowess during the Persian Wars.

The Athenian perception of the Trojans in general was negative in the public sphere when cast through the lens of the Persian War. The Athenians regarded the Trojans as eastern foreigners and barbarians.²⁴⁷ According to scholar Edith Hall, “In fifth-century tragedy the Greeks are insistently demarcated from the rest of the world by the conceptual polarity of which all other distinctions in culture or psychology are corollaries, the polarity labeled as the gulf between Hellene and barbarian.”²⁴⁸ Although this analysis refers to the vast distinction between Greeks and foreigners in Greek tragedies, the same concept about the difference between the Greeks and the “others” can be applied other areas such as art. The Greeks are also unique in this sense, since even though other cultures such as the Mesopotamians, Chinese, and Egyptians all conceptualized and had words for foreigners, “none of [them had] invented a term which precisely and exclusively embraced *all* who did not share their ethnicity.”²⁴⁹ It could be argued that it was not until the fifth century the term for these vastly different barbarians was invented to show that the foreigners were in a conflict with the Greeks and that they were “the universal anti-Greek against whom Hellenic – especially Athenian – culture was defined.”²⁵⁰ It is clear that there was an important distinction between the Greeks, especially the Athenians, and any non-Greeks who entered their realm.

A large way in which this Greek vs. non-Greek dichotomy evidenced itself was through art, especially Athenian art. The Athenians connected the Trojan War with the Persian Wars because “it was a myth that emphasized aggression rather than defence; in imitation of Agamemnon the Greeks would take the war to Asia.”²⁵¹ The most prominent way that this was accomplished was by juxtaposing the Trojan War with other wars and battles against non-Greeks in art and architectural features. The Painted Stoa is an important example of this visual comparison.²⁵² It showed three scenes from battles that were from three separate wars. On this stoa, the scene depicting the Trojans against the Greeks was in between the scene of the Athenians fighting the Amazons (or the Amazonomachy) and the Athenians defeating the Persians at the Battle of Marathon (during the Persian Wars) (Paus. 1.15.2).²⁵³ Due to the nature of the stoa, the Trojans became “grouped with their Asiatic partners.”²⁵⁴ This idea of associating the Trojans with foreigners was also shown by the metopes on the Parthenon, where the four scenes depicted were the Greeks versus the Trojans, the gods versus the giants, the Greeks versus the Amazons, and the

²⁴⁵ Shapiro, “Attic Heroes,” 167.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Edith Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian: Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 4.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., 5.

²⁵¹ Andrew Erskine, *Troy Between Greece and Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 69.

²⁵² A stoa is a covered walkway or portico, commonly for public use.

²⁵³ Quoted in Erskine, *Troy Between Greece and Rome*, 70.

²⁵⁴ Erskine, *Troy Between Greece and Rome*, 70.

Greek Lapiths versus the centaurs.²⁵⁵ Visually, the effect would be clear and quite impressive: there is a Greek vs. non-Greek dichotomy in each of these scenes. There is also an association of the Trojans with groups so foreign as to be almost inhuman. Centaurs and giants are not even fully human, so the metopes push the Trojans to the far end of the spectrum for humanity. Overall in the public sphere, the association of the Trojans to the warring Persians was made clear and the association was not a positive one.

This public perception of the Trojans as being “other” because of the association with the enemy Persians during the Persian Wars stands out because it is such a departure from how the Trojans are treated in the *Iliad*. In Homer’s epic, the Greeks and the Trojans are portrayed as being fairly similar groups of people. For example, both groups of people respect the idea of *xenia*, or guest friendship. When Glaucus and Diomedes, who come from opposing sides in the war, met in battle, Diomedes asked to hear of Glaucus’ lineage (*Iliad* 6.124). Once Glaucus explained his heritage and ancestors (*Iliad* 6.148-217), Diomedes stated they “have old ties of friendship” through their respective grandfathers and as a sign of this *xenia*, they both agree “we can’t cross spears with each other even in the thick of battle” (*Iliad* 6.221, 234-235). Even though they came from opposing sides in the war and were meant to fight to the death for the glory and victory of their respective sides, *xenia* outweighed their obligation to fight each other.

Another sign of similarity is shown by a phrase in Hector’s farewell speech to Andromache. When Andromache stated her worry about Hector heading off to war, Hector responded by stating, “You worry too much about me, Andromache. No one is going to send me to Hades before my time” (*Iliad*, 6.511-512). By discussing his fate with relation to Hades, Hector was admitting that as a Trojan he accepts the Greek pantheon of gods. This is of note because a group of barbarians who were considered to be removed from Greeks and Greek culture by fifth century Athenians would likely not have held the same beliefs. In fact, the two groups culturally would have differed because “the Greek army at Troy includes heroes from the whole length and breadth of the Greek mainland and the Aegean islands” while “the Trojan allies number several from Asia Minor with close ties to Greece through immigration and intermarriage” (*Iliad*. 2.534-997).²⁵⁶ The shared acceptance of a belief system from groups who could have possibly been very different culturally points to similarities between the Trojans and the Greeks in Homer’s *Iliad*.

However, in the private sphere the perception of the Trojans by the Athenians shifted to a less negative one in light of the Peloponnesian War, a perception, which tied more closely with the perceptions of the Trojans in the *Iliad*. An example of this softening perspective would be the fact that many Athenians had similar names to Trojans from Homer’s epic, such as Aeneas and Hector.²⁵⁷ The change from the negative perception in the public to the more accepted private view was made clear by the shift in the portrayal of Trojans in art. On pottery, most Trojans were portrayed as Greek, with the exception of Paris, who was usually displayed as oriental.²⁵⁸ By the end of the 5th century, Paris appears as oriental on red-figure paintings based on his adornment in “ornate trousers and a Phrygian cap.”²⁵⁹ The differences on pottery between Greeks and Trojans were hard to tell, if there were any at all. Another shift concerning pottery was the change of actual scenes being displayed from the Trojan War. The pottery shifted from displaying acts of battle to acts of preparation for battle, which allowed the implication of equal status between the Trojans

²⁵⁵ Erskine, *Troy Between Greece and Rome*, 72.

²⁵⁶ Quoted from Shapiro, *Myth into Art*, 2, in reference to the *Iliad* passages.

²⁵⁷ Erskine, *Troy Between Greece and Rome*, 78-79.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 80.

²⁵⁹ Carpenter, *Art and Myth*, 198.

and Greeks in the battle scenes to be avoided without outright denying it.²⁶⁰ One such example is a scene found on a red-figure cup. In this scene, Achilles is seen as tending to Patroclus' wounds, an event that would have taken place off to the side of a battlefield rather than directly on it.²⁶¹ One reason for this shift to a less extreme view of the Trojans could be the changing context of the Trojan War. During the Persian War, the Trojans were associated with the Persians. With the advent of the Peloponnesian War, Sparta became a common enemy for both the Athenians in the present and the Trojans in the mythological past.²⁶² Due to this link, the shift from Trojans being barbarians to being more similar to Greeks once again began.

Another major group that discussed the Trojans in their art was the Aeginetans, who also tried to connect the Persian War to the Trojan War following the Battle of Salamis. By invoking the history of the Aiakids, who were involved in both sieges of Troy during the times of King Laomedon in the first Trojan War and King Priam in the second Trojan War respectively, the Aeginetans were trying to promote their own glory in the Battle of Salamis against the Persians.²⁶³ Their connection to the two sieges of Troy was shown by the two pediments in the Temple of Aphaia in Aegina. On this temple, the east pediment showed the siege by Heracles in the first Trojan War, while the west pediment showed the siege by Agamemnon in the Trojan War of Homer's *Iliad*.²⁶⁴ On these pediments, the Homeric idea of the Trojans is still identifiable, since the Greeks and the Trojans in each scene are dressed similarly except for a single oriental-dressed archer.²⁶⁵ It is also notable that in Pindar's Fifth Isthmian, he mentions Heracles, Hector, and Salamis within a few lines of each other, further emphasizing this link by way of proximity (Pind. *Isthm.* 5.34-50).²⁶⁶ Overall, the Aeginetan perspective on the Trojans was that they didn't necessarily associate them closely with barbarians, but instead utilized a connection to the Persians in order to boost their own status.

Although there was certainly a connection between the Trojans and the Persians in Greek society and the art produced by the Greeks, the choice of the Trojan War also speaks to certain themes that were relevant during the fifth century BC. The Trojan War myth as a whole managed to "[create] a unified vision of the Heroic Age, of the natures of gods and heroes, their relationship to one another, of fundamental issues of life and death."²⁶⁷ Warfare and its depictions in art served a multilayered purpose for the Greeks. With the onset of the Persian Wars, the use of the Trojan War as a recurring theme in art helped promote the idea that "every citizen had a potential role in warfare, and was trained and equipped accordingly."²⁶⁸ War could affect everyone in a society, so it would make sense that the onset of a new war would spark past wars as themes for art.

The idea of mortality is also reflected by the depictions of the Trojan War in art, since it is the fact that humans must die, "which in the end makes them so much more interesting, many of the myths turn on the motif of the death of a hero."²⁶⁹ Any depiction of war, regardless of how idealized it is or how peaceful the scene itself appears to be, "was always something that could get

²⁶⁰ Erskine, *Troy Between Greece and Rome*, 82.

²⁶¹ Junker, *Interpreting the Images*, 5.

²⁶² Erskine, *Troy Between Greece and Rome*, 76, 87.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 67.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 64.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁶ Quoted by Erskine, *Troy Between Greece and Rome*, 66-67.

²⁶⁷ Shapiro, *Myth into Art*, 1.

²⁶⁸ Junker, *Interpreting the Images*, 5.

²⁶⁹ Shapiro, *Myth into Art*, 2.

across a message about one's own existence."²⁷⁰ The looming danger of death was always present in wartime and therefore the idea that death as inescapable was apparent in the war-steeped culture of the fifth-century. The red-figure cup emphasizes this further by pairing the interior picture of Achilles and Patroclus on the cup with an exterior painting of Heracles; while Heracles becomes immortal, Achilles and Patroclus remain mortal and both die.²⁷¹ Athenian vase painting commonly used this theme of mortality and death in battle, which shows that Athenians had no issue with understanding that while war was glorified through battle scenes in art, it also had its consequences.²⁷²

Honor and glory also played a major role in both Greek society and the scenes chosen from the Trojan War in Greek art. The suicide of Ajax in the *Little Iliad* exemplifies this ideal of an honorable death.²⁷³ In this epic, Ajax and Odysseus had quarreled over Achilles' armor (Soph. *Aj.* 41).²⁷⁴ Odysseus won the vote due to the assistance of Athena, and Ajax responded by killing a flock of sheep that he had hallucinated were the Achaeans who had robbed him of the right to Achilles' armor (Soph. *Aj.* 1-70).²⁷⁵ When he regained his sanity, Ajax realized the dishonor he had caused and committed suicide by falling on his sword (Soph. *Aj.* 332-692).²⁷⁶ The scene is also described in Sophocles' *Ajax*, in which Ajax states that "The options for a noble man are only two: either live with honor, or make a quick and honorable death" (Soph. *Aj.* 480). This play, which appeared around 441 BC,²⁷⁷ demonstrates just how important honor was to Greeks in the fifth century, as Ajax's guilt plagues him for hundreds of lines until his suicide as a form of honorable death. The same scene appears on a black-figure cup from around 580 BC by the Cavacade Painter in which Ajax is shown on the ground with the hilt of his sword protruding from his back.²⁷⁸ Although there is a period of about 140 years between the play and the artwork, it shows just how important the theme of honor was to Greeks and how it was used in a variety of forms, including a portrayal of the Trojan War in art.

The appearance of the Trojan War in Greek art, especially during the fifth century BC, suited many needs. Not only did the inclusion of the Trojan War serve as a way to help the Greeks remember the myths and history of their past, but it helped link the Greeks to a common enemy during the period of the Persian Wars. Although the Trojans were treated much differently under Homer in the *Iliad*, the vast differences sometimes shown in art between the Trojans and the Greeks served the political purpose of uniting the independent Greek states together to take on a powerful enemy, while also applying several scenes from the *Iliad* to themes important in the era of the fifth century Greeks.

²⁷⁰ Junker, *Interpreting the Images*, 5.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 16-17.

²⁷³ Note: since no copies exist of the *Little Iliad*, the following description comes from Carpenter's understanding of the epic and the play by Sophocles.

²⁷⁴ Carpenter, *Art and Myth*, 207.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁷ Philip Mayerson, *Classical Mythology in Literature, Art, and Music* (Lexington, MA; Toronto: Xerox College Publishing, 1971), 419.

²⁷⁸ Susan Woodward, *Images of Myths in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 33.

The Origins of the Byzantine Empire: Anachronism and Evolution in Modern Historiography

Joseph D. Wagner

Introduction

The modern understanding of the Byzantine Empire, the Roman Empire, which survived in Eastern Europe for over a thousand years, is a fallacy. There is no doubt that the Byzantines existed or that their empire occupied a place in the pantheon of world power. The issue under consideration is not so much when the Byzantine Empire began, but rather when this evolution of the Roman Empire first took place and how modern scholars view Byzantine origins. The term Byzantine Empire is an anachronism because what modern historiography calls “the Byzantines” never existed. Rather, these people considered themselves Roman even until the collapse of their empire in 1453 CE.

This is relevant in today’s historiography for many reasons, among them because the Byzantines have not been studied with as much vigor as compared to their Greek and Roman ancestors. This is also an important historical issue because of a recent book detailing how the Byzantines dealt with their neighbors over the centuries. Edward Luttwak, a former political advisor and Johns Hopkins-trained historian, argued in his 2009 book *The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire* that the Byzantines were skilled diplomats, using money and land transfers to keep invading armies at bay.²⁷⁹ Luttwak proceeded to question whether these same strategies could be applied elsewhere; for example, in the United States. There are three schools of thought that rise from the relevant historiography: The Continuity School, the Discontinuity School, and the Evolution School. All three schools of thought will be discussed with due reference to their authors after an explanation of methodology.

Methodology

The origins of the Byzantine Empire and its civilization reach back deep into the Greek civilization, the Roman political and legal system, and the Christian religion. Through the fusion of these three ideas was born the modern notion of the Byzantine Empire. Though modern historiography may refer to this Empire or civilization as “Byzantine,” the “Byzantines” themselves never called themselves anything but “Romans” until well into the fourteenth century, and only then calling themselves “Greeks.”²⁸⁰ But where have modern historians stood on recounting the past of the “Byzantines?” Where does the narrative generally start and where does it end? Several historians of the past fifteen-hundred years have tried to answer this question, beginning as early as the Greek philosophers of the sixth century Before the Common Era (BCE), going all the way to 1917 of the common era (CE) with the fall of the Romanov Dynasty, the supposed “Third Rome” of the Russians.

For the purposes of this paper, it will be expedient to begin with the formation of the Roman imperial system under the Emperor Octavian Augustus in 31 BCE going all the way to the fall of the city of Constantinople on May 29, 1453 CE. These dates were chosen for two reasons: first, these dates establish basic chronological parameters for looking at the Roman political and legal

²⁷⁹ Edward N. Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 1-3.

²⁸⁰ Colin Wells, *Sailing from Byzantium: How a Lost Empire Shaped the World* (New York: Delacorte Press, 2007), 26.

system and the introduction of the Christian religion into this system; second, a paper of this scope can only deal with certain thematic parameters, such as, politics, religion, ideology, language, and culture. It was necessary to bookend this paper between 31 BCE and 1453 CE to do justice to each of the three schools of thought and view the thematic parameters in the light of how these historians have dealt with the issue of Byzantine political, cultural, and religious formation.

The Continuity School

The beginning of historiography on this subject can be traced back to Procopius, the court historian for the Emperor Justinian in the sixth century C.E. In his book, *The Secret History*, Procopius argues immediately after the death of Justinian in 565, the people in the eastern half of the Empire still considered themselves “Roman.” For Procopius, the Roman Empire simply continued on, governing from a different location.²⁸¹ The idea of Roman continuity in the eastern half of its realm travelled all the way to modern times. Edward Gibbon’s *magnum opus The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* is a classic in the field of professional history.²⁸² Though his analyses are considered outdated by contemporary standards of historiography, his work is still consulted as a serious work of scholarship.

Gibbon can be seen as the father of the Continuity School, a school which embodies the argument that the Roman Empire, after Constantine moved the capital of his empire east to the Greek city of Byzantium, continued on for more than a thousand years, finally ending in 1453 with the fall of the city of Constantinople. Gibbon speaks of the history of the Roman Empire continuing in the East. Gibbon also discusses the rise of Charlemagne saying, though, that his empire was a German empire, not the reassumption of Rome in the west.²⁸³ The next author in the Continuity School wrote in the mid-eighteenth century. Lord Mahon, a military historian, wrote *The Life of Belisarius*, the primary general under Justinian. Mahon argues that as Greek ousted Latin as the primary language of the Empire, the people still considered themselves Roman, not Greek or Byzantine, because they considered themselves Rome’s heirs.²⁸⁴

The Continuity School continued throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, arriving in the twentieth century with a renewed sense of scholarship. The prominent Byzantinists Norman Baynes and Henry Moss argued that when the Emperor Constantine moved the capital of the Empire east and began caring for the Christian Church, the old Rome of the Caesars simply continued on in a different location with a new religion, though the adoption of Christianity as the official state religion would not happen for another seven decades.²⁸⁵ One of the more recent books on the subject came out in 1984, Deno John Geanakoplos’s *Byzantium: Church, Society, and Civilization Seen through Contemporary Eyes*. Geanakoplos, a trained historian in the field of Byzantine studies, argued that Constantine was inspired by the Emperor Diocletian’s reforms to unify the Empire under one system of government and religion in a new capital. These reforms, though, did not spell an end to the Roman Empire and the start of a new Empire. Rather, it was

²⁸¹ Procopius, *The Secret History* (New York: Penguin, 2007), vii. While Justinian is not necessarily explicit on this point, he never uses the term “Byzantine” to describe the Roman Empire in the East. Occasionally, he will describe the Empire as “Eastern.” See *Ibid.*, 98.

²⁸² Edward Gibbon, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: Abridged Edition* (New York: Penguin, 2000).

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 3.

²⁸⁴ Lord Mahon, *The Life of Belisarius* (London: John Murray, 1848), 5.

²⁸⁵ Norman H. Baynes and H. St.L.B. Moss, eds., *Byzantium: An Introduction to East Roman Civilization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1949), 29.

simply a matter of taking the existing Empire, reforming its infrastructure, and moving the capital.²⁸⁶

All of these authors focused on four main themes: The political, religious, cultural, and linguistic. While all of these are certainly the main players in the argument of when and if the Byzantine Empire began, we cannot limit ourselves to these four thematic parameters. Historians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries understood that more was required than just looking at the political, religious, and linguistic parameters. Other historians came along and looked at such things as psychology, culture, art, architecture, and ideological. Again, while there were no explicit arguments going on in the historiography on this topic, there was a tacit counter-argument that emerged in the 1890s.

The Discontinuity School

The Discontinuity School began under the aegis of Charles Oman. Though not a trained historian in any sense of the word, he argued that Constantine moved the capital of the Empire east for the explicit purpose of founding a new empire, the Byzantine Empire.²⁸⁷ Oman's argument is tacit at best, making one wonder what Constantine really thought when he moved the capital. Oman does not answer this, nor does he provide any evidence to suggest one argument over the other. In the years that followed, Paul Van Den Ven, a professor of history at Princeton University, argued in his article "When did the Byzantine Empire and Civilization Come into Being?" that once Constantine adopted Christianity as the predominant state religion, this spelled a policy shift from former Roman practices, thus ushering in a new era in world politics. The fact that Constantinople, founded specifically for the Christian religion, was established, this is the deciding factor in the creation of a new empire.²⁸⁸

The Discontinuity School was not necessarily accepted within academia for several decades. Once it reemerged, the scene shifted to an economic focus. Glanville Downey, a professor of classics at Indiana University, argued that because of Justinian's love of monumental building, the economy became strained. Coupled with the Plague of 542 and Justinian's new law codes, these events spelled the end of Roman Empire.²⁸⁹ The economic and institutional theme was taken up again by Robert Lopez in 1978 with his book *Byzantium and the World around it: Economic and Institutional Relations*. Lopez argued that because of Justinian's need to be remembered, his reforms brought about the creation of a new empire.²⁹⁰

The popular historian and travel writer John Julius Norwich argued in his 1989 book *Byzantium: The Early Centuries* that because of Constantine's reforms and moving the capital of the Empire east, Constantine inaugurated a new era in the life of the Roman Empire, one that would mean the end of Rome with its legacy taken up by the Byzantine Empire. Again, the religious theme comes back into play with Norwich arguing that because Constantine founded Constantinople as a Christian city, this act spelled the death of the Roman Empire and the birth of the Byzantine Empire.²⁹¹

²⁸⁶ Deno John Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: Church, Society, and Civilization Seen through Contemporary Eyes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 1.

²⁸⁷ Charles Oman, *The Byzantine Empire* (Yardley, PA: Westholme, 2009), 28.

²⁸⁸ Paul Van Den Ven, "When Did the Byzantine Empire and Civilization Come into Being?" *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1916 I* (1919): 308.

²⁸⁹ Glanville Downey, "Justinian as Builder," *The Art Bulletin* 32, no. 4 (December 1950): 262, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3047311> (accessed December 2, 2014).

²⁹⁰ Robert Lopez, *Byzantium and the World around it: Economic and Institutional Relations* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1978), 447.

²⁹¹ John Julius Norwich, *Byzantium: The Early Centuries* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989), 67.

The Discontinuity School gained more traction in the 1990s with Warren Treadgold's *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*. Treadgold, professor of Byzantine History at St. Louis University, argues the origins of the Byzantine Empire can be traced back to Diocletian's formation of the tetrarchy, the division of the Empire into four distinct units.²⁹² Diocletian divided the Empire first into two distinct parts, a western half and an eastern half. He subsequently moved his capital east because he recognized the economic and cultural wealth in that part of the Empire. Once this break between the east and the west was made, the split became permanent, not just politically and economically, but also culturally.²⁹³ Walter Kaegi keeps to this argument in his 2004 book *Heraclius: Emperor of Byzantium*. Kaegi, though, argues that Heraclius, the emperor in the seventh century, was the founder of the Byzantine Empire because he chose to be crowned Emperor in an exclusively religious ceremony while placing his reign under the protection of the Mother of God, Mary.²⁹⁴ Kaegi argues that this act of religious devotion, taken from the Greek Christian culture that now pervaded the eastern half of the Empire, is the moment when the Byzantine Empire came into existence.

The Evolution School

The Discontinuity School and the Continuity School are still going strong in the field of Byzantine historiography, but the faults with these schools are they either give a romantic view of a Rome that never fell or contend that there is a clearly definable date for the end of the Roman Empire and start of the Byzantine Empire, respectively. Neither of these schools fully understood that, while there may be a clear end to one empire and the clear beginning to another, the issue at stake is far too complicated for simple answers. The historiography on this issue is reflective of the increase in understanding of who the Romans were and who the Byzantines were. In addition, scholars, both professional and amateur, have been learning alongside their audience, especially over the last twenty years or so. For example: The Continuity School argues that there may have been a slight shift in emphasis in the Roman Empire to bring about a Byzantine era, they argue that Rome did not fall until 1453. Whereas the Discontinuity School argues for a clear end of Rome and a clear beginning of Byzantium, though where one ends and the other begins is still debated.

The soil of Medieval studies was fertile for a harvest of new ideas. In the early twenty-first century, two scholars both planted seeds that bore much fruit. Averil Cameron and Sarolta Takács both began a new school of thought that will shape Late Antique and proto-Byzantine studies for generations to come. Instead of relying on former modes of thought to convey ideas within this field, both began to look objective at the ontology of Roman-ness and Byzantine-ness, looking at political and religious ideologies in a new light. This advent of fresh scholarship brought about the Evolution School. This third and new school argues that Byzantium was the direct heir of Rome, but does not argue that Rome never fell. The Evolution School argues Rome ended and Byzantium began, but several themes survived from one empire into the other.

Cameron argues in her 2006 book *The Byzantines* that Rome did not necessarily end and Byzantium did not necessarily begin. Rather, she argues, there was a gentle evolution between Rome that segued into Byzantium.²⁹⁵ When metamorphosis occurred, though, Cameron does not answer definitively. While the Roman Empire may have fallen in 476 C.E. as she observes, the Byzantine Empire did not just pick up where Rome left off; the Byzantine Empire came into being slowly. She says it is far too difficult to answer the question of when the Byzantine Empire began.

²⁹² Warren Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 14.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Walter Kaegi, *Heraclius: Emperor of Byzantium* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 259.

²⁹⁵ Averil Cameron, *The Byzantines* (Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2006), 20.

Instead, Sarolta Takács answered that question three years later with her book *The Construction of Authority in Ancient Rome and Byzantium: The Rhetoric of Empire*. Takács argues that the evolution between Rome and Byzantium took place between the reigns of Justinian in the late sixth century and Heraclius in early seventh century.²⁹⁶

Takács's argument is the best argument so far in the field because she does not claim Rome lasted until 1453, neither does she argue that Rome totally died. Instead, she claims that Rome ended in spirit and Byzantine took this spirit in the guise of certain political ideologies like *Pater patriae*, the Father of Country, to perpetuate their legitimate claim to be Rome's descendant. If there could be an end to Rome and the start of Byzantium, Takács argues that the Roman Empire ended under Justinian and the Byzantine Empire started under Heraclius about 45 years later. She bases her argument on Justinian being the last culturally Latin emperor, speaking Latin as his first language and thinking in a Western mindset. Heraclius was the first Byzantine Emperor because he was crowned emperor in an exclusively religious ceremony in Hagia Sophia, using the, by now, firmly established Greek-Byzantine rite of Christianity in a liturgical ceremony, placing his reign under the protection of the Mother of God.²⁹⁷

Takács's argument is and will be the trendsetter for future scholarship in the field of Late Antique and proto-Byzantine studies. Taking Cameron's ideas of evolution to the next logical level, Takács will be read for years as the new paradigm in understanding Roman-ness and Byzantine-ness and how these themes translate into political thoughts of what their empires were. Takács's does include the Carolingian "Holy, Roman, Empire" in her analysis. She does not argue that Charlemagne's empire is necessarily Rome's direct descendant, but she includes it because of the close relationship that existed between the Roman Church and Charlemagne's loose confederation of German states. This is a valuable contribution to Byzantine studies because it shows how multiple powers were claiming legitimate connections with Rome to substantiate their own claims to power. Byzantium, though, is the legitimate successor because of the direct links between Constantine and Heraclius.

Some would argue that Takács fits more into the Discontinuity School since she claims an end to one empire and the beginning of another. The political ideology of *Pater patriae*, though, is the tie that binds the two empires together, linking both of them without claiming that Byzantium is the same as Rome. Takács understands this subtlety and takes into consideration the political and ideological legacy without becoming alienated by the fallacy of Rome falling in 1453. With all of this said, more research will have to be done into the idea of Moscow's claims of being a "Third Rome." John Meyendorff, a priest of the Orthodox Church in America and a trained historian, has already explored this concept with his 2003 book *Rome, Constantinople, Moscow: Historical and Theological Studies*.²⁹⁸ It will be beneficial to many academic fields, though, if someone could use Takács's methodology and apply it to how the tsars commandeered the Roman and Byzantine legacy to legitimate their own claims of a Roman-Byzantine legacy.

Historical Background

The time has come for a new history of the origins of the Byzantine Empire. These origins explicitly begin with the formation of the Roman Empire under the emperor Octavian, running throughout the life of the Roman Empire to Hadrian, a hellenophile, to Diocletian's tetrarchy, and

²⁹⁶ Sarolta A. Takács, *The Construction of Authority in Ancient Rome and Byzantium: The Rhetoric of Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), xx.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 129.

²⁹⁸ See: John Meyendorff, *Rome, Constantinople, Moscow: Historical and Theological Studies* (Crestwood, NY: SVS Press, 2003).

to Constantine's adoption of Christianity as the predominant state religion when he moved the capital of the Empire east to the ancient Greek city of Byzantium. This continued through the adoption of Christianity as the official religion of the Empire in 395 C.E. under Theodosius to the end of the Roman Empire under Justinian. For a period of forty-five years there was a gap between Rome and Byzantium with a series of emperors who did not know how to administer the government, finally culminating with reign of Emperor Heraclius, the first Byzantine Emperor, when he was crowned in a religious ceremony in Hagia Sophia, the chief church of the Byzantine Empire. While some scholars may take issue with these milestones and dates, this is merely a broad survey of the end of one empire evolving into the beginning of another. Therefore, more work will inevitably have to be done to understand both Empires, but what follows is hopefully the start of further examinations into this field.

The Roman Empire began under the conquering hand of Octavian, the nephew and adopted son of Julius Caesar, in 31 BCE. After securing his place as *princeps*, the first citizen, and wielding a crippling blow on the ancient Egyptian empire of Cleopatra and her lover Marc Antony, Octavian went to work laying the foundation of his power base, namely by centralizing his military, political, economic, and judicial powers. Not only were all these powers centralized in the city of Rome, but Octavian centralized these powers within himself as the *Imperator*, the Emperor.²⁹⁹

Early in the second century, the Emperor Hadrian continued the imperial tradition of the Roman Empire, but fused these traditions with those of the ancient Greeks. Hadrian, himself a hellenophile (lover of all things Greek), infused new life in the Greek-speaking east by reviving its economy. This economic rejuvenation allowed for a certain level of Greek independence in the Peloponnesus, thus giving confidence back to the Greeks, making them feel equal to their Roman masters.³⁰⁰ This Greek confidence eventually manifested itself in the person of Diocles, a Hellenized Illyrian from Dalmatia, modern-day Croatia. After romanizing his name, the Emperor Diocletian, heirless, adopted his fellow soldier Maximian in 285 CE to succeed him.³⁰¹ Diocletian is most remembered for his administrative division of the Roman Empire into the four parts, commonly referred to as the "Tetrarchy." In this system, Diocletian ruled as head over all the Empire, but concerned himself primarily with the eastern half of the empire where he ruled. A junior emperor, or *Augustus*, ruled in the West. Both Diocletian and his *Augustus* each had a junior emperor, a *Caesar* (*Caesarii* in the plural). Diocletian's tetrarchy was supposed to solve the very Roman problem of a disorganized and sordid succession, but it proved more troublesome.³⁰²

Diocletian knew that the imperial infrastructure was in dire need of reform, considering the system was over two centuries old and it peaked under the Emperor Trajan in the mid-second century of the Common Era.³⁰³ His division of the Roman Empire along cultural (Greek East, Latin West) lines, though, proved to be key in the eventual split that brought about the "Byzantine Empire." While the administrative split also intended to bring about a clean and orderly succession, it instead obfuscated the succession and brought about civil war between Maximian, Maximin, Constantius, Galerius, Licinius, and Constantine.³⁰⁴ In 312 CE, before the battle of Milvian Bridge in Rome, Constantine claims to have seen a vision of the *chi-rho* (first two letters of "Christ" in Greek superimposed upon each other) in the sky. Constantine ordered his soldiers to paint this sign

²⁹⁹ John W. Barker, *Justinian and the Later Roman Empire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), viii.

³⁰⁰ Thorsten Oppen, *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 26.

³⁰¹ Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*, 13.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, 14.

³⁰³ Peter Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History of Rome and the Barbarians* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 497.

³⁰⁴ Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*, 36.

on their shields before going into battle, convinced that Jesus Christ spoke to him, *In hoc signo vinces*, “In this sign, conquer.”³⁰⁵ Constantine won the day and saw that the tides of culture already shifted east. In 324 CE, Constantine moved his capital east to the ancient Greek city of Byzantium, a strategically-placed city on the Bosphorus, literally the bridge between the west (Europe) and east (Asia). After a massive six-year building campaign, Constantine renamed the city in his honor, Constantinople, on May 11, 330.³⁰⁶ Constantinople would prove to be the center of a new empire, fusing the best elements of Greek civilization, Roman political and legal structures, and the Christian religion. This did not happen quickly, though, as evolution rarely does.

Constantine had many challenges to face, though he consolidated all power within himself. One way he controlled his newly-relocated empire was through the old Roman doctrine of *pater patriae* (“father of the land”). This doctrine communicated the emperor’s role as a father-figure and protector of, not just the land itself, but its people.³⁰⁷ It was not surprising Constantine employed this time-tested doctrine for his newly-reformed empire. What is surprising, though, is that he adapted it to a Christian audience, thus reshaping an already modified doctrine. Therefore, Constantine was not only the head of the state, but also the protector of the Church. Constantine took his role of *Pater patriae* seriously, going so far as to call an ecclesiastical council - the Council of Nicea - and draw the bishops of the Church together to sort out the Arian heresy.³⁰⁸

After Constantine’s death, he divided the Empire among his three sons, thus leading to more internal political conflicts. In 395, the co-Emperors Arcadius and Honorius, ruling in the east and west, respectively, divided the Empire into two administrative units - Greek East and Latin West. This administrative split was supposed to make the Empire more manageable, but instead broke it up still further along the old cultural and linguistic fault lines.

The fall of the Roman Empire is usually dated to September 4, 476. The Germanic warrior-king Odoacer deposed the boy-emperor Romulus Augustulus (*Augustulus* itself meaning “little Augustus”) and sent the imperial regalia back to the Emperor Zeno in Constantinople, thus respecting the traditions of Rome. In so doing, Zeno bestowed upon Odoacer the title of “Patrician” and Odoacer became the *de facto* King of Italy.³⁰⁹ In reality, though, while Zeno may have ruled all of the Empire, it was Odoacer who now ruled the entire West. In essence, the Latin West of the Roman Empire was all but lost to the East, in politics and in memory. It was not until 527 with the coronation of Justinian as Emperor of the Romans that the West was thought of again. Justinian has left historians with a colorful reputation, like marrying Theodora, a former circus performer, i.e. prostitute. One of his political contributions was to reunite the eastern and western halves of the Roman Empire.

After many attempts, Belisarius, Justinian’s chief general, reconquered those Western lands and incorporated them back into the Empire. Throughout his reign, Justinian undertook many reforms in the whole of his realm to stabilize an already fragile state of affairs. He rewrote the legal code, republishing it in 529 as the *Codex Justinianus*.³¹⁰ Justinian was the last of the thoroughly “Roman” emperors, being the last to speak Latin as a first language (he barely spoke

³⁰⁵ Eusebius, *Eusebius: The Church History*, trans. Paul L. Maier (Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 2007), 305.

³⁰⁶ Norwich, *Byzantium*, 26.

³⁰⁷ Takács, *The Construction of Authority in Ancient Rome and Byzantium*, xx.

³⁰⁸ H.W. Crocker III, *Triumph: The Power and the Glory of the Catholic Church: A 2,000 Year History* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2001), 54.

³⁰⁹ Andrew Gillett, "Rome, Ravenna and the Last Western Emperors," *Papers of the British School in Rome* Vol. 69 (2001): 135, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40311008>, (accessed October 28, 2014).

³¹⁰ Downey, “Justinian as Builder,” 262.

Greek) and thinking in a western (i.e. “Roman”) mindset; he died in 565. After a series of four bumbling emperors, feeling their way through confusion and, more often than not, incompetency, Heraclius emerged in 610, establishing Greek as the official language of the Empire and giving it a decidedly Christian direction, being coronated under the protection of Mary, the Mother of God.³¹¹ Constantine may have used *Pater patriae* as a religious tool when he took over the Empire, but this ideology was adapted from the secular realm. When Heraclius took over, the shift from a Roman civilization to a Byzantine civilization had already taken place under his four predecessors, spurred on by the reforms of Justinian.

Heraclius’ accession to power is nothing short of paradigm-altering, as his reign really marks the beginning of the Byzantine civilization in Europe. The Roman Church and the plethora of Germanic and Gaulish tribes transformed the Western half of the Empire to mesh with their *gestalt*, though these tribes also thought of themselves as inheritors of Rome’s cultural grandeur.³¹² Whatever the case in the West may be, the Byzantine civilization can be said to begin under Heraclius because he promulgated the official use of Greek as the new language of the “Roman Empire” and because he was coronated under the protection of Mary. These three streams of thought, the Roman legal and political tradition, Greek culture and language, and the Christian religion, fused into a new synthesis to create a new empire, the Byzantine, using old Roman political ideologies, refashioned for a new era. These political, religious, and cultural themes transmitted an old empire’s ideals for centuries to come.

³¹¹ Takács, *The Construction of Authority in Ancient Rome and Byzantium*, 129.

³¹² Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed & Charlemagne* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2001), 33.

The Evolution of the Automobile Industry: Innovations of a Few and Subsequent Oligopoly Formation

Austin Glan

During the early 1900s the automobile industry was rapidly evolving into one of the premier organizations of the time. This development can be accounted for by the increases in technology and innovations in the logistics of the business, as well as increases and changes in consumer demand. Consequently, the development of the automobile industry led to a select few firms that were in control of the market or in other words an oligopoly.³¹³ The development of the automobile industry truly shaped the American economy and has had a lasting impact on our culture.

Automobile makers were once among the most profitable and cost efficient companies in existence. They perfected the art of specialization and have influenced a number of technological advancements in their industry and throughout the business world. However, the business layout that many of the top automotive makers follow was not always the norm. In the early stages of the industry it was commonplace for the same company to manufacture the car and then turn around and sell it to consumers directly off of the production line.³¹⁴ This concept seems peculiar compared to the way business is done today, but this goes to show the process of producing and distributing automobiles has evolved tremendously since its conception in the early 1900's. Some of the most important changes to the business models included: manufacturing processes were consolidated and perfected, logistics of the business shifted, executives instituted improvement processes, and the consumer preference changed. The ones that were in a better position to adapt to the changes in the market thrived and those that did not or could not suffered. This led to another major development of the auto industry: the creation of an oligopolistic system among the three major producers, General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler.³¹⁵ This paper will delve into the specific changes that occurred during the development of the industry that were economically driven as well as the pros and cons of the oligopoly that resulted.

The automobile industry in its early stages was primitive compared to the complex system of manufacturers and dealerships that exists today. Hochfelder and Helper examined the shifts that occurred in the early 1900s that eventually led to the vertical integration of the industry.³¹⁶ In the beginning, the design of the cars being produced was handled primarily by those in charge of the physical car company; however these companies did not have the necessary machinery or parts to construct their designs. The common practice was to hire machinists to produce the key components of the car such as the, "motor, carburetor, transmission...and axles."³¹⁷ Cars and their necessary mechanisms were in their early stages of development. Luckily, the creativity of machinists and fabricators made it possible for the logistics of the car to become a reality.³¹⁸ Without innovations in the components the automobile would not have been able to be produced

³¹³ An oligopoly is a situation in which a select few firms dominate an industry, hold a large portion of the market share of the industry, and make it difficult for new firms to enter the industry.

³¹⁴ Marx 1985, 465.

³¹⁵ Bresnahan 1987, 457.

³¹⁶ Vertical Integration is a situation when a firm expands its operations to include the manufacture of the supply inputs needed to produce their final product.

³¹⁷ Hochfelder and Helper, 1996, 42.

³¹⁸ Ibid, 39.

economically. Once the technology advanced, it spread throughout the fabricators of the time and became common knowledge. It is only after this point that the relationships between designers and manufacturers began to change, becoming “short-term contracts [with] their respective responsibilities... spelled out on a single page.”³¹⁹ With only a certain number of skilled machinists and only a few methods of production, it was nearly impossible to produce a unique automobile. This made it difficult for the products of one company to stand out compared to their competition, as Hochfelder and Helper cite from the trade press of the day.³²⁰ The limited number of fabricators also introduced another problem: the absence of mass production. When outsourcing all of the labor for machining essential parts for automobiles, it becomes challenging to maintain a steady supply for a rising demand.³²¹ These issues led the pioneers of the industry to race towards a more economical method of production, vertical integration.

The explosion of the market in the early 1900s forced automakers to change their approach to production. Automobile production in the United States went from 4,000 units in 1900 to almost two million in 1920.³²² Sloan argues that automakers were constantly trying to evolve and strived to achieve, “a closer corporate relationship.”³²³ This increase in demand pushed automakers to become more efficient; one way of doing this was to vertically integrate their systems. Obtaining the machinists and fabricators became necessary for producers such as Ford and General Motors in order to be successful. It became a situation of survival of the fittest, and only those companies large enough to buy out the companies producing the essential parts would be able to produce the cars. The market that this created, an oligopoly, will be addressed later in the paper. Before the inception of vertical integration, it was possible for producers, “with little knowledge of automotive design to bring their cars to market.”³²⁴ However, according to Hotchfelder and Helper the increases in demand and the number of machinists being bought out made it more difficult for small producers to enter the market. Producers who placed the supply chain of their parts into their company profile were able to match the demand of the consumer and further developed the industry.³²⁵ After automakers addressed the issue of increasing demand in the market by introducing the machinist into their companies a new issue arose, logistics.

Before 1929, car makers’ main concern, according to Marx was production but that quickly shifted to distribution once, “[p]roduction capacity...exceeded demand.”³²⁶ Producers rushed to meet the consumer demand for “greater vehicle performance, comfort, and reliability.”³²⁷ This led to advances in technology and a more improved automobile, but also a surplus of older models that were traded in. Consumers who had purchased automobiles in the early stages of production wanted newer and more improved models, as a result a supply of used cars flooded the market after they traded in their older models for the newer. This led to what Marx refers to as the creation of the franchise system in place today. The automobile producer grants access for a retailer to market and sell their cars on their own property, commonly referred to as a dealership. Manufacturers found it necessary to acquire a middleman because “consumer demands became

³¹⁹ Marx, 1985, 466.

³²⁰ Hochfelder and Helper, 1996, 39-43.

³²¹ Marx, 466.

³²² Ibid, 469.

³²³ As cited in Hochfelder and Helper, 1996, 46.

³²⁴ Hochfelder and Helper, 49.

³²⁵ Ibid, 49.

³²⁶ Marx, 470.

³²⁷ Ibid, 471.

harder to predict, especially by those removed from the immediate consumer contact.”³²⁸ The acquisition of the supply chain by the designers, the need to keep up with changing consumer demand, and the influx of used cars created a two-sided system that consisted of manufacturers who create all of the parts and produce the vehicle and distributors who deal with the sale of new and used cars. This system made it easier for automakers to supply their products to consumers, improving the logistics of the business.

Another area that further developed the industry was that of innovations in the logistic and technical processes that automakers such as General Motors and Ford established. Economic managers of the industry attempted determine the consumer demand and matching their supply and price in a manner that maximizes profits. Henry Ford is revered as one who ingeniously changed the manufacturing process of automobiles to a way that made mass production possible. Raff credits Ford with abolishing the artisanal method, where parts are specifically made elsewhere and shipped in to be assembled. He states that Ford’s development of the assembly line effectively created the need for parts to be made in the factory and to be semi-universal so that a limited number of machines were required to fit all of the parts of the car together.³²⁹ Raff states this assembly line mentality also made workers more productive since “wandering around the plant” was no longer necessary.³³⁰ The introduction of the assembly line and the resulting focus around efficiency streamlined the production process and made it easier for firms to keep up with increasing consumer demand.

The other way producers improved their overall profitability was through their managerial approach, in particular the way the firms gather and interpret information on the supply and demand necessary to turn a profit. Knight argues that determining this information is directly associated to “the existence and the size of firms.”³³¹ One way that Norton found firms, in particular General Motors, gain a competitive advantage is by forecasting. Williamson argues that “information impactedness (sic) problem...observational economies...the convergence of expectations...and veracity risk,” are issues that firms should focus on when determining the economics of their business.³³² Williamson suggests that if a company is effective in forecasting that in turn they will “increase profits.”³³³ Norton focuses on the changes that Alfred P. Sloan introduced into General Motors’ business model in order to better forecast the automobile market. Essentially the reforms that Sloan introduced can be summarized as better forecasting in terms of rates of return and market share, inventory, synchronization, and retail demand changes. Through forecasting, Sloan and General Motors were able to determine that there was a lag time between when the firm discovered the consumer preference and when they were able to create a product to match. In order to account for this, Sloan adopted a multi-divisional corporate organization in which different departments were in charge of different aspects of the business. Norton suggests Sloan founded the idea that firms should monitor the consumer demand in the market and adjust the business accordingly, a revolutionary business idea for the automobile industry. These changes propelled General Motors into one of the top car producers of the mid-1900s.³³⁴ Norton states that, “GM achieved one of the most remarkable performances in the annals of American enterprise.”³³⁵

³²⁸ Marx, 473.

³²⁹ Raff, 1991, 726-727.

³³⁰ Ibid., 728.

³³¹ As cited in Norton, 1997, 246.

³³² As cited in Norton, 1997, 246.

³³³ Ibid., 247.

³³⁴ Norton, 1997, 248-259.

³³⁵ Ibid., 258.

Norton proposes the idea that Sloan used a basic economic theory, supply and demand, to transform the business practices that car producers used to maximize their efficiency and in turn, their profits.

The processes that the executives of both Ford and General Motors implemented were not “the product of a grand plan;” rather, they were responses to the ever-changing American economy and consumer market regarding automobiles.³³⁶ The early changes regarding vertical integration and franchise development, the process improvements of assembly lines and forecasting, and everything in between can be traced to one common factor: consumer demand. Before World War II, the norm for automobiles was big and luxurious and in turn expensive. However, Lawrence White points out that, “[f]or the entire post-war period the subject of small cars...[had] been one of active concern to the American automobile industry.”³³⁷ American’s became less concerned with the size of the car and more with the cost of the car after the Second World War. White explains that the consumer demand was shifting towards a smaller more cost effective car, to the dismay of the automakers of the time.³³⁸ They were using the forecasting techniques set forth by General Motors to try to meet the demand for the smaller more economical car; however this proved more difficult than anticipated. White describes the issues faced by the producers as essentially a time lag, which was still an issue even with the introduction of Alfred Sloan’s innovations. By the time the automakers detected a change in the demand for small cars it was too late due to the fact that designing and producing a car to fit the consumer demand immediately was not feasible. By the time they had a design produced, the demand had shifted back away from the smaller cars, frustrating the developers; this issue is one of the reasons they were hesitant about entering the market.³³⁹ The big three automakers (Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler) did not want enter the small car market because they saw smaller cars as less profitable.³⁴⁰ This leads to one of the most intriguing aspect of the development of the automobile industry, the formation of an oligopolistic system.

This shift towards a market where only a small number of sellers control the market can be traced back to the formation of the auto industry itself. Hochfelder and Helper’s article on the development of vertical integration makes it clear that the firms that had sufficiently large amounts of capital to acquire the machining firms for their own uses thrived. They were able to “establish great control over price, quality, and delivery of important parts.”³⁴¹ Smaller firms that did not have the necessary capital or power to influence the machining firms suffered losses and were dissolved from the market. The power of the oligopolists was even further extended with the introduction of the process improvements of the major firms. Raff substantiates this claim when explaining Chrysler’s strategy, stating that they (along with Ford and General Motors) were able to adjust to the changing consumer demand while the smaller firms with less forecasting power could not keep up. This resulted in even fewer firms able to compete in the automobile market.³⁴² White argues one of the reasons that the big three car companies were hesitant to enter the small car market was that they each wanted to ensure that “the market was large enough to support *all three* producers profitably.”³⁴³ This corresponds with one of Bresnahan’s explanations of the

³³⁶ Marx, 1985, 472.

³³⁷ White, 1972, 179.

³³⁸ White, 184.

³³⁹ Ibid., 185.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., 180.

³⁴¹ Hochfelder and Helper, 1996, 49.

³⁴² Raff, 1991, 724.

³⁴³ White, 1972, 179

“1955 price war” among the automakers: they were engaging in “collusive behaviors.”³⁴⁴ Such behavior is a defining characteristic of an oligopoly, when a select few firms that are not necessarily working together, but do have control of the market because of competitive advantages. Bresnahan does not confirm that there was in fact collusion among Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler but he does note that General Motors, in particular “enjoyed either a cost or quality advantage.”³⁴⁵ It is reasonable to assume that that advantage was shared (perhaps to a lesser extent) by both Ford and Chrysler to form an oligopoly.

Bresnahan does not conclude that an oligopoly, by its strict definition, was in place in the automobile industry during its time of development in America. However, it is evident that there were barriers to entry for smaller firms; the big three firms had the capital to control the machining firms, and their executives developed forecasting methods that gave them a competitive advantage.³⁴⁶ The barriers to entry are easy to detect from the beginning of the automotive market and the common processes and improvements that the big three shared resulted in the profitability and sustainability of their companies. This is not suggesting that it was impossible for smaller firms to do business in the marketplace, but it is reasonable to conclude, based on the evidence, that the big three automakers shared common business practices that made it difficult for other companies to become profitable.

The automobile industry is constantly evolving and adapting to consumer demands. Hochfelder, Helper and Marx all addressed the ways the business practices of production and distribution have drastically changed. Automakers are constantly shaping their manufacturing and business processes to more accurately fit the market as well as reduce costs and maximize profits.³⁴⁷ White’s article suggests that they adapted to the consumer demands of the time, and shifted their production in order to secure the market. General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler did this more efficiently than the competition and reaped the benefits.³⁴⁸ However, in the process of doing so, they created an oligopoly that discouraged competition through barriers to entry, argued implicitly by nearly all the authors cited in this paper. This paper has delved into the economic reasoning behind the motives of the automotive industry’s changes and adaptations. Further research could better address additional sources of the oligopoly formation, or whether or not there is truly an oligopolistic system in place. Raff references a famous quote by General Motor’s Alfred Sloan, that they would create a “car for every purse and purpose.” This captures the mentality behind the development of the automobile industry.³⁴⁹ After its inception, the automobile industry exploded and not only had a lasting effect on the American economy, but also on how business is conducted in America.

³⁴⁴ Bresnahan, 1987, 458.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., 477.

³⁴⁶ Bresnahan, 1987, 477-479.

³⁴⁷ Norton, 1997, 278.

³⁴⁸ White, 1972, 191.

³⁴⁹ Raff, 1991, 742.

Brigham Young's Forest Farmhouse: Space and Power in 19th Century Agricultural Utah

Alex Stromberg

On July 24, 1847, the Mormon Pioneers entered the Salt Lake Valley led by their Prophet, Brigham Young. At the mouth of what would later be called Emigration Canyon, sick in a wagon and tired from the long journey, Brigham Young looked out over the desert valley before him and said "It is enough. This is the right place. Drive on."³⁵⁰ From this moment, Brigham Young and those who followed him commenced to build a city and society in the Great Basin that would become a hub to those traveling west. Streets were laid in perfect order, crops were planted, and homes were built. Indeed, Brigham Young and early Mormons in Salt Lake City and the Territory of Utah would become known for their architectural accomplishments as well as taming the harsh environment of the inter-mountain west. Though the majestic Gothic Salt Lake Temple cannot be ignored as a 40-year architectural accomplishment, the architecture and layout of domestic structures in the early Mormon settlements, including those built by Brigham Young, document the social, cultural, political, religious, and family structure of these pioneers. Built in 1863, Brigham Young's Forest Farmhouse is a complex and unique piece of vernacular architecture that holds underutilized evidence into the early years of settlement in the Great Basin, as well as the social, cultural, and religious undercurrents and tenants of Mormonism.

Situated at the mouth of Emigration Canyon, This is the Place Heritage Park is home to historical buildings and structures from all over Utah. The first structure to be moved to this location was the Brigham Young Forest Farmhouse. This Gothic Revival h-plan cross-gabled house was the first balloon-framed house in Utah.³⁵¹ Moved from its original location in 1975,³⁵² it sits in prominence at the entrance to the Park. Completed in 1863, this aesthetically pleasing home was originally located on a plat of land known as Brigham Young's Forest Farm.³⁵³ The physical context of the house, the interior layout of rooms within it, and its function as a farmhouse raise the question: is the use of space as well as the function of Brigham Young's Forest Farmhouse evidence of the social-cultural perceptions of power and gender in nineteenth-century agricultural Utah? Examination of first-hand accounts written by members of Brigham Young's family, scholarly work on Mormon Architecture, and the structure, layout, and architecture of the house itself, affirms complex social and cultural values of work, self-sufficiency, and family, as well as the centrality of family and community in the religious beliefs of Brigham Young and Mormons in territorial Utah and the power-relationships between men and women of polygamous households.

³⁵⁰ James E. Faust, "Brigham Young: A Bold Prophet," Speeches, Brigham Young University, (August 21, 2001) <http://speeches.byu.edu/?act=viewitem&id=255> (accessed October 31, 2014)-Attributed to the recollections of Wilford Woodruff, the first Historian of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Wilford Woodruff, in *The Utah Pioneers* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Printing and Publishing Establishment, 1880), 23; quoted in B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century One*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1930), 3:224.

³⁵¹ Mark C. Hamilton, *Nineteenth Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 114.

³⁵² Elinor G. Hyde, "The Brigham Young FarmHouse," in Colleen Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2002), 171.

³⁵³ Mark C. Hamilton, *Nineteenth Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 114.

Scholarship on the Brigham Young Forest Farmhouse

Perhaps the greatest difficulty in studying this particular subject is finding sources on a house that is strangely absent from scholarly discussion, yet was designed, owned, and operated under the direction of a well-known figure like Brigham Young. The house currently belongs to the State of Utah and is operated as a historic home at This is the Place Heritage Park in Salt Lake City. A site packet used for historical interpretation obtained courtesy of This is the Place Heritage Park Foundation titled "*Brigham Young Forest Farmhouse - built in 1863 and relocated at This Is the Place in 1976*," contains a summary of Brigham Young's life, lists of his wives and children, and some information about the farmhouse. What it lacks however is a description of the architecture and furnishings of the home itself. Unfortunately, the undated curatorial notes for the site state that "Very little documentation exists regarding the interior of Brigham Young's Forest Farmhouse. The two major primary sources are Susa Young Gates and Ann Eliza Young."³⁵⁴ The remaining pages of the document attempt to synthesize information using these two sources and a great deal of necessary speculation as a basis for the interior design of the home.

Colleen Whitley's compilation of scholarly work, *Brigham Young's Homes*, contains a chapter entirely devoted to the Farm House by Elinor G. Hyde of Salt Lake City.³⁵⁵ The site packet from This is the Place Heritage Park relies on the overview, photographs, and cited sources provided by this book, which draws on the memoirs and biographical work of Susa Young Gates and Ann Eliza Young, both of whom were personally familiar with the house. The chapter by Hyde entitled, "The Brigham Young Farm House," offers a brief architectural description as well as a reference to the potential architects of the home.³⁵⁶ However, the descriptions of pioneer life and social practices reference what appear to be older curatorial and site documents at This is the Place Heritage Park that have either been altered, lost or destroyed. Indeed, while *Brigham Young's Homes* offers a very straightforward compilation of dates, facts, and historical events surrounding the Farmhouse, it still lacks substantive analysis and inquiry into the complexities of the social-cultural use of space in the home.

The closest analysis of the architecture of the home from an art historical perspective is found in *Nineteenth-Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning* written by C. Mark Hamilton, a professor of Art and Architecture at Brigham Young University.³⁵⁷ In the chapter titled "Domestic Architecture" Hamilton briefly discusses the artistic style of the house and places it in an art-historical context by comparing it to similar Gothic Revival homes of the late nineteenth century. The value of Hamilton's work is in the overarching art-historical context of the book taken as whole and the placement of the Farmhouse within that context. Still, for the purpose of this essay, a deeper analysis of the socio-cultural use of space in the home needs to be addressed.

Thomas Carter, a professor of architectural history at the University of Utah has written extensively on Mormon vernacular architecture using a socio-cultural and anthropological approach. Carter's essay "Living the Principle: Mormon Polygamous Housing in Nineteenth-Century Utah" specifically discusses the use of space and its relationship to power in nineteenth century Mormon houses designed to accommodate the familial and social structures of polygamous families.³⁵⁸ While Brigham Young's Forest Farm is not specifically represented,

³⁵⁴ Historical and Curatorial Notes, Brigham Young Forest Farm File, (Salt Lake City: This is the Place Heritage Park, n.d.), 1.

³⁵⁵ Colleen Whitley, ed, *Brigham Young's Homes* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2002), 147-172.

³⁵⁶ Hyde, "The Brigham Young Farm House" in Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes*, 147-172.

³⁵⁷ Hamilton, *Nineteenth Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning*, 113-114.

³⁵⁸ Thomas Carter, "Living the Principle: Mormon Polygamous Housing in Nineteenth-Century Utah," *Winterthur Portfolio* 35, no. 4 (Winter, 2000): 223-251.

Carter's methodology and analysis of Mormon architecture using the relationship between space and power provides an excellent model to follow.

Other works in which the home is mentioned are Leonard Arrington's *Brigham Young: American Moses*,³⁵⁹ and Stanley P. Hirshson's *The Lion of the Lord: A Biography of Brigham Young*.³⁶⁰ Both of these biographical works mention it briefly, but only in passing as it pertains to other subjects under discussion.

Not enough can be said about the work of Susa Young Gates³⁶¹ and Clarissa Young Spencer³⁶², two of Brigham Young's daughters who have included memories and information about the house in their writings. The one downside to using their writings, is that most of their recollections are the positive memories of childhood. In order to examine the house from a different perspective, Anne Eliza Webb Young,³⁶³ a disenchanting wife of Brigham Young gives great insight into the purpose, layout, and function of the home, having lived there for almost four years.³⁶⁴ The commonalities in these accounts supplement the information inherent in the home itself.

The Farm in City

From its beginnings, the leaders of the Mormon Church, more properly referred to as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints or LDS Church, have taught members the principles of a unified community. This is evident in the organizational structure of the Church into wards (congregations), and stakes (groupings of wards). Nineteenth century Mormon settlements modeled this structure in city planning. Beginning with Kirtland Ohio, Joseph Smith Jun, president and founder of the church, received a revelation stating "...verily I say unto you, my friends, a commandment I give unto you, that ye shall commence a work of laying out and preparing a beginning and foundation of the city of the stake of Zion, here in the land of Kirtland, beginning at my house."³⁶⁵ Similarly he also made plans for the City of Zion in Independence Missouri: "...the place which is now called Independence is the center place; and a spot for the temple is lying westward, upon a lot which is not far from the courthouse. Wherefore, it is wisdom that the land should be purchased by the saints. And also every tract lying westward...Behold, this is wisdom, that they may obtain it for an everlasting inheritance."³⁶⁶

Architectural historian Dell Upton describes this Mormon model of city planning further, stating that:

Colonial towns, courthouse squares] appear also in unexpected settings, particularly those created by religious organizations. In June 1833 the Mormon prophet Joseph Smith sent a 'Plat of the city of Zion' to the new settlement at

³⁵⁹ Leonard J. Arrington, *Brigham Young: American Moses*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985)

³⁶⁰ Stanley P. Hirshson, *The Lion of the Lord: A Biography of Brigham Young*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1969)

³⁶¹ Susa Young Gates and Leah D. Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young: Mormon Leader, Founder of Salt Lake City, And Builder of an Empire in the Uncharted Wastes of Western America*, (London: Jarrolds Limited, 1930)

³⁶² Clarissa Young Spencer and Mabel Harmer, *Brigham Young at Home*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1940)

³⁶³ Anne Eliza Young, *Wife No. 19: Or the Story of a Life in Bondage, Being a Complete Expose of Mormonism, and Revealing the Sorrows, Sacrifices and Sufferings of Women in Polygamy*, (Hartford: Dustin, Gilman & Co., 1876)

³⁶⁴ Brigham Young Forest Farmhouse Site Packet, "Brigham Young Forest Farmhouse - built in 1863 and relocated at This Is the Place in 1976," (Salt Lake City Utah: This is the Place Heritage Park, n. d.) 5.

³⁶⁵ The Doctrine and Covenants of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Section 94:1

³⁶⁶ Doctrine and Covenants, 57:3-5.

Independence, Missouri, to be used in laying out a new town there. The mile-square grid was to be aligned to the cardinal directions and laid out in half-acre lots. There would be three squares at the centre, two with twelve temples each, distributed according to the Mormon hierarchy of priesthoods, and one built up with communal storehouses.³⁶⁷

This idea of a city surrounding a central sacred building or "temple" continued with Mormon leaders in the planning and layout of Salt Lake City.

Indeed, the setting and physical context in which Brigham Young's Farmhouse was built is very reminiscent of a colonial village or township. "The Mormons revived the idea of the village in the West"³⁶⁸ says architectural historian and material culture scholar Henry Glassie. He writes:

Fine small farmhouses, Midwestern in form, stand on a foursquare grid like that of a Midwestern town, but the farmer's holdings are cast through the fields that spread beyond the village. The vast, mountainous backdrop does little to disturb the comparison. Viewed across the fields, the village of Utah or southern Idaho, with its tall temple and low gathering of houses, offers an image out of old England. In medieval England and nineteenth-century Utah, villages were asserted into space by people who made clear-headed decisions. They chose to build as they did in order to exploit the environment efficiently through agriculture, and in order to shape a social order that brought the familial and the communal together on the base of the sacred.³⁶⁹

So it was with the Forest Farm. The land on which the house would later be built was set aside shortly after the saints arrived in the Salt Lake Valley. "Forest Farm initially bordered the five-acre Lots of the Big Field, and the boundaries of the Forest Farm were set as a plat from Ninth South (now Twenty-first South) on the north to what is now Twenty-seventh South on the south, from Third East on the west to about Thirteenth East."³⁷⁰ Here, just four miles south of downtown Salt Lake City, farmhands and members of Brigham Young's family, began to experiment with various seeds to see what would grow in the valley.

Initially, "[a] pioneer farmhouse of adobe was built, with a milk and cheese house a few feet away, the two connected by a closed porch way."³⁷¹ There is some debate as to whether or not these buildings were log cabins or adobe structures, but regardless, for several years this "adobe" farmhouse was the main structure on the farm.³⁷² In 1863, this earlier structure would be "replaced by a modern cottage of generous proportions and was known as "The Farmhouse."³⁷³

³⁶⁷ Dell Upton, *Architecture in the United States*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 61

³⁶⁸ Henry Glassie, *Vernacular Architecture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 113

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 96.

³⁷⁰ Hyde, "The Brigham Young Farm House," in Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes*, 147

³⁷¹ Susa Young Gates, "The Pioneer Forest Farm House." *The Juvenile Instructor* 54 (August, 1919): 405.

³⁷² Susa Young Gates is quoted in *Brigham Young's Homes*, as first stating in a typescript "Lucy Bigelow Young, " from the Utah State Historical Department, Salt Lake City, pg 59 that "The farm had two log houses, one the cook house and dining room, separated by a roofed-in passage way from the milk and cheese house, and there was a chamber above which was Mother's Bedroom..." This makes us question what the original structures were made of. However, one of the early uses of the Forest Farm was the manufacture of adobe bricks. The initial scarcity of hardwood in Utah, and the readily available clay on sight suggests that the home was originally adobe.

³⁷³ Susa Young Gates, *The Life Story of Brigham Young*, 257

The Gothic Revival Farmhouse

Construction on the Brigham Young Forest Farmhouse commenced in 1861 and was completed in 1863.³⁷⁴ According to C. Mark Hamilton, former professor of Art and Architecture at Brigham Young University, "[t]he building of Brigham Young's Lion House (1854-56) and Forest Farmhouse (1861-63) did much to awaken the territory to Gothic Revival architecture."³⁷⁵ Hamilton credits the design to Truman Angell, architect of the Salt Lake Temple, also a Gothic revival structure, but states that William Paul, the architect of the Devereaux House, was more familiar with the style. One of Brigham's wives who lived there, Anne Eliza Webb Young, who was notorious for divorcing him and subsequently writing a book about the horrors of life in Utah and the Mormon Church, states that "[the Farmhouse] was built after one of the Prophet's own plans, and he says that it cost twenty-five thousand dollars."³⁷⁶ Trained as a carpenter, Brigham very well could have had a say in the design of the house. Either way, as with the Salt Lake Temple, Brigham Young and his architect chose and designed a Gothic Revival style home that was completed in 1863.

Prior to the completion of the Farmhouse, other structures occupied the landscape of the farm. "One of the first buildings at the Forest Farm was a sixty-nine by eighteen foot log cabin with a red pine foundation built in 1857."³⁷⁷ Without giving exact dates, Susa Young Gates mentions a farmhouse of adobe being built in which "...Aunt Susan Snively, lived,...[and]...Others of [Brigham Young's] wives were here at times for a year or more."³⁷⁸ Susa's own mother, Lucy Bigelow Young lived in the adobe structure for about a year, and then in the new farmhouse when it was replaced in 1863.³⁷⁹

The central portion of the structure that encompasses the dining room and upper half-story displays traits characteristic of a previous structure around which the "balloon-framed house" was built. The walls in this central portion of the home are unnaturally thick for a balloon-framed structure, measuring between 13.5" and 17.5" deep. In direct contrast with the 6"-7" walls throughout the remaining structure, the walls are closer to the thickness of early western adobe houses and structures. Four small, sash, windows look out from the upper half-story awkwardly under the gabled roof and awning over the veranda. When examined together, these structural elements make, this central portion look like a small, single-pile 19th century farmhouse.

The possibility that the Brigham Young Forest Farmhouse is a composite of an original adobe structure and two balloon-framed additions is even more probable after examining the writing of Susa Young Gates:

A few years after settling in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, Brigham Young decided that a farm in the outskirts of Salt Lake City was necessary for his large family and their various needs. *A pioneer farmhouse of adobe was built*, with a milk and cheese house a few feet away, the two connected by a closed porchway. Here one of his wives, "Aunt" Susan Snively, lived, cooking for the men who attended to the farm, and directing the making of the cheese and butter...³⁸⁰

³⁷⁴ Hyde, "The Brigham Young Farm House," in Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes*, 155; Hamilton, *Nineteenth Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning*, 114.

³⁷⁵ Hamilton, *Nineteenth Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning*, 113.

³⁷⁶ Young, *Wife No. 19*, 533

³⁷⁷ Hyde, "The Brigham Young Farm House," in Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes*, 155.

³⁷⁸ Gates and Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young*, 257.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁰ Gates, "The Pioneer Forest Farm House," 405.

Susa's verification of the existence of an earlier adobe farmhouse increases the possibility that the thick dining room walls are remnants of an earlier structure. Indeed, one of earliest uses of the land on which the farmhouse was located was to make adobe bricks.³⁸¹ So why would Brigham Young replace this house with another?

Susa, without giving a specific reason, states that Brigham Young decided to build a "modern cottage of generous proportions..."³⁸² Leland Roth addresses this American gothic revival in architecture, stating that:

While the Greek Revival was the prevalent style for residences during the 1820s and 1830s, by the mid-1840s Gothic had begun to challenge it, largely due to the influential publications of Andrew Jackson Downing (1815-1852)...he viewed the house as a function of the landscape in which it was placed. The plan of the house he argued, should be arranged so as to take advantage of the views of the landscape, making it as irregular as need be. The grounds themselves should be enhanced and modified so as to augment their inherent picturesque qualities.³⁸³

Whether or not Brigham Young was influenced by Andrew Jackson Downing, he seems to have taken his approach to architecture. Though the new Farmhouse would be very symmetrical in external appearance, the door placement and layout of the rooms within the house are quite irregular by today's standards.

Anne Eliza Young describes the house as "[o]utwardly...[having] a lovely appearance...And, indeed, with its somewhat irregular architecture, its wide verandas, vine-draped and shaded, its broad, low windows, and beautiful surroundings, it is one of the pleasantest looking places that one would care to see."³⁸⁴ With the "front" entrance facing west, the house is an H-plan, cross-gabled, balloon-frame house. According to Hamilton, it is the first balloon-framed house in Utah.³⁸⁵ The external symmetry of the house is aesthetically pleasing, with steep-pitched cross-gabled roof, latticework, peripheral veranda and extensive double-hung sash windows that allow for natural light to enter the home through most of the day. Each window is crowned with serpentine molding. Seven separate entry points occur on the bottom floor leading to the peripheral veranda. The "pink" painted stucco of the outer walls is reminiscent of the sandstone rock of southern Utah.

Within the home is a "double-parlor and kitchen pantry area on either side of a central area for reception and formal dining on the ground floor."³⁸⁶ Some uncertainty exists as to the mirrored end-gable staircases located in the kitchen to the south, and the large parlor to the north, which lead to the upper story of the home. The north staircase is substantiated by both Brigham's wife Anne Eliza and his daughter, Susa Young Gates. Suffice it to say, within the north and south end-gables of the current restored house both staircases are present.

³⁸¹ Hyde, "The Brigham Young Farm House," in Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes*, 148-149.-

³⁸² Gates, "The Pioneer Forest Farm House," 405.

³⁸³ Leland M. Roth, *American Architecture: A History* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2001), 177

³⁸⁴ Young, *Wife No. 19*, 533- Later, she also says that "...with the same amount of money, I could build a house that should vastly exceed that in external beauty and interior appointments."

³⁸⁵ Hamilton, *19th century Mormon Architecture and City Planning*, 114.

³⁸⁶ Hamilton, *19th century Mormon Architecture and City Planning*, 114.

The staircases in the restored Farmhouse as it stands today lead to the second story at each gabled end of the house with the half-story room between them directly above the dining room.³⁸⁷ The landing area at the top of each staircase is large enough to be used for storage, a small sitting area, or even small sleeping area. On the south, directly above the kitchen is a large room that functioned as a ballroom (Figures 8 and 9) as described by Susa Young Gates in her recollections of New Year's Day and other holiday celebrations at the FarmHouse. She states that

For a number of years, New Year's Day was celebrated by [Brigham Young] and his numerous family with a few of his closest associates in house parties at the farm house...[the children] crowded through the dining-room into the great central sitting-room and then raced upstairs to remove neck comforters and cloaks...that they might race the faster back into the long dancing hall which spread across the south end of the house.³⁸⁸

This places the ballroom directly over the kitchen, meaning that in order to access the ballroom, one had to pass through sleeping areas of the second story.

Opposite the ballroom to the south, the north side of the second story is divided into a large bedroom on the west, and a more open area which may have been used as a bedroom on the east.³⁸⁹ Immediately down the stairs below this room is the smaller of two parlors with a large double-hung doorway opening into a larger parlor just off of the central dining room. Connected to this parlor through another doorway is an office with a large window facing north that can be closed off from the rest of the house and still remain accessible through a door leading in from the outside veranda.

The kitchen area is large, with a doorway leading to the veranda and four double-hung sash windows that allow for extensive natural light. The sky-blue painted moldings add an additional brightness to the room which remains very well lit for most of the day. Just to the west of the large kitchen is a smaller, also well-lit room that might have served as a workroom.³⁹⁰ Off of the kitchen to the south is a little room much like a mudroom that is also connected to a large pantry accessible from both the mudroom and a doorway in the southeast corner of the workroom. The mudroom area is L-shaped, with a double-hung doorway hiding a staircase leading to the cellar, and another door leading outside.

Today the Farmhouse cellar is used for modern facilities such as restrooms and dressing rooms. However, historically the house "was built next to a spring, with a door leading down to the cellar where a well tapped into that spring. The cellar was divided into two parts, one for the well and the other part serving as a storage place for dairy products and other foods. Later the water from the spring was pumped into the kitchen."³⁹¹

³⁸⁷ Jen Young, a historical interpreter at This is the Place Heritage Park shared a personal conversation she had with one of engineers who helped move the home from South Salt Lake to its current location. He claimed to have found evidence of a staircase leading up from the central dining room to the second, half-story room above. If this is true, then it becomes additional evidence that the "balloon-framed" Farm House was built around the old, adobe one as two additions.

³⁸⁸ Gates and Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young*, 343-344.

³⁸⁹ Hyde, "The Brigham Young Farm House," in Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes*, 157-158. The source cited for this are the Interpretive Documents at this is the Place, which, for all intents and purposes are also a secondary source and though it is clear that there was at least one bedroom upstairs, it remains a little confusing as to how this area was really used.

³⁹⁰ Hyde, "The Brigham Young Farm House," 157.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 156-157.

Also of note are the grounds on which the Farmhouse stood. Located in south Salt Lake, the farm encompassed eight hundred fifty acres of land where farmhands planted a variety of seeds to see what would grow in the valley. Susa Young Gates recalls: "[The Farmhouse] was the centre(sic) of a generous tract of land with meadows, great waving fields of grain, potato and corn-fields and in two sections of it were growing forests of mulberry and black locust trees."³⁹² Clarissa Young Spencer also writes of family excursions to the Farm when she was a child. She remembers "[a] long lane with shade trees on either side led up to the house, which was a homey place with a gabled roof and a great porch that ran all the way around. Hollyhocks and roses bordered the porch and a great profusion of other flowers grew in odd nooks and corners of the lawns."³⁹³ The house itself was part of a larger landscape, serving not only as a central hub of activity on the farm, but also as an aesthetically pleasing, modern edifice representative of Mormon industry in the larger American cultural landscape.

The Farm and Farmhouse: Self-Sufficiency, Work, and Family

In the early 1860s, Samuel Clemmons, a young man from Hannibal, Missouri, stopped in Salt Lake City on his way to California. Clemmons, who became well known as American author Mark Twain, published a satirical account of his experiences in Salt Lake City in his book *Roughing It*. Of the city he said "Salt Lake City was healthy-an extremely healthy city. They declared there was only one physician in the place and he was arrested every week regularly and held to answer under the vagrant act for having 'no visible means of support.'"³⁹⁴ Looking through the satire of his writing it is clear that his experience was an informative one. One of the best ways to help describe the function of the Forest Farm might come from Twain's description of what he calls the 'Mormon Crest' that is still depicted on the Utah State flag today. "...the Mormon crest was easy. And it was simple, unostentatious, and fitted like a glove. It was a representations of a GOLDEN BEEHIVE, with the bees all at work!"³⁹⁵ Indeed, this representation of industry and work is no better displayed than on the Forest Farm.

In a way, placed at a central location within the Forest Farm, the Farmhouse might be seen as a sort of "beehive". Not unfamiliar with hard work, Brigham Young was a carpenter by trade, had lived through the turbulent days of the early Church in Nauvoo, and was then in the process of building a city and establishing a community in the west. One of the more difficult challenges for the Mormon immigrants in the valley was seeing what would grow in a harsh, dry climate. According to rumor, upon meeting Brigham Young and the Mormon Pioneers and learning of their plans to settle the great basin, explorer and mountain man Jim Bridger offered one thousand dollars for the first bushel of corn grown in the valley, believing it impossible to grow a viable crop in such conditions.³⁹⁶ Brigham Young sought to remedy this perception with the Forest Farm.

Clarissa Young Spencer recalls that one of her father's favorite "hobbies" was "home manufacture for home consumption" and that "his own words on the subject were, 'Let home industry produce every article of home consumption'."³⁹⁷ Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, in her book, *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth*, also mentions how "Brigham Young preached a gospel of manufactures worthy of his native Vermont. He urged mothers to teach their daughters 'to spin, color, weave and knit, as well as work embroidery.' In

³⁹² Gates and Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young*, 257

³⁹³ Spencer and Harmer, *Brigham Young at Home*, 79-80.

³⁹⁴ Mark Twain, *Roughing It* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 111.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 110.

³⁹⁶ Gates, and Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young*, 94.

³⁹⁷ Spencer and Harmer, *Brigham Young At Home*, 247.

doing so they would prove ‘helpmeets in every deed, not only in domestic relations but in building up the kingdom’.”³⁹⁸

Likewise, the function of the Forest Farm demonstrates Brigham Young's philosophy by "supply[ing] the Salt Lake City family with milk, butter, cheese, and vegetables..."³⁹⁹

The farm and Farmhouse functioned as an experiment, in which Brigham hoped to discover what would grow in the valley. Beginning in 1852, adobe bricks were made on the farm. In a way, this might be considered one of the first "crops" from the farm because enough bricks were made to build several structures in Salt Lake City.⁴⁰⁰ In later years, based on the writings of Clarissa Young Spencer and Susa Young Gates, many different crops were grown on the farm with varying success.⁴⁰¹ Alfalfa was a successful crop and is still planted extensively in Utah and Idaho today.⁴⁰² But most pertinent to the Farmhouse itself were the production of dairy and silk.

In every account from the women who attended the farmhouse, milk, cheese, and butter production are mentioned. This responsibility fell largely to the women who were responsible for the farm. Lucy Bigelow Young, Susan Snively, and Anne Eliza were each involved in cheese and butter production, though by 1862, the milking was done by the men.⁴⁰³ The women produced butter and cheese, but were also required to provide meals for the workmen. These daily responsibilities taxed the women, and according to Anne Eliza “[e]very one of the wives who had been compelled to live there had become confirmed invalids before they left the place, broken down by overwork.”⁴⁰⁴ Though this may be an exaggeration as similar recollections are absent from the other women, perhaps this is in part one of the reasons Brigham chose to build the new, larger farmhouse.

Lucy Bigelow Young lived on the farm with her six-year-old daughter Susa for eighteen-months from 1862-1863. During this time the new farmhouse was being constructed. As her mother worked to produce butter, cheese, and provide for the farmhands, the new house was taking shape. Susa does not say whether or not the house was being built around them as they lived in the original adobe structure; however, she does explain that she and her mother lived in the house while the workmen stayed in tents and wagon boxes.⁴⁰⁵

This contrast in living conditions of the women and the workmen at the farm illustrates the underlying cultural expectations of the nineteenth century society, but goes even further to reveal a part of Mormon social structure. In Brigham's large family women were expected to work and be industrious but were also given accommodations where possible to make those responsibilities bearable, even if it meant that the workers-not members of his family- were required to make due with less. Still, not ignoring the contributions of the layman, having himself been in similar situations in his past life, the Mormon Prophet provided a meal for the farmhands through the work of his wife living on the farm.

³⁹⁸ Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *The Age of Homespun: Objects and Stories in the Creation of an American Myth* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001).

³⁹⁹ Young, *Wife No. 19.*, 532

⁴⁰⁰ Hyde, “The Brigham Young Farm House,” in Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes*, 148-149.

⁴⁰¹ Gates and Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young*, 256-257, and Spencer and Harmer, *Brigham Young at Home*, 247-257.

⁴⁰² Spencer and Harmer, *Brigham Young at Home*, 247-248

⁴⁰³ Susa Young Gates, "From Impulsive Girl to Patient Wife: Lucy Bigelow Young" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45, no. 3 (Summer 1977), 280.

⁴⁰⁴ Young, *Wife No. 19*, 532

⁴⁰⁵ Gates, “From Impulsive Girl to Patient Wife,” 280-281.

The central location of the dining room, demonstrates the role of the farmhouse in providing a place where the farmhands could have their meals with little disturbance to the operation of the household. Free to enter or exit the dining room directly from the outside veranda on both the east and west, farmhands and workmen could be fed without entering the other areas of the home. This also allowed for the women of the home to be separate from and not required to take their meals at the same time or place as the farmhands, as well as to work away from the commotion of the dining room. In the previous adobe farmhouse, the kitchen and dining room were in the same location.⁴⁰⁶

In context as a source of provision and sustenance, a newly constructed, spacious, Gothic-style structure with multiple entrances, central dining area, and expanded interior space seemed to be a continuation of Brigham's attempt to satisfy the physical needs of all parties who worked on the farm. With workrooms, a large kitchen, cooled cellar, and the wide range of accessibility provided by seven different entrances to the main level, the farmhouse allowed for efficient home and agricultural production. It provided greater accommodations not only for his wife who worked and lived there, but also those who visited.

The role of providing for workmen on the farm expanded in the mid-1860s when Brigham Young became "deeply interested" in silk production. In 1866, he had 11,340 mulberry seedlings imported and planted at the Forest Farm.⁴⁰⁷ In 1868 a cocoonery was built and thus began the experiment with silk production in the Utah Territory. Clarissa Young Spencer recalls her father's devoted interest in this new domestic manufacturing project:

He sent to France for the first mulberry seed, and when the precious package arrived it contained two or three pounds of what looked very much like mustard seed. It was first planted at Forest Farm, and he had the gardeners prepare the ground with the greatest of care, plowing and harrowing the acre about five or six times. He personally supervised the planting and had them put the seed in so thick that, as one gardener said, 'the young trees came up like the hair on a dog's back.'⁴⁰⁸

This vast 'forest' of trees is what gave the farm and thus farmhouse, the name Forest Farm. Zina D. Huntington Young, known as "Doctor" among Brigham's wives, was charged with overseeing this new industry.⁴⁰⁹ Though never really expanding beyond the experimental phase, this industry was quite successful, and dresses were made using the silk produced on the Farm.⁴¹⁰ What is interesting about this experiment is that the Farm stepped into the realm of manufacturing and industry in an effort on the part of Brigham Young to enhance the economic prospects of the territory and communal society he was building as a whole. As the farm shifted focus, the Farmhouse also became a symbol of this industry and purpose.

A type of the Sacred: Religion, Family Values, and Community

In the late 18th century, "while Roman classic was appropriate for seats of government, Gothic was seen as more properly evocative for places with strong religious associations, or even interment."⁴¹¹ As a patriarch to his large family, as well as in his role as President and Prophet of a church and leader in the community, it is fitting that Brigham Young chose to build or rebuild his farmhouse in the Gothic style. Although only a *Farmhouse*, the religious parameters and

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ Hyde, "The Brigham Young Farm House," in Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes*, 150

⁴⁰⁸ Spencer and Harmer, *Brigham Young At Home*, 249-250.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid., 75-76.

⁴¹⁰ Spencer and Harmer, *Brigham Young At Home*, 248-252.

⁴¹¹ Roth, *American Architecture: A History*, 171.

expectations of membership in the Mormon Church that shaped even the most basic aspects of everyday life in the family and larger community are evident in its function and architecture.

Families and family life have been an integral part of Mormon theology since its beginnings. In 1843, Joseph Smith, Jr., received a revelation regarding a "new and everlasting covenant" binding families together not only for mortality but for the eternities as well.⁴¹² Husbands and wives who entered into this covenant with God were promised life together in the eternities as long as they remained faithful to each other and the commandments of God. This fundamental doctrine had an effect on family life by giving members a different perspective on the purpose of daily life and family relationships. The Forest Farmhouse was a place where Brigham could take his family away from the busy life of downtown Salt Lake City to spend time with and teach them.

Clarissa Young Spencer especially remembers enjoying meals as a family at the Forest Farm.⁴¹³ Likewise, Susa Young Gates recalls "The [1863] farmhouse, which was four miles out of the city, became a favourite (sic) place for entertainments and picnics. Sometimes father would have a party for us all when we stayed the night, making beds on the floor, girls sleeping with mothers and the boys up in the hay loft."⁴¹⁴ The Farmhouse, with its large rooms away from the busy environment of the city, became an escape where Brigham Young could take his family and build eternal unity. In many ways it served as a Temple or religious edifice and sanctuary where, though they lived *in* the world, they might be protected from outside influences *of* the world.

Just as the Farmhouse served to welcome, protect, and provide sanctuary for Brigham's personal family, it also was a place where he could take care of his flock, the family of the Church. On various occasions, the Farmhouse played host to members of church leadership, visitors from the east, and other associates of the Prophet. Susa Young Gates recollects the special New Year's parties that were hosted at the Farmhouse which included dancing in the upstairs ballroom. She recalls the great pride with which Brigham twice hosted the famous actress Julia Dean Hayne⁴¹⁵ at these soirees. According to Susa:

The farmhouse served an even greater purpose than the special one for which it was designed, for it embodied the realisation (sic) of a domestic ideal which carried its message, through example, into every hamlet and house in the Church...The old farm house was a beacon light and shining example to all Israel and to the world itself during the years of its active existence.⁴¹⁶

With the large parlors, dining area, kitchen and ballroom, the Farmhouse was the perfect place to entertain. Once again, the Farmhouse served a purpose similar to that of the Salt Lake Temple in later years: A refuge from the 'world', a sanctuary in this life where family and community relations

⁴¹² Doctrine and Covenants, Section 132, see heading.

⁴¹³ Spencer and Harmer, *Brigham Young At Home*, 79.

⁴¹⁴ Gates and Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young*, 257. Today, a large reproduction barn sits to the south of the Farmhouse at This is the Place Heritage Park. Though never given an exact location in the writings and memoirs of farm occupants, Clarissa and Susa mention a barn in passing while discussing other aspects of farm life. Clarissa mentions the barn when discussing the alfalfa crop on the farm. Susa is most likely referring to the barn by referencing the hayloft in the above passage.

⁴¹⁵ There has been in the past some misrepresentation of other dignitaries visiting the farm such as Mark Twain and Ulysses S. Grant. The Beehive House in Salt Lake City is the most likely place where these men visited with Brigham Young. While unsure exactly who he took to the farm over the years, we know from Susa Young Gates and Anne Eliza Young that Brigham was very proud of his Farm House and Forest Farm.

⁴¹⁶ Gates and Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young*, 258.

might be fostered and religious principles taught in preparation for eternal associations in the next. Here, the literal, physical aspects of familial and communal living transformed into a stronger social and culturally religious community.

Physical Space, Mobility, and Power at the Forest Farm.

"Salt Lake City is a curious place. It's the only town I know where a man can get off the streetcar, head in any direction he chooses, and end up at home."⁴¹⁷ This quote, attributed to John Taylor, an early leader in the Mormon Church and successor to Brigham Young, illustrates in a humorous way the physical distribution and social structure of polygamous households. Indeed, the practice of polygamy in the early days of the LDS Church helped to shape the built environment of Salt Lake City and Mormon settlements throughout the west. Dr. Thomas Carter argues in his article "Living the Principle: Mormon Polygamous Housing in Nineteenth-Century Utah," that a distinct Mormon architecture emerged from the practice of polygamy, becoming a "genuine source of wonder to contemporary travelers but that has, with rare exceptions, been overlooked by historians."⁴¹⁸ He argues that Mormon polygamous housing had limited functional diversity with various interpretations of the ideas of "equal treatment for wives in plural households...", and what he calls the *gendered* aspects of these homes. In other words, they functioned differently for men and women. Though the Forest Farmhouse was not constructed to accommodate multiple wives in a polygamous society per se, it still offers many of the same attributes of space and power relationships by its unique accessibility, physical location at the center of a Farm, and interior layout.

The principle of plural marriage was included in an 1843 revelation received by Joseph Smith in Nauvoo, Illinois, regarding "the new and everlasting covenant."⁴¹⁹ The practice continued in the Mormon Church until 1890 when a Manifesto, issued by President Wilford Woodruff "[lead] to the end of the practice of plural marriage in the Church".⁴²⁰

During the relatively brief time polygamy was practiced, many homes were built to fulfill the needs of individual polygamous households. In some homes, as in the case of Charles C. Rich's Centerville home, these structures consisted of sleeping quarters divided from each other but accessible through common rooms such as a kitchen or parlor or through separate outside entrances to each private room.⁴²¹ Some polygamous houses were "large, communally run houses designed expressly for polygamy. This kind of housing arrangement was never common and belonged only to the wealthiest Mormons—a group generally confined to the church leadership and their large families."⁴²² Heber C. Kimball's home and Brigham Young's Gothic Revival Lion House are examples of this type of structure. In both cases, the function of the home was to accommodate privacy while still fostering communal family living. This was made even more complex by the fact that some Church leaders, as referenced in the quote by John Taylor, built multi-family *and* single family homes as needed. Such was the case with Brigham Young.

Though Brigham Young himself lived in a classical revival home, he also owned and built houses for his wives as his family grew.⁴²³ The Forest Farmhouse was home to several of his wives, though they rarely ever lived there at the same time. The home was not designed as a multi-

⁴¹⁷ Quoted in Thomas Carter's *Living the Principle*, 1.

⁴¹⁸ Carter, "Living the Principle: Mormon Polygamous Housing in the Nineteenth-Century Utah" Winterthur Portfolio 35, no.4 (Winter, 2000): 224.

⁴¹⁹ Doctrine and Covenants, Section 132, see heading.

⁴²⁰ Doctrine and Covenants, Official Declaration 1.

⁴²¹ Now located at This is the Place Heritage Park in Salt Lake City.

⁴²² Carter, "Living the Principle," 228.

⁴²³ Known as the "Beehive" House for its decorative cupola topped with a rope beehive.

family home but rather a functional, center-cog in a great agricultural machine. Still, the Farmhouse was significant as a polygamous house due to its almost over-accessibility.

The importance of accessibility in understanding polygamous housing as it relates to power is best described by Thomas Carter:

Most polygamist husbands devised, together with their wives, some system for dividing their time among households or bedrooms. Some visited every other day; some visited once a week, once a month, or randomly; and while there was always the possibility of a locked door or a divorce...men still had the advantage---the prerogative of being able, as John Taylor's story reveals, to head in any direction and wind up at home. Women had privacy, but they had no such choices; their movements were limited by the arithmetic (they had only one husband and therefore no legal choice of partner), social convention (their role was to stay put, take care of the household, and raise the children), and the law (they usually lacked legal title to even a single property). Movement is a factor of power, and access to it in polygamous situations was socially determined by gender.⁴²⁴

This description has merit by the fact that men were more mobile than women in nineteenth century households overall, though some would argue in many ways more so within polygamous societies and families. Anne Eliza Young, in reference to her experience at the Forest Farmhouse, seems to support this point:

...the prospect was not a pleasant one to me, never strong, and unused to hard, continuous labor, such as I knew I should be obliged to perform as mistress of the farm-house. But, as it was my husband's will, I went, without a word of protest...We had occasional visits from Brigham. He was very fond of coming unexpectedly, and at all sorts of irregular hours, hoping, evidently, that some time he might catch us napping. He was so addicted to fault-finding, and so easily displeased, that we took no pleasure in his visits, and I grew to be positively unhappy every time his approach was heralded.⁴²⁵

Although we must take into consideration that Anne Eliza later divorced Brigham and "earned her living by lecturing against Mormonism...",⁴²⁶ this statement supports part of Carter's argument as it pertains to the Farmhouse.

The location of the house, 4 miles away from the buzz of a developing city and hub of commercial activity, and the daily agricultural responsibilities of life on the Farm, limited Anne Eliza's mobility and her preferred daily social life. With its seven separate entrances, the Farmhouse gave little control to the woman of the home in regards to who entered and from where. In the genteel society of the 1860s, the need to control which, and under what circumstances, visitors entered a home was important in keeping with social status and image. Another sore point for Anne Eliza regarding the function of the house was the end-gable staircase leading from the parlor to the bedrooms above:

⁴²⁴ Carter, "Living the Principle," 248-249.

⁴²⁵ Young, *Wife No. 19*, 532, 534. Anne Eliza gives no specific dates for when she stayed at the Farm.

⁴²⁶ Hyde, "The Brigham Young Farm House," in Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes*, 168.

Housekeepers will understand something of its inconvenience, when I tell them that the stairs leading to the second story went directly from the parlor; that all the sleeping rooms were up stairs, and that, in order to reach them, we had to pass through a dining-room thirty feet, and a parlor forty feet in length; that hired men, family, and visitors were all compelled to use the same staircase.⁴²⁷

When Brigham later commenced building a personal home for her, referred to simply as Anne Eliza's House, she insisted on having the placement of the stairs arranged differently from the Farmhouse.⁴²⁸ Supposedly, these wishes were ultimately ignored.⁴²⁹ Though she expressed her deep dislike for the placement of the stairs, they offered some semblance of limited access to the private chambers of the home.

In a strange contradiction, this limited access point was also used by guests when hosting soirees or social events at the home as the way to the ballroom upstairs.⁴³⁰ While the layout and design of the Farmhouse might have been for functional reasons, the transparency and placement of access points makes it seem like such openness would offer more freedom to whichever wife might be present at the time. However, the distance away from the rest of the city and situated in the middle of a farm, the Forest Farmhouse supports Carter's argument that, "In the architecture of polygamy, the woman's space was relatively fixed and closed and the man's more flexible and open. While the husband is with one wife, the others go about their business, working, cleaning, socializing with other women, and caring for their children, but all the while remaining available to him."⁴³¹

While this issue of accessibility and limited mobility may be true, the Farmhouse is also evidence of the trust, leadership, independence, and empowerment given to women in Mormon society and culture as a whole. Susa Young Gates, a feminist in her own right, wrote, "[t]he equal life values of men and women and the importance of woman's contribution to human progress, was recognised(sic) by Brigham Young who knew that a measure of public activity would deepen woman's life courses and broaden her social vision."⁴³² This is evident in how the Farmhouse functioned under three women, Lucy Bigelow, Susan Snively, and Zina D. Huntington, all wives of Brigham Young.

Lucy Bigelow was born in 1830 in Coles County, Illinois to Nahum and Mary Gibbs Bigelow. In 1839, Nahum and his family converted to Mormonism.⁴³³ At age seventeen, she and her sister Mary Jane were married to Brigham Young shortly before he departed with the vanguard company to settle the Salt Lake Valley.⁴³⁴ Perhaps because she was raised on a farm, and according to her daughter, loved milking cows, she and six-year-old Susa were sent to Forest Farm in 1862. As stated previously, she lived in the adobe farmhouse where she made cheese and butter and cooked for the farmhands.⁴³⁵ Susa recalls that on one occasion, a man named Charlie, "one of the men engaged at work down there ... whose iron will could master anything...was whipping a horse with brutal ferocity. The horse screamed and pawed the air in vicious protest. Mother [Lucy

⁴²⁷ Young, *Wife No. 19*, 533-534.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*, 536-537.

⁴²⁹ In *Wife No. 19*, Anne Eliza refers to herself as "unused to hard labor..."

⁴³⁰ Gates and Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young*, 257.

⁴³¹ Carter, "Living the Principle," 250.

⁴³² Gates and Widtsoe, *The Life Story of Brigham Young*, 222.

⁴³³ Susa Young Gates, "A Sketch of Nahum Bigelow," *The Juvenile Instructor* 26, no. 8 (April 15, 1891), 252.

⁴³⁴ Gates, "From Impulsive Girl to Patient Wife," 271-274.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, 277, 280.

Bigelow] was wretchedly upset over the whole affair, and she must have said something to father for Charlie left the Farm and he certainly never handled horses for father again."⁴³⁶ This brief account is an example of the power that women retained within Mormon society. Lucy's position within the Farmhouse allowed her to act as head of household and even as manager of the Farm. Regardless of its adobe or framed construction, the Farmhouse was a symbol of power and status. By living at the Farmhouse, Lucy had a higher social status than the men employed by her husband who were required to live in tents and wagon beds, and who relied on her for their meals.⁴³⁷

Catharine V. Waite, a contemporary of Brigham Young who wrote an exposé about him titled *The Mormon Prophet and His Harem* in 1866, described Susan Snively, the wife who lived and worked longest on the Farm from 1863 to about 1869⁴³⁸ as "[a] middle-aged woman, of medium size, dark hair, light eyes, dark complexion, and expressionless face; the plainest of all the women. She is good and kind in her nature, quiet and retiring..."⁴³⁹ Aunt Susan, as she was referred to by Brigham Young's children, had no children of her own but was "associated...with all the delicious things to eat that a visit to the farm invariably brought forth."⁴⁴⁰ Though work on the farm was difficult, Susan Snively seems to have adapted to her role as caretaker of the Farmhouse(s) quite well.⁴⁴¹ According to Susa Young Gates, "Aunt Susan was an excellent Yankee cook and a thrifty home-maker, and she invested this farmhouse with an air of comfort and peace."⁴⁴² In stark contrast to Ann Eliza, Susan seems to have thrived as a manager of the farm, taking seriously her responsibilities and running the Farmhouse effectively and efficiently.

Zina Diantha Huntington, also one of Brigham's wives, likewise remains forever associated with the Forest Farmhouse. Previously a wife of Joseph Smith, she and Brigham Young were married in 1846 in Nauvoo, Illinois. She is known for her involvement in the women's suffrage movement and later as president of the Relief Society. Though she never actually lived in the Farmhouse, she frequently visited and played an influential role in the silk experiment on the farm.⁴⁴³ While other women may have been stationary, Zina Huntington was quite influential and traveled extensively:

[Aunt Zina] had direct charge of a large cocoonery and mulberry orchard belonging to Father and raised the cocoons very carefully, attending to them with her own hands. A very good grade of silk was manufactured at this time, of which many pieces are still in existence...She took a very active part in directing the women's organizations of the Church and traveled many times to southern Utah and other distant parts when such travel meant a journey of several days' duration....She was an eloquent speaker, and at one time when she delivered an impromptu speech at a mass meeting, a woman reporter wrote of the occasion, 'I raised my eyes to her standing just before the table we were using. Suddenly, as though her words struck home like an electric shock, several gentlemen sitting at my right hand, clutching

⁴³⁶ Ibid., 281.

⁴³⁷ Ibid.

⁴³⁸ Date approximate based on Gates' "From Impulsive Girl to Patient Wife," 282, Anne Eliza's *Wife No. 19*, 532, and Colleen Whitley's *Brigham Young's Homes*, Appendix B, 224.

⁴³⁹ Catharine V. Waite, *The Mormon Prophet and His Harem: or, An Authentic History of Brigham Young, His Numerous Wives and Children*, 5th ed. (Chicago: J. S. Goodman and Company, 1867), 219.

⁴⁴⁰ Spencer and Harmer, *Brigham Young at Home*, 79.

⁴⁴¹ Hyde, "The Brigham Young Farm House," in Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes*, 168.

⁴⁴² Gates, "The Pioneer Forest Farm House," 405.

⁴⁴³ Spencer and Harmer, *Brigham Young at Home*, 75-76, and 249-252.

the arms of the chairs, started as though they would rise to her feet, their faces burning with the truths they heard, their eyes fixed upon her fearless and uplifted hands. I can never forget that moment. It was more than eloquence, it was inspiration.⁴⁴⁴

Part of Zina Huntington's work was to travel and teach other women "how to feed and care for the silkworms as well as to try and promote the industry."⁴⁴⁵ She was able, like her husband Brigham, to travel to the Farmhouse as *she* needed, and given authority to direct the affairs there as they pertained to the silk industry. In this way the Farmhouse, serving as the headquarters of an industry organized and run by women, became a symbol of enterprise, freedom, growth, and empowerment among women in Territorial Utah.

While on the one hand "...the architecture of polygamy shows dramatically the boundaries and limitations of female power in nineteenth-century Mormon society," Thomas Carter also acknowledges the nineteenth-century rise of the cult of domesticity that began to solidify gender roles into male and female spheres of domestic life."⁴⁴⁶ About the time, then, that Mormons were inventing their architecture of polygamy, American men were generally becoming more mobile (going off to work every day) and women less mobile (staying home and waiting for the man to return at night) in a polarized world...⁴⁴⁷ What Carter does not address are the ways in which the Mormon built environment and architecture of polygamy also provided a measure of freedom from the cult of domesticity. As evident by their roles at the Forest Farmhouse, women such as Lucy Bigelow, Zina Huntington, and Susan Snively were given opportunities to lead, manage, build, and exercise their own version of domestic power and public visibility in ways not available to many of their contemporaries.

The Rest of the Story

Following the death of Brigham Young in 1877, the Forest Farm was occupied and used by various members of his family and for various purposes. Brigham Young's brother Phineas Young lived in the house, and as befitting of a Gothic structure, church meetings and Sunday School were held in the home for a year in 1878. In 1954, a couple by the name of Gwen and Frank Wilcox purchased the house and lived in it for fifteen years. In 1969, it was turned over to the State for restoration, which was completed in 1970. Finally, in an amazing engineering feat, the house was severed from the foundation and moved in one piece to This is the Place Heritage Park at the mouth of Emigration Canyon, close to the spot where its designer and owner said to a rugged band of pioneers that their journey had come to an end.⁴⁴⁸

It is quite clear that Brigham Young's Forest Farmhouse, its architectural layout, style, aesthetics, function, and history are evidence of the complexities of Mormon social life, structure, culture, and industry. Further research is absolutely necessary to continue to unravel the stories the house might tell. More information needs to be gathered about the women that lived in and operated the house. Brigham Young's own writings would prove valuable to develop greater insight into its design and layout. Newspapers and periodicals should be searched to yield further information surrounding the farm and the events held at the Farmhouse. Detailed examination of

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid. 76.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid. 250.

⁴⁴⁶ Carter, "Living the Principle," 250.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ Hyde, "The Brigham Young Farm House" in Whitley, *Brigham Young's Homes*, 170-171.

the House and its structural elements, composition, and materials will also shed greater light on its significance to local and national history.

As of this writing, it is not known whether there are any architectural or structural drawings of the house in existence. These need to be located or created. There is some indication in the thickness of the inner walls of the dining room area that the new Gothic Farmhouse was built onto at least a portion of the old adobe farmhouse. There needs to be more information gathered about remodeling and changes made to the house between its completion and restoration. Gwen and Frank Wilcox, the couple that lived in the home in the 1960s and eventually turned it over to the State of Utah for restoration may provide insight into some of the remodeling of the house and its history in their writings, journals, or personal interviews. Preservation and restoration documents might be located, archaeological records acquired, and further examination of Brigham Young's personal craftsmanship as a carpenter might give insight into the layout, structure and design of the house. Finally, the overall economic impact of the agricultural endeavors and experiments in silk production might be better understood through agricultural records and census information.

This incredible and complex example of Mormon Architecture continues to provide insight on the building of the American West. The functional use of space alone is evidence of complex social and cultural values. Self-sufficiency, the centrality of family and community in the religious beliefs of Brigham Young and Mormons in the nineteenth-century, and power-relationships between men and women in polygamous households all surround the home and its history. Though largely overlooked in the past, perhaps it is time to more closely examine this important piece of Western American history and peel back the layers that shroud the insight and information it holds.

Catholic Anti-Semitism, the Holocaust, and Pope Pius XII: Hitler's Pope or Maligned Savior?

Michael D. Olson

Introduction

What did the Catholic Church, in particular its leader Pope Pius XII, do to address anti-Semitism and the Holocaust during World War II? For fifty years, the debate has continued to rage. Critics and defenders of the church have engaged in a spirited back and forth in print and other forms of media, and neither Catholics nor Jews find themselves united in opinion on whether or not Pius XII and the Catholic Church did enough to save Jews. The controversy opens up divisions between liberal and reformist Catholics and Jews who are mostly critical of Pius XII, and conservative Jews and traditionalist Catholics who strongly disagree. A review of the sources available, both contemporary to the Holocaust and later analyses, reveal that Pius neither single-handedly saved hundreds of thousands of Jews from certain death, nor did he do nothing at all. The reality, as usual, is complex. The question to be asked is how did the pope himself respond to the crisis, and what particularly did he do to alleviate the Jews' ordeal? As can be seen, evidence for the pope's direct, active involvement in combating the Holocaust is scarce.

The Popes and the Jews—From Gregory to Pius

To understand the position of the church in World War II, one must understand the tortured, complex relationship between the Catholic hierarchy and the Jewish people over many centuries. From the sixth century CE through the Renaissance, popes were fairly tolerant and broad-minded toward the Jews, despite traditional Christian antipathy toward those they held responsible for the death of Christ. Gregory I (the Great) was the first to issue decrees granting rights and protections to the Jews, tolerating Jewish worship and granting protection from violence to life and property.⁴⁴⁹ In the fourteenth century, Pope Clement VI absolved Jews of "responsibility" for the Black Death. During the Renaissance, a succession of popes welcomed Jewish scholars to the papal court and raised Jewish men to positions in the papal households, some becoming close advisors and personal physicians to the popes. The popes also continually condemned specific cases of "blood libel", the practice of falsely charging Jews with the ritual murder of Christian children for the purposes of using their blood for unleavened bread for the Passover holiday.⁴⁵⁰ Such attitudes emanating from the Holy Father were not uncommon through the sixteenth century.

Pope Julius III, the last of the pro-Jewish Renaissance popes, died in 1555. His successor Pope Paul IV signaled a marked reversal in papal attitudes toward the Jews. Prior to Paul's election, Jewish residents of the Papal States had freedom of movement and could live wherever they desired. After Paul's election, participation in commerce was restricted to "selling rags", and Jewish land ownership was forbidden. Jews were forced to wear identifying yellow badges, and were forced to live in ghettos. The reign of the unpopular Paul IV was short-lived, but his death in 1559 did not herald a return to the previous enlightened attitudes of the past. His successors through the early eighteenth century maintained the restrictions.⁴⁵¹ Later, more tolerant popes,

⁴⁴⁹ David G. Dalin, *The Myth of Hitler's Pope: How Pope Pius XII Rescued the Jews From the Nazis*. Washington, D. C.: Regnery Publishing, 2005. 19-20.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 20-32.

⁴⁵¹ David I. Kertzer, *The Popes Against the Jews: The Vatican's Role in the Rise of Modern Anti-Semitism*. New York: Vintage Books, 2001. 27-28.

chief among them Pope Clement XIV (1769 -1774), eased restrictions and allowed Jews to work in more occupations than in the previous two centuries. Clement's successor, Pius VI reinstated the harsh restrictions in place since the reign of Paul IV.⁴⁵² Since then, with the exception of periods of occupation by French troops from 1798-1799 and 1809-1814, during the Napoleonic Wars, Jews in the Papal States continued to suffer under the onerous restrictions laid upon them by the Roman Pontiff. Efforts at liberalizing anti-Jewish laws failed after the final defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815.⁴⁵³ Hard-line cardinals prevailed for the better part of the nineteenth century, but the election of Pope Pius IX in 1846 seemed to indicate a shift in attitudes.

The election of Pope Pius IX was hailed by Jews and political liberals as a victory for enlightened attitudes and those seeking change in policy toward Jews in the Papal States. Initially, they were encouraged by the modest reforms Pius IX agreed to: opening the gates of the Roman Ghetto, abolishing the practice of compulsory Catholic sermons designed to convert Roman Jews, and religious instruction of Jews that had been baptized against their parents' will.⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ These hopeful signs were soon dashed by the revolutions of 1848. Monarchical, autocratic governments were being challenged throughout Europe, and as the spirit of revolt spread to the Papal States in mid-November 1848, Pope Pius was compelled to flee Rome himself, escaping in the garb of a priest. Giuseppe Garibaldi led troops into Rome, where a republic was declared in February 1849. The Jews were emancipated and the ghetto and the old papal restrictions were done away with. The republic was short-lived, however, as French forces took the city on behalf of the pope in July 1849, and Pius returned with a vengeance the next year.⁴⁵⁶

Contrary to his popular perception, Pope Pius IX was neither a liberal nor a reformer. Pius ordered Jews back into their ghettos and reinstated the draconian anti-Jewish restrictions of his predecessors, despite taking loans from Jewish bankers.⁴⁵⁷ Further infuriating liberals, Pius condoned the 1858 abduction of a six-year old Jewish child, Edgardo Mortara, who had supposedly been baptized by a Christian servant girl when she feared he would die from illness as a baby. Refusing calls to return the child to his parents from governments around the world, Pius kept the child and raised him as a Catholic at the papal court as a surrogate son.⁴⁵⁸

The pontiff's anti-Semitism became ever more strident and pronounced as the nationalists closed in. Pius railed against the "synagogue of Satan, which gathers its troops" in the "great war being waged against the Catholic Church." Pius "helped to give the charge of Jewish ritual murder," the blood libel, "new respectability" by legitimizing the cult of a child martyr who had allegedly been killed by the Jews in the late fifteenth century, and publicly praised new literary works that resurrected the blood libel.⁴⁵⁹ The aging Pius IX and his successor, Pope Leo XIII (elected 1878) supported and exerted a great deal of influence over Catholic periodicals, of which the most influential and most closely tied to the Holy See were *L'Osservatore Romano* and the Jesuit journal *La Civiltà Cattolica*. The latter publication was especially vicious in anti-Semitic

⁴⁵² Ibid., 26-27.

⁴⁵³ Kertzer, *The Popes Against the Jews*, 29-36.

⁴⁵⁴ John Cornwell, *Hitler's Pope: The Secret History of Pius XII*. New York: Viking Press, 1999. 11.

⁴⁵⁵ Kertzer, *The Popes Against the Jews*, 108-111.

⁴⁵⁶ Ibid., 111.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid. 113-115.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid., 118-125; Cornwell, *Hitler's Pope*, 27.

⁴⁵⁹ Kertzer, *The Popes Against the Jews*, 126-128.

campaigns, reprinting the racial theories of leading anti-Semites in its pages, along with their own diatribes against Jews, continuing throughout the reign of Leo XIII.⁴⁶⁰

Such campaigns were curtailed in most Catholic journals immediately upon the 1903 election of Leo's successor, Pope Pius X. Pius X held very positive views of Jews, once telling Pope Leo that he felt "as far as charity is concerned...the Jews" made the best Christians. To the editor of *L'Osservatore Romano*, the new pontiff stated that he "often found [the Jews] to be upright and trustworthy people." Pius X also forcefully denounced anti-Jewish pogroms and the blood libel legend on more than one occasion during his papacy.⁴⁶¹ This was a drastic change in attitude from Pius X's predecessors. This shift was maintained after his death in 1914, as Pope Benedict XV, elected as Pius' successor, stopped the lingering racist anti-Semitic campaigns in the two publications most closely tied to the Vatican, *L'Osservatore Romano* and *La Civiltà Cattolica*.⁴⁶²

Pope Benedict XV continued to advocate for better relations between Jews and the Catholic Church throughout his seven and a half year reign, which partly coincided with the First World War. He continued to denounce anti-Jewish pogroms in Eastern Europe, and pleaded for respect for the Jewish people, though Benedict stopped short of offering support for a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Never of robust health, Benedict did not long survive the war; a cold in December 1921 soon developed into bronchial pneumonia, and the pope died on 22 January 1922. Benedict's successor, Pope Pius XI (previously Cardinal Achille Ratti), was much more ambivalent toward the Jews than Pius X or Benedict. Previous to being made a Cardinal and Archbishop of Milan, Ratti was papal nuncio (ambassador) to the newly reestablished nation of Poland. During his term as ambassador, Ratti "imbibed the anti-Semitic stereotypes that prevailed in certain Polish circles and the anti-Judaism that lingered in the Vatican, sometimes merging the two in his rhetoric".⁴⁶³ When requested by Pope Benedict to investigate reports of anti-Jewish murders in Poland, Nuncio Ratti did his best to forestall any meaningful intervention by the Vatican; indeed, Ratti downplayed the severity of the situation and decried what he saw as a disproportionate influence of Jews, many of whom were communists, in Polish public life.⁴⁶⁴ After his election as Pope Pius XI, Ratti's attitudes underwent a gradual evolution. During his pontificate, the Vatican was careful to differentiate between what it saw as two different types of anti-Semitism: that which is based on biology (racial anti-Semitism), and that which is based on faith (religious anti-Judaism). Pius XI condemned on numerous occasions the racial anti-Semitism that dominated Catholic periodicals during the reigns of Pius IX and Leo XIII, and gained adherents again in the 1920s and 1930s, but Vatican journals were slow to moderate their religious anti-Judaism under Pius XI's leadership.⁴⁶⁵ The pope's condemnations were also offset by his support for authoritarian anti-communist governments in Europe that often restricted the religious liberty of non-Catholics, including the Fascist regime of Benito Mussolini in Italy. After the capture of Rome by Italian nationalists in 1870, the popes went into seclusion as "prisoners in the Vatican," and refused to acknowledge the new Kingdom of Italy. Pius XI made it a priority to reach détente with the Italian government, and concluded the Lateran Treaty with the Fascist regime in 1929, which recognized a united Italy,

⁴⁶⁰ Frank J. Coppa. *The Papacy, the Jews, and the Holocaust*. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2006. 109-112.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., 126-132.

⁴⁶² Ibid, 132-133, 141.

⁴⁶³ Ibid, 136-138, 143.

⁴⁶⁴ Kertzer, *The Popes Against the Jews*, 250-253.

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid, 270-273

established Vatican City as an independent state, and regulated the Holy See's relations with and the role of the Catholic Church in Italy.⁴⁶⁶

Prelude to the Holocaust—The Vatican and the Rise of Nazism

The rise to power of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi party in Germany caused special problems for the Vatican. Of the 13 million Catholic voters in Germany, author Frank Coppa estimates that 6-7 million voted for the Nazis in the election of March 1933, and some in the Vatican, including the Cardinal Secretary of State (foreign minister), Eugenio Pacelli, previously the papal nuncio to Berlin, and the current papal nuncio to the German Reich, Cesare Orsenigo, were advocating rapprochement with the new regime in Berlin. Even so, the Nazi regime and the Vatican remained wary of each other, and when the new government passed its first racial laws against Jews, the Vatican Jesuit journal *La Civiltà Cattolica* strongly condemned them, in what was seen as a signal of papal disapproval.⁴⁶⁷ Nevertheless, the Vatican hierarchy, particularly the Cardinal Secretary of State, Pacelli, considered it of vital importance to reach an understanding with the German government. A concordat (treaty) was negotiated by Cardinal Pacelli and German vice-chancellor Franz von Papen, Hitler's deputy, which saw the withdrawal of Catholic political parties from German life, and sanctioned a legal basis for Catholic religious and educational freedom in Germany. The Vatican made clear that it reached this settlement because it had no choice: Catholic self-preservation in Germany was at stake. In the eyes of the Holy See, all else was secondary. The concordat was signed on July 20, 1933. But almost immediately, Hitler began violating it.⁴⁶⁸

The Vatican continued to make protests when provisions of the concordat relating to Catholic social and political organizations were violated throughout the 1930s, nearly resulting in Pope Pius XI abrogating the concordat himself, changing his mind only when Pacelli informed him that breaking off diplomatic relations might further endanger the German Catholic church. The blunt-spoken, confrontational pontiff yielded to the cautious, diplomatic cardinal on this issue, but Pius' evolving anti-Nazism was not deterred; over thirty protests were made by the pope between 1933 and 1936 alone. The previously anti-Semitic journal *La Civiltà Cattolica* began lambasting Nazi philosophy, including its racial laws and theories. The papal opposition to Nazism culminated in the publication of the encyclical *Mit brennender Sorge* in 1937. The encyclical condemned racism, but did not explicitly mention anti-Semitism by name. The conflict between the Vatican and the Nazi regime, having simmered under the surface of diplomatic niceties for four years, broke out into the open.⁴⁶⁹ ⁴⁷⁰ Pius XI became more and more forthright in his denunciations of Nazi racial philosophy. At an audience with Belgian Catholics in September 1938, the pope was moved to tears as he declared that "spiritually, we are all Semites...it is not possible for Christians to participate in anti-Semitism."⁴⁷¹ The introduction of Nazi-style racial laws in Fascist Italy in 1938 further angered the pope, but the nullification of marriages between Catholics and Catholic converts from Judaism in particular drew his ire. The pontiff vociferously protested this law on the grounds that Jews, once converted to Catholicism, were no longer Jews. Pius XI wrote a personal letter to King Victor Emmanuel III protesting the provisions against

⁴⁶⁶ Coppa, *The Papacy, the Jews, and the Holocaust*, 145-148.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 151.

⁴⁶⁸ José M. Sánchez. *Pius XII and the Holocaust: Understanding the Controversy*. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2002. 85-88.

⁴⁶⁹ Frank J. Coppa. "Between Morality and Diplomacy: The Vatican's 'Silence' During the Holocaust," *Journal of Church and State* 50, no. 3: 541-568.

⁴⁷⁰ Michael Phayer. *The Catholic Church and the Holocaust, 1930-1965*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000. 18.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid*, 3.

intermarriage between Jewish converts and Catholics, to no avail.⁴⁷² Why did Pius speak out on this one subject, but remained silent on the ever-widening Nazi and Fascist campaigns against the Jews, including the terror of "Kristallnacht" in the fall of 1938?⁴⁷³ A popular suggestion is that Cardinal Pacelli, knowing that he would be the front-runner at the next papal conclave, dissuaded Pius XI from speaking out to protect his own chances at gaining the papacy when the ailing pontiff died. More plausible is that Pius XI planned to make an official, definitive condemnation of racism and anti-Semitism in an encyclical he commissioned the previous August. The document, while not as forceful as it could have been, clearly and unmistakably condemned both racism and anti-Semitism. Historians speculate that had Pius XI lived longer, he might have revised the draft to give it a more forceful tone. However, the pope, suffering the lingering effects of two significant heart attacks in the fall of 1938, died of a third on 10 February 1939, before any changes to the draft encyclical could made.⁴⁷⁴

Pacelli Takes Charge

Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli, to the surprise of few, was elected pope on the third ballot of the conclave, the quickest in three centuries, and took the name Pius XII in tribute to his immediate predecessor and Pope Pius X. Some cardinals voted for Pacelli with reservations, fearing that the top diplomat might be too diplomatic in a world on the edge of war.⁴⁷⁵ Those within the Vatican that hoped Pius XII would continue where Pius XI left off in confronting Nazism and totalitarianism must have been disappointed when the new pope suppressed his predecessor's draft encyclical, tentatively titled *Humani generis unitas*, and filed it away, not to see the light of day for fifty-six years.⁴⁷⁶ Pius XII can certainly be said to have held some negative impressions of Jews. During his time as papal nuncio to Bavaria in the aftermath of World War I, a Communist revolt took place in the Bavarian capital of Munich. Nuncio Pacelli was greatly influenced by this event; in one letter dated April 1919, Pacelli's disgust is palpable as he goes out of his way to emphasize the Jewishness of the depraved, debauched revolutionary leaders he is forced to deal with. He labels all the Communist agitators as Jews, demonstrating his contempt for both.⁴⁷⁷ As late as 1938, one year before his election as pope, Pacelli indulged in what some historians have deemed anti-Semitic language. To the International Eucharistic Conference, held in Budapest, Hungary in May 1938, Pacelli emphasized opposition to those "foes of Jesus" who demanded his crucifixion and condemned "those whose lips curse [Christ] and whose hearts reject him even today."⁴⁷⁸ Pacelli developed a visceral hatred of Bolshevism during his stay in Germany. He became convinced that Bolshevism was the great and powerful enemy of the Catholic Church and that it had to be stopped at any cost. He also developed a deep affection for Germany; many of his domestic servants and confidants that he brought back to Rome when he became Cardinal Secretary of State were German. That great affection, combined with his loathing of Communism and his less than positive impressions of Jews, may have caused Pacelli as pope to view Nazism

⁴⁷² Kertzer, *The Popes Against the Jews*, 287-288.

⁴⁷³ "Kristallnacht," or the Night of Broken Glass, was an anti-semitic pogrom carried out by the Nazi regime on November 9-10, 1938.

⁴⁷⁴ Phayer, *The Catholic Church and the Holocaust, 1930-1965*, 3-4.

⁴⁷⁵ Cornwell, *Hitler's Pope*, 206-208.

⁴⁷⁶ Daniel Jonah Goldhagen. *A Moral Reckoning: the Role of the Catholic Church in the Holocaust and Its Unfulfilled Duty of Repair*. New York: Vintage Books, 2003. 39-40.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 45-46.

⁴⁷⁸ Cornwell, *Hitler's Pope*, 185-186.

as the lesser threat to Europe and the Catholic Church than the Soviet Union, and to not speak out as forcefully against Nazi oppression as he might have.^{479 480}

Missed Opportunities

A missed opportunity came in October 1939 with the release of Pius XII's first papal encyclical, *Summi pontificatus* shortly after the start of World War II. Rather than forthrightly addressing and naming Nazi and Fascist anti-Semitism, Pius settles for a vague reference to the creed of the Apostle Paul: that there is "neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision...: but Christ is all and in all." He decries the invasion of Catholic Poland, but leaves unmentioned the invaders themselves. Weak and feeble though the encyclical was, it satisfied the Allied powers and enraged the Nazi regime, quick as always to take offense at the slightest provocation.⁴⁸¹

The case of Pius XII is marked by his great desire to be a peacemaker. In a fall 1942 discussion with the American chargé d'affaires Harold Tittman, Pius told him that he could not speak out at that time because if he did, and the Germans later lost the war, the German people would blame him, if only in part, for their defeat. He also stated in a later conversation with Tittman that he could not condemn Nazi atrocities without also condemning Soviet atrocities, which would upset the Allies. Pius' single-minded focus on Vatican diplomacy as a means of ending the war caused him to overlook atrocities committed by the Nazis and their satellites throughout Europe. When the Nazi puppet state of Croatia committed genocide against Jews and Orthodox Christians, the apostolic visitor to Croatia (roughly equivalent to a modern United Nations observer), answerable to the Cardinal Secretary of State, made only perfunctory attempts to intervene on their behalf. Pius also did not let the mounting evidence of the genocide of Europe's Jews distract him from seeking a diplomatic end to the war. The Vatican did not involve itself in negotiations with the United Kingdom and the United States to evacuate Jews seeking to escape occupied France and avoid being shipped to Auschwitz. Pius also tired of being harangued about the Jews in Poland, snapping at the Polish ambassador when he brought up the subject repeatedly.^{482 483} To the pope, unfortunately, genocide was a distraction from his goal of bringing war-torn Europe to peace.

The closest Pope Pius XII ever came to a clear, ringing denunciation of the anti-Semitic Nazi genocide was his Christmas address of 1942: "Humanity owes this vow to those hundreds of thousands who, without any fault on their part, sometimes only because of their nationality or race, have been marked down for death or gradual extinction."⁴⁸⁴ Pius not once mentions Nazism, Germany, Hitler, or the Jews. He provided no direct, moral guidance to the world as to what to do, instead he offered a vague, nebulous statement that did not adequately convey the enormity of what the Vatican, by this point, knew from reports of diplomats throughout Europe, like the March 1942 memorandum from Richard Lichtheim and Gerhard Riegner describing violent anti-Semitic acts in the occupied Balkans and in occupied France: that the Nazi regime was committed to eliminating the Jewish population of Europe, and was well on its way to achieving that goal.^{485 486}

Pius, the Jews of Rome and the German Occupation

⁴⁷⁹ Coppa, *The Papacy, the Jews, and the Holocaust*, 181.

⁴⁸⁰ Goldhagen, *A Moral Reckoning*, 43-44.

⁴⁸¹ Cornwell, *Hitler's Pope*, 233-234.

⁴⁸² Phayer, *The Catholic Church and the Holocaust, 1930-1965*, 56-61.

⁴⁸³ John F. Morley. *Vatican Diplomacy and the Jews During the Holocaust 1939-1943*. New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1980. 162-165.

⁴⁸⁴ Cornwell, *Hitler's Pope*, 292.

⁴⁸⁵ Goldhagen, *A Moral Reckoning*, 114-115.

⁴⁸⁶ Morley, *Vatican Diplomacy and the Jews During the Holocaust 1939-1943*, 212-215.

When the Italian government dismissed Benito Mussolini and reached an armistice with the Allies, they turned their country into another target for Nazi occupation and conquest. As Jewish refugees poured into Rome after the fall of Mussolini in late July 1943, they suddenly found themselves at high risk when the Germans invaded in September. An unidentified Italian Jewish lawyer approached Monsignor Giuseppe di Meglio of the Vatican Secretariat of State on September 17 to ask permission to accommodate the refugees in Roman religious institutions such as convents and monasteries that were treated as neutral and extraterritorial under the Lateran Treaty of 1929 which established Vatican City as an independent state. Di Meglio discouraged the lawyer, and in his report of the meeting written the following day, makes clear that no official action would be taken on the part of the Vatican hierarchy.⁴⁸⁷

Religious schools, convents, monasteries, and other Vatican properties throughout Rome were indeed opened to Jewish refugees and to Jewish residents of Rome, with those that did so claiming the pope's direct orders, but concrete evidence beyond the anecdotal that indicates a papal directive at the time to do so is lacking.^{488 489} About 1,023 Jews did not manage to make it to a safe hiding place. On October 16, less than a month after Monsignor di Meglio's meeting with the Jewish lawyer, and in the shadow of the Apostolic Palace itself, these remaining Jews were rounded up by the SS and military police. Two days later, they were packed aboard trains headed for Auschwitz. All but 196 did not survive the week. Only seventeen survived the war. When informed of the roundup, the pontiff claimed surprise and indignation, but no protest of the roundup of Roman Jews to the German occupation authorities was ever registered by Pius XII or his Cardinal Secretary of State, Luigi Maglione.⁴⁹⁰ Rome was liberated by the Allies on 4 June 1944, and the immediate threat to the city and the pope was removed.

Conclusion

The evolution of opinion over the years has gone from unqualified praise for Pius XII from all quarters to heated debate over his role in World War II. At his death, he was praised by Jewish leaders for his work in rescuing Jews from the Nazi onslaught. As time went on, Pius' reputation began to suffer as historians discovered missed opportunities for the pope to assert his moral authority in the crisis. Pius XII was not a monster. He held negative views towards Jews, but was probably not an anti-Semite in the way most people understand the term. He had great, though misplaced faith in diplomacy and in his own abilities to achieve peace. He inherited a church that paradoxically at times treated Jews humanely, yet still vilified them for the execution of the Christian savior. He had a misplaced desire to protect that church from the ravages of Communism that blinded him to the more immediate and dire threat of the Nazis. He was a man of good intentions that was probably the wrong person for the job at the wrong time. But the best that can be said of Pius during the Holocaust is that he passively contributed to saving thousands of European Jews through the efforts of subordinates both inside the Vatican and farther afield. He did not make active contributions, did not speak out forcefully in the manner of his predecessor for fear of making the situation of the Jews worse, did not understand that their situation could not get any worse than genocide, and that the moral authority of the Roman Catholic pontiff might be useful in mobilizing resistance to and perhaps even sabotage of the Nazi killing machine. This lack of empathy and understanding is the tragedy of Eugenio Pacelli, Pope Pius XII.

⁴⁸⁷ Susan Zucotti. *Under His Very Windows: The Vatican and the Holocaust in Italy*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000. 171-174.

⁴⁸⁸ Dalin, *The Myth of Hitler's Pope*, 80-83.

⁴⁸⁹ Zucotti, *Under His Very Windows*, 204-214.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 155-160.

Sexual Uses of Myth as the Basis for a Male-Dominated Society

Jay Ryan Lawler Jr.

“It is for the man to take care of business outside the house; let no woman make decrees in those matters. Keep inside and do no harm!”

- Aeschylus, *Seven Against Thebes* (200-201): Eteocles speaking

In world history, few societies have distinguished themselves as the ancient Greeks did. This great society was the birthplace of democracy, the site of the first Olympics and the home to many of the world's great minds. When thinking of ancient Greece, one sees the Parthenon, Themistocles' triremes and even men dressed in their chitons passionately debating in the Pnyx; however, certain images seem to be obscured from our memory, though they once formed the basis for a male-dominated society. These images revolve around sexuality. One does not always associate ancient Athens with sophisticated sculptures featuring exaggerated use of hermai, nor does one think of red-figure vases showing images of female self-gratification. In more recent scholarly works, ancient Greek sexuality has come to be associated with not just male-female sexual relations, but also with politics and the everyday lifestyle of Greeks; therefore, this paper will discuss sexuality's importance in the formation of a male-dominated society, primarily by using myths to establish the foundations for male superiority. Classical Greece came to be a society dictated exclusively by man's use of the phallus as a way of securing dominance over the female sex. Thus, this male-dominated society was founded on both violent sexual-based myths and myths involving national heroes' dominance over women, and this mythological ideology served as the basis for gender roles in a truly phallic Athenian society.

When examining this topic, one must account for the evidence at hand. Pieces of evidence, whether vases, paintings or literature, were created by men, for the eyes of men. The numerous pieces display a heavy reliance on the expression of male power over society. In this paper, male's expressions of power will be revealed through mythology containing sexual pursuits and exploitations of women. Along with this, to demonstrate the transfer of myths' message of male domination to society, the exploitation of prostitutes, and a woman's role in the oikos will be discussed as these were clear indications of masculine power of females.

The creation of the first woman must be discussed in order to lay the foundations for man's desires to dominate his fellow sex. Hesiod's works, *Theogony* and *Works and Days* both depict the creation of the first woman, Pandora. “In the *Theogony*, in particular, this first woman is given to humankind as a punishment.”⁴⁹¹ This newly created woman was to be beautiful, which would cause problems for man, as he would need to control his desires and lusts. “Then the gods and mortal men were struck with amazement when they beheld this sheer inescapable snare for men. From her descend the race of women, the feminine sex; from her come the baneful race and types of women” (Hes. *Th.* 588-591). Thus, Hesiod depicted this newly created gender as starting off as inferior to men. Women were described as being greedy, and Hesiod went on to compare them to a plague. “Women, a great plague, make their abodes with mortal men, being ill-suited to poverty's curse but suited to plenty” (Hes. *Th.* 592-593).

⁴⁹¹ Kirk Ormand, *Controlling Desires: Sexuality in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Wesport: Praeger Publishers, 2009), 27.

Hesiod's *Works and Days* would provide justification for the status given to the female sex, due to Pandora's actions. In this work, Hesiod went further in describing woman's greedy ways. In fact, he portrayed the woman as being a consumer, but not a producer. Pandora opened a lid on a pithos jar, which would have stored food, oil and wine during the months before harvest, thus letting all of the evils out into the world and showing her desire to consume man's work.⁴⁹² Along with her consumptions, this act also exposed woman's lack of self-control in her desires. This depiction then provided justification for future generations of Greek men to subdue their women, as they were thought to be mistrustful from their very creation. Hesiod also portrayed women as sexually unrestrained. He warned his readers from trusting in women: "Let not a woman with buttocks attractively covered deceive you, charmingly pleading and coaxing while she seeks out your barn. He who trusts in women is putting trust in deceivers" (Hes. *WD* 373-375). Although no explicit reference to sex is mentioned, one can infer that Hesiod was aiming to reveal woman's persistent sexual needs and her sexual image when mentioning "buttocks attractively covered." Unlike women, Greek men were held to a higher standard, as they were to be self-restrained, but many scholars such as Brian Sparkes have noted, men often gave in to sexual desires outside of marriage (usually ending in no punishment). Hesiod's *Works and Days* then may have laid the foundation for the lustful, highly sexualized woman. "The image that men projected was that women were thirsty for sex all the time (as indeed for drink) and must be kept under control; they were weak and irresponsible, ever ready to yield to temptation and lacking the self-control that men possessed."⁴⁹³

Given this distinction as being highly sexed, women were often sexually depicted in art. Most notably, women were shown using large olisbos, or ancient dildos to pleasure themselves in the absence of men.⁴⁹⁴ A common theme among various vase paintings of the fifth and fourth centuries involved depicting women as being highly sexed. Often, these vases are focused on a woman's obsession with the phallus, sometimes an exaggerated obsession. For example, many paintings show women making use of numerous olisbos, along with dancing around phalluses of "monumental proportions."⁴⁹⁵ Also portrayed in a graphic manner was the treatment of female prostitutes in brothels. Many are shown performing numerous sexual acts at once, such as fellatio and intercourse, with multiple men at a symposium. In particular, one piece showed the graphic treatment of a female prostitute showed man's crude views towards lower classes of women. The prostitute was shown being lowered onto a phallus by two other men, truly revealing a sense of explicit male domination in the sexual sense.⁴⁹⁶

Now, in his work *Eumenides*, Aeschylus presented evidence of the ultimate male belief, as said by Apollo: "The mother is not parent of her so-called child but only nurse of the new-sown seed" (Aesch. *Eum.* 658-663). Thus, the man is the creator of life, as Zeus would also project in the births of Athena and Dionysus. Furthermore, Apollo continued, stating "The man who puts it there is parent; she merely cultivates the shoot-hosts for a guest-if not god blights" (Aesch. *Eum.* 658-663). Along with this belief, the gods' belief of so-called "pseudo-wombs" were crucial in securing male dominance over women.⁴⁹⁷ Now, we are drawn to Zeus and the births of Athena and Dionysus. "Athena was born, highly symbolically, from her father's head-that is, out of

⁴⁹² Ormand, *Controlling Desires*, 28.

⁴⁹³ Brian Sparkes, "Sex in Classical Athens," in *Greek Civilization: An Introduction*, ed. Brian Sparkes (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 251.

⁴⁹⁴ See figure 15.4 in Sparkes, "Sex in Classical Athens," 259.

⁴⁹⁵ Eva Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 83-84; see figures 72-78.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 86; see figure 79.

⁴⁹⁷ Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus*, 41.

patriarchal male fantasy.”⁴⁹⁸ Zeus’ head thus served as a male womb of some sort. Along with this, Dionysus’ birth also revealed that women were only temporary hosts of the fetus. “Zeus impregnates a mortal woman, Semele; when her pregnancy is well advanced, he destroys her with his thunderbolt, removes the fetus from her body, and sews it into his thigh.”⁴⁹⁹ The sexless births of gods served as the basis that a man’s phallus was the creator and giver of life, while women, although the only sex biologically capable of reproduction, were not even considered the parents of their child. Myths similar to Zeus’ prove that the phallus’ importance was at work early in the securing of male domination and creation of influential Greek gods.

Mythology in the Greek world often served as a foundation for the creation of the state, and these myths primarily focused on the successes and trials of so-called heroes. Myths not only explained the creation of the known world, but of the process of men coming to dominate their female counterparts. Some of the first myths to explicitly showcase male domination involve the Amazon warrior-women, and their struggles against great male heroes. The Amazon mythologies contained scenes of triumphant Greeks defeating the strange race of warrior-women; these were crucial to the development of a male-dominated society. Herodotus noted that “ever since then the women of the Sauromatae have followed their ancient ways; they ride out hunting, with their men or without them; they go to war, and dress the same as the men” (Hdt. 4.116). This race of warrior-women uniquely based their society on feminine dominance over men. Herodotus continues, noting “in regard to marriage, it is the custom that no maiden weds until she has killed a man of the enemy” (Hdt. 4.117). This race was in no way similar to ancient Greek women, who were secluded in the household for a majority of their lives. In terms of sexuality, Amazons differed greatly from Greek women in that Greeks were highly regarded for their beauty, with Helen serving as our best example. “Her face is frighteningly like that of an immortal goddess” (Hom. *Il.* 3.154). On the other hand, Amazon women would have seemed disfigured to the ancient Greeks. “They have no right breast; these are removed by their mothers when they are babies, by cauterization with a special bronze instrument, so that all the strength and bulk of the removed breast are directed to the right shoulder and arm.”⁵⁰⁰ Ancient Greek men would have used these Amazon myths to procure their dominance over the world’s best women.

As noted in his work, *Kinship Myth in Ancient Greece*, Lee Patterson argued that myth often served as a sort of political tool, in securing familial or political dominance over one another or for personal gain.⁵⁰¹ Therefore, many prominent Greeks would have based their origins on ancient Greek heroes, such as Herakles, who would have been depicted as being victorious over this group of warrior-women. Heracles’ Labors, primarily his ninth labor concerning the securing of Hippolyta’s girdle, serves as an ideal example of male’s dominance over strong women. “Only the bravest, smartest, and wiliest of Greek heroes can overcome an Amazon-and then only through rape or killing.”⁵⁰² Heracles perfectly fit this description. From these Amazon myths stemmed the belief that women were suspicious characters, and that they should be kept down by men. Most notably, the story of Heracles’ confrontation with the Amazon queen Hippolyta proves male’s dominance over even the most powerful of women. In order to cleanse himself of his shameful past, Heracles “then received a Command to bring back the girdle of Hippolyta the Amazon and

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., 40-41.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., 41.

⁵⁰⁰ Mary R. Lefkowitz, *Women in Greek Myth* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 3-4.

⁵⁰¹ For example, in chapter five of his book, Patterson reveals Alexander’s political uses of myth, which he used to surpass his heroic ancestors.

⁵⁰² Kay Retzlaff, *Women of Mythology* (New York: Michael Friedman Publishing, Inc., 1999), 54.

so made the expedition against the Amazons” (Diod. 4.16.1). The powerful queen challenged Herakles to take her girdle, thus prompting him to defeat Hippolyta’s best warriors one-by-one. “Then he joined battle with Prothoê, who, they said had been victorious seven times over the opponents whom she had challenged to battle” (Diod. 4.16.2). Herakles’ flawless defeats of the greatest of women showed that men were superior in every way. Once Herakles’ had defeated all challengers, his confrontation with Hippolyta revealed a female submission to a male’s dominance. “And Heracles, after thus killing the most renowned of the Amazons and forcing the remaining multitude to turn in flight, cut down the greater number of them, so that the race of them was utterly exterminated” (Diod. 4.16.4). This myth showed that women once challenged man’s superiority, only to be easily defeated, thus laying the foundation for a male-dominated society.

Scenes of rape and seduction in mythology also served as a basis for securing male dominance over women. “Unlike goddesses, who struggled to enjoy their pursuits of mortals, gods took their pleasure where they liked, and suffered few emotional traumas as a result; the traumas were for their lovers to cope with.”⁵⁰³ Most prominently, Zeus’s numerous pursuits of women display signs of man’s supremacy over far-less superior females. First, Zeus’ pursuit of Europa, although not violent nor containing rape, shows woman’s inability to restrain herself from sexual pleasures. “So came he into that meadow without affraying those maidens; and they were straightway taken with a desire to come near and touch the lovely ox, whose divine fragrance came so far and outdid even the delightful odor of that breathing meadow” (Moschos *Europa* 89-91). Europa, given her female tendencies prescribed to her through previous myth, could not resist Zeus’s pursuit. “There went he then and stood afore the spotless may Europa, and for to cast his spell upon her began to lick her pretty neck. Whereat she fell to touching and toying, and did wipe gently away the foam that was thick upon his mouth, till at last there went a kiss from a maid unto a bull” (Mosch. *Europa* 91-95). With this, Zeus abducted Europa to her dismay, but she could do nothing to stop it; therefore, due to her feminine weaknesses, Europa was unable to fend off Zeus’s sexual tricks.

Now, a majority of Zeus’ pursuits did involve rape and seduction. Once again, these pursuits all demonstrated male’s domination over the female sex. Zeus has been referred to as the “master rapist,” and his pursuits became a popular topic among Greek anecdotes and literature.⁵⁰⁴ As evident in Europa’s abduction, Zeus tended to rely on tricks to deceive his targeted women, whether he be posing as an animal or even a mortal man. One of Zeus’ mortal pursuits was Semele, which turned out deadly for her. “Semele was loved by Zeus because of her beauty, but since he had his intercourse with her secretly and without speech she thought that the god despised her; consequently she made the request of him that he come to her embraces in the same manner as in his approaches to Hera” (Diod. 4.2.2). Due to her strong jealousy, Hera persuaded Semele to bring Zeus to her in a more god-like way, which would ultimately prove fatal. This hints that mortal women were easily persuaded, once again due to their prescribed weaknesses through previous myths. “Accordingly, Zeus visited her in a way befitting a god, accompanied by thundering and lightning, revealing himself to her as he embraced her; but Semele, who was pregnant and unable to endure the majesty of the divine presence, brought forth the babe untimely and was herself slain by the fir” (Diod. 4.2.3). As mentioned above (note 8), this sequence of events created the opportunity for Zeus’ pseudo-womb (he sewed the fetus into his thigh), which rendered mortal women basically useless; out of this came Dionysus.

⁵⁰³ Richard Buxton, *The Complete World of Greek Mythology* (New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2004), 97.

⁵⁰⁴ Keuls, *Reign of the Phallus*, 51.

Thus, Semele's fate disclosed woman's primary role in the Greek world, to reproduce. Zeus's pursuits also reveal a simple, yet prominent message: Greek males may do as they please, often times without repercussions. "The head of the household had power over everything and everybody within his family, could have sex with anybody he liked and dictated the sex lives of any under his roof."⁵⁰⁵ Zeus, the king of the Gods, and his dominance over women, undoubtedly laid the foundations for the unabridged power and privilege of Greek men.

Lastly, the story of Tereus should be examined to further this discussion on male's use of myth in justifying his superiority and solidifying the roles of Greek women. This story presented multiple justifications for which Greek men to base their superiority. Tereus ruled over the Thracians, and acting as mediator in a boundary dispute for the Pandion, king of Athens, married Procne, Pandion's daughter, who bore him a son, Itys.⁵⁰⁶ However, Tereus' story would come to reveal the strength of a woman's beauty, and her persuasive ways, which Hesiod once warned against. Once again, this story would justify man's need to subdue his female counterpart, due to her persuasive and consuming ways. "Unfortunately Tereus, enchanted by the voice of Procne's younger sister Philomela, had fallen in love with her."⁵⁰⁷ As mentioned previously, married men were able to do as they wanted sexually, without punishment. Given this, Tereus pursued his target. Tereus would then be forced to take drastic action, in order to ward off Procne, who had been proposed to be dead by Tereus, in pursuit of her captive sister. "Afterwards he married Philomela and bedded with her, and cut out her tongue" (Apollod. 3.14.8). However, this action did not stop Philomela from communicating with her sister, Procne, as she would portray her distress in a weaving.

Now, Procne's next actions brought up another important justification for man's subduing of women. "And having sought out her sister, Procne killed her son Itys, boiled him, served him up for supper to the unwitting Tereus, and fled with her sister in haste" (Apollod. 3.14.8). Therefore, Apollodorus' message conveyed that women were prone to acts of rage, which validated man's need to control female tendencies through his domination. "And being overtaken at Daulia in Phocis, they prayed the gods to be turned into birds, and Procne became a nightingale, and Philomela a swallow. And Tereus also was changed into a bird and became a hoopoe" (Apollod. 3.14.8). Tereus' transformation into a hoopoe thus represents him being a foolish man, for giving into the temptations of women. This then serves as a warning for men, to beware the temptation of persuasive women.

The world of ancient Greece has been extensively studied for many years, and it is often marked by its sharp distinction between man and woman. Throughout this paper, the uses of myth to secure male domination in society have been discussed. In doing so, numerous ancient sources have been used, all produced by men for men, as women had little to do with the arts and literature. This paper sheds light on the fact that myth had many uses in ancient Greece. From simple enjoyment to establishing kinship ties, myth serves as a means of providing evidence for an argument; in this case, providing evidence that men were to dictate their lesser counterparts, women. Noted from the beginning of this paper, using Aeschylus' work to highlight the traditional view towards the female sex, women simply had no place but the oikos. Beginning with the creation of the first woman, Pandora, women were to be mistrusted, as they were considered a punishment and act of revenge by almighty Zeus. Throughout Greece, women, although the only

⁵⁰⁵ Sparkes, "Sex in Classical Athens", 251.

⁵⁰⁶ Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths: Volume One* (Aylesbury, UK: Hazell Watson & Viney Ltd., 1960), 165-166; see also Apollod. 3.14.8.

⁵⁰⁷ Graves, *Greek Myths*, 166; see also Apollod. 3.14.8.

sex capable of reproduction, were not deemed a parent of their child, but rather only a transient host of some sort. In Greek myth, national heroes were at work, often showing their successes and triumphs; specifically, these heroes proved to overcome even the best women in the case of the Amazon women-warriors. While female goddesses struggled with their pursuits of mortal beings, gods simply left emotions aside, pursuing their own sexual desires. Primarily revolving around Zeus' exploits, his stories revealed man's pursuit and seduction of women, ending in the birth of powerful sons and daughters. Tereus' story revealed the temptation of women, while also showing their possible fits of rage and anger. Overall, examining Greek myth leads to the discovery of a foundation of male-dictated values, which would come to rule and define society.

Seneca Falls Convention: The Beginning of the Women's Rights Movement Or a "Conversation older than the Nation itself"⁵⁰⁸?

Andrea Morgan

In the study Historiography it is important to have a wealth of sources that not only demonstrate changes within the understanding of the event over time, but also give different perspectives. Attention must be paid not only to the methodologies that have been used to construct history, but also to the way different historians interpret different events. I have chosen to do an in-depth critical review on the Seneca Falls Convention. The traditional memory of this event in our minds goes as followed. The movement took place July 19-20, 1848, and was led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and other prominent female activists--it was the first ever Women's Rights Convention. On the second Stanton read the Declaration of Sentiments, which demanded political equality for women. In the traditional understanding of the Seneca Fall Convention, it was the birthplace of the Women's Rights Movement and the first time women ever spoke out for political equality. Looking at the historiography there are contrasting arguments of three different groupings. The first is the traditional understanding of the Convention, viewing it as the birthplace of women seeking political rights of equality to men. The second identifies Seneca Falls as a watershed to women's suffrage but not the beginning; this means it was a pivotal moment that changed the course of the movement, but was not necessarily the start of it. The third and final view is that Seneca Falls is "perhaps the most enduring and long standing myth ever produced by a U.S social movement."⁵⁰⁹ The oldest sources on this event belong in the first group and are written by Stanton and Susan B. Anthony.

If all of history is interpretation then what better place to start a study of the historiography of the Seneca Falls Convention than with the autobiography of the woman who dreamed it up? In Elizabeth Cady Stanton's book *Eighty Years and More: Reminiscences, 1815-1897* she recounts every aspect of her life. "She tries not only to describe how life was, but also to understand why it was that way for her."⁵¹⁰ In an audacious demonstration of her ambition and self-identity we see Stanton's accounts of key events and people within the women's rights movement. In her preface Stanton declares "The incidents of my public career as a leader in the most momentous reform yet launched upon the world-- the emancipation of woman"⁵¹¹ It is not until chapter nine, aptly titled "The First Women's Rights Convention", Stanton discusses the dreaming and creation of the Convention. She credits the idea of the Women's Rights Convention to her appall over the treatment she and other women received at the World's Anti-slavery Convention. "I poured out, that day, the torrent of my long-accumulating discontent, with such vehemence and indignation that I stirred myself, as well as the rest of the party, to do and dare anything."⁵¹²

This book is a micro-history with macro-historical events. While the first eight chapters focus on Stanton's personal life only after the convention it takes a shift to other prominent

⁵⁰⁸ Lori D. Ginzberg *Untidy Origins a story of Woman's Rights in Antebellum New York* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005, 27.

⁵⁰⁹Lisa Tetrault. *The Myth of Seneca Falls Memory and the Women's Suffrage Movement, 1848-1849*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014, 4.

⁵¹⁰ Elizabeth Cady Stanton. *Eighty Years and More: Reminiscences, 1815-1897*. Amherst, N.Y: Humanity Books, 2002, xi.

⁵¹¹ Ibid., preface.

⁵¹² Ibid.,148.

women's rights activists and women working for political rights in our country and abroad. She even attempts to tackle women and theology. There is no doubt that this rendition of the Seneca Falls Convention, and women's suffrage to follow, is a memory history. It is painted by Stanton's own opinions and is essentially a political interpretation to further the aims of the Women's Movement. Though Stanton confesses she had no idea how successful the endeavor would be or what would follow in its wake she firmly stands by it being important not only as the first convention for Women's Rights but for attracting "the attention of one destined to take a most important part in the new movement" according to Susan B. Anthony".⁵¹³ In a combined effort to draw attention to the Women's Right Movement Stanton and Anthony created the *History of Woman's Suffrage*.

The first volume of *History of Woman's Suffrage* was printed in 1881. It begins with "the prolonged slavery of woman is the darkest page of human history."⁵¹⁴ Already we get an idea that these women are attempting to create a foundation on which to rally others to their cause. By creating this perception of subjugation they make their cause seem morally right. On page sixty-eight the stage is finally set for the convention. The idea of Seneca Falls is described as a long spoken dream of Stanton and Mott. Their creation of the Declaration of Rights is viewed as "herculean labors."⁵¹⁵ Essentially the fact they accomplished the Convention was a feat of mythological proportions and should be herald as such. The book cites many men who positively supported the Convention and cites the surprise of the women that certain newspapers condemned them. Regardless, *History of Woman Suffrage* notes, "the brave protests sent out from this Convention touched a responsive chord in the hearts of women all over the country."⁵¹⁶ Thus the idea of Seneca Falls as the foundation of the Women's Rights Movement is truly born.

The last source in my first grouping is more recent. Sally G. McMillen wrote *Seneca Falls and the Origins of the Women's Rights Movement* in 2008. She claims in this book that: "before Seneca Falls, no one could imagine that anyone would dare challenge, in such an organized manner, women's subservience or their legal, social, and political oppression."⁵¹⁷ The book is a cultural history as it focuses on Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Coffin Mott, Lucy Stone, and Susan B. Anthony leading up to Seneca Falls. There is also discussion on political and abolitionist causes that feed into the broader theme of the Seneca Falls Convention being the end all, be all. McMillen strongly makes the statement that "it was the Seneca Falls Convention that truly changed history."⁵¹⁸ Though she does admit that all the key female figures would later reflect on the Seneca Falls Convention differently. Regardless, McMillen holds strongly to the traditional tale of how the conception of the Convention first came about. She recognizes that the Declaration of Rights and Sentiments "elevated white women above male immigrants, free blacks, and the destitute who lacked the advantages many middle-class women possessed."⁵¹⁹ This demonstrates a type of hypocrisy from the women who demanded equality. McMillen continues with chapter four titled "The Women's Movement begins, 1850-1860" explaining that "the first decade after Seneca Falls

⁵¹³ Stanton, *Eighty Years and More*, 155

⁵¹⁴ Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage, and Ida Husted Harper. *History of Woman Suffrage ... V. 1 V. 1*. New York: Fowler & Wells, 1889, 18.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 68.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁵¹⁷ Sally G McMillen. *Seneca Falls and the Origins of the Women's Rights Movement*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008, 3-4.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 91.

was crucial to the future success of the movement.”⁵²⁰ This statement fostered the idea that now that the first convention had taken place at Seneca Falls, women could finally fight for equality and thus without it would not have entered into such a crucial time.

This book clearly denotes the Seneca Falls Convention as the real place that began the Women’s Rights Movement. McMillen, however, makes the statement that: “The few actual details we have of this two-day meeting pale in comparison to what it soon came to represent—and what it represents today.”⁵²¹ In this, McMillen conveys what is already expected of memory history, it can be construed, manipulated, and defined based on the needs of those who use it to their advantage. Furthermore, memory history is colored by the perceptions of the mindset of the people of that time. Ideas and statements that appear ludicrous to present day historians would seem perfectly understandable in the time period they are studying. In later sources we will see that this was not the first time a discussion like this did take place.

As McMillen produced a book that uses the traditional interpretation of the Seneca Falls Convention, I felt it best to see what other historians had to say of her analysis of Seneca Falls. The first review I chose to look at was done by Alison M. Parker in September 2008. Her first complaint in the review is that while concentrating on prominent women who were invested in the Women’s Rights Movement helped to create an “excellent overview of nineteenth-century American women’s history”⁵²² where McMillen fails is that she just writes of the white middle class woman’s perspective of the suffrage movement. Though McMillen does give credit to abolitionist work as something that helped to develop the Women’s Rights Movement, I have to agree with Parker that it would have been interesting in the chapters following the Seneca Falls Convention to look at what African American women were doing for their own suffrage.

Parker brings up another issue: “Women’s demands for equality were more radical than any other at the time, McMillen claims, including world peace and antislavery”⁵²³ To make such a statement demonstrates that McMillen “Neglects to discuss the fact that this was also a period of some of the worst racism in American History”⁵²⁴ and therefore does not give a truly all-encompassing picture of the historiography of the time and how the drive to political equality before the African American man shaped the Women’s Rights Movement post Seneca. Parker makes it clear that Seneca Falls was not the first discussion of Women’s Rights but stands firmly with the belief that it was the “formal beginning to the Women’s Rights Movement.”⁵²⁵ Therefore, Parker falls somewhere between the first and second groupings.

The second review of *Seneca Falls and the Origins of the Women's Rights Movement* was conducted by Catherine Allgor who recognized that “In spite of the occasional impressive insight, there is not much new here for specialists.”⁵²⁶ Though Allgor does commend the book as something useful for students she makes it clear that the traditional telling of the Seneca Falls Convention is not the take away for them. Allgor comments that “the real contribution of the work lies in the last three chapters that take the narrative from the Convention through the Civil War

⁵²⁰ McMillen. *Seneca Falls and the Origins of the Women's Rights Movement*, 104.

⁵²¹ *Ibid.*, 102.

⁵²² Alison M Parker. "Seneca Falls and the Origins of the Woman's Rights Movement." *Reviews in American History* 36, no. 3 (September 2008): 341. *America: History & Life*, EBSCOhost (accessed December 3, 2014), 341.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*, 342.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*, 348.

⁵²⁵ *Ibid.*, 344.

⁵²⁶ Catherine Allgor. "Seneca Falls and the Origins of the Women's Rights Movement." *American Historical Review* 113, no. 5 (December 2008): 1533-1534. *Humanities International Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed November 10, 2014), 1534.

and the separation and then reunification of the two major suffrage organizations.”⁵²⁷ This is an exceptional insight as many historians know of Seneca Falls, but there is very little attention paid to the different suffrage organizations and then later their unification. His conveys that Allgor believes Seneca Falls to be an important moment within the Women’s Rights Movement but not the most important aspect to it. Allgor even suggests that McMillen “knows that she could not conclude or even climax a book with the triumphant moment of Cady Stanton declaring independence.”⁵²⁸ Allgor, as a result, appears to fall into the second grouping and uses feminist theory to analyze McMillen’s interpretation of Seneca Falls and what takes place following it. The interpretation that the Seneca Falls Convention was a turning point in Women’s History and suffrage, but not the beginning.

Dr. Theresia Sauter-Bailliet wrote ““Remember the Ladies”: Emancipation Efforts of American Women from Independence to Seneca Falls” and presented it at the 1986 conference of the European Association for American Studies. The article discusses Abigail Adams and even though she did not secure rights for women through her husband and his associates there is a strong case that Adams created the foundation for the Seneca Falls Convention. Sauter-Bailliet regards this as a milestone in the female suffrage and Women’s Rights Movement. “The grievances of Abigail Adams and other contemporaries of hers were taken up by the Seneca Falls women and gained momentum as a social movement”⁵²⁹ Using Abigail Adam’s letter to her husband as proof, Sauter-Bailliet infers “in a sense, we can say, there has been a women’s movement ever since the subjugation of the female sex.”⁵³⁰ She claims that throughout history women’s voices have been quieted and the collective memory of history has simply chosen to forget them. This ties in the idea that Seneca Falls is a memory history that the Women’s Rights Movement had been using as a launching point. As we saw in our first two sources, this is all thanks to Stanton’s tireless work to keep Seneca Falls in the forefront of feminist and history’s mind. Sauter-Bailliet believes the importance of her work is to show that “women have always been present, in thought and action, in revolutionary times.”⁵³¹ Thus, supporting the argument that Seneca Falls was a watershed to women’s suffrage but not the beginning.

When people think of the beginning of the Women’s Rights movement and the emergence of women fighting for political rights they picture Elizabeth Cady Stanton or Susan B. Anthony. Anne M. Boylan explains in her article “Women and Politics in the Era before Seneca Falls,” that “it would be misleading, however, to assume that the provocative actions of abolitionists and moral reformers represented American women’s first foray into politics.”⁵³² Boylan demonstrates that women have been socially active since the 1760s and have maneuvered their way into and around the public sphere by using “benevolent”⁵³³ politics, implying they were doing moral and just societal work through the political arena. The only women who entered the realm were of the upper class whom had connections and could achieve their goals, relating to social concerns and improvements. She compares these benevolent workers to the reform organizations that were

⁵²⁷ Allgor. “Seneca Falls and the Origins of the Women’s Rights Movement.” 1533-1534.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, 1533.

⁵²⁹ Theresia Sauter-Bailliet. “Remember the Ladies”: Emancipation Efforts of American Women from Independence to Seneca Falls.” *European Contributions To American Studies* 14, (March 1988): 271-279. *America: History & Life*, EBSCOhost (accessed November 10, 2014), 278.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, 274.

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, 276.

⁵³² Anne M Boylan. “Women and Politics in the Era before Seneca Falls.” *Journal of the Early Republic* 10, no. 3 (Fall 1990): 363-382. *America: History & Life*, EBSCOhost (accessed November 10, 2014), 364.

⁵³³ *Ibid.*, 368.

bolder and did not ask prettily for things, but demanded them. As there had already been women in the shadows of the political world at this time. Reform politics of abolitionists and women's suffragists had a much rougher road in comparison to their more demure counterparts. What critics objected to was not women moving in the shadows of the political realm, as benevolent female activist had already been doing, but those who chose a political style that placed them and their political goals in the light with their male counterparts.⁵³⁴ They "elicited outraged condemnation because it involved women directly in politics in pursuit of unpopular causes."⁵³⁵ In looking at both of these styles of women in politics we once again how the construct of Seneca Falls and what "real" females in politics has overshadowed how women were engaging in the political realm prior to that fateful convention. Seneca Falls, according to Boylan, was a culmination of "a decade of discussion concerning acceptable political activities for women."⁵³⁶ Boylan does make a solid argument for women engaging in politics prior to Seneca Falls. She also makes it clear there were women's organizations working in the social and political realms. But, never once does Boylan mention a convention prior to Seneca Falls. Because of this one could infer that she would still consider it to be the first Women's Rights Convention and thus an important aspect to the movement. However, it definitely not the beginning of women seeking entrance into the political realm.

History of Woman's Suffrage was once considered the grand companion to the history of women, until *A Companion to American Women's History* was published in 2002. Chapter eight "Religion, Reform, and Radicalism in the Antebellum Era," written by Nancy A. Hewitt, notes the "decades between the American Revolution and the Civil War have attracted the attention of women's historians since the emergence of the field"⁵³⁷ The biggest thing to take away from this section is Hewitt discussing the amount of attention given to Seneca Falls and how historians are now moving towards new "path breaking"⁵³⁸ studies of the time and other groups. This does not downplay the importance of Seneca Falls, but lifts up other groups that pull away from it to create a broader picture of Women's Suffrage beyond Seneca Falls.

As the Seneca Falls Convention clearly dwells within the realm of feminism and is a large part of the development of feminist theory, I also turned to *No Permanent Waves: Recasting Histories of U.S. Feminism*, written in 2010, for an interpretation of the Seneca Falls Convention. Chapter one demonstrates the importance of Seneca Falls to feminism by being fittingly titled "From Seneca Falls to Suffrage? Reimagining a 'Master' Narrative in U.S. 'Women's history'", also written by Nancy A. Hewitt. It uses the same themes founded in *A Companion to American Women's History*. Hewitt calls Stanton and Anthony "Brilliant strategists who recognized the importance of documenting their version of events."⁵³⁹ Hewitt views Seneca Falls as a critical turning point in the Women's Political Movement but attests to earlier influences before the Convention and calls for a "widening of our lens."⁵⁴⁰ That is to say for more scholars to write about other moments in history that capture this idea of women in politics. Hewitt takes it one step further

⁵³⁴ Boylan, "Women and Politics in the Era before Seneca Falls," 380.

⁵³⁵ *Ibid.*, 382.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*, 364.

⁵³⁷ Nancy A Hewitt. "Religion, Reform, and Radicalism in the Antebellum Era." in *A Companion to American Women's History*. Edited by Nancy A. Hewitt, 117-131. Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 2002, 117.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*, 128.

⁵³⁹ Nancy A Hewitt. "From Seneca Falls to Suffrage? Reimagining a "Master" Narrative in U.S Women's History" in *No Permanent Waves: Recasting Histories of U.S. Feminism*. Edited by Nancy Hewitt. New Brunswick, N.J: Rutgers University Press, 2010, 15.

⁵⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

acknowledging “scholars of African American, immigrant, and working-class women have detailed the racist, nativist, and elitist tendencies of many white women suffragists.”⁵⁴¹

After Seneca Falls, we see a division in women’s groups. On the one side there stands a group still fighting for abolition and women’s suffrage side by side. Stanton and Anthony, who after African American men get the vote, decided the only way to get the political equality they desired was to create a book and a movement that was geared towards their race and class. Of all the authors I studied, I found Hewitt to be the one I most closely related to in concerns to my conception of the historiography of Seneca Falls. She considers Seneca Falls Convention to be “only a single thread in a variegated tapestry”⁵⁴² that makes up the history of the Women’s Rights Movement and the field of history in general.

Carol Anne Douglas’ article “Seneca Falls Revisited” looks at the Transatlantic History of American Women’s Suffrage and how Stanton and other feminist travelled frequently back and forth between Europe and America. British Contemporaries called them “Transatlantic Amazons”.⁵⁴³ It is on one of these trips that, according to Stanton, the idea of the Seneca Falls Convention stems from. When she and other women were refused the ability to speak at the London Anti-slavery Convention in 1840, it lit a fire within her and Lucretia Mott to host a Women’s Rights Convention. From this point on Stanton, and later Anthony, would make continuous trips to Europe to meet with other suffrage associations and women’s groups to discuss international feminism. The article also discusses other influences upon Stanton and Mott that you do not hear about in the traditional telling of the Seneca Falls Convention. It discusses how Native American culture influenced Stanton as its social hierarchy places a substantial importance on women and valued them. Mott spent time in the Oneida Community where they believed in equality in all things I speculate that neither of these were included in Stanton’s retelling of the conception of the convention for two reasons. The first is, to use a minority group (such as Native Americans) subjugated by the dominant white population as a model for political and social change would be suicide to their cause. The second is that the Oneida Community was a “free love” community, which goes against Christian and cultural belief of propriety that society had at this time. The take away from this article is it demonstrates history can be objective without establishing an argument. I would place this interpretation of the foundation for the convention in the second group. Though it discusses what the conference was all about it never takes a strong stance of claiming Seneca Falls as a birth place nor a myth to the Women’s Rights Movement.

Jacob Katz Cogan and Lori D. Ginzberg wrote the journal article "1846 petition for woman's suffrage, New York State Constitutional Convention" in 1997. It begins with the traditional outlook of the Seneca Falls Convention and does not deny Seneca Falls as an important event launching the Women’s Right Movement. In this article we see the seeds for Ginzberg’s book *Untidy Origins a story of Woman's Rights in Antebellum New York*, published in 2005. The journal article has similar speculations to those produced in Ginzberg’s book but is vital as it gives her outright opinion on where the Seneca Falls Convention belongs in the timeline of women fighting for political equality. In both the article and Ginzberg’s book we see the story of a group of women who demanded “Equal and civil and political rights with men”⁵⁴⁴ in a petition to Jefferson County that happened two summers prior to the Seneca Falls Convention. In the journal

⁵⁴¹ Hewitt, “From Seneca Falls to Suffrage?,” 16.

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, 32.

⁵⁴³ Carol Anne Douglas. "Seneca Falls Revisited." *National Women's Studies Association*, 1998, 1.

⁵⁴⁴ Lori D Ginzberg. *Untidy Origins a story of Woman's Rights in Antebellum New York* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005, 7.

article they speculate that “no doubt there are other petitions, perhaps equally elegant, that historians have yet to stumble on.”⁵⁴⁵ Demonstrating the key point of *Untidy Origin’s* argument that nothing just “bursts” onto the scene, there are always events that led up to it. Ginzberg suspects the idea of women’s suffrage was more commonly thought of than we have assumed.⁵⁴⁶ If one was to dig a little bit deeper into this idea, they could create the argument that the Seneca Falls Convention with all of its hype and legend may have perpetuated the idea that it is where women really first began their fight for political equality. One has to admit that the study of women’s rights does not have a clean and clear picture. That is to say there are other components that “complicate”⁵⁴⁷ the view we have of women’s suffrage and its traditional beginning at Seneca Falls. Ginzberg challenges us to understand that Women’s Rights is an idea that extends “a conversation older than the nation itself.”⁵⁴⁸ One of those components can be found in Rosemarie Zagari’s book *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic*, which much like Ginzberg argues that Seneca Falls was not the beginning of the Women’s Rights Movement.

Revolutionary Backlash is a conjectural history that focuses on “moving women from the margins of the history process to the center.”⁵⁴⁹ In this book Zagari argues that the beginning of the first women’s rights movement actually began during the American Revolution. She states the book “is a tale about how the Revolution profoundly changed the popular understanding of women’s political status and initiated a widespread, ongoing debate over the meaning of Women’s Rights.”⁵⁵⁰ Zagari cites that in New Jersey, 1776, small portions of the state allowed women to vote and argues New Jersey had actually followed revolutionary beliefs to their “logical conclusion.”⁵⁵¹ What comes off unclear in her argument is that she claims the American Revolution is important turning point in political movement for women, but conveys the idea as just happening and women would have always remained unequal with men if it was not for the American Revolution.⁵⁵² This assumption does not give enough credit to the American women during the colonial area and possibly too much credit as well. Though Seneca Falls would happen at a much later date, it is still a substantial part of the Women’s Rights Movement and would create a momentum that far surpassed the glacier speed in which women in politics were moving prior to it. Through Zagari’s passionate rendition we can only place her within the third grouping as she makes it abundantly clear that her sole belief is in the idea that the Women’s Rights Movement is launched within the Revolutionary era and makes no real comments about Seneca Falls whatsoever.

A gendered study conducted by James L. Newman, who works within the field of Geography, authored "Becoming the birthplace of women's rights: The transformation of Seneca Falls, New York" in 1992. This is a micro history on the Seneca Falls community who heralds

⁵⁴⁵ Jacob Katz Cogan, and Lori D. Ginzberg. "1846 petition for woman's suffrage, New York State Constitutional Convention." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society* 22, no. 2: 427. *Humanities International Complete*. 1997. EBSCOhost (accessed November 10, 2014), 438.

⁵⁴⁶ Lori D Ginzberg. *Untidy Origins a story of Woman's Rights in Antebellum New York* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005, 8.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁵⁴⁹ Rosemarie Zagari. *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic*. Philadelphia: University Of Pennsylvania Press, 2007, 17.

⁵⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁵⁵² *Ibid.*, 22.

their town as the birthplace of Women's rights and uses the myth of the Seneca Falls Convention to keep the community financially stable. Newman uses a very basic, traditional outlook upon the convention making clear the community uses the convention to keep its small town relative to history as well as use it for tourism purposes to maintain their economy. By having President Carter sign authorization to establish Women's Rights National Historic Park in Seneca Falls and continuing to host "feminist activity"⁵⁵³ Seneca Falls keeps the identity that it has constructed for itself based off of the convention. I view this source as a memory history as it conveys that the community put a great deal of emphasis upon the myth of Seneca Falls and its importance in order to use it for tourism purposes. It can also be seen as a gendered study as Newman makes it clear that he believes women must take up the cause if they want more support of this historical landmark to Women's History. Though it appears that Newman falls into the first group, it better supports the third grouping and the idea of the "myth" of Seneca Falls.

To conclude this paper I look to the final source within group three, befittingly titled *The Myth of Seneca Falls Memory and the Women's Suffrage Movement, 1848-1849* written by Lisa Tetrault in 2014. Tetrault argues Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Lucretia Mott rearranged and developed the origins story of the Women's Rights Movement around the Seneca Falls Convention to further the aims of the Women's suffrage movement in a time of War and other suffrage movements to strengthen their cause and give it more validity. Tetrault explains, "A Seneca Falls mythology rings true because we have been reading the end of the story back onto the beginning."⁵⁵⁴ By creating the history of it this way, these founding women made the chronology of the Women's Movement more difficult to reconstruct therefore effecting the timeline of Women's history ever since. As the myth of Seneca Falls began to become accepted "a sense of order and inevitability" grew as well, even though the nineteenth century was continually changing and developing in regards to women's rights.⁵⁵⁵ The argument could be made that Stanton, Anthony, and Mott did what they believed they had to in order to reach their goals of female suffrage. Tetrault examines what the "the myth of Seneca Falls has remained an important rallying point for women's rights work throughout the twentieth century as well as an actor in the ongoing struggle for which it stands."⁵⁵⁶ In this statement we see the true power of memory history. One must always recall "memory is made, not found, and what we remember matters",⁵⁵⁷ which creates the philosophical question of historiography: can history be objective?

I believe history can be objective. To be so, however, requires the amassing of different interpretations of key events and piecing them together to create a picture of what really took place. Like Hewitt, I view history as a large tapestry on which every interpretation and event adds a thread. "One could anchor the beginning of the women's rights movement in the United States in many events- some before, and some after, Seneca Falls."⁵⁵⁸ Because of this there are numerous strands to the Seneca Falls and women's rights movements' picture. To truly understand and appreciate historiography one must have a fluid mindset. Like a continuously changing tapestry the overall picture may not shift greatly but the finer points and even the minutest thread can change color and texture to give a more stirring masterpiece.

⁵⁵³ James L Newman. "Becoming the birthplace of women's rights: The transformation of Seneca Falls, New York." *Focus* 42, no. 3 (Fall 1992): 4. *Business Source Elite*, EBSCOhost (accessed November 7, 2014), 4.

⁵⁵⁴ Lisa Tetrault. *The Myth of Seneca Falls Memory and the Women's Suffrage Movement, 1848-1849*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014, 9.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 193.

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 199.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

A Comparison of Michelle Obama and Nancy Reagan

Courtney Sage

Introduction

The duty of the First Lady has not been defined throughout the history of United States Presidents. It is a position only created through title; however, this position yields a tremendous amount of power. The institution of the First Ladyship over time has been molded by its predecessors and established based on the popular expectations that are created in response to the previous models⁵⁵⁹. A First Lady has a unique opportunity within the political world. She is able to generate involvement over different societal issues and create it into a political issue without being elected into office. Since Eleanor Roosevelt set the stage as a formal First Lady activist, many First Ladies have taken up different positions regarding political or social issues. Eleanor Roosevelt also instilled the growing trend of media coverage about the First Lady. The wives of the President receive massive amounts of media attention through entertainment broadcasting, as well as news channels.⁵⁶⁰ With the title of First Lady and the massive media coverage, a First Lady has the ability to find success within her political or social initiatives; however, this relationship can also create failure. Understanding the relationship between public opinion and the First Lady's political role allows us to better understand the First Lady institution and the power she may hold.

The First Lady Comparison of Obama and Reagan's Initiatives

How does the public opinion of the First Lady affect the outcome of the initiative she is campaigning? To explain this relationship, it is necessary to understand the expectation of the First Lady and how the media portrays her role. The public opinion is developed through the information provided by the media outlets they pursue. Looking at current First Lady, Michelle Obama's, Let's Move Initiative and Nancy Reagan's Just Say No to Drugs Initiative, a comparison can be made. These two issues, healthy living and drug use prevention, were pointed towards children and would not be considered political issues. Through research, I have examined the popularity of both First Ladies, as well as the success of their initiatives. With this information, I argue that the use of positive media coverage helped create the success these ladies had with their initiatives. The positive reaction from the public is related to the direct media coverage created by the First Ladies, such as interviews and television commercials. By using these media outlets, the First Ladies were able to educate the masses in order to gain the support to continue their projects.

Literature Review

There is no direct research comparing the work of Nancy Reagan and Michelle Obama. However, in order to better understand the projects they created, I researched background information about the individuals, as well as information about their impact as First Ladies. I also gathered information examining the role of the First Lady, finding role constraints. She is expected to be the devoted spouse, yet also exuberate a sense of independence and authority⁵⁶¹. While maintaining this image, the study conducted by Erica Scharrer and Kim Bissell shows that First Ladies being politically active are seen in a negative tone.⁵⁶² However, there have also been studies

⁵⁵⁹ Gary D. Wekkin, "Role Constraints and First Ladies." *The Social Science Journal* 37 no. 4 (2000): 601.

⁵⁶⁰ Barbara Burrell, Laurel Elder, and Brian Frederick. "From Hillary to Michelle: Public Opinion and the Spouses of Presidential Candidates." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 41 no. 1 (2011): 156 – 176.

⁵⁶¹ Wekkin, "Role Constraints and First Ladies," 607.

⁵⁶² Kim Bissell and Erica Scharrer, "Overcoming Traditional Boundaries," *Women and Politics* 21, no. 1 (2008): 81.

showing an evolution of the First Lady Office toward political integration within the White House.⁵⁶³ Focusing on Michelle Obama, Caroline Brown wrote an article explaining the position of the First Lady within the political world. Brown argued that the brand of Obama was focused around “Mommy Politics”.⁵⁶⁴ This interpretation of Michelle Obama fits in with the Let’s Move initiative, an initiative that is noncontroversial and heavily focuses on the children of the United States. Nancy Reagan also was expected to be a strong role model but without appearing stronger than her husband, Ronald Reagan. First Lady Reagan’s situation also could explain the choice to focus on a campaign to prevent drug use among children. While there has been information and research about the programs and First Ladies themselves, there is a lack of information that allows us to understand why they were able to find success within these programs.

Historical Context

First Ladies are often scrutinized in the media when creating or campaigning for a particular societal issue. First Lady Nancy Reagan faced early backlash in 1982 with her anti-drug program. People criticized her lack of grasp of the problem and also pointed to her husband cutting 26% from the budget for educational programs dealing with drug prevention.⁵⁶⁵ This beginning failure there was little use of the media besides coverage from her visiting the rehabilitation centers. Reagan understood the necessity of gaining the media on her side and used it to her advantage in order to gain support for her cause. Starting in 1983, she began to star in different music videos and television shows promoting the program. She also used the status of other celebrities, such as Abdul-Jabbar and Michael Jackson, by getting them involved. One of Reagan’s most successful publicity stunts was at halftime of Super Bowl XVII where she made an announcement to over 112 million people about her cause.⁵⁶⁶ With the ever-growing publicity, the First Lady was able to help create over 5,000 “Just Say No to Drugs” clubs by the end of 1984.⁵⁶⁷ The success within a two-year span of her program can be thanked by the amount of positive mass media coverage. Using the media to create a positive public opinion helped to create the success of her program, as well as to create a more positive image of the First Lady herself.

Michelle Obama began her reign as First Lady with much controversy and curiosity. As the first black First Lady, there were expectations of her to help the poor black community. More often than not, the early media coverage of First Lady Obama focused on her fashion sense rather than her as a person or her views despite her success in the professional world. The “Let’s Move” campaign began in 2009 to reshape the way children eat and exercise. Obama’s program also began with some backlash specifically with the Republican Party. People were worried about First Lady Obama using this program as an agent of big government by becoming the “food police” telling parents what they must serve their children. She also faced criticism from the food industry by complaining about the marketing of junk food.⁵⁶⁸ To improve the outlook of her program, she also went to the media. Using some of the same tactics as Reagan, Obama created commercials, gained celebrity backing, as well as created a Twitter feed where she would answer questions regarding her program. The popularity of this media blitz has heavily influenced the success of her

⁵⁶³ Anthony J. Esterowicz and Kristen Paynter, “The Evolution of the Role and Office of the First Lady: The Movement Toward Integration with the White House Office.” *The Social Science Journal* 37 no. 4 (2000): 559.

⁵⁶⁴ Caroline Brown, “Marketing Michelle: Mommy Politics and Post-Feminism in the Age of Obama.” *Comparative American Studies* 10, no. 2-3 (2012): 250.

⁵⁶⁵ Pierre-Marie Loizeau, *Nancy Reagan: The Woman Behind the Man* (New York: Nova History Publications, 2014), 103.

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 104.

⁵⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 105.

⁵⁶⁸ Sheryl Stolberg, “Childhood Obesity Battle is Taken Up by First Lady,” *The New York Times* 10 Feb. 2010, 16.

campaign. The program has created vegetable gardens promoting healthy eating, raised awareness about the issue of child obesity, and had improvements for the school meals nationwide.⁵⁶⁹ Possibly one of the greatest accomplishments Obama has seen is in the private sector, where businesses such as Walmart and Walgreens agreed to build or expand their stores to sell more fresh fruit and vegetables in communities who otherwise would not have the option.⁵⁷⁰ Both of these First Ladies knew the momentum needed to gain positive support for their programs and with the use of the media saw success.

Hypothesis

Examining the above information about these two successful programs proves using the media as a campaigning outlet allows for the First Lady to be successful in her endeavors specifically in regards to the different societal issues she may be promoting. This success refers to the reaction by the public about the program, as well as the outcomes of the program. To test the hypothesis that creating one's own media promotion leads to greater success of the program, I examined different media outlets, such as newspaper articles and public opinion polls, to understand the media campaign and draw conclusions regarding how the success of the First Lady's initiative was effected. If there is a relationship between the media and the success of the program, there will be evidence suggesting that the success began after the usage of media.

Data and Measurements

The information regarding the First Ladies' programs comes from different newspaper articles, such as the New York Times. These articles were from the opinion or editorial section. For example, Emanuel wrote to the New York Times commending Michelle Obama's campaign for changing the food sector's approach to children.⁵⁷¹ He also states his belief that the "Let's Move" program will help push towards a decline in childhood obesity rates.

I also have used interviews and articles written by the First Ladies. In 1986, Nancy Reagan gave a speech before the World Affairs Council in regards to the battle against drugs. She gives direct information about the program and cites a letter written by a young girl and her opinion of the program. This information gives another insight to how the First Lady used the media in order to gain support. With information such as this, I am able to observe the public opinion about the First Ladies and their initiatives, using Gallup Poll. The Gallup Poll provided information about the First Ladies before their campaigns began, as well as after. With this information, I am able to measure how the public opinion may have grown or declined for the First Lady.

Analysis

In 1981, a poll found 28% of the United State citizens viewed Nancy Reagan as favorable, while 10% viewed her as unfavorable. The remaining 62% responding that they did not know yet.⁵⁷² With a poll such as this, it is reasonable to assume that Reagan was relatively unknown to the public. She began her anti-drug campaign in late 1982 and by 1986 over 5 million people participated in the "Just Say No" marches in seven hundred cities. Reagan had traveled over one hundred thousand miles visiting different schools and rehabilitation centers. Within the media, she had given 1,254 interviews, appeared on over twenty talk shows, and delivered forty-nine speeches.⁵⁷³ After such an intense media blitz, by the 1985 New York Times/CBS poll Nancy

⁵⁶⁹ Ezekiel J. Emanuel, "Let's Move, She Said- and We Have," *The New York Time*, 13 Feb. 2012.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid.

⁵⁷² "A Look Back at the Polls," CBS News, last modified 2004, accessed November 30, 2014, <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/a-look-back-at-the-polls>

⁵⁷³ Loizeau, *Nancy Reagan*, 104.

Reagan had earned a 71% favorability rate and a 14% unfavorable rate; a reflection on the program, too. With so many people supporting the cause, there was a drop in addiction among high school students from one third to one fourth. There was also a survey conducted in 1985 and three fourths of high school seniors called marijuana harmful.⁵⁷⁴ While the Reagan administration faced criticism on fighting the war on drugs, there is evidence showing how the First Lady's program was able to be successful through the media. The media blitz also gave Reagan a large 43% change in her favorability rate within four years.

Michelle Obama entered the political scene with a high favorability rating of 72% in 2009.⁵⁷⁵ However, despite this high rating, she too would undergo much criticism. With her "Let's Move" campaign, First Lady Obama has had many interviews, television appearances, and a social media blitz. The results the program has seen have been quite surmountable. In a 2013 interview with *The Nation's Health*, she stated that the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention released data with a decline in childhood obesity rates.⁵⁷⁶ As the program continues, Obama has still held a high approval rating. As of March 2014, a poll found her rating to be at 66%. This approval rating is a 6% drop; however, this is over a nine-year period unlike Nancy Reagan's four year difference.⁵⁷⁷

Conclusion

From the analysis of the data compiled, it is clear both Nancy Reagan and Michelle Obama were able to use the media to their own advantage in order to gain support. The support they gained allowed them to find success with their programs: high awareness and physical results. In terms of who has had better success, Obama's "Let's Move" campaign has resulted in more tangible things happening, such as a change in marketing by large businesses, a decline in the obesity rate, and a change in school lunches. Reagan only saw a large amount of awareness and a rise in educational programs about drug prevention. In regards to the relationship between the opinion polls and the success for the programs, it is clear the media did help promote the program and the First Lady. After creating a media campaign, Reagan saw a higher favorability rating. Obama did see a lower rating; however, her rating was over a longer period of time, and this rating was very minute. Overall, she is still highly favored by the public and continues to find results with her program. Both of these women were expected to take on the role of the First Lady and face the expectations former First Ladies had created. They used their role to combat a societal issue to help the public without becoming another political agent. Unfortunately, there is not much research looking into these programs and how the media has affected them; however, I believe more studies could be conducted to see how impactful the media blitz are to the public. This research also opens up questions for interpretation on the role of the First Lady and if different programs or campaigns used by First Ladies would benefit from using the media to sway public opinion. This research is a stepping-stone of a larger issue. It can lead us to look for a larger relationship with the media and the First Lady, as well as public opinion.

⁵⁷⁴ Loizeau, *Nancy Reagan*, 105.

⁵⁷⁵ Jeffery M. Jones, "Michelle Obama's Favorable Rating Eclipses her Husband's; Both President and First Lady are Quite Popular," *Gallup Poll News*, 2 April 2009.

⁵⁷⁶ Charlotte Tucker, "Q&A with First Lady Michelle Obama: How the Let's Move! Campaign is Changing the Way Kids Eat." *The Nation's Health* November-December, 5 2013, 5.

⁵⁷⁷ Alyssa Brown, "Michelle Obama Maintains Positive Image; Average Favorable Ratings Tops Hillary Clinton's as First Lady," *Gallup Poll News*, (2014).

Angels Amid a Sea of Blood: The Experience of Catholic Sister Nurses in the American Civil War

Megan Kessler

“Unshrinking where pestilence scatters his breath
Like an angel she moves mid the vapor of death
Where rings the loud musket and flashes the sword
Unfearing she walks, for she follows the Lord”⁵⁷⁸

On a brisk October evening in 1861, a horseman reached Notre Dame University carrying an urgent message for Father Edward Sorin. The message was a call for Catholic Sisters to work as nurses for the Union army in the ongoing Civil War. Within hours, Mother Angela Gillespie and five other Sisters of the Holy Cross of Notre Dame were en route to Cairo, Illinois. There, they met with Ulysses S. Grant, who assigned them to a hospital in Paducah, Kentucky. Mother Angela and her sisters travelled immediately, arriving by the following evening. They set to work scrubbing floors, preparing meals, dressing wounds, assisting in surgeries, and keeping the hospital in running order.⁵⁷⁹ Later, Mother Angela would travel extensively, procuring more and more Catholic nuns for the cause.⁵⁸⁰ She, and many women like her, devoted years of her life to helping and healing in Civil War hospitals. Collectively, these women are known as the Sister Nurses of the American Civil War.

During the war, over 600 Catholic nuns like, Mother Angela, nursed in battlefield hospitals throughout the Union and the Confederacy. They came from twenty-one religious orders, the most famous being the Daughters of Charity, the Sisters of Mercy, and the Sisters of the Holy Cross.⁵⁸¹ They worked alongside doctors, attended surgeries and amputations, provided comfort and nourishment to the wounded, and managed hospitals. While mainstream scholarship of their achievements and impact has diminished in the last twenty years, it is evident the work accomplished by these Sister Nurses in the Civil War had a very real influence on the nation. Through primary sources and previous scholarship, three themes arise: the portrayal of Catholicism in a positive nature to the dominantly Protestant country, the conversion of soldiers and other hospital workers into the Catholic faith by Sister Nurses, and the impact on the field of nursing, specifically for women.

For many in the United States, Catholicism was an abstract, and possibly even evil, idea. In 1834, the prominent Presbyterian minister Lyman Beecher proclaimed “The Catholic Church holds now in darkness and bondage nearly half the civilized world.”⁵⁸² Certainly, there was suspicion towards Catholics. One product of this distrust was the creation of anti-Catholic propaganda. Publications ranged from anti-immigration pamphlets to horrific literature detailing

⁵⁷⁸ Gerald Griffin, “The Sister of Charity,” lines 49-52, in *The Poetical Works of Gerald Griffin* (Dublin: James Duffy, 1854).

⁵⁷⁹ James Schmidt, *Notre Dame and the Civil War: Marching Onward to Victory* (Charleston: History Press, 2010), 10-11.

⁵⁸⁰ James Walsh, *These Splendid Sisters* (New York: J.H. Sears Company, 1927), 169.

⁵⁸¹ Sister Mary Denis Maher, *To Bind Up the Wounds: Catholic Sister Nurses in the U.S. Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1999), 1.

⁵⁸² Reverend Lyman Beecher, as quoted in Maher, *To Bind Up the Wounds*, 16.

affairs between priests and their “enslaved” nuns.⁵⁸³ It is no wonder that soldiers were often in disbelief that the zealous, wholesome Sister Nurses were in fact Catholic. Sometimes, they had to be convinced by other hospital workers because they heard “such terrible things” about Catholics.⁵⁸⁴ At a hospital in Cincinnati, a patient confessed to a Sister of Charity: “Down where I come from Sister, they all think Catholics are bad people, we never saw many I guess.”⁵⁸⁵

Once the sisters started working in the hospitals, reactions ranged across the spectrum, from revulsion, to wonder, to appreciation. While Walt Whitman, a Civil War nurse himself, reflected that Catholic Sister Nurses were unacceptable to nurse “these homeborn American young men.”⁵⁸⁶ Nurses like Mary A. Livermore enthused that the Sister Nurses she worked with, “by their skill, quietness, gentleness, and tenderness, were invaluable in sick-wards.”⁵⁸⁷ This praise is worth a lot, considering Livermore toured the Civil War hospital scene as part of the U.S. Sanitary Commission and certainly knew the qualities of a good nurse. One particular subject of confusion and reserve was the specific garb worn by Catholic nuns. In a memoir, Sister Ann Cecilia McDonald wrote:

It is surprising that our particular dress was a source of amusement to those who had never before seen a Sister of Charity, or a sister of any other order. We were frequently asked why we dressed so differently to the other ladies. Another, quite young and innocent, desired to play with my beads, thought they would make a pretty watch chain.⁵⁸⁸

In another incident, Nurse Livermore described a heated conversation among sick men who were slightly annoyed with seeing the distinct cornettes of their Daughters of Charity caretakers, “[w]hy can’t they take off those white-wing sun-bonnets?” mused one. Another responded, “[s]un-bonnets! They’re a cross between a white sun-bonnet and a broken-down umbrella.”⁵⁸⁹ The dissimilarity of dress was striking and unfamiliar to Protestants, and some liken this phenomenon to opinions about hijab-wearing Muslim American women today.⁵⁹⁰

Despite the mixed feelings about their clothing, the Civil war provided an opportunity for broader America to put a face with the term “Catholic.” A prime example of this is the story of William Fletcher of the 5th Texas Infantry. Fletcher had been shot in the foot at the Battle of Chickamauga, but he refused to allow amputation. He was nursed back to health by Sister Nurses who battled his gangrene and saved the limb. Later, Fletcher

⁵⁸³ Maher, *To Bind Up the Wounds*, 16.

⁵⁸⁴ Martha Libster and Betty Ann McNeil, *Enlightened Charity: The Holistic Nursing Care, Education, and Advices Concerning the Sick of Sister Matilda Coskery* (Naperville: Golden Apple Publications, 2009), 288

⁵⁸⁵ Ellen Ryan Jolly, *Nuns of the Battlefield* (Providence: The Providence Visitor Press, 1927), 284.

⁵⁸⁶ Walt Whitman, as quoted in Michael F. Fitzpatrick, “The Mercy Brigade.” *Civil War Times Illustrated* 36 (1997): 34.

⁵⁸⁷ Mary A. Livermore, *My Story of the War: A Woman's Narrative of Four Years Personal Experience as Nurse in the Union Army, and in Relief Work at Home, in Hospitals, Camps, and at the Front during the War of the Rebellion. With Anecdotes, Pathetic Incidents, and Thrilling Reminiscences Portraying the Lights and Shadows of Hospital Life and the Sanitary Service of the War* (Hartford: Worthington and Co., 1888), 218.

⁵⁸⁸ Sister Ann Cecilia McDonald, as quoted in Judith Metz, *The Love of Christ Urges Us: The Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati in the Civil War* (Cincinnati: Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati, 2012), 34.

⁵⁸⁹ Livermore, *My Story of the War*, 219.

⁵⁹⁰ Partrick Young, “Nursing Nuns of the Civil War,” (Long Islands Wins, 2013)

http://www.longislandwins.com/columns/detail/nursing_nuns_of_the_civil_war (accessed March 18, 2014).

would say that though he was raised to believe “there was no place in heaven for a catholic,” he came to understand and respect the Sisters. After the war, he helped plan and build St. Mary’s Infirmary in Austin.⁵⁹¹ As author Karen Kennelly asserts, America entered the Civil War hating the habit, but left believing it the garb of a hero.⁵⁹²

Another central theme in the experience of Catholic Sister Nurses is the occurrence of baptisms and conversions among patients. In memoirs, letters, and journals, Sisters wrote extensively on the baptisms and conversions they were able to conduct. They were proud and relieved to be able to help others reach eternal salvation. In her memoir, Sister Ambrosia Schwartz recorded that “Our duties fatiguing, and often disgusting to flesh and blood, but we were amply repaid by conversions, repentances...”⁵⁹³

Understandably, soldiers on their deathbeds especially sought baptism to find solace in their impending passings. There is a multitude of tales about soldiers dying minutes or hours after receiving a baptism. Jack, a soldier being cared for at Saint Francis Xavier Church, had been wounded in the Battle of Gettysburg and had since contracted lockjaw. The Sisters knew he had a short while to live, and they spoke with him about death, baptism, and an eternal paradise. After listening, Jack indicated he was ready for baptism. He received the sacrament on a church floor, as he was too weak to be moved anywhere else. Still, Sisters recalled that he remained calm until death, satisfied with a promised heaven.⁵⁹⁴

While many soldiers were baptized on their deathbeds, it was not uncommon for recovering soldiers to convert to the Catholic faith. The self-sacrificial nature of the sisters influenced the men, ensuring them that Catholicism was a just religion. Sister Jane Garvin recalled in a memoir one such instance,

One day [a patient] said to me, “Lady, what is it that I hear the boys call you— Sister?...Well, Sister, I heard that quite a number of you ladies arrived last evening to take care of our boys; now this is very kind. I would like to know something more of a religion which teaches such self-sacrifice. Have you a Bible to give me?”⁵⁹⁵

Sister Garvin gave him a catechism, which he read and shared with the other soldiers. The young man, whom friends called Baldy, received his sacraments and, as far as Sister Garvin knew, lived the remainder of his life as a practicing Catholic.⁵⁹⁶

The third theme that surrounds the Sister Nursing experience is their effect on the field of nursing, especially for women. According to archivist Kathleen Washy, there was a stigma against female nursing, as many thought the nakedness and filth of the job would be too much for a lady.⁵⁹⁷ In the years leading up to and during the Civil War, many female characters were proving this stigma wrong. For their unwavering hard work and commitment to nursing, it is not contentious

⁵⁹¹ William Fletcher, as quoted in Michael F. Fitzpatrick, “The Mercy Brigade.” *Civil War Times Illustrated* 36 (1997): 34.

⁵⁹² Karen Kennelly, *American Catholic Women* (New York: Macmillian Publishing Co., 1989), 26.

⁵⁹³ Sister Ambrosia Schwartz, as quoted in Betty Ann McNeil, *Charity Afire: Daughters of Charity Civil War Nurses* (Emmitsburg: Sheridan Press, 2011), 7.

⁵⁹⁴ McNeil, *Charity Afire*, 9.

⁵⁹⁵ Sister Jane Garvin, as quoted in Metz, *The Love of Christ Urges Us*, 13.

⁵⁹⁶ Metz, *The Love of Christ Urges Us*, 34.

⁵⁹⁷ Ann Rodgers, “Union’s Top Military Nurses were Nuns.” *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, June 30, 2013, <http://www.post-gazette.com/news/state/2013/06/30/Union-s-top-military-nurses-were-nuns/stories/201306300137>.

to group the Sister Nurses of the Civil War with figures like Florence Nightingale and Clara Barton. Through their skilled and caring work, Sister Nurses changed perspectives on women nurses, impacting the nursing field.

Before the war, many Sister Nurses worked in or managed hospitals, poor houses, insane asylums and orphanages. When the war broke out, they were able to apply their previous medical and administrative knowledge in Civil War hospitals. So rounded were their abilities, Confederate nurse Kate Cumming noted, “Here one of them is the druggist; another acts as the part of steward; and in fact, they could take charge of the whole hospital, with the exception of the medical staff.”⁵⁹⁸ Besides cleaning, cooking, and general care, Sisters also assisted surgeons in operations and amputations. Sister Anthony O’Connell recalls: “I became Dr. Blackman’s assistant in the surgical operations. He expressed himself well pleased with the manner in which I performed this duty.”⁵⁹⁹ Another Sister Nurse recalls an incident that displays the competency and fortitude of Mother Angela in surgical duty:

Mother Angela was assisting Doctor Franklin with a difficult operation [...] Both surgeon and assistant leaned intently over the patient. Suddenly a red drop fell on Mother Angela’s white coif. Another and still another fell until a small stream was seeping through the ceiling [...] Mother Angela remained motionless, with thoughts concentrated on the delicate surgery. At last the final stich was taken; two heads rose simultaneously. Not until then did the doctor realize that a crimson rivulet from the floor above had fallen steadily on our Mother’s devoted head, bathing coif, face, and shoulders in blood.⁶⁰⁰

The doctors and surgeons who worked with the Sister Nurses came to see their skill and would even request them above male, Protestant nurses.⁶⁰¹ As the war raged on, attitudes about women working in hospitals changed. On September 6, 1862, *Harper’s Weekly* ran a two-page spread titled “The Influence of Women.”⁶⁰² This spread included a Daughter of Charity—cornette habit and all—caring for a wounded soldier. The selflessness and proficiency of Sister Nurses set them apart and provided an example of the competency of women as hospital workers.

After the Civil War, Mother Angela and the varied Sister Nurses like her returned to their orders and continued to do the charitable work they had always done. For the Daughters of Charity, the only outward evidence and recognition that they had participated in such a momentous war was a cannon sent by a commander of the division they labored for.⁶⁰³ For the other orders, the level of recognition was near the same. The Sisters did not receive pay, so their names are usually not even found on war hospital records.⁶⁰⁴ Still, years later they recalled the experiences they had, “Faces and voices haunt me yet, calling for home and dear ones whom they were destined never again to behold on Earth,” recorded Sister Agnes Phillips in a memoir. Their legacy was remembered by oral histories, congregational archives and memoirs until the beginning of the twentieth century. At this time, Ellen Ryan Jolly began a ten-year campaign to prove the extraordinary service of

⁵⁹⁸ Kate Cumming, as quoted in Libster and McNeil, *Enlightened Charity*, 289.

⁵⁹⁹ Sister Anthony O’Connell, as quoted in Metz, *The Love of Christ Urges Us*, 27.

⁶⁰⁰ Sister Francis De Sales O’Neil, as quoted in Schmidt, *Notre Dame and the Civil War*, 45-46.

⁶⁰¹ Maher, *To Bind Up the Wounds*, 71.

⁶⁰² Jane Schultz, *Women at the Front* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 55.

⁶⁰³ James Walsh, *These Splendid Sisters* (New York: J.H. Sears & Company, 1927), 173. (Mother Angela wished that the cannon would be cast into a statue of Our Lady of Peace. It was later melted for the WWI effort.)

⁶⁰⁴ *Nuns of the Battlefield*, 284.

Sister Nurses in the Civil War to Congress⁶⁰⁵. The goal was to erect a monument to the Sister Nurses that served in the Civil War. In 1918, the monument was approved, and in 1924 it was completed.⁶⁰⁶ Today, at Dupont Circle in Washington D.C., visitors can view a memorial depicting twelve different orders represented by Sister Nurses. Flanked by two angels representing peace, the monument serves as a reminder of the Sister Nurses' experiences and impacts. Through their efforts, the Sister Nurses gave a face to Catholicism, converted and baptized many in the Catholic faith, and opened doors for women in the field of nursing.

⁶⁰⁵ Metz, *The Love of Christ Urges Us*, 52.

⁶⁰⁶ Ann Rodgers, "Union's Top Military Nurses were Nuns." Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (June 30, 2013), <http://www.post-gazette.com/news/state/2013/06/30/Union-s-top-military-nurses-were-nuns/stories/201306300137>

Moving Mountains?: Bernardine Dohrn and the Women of the Weather Underground

Mattie Korneta

In June 1969, Bernardine Dohrn stepped onto the stage at the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) National Convention in Chicago and expelled their rival faction, the Progressive Labor movement, from their ranks. Dohrn would become the Inter-organizational secretary of the new SDS, at that time known as the Radical Youth Movement (RYM), and soon to be known as the Weathermen. The Weathermen, or Weather Underground Organization (WUO), was a radical, militant antiwar and anti-racism group made up of mostly middle-class white Americans. Their mission was to “overthrow the imperialist American government by any means necessary.” Dohrn made sure this message got across to the country when she announced “the first communiqué of the Weathermen Underground,” known as “A Declaration of a State of War.”⁶⁰⁷ Dohrn’s place in the WUO was a high ranking officer, if not the leader and figurehead of the movement; in fact, she was placed on the FBI’s Ten Most Wanted List for many years because of her involvement.

While she was an important leader in this radical, liberal organization, Dohrn, and the other women of SDS and WUO, did not experience the freedom one may expect from such a group. In fact, though they had their own “Women’s Brigade” and the media loved to vilify them as the group’s masterminds in many cases, they endured sexism and misogyny when they attempted to bring the feminist movement into the realm of issues that the WUO would take on. In the end, the “weatherwomen” did not successfully represent the feminist movement, though they tried. Even Dohrn recalls, “I wish that I had bridged the feminist movement and the anti-war movement better than I did.”⁶⁰⁸ This was, in part, because of the WUO’s belief that the feminist movement was “selfish,” as “the concerns for women were petty compared to the imperative of the [anti-imperialist] Revolution.”⁶⁰⁹ It was also the misogyny in the organization (and society) that forced the women of the WUO to imitate or submit to men in order to be heard, and weakened and belittled their efforts to include the women’s movement in their radical efforts.

In the 1960s and 70s, America was in turmoil internationally and domestically due, in large part, to the Vietnam War. It was not just the antiwar movement that made the 1960s and 70s so tumultuous, however. The Civil Rights movement was (and had been) in full swing alongside the antiwar protests, and in fact, influenced many antiwar organizations.⁶¹⁰ Alongside these movements was a third, which had its start in the 1950s women’s movements: Women’s Liberation.⁶¹¹ These movements dominated this era of American history, and when change was slow, newer radical groups replaced the old. This is how the radical New Left came to be, as Todd Gitlin explains in *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage*, “growing militancy, growing isolation, growing commitment to the Revolution, growing hatred among the competing factions

⁶⁰⁷ Sam Green and Bill Siegel, *The Weather Underground*, DVD, directed by Sam Green and Bill Siegel (Berkeley, CA: The Free History Project, 2003).

⁶⁰⁸ “Exclusive Interview: Bernardine Dohrn and Bill Ayers,” Independent Lens: The Weather Underground, <http://www.pbs.org/independentlens/weatherunderground/interview.html> (accessed March 24, 2014).

⁶⁰⁹ Cathy Wilkerson in Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage*, Revised ed. (New York: Bantam, 1993), 364.

⁶¹⁰ Groups like SDS followed the lead of the civil rights groups before them in their creation, structure and approach to protests.

⁶¹¹ Terry H. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 1.

with their competing imaginations” led to “cannibal factions.⁶¹²” Within this new radical phase, in 1969, SDS was split and reborn as the Weathermen, later called the Weather Underground, which lasted until around 1975.⁶¹³ This radical group, known for their bombings of major landmarks and liberal free love ideas, was led by a select few people, including Dohrn. Though she was a female leader, their group focused mainly on “anti-imperialism” and anti-racism, rather than the women’s movement, against many of the women’s wishes.

The focus on anti-imperialism in the Weather Underground was born out of the anti-war movement. According to Mark Rudd, when they released “You Don’t Need a Weather Man to Know Which Way the Wind Blows⁶¹⁴” to the public, they were arguing that Vietnam and the Civil Rights movement were products of imperialism:

The main struggle going on in the world today is between U.S. imperialism and the national liberation struggles against it. Basically, we argued the following: The United States is rich because of a world empire that channels wealth to this country. The revolt now taking place against the empire (e.g., Vietnam) will cause the overextension of U.S. military forces. Internally, the country is undergoing social crisis, including the revolt of black people, who have been an internal colony for hundreds of years. Since black revolutionaries are already engaging in armed struggle, whites should support them (“Share the cost”).⁶¹⁵

According to this paper, the Weathermen believed that most white Americans had privileges from this imperialist system and the youths of the nation had a duty to fight for others and to reject this imperialist system. In the eyes of the WUO overall, this was the only goal worth fighting for; by fighting against the evil American imperialism, they were fighting against racism and the war in Vietnam all at once. Following this paper, numerous communiqués and other papers were released outlining the political ideologies and plans of the WUO. None of these really included women, even though the women’s liberation movement considered them to be oppressed as well.

The Weather Underground was, along with anti-imperialism, concerned with anti-racism and civil rights as a sort of sub-ideology. To them, the nature of America was the reason that African Americans were not given their due rights. According to the WUO, American bourgeoisie thought African Americans were a group to be exploited and marginalized--not to be given rights. The WUO would fight this imperialistic idea.⁶¹⁶ In this anti-imperialist environment, it would make sense to argue that the plight of women is similar to the plight of African Americans in that they too do not have all the rights of white men and are, to some degree, “an internal colony” of sorts, but it did not work out this way. In the WUO, because of these specific frameworks at the center of their dogma, men labeled feminist movements and their goals “reactionary⁶¹⁷” and as secondary, if not third-place, objectives.⁶¹⁸ The group, even with Dohrn in the leadership chair, focused on the Days of Rage, their bombings, and other militant actions in order to fuel the

⁶¹² Gitlin, *The Sixties*, 381. The New Left was the 1960s’ “new” far leftist faction that was more concerned with social change and civil rights rather than unions and labor movements.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁶¹⁴ A paper circulated by the WUO underlining “what needs to be done” to build a revolution in America.

⁶¹⁵ Mark Rudd, *Underground: My Life with Sds and the Weathermen* (New York: William Morrow, 2009), 147.

⁶¹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁷ Hilarious considering their entire mission statement, I think.

⁶¹⁸ Rebecca E. Klatch, *A Generation Divided: The New Left, the New Right, and the 1960s* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1999), 198.

Revolution against imperialist powers that held African Americans in check and kept the war going. The only time the Weather Underground dealt directly with any part of the feminist movement was when it served their other objectives, hence the designation as a “secondary objective.”⁶¹⁹”

Despite the anti-imperialist and anti-racist focus of the Weather Underground, women in the movement experienced misogyny. Men in both the antiwar and the Civil Rights movement saw the feminist movement as a distraction, or as silly. Stokley Carmichael is often quoted as saying “the only position for women in the movement is prone,” and men in the New Left were quoted calling feminists “frustrated bitches,” underlining just what many of the men in other movements thought.⁶²⁰ This misogynistic attitude towards women in the movements caused more fractures and changes. In order to be taken seriously, the women in the Weather Underground dressed similarly to men, thus in one way helping them, but also hurting their feminist goals by forcing them to change.⁶²¹

This is not to say that these women did not have an impact in the Weather Underground movement. In their writings and Women’s Brigade, they made their mark. Beginning in 1973 with the Mountain Moving Day document, they circulated their ideas about women in the movement during a hiatus in the war in Vietnam.⁶²² According to Dan Berger, this was “a fascinating and timely document that attempts to untangle the organization’s inconsistent politics regarding women’s liberation and to determine a new direction in light of the January 1973 cease-fire between the United States and Vietnam.”⁶²³ Berger continues to describe what they set out to do, “‘Mountain Moving Day’ resulted in a feminist initiative within WUO, which centered upon three goals: (1) ‘To encourage solidarity among women, to make work among women a priority (geographically, structurally, programmatically), (2) To develop a women’s program for and about women; to actively participate in building the women’s movement, (3) To recognize the need for solidarity among men.”⁶²⁴”

In their writings following Mountain Moving Day, the women of WUO tried to make a case for feminism within the larger movement in order to effect change. Naomi Jaffe (another member of the Women’s Brigade and WUO) and Bernardine Dohrn wrote “The Look is You: Two Tits and No Head” for the New Left Notes that was then published in Ramparts magazine, which, in a way, marked the beginning of the women’s movement influence on the WUO. This article was an attempt by Jaffe and Dohrn to relate the women’s cause specifically to the pro-communist and anti-capitalist notions of the WUO by explaining how women could be freed through WUO ideals:

A strategy for the liberation of women, then, does not demand equal jobs (exploitation), but meaningful creative activity for all; not a larger share of power

⁶¹⁹ Klatch, *A Generation Divided*, 198.

⁶²⁰ Stokley Carmichael was a leader of the civil rights movement, first with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and then the Black Panthers.

⁶²¹ Anne Koedt, Ellen Levine, and Anita Rapone, *Radical Feminism* (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1973), 327-328.

⁶²² The Mountain Moving Day document was the outline the Women’s Brigade released leading up to their Mountain Moving Day. It essentially outlined their plan to “build a militant women’s movement that commits itself to the destruction of ‘Amerikan imperialism’ and exploit ‘the man’s chauvinism’ as a ‘strategic weakness.’” In Dan Berger, *Outlaws of America: the Weather Underground and the Politics of Solidarity* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2006), 143.

⁶²³ Ibid.

⁶²⁴ Ibid., 171.

but the abolition of commodity tyranny; not equally reified sexual roles but an end to sexual objectification and exploitation; not equal aggressive leadership in the Movement, but the initiation of a new style of non-dominating leadership.⁶²⁵

Another example of weatherwomen's pro-feminist leanings is the book, *Sing a Battle Song*, which is a compilation of poems written by weatherwomen about their experiences in both the WUO and society overall. As the foreword states, the poems include and promote much of the Weather radical ideology, "we agree wholeheartedly with the women of Vietnam: 'Revolution is our way of liberation.'" While they were using their writing as a way to connect feminism and the WUO ideas, these poems are also an example of how their efforts failed. They are their sisterhood written down, according to Dohrn, but that sisterhood was born out of the marginalization of the women's movement.⁶²⁶ One poem from the summer of 1973 underlines this:

Many times/We have talked, laughed, shared./A flash of recognition in your eyes/Told me/Whether you smile in agreement/Or wrinkle your brow in disagreement/That you never question me, or my right/to speak up, to explore what I think./There is a warmth of sisterhood/And the keen eye of politics,/watching.⁶²⁷

In this poem, the power of sisterhood between the female members of the WUO is lauded as something to help them deal with the politics of everything else. Unfortunately, all three of these writings, even the Mountain Moving Day article that resulted in the "Six Sisters packet" study group,⁶²⁸ did little to nothing to change the already discussed driving causes in the WUO, aside from officially changing the name from Weathermen to Weather Underground.

The women of the WUO also formed what was known as the Women's Brigade in order to help further the cause of the Weather Underground. The Women's Brigade bombed the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University as a symbol against the "Amerikan imperialism" in Vietnam and in solidarity with Angela Davis, a political activist who had recently been arrested.⁶²⁹ The bombing is considered to be the first action taken by the Brigade. The women emphasized both their women's liberation support and the antiwar movement all at once by choosing a building tied to Vietnam in order to disprove feminists that said Vietnam was not a women's issue.⁶³⁰ Another bombing took on March 6, 1974 at the San Francisco Department of Health, Education and Welfare offices (HEW). The Women's Brigade claimed this in honor of International Women's Day and in remembrance of Weatherman members Diana Oughton, Ted Gold and Terry Robbins.⁶³¹ The Brigade argued in its communiqué for women to take control of daycare, health

⁶²⁵ Loren Baritz, *The American Left: Radical Political Thought in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Basic Books, 1971), 1.

⁶²⁶ Bernardine Dohrn, Bill Ayers, and Jeff Jones, eds., *Sing a Battle Song: the Revolutionary Poetry, Statements, and Communiqués of the Weather Underground, 1970-1974* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2006), 73.

⁶²⁷ Dohrn, Ayers, and Jones, eds., *Sing a Battle Song*, 99-100.

⁶²⁸ According to Berger, the Six Sisters packet was a study group that was formed to make these changes in the WUO happen. The weatherwomen bonded over these groups, discovered issues of intersection with their other causes, and denounced separatism, but this was all for naught, as the ideas still did not translate into the larger goals of the WUO.

⁶²⁹ Gilbert, David. *SDS/WUO: Students for a Democratic Society and the Weather Underground Organization*. Pmplt ed. Montreal: Abraham Guillen Press/Arm the Spirit, 2002, 33.

⁶³⁰ Berger, *Outlaws of America*, 143.

⁶³¹ *Ibid.*, 172. Robbins, Gold and Oughton were killed in an accidental explosion in New York City while creating bombs for the Weather Underground.

care, birth control and other aspects of women's lives.⁶³² By making an all-women group more devoted to the destruction of anti-imperialism than to the feminist cause, the end result was, to Naomi Jaffe, a kind of diluted feminism that seemed to fulfill that “secondary objective” designation.⁶³³

In contrast to these efforts against the misogyny and patriarchal nature of the WUO and society, when the women of the WUO promoted the “smashing of monogamy,” they may have actually hurt their own stance. The WUO required members to live in “weather collectives” in an effort to reject the bourgeois, imperialist society. According to Mark Rudd, all female members were required to have sex with all male members, and women also had sexual relations with other women, as monogamous relationships were considered “counterrevolutionary.” To some degree, this was a continuation of their communist ideals. Feminism was selfish and monogamy was looked down upon in a collective, communist society. But the major motivation was actually the liberation of women.⁶³⁴ This idea in the collectives, vividly described by Rudd, actually broke up couples for the sake of the movement, and hurt the solidarity of the Weathermen; instead of being free from men, women fought over men’s attention. Also, because of the importance of the revolution, if they had children within their couples or outside of them, they had to give their babies to lower-ranking members if they became distracted from their goals.⁶³⁵

Dohrn was a big reason why feminism was even acknowledged in the WUO, though she did not fight for feminism with the same vigor as she did with the anti-imperialist cause. With all of these forces driven, Dohrn proved to be a charismatic, powerful leader. Everyone that was involved with the WUO praises her for not only her dedication and sacrifice, but also her ability to lead effectively. Most authorities, especially Larry Grathwohl of the FBI, even describe her as the actual leader of the WUO, earning a spot on the FBI’s Ten Most Wanted list during this time. She took trips around the world as an emissary for their cause, she also led the Women’s Brigade in their bombing efforts, and she seemingly took the brunt of the blame with the authorities.⁶³⁶ Her work with the movement is hard to overstate, but how much did her gender impact her position? According to Dohrn, while she was a leader, she was still a woman in her leader’s chair, though she was the only woman at that high level, “Of course, women were major organizers, and we did do a lot of the work. They were leaders in the sense of being local and campus and community organizers and speakers, but it was always the men who were the officers and who held official positions and gave the big debate speeches.⁶³⁷” In order to fight this, Dohrn and many of the women of the WUO became more like men; they imitated their dress and bravado, in order to compete with the machismo in the organization.⁶³⁸

In the turmoil of the 1960s and 70s, the Weather Underground may have been a small group, but they made sure they were heard. They were boisterous and literally explosive on issues like the war in Vietnam and the Civil Rights Movement. When it came to women’s liberation, however, they were fairly silent. Even with a group like the Women’s Brigade, that was willing to “smash monogamy” and blow up buildings for the cause, women’s rights were overlooked in the

⁶³² Dohrn, Ayers, and Jones, eds., *Sing a Battle Song*, 214-215.

⁶³³ Berger, *Outlaws of America*, 174.

⁶³⁴ Rudd, *Underground*, 147.

⁶³⁵ Margaret Gonzalez-Perez, *Women and Terrorism: Female Activity in Domestic and International Terror Groups*, Contemporary Terrorism Studies (London: Routledge, 2008), 58.

⁶³⁶ Sam Green and Bill Siegel, *The Weather Underground*, DVD (Berkeley, CA: The Free History Project, 2003).

⁶³⁷ Ron Chepesiuk, *Sixties Radicals, Then and Now: Candid Conversations with Those Who Shaped the Era* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 1995), 233.

⁶³⁸ Berger, *Outlaws of America*, 172.

WUO. In an organization (and society) that attempted to laugh off or belittle much of the feminist movement, these women had to imitate men in order to be taken seriously; Dohrn, for example, was famous for her leather jacket and masculine attitude.⁶³⁹ In the collectives, these same women pushed to “smash monogamy” in order to go along with the anti-imperialist views of the movement, rather than create even more fractures in the group. In hindsight, many of the women, like Dohrn and Jaffe, wish they could have done more for the feminist movement. It is obvious, however, that even though they did not do as much as they wanted to, these women achieved something, as even Robin Morgan dedicated part of her book, *Sisterhood is Powerful*, to women like Dohrn.⁶⁴⁰

⁶³⁹ Sam Green and Bill Siegel, *The Weather Underground*, DVD (Berkeley, CA: The Free History Project, 2003).

⁶⁴⁰ Robin Morgan, ed., *Sisterhood Is Powerful* (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), xxxvii. Robin Morgan was a key radical feminist during the ‘60s and ‘70s. She is the author of *Sisterhood is Powerful*, a book that largely influenced Second Wave feminism.

Prostitution and Police: The Great Social Evil in Chicago

Kimberly Jones



The Great Social Evil by John Leech, 1857

In 1860, Queen Victoria of England issued a proclamation encouraging piety and virtue. She further affirmed a commitment to punish all vice and immorality “in all persons of whatsoever degree or quality.”⁶⁴¹ The proclamation, reprinted in the *Chicago Press and Tribune*, symbolized a global declaration to remove vice from societies through use of police control. Victorian morality encouraged individual sexual control on the threat of loss of reputation and resulted in encouraged clandestine immorality; base desires remained and prostitution thrived.⁶⁴² The image of two women in a doorway show the shame expected of the prostituted women, however another image from the May Evans Picture Library shows a prostitute examined with interest by the husband of a respectable and disapproving woman.⁶⁴³ These images were common in Victorian newspapers. Previously, slavery dominated the moral conversation of the early nineteenth

century. In the build up to the Civil War, cities to the north such as Chicago equated the social evil with slavery but “London’s Social Evil” pierced the language of abolition and by the 1870 the consensus equated Social Evil with prostitution and prostitution with criminality.⁶⁴⁴

The city’s elite were concerned with the place of women and visible sexuality of the city. Policing the sexuality of working class women allowed the developing bourgeoisie class to monitor morality within Chicago. Rather than an incidental relationship in development of social control, the monitoring of women was a deliberate practice to create what the elite class believed to be proper civic identity and behavior. The attempts to restrict female sexuality through regulating and criminalizing prostitution created a forum for women to enter the public discourse and debate their existence with men. This avenue for women, created from the destabilization of the nineteenth century, diminished after the Chicago fire.

⁶⁴¹ The Queen. “A Proclamation for the Encouragement of Piety and Virtue.” *Chicago Press and Tribune*, July 9, 1860, 2. Staff. “Queen Victoria’s Proclamation Against Vice and Immorality”, *Chicago Press and Tribune*, July 9, 1860, 2.

⁶⁴² Donald L Miller, *City of the Century: The Epic of Chicago and the Making of America*, (Chicago: Simon and Schuster, 1996), 513.

⁶⁴³ Figure 1. John Leech. *The Great Social Evil*, 1857. Cartoon.

<http://reframingthevictorians.blogspot.com/2013/11/the-great-social-evil-prostitution-and.html> (Accessed October 8 2014) and Author unknown. *Print of a Victorian prostitute*. 1871. Source Mary Evans Picture library, Ibid.

⁶⁴⁴ Contagious Disease Act of 1864 originated in England. The act allowed police officers to arrest prostitutes and potentially detain them if a medical exam found evidence of venereal disease. It was much discussed in America and Chicago. In this paper criminality refers to crime and criminal behavior exhibited through the vices as defined by Victorian England of those not able-bodied, hardworking, chaste, sober and clean.

Research on the Chicago fire itself, The White City and H.H Holmes, and the rise of industrialization dominates Chicago's history of the 19th century. Initially, my own objective was to illuminate the role of police in controlling morality through regulation of women, but through the sources a different story emerged. Women at the intersection of police control and prostitution creates a forum for gender discussion and offers a new perspective on the city. Newspaper letters to the editor, editorials, articles, 19th century histories of the Chicago Police, and documents from Chicago commissions represent the core of this study. In order to place the events in context, it is necessary to discuss the social environment leading up to the discussion of gender in the Chicago Tribune.

Even before the massive changes in demography brought about by the Civil War, major cities such as Chicago faced destabilization due to the Industrial Revolution that impacted traditional relationships at work and home. In *Shopkeeper's Millennium*, Paul Johnson suggests that the change from patriarchal work relationship to wage based labor caused the social control between employer and employee to break down.⁶⁴⁵ By the mid-19th century, middle and working class inhabited distinct social worlds in separate neighborhoods. The emerging middle class no longer controlled the morality of their workforce in apprentice family relationships. The continued and increasingly vocal agitation for women's suffrage created additional anxiety over traditional gender roles.⁶⁴⁶

The change in work environment did not only affect work relationships, but the personal relationship between men and women as well. Middle class women worked alongside their husbands in close contact with the public world were increasingly pushed into the home, while working class single women found work outside homes more than ever before.⁶⁴⁷ The decreasing control over the working class concerned the bourgeoisie and the newly separate spheres of men and women meant that the monitoring devices for women's behavior needed to be readjusted. The police represented an opportunity for the economic and political elite to stabilize and secure society as they saw fit.

Part of this stabilization process included attempts to control physicality and sexuality particularly in women. The appearance of women in public life increased, but garnered opposition.⁶⁴⁸ "By the 1830s, prostitutes...were more visible on urban streets,"⁶⁴⁹ and the religious components of society became concerned. Christian reformers communicated to the Police Commission and Mayor of Chicago that "pandering to the baser instincts of our nature must

⁶⁴⁵ Paul Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester New York, 1815-1837*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978)45-53; Barbara Meil Hobson, *Uneasy Virtue: The Politics of Prostitution and the American Reform Tradition*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 66.

⁶⁴⁶ For more on anxiety over gender roles see, Victoria Bynum, *Unruly Women: The Politics of Sexual and Social Control in the Old South, 1840-1865* (Chapel Hill: UNC, 1992), Catherine Denial, *Making Marriage: Husbands, Wives, and the American State in Dakota and Ojibwe Country* (Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2013) and Lisa Wilson, *Life after Death: Widows in Pennsylvania, 1750-1850* (Temple, 1992).

⁶⁴⁷ Hobson, *Uneasy Virtue*, 63.

⁶⁴⁸ This theoretical framework owes itself to Rosemarie Zagari. *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early Republic*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007). Zagari argues that the expanded freedom women experienced after the Revolutionary War ended with attempts to stabilize the familiar patriarchal order and stripped women of newfound power. Thaddeus Russell in *A Renegade History of the United States*, (New York: Free Press, 2010), complicates the idea that women were increasingly socially powerless in the 19th century. He suggests that women in the west possessed expansive power and authority.

⁶⁴⁹ John D Emilio and Estelle B Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 133

cease.”⁶⁵⁰ Yet, religious reformers did not address the needs of the changing society. Christian reformers “attempt to cultivate social influences” was “stiff and religiously exclusive.”⁶⁵¹ The work of reformers relied heavily on biblical doctrine in a time high church attendance but Chicago’s working class seem unwilling to remain on the pew whilst at the pub. Vice and crime’s elimination could not solely depend on church membership; other means were needed.⁶⁵² Control of the masses occurred through centralized sexual monopoly of men over women due to the vilification of sex and use of the police to regulate women’s behavior.⁶⁵³ Cautionary tales appeared in bookstores and newspapers on the results of failure to regulate sexual curiosity.

A Chicago Tribune article recounted the tale of a fallen woman. After her time as an “inmate of a den of vice,” she was then rescued by a police officer. This example illustrates the social and moral influence of the police.⁶⁵⁴ Officer Diggins, the poor soul’s rescuer, recommended her for reform and she was “furnished with means” to return to her father’s house and returned to male authority.⁶⁵⁵ The absence of male influence marked a path toward criminal behaviour for women in the eyes of the authorities.

Beginning in the 19th century, female deviants’ crimes intertwined with sexual status. The gendered profile of women included knowledge of their sexual history.⁶⁵⁶ Sociologists consider prostitution a gateway crime for women. It is the signifier for a predilection for criminal behavior. The American Civil War marked a time of increasing concern for the welfare of women. The Civil War “facilitated the expansion of prostitution,” as women found increased opportunity to augment a life decimated by war through profiting from the isolation of men from their families on the battlefield.⁶⁵⁷ Following the Civil War, American women availed themselves of the increased desire for north/south reconciliation and used such focus to create industry for themselves. They cloaked themselves in pity for the losses they suffered during the war to continue to service the sexual desires of men and became places where men who fought under either flag to visit.

The Social Evil’s connection to decent people (as Victorian elite viewed those in their own circle or emulating their personage) and uncovering how decent women crossed over to vice greatly concerned Chicagoans. In an 1867 article on Dr. William Wallace Sanger’s experiment in New York, a reporter wrote that women overwhelmingly enter the trade by destitution or inclination.⁶⁵⁸ A major point of concern relayed in the article was the concealment of sexual deviancy by respectable clothing and address. This was illustrated by the bewilderment and horror

⁶⁵⁰ Staff. “Houses of Prostitution: Their Abundance in Chicago—The Last order of the Police Commissioner—Its Evil Results.” *Chicago Tribune*. Jan 28, 1864, 4

⁶⁵¹ Staff. “Hints to Christian Reformers”, *Chicago Tribune*, Jan 25, 1866, 2.

⁶⁵² The Queen. “A Proclamation for the Encouragement of Piety and Virtue.” Chicago Press and Tribune, July 9, 1860, 2. Staff. “Queen Victoria’s Proclamation Against Vice and Immorality”, Chicago Press and Tribune, July 9, 1860, 2.

⁶⁵³ Alice Schwarzer, “The Function of Sexuality in the Oppression of Women” in *German Feminism: Readings in Politics and Literature*, ed. Edith H. Altbach, (New York: SUNY Press, 1984), 105-110, 107. Schwarzer finds that men acquire sexual monopoly that allows for an economic and social monopoly over women; as prostitutes became a desired and for some easier profession, men needed to reassert this control through use of legal and moral rules.

⁶⁵⁴ Sam Mitrani, *The Rise of the Chicago Police Department: Class and Conflict, 1850-1894*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2013), 5, 14, 178, 220,

⁶⁵⁵ Staff. “Regulating the Social Evil,: Effects of the New Law in St. Louis—Reformations Already Expected-The Fallen One”, *Chicago Tribune*, July 22, 1870, 4.

⁶⁵⁶ Hobson, *Uneasy Virtue*, 112-113.

⁶⁵⁷ Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters* 134; Frank Morn, *Forgotten Reformer: Robert McCloughry and Criminal Justice Reform in Nineteenth Century America*, (University Press of America, 2010), 23.

⁶⁵⁸ Sanger was a New York physician who wrote a foundational study on prostitution.

expressed in describing, “Where one woman is selling her honor openly there are two more who do so clandestinely.” The author of this piece devoted considerable words to the telling of a seemingly respectable woman found to engage in prostitution.⁶⁵⁹

This article supported the regulations on prostitution that St. Louis, Missouri developed.⁶⁶⁰ “The Council accordingly passed an ordinance empowering the Board of Health and the Board of Police Commissions to adopt rules . . . [to] bring . . . beneficial effects of the restraints imposed upon the vices . . .” These actions, according to the journalist, were supported by “intelligent and moral citizens,” and regulation of prostitution was considered of “vital importance to the social well being if the community.”⁶⁶¹

The Police suggested a meeting that included Chicago Boards of Health to mimic the Saint Louis program. The conference concerned a licensing system of regulation and control of prostitution and screening for sexually transmitted diseases.⁶⁶² In April of 1867, The Grand Jury of the Recorder’s Court expressed deep concern over “the tide of female prostitution, now existing in our city to fearful extent.”⁶⁶³ Despite the police conducting “nightly raids,” the city’s descent into immorality continued. Citizens called for increased taxes on this class of moral evildoers in order to insure “a portion of their ill-gotten gains go into the common treasury to be dispensed along with honorable receipts received from our citizens.”⁶⁶⁴

Social elites turned towards the law as a redress to protect the purity of their wives and daughters from this new industry. Initially, laws allowed for wide interpretation about prostitution and often times women in the sexual services were charged with vagrancy or disorderly conduct.⁶⁶⁵ Police recorded the numbers of women of ill repute in order and sought to diminish their numbers through the authority of the police force. Many cities, including Chicago, heard calls to meet the “social evil with social laws . . . that the police be especially required . . .”⁶⁶⁶ The Chicago Vice Commission investigation of prostitution in the city found a connection (that they were unwilling to fully explore) in a study of the social evil problem with the police. The police were both objects of interest and investigation, and rather than discuss the behavior of the police, the commission instead describes the impossibility of regulating the trade which resulted in “a custom of tolerance and indifference” due to the demoralization on the part of police officers.⁶⁶⁷ These acts of “bribery

Although Sanger conducted a study behind the motives of prostitutes’ decision to enter the sex trade the language of the newspapers termed it as an experiment.

⁶⁵⁹ Staff. “The Social Evil.: Startling Statistics of Prostitution in New York City—Extent and causes of the Evil Wickedness in Purple and Misery in Rags”, *Chicago Tribune*, Jan 9, 1867, 3; Staff. “Prostitution. Statistics of the Social Evil in New York”. *Chicago Tribune* Feb 8, 1867, 3.

⁶⁶⁰ The culmination of St. Louis discussion on Social Evil was a law regulating the trade in 1870. Before the law passed citizens voiced support of a law to legalize prostitution under controlled conditions.

⁶⁶¹ Staff. “The Social Evil.: Startling Statistics of Prostitution in New York City”, *Chicago Tribune*, Jan 9, 1867, 3.

⁶⁶² Staff. “The Social Evil in St. Louis”, *Chicago Tribune*, Feb 5 1867, 2.

⁶⁶³ Staff. “The Social Evil.: Presentment by the Grand Jury of the Recorder’s Court”, *Chicago Tribune*, April 29 1867, 4.

⁶⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁵ Hobson, *Uneasy Virtue* 30.

⁶⁶⁶ To the Editor of the Advertiser. “The Great Social Evil”, *The South Australian Advertiser*, August 5, 1858, 7. I use ill repute and brothel interchangeably to describe places where prostitutes either lived or worked and the poor reputation given to women in the sex trade.

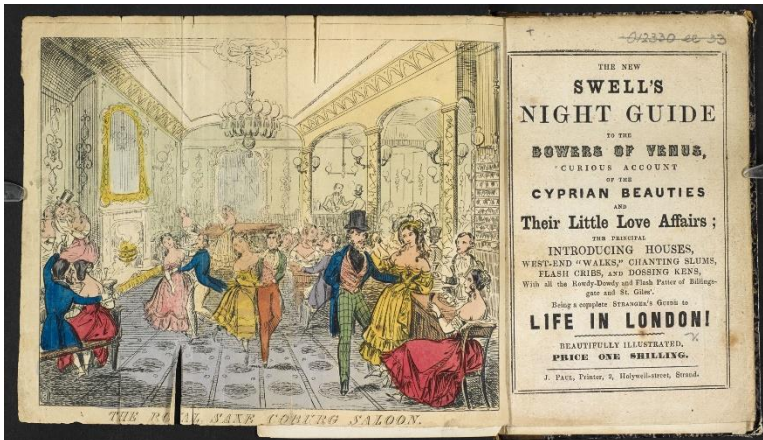
⁶⁶⁷ A Municipal Body Appointed by the Mayor and the City Council of the City of Chicago and Submitted as its Report to the Mayor and City Council of Chicago, *The Social Evil in Chicago: A Study of Existing Conditions with Recommendations by the Vice Commission*, (Chicago: Gunthorp-Warren Printing Company, 1911), 143-144.

and corruption” were not uncommon, and resulted from new police officers receiving low wages that did not meet their needs.⁶⁶⁸

In Chicago, women were pushed from the streets into brothels as institutions of vice developed. Police officers accepted money from owners of brothels to ignore their trade. The involvement of police was integral to the success of houses of ill repute.

The unofficial policy on prostitution houses meant that as long as complaints were kept at a minimum the business could continue upon payment of “fees” to the police.⁶⁶⁹ Both the owners of the houses and police received incentive for the continuation of prostitution. Donald L Miller, in *City of the Century: The Epic of Chicago and the Making of America*, diligently attempts to illuminate the harsh realities of prostitution, though he does little to acknowledge the attraction and opportunity that the profession held for women.⁶⁷⁰

During the 19th century, more workers moved off the farms to find work in the cities of America, with Chicago becoming a popular destination for hundreds of poor. Women who arrived in Chicago found it difficult to find employment in more desirable occupations, especially after the Civil War, as many elite women operated on a false memory of black domestic workers and thus former slave women were highly sought after as domestic workers.⁶⁷¹ Unable to find work, these women turned to prostitution as a means of supporting themselves and their families.⁶⁷²



Within the sex market, women found opportunity for freedom. In brothels women found companions, food and shelter.⁶⁷³ Notorious Chicago madams, Mina and Ada Everleigh, reasoned that prostitutes were investments and should receive appropriate treatment.⁶⁷⁴ Often such women making their way to the city received five times as much as they could make in “respectable” employment.⁶⁷⁵ William Cronon

suggests that vice created pathways from the rural and city life through the guidebooks for the locations of places of prostitution.⁶⁷⁶

According to historian Lisa Krissoff Boehm, “since the Civil War era, Chicago had served as a popular travel destination for men interested in visiting prostitution resorts. Perhaps two

⁶⁶⁸ John Joseph Finn and John Elbert Wilkie, *History of Chicago Police: From Settlement of the Community to Present Time*, (Chicago, Illinois, Chicago Police Book Fund, 1887), 145.

⁶⁶⁹ Morn, , *Forgotten Reformer*, 134.

⁶⁷⁰ Donald L Miller, *City of the Century: The Epic of Chicago and the Making of America*,(Chicago: Simon and Schuster, 1996), 510-513.

⁶⁷¹ Thavolia Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage: The Transformation of the Plantation Household*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 135, 213

⁶⁷² Hobson, *Uneasy Virtue* 66-67, 75

⁶⁷³ Ibid. 128.

⁶⁷⁴ Karen Abbott, *Sin in the Second City: Madams, Ministers, Playboys and the Battle for America's Soul* (New York: Random House, 2007), 5.

⁶⁷⁵ Abbott, *Sin in the Second City* 20.

⁶⁷⁶ William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*, (New York: WW Norton & Co, 1992), 354, 356.

hundred to two hundred and fifty brothels were in operation in Chicago by the 1860s.”⁶⁷⁷ The New Swell’s Night Guide (1847) from London was but one guidebook produced to educate upper class men about the proper ways to approach and find women for sexual pleasure.⁶⁷⁸ In America, similar guides offered a deeper understanding of sex in the largest cities like Chicago.⁶⁷⁹ Such as the 1889, Sporting and Club House Directory which published locations of the brothels in Chicago’s red light district.⁶⁸⁰ Sex was the discourse of men despite the necessity of women in the activity. Yet women remained aware of the predilections of their fathers, brothers, husbands and sons.

The conversations of men were interwoven with conversations of women. Suffragettes met men in open space and despite praise of their defiance of “ordinary social rule [to] assert ... right to ... individuality,” these comments were often coated with criticism.⁶⁸¹ Women with means could operate outside the oppression of America’s patriarchal system, despite criticism, while women without the means to stand for change worked in distasteful, degrading and diminishing service.⁶⁸²

In Chicago, literary conversations, such as some found in the Chicago Tribune, fixated on how the city should react and what actions the police should take to combat this social evil. In June and July of 1867, women and men responded to one another on what they believed were solutions to the ‘social evil’. These conversations moved from proposals to combat the social evil to the role and expectations of women in society. Women as well as men entered the public moral discourse. The exchange began with a call for sympathy for the magdalens in 1866.⁶⁸³ *A Woman*, an article published by the Chicago Tribune, stated, “Communication of so many ladies upon this topic may be really burdensome, but the only plea we make is the heart within us pleading to speak.”⁶⁸⁴ *A Woman* commented on the willingness of women to speak despite social criticism and their own social invisibility: “[t]his subject affects us as much as it does our brothers.” The author stated that women should have voice in the solution because the existence affected them as well. She challenged the duplicity of men’s sexual behavior: “I utterly detest and abhor that man who puts on a brazen face and never admits that his honor is stained ...by want of virtue.”⁶⁸⁵ *A Woman* finished by attacking the traditional argument of woman’s centrality in the fall of Adam: “[i]t is the same story repeated over and over again—‘the woman enticed me, and I did eat.’”⁶⁸⁶

A Woman ignited response for arguments that divided along gender lines. A reader self-named *A Man* accused *A Woman* of greater sin than licentiousness of men in the manner of her response to the social evil question. He proposed that women marry for more than position and support to alleviate the social evil. When women did not act appropriately in marriage, “[m]en [will] tire of faded charms...and buys fresher ones.” He continued to state that if women “win husbands love by attractive person and ladylike accomplishments”... and exhibit a demeanor

⁶⁷⁷ Lisa Krissoff Boehm, *Popular Culture and the Enduring Myth of Chicago, 1871-1968*, (London: Routledge, 2004), 64.

⁶⁷⁸ Author unknown. *The New Swell's Night Guide*. 1847. Illustration from a book. Source British Library, <http://www.bl.uk/collection-items/the-new-swells-night-guide>

⁶⁷⁹ Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 113-114, 181.

⁶⁸⁰ Morn, *Forgotten Reformer*, 133.

⁶⁸¹ Staff. “New York: Women in the Lecture Room. Woman’s Place and Work I Modern Society. A Plea for the Sex Anna Dickinson’s Last Lecture on ‘Something to Do’. Elizabeth Cady Stanton’s Appeal for Suffrage. Anna Dickinson. Public Speaking. Style. An Application. Elizabeth Cady Stanton”, *Chicago Tribune*, March 3 1867, 2.

⁶⁸² Hobson, *Uneasy Virtue*, 97; Emilio and Freedman, *Intimate Matters*, 132.

⁶⁸³ A W. “Sympathy with the Fallen”, *Chicago Tribune*, September 9, 1866, 1.

⁶⁸⁴ A Woman’s View of A Woman, “The Social Evil”, *Chicago Tribune* June 23, 1867, 2.

⁶⁸⁵ A Woman, “The Social Evil: A Woman’s Views” *Chicago Tribune*, June 23 1867, 2.

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid.

opposite of *A Woman*; it would insure domestic virtue and happiness.⁶⁸⁷ He placed the solution to social evil on *respectable* women's behavior in marriage and society.

In June, another woman, Hypatia, entered the conversation. Hypatia disagreed with the "questionable spirit" that noted a "queer verdict [men] presume upon [women]." She accused men of hypocrisy in expectations of virtuous women.⁶⁸⁸ These ideas were supported by *A Friend of Woman* who stated that *A Man* was correct to note what expectations surround the position of wife, but accused him of ignoring the same expectations in husbands. Men need to "redouble efforts to please wife or she will turn from you to others."⁶⁸⁹ The debate continued with letters from *Countrywoman*, *A Magdalen's View*, *A Youngman*, and many more. The interactions that arose from a discussion on the social evil evolved into a debate on the inequality between the sexes.⁶⁹⁰

The editors of the *Chicago Tribune*, rather than halting the line of conversation, encouraged it and more letters followed. In the letters, support of women's independence appeared, and women were gaining a respected voice in Chicago. The editors of the *Tribune* noted that "it appears that the elevation of woman from the condition of abject dependence and ignorance is simultaneous with the abatement of social evil."

In the nineteenth century, the bourgeoisie maintained particular notions of what cities should be and who should occupy public or visible space as a physical and ideological construct in the 19th century. The increase of women's independence due to the Civil war and Industrialization laid the foundations for a promise of female self-determination. This promise supported women in their efforts to express how the gender roles affected them and their view of solutions to the social evil in the city. In Chicago, concern over prostitution created a space for women in public discourse. The potential for women ended abruptly after the Chicago Fire of 1871, however, and women's public space would be filled with other concerns.

History of the Chicago Police discusses the fire period as one of great civic turmoil where "the great masses of people [were] plunged... into vice degradation and crime;"⁶⁹¹ where "public vice which flaunted with impudence born of long immunity" remained in the city.⁶⁹² After the fire, prostitution flourished until the destruction of the red light district by Mayor Carter Harrison II.⁶⁹³ Women continued to flock to prostitution to support the disruptive changes in the city; however, they could not sustain the attention to the oppression of gender roles that they gained before the fire.

Gender history often looks toward the women and men who advanced the movement. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B Anthony, Lucretia Mott are names that are recognized, recorded and lauded as the speakers of the movement. However social change occurs in quiet moments

⁶⁸⁷ A Man, "The Social Evil.: A Man's Views in Reply to 'A Woman'", *Chicago Tribune*, June 25, 1867, 2.

⁶⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁹ Friend of Woman, "Women's Remedy". *Chicago Tribune*, July 1 1867, 2.

⁶⁹⁰ Countrywoman, "A voice from the Country, *Chicago Tribune*, July 8, 1867, 2; FGN, "A Magdalen's View". *Chicago Tribune*, July 7, 1867, 2; A Youngman, "A Youngman's Views". *Chicago Tribune*, July 7, 1867, 2; Woman Who Has Charity for All, "Man's Power over Woman", *Chicago Tribune*, July 8, 1867, 2; Justice, The Depravity of men, *Chicago Tribune*, July 15, 1867, 2; Ne fallaris Vide, "The Social Evil.: Further Discussion of the Subject. The wrong its Remedy. Plain Words to Women", *Chicago Tribune*, July 15, 1867, 2; Justice, "Man the offender", *Chicago Tribune*, July 15, 1867, 2; R, "Is it a Necessary Evil". *Chicago Tribune*, July 21, 1867, 2; Staff. "The Social Evil.: The Sentiments of Both Sexes. What Must be Done to Abate the Pestilence", July 21 1867, 2; A Married Man of Fifty Seven, "Some of the Causes of the Social Evil", *Chicago Tribune*, July 21, 1867, 2; Staff, "The Social Evil—Arrests", *Chicago Tribune*, July 12, 1867, 4 .

⁶⁹¹ Finn and Wilkie, *History of Chicago Police* 112

⁶⁹² Ibid. 349

⁶⁹³ Miller, *City of the Century*, 539

outside the purvey of the movement's architects. In 1867 Chicago women vocally exercised their rights by challenging their prescribed gender roles. Queen Victoria's call for virtue had different meaning for these women. For them virtue demanded changes for women and men. They argued that the damnation of prostitutes was equally a damnation of the men that visited brothels. In doing so they turned the conversation from one of social evil to societal roles.

Prostitution in Chicago in the 19th century should be an ongoing topic of research to help gain a better picture of this time. There are newspapers other than the Chicago Tribune that could support the findings. The impact of the changing of gender roles on manhood offers opportunity as well on the discourse of prostitution in Chicago. The historical context should also be filled with more attention to the feminist movement in Chicago. Women such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and many others visited and spoke in the city on women's rights and morality. Their lectures could be a reliable source in articulating women's creation of environment for respect through attempts to reform the social evil/prostitution.

Review of: *Iron Curtain the Crushing of Eastern Europe 1944-1956* by Anne Applebaum

Courtney Sage

In *Iron Curtain the Crushing of Eastern Europe 1944-1956*, author Anne Applebaum examines the Soviet Union's use of totalitarianism and its effect on the shaping of 20th century Europe. Applebaum's post revisionist argument places the blame of the Cold War on the Soviet Union due to its intrinsic tendency towards destruction and its longing for total control. Applebaum's chronological narration constructs a factual story of destruction and failure within the communist system yet also studies the citizens' ability to reconstruct their countries after overcoming the occupation of the Soviet Union. Within *Iron Curtain*, the meaning of totalitarianism is clarified and the true destruction of the Cold War is defined.

She specifically focuses on Hungary, Poland, and Eastern Germany's reaction to the totalitarianism system. Applebaum wastes no time setting the scene for the reader to understand where Eastern Europe stood amongst the destruction of World War I. The first chapter, "Zero Hour", gives the reader a descriptive narration of the physical and psychological damage suffered by the citizens were experiencing. As a new beginning was developing, the communists planned to use the vulnerability of the citizens for their own advantage to gain control. Throughout the remaining first half of *Iron Curtain*, Applebaum explores the different tactics of the Communist parties used to obtain control of the Eastern European countries, while also asserting the fact that these tactics were short-term successes. Her ability to give descriptive discussion about the violence and propaganda used allows for a clear understanding of the totalitarianism Soviet Union ideals.

The strength of the first half of *Iron Curtain* is Applebaum's concise application of the term totalitarianism. She creates chapters surrounding the different forms of control, such as the police force, the youth, mass media, and the economy. While each of the chapters' central point is this idea of control, it allows the reader to obtain a new perspective of the environment. The descriptions of the police force and ethnic cleansing immerses the reader into the violence; following up with the mass media and youth chapters, she transports the reader into more of the daily routine of citizens. Finally, ending the first half of the book with chapters on politics and the economy, the reader enters the mindset of the institutions and the understanding of control on a broader scale.

While the first half of the book does explore the citizens' rebellious actions towards the communist control, it is most prominently found in the second half of the book. The structure of the book allows for the true definition of totalitarianism to be transformed and paves the way for the reader to enter the second half of *Iron Curtain* informed and curious. Applebaum chooses to first examine the different enemies the communist regimes faced. It is within these two chapters, she introduces the major problem of communism, which is the immense paranoia of change dismantling the party's ideals. As she sets the stage with this idea in forefront, she begins to explain the unraveling of the Soviet Union through cultural and political revolution. She asserts the citizens' disillusionment of the system and the party's failure at instilling communist pride led to the ultimate break up of the regime.

Applebaum's use of sources is commendable and contributes to the success of her book. Her use of interviews adds the personal touches to her narration to draw in the reader. She also includes immense detail that allows the reader to understand what is happening throughout this

confusing time period. Because the book was published recently, Applebaum had the ability to use sources from Soviet archives.⁶⁹⁴ Her concentration on three separate countries further solidifies her argument because it provides more support. A problem with this book is the lack of information regarding the Allies' involvement during this time period. There are brief mentions; however, for a majority of the book, the Allies' contributions are ignored.

Overall, *Iron Curtain* provides the reader with a well-rounded understanding of the Soviet Union occupation while maintaining an enjoyable narration. Applebaum's enthusiasm over this subject can be found within every page and leaves the reader engaged with the literature. Her argument is well researched and expressed creating an understanding of totalitarianism and its damaging effects on Eastern Europe.

⁶⁹⁴ Until recently, access to the Soviet archives has been limited.

Review of: *The Origin of Satan: How Christians Demonized Jews, Pagans, and Heretics* by Elaine Pagels

Quentin Spannagel

Satan is one of the most prevalent religious figures in the mind of many Christians. How Satan came into being, and how he has been personified and utilized by the early Christian church is unknown to many Christians today. Elaine Pagels, in her book *The Origin of Satan*, demonstrated that Christians were one of the first groups to use the concept of a singular evil-being who stood in opposition to God. Since Christians naturally identified themselves with God and Jesus, they began to associate their enemies more closely with Satan's influence and the forces of evil. Pagels's main thesis was that from the first century to present-day, it has been an unfortunate characteristic of Christians to demonize their religious or social opponents, demonstrated by Christian interactions with Jews, Pagans, and Gnostic Christians.

The first chapter, titled "The Gospel of Mark and the Jewish War," is where Pagels argued that the Christian Movement was born into a time of political turmoil with the Jewish War as the flashpoint. At this point in history, Judea was politically subjugated by the Roman Empire, and guerilla leaders were trying to cite rebellion for "liberty in the name of God."⁶⁹⁵ Judea was extremely resistant to Roman subjugation since Jewish people believed they were God's chosen people, and it wasn't right for them to be under subjugation to pagan heathens. When suppressing rebellion, the Roman Empire was exceptionally cruel and barbaric, which instigated the Jewish people into further rebellion. Due to the Roman imperial rule, the Jewish religion began to become splintered on how to respond to the military rule. Some radicals wanted to physically attack the Roman Empire, believing God would be on their side. More moderate Jews, realizing the might of the Roman Empire, wanted to cooperate with the Romans to avoid total annihilation. This led to conflict within the Jewish community, one instance being when the radical John of Gischala captured Jewish leader Antipas and killed him for conspiring with the Romans.⁶⁹⁶

The Jewish Revolt is so significant to Christian history because it signifies the distinct and permanent break between Jews and Jewish-Christians, because the Christians refused to fight in the Jewish War. They abstained from fighting because they believed the end of the world was near, and Jesus's second coming would make more fighting pointless.⁶⁹⁷ Also, the gospel of Mark was written during or immediately following the Jewish War, so it is written to be relatable to people who suffered through a horrible war. For Mark, Satan was such a significant figure in the gospel because without Satan, the passion of Jesus Christ would be seen as pointless or even a failure. The death of Jesus at the hand of the Jews and Romans would appear to be a failure, unless Jesus's passion was simply a part of a bigger spiritual battle between good and evil.⁶⁹⁸ However, if it follows that Jesus was on the side of good, then it made sense to assume those who opposed him were on the side of evil. This became a common theme throughout the growth of Christianity.

In the second chapter, "The Social History of Satan: From the Hebrew Bible to the Gospels," Pagels looked at how the portrayal of Satan has evolved from the Old Testament to what

⁶⁹⁵ Elaine Pagels, *The Origin of Satan: How Christians Demonized Jews, Pagans, and Heretics* (New York: Random House, 1995), 4. John of Gischala is an example of one of these guerilla leaders.

⁶⁹⁶ Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, 4.

⁶⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁶⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

is found in the gospels. Interesting enough, in the Old Testament Satan did not occur as an evil angel who directs an army of fallen angels. This “satan” is an obedient servant of God in the book of Numbers and Job.⁶⁹⁹ The Hebrew term satan describes an “adversarial role. It does not describe a particular character.”⁷⁰⁰ Satan can lead to unexpected outcomes to stories, but this isn’t always a bad thing. Sometimes, Satan actually does the will of God. One example of this is in the book of Numbers when Balaam has decided to go where God has forbid him from going; if he ends up defying God, Balaam is risking eternal damnation. However, an angel of God got in the way of the road, and Balaam’s donkey refused to go further. Balaam tries to urge the donkey on, but “Satan” keeps Balaam from breaking God’s commandment.⁷⁰¹

Another example of Satan not being the Prince of Evil is found in the book of Job. Here Satan takes on a dissenting role, but still is an angel of God. He is a special kind of reconnaissance angel, keeping tabs on who remains faithful to God and who becomes unfaithful. God boasts that Job is a righteous and faithful servant. Satan takes on an adversarial role; reminding God that Job lives a blessed life and hasn’t been put to the test. God agrees to have Satan test Job to see if he was truly faithful; but, Job persevered in his faith when tested, and Satan was forced to retreat.⁷⁰² Though Satan takes on the role of an opponent and brings hardship on Job, Satan remains an angel of God.

Many wonder where the first occurrence of the singular Satan occurred and many believe it was with the Essenes of the Jewish community. The Essenes were a monastic group of Jews who believed the vast majority of Jews had lost their original faith.⁷⁰³ For this reason, Essenes isolated themselves from the rest of the Jewish community. The Essenes went so far as to stop attacking the pagans as evil-doers, but focused most of their criticism on their fellow Jews. Since the majority of Jews were in God’s favor, but fell from grace, they wanted a figure that personified this. The ideal figure for this was Satan: one of God’s angels who fell from grace and now is overwhelmed by evil.⁷⁰⁴ Christians would incorporate and expand on the Essenes’ tradition of demonizing their opponents.

The third chapter, “Matthew’s Campaign Against The Pharisees: Deploying the Devil,” looks at the Gospel of Matthew and how it was the most anti-Jewish of the gospels. Between 70 and 100 C.E, Jews and Christians continued to grow apart. Christians evangelized to both Jews and Gentiles, but the Jews were resistant to the message. Jews began to dispel Christians from synagogues and other places of worship.⁷⁰⁵ As the gap between Jews and Christians grew, Christians began to demonize the Jews to prove their legitimacy. In his gospel, Matthew illustrated how misguided the Jews were by showing them rejecting and crucifying their own Messiah. Matthew employs the good vs. evil concept to show the life and passion of Jesus was part of a bigger struggle. If Jesus is the Son of God, then it implies that his opponents, the Jews, are the agents of “Satan.”

A major problem Matthew had to address though was the fact that Jesus was crucified on charges of sedition. This was a common Roman method of execution during a time when Rome was executing any political dissenters or claimed “messiahs.” Matthew was also trying to spread his message throughout the Roman Empire, but his message lost much of its appeal if the Empire

⁶⁹⁹ Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, 39.

⁷⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁰¹ Ibid., 40-41.

⁷⁰² Ibid., 42.

⁷⁰³ The Essenes often called their fellow Jews “Children of the Dark.”

⁷⁰⁴ Ibid., 47.

⁷⁰⁵ Ibid., 63.

was responsible for killing the son of God. For this reason, Matthew gave a very unlikely portrayal of how things were in first-century Israel. An example of this was the gospels portrayal of Pontius Pilate, the Roman prefect over Judea during the time of Jesus. Historical accounts from Jewish writers such as Josephus and Philo record that Pilate was a very harsh ruler, quick to impose death sentences at whispers of rebellion and even antagonizing to the Jewish people by imposing pagan images of gods in front of the Jewish people.⁷⁰⁶

The Pontius Pilate of the gospels, however, appears to be a respectful and fair ruler over Judea. He sensed Jesus is innocent and tried on several occasions to have him released. Pilate was reluctant to have him executed, but when the huge masses of the Jewish people demand Pilate to execute Jesus or commit an act of betrayal to Caesar, Pilate handed Jesus over to be executed. However, the Pontius Pilate from the historical accounts was very different. He would not have cringed at the thought of executing a poor Jewish peasant and he certainly would not have been intimidated by the Jewish leaders and Pharisees from the gospel, who he openly defied and insulted for entertainment and humiliation on other occasions.

The next chapter, “Luke and John Claim Israel’s Legacy: The Split Widens,” showed how these gospels portrayed the further division between the Jews and the Christians. Luke, who was the sole Gentile author of the gospel writers, hoped to show that the Jews had lost their covenant with God, and that Gentiles who accept Jesus could become God’s chosen people.⁷⁰⁷ Pagels brought attention to the fact that in Luke “the scribes and Pharisees begin to plot against Jesus, eyeing him suspiciously, looking for an opportunity to make an accusation against him.”⁷⁰⁸ Then Satan “enters” Judas, who later personifies the Jewish people as a whole and initiates the betrayal of Jesus by his own people.⁷⁰⁹

John’s Gospel was the last one to be written, and thus depicts the split between Judaism and Christianity as permanent and accepted. John went as far as to show the devil working in the form of Judas, Jewish authorities, and the Jewish people in general. There was not a singular “Satan” working alone in John’s portrayal of the passion. In essence, Satan had “diminished” in John’s gospel, and the Jewish people had assumed his adversarial role.

The next chapter is called “Satan’s Earthly Kingdom: Christians Against Pagans.” Though Christianity’s most oppressive opponents early on were the Jewish authorities, the pagan Roman Empire took the place of the Jews in turns of leading the persecution. The Roman Empire was actually moderately tolerant of other religions, as long as they continued to sacrifice to the Roman gods and the emperor. Jews were exempt from having to sacrifice to the emperor because they were an ancient religion, and they could instead sacrifice to their God for the benefit of the emperor. Christians were no longer Jews at this point, but they still refused to sacrifice to the emperor; for this reason, the empire saw them as seditious, and sporadically persecuted them. To consolidate from the heavy persecution, Christians claimed that the pagans waging war against them were agents of Satan. Justin Martyr, one of the first Romans to become Christian, explained how this occurred. “[For Justin], Every god and spirit he had ever known, including Apollo, Aphrodite, and Zeus, whom he had worshiped since childhood, he now perceived as allies of Satan...”⁷¹⁰ Since the pagan people were worshiping these demons, they themselves were becoming demonic, and that is why they were so quick to strike at the followers of the true God.

⁷⁰⁶ Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, 30.

⁷⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁷⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 91

⁷⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 92.

⁷¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 120.

Justin also criticized the Roman love for philosophy in a search for truth about the world because they are were being held by demons and would never find the truth until they found God.⁷¹¹

The next chapter, “The Demon Within: Demonizing the Heretics,” showed how proto-orthodox Christians attacked heretics, and the main reason for this was a need for uniformity. At this time, Christians still faced persecution. For this reason, many people felt the Christian community should try to stay together, and if they began to become splintered they would not survive persecution. To stay united they would need some kind of hierarchy and apostolic succession to emerge. However, many Gnostic Christians opposed this because they felt they were more spiritually enlightened than the bishops were.⁷¹² Because of this, many gnostics began distancing themselves from the main congregation and having their own meetings. The bishops realized this weakened the collective strength of the Church and condemned it as the work of Satan. Irenaeus of Lyons heavily attacked gnostics, saying Gnostic Christians “use the name of Christ Jesus only as a kind of lure in order to teach doctrines inspired by Satan.”⁷¹³ Much like how Jesus’s most dangerous enemies were those closest to him, the Church Fathers claimed the biggest threat to Christianity were the Gnostic Christians who seemed to be so similar.

Overall, this book was very well written and Pagels stuck to her thesis throughout. More importantly, she was able to find writing from early Church Fathers and converts to the faith that displayed their mentality on pagans, heretics, and Jews. One thing Pagels could have expanded upon was her comment in the conclusion on how Muslims are currently being demonized by the Christian population. She threw it out there but did not elaborate fully and her thesis would have been greatly strengthened if she could have illustrated evidence of a Christian denouncement of Muslims as “Agents of Satan.” However, this is just a minor complaint, and the book as a whole was a well-researched and extremely informative work.

⁷¹¹ Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, 130.

⁷¹² *Ibid.*, 152.

⁷¹³ *Ibid.*, 155.

Review of: *A Newfound, Ancient Perspective of Rhythm in Greek Music* by Thomas J. Mathiesen

Helen Plevka

In his 1985 article “Rhythm and Meter in Ancient Greek Music,” Thomas J. Mathiesen contributes to the influx of scholarly interest surrounding ancient Greek music.⁷¹⁴ Mathiesen is an American musicologist with interests in “textual criticism, editorial technique, bibliography, and codicology,” and was a professor of music at Brigham Young University as he wrote this article.⁷¹⁵ He claims that music historians have written very little about Greek rhythm and criticizes the accuracy and depth of what has been published. Mathiesen emphasizes we cannot view early Greek music from a modern theoretical perspective, as most of his fellow researchers do, because there existed an entirely different conceptualization of how rhythm and meter functioned in antiquity. Therefore, he seeks to rectify previous scholars’ erroneous analyses of ancient Greek rhythm by exploring ancient Greek music treatises along with surviving musical examples; he utilizes two early fragments from Euripides’s *Orestes* and *Iphigenia in Aulis* as well as two later excerpts, the epitaph of Seikilos and the first hymns of Mesomedes. His article requires that readers have a background understanding of ancient music studies along with that of modern rhythmic theory so as to comprehend the argument he attempts to develop. While he succeeds in refuting previous scholars’ work through logical development of support, he fails to offer an innovative claim in return. Mathiesen’s article lacks the linguistic confidence and cohesion necessary to connect his ideas about rhythm in ancient Greek music together into a unified, substantial conclusion.

Mathiesen builds and supports his argument by contextualizing ancient discussions of rhythm through a rational and effective writing structure. He begins by drawing upon ancient theorists’ understandings of rhythm and meter then explains the distinct differences that set apart the two concepts, affirming rhythm as the focus of his analysis. Following the presentation of each theorist’s ideas, he synthesizes their definitions to illustrate how they build upon each other chronologically and to demonstrate the similarities between theories, which provides a convincing context for his argument. He also offers an explanation of the Greek alphabet, syllables, and verse. This helps readers not accustomed to the Greek language and literature understand his larger discussion of arsis and thesis, the two parts of a foot that fundamentally create rhythm. As further support, he references select theorists and provides diagrams to visually complement his claims.⁷¹⁶ The same trajectory of development is utilized to explain the importance of rests amidst audible rhythm, which provides a thorough backdrop for his subsequent analyses of ancient Greek music fragments—two early pieces directly from the period and two respectively later excerpts. By continually referencing and building upon previous ideas and by previewing upcoming topics to anticipate his musical analyses, Mathiesen logically structures his background of ancient Greek rhythm.

⁷¹⁴ Thomas J. Mathiesen, “Rhythm and Meter in Ancient Greek Music,” *Music Theory Spectrum* no. 7 (Spring 1985): 159-80.

⁷¹⁵ Paula Morgan, “Mathiesen, Thomas J.,” in *Oxford Music Online*, accessed April 19, 2015, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com:80/subscriber/article/grove/music/46977>.

⁷¹⁶ Mathiesen, “Rhythm and Meter in Ancient Greek Music”, 166.

Mathiesen employs convincing evidence that demonstrates effective research decisions. While modern scholars “do not deal with actual musical fragments” and “ignore the testimony of the ancient and early treatises,” a surprising tendency for scholars working within an historical framework, Mathiesen bases his argument on primary documents from ancient Greece.⁷¹⁷ He quotes extensively from Aristides Quintilianus’s *On Music*, which he posits as “the most complete of ancient musical treatises,” and offers translations of Bacchius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Augustine, and Longinus as well.⁷¹⁸ With each of these theorists, he shares a brief biography to explain their significance in relation to ancient Greek rhythm, which serves to build Mathiesen’s credibility as a well-researched writer. When Mathiesen presents his later analyses of musical fragments, he recalls their theories to ensure that he supports his observations with the ancient, not twentieth century, understanding of rhythm. Mathiesen also acknowledges exceptions and limitations of his argument. For example, he includes Aristoxenus’s definition of rhythm even though it contradicts the other theorists’ ideas; similarly, before analyzing the music selections, he explains the inevitable constraints against acquiring fully accurate ancient Greek manuscripts. These points of recognition account for gaps that knowledgeable readers may find in an otherwise thoroughly supported argument.

Conversely, the acknowledgement of these shortcomings undermine the very support he sought to build. It weakens the tone of his article through language use and argumentation that suggests a lack of confidence in his own claims. An example of poor language use is his reliance upon phrases such as “of course” and “it is clear” that commit the reader to agreeing with his ideas; in fact, the words “clear” or “clearly” appear over twenty times throughout the article. While Mathiesen presumably employs these interjections to affirm his claims as obvious truth, their incessant repetition obscures his ideas. If the claims were clear to the reader, they would not require explicit reminders, so Mathiesen’s word choices actually harm his overall reliability as a writer. This sense of overt justification progressively increases as the article reaches its conclusion. In the musical analysis section, the earlier pieces function as sensible choices for inclusion, but the later selections require lengthy explanations to validate their value within his argument. The written texts of these latter pieces are highly ambiguous, but Mathiesen claims the precision in musical notation compensates for the loss. He rationalizes that “every symbol is clear and easy to read; thus, there can be no doubt about the interpretation of the notation.”⁷¹⁹ However, as he synthesizes his analytical observations during the conclusion portion of the article, he counters this exact claim by doubting the clarity of the passages; he states, “it is probably impossible to reconstruct the rhythmic character of much verse...that is preserved today”.⁷²⁰ His vague language demonstrates doubt about this specific example as well as a lack of confidence in his overall conjectures.

The promises of Mathiesen’s initial thesis ultimately remain unfulfilled as he fails to offer a definitive, overarching claim that connects his ideas. Essentially, his musical analyses show that the two earlier pieces have similar rhythmic complexity while the later pieces entailed comparatively simpler, straightforward rhythms; he accounts for this difference by positing that “the earlier pieces seem to have provided the subject the rhythmic theory attempts to address” in the later excerpts.⁷²¹ However, this potentially conclusive claim is never supported with details such as the impact of earlier rhythmic qualities or evidence of how that relationship evolved, which

⁷¹⁷ Mathiesen, “Rhythm and Meter in Ancient Greek Music”, 159.

⁷¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 161.

⁷¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 176.

⁷²⁰ *Ibid.*, 179.

⁷²¹ *Ibid.*, 178.

could have explained why the connections “seem” important. The statement lacks effective power and consequently becomes lost amongst a crowd of projections. Mathiesen references other works that could potentially offer support and proposes ideas for further research, but his weak language is again detrimental to these suggestions. Phrases such as “question that must remain unanswered” and “probably impossible” destroy the readers’ confidence in him and credibility as a researcher.⁷²² However, the weakest choice Mathiesen makes is to end with an extensive block quote from Augustine.⁷²³ He provides no explanation of its relevance, which denies readers any conclusive, synthesizing impact from his own voice.

Despite the promising set-up of support, Mathiesen’s lackluster article offers nothing more than the modern scholars he initially criticizes—he devotes more attention to discrediting their ideas than formulating any of his own. The summarizing statement of his conclusion states that “the key to understanding Greek lyric verse is the discernment of the rhythm in all its complexity and flexibility, not the perception of artificial metric patterns based on fixed quantities,” which is simply a repetition of his opening claim.⁷²⁴ Mathiesen fails to work through this newfound perspective to develop his argument and produce any innovative conclusions concerning rhythm in ancient Greek music.

⁷²² Mathiesen, “Rhythm and Meter in Ancient Greek Music”, 178.

⁷²³ The quote from Augustine’s treatise *On Music* is a fundamental explanation of how musical rhythm should correspond with the linguistic stresses of text and how this relationship may become complicated in composition.

⁷²⁴ *Ibid.*

Review of: *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* by Amy S. Greenberg

Megan Kessler

In *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire*, Amy Greenberg aptly uses gender to explore and explain Manifest Destiny from 1840 through the rest of the nineteenth-century. By comparing two conflicting definitions of manhood prevalent after the U.S.-Mexico War, she argues that extended expansionism in Latin America—and to an extent Asia and the Pacific—was fueled by gender. Creative and well-sourced, Greenberg’s work is an excellent example of what historians can offer through Joan Scott’s proposed method of gender analysis.

To construct her argument, Greenberg lays out two competing definitions of manhood in the nineteenth-century. The first, restrained manhood, focused on a man’s familial and financial standing. To proponents of restrained manhood, social status, wealth, and business success were indicators of manliness. The opposing definition, martial manhood, was grounded in a man’s ability to dominate others physically, often through violence or conflict. Martial men gauged their manliness through aggression, strength and bravery. Greenberg argues the martial men initiated ongoing imperialism through support of filibustering, militant annexation of lands like Cuba, and “personal annexation” of Latinas and other native women. In an era when industrialization transformed the definition of manly success, martial men had to move beyond the United States to fulfill their manhood.

In addition to restrained and martial manhood, Greenberg provides an engaging look at how American women, religion, the Civil War, and sexuality influenced and were affected by expansionism. One of the more interesting aspects of Greenberg’s argument is her exploration of how American men viewed Latinas and Latinos in the lands they sought to obtain. Interpreting travel literature, personal diaries and booster accounts, she shows how Latino men were depicted as lazy, immoral and feminine, while their female counterparts were advertised as healthy, curious and sexually available. Greenberg also showcases how Latinas were presented as suitable wives and mothers through a model of Anglo-Saxon domination. While marriage rates were falling in the states, martial men could find success *and* love (even if it was only carnal) in Central or Southern America. Since the weak Latino men could be easily conquered, Latinas were just another possible annexation.

Also interesting is Greenberg’s detailed look at the role of white American women in expansion. She argues that male expansionists sought to keep white women out of their Manifest exploits to avoid undermining the “manliness” of their adventures. Travel to wild lands also gave white women an opportunity for further liberation through cross-dressing, riding side saddle, and expanded labor prospects—all which made men uncomfortable. While Greenberg argues the experience could have somewhat liberated women, she concludes that most white women did not approach extended expansionism as a way to revolutionize womanhood.

Overall, Greenberg produces an extremely informative and enjoyable work. Her research is nicely done, and I thoroughly commend her interpretation of language and illustrations in travel logs and booster accounts. Use of personal diaries and letters counters any bias that could be encountered by using the travel logs and booster accounts alone. While such an expansive study requires limitation, readers may wish that Greenberg had put more emphasis on American expansion in Asia and the Pacific. While she points out that Latin America was more important and accessible to filibusters and expansionists, the analysis of Hawaii’s annexation and

Commodore Perry's failed experience in Japan pales next to her elaborately sourced and extensive discussion of Latin America. Greenberg does not necessarily need to further analyze the Pacific and Latin America for her argument, but their presence would better satisfy a reader interested in gender's role in nineteenth-century expansionism. At the end of her conclusion, Greenberg brings manifest manhood to the present, arguing that "martial manhood refuses to die" (282) despite the advancements America has made in understanding gender. While offering an intriguing look at gender's role in nineteenth-century American expansionism and Manifest Destiny, Greenberg also contributes to the broader understanding of gender and manhood today.