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LETTER FROM THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Dear Readers,

It is with great excitement that the Michigan Journal of History publishes its 10th Issue. We had a record 65 submissions this term, more than tripling the number from last term. The Journal received submissions from students at elite universities all over the country, ranging from topics on the Middle East to the Crusades and education in China. To those who submitted, we say thank you. The quality of writing was spectacular, your ideas intellectually challenging and distinctly unique, making our decision on which pieces to choose quite difficult.

I also want to say thank you to our amazing staff, who adapted quickly to the numerous changes within the organization, and brought excitement and energy to every meeting and editing session. A special thanks goes out to Managing Editor Emily Riippa; she is the glue that keeps us together, doing most of the behind the scenes work that most people don't recognize. Her work ethic is undeniable, her passion for history incredible, and I am very excited to continue working with her next term.

Next term we hope that the incredible outreach continues. To see so many of our peers creating pieces that challenge the normative and seek to illustrate untouched viewpoints is thrilling, and we look forward to reading the next round of submissions.

Sincerely,

Anna Gwiazdowski
Editor-in-Chief, Michigan Journal of History

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“THIS TIME FOR AFRICA”: FIFA, POLITICS, AND SOUTH AFRICA’S STRUGGLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

TAYLOR HENLEY
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When you fall get up, oh oh
If you fall get up, eh eh
Tsamina mina zangalewa
Cuz this is Africa
Tsamina mina, eh eh
Waka waka, eh eh
Tsamina mina zangalewa
This time for Africa

In 2010, for the first time in the history of organized international soccer, the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) held its quadrennial World Cup on the continent of Africa. “Waka Waka (This Time for Africa),” the official song of the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, reflects the enthusiasm of the entire continent as the world’s most anticipated sports tournament catapulted South Africa to the global soccer stage. Behind the song’s cheery façade, however, lay the implicit acknowledgement of decades of struggle for black liberation. Forty-nine years after South Africa’s first suspension from FIFA for its discriminatory practices, thirty-five years after FIFA formally expelled South Africa following the deadly Soweto uprising, eighteen years after FIFA formally readmitted South Africa, and sixteen years after South

Africa's first democratic elections, the world was finally officially recognizing South Africa—and the rest of the continent—as a major player in the politics of international soccer.

The struggle for integration of South African soccer is a microcosmic representation of the overarching struggle for human rights in apartheid South Africa. The conflict between the pro-apartheid and race-segregated Football Association of Southern Africa (FASA) and the anti-apartheid and non-racial South African Soccer Federation (SASF) parallels, and in some cases precedes, that of the apartheid government and leading anti-apartheid political organizations. Moreover, SASF's fight for recognition from FIFA through the sanctioning of FASA mirrors the liberation movement's struggles for international recognition through the condemnation and sanctioning of the apartheid regime. Lastly, the soccer struggle is linked to larger political and demographic transitions of the era, including the turn towards anti-colonialism. The "South Africa problem" mobilized FIFA's African delegation around a common cause and culminated in the demise of FIFA's lingering Eurocentrism. From South Africa's first suspension from FIFA in 1961 to their re-admittance in 1992, this paper will explore the politics behind FIFA's decisions, and South Africa's reactions to them. In doing so, it seeks to prove that FIFA's condemnation of segregated soccer shaped both South Africa's domestic policy and the worldwide perception of South Africa, drawing attention to human rights violations in greater South African society and ultimately contributing to international pressure to end apartheid.

From its inception, black adoption of British colonial "football" became a threat to white colonists' desire to maintain white supremacy. Black South Africans' ability to merge indigenous sporting traditions with their acceptance of British football, coupled with the sport's

capacity to bring together people of different races and different social classes, created the perception of soccer as “plebeian and black” and “emblematic of threatening, socially integrative forces within society.”¹ At the same time, government officials capitalized upon soccer’s growing popularity by using it to defuse political unrest and moderate the effects of economic deprivation.² This strategy aimed at “keep[ing] the natives wholesomely amused” turned it into one of the few spaces in which black South Africans could take a break from the daily grind of endless work and enjoy themselves in an arena in which they were judged by their skill in the sport, not by the color of their skin.³ The sport that spread on the industrial and commercial wings of British colonization was on its way to becoming the most inclusive national pastime, one that would soon provide an opportunity for a fledgling anti-apartheid movement to capitalize upon its popularity and target the regime’s human rights violations from the unorthodox angle of sports boycotts.⁴

The commencement of apartheid in 1948 provoked an upsurge in popular protest throughout South Africa, as so-called non-whites faced increased discrimination and human rights violations both on and off the soccer field. Policies such as the Group Areas Act of 1950, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953, and the Natives Resettlement Act of 1954 ensured that, in historian Osheheng Koonyaditse’s words, soccer became “a vehicle through

¹ Peter Alegi, *Laduma! Soccer, Politics, and Society in South Africa, From its Origins to 2010* (Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2010), 13.

² Alegi, *Laduma*, 42.

³ Joe Latakomo, *Mzansi Magic: Struggle, Betrayal and Glory: the Story of South African Soccer* (Cape Town: Tafelberg, 2001), 45.

⁴ John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson, *FIFA and the Contest for World Football* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), 46.

which to implement its policy of separate development.”⁵ Anti-apartheid activists responded accordingly. In 1951, African, Coloured, and Indian soccer officials met in Durban to found the South African Soccer Federation (SASF), the first non-racial soccer body, to counter the white-only South African Football Association (SAFA) founded in 1892. SASF rapidly became the largest soccer organization in South Africa, bringing over 46,000 members into one multi-racial, anti-apartheid umbrella. The establishment of SASF as a direct threat to SAFA quickly made soccer the most contentious sport in the country.⁶

Long before anti-apartheid political parties began to lobby for international support, SASF began advocating for international recognition as an alternative to the pro-apartheid SAFA. As early as 1952, SASF challenged SAFA’s right to represent South African soccer by applying to membership from FIFA.⁷ Though unceremoniously rejected, they were not discouraged and reapplied only two years later with a much stronger case. George Singh, a progressive Indian lawyer from Durban, led SASF’s efforts, and they built their case around claims be the legitimate representative of South Africa with 82 percent of the nation’s players, compared with SAFA’s mere 18 percent.⁸ Their pleas for majority rule echo those of political liberation groups who fought to end political domination by a white minority.

In order to fully comprehend the magnitude of SASF’s challenge to FIFA, it is important to understand what FIFA was—and what it was not. The Fédération Internationale de

⁵ Oshebeng Alpie Konyaditse, *The Politics of South African Football* (South Africa: African Perspectives Publishing, 2010), 39.

⁶ Alegi, *Laduma*, 106.

⁷ Chris Bolsmann, “White Football in South Africa: Empire, Apartheid, and Change, 1892-1977,” in *South Africa and the Global Game: Football, Apartheid, and Beyond*, ed. Peter Alegi and Chris Bolsmann (London: Routledge, 2010), 105.

⁸ Alegi, *Laduma*, 123.

Football Association was founded at the headquarters of the Union Française de Sports Athlétiques at the Rue Saint Honoré 229 in Paris on the 21st of May, 1904, by seven European nations whose intention was to form an international football federation in Europe. Though ostensibly democratic, FIFA's organizational structure has traditionally been characterized by conflict and inequality between their established European constituents and their more recent additions, namely their African ones. The development of football in Africa was deeply rooted in European colonialism. Former president Sir Stanley Rous of Great Britain, for example, once described an African referee-training course as "general missionary work."⁹ In the post-World War II years, soccer on the African continent became a symbol of anti-colonial resistance, because it represented one of the only areas in which indigenous Africans could exert some form of self-organization and control. Newly independent nations then began lobbying FIFA for more equal inclusion. As more nations became independent and applied for entrance, FIFA's Eurocentrism was threatened, because each new member received the right to vote at the biannual FIFA Congresses. In historian Paul Darby's words, "In much the same way that African solidarity and a growing sense of national identity found expression through the medium of football...the world game's institutional infrastructure also increasingly figured as a site for articulating the growing confidence of African nations."¹⁰

It was against this backdrop that the multiracial SASF applied to membership from FIFA. Despite the lack of official laws prohibiting integration in sport, the white-only SAFA refused to admit any non-white athletes. This directly conflicted with FIFA's official regulations.

⁹ Paul Darby, *Africa, Football, and FIFA* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 2002), 21.

¹⁰ Darby, *Africa, Football, and FIFA*, 34.

According to Article 3 of the FIFA Statutes' General Provisions, "Discrimination of any kind against a country, private person or group of people on account of ethnic origin, gender, language, religion, politics or any other reason is strictly prohibited and punishable by suspension or expulsion."¹¹ In May 1955, FIFA's Executive Committee concluded that the white association, SAFA, "does not comprise and control all the clubs and the players in South Africa and therefore it has not the standing of a real national association that can govern and develop football in accordance with the provision of Article 3 of the Statutes of FIFA."¹² However, FIFA again denied membership to SASF, claiming that their organization was also discriminatory because it did not include whites.

FIFA's decision is a reflection of the Eurocentrism of the organization's leadership, but it also parallels the challenges faced by activists of the larger political struggle for human rights in South Africa. Throughout its campaign for international recognition and support, the African National Congress, the leading anti-apartheid movement, faced resistance from major white Western powers, who branded it as a terrorist organization seeking to overthrow white rule with black communist domination. Great Britain, for example, did not open talks with ANC president Oliver Tambo until 1986.¹³ A year later, the Los Angeles Times quoted House Rep. Jim Courier characterizing the ANC as a "violent, predominantly Communist organization."¹⁴ Though ostensibly supportive of equal rights for all people regardless of color, these

¹¹ Sugden and Tomlinson, 49.

¹² "FIFA Executive Committee Report," May 1955, in Alegi, *Laduma!*, 112.

¹³ United Press International, "London Opens Talks with Tambo," *Los Angeles Times*, June 24, 1986.

¹⁴ Don Shannon, "Shultz Warns S. African Rebel Against Violence Secretary Condemns Tactic in Anti-Apartheid Battle; His Talks With Tambo Spark Protests," *Los Angeles Times*, January 29, 1987.

governments initially refused to back what they saw as a militant black-only organization.

FIFA's initial rejection of SASF foreshadows this refusal.

In applying for international recognition, SASF had targeted white South Africa at its most vulnerable point. Described as “the most sports-minded people in the world,” even the slightest threat of international condemnation of sport in South Africa wounded their pride and exposed the fragility of their proclaimed superiority.¹⁵ Responding to this threat, SAFA offered membership without voting rights to the multiracial SASF, while declaring that the organization would not break any anti-integration laws in doing so. SASF unconditionally rejected this offer, declaring that the proposal “will involve our acceptance of racial and colour discrimination in the field of sport” and maintaining, “To our knowledge no legislation exists prohibiting mixed play between White and non-White races in this country.”¹⁶ In doing so, they refuted any legal justification SAFA might have for not including non-whites while simultaneously challenging SAFA to buck custom and integrate its organization.

Though denied recognition for a second time, SASF kept the pressure on FIFA to push for change within SAFA. Not surprisingly, FIFA remained sympathetic to the plight of the white-only SAFA. Headed by president and British delegate Arthur Drewry, FIFA's leadership remained predominantly European. African members had just acquired their first spot on the Executive Committee a few years earlier—in 1953—but would not get another representative on the committee for eleven more years. To placate SASF and to satisfy their stated anti-discrimination provision, FIFA sent its first commission of inquiry to South Africa in early 1956

¹⁵ B. Mastiff, “South Africa Stunned by Sports Boycott,” *Bay State Banner*, March 29, 1979.

¹⁶ Bolsmann, *White Football*, 36.

under the leadership of former Dutch colonial officer Karel M. Lotsky. The so-called Lotsky Commission was the very first international delegation to visit South Africa with the intention of addressing apartheid-related disputes.¹⁷ The commission reported that the SAFA did represent a minority group; however, soccer segregation was South African “tradition and custom.” Lotsky and his fellow investigators maintained that replacing SAFA “would retrograde [sic] football in South Africa.”¹⁸ They did, however, insist that SAFA remove racist clauses in its constitution, a first step towards condemning discrimination in South African soccer policies.

Thus, almost thirty years before the South African government drafted a “reformed” constitution designed to maintain apartheid while projecting abroad an image of substantial change, the pro-apartheid SAFA was making its own policy adjustments to quell pressure from FIFA.¹⁹ At its annual meeting in March of 1956, SAFA renamed itself the Football Association of Southern Africa (FASA), deleted its racially exclusionary clause from its constitution, and promised to form an all-black team in the near future. Such acts “created the impression of significant change” without actually instituting any reforms.²⁰ At the same time, the government denied passports to SASF’s delegation to the biannual FIFA Congress in Lisbon in June of 1956. White South African intellectual and barrister-at-law Harry Bloom argued SASF’s case, asking that FIFA declare the election of SAFA (now FASA) to FIFA’s membership in 1952 invalid because “it does represent all those actively interested in the sport.”²¹ Despite Bloom’s best

¹⁷ Alegi, *Laduma*, 26.

¹⁸ “Lotsky Commission Report” in Bolsmann, *White Football*, 37.

¹⁹ Rita M. Byrnes, “Limited Reforms,” in *South Africa: A Country Study*, Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1996.

²⁰ Bolsmann, 37.

²¹ *The Times of India*, June 2, 1956.

efforts, FASA's deletion of the racist clause in their constitution placated FIFA and preserved FASA's membership. The Congress decided to postpone any action on South African representation for two years until the next meeting in Stockholm.

The "Lotsky Commission" and the subsequent FIFA debates over sanctioning South Africa attracted national attention, contributing to the buildup of political pressure from within South Africa to address the issue of international condemnation. The Natal Mercury argued, "The time has come to revise our ideas about the colour bar in sport, and to give non-European sportsmen the recognition they deserve."²² The Star, a Johannesburg evening newspaper, added, "Unless South Africa is to cut herself off from international contacts it is inevitable that limitations now imposed by the government policy on the movement of non-white players abroad should be lifted."²³ Even pro-apartheid newspapers were paying attention to the soccer conflict. In an article entitled "Consequences of Equality," National Party newspaper Die Volksblad declared:

For those who talk so lightly about more political rights for the non-Europeans in South Africa, there is still a lesson to be learnt from the sports world. In South Africa the principle of equality cannot be applied without control passing eventually into the hands of the non-Europeans... If the liberalists in South Africa are able to impose the same principle, the eventual results in the political sphere cannot be different.²⁴

²² The Natal Mercury, June 5, 1956, in *Press Digest: South Africa* (Johannesburg: South African Jewish Board of Deputies), week of June 4, 1956.

²³ The Star, June 11, 1956 in *The Times of India*, June 13, 1956.

²⁴ Die Volksblad, June 5, 1956, in *Press Digest: South Africa*, week of June 4, 1956.

Die Volksblad’s argument—that a loosening of apartheid policies in sport would ultimately lead to the demise of white supremacy—is evidence of the significant impact of the Lotsky investigation. Apartheid proponents could no longer ignore the push for integrated sport because it was beginning to threaten the very foundations of their political power.

The government responded defiantly by issuing its first apartheid sport policy. On June 27, 1956, Dr. T.E. Donges, the Minister of the Interior, announced that while the government was sympathetic towards “legitimate non-European sporting activities,” all sports must be practiced in accord with the regime’s policy of “separate development.” “Whites and blacks should organize their sporting activities separately, there should be no interracial competitions within the Republic’s borders, [and] mixing of races in teams should be avoided.”²⁵ Donges went on to declare that those who attempted to force sports to integrate by squeezing white South Africans out of international competitions would be considered “subversive” and would not be permitted travel facilities.²⁶ However, the government was careful not to pass any new legislation that could be interpreted as discriminatory, relying instead on existing laws such as the 1950 Group Areas Act to keep sports segregated without passing laws that overtly violated black athletes’ human rights. Donges’s statements reflect the extent to which integrated sport challenged the central tenet of apartheid ideology—that institutionalized segregation was necessary for development. Apartheid officials therefore had to keep a careful balance between eliminating the threat of multiracialism in sport and projecting a positive image abroad.

²⁵ Alegi, *Laduma*, 113.

²⁶ United Nations Unit on Apartheid, Notes and Documents, No. 16/71, April 1971 in “International Boycott of Apartheid Sport,” African National Congress, 2 May 25, 1971, <http://www.anc.org.za/show.php?id=6871&t=Boycotts>.

At the same time that the apartheid government was reaffirming its dedication to segregated sport, FIFA's African delegation was working tirelessly to strengthen its global power. At the 1956 FIFA Congress in Lisbon, South Africa was instrumental in working with the Egyptian, Ethiopian, and Sudanese delegation to form the Confédération Africaine de Football (CAF), one of many FIFA-affiliated continental confederations. CAF's formation embodied the African block's emergent confidence and international influence, particularly in light of the region's anti-colonialist independence movements of the mid-20th century. The African independence movements of the late 1950s and early 1960s added more power to FIFA's African constituency, as new nations became members with full voting rights in both FIFA and CAF.

The growing pan-Africanism of emerging independent states manifested itself within FIFA by linking itself to the anti-apartheid struggle. Thus, advocating for stronger FIFA sanctions against South Africa—and in doing so, promoting black liberation and human rights—figured prominently in the agenda of the CAF. South Africa's leading role in establishing CAF notwithstanding, the organization banned them from the first Cup of Nations in 1957 and again in 1959 for refusing to enter multiracial squads. At the 1958 FIFA Congress in Stockholm, CAF lobbied for South Africa's suspension from FIFA on the grounds of racial discrimination. SASF had again challenged FASA to integrate its teams, but FASA refused, citing "custom." They did, however, change their tactics, cajoling a few local black associations into accepting non-voting "associate membership" in FASA by promising greater access to facilities. Such paternalism satisfied FIFA, which again refused to take concrete action against FASA.²⁷

²⁷ Bolsmann, "White Football," 56.

Despite being an exclusively soccer-based governing body, FIFA was not blind to world events off the soccer field, particularly those that had the potential to threaten the organization's prestige. Accordingly, when South African police opened fire on peaceful demonstrators protesting the nation's oppressive pass laws on March 21, 1960, killing 69 and injuring almost two hundred more, FIFA's delegates felt they had no choice but to respond accordingly or face criticism for not abiding by their own claims of being nondiscriminatory towards players of all races. By 52 votes to 10, the FIFA Congress in Rome in August of 1960 passed a resolution declaring, "A National Association must be open to all who practice football in that country...without any racial, religious, or political discrimination."²⁸ FIFA demanded that FASA abide by their new anti-discrimination resolution within the next twelve months or face more severe repercussions. At a separate meeting in Rome, CAF expelled South Africa and increased their anti-apartheid lobbying efforts. By September of 1961, it became clear that FASA would not acquiesce to FIFA's demands for racial equality, and FIFA suspended FASA.

FIFA's sanctions of South Africa were some of the first anti-apartheid sanctions faced by the South African regime, and the ramifications were significant. South Africa could no longer enter a team for the World Cup; it could not have any soccer relations with any other member of FIFA; it could not host tours by any club or country in good standing with FIFA; and any players coming to South Africa from other FIFA-associated countries would automatically be suspended by FIFA. Additionally, FASA lost its membership in the nominally prestigious English Football Association. Thus, two years before the United Nations' Security Council adopted its first

²⁸ Alegi, *Laduma*, 117.

resolution calling for economic sanctions against South Africa, FIFA had already taken a dramatic step towards international condemnation of the apartheid state. Their actions were among the first to call global attention to the regime's human rights violations. SASF secretary George Singh and the rest of SASF's officials expressed hope that FASA would abandon its racial discrimination and offer full and equal membership to all South Africans, now that their racist policies had been publicly denounced.²⁹

FASA's reaction to their suspension—token “reforms” aimed at including more non-whites while simultaneously increasing repression of multiracial sport—foreshadows the National Party government's response to later economic and political sanctions. FASA immediately created a “Top Level” committee of representatives from both FASA and the Africans-only South African Bantu Football Association (SABFA). The committee's stated brief was, according to FASA president Fred Fell, to “answer all the requests and demands made by FIFA.”³⁰ Its less publicized goal was to undermine the activities of SASL, SASF's non-racial alternative to FASA's segregated sports leagues. Vivian Granger, a founder of the white National Football League and a member of the “Top Level” committee, conspired with the Johannesburg Non-European Affairs department and Minister of the Interior Jan de Klerk to deny SASL clubs access to municipal grounds. Internationally, Top Level Committee members continued to argue that political agitators ran non-racial football, and they held up FASA's African, coloured, and Indian affiliates as proof of their willingness to reform. Nationally, however, the government

²⁹ Mary Draper, *Sport and Race in South Africa* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1963), 50-55.

³⁰ “FASA annual report: 1961” in Peter Alegi and Chris Bolsmann, *From Apartheid to Unity: White Capital and Black Power in the Racial Integration of South African Football, 1976-1992* (South Africa: University of South Africa Press, 2010).

declared that “the use of all stadia and fields for Native football...[was] reserved for use by Associations affiliated to the Football Association of South Africa,” thereby undercutting any potential success for non-racial, non-FASA-affiliated leagues.³¹

At this point, FASA began what would prove to be a decades-long attempt to shift the blame from their association to the South African government. In doing so, they put FIFA in the unfortunate situation of either continuing to sanction South Africa and admitting that it was interfering with another country’s government policies, or readmitting FASA and facing internal and external repercussions for permitting racial segregation in one of its member associations. In May of 1962, a FASA delegation of Fred Fell, David Marais, and Bethuel P. Morolo of the FASA-affiliated South African Bantu Football Association (SABFA) attended the FIFA Congress in Chile to attempt to persuade FIFA to overturn the suspension. Morolo, president of SABFA, was one of the non-white soccer officials co-opted by the promise of greater access to facilities, funding, and, presumably, higher salaries to lead separate FASA-affiliated associations for non-whites—ones that would ostensibly provide for equality in sport for non-whites but that would still maintain the status quo of segregated soccer. Critics frequently accused Morolo of being “a stooge of the apartheid government” for publicly declaring opposition to apartheid but insisting that he could only work within government structures to promote social change.³² FASA’s use of Morolo to bolster their own image adds legitimacy to this accusation. In the words of Fred Fell, “Mr. Morolo’s main duty was to mix as much as possible with the Afro-

³¹ Alegi and Bolsmann, *From Apartheid to Unity*, 17.

³² Latakomo, 59.

Asian delegates and explain the position of his association with FIFA.”³³ After a hearing in which FASA protested that it controlled at least 90 percent of South Africa’s soccer players, both white and non-white, FIFA refused to lift its suspension until investigations clearly indicated that racial discrimination in the sport had been eliminated. A FIFA-sponsored fact-finding visit was scheduled for January of 1963.

The most critical aspect of FIFA’s 1963 fact-finding visit to South Africa was its composition. FIFA president Sir Stanley Rous of England and James McGuire of the United States were chosen to visit South Africa to investigate FASA’s alleged reforms. The same Rous who once described African referee-training course as “general missionary work” had been elected FIFA president on September 28, 1961—three days after FIFA suspended FASA.³⁴ Rous was vocal about his opposition to FASA’s suspension. Not only had he proclaimed himself philosophically averse to bringing national politics into sports, he had also been in correspondence with FASA following their suspension and had expressed sympathy for their plight. Prior to the commission’s arrival, SASF sent a letter to FIFA demanding that Rous recuse himself due to his professed support of FASA: “If Sir Stanley insists on coming out as a commissioner...the confidence which the non-whites in this country have reposed in FIFA for their emancipation from racial oppression will be shattered.”³⁵ Despite SASF’s protests, Rous and McGuire arrived in South Africa in early January 1963 to begin their investigations.

³³ Bolsmann, “White Football,” 39.

³⁴ “The Eight Presidents,” FIFA Fact Sheet,

<http://www.fifa.com/mm/document/fifafacts/organisation/52/00/03/fs110%5f01e%5fpresident.pdf>.

³⁵ “SASF Letter to FIFA” in Paul Darby, Stanley Rous’s ‘own goal’: football politics, South Africa and the Contest for the FIFA presidency in 1974 (Jordanstown: University of Ulster, Taylor and Francis, 2008), 58.

From the moment he set foot in South Africa, Rous made clear where his sympathies lay: “All we are interested in is to see the controlling body of soccer in this country furthering the cause of football to the best of its ability.”³⁶ After meeting with both SASF and FASA representatives and touring the nation’s soccer facilities, Rous and McGuire reported back to FIFA’s Executive Committee meeting in late January 1963 with a glowing recommendation of FASA. According to the report, there was no other body that could take the place of FASA. SASF, the “dissident” body, acted in contrary to government policy, which “clearly indicated their inability to foster and propagate the game of football in South Africa.” Moreover, there was no evidence of “willful discrimination” on behalf of FASA. Lastly, the report claimed, “If the suspension of FASA is not lifted, the progress of the game in the Republic of South Africa will be retarded...FIFA must not interfere with the internal affairs of any country.” Debate ensued between supporters of FASA and what Rous later described in a letter to FASA official Aleck Jaffe as a “left-wing” block.³⁷ Rous’ description of the “Third World” delegates who were more likely to show solidarity to black South Africans fighting white oppression than to white descendants of the European “old guard” emphasizes the extent to which soccer had been politicized. The Executive Committee remained largely European, however, and ultimately agreed to readmit FASA. South Africa’s soccer suspension was lifted in late January of 1963.

Reactions to South Africa’s re-admittance reflected the global politics of the era. SASF spokesmen called Rous “partisan and dictatorial.”³⁸ The Rand Daily Mail quoted then-chairman of NFL called the lifting of the ban “a defeat for communism,” again highlighting the

³⁶ The Star, January 8, 1963 in Draper, 53.

³⁷ Darby, Stanley Rous’s ‘own goal,’ 75-76.

³⁸ Draper, 57.

relationship between SASF's soccer struggle and the greater fight between left-wing "communists" and right-wing white supremacists.³⁹ CAF members were unanimous in their opposition to South Africa's re-admittance, perceiving Rous's support of FASA as a direct insult to pan-Africanism. CAF general secretary Mustapha Fahmy declared that the organization would now regard South Africa "as if she belonged to another continent," and passed a resolution stating, "The African Football Confederation shall have nothing to do with the FASA until such time that its obnoxious apartheid policy is totally eliminated...[CAF] proposes to table a substantive motion for the complete expulsion of [FASA] from FIFA at the next Congress...if by that time the damnable apartheid policy was still practiced."⁴⁰ FIFA would not discuss the issue of South Africa until their next Congress in October of 1964.

The 1964 FIFA Congress in Tokyo was a watershed moment for both the history of South Africa and that of FIFA. The conflict over South Africa pitted FIFA's Third World delegations against the European neocolonialists of the FIFA Executive. Despite Rous's urgings, Ethiopia, Egypt, and Ghana put forth a proposal calling for South Africa's immediate expulsion. Prior to the Congress, SASF had sent a memo to all of FIFA's affiliated members detailing examples of FASA's racial discrimination. Rous prefaced the ensuing debate by citing his recent visit to South Africa and his finding that "[FASA], constituting a Committee representative of all the groups in South Africa, had been formed into an association which provided opportunities for everyone...South Africa, as such, did not practice discrimination." He further claimed, "As a Sportsman I could not, in all honesty, think it right for one country to interfere in the political

³⁹ Rand Daily Mail, January 24, 1963 in Draper, 69.

⁴⁰ Darby, Stanley Rous's 'own goal,' 69.

decisions or policies of another” and accused CAF nations of being hypocritical for denouncing South Africa while evidence showed that they were discriminatory against “coloured” and white players in their own country. In a direct reference to the politicization of the issue and its ramifications for global politics, he declared the fight over South Africa to be a “cold war.”⁴¹

Ohene Djan of Ghana, chosen to represent the opposing party, refuted all of Rous’s accusations. He denied that Africa was using South Africa to propel pan-African nationalism and declared no desire to engage in “cold war” politics and instead argued that FIFA’s anti-discrimination statutes had been infringed by South Africa barring “the best players from all over the world, irrespective of colour or country” from playing side by side. He claimed that he was not advocating black control of soccer in South Africa but rather “that both black and white come together” for its administration. Fred Fell of FASA spoke next, citing race-segregated but FASA-affiliated clubs such as the black-only SABFA as evidence of the lack of racial discrimination in soccer. In his words, “All non-whites [are] perfectly happy with the present situation.” Mr. Mzizi, vice-president of SABFA, repeated Fell’s argument, declaring it was “pure fallacy” to say that FASA brought non-white South Africans to the Congress “just for show.” Their urgings, however, did not sway the majority of FIFA’s associated members, many of whom aligned much more closely with non-white South Africa’s anti-discrimination struggles than with Rous’s badly concealed Eurocentrism. South Africa was re-suspended by a landslide

⁴¹ “Minutes of the XXXIVth Ordinary Congress,” Fédération Internationale de Football Association, October 8th, 1964, 11-12.

vote of 48 to 15.⁴² In retaliation, the apartheid government imposed banning orders—including a 12-hour-a-day house arrest—on SASF secretary and anti-apartheid activist George Singh.⁴³

FIFA's reinstated suspension of South Africa drew enormous national attention from all sides of the political spectrum and subsequently forced the apartheid regime to take further notice of the sway of global opinion against it. Initially, many took aim at FIFA's venture into politics rather than at reassessing South African policies. *The Friend*, for example, maintained, "It will be argued that South Africa, by its apartheid policies, asked for trouble—and got it. But FIFA, by seeking to use sport for political objectives, has thrown overboard principles which are far more important to its existence than anything that can be achieved by the political vendetta by some of its members against the South African government." Similarly, *Die Vaderland* argued that the suspension "will have little effect on South Africa. It is international sport which will in the long run be harmed, since it applies standards which hardly conform to the spirit of sportsmanship."⁴⁴ These analyses echo those of National Party Members of Parliament. When J.D. du P. Basson, Member of Parliament and founder of the anti-apartheid political pressure group the National Union, argued on the parliamentary floor, "...South Africa is being forced out of one international organization after another, not only political organizations but also bodies which have nothing to do with politics, even sports bodies," then-Prime Minister Verwoerd replied, "A State may cease to be a member of a particular body and yet its scientists or economists, etc., etc., can still remain in continual and intimate contact with the outside

⁴² "Minutes of the XXXIVth Ordinary Congress," 11-12.

⁴³ "International Boycott of Apartheid Sport."

⁴⁴ Press Digest: South Africa, week of June 4, 1956.

world... We are not at all isolated as the Opposition alleges.”⁴⁵ Verwoerd’s analysis evidences the regime’s attempts at self-delusion to comfort themselves over their increasing isolation rather than address the issue with substantive reform. Twenty-two years later, then-President Botha would echo Verwoerd in his response to global economic sanctions: "Not only will we survive (economic sanctions), we will emerge stronger on the other side."⁴⁶

Others frankly admitted that the ramifications of FIFA’s boycotts would be severe. The Daily News declared, “South Africa’s interests are turning inwards and her view of life outside is being narrowed to a point where she can only see dark black corners and racial animosity.” Most telling, however, was the National Party publication Die Volksblad’s post-suspension analysis. While Die Volksblad denounced the “Communists” and “Afro-Asians” who had voted for South Africa’s suspension and took consolation in FASA’s white support within FIFA, it also acknowledged that FIFA’s actions had larger implications. “The stark truth remains that a new fierce blow has hit South Africa. Our enemies who want to drive us out of world sport for political reasons can now chalk up another victory.” George Singh’s banning—a punishment ordinarily reserved for political dissidents—is further proof of the significance of FIFA’s decision. FIFA’s sanctions were among the first in the global fight against apartheid, but they would not be the last, and Die Volksblad’s recognition of their implications suggests that the soccer boycotts harmed the regime more than Verwoerd cared to admit.

However, in order to fully comprehend the magnitude of FIFA’s boycott of South African soccer, it is essential to dig deeper than top-level politics and understand the importance

⁴⁵ Debates of the House of Assembly, Hansard Parliamentary Records: South Africa, 23 April 1964, 4786.

⁴⁶ “Quotes from Apartheid Strongman P.W. Botha,” Reuters: UK Edition, November 2, 2006.

of ground-level protest in shaping it. Ground-level pressure ultimately forced the regime to stop deluding itself into thinking that international sports isolation would not hurt the government's monopoly on state power. Politically, the 1960s were a silent decade. Following the Sharpeville Massacre of 1960, the apartheid government had banned the major anti-apartheid political parties and forced its leaders underground, stifling their capacity to mobilize for change. Soccer therefore became one of the only outlets through which ordinary non-white South Africans could express their discontent with the apartheid government. As the major non-racial league and an offshoot of the anti-apartheid SASF, the South African Soccer League (SASL) was one of the most effective examples of ground-level protest in the 1960s.

Ten African, Indian, and Coloured soccer officials formed SASL in February of 1961 to protest the government's post-Sharpeville crackdown. Known as the "People's League" for its popularity in the townships, its supporters identified closely with players who faced subordination, racial segregation, and economic hardships in the face of government repression. Supporting the "People's League" meant taking a stand against apartheid because it gave players and supporters alike an outlet for black self-validation and identity in a society that disenfranchised and exploited them. Alegi and Bolsmann argue, "Like the African National Congress and its allies in the liberation struggle, this league embodied the majority's demands for freedom and equal rights."⁴⁷ Moreover, support for the league was integral in the struggle for FIFA sanctions. Its popularity directly refuted FASA's argument that it represented the majority of soccer players in South Africa. By demonstrating that non-racial soccer in South Africa could

⁴⁷ Alegi and Bolsmann, *From Apartheid to Unity*, 3.

be successful, SASL participants directly threatened the legitimacy of the regime's claims of the efficacy of separate development. Their support was crucial in showing the world the cruelties and contradictions of the apartheid regime. Unfortunately, the internal threat posed by SASL, combined with the external pressure from FIFA's sanctions, led to further repression, not reform. The government began banning all non-white spectators from all-white games and continued to refuse to allow non-whites to use playing facilities. SASL folded under such pressure in 1966, but the interest it sparked in nonracial soccer outlasted the league's existence.

The sports sanctions against South Africa were rapidly becoming a hot topic for political debate. On April 22, 1971, Sir De Villiers Graff, the United Party Member of Parliament and then-Leader of the Opposition, argued that international sport had become not only a reflection of foreign policy but also a matter of national prestige. His party, he claimed, "would be prepared to consider a relaxation of any hindering legislative enactments in the same way as the Government has relaxed them in diplomatic spheres and in respect of the representatives of the Bantu homelands." Accordingly, "We would also be prepared to accept mixed teams from overseas and would be prepared to see South Africa represented by mixed teams at the national level in South Africa."⁴⁸

Sir De Villiers' statement reveals the effects of international sports isolation on a society that placed a large emphasis on international prestige. The allusion to "diplomatic spheres" and the Bantu homelands is indicative of the interconnectedness of sports and politics, and the proposal for representation overseas by mixed teams suggests the extent to which the

⁴⁸ Press Digest, April 22, 1971.

government was willing to change its policies in order to preserve segregation at the local and state level but put on a façade of reform internationally. Meanwhile, the sports boycotts were attracting national attention outside the realm of politics, as white South Africans made clear their frustration with the increasing international isolation of their favorite pastimes. The same day that the press reported De Villiers' new sports plan, the front page of *Rapport* showed Minister of Sport, Frank Waring, being booed by the crowd at the South African tennis championship in Johannesburg—the first time that a South African Cabinet Minister had been booed in his own country by a sports crowd.

The sports boycotts put the apartheid government in an uncomfortable predicament: change their policies and risk integration, or maintain segregation and risk losing the support of their white political base. *Die Transvaler* called sport the “Achilles heel” of the apartheid government. *Die Vaderland* declared, “Acceptance of sport integration would mean only one thing for South Africa’s overseas enemies and the internal champions of mixing—their first victory and an encouragement in the fight against preservation of white identity.” *The Star* was more realistic about the government’s dilemma: “The irony is that for apartheid itself to survive at the levels at which most of us like, it is becoming more and more necessary for there to be some multi-racialism at the top, and not only in sport.”⁴⁹ Prime Minister Vorster apparently agreed. Though he denounced De Villiers’ notions as “rash” and unsuitable to solve the nation’s problems, the statement forced Vorster to issue his own reform plan. A few days later, he announced a new sports policy: “multinational sport.” The policy implied that South Africa was

⁴⁹ *Press Digest*, April 22, 1971.

composed of several distinct “nations” of separate but equal status. Teams of these racially defined “nations” would compete against each other and against foreign opposition.⁵⁰

Vorster’s plan was clearly an attempt to lessen international pressure while maintaining authoritarian control. Stanley Uys at the Sunday Times called it “a bizarre blend of multi-racialism, multi-nationalism and undiluted apartheid.” Die Burger argued that it would “help to undermine overseas hostility and criticism without our social structure being undermined by the sport integration which our enemies demand as the price of acceptance.”⁵¹ Most importantly, the new policy showed that international sports campaigns were putting major cracks in the regime’s staunch segregation policies, and FASA, like other government-supported sports bodies, was feeling its effects. By 1972 FASA had agreed to the selection of national sides based on merit. However, they remained against multiracial soccer at club and junior levels, exposing the limits to Vorster’s superficial change. To advertise the “reformed” policy of multinational sport, FASA began making preparations for the South African Games, a tournament that would include both international teams and multi-national South African teams. FIFA gave South Africa a “special dispensation” to allow the tournament, and Brazil and England provisionally accepted invitations to compete. When FIFA discovered, however, that the South African teams and stadium crowds would still be segregated, it withdrew its approval, declaring, “We regret the Executive was misled and wrongly interpreted the term ‘multi-racial.’”⁵² That June, the government refused a passport to SASF president Norman Middleton, who was scheduled to attend the FIFA Congress in Frankfurt to lobby for FASA’s expulsion from FIFA.

⁵⁰ Koonyaditse, 89.

⁵¹ Press Digest, April 29, 1971.

⁵² Bolsmann, “White Football,” 41.

At the same time, FIFA was experiencing its own internal crises. As in the early 1960s, much of the tensions revolved around South Africa. Despite clear evidence of South Africa's racial discrimination in soccer, President Rous continued to back FASA, both in FIFA meetings and in his correspondence with FASA. He even encouraged FASA to bring SASF's alleged discriminatory practices to FIFA's attention. A Kenyan delegate at the 1968 CAF General Assembly meeting spoke for all when he declared of Rous, "In his declaration we saw the manifestation of old and dying colonialism. It is of no avail of him to say that [FASA] has committed no crime because it is the government which is responsible of the Apartheid policy. It is the government which controls the affairs of FASA. We in Kenya wish to see that all means possible are used to bring about a change in South Africa so that our brothers there may enjoy the freedom of sports we have."⁵³ By the 1974 FIFA presidential election, the African delegation was, in Tanzanian sports journalist Rhamadan Ali's words, "fed up with Sir Stanley Rous's FIFA and wanted a new man at the top who was more receptive to the interests of African football."⁵⁴ Their savior came in the form of Joao Havelange, President of the Brazilian Football Federation.

As a member of the International Olympic Committee and a central figure in the withdrawal of the Brazilian team from the aforementioned 1972 South African Games, Havelange understood the importance of the "South Africa problem" in the upcoming election. South Africa became a standout issue in Havelange's campaign because it had the capacity to both undermine Rous and attract the support of the Third World delegation, of which Africa was

⁵³ Darby, Stanley Rous's 'own goal,' 267.

⁵⁴ Darby, Africa, Football, and FIFA, 96.

a significant part. Ostracizing South Africa was “the carrot which Dr. Havelange brandished before Africa,” according to Nigerian delegate Oroc Oyo. He spent three years canvassing the Third World and building up his support, promising, “So long as I am in charge and apartheid still exists, South Africa will never come into FIFA.”⁵⁵ Meanwhile, Rous reaffirmed his support for FASA. At the Frankfurt Congress in 1974, Havelange defeated Rous by 68 votes to Rous’s 52, supported heavily by Africa’s 37 votes. Ali noted, “In the vote it became clear that the battle was between the old guard and the Third World with Africa playing a decisive role.” The Third World won the battle and shifted FIFA’s balance of power. In doing so, it irrevocably changed the nature of the organization from its elitist Eurocentrism to a more global model.

Though Havelange undoubtedly capitalized upon the Third World power block to further his own aspirations, he understood many of the complaints of the African delegation, and he was much more likely to engage in political mediation than his predecessor.⁵⁶ Accordingly, the South African issue moved to the top of the new FIFA agenda. Hundreds of people demonstrated and distributed leaflets outside the 1974 Congress protesting South Africa’s racial policies.⁵⁷ Responding to this pressure and to the political leanings of its newly elected president, FIFA changed its anti-discrimination statute to read, “A national association which tolerates, allows, or organizes competitions marked by discrimination, or which is established in a country where discrimination in sport is laid down by law, should not be admitted to FIFA, or should be barred if it was.”⁵⁸ FASA rightly interpreted Havelange’s election and the change in FIFA’s statute as a

⁵⁵ Darby, *Africa, Football, and FIFA*, 81.

⁵⁶ Darby, *Africa, Football, and FIFA*, 67.

⁵⁷ Alex Yanniss, “Brazilian is Elected World Soccer Head,” *The New York Times*, June 12, 1974.

⁵⁸ Peter Cole, “Final whistle and wreath for Rous,” *The Guardian*, June 12, 1974.

sign that their days in FIFA were numbered, and they turned to the apartheid regime for help. As pressure mounted, FASA president Dave Marais suggested that Minister Koornhof “use soccer as the guinea pig for experimenting with multi-racial sport.” In March of 1975, Marais also recommended that FASA expand into a “multiracial body” with a “multiracial Executive,” and the organization subsequently debated forming “an umbrella organization or expanding FASA into a multiracial body.”⁵⁹ They eventually concluded that the proposals would be sent to FIFA before their Congress in Montreal in July of 1976.

Their plans proved fruitless, however, due to events outside FASA’s control. On June 16, 1976, 700 peaceful student protestors were brutally murdered by policemen in what became known as the Soweto uprising. The state’s violence doomed any chance of South Africa regaining the confidence of the international soccer community. At the 1976 FIFA Congress in Montreal, FASA President Marais desperately appealed to the delegates to give South Africa another chance but to no avail. Not even Rous stood up to defend them. The only delegate who spoke in favor of FASA was Sir Harold Thompson of England, who cited the “enormous progress” that had been made recently as hope for a solution in the near future. Havelange refuted Thompson’s claim: “In the 12 years since the suspension by the 1964 Congress in Tokyo, progress had been insignificant and insufficient.”⁶⁰ Exactly one month after the Soweto uprising, South Africa was officially expelled from FIFA by a vote of 78 to 9.

⁵⁹ FASA Minutes of the Executive, March 7, 1975, in Alegi and Bolsmann, *From Apartheid to Unity*, 14.

⁶⁰ “Minutes of the XLth Ordinary Congress,” Fédération Internationale de Football Association, July 16th, 1976, 6-7.

In the wake of FASA's expulsion, soccer became part of the government's plan to "ameliorate apartheid" and win back international support.⁶¹ Marais resigned as president of FASA, and in October of 1976, the Football Council of South Africa was formed, bringing together the white-only FASA, the black-only South African Native Football Association (SANFA, formerly the South African Bantu Football Association—the derogatory "Bantu" was dropped in 1973), and two minor Indian and coloured organizations. In keeping with the regime's larger divide-and-rule strategy meant to appease international pressure while simultaneously preventing black South Africans from forming a united anti-apartheid front, George Thabe, who had replaced Bethuel Morolo as president of SABFA in 1971, was named president. While the council professed to reform and control soccer at all levels, they chose the Springbok, the symbol of apartheid sport, as their official emblem, suggesting the conservative nature of their "reforms." Their attempts did little to appease FIFA, however. The greater international community had adopted the mantra, "No abnormal sport in an abnormal society"; nothing short of ending apartheid would convince FIFA to readmit South Africa.

On the ground level, integrated soccer was becoming steadily more popular, putting more "cracks in the edifice of apartheid."⁶² The white-only National Football League, which retained segregated stadiums and, in some cases, a whites-only attendance policy, became so desperate that general manager Vivian Granger actually encouraged the signing of blacks before the league folded in 1977. Integrated soccer's growing popularity attracted the attention of large corporate sponsors who had been harmed by South Africa's international sports isolation, and they too

⁶¹ Alegi and Bolsmann, *From Apartheid to Unity*, 12.

⁶² Alegi and Bolsmann, *From Apartheid to Unity*, 13.

soon began pushing for reform. Later that year, the state declared a state of emergency due to increasing anti-apartheid insurrections. The multiracial National Soccer League (NSL), formed in 1985 in protest to segregated FASA-affiliated leagues, announced that it would not support the country's readmission to FIFA until apartheid was dismantled, thereby earning them the support of the anti-apartheid African National Congress (ANC).⁶³ Moreover, as black liberation leaders and government officials began discussing peace and unity and an end to apartheid, pro-integration sports leaders and ANC officials began discussing the future of South African soccer. All agreed that the boycotts were "an important tool in the struggle for the destruction of apartheid" and should not be called off until a single, nonracial soccer body was created.⁶⁴

In February of 1990, after President De Klerk lifted the ban on banned political parties and began the four-year dismantling of apartheid policies, integrated sport finally became a foreseeable possibility. Only a few days before the landmark Convention for a Democratic South Africa began discussions about a democratic constitution in December 1991, the nonracial and unified South African Football Association (SAFA) was formed in Durban. With the endorsement of the African National Congress, SAFA formally applied for readmission into FIFA in early 1992. That April, President Havelange and General Secretary Blatter traveled to South Africa to meet with SAFA officials. On July 3, 1992—two full years before the nation's first democratic elections—South Africa officially became a full member of FIFA, marking a

⁶³ Alegi, *Laduma*, 139.

⁶⁴ Alegi, *Laduma*, 148.

significant victory for a nation struggle to regain international support. SAFA's admittance "embodied the seemingly boundless potential of a liberated and united South Africa."⁶⁵

Twelve years later, on May 15, 2004, millions of South Africans erupted into thunderous cheers when FIFA President "Sepp" Blatter announced that South Africa had won the bid for the 2010 World Cup.⁶⁶ The nation's collective anticipation and excitement is a testament to the years of struggle it took to reach this historical moment. Together with the African bloc and the global support of those against white supremacy, the nonracial and anti-apartheid South African Soccer Federation (SASF) fought for recognition by the international community through the sanctioning of the racially segregated and pro-government Football Association of South Africa (FASA). The struggle forced FIFA to abandon its lingering Eurocentrism while simultaneously garnering international awareness and eventual condemnation of the apartheid regime. In the words of sports activist Sam Ramsamay, the FIFA sanctions put the "first fissures in the apartheid wall."⁶⁷ Though by themselves they did not bring down apartheid, their contributions were indisputable and remain a testament to the effectiveness of sports boycotts in the fight against oppression.

⁶⁵ Alegi and Bolsmann, *From Apartheid to Unity*, 18.

⁶⁶ Latakomo, 77.

⁶⁷ Sam Ramsamay, Foreword to Latakomo, xxi .

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POLICY OF FEAR: FBI COINTELPRO OPERATIONS CONDUCTED AGAINST BLACK NATIONALIST GROUPS

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In the summer of 1967, the Philadelphia based Black nationalist political group Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), founded by Maxwell Sanford, was effectively neutralized by the FBI's use of harassment arrests in an attempt to drain members of RAM both financially and psychologically.¹ An FBI memo on RAM, dated August 30th, 1967, explicitly states, "Any excuse for arrest was promptly implemented by arrest. Any possibility of neutralizing a RAM activist was exercised."² In regards to this harassment toward RAM, Agents of Repression authors Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall claimed that "RAM was destroyed as an organization for no reason other than that of possessing an ideological perspective which was in opposition to the political status quo in the United States."³ The practice of surveillance, harassment, and other covert tactics used by the FBI during this time period are referred to as COINTELPROs. The goal of these COINTELPROs was, as stated by an FBI memo dated August 25th, 1967, "to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or OTHERWISE NEUTRALIZE the activities of black-nationalist hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen,

1. Ward Churchill, and Jim Vander Wall, *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret War Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement*, (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1988), 44-45.

2. Ibid., 46.

3. Ibid., 47.

membership, and supporters, and to counter their propensity for violence and civil disorder.”⁴

Through the use of various primary sources, including the books Agents of Repression and The COINTELPRO PAPERS by Churchill and Vander Wall, and the book Malcolm X: The FBI File by Clayborne Carson, it becomes evident that the FBI COINTELPROs initiated against Black nationalist groups, specifically the Black Panther Party, were highly effective in their end goal of neutralization, particularly through the use of illegal and often deadly tactics. Four cases of effective COINTELPROs which corroborate this assertion include the FBI surveillance of Malcolm X, the inflammation of tensions between the BPP and rival political group US Organization in Los Angeles, the infiltration of the BPP in Chicago, leading to the assassination of Fred Hampton, and the infiltration of the BPP in New Haven, leading to the assassination of Alex Rackley. The historiographical dialogue in concerns to the FBI’s COINTELPROs is, ‘did the FBI go too far in their goal of neutralizing Black nationalist groups?’ Through both books by Churchill and Vander Wall, as well as newspaper articles dating back to the early 1970’s, this issue will be explored as a broader topic in relation to the overall effectiveness of the COINTELPROs.

Before initiating COINTELPROs against various Black nationalist groups, suspected communists were the main targets of FBI surveillance. One such suspected communist the FBI kept tabs on from 1953 through 1965 was Malcolm X. The FBI’s suspicion of Malcolm X’s communist sympathies arose from a jailhouse letter in which X stated that he had “always been a

4. Hoover, J. Edgar. Federal Bureau of Investigation, “COINTELPRO.”
<http://whatreallyhappened.com/RANCHO/POLITICS/COINTELPRO/COINTELPRO-FBI.docs.html>.

Communist.”⁵ The FBI’s interest in Malcolm X was minimal even during his involvement in the Nation of Islam, likely due to the incendiary and exclusive nature of the Nation of Islam’s message. Several sermons given within Malcolm X’s FBI file include statements that claim, among other things, that Elijah Muhammad would give word for space ships to bomb the United States and kill the “white devil”.⁶ While such statements and beliefs resulted in FBI surveillance of the Nation of Islam, it was Malcolm X’s ability to work an audience that made the FBI take note. One example of this occurred during a speech at Harvard, in which “an FBI agent noted Malcolm’s phenomenal control over his followers by reporting that NOI members in the audience only applauded Malcolm’s debate opponent when Malcolm himself applauded.”⁷ Consequently, when Malcolm X split away from the Nation of Islam and became increasingly politicized, the FBI’s surveillance of Malcolm X increased. While abroad, Malcolm X called for African nations to take the issue of human rights violations by the United States against African Americans before the United Nations. This action led to Assistant Attorney General in the Internal Security Division, J. Walter Yeagley, to notify FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover and request that the FBI investigate Malcolm X to see if he had violated the Logan Act, a piece of legislation forbidding U.S. citizens from influencing foreign governments without U.S. government permission.⁸

The FBI’s initial surveillance of Malcolm X was rather passive in comparison to later examples. However, this set a precedent for how the FBI would conduct covert investigations

5. Clayborne Carson, *Malcolm X The FBI File*, (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, Inc., 1991), 95.

6. *Ibid.*, 111.

7. *Ibid.*, 193-194.

8. *Ibid.*, 290.

into the Black Panther Party and other politically charged groups. The importance of Malcolm X as a precursor to these political groups is evident both in his message and through federal response to that message in an attempt to neutralize those who aimed to challenge the status quo. As author Carson states in Malcolm X: The FBI File, “The Panthers, with their emphasis on armed self-defense and militant (though not anti-white) rhetoric, were clearly the political offspring of Malcolm’s last years.”⁹ The FBI’s fears of these Black nationalist groups were explicitly stated in COINTELPRO memorandum: “Prevent the RISE OF A “MESSIAH”...Malcolm X might have been such a ‘messiah;’ he is the martyr of the movement today.”¹⁰ As passive as the FBI’s surveillance against Malcolm X seems at a glance, it is important to note that upon his assassination, a green suit coat found wrapped around the shotgun used in the murder had a pack of Camel cigarettes in the pocket. This is significant because, while members of the Nation of Islam were implicated in the assassination, they were forbidden to drink or smoke due to their religious beliefs.¹¹ Furthermore, as Churchill and Vander Wall state in The COINTELPRO PAPERS, “The Chicago SAC, Marlin Johnson, who would shortly oversee the assassinations of Illinois Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, makes it quite obvious that he views the murder of Malcolm X as something of a model for “successful” counterintelligence operations.”¹²

The FBI’s numerous COINTELPROs against the Black Panther Party were a clear sign

9. Ibid., 46.

10. Hoover, “COINTELPRO”.

11. Carson, *Malcolm X*, 343, 363.

12. Ward Churchill, and Jim Vander Wall, *THE COINTELPRO PAPERS*, (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2002), 103.

of their belief in the ability of the group¹³ to gain a significant amount of influence in the United States as a political and social organization that would threaten the pre-established status quo. As J. Edgar Hoover stated in the New York Times, he believed the Black Panthers to be “the greatest [single] threat to the internal security of the country.”¹⁴ One of the bloodiest COINTELPROs launched against the Black Panther Party was the FBI’s attempt to inflame tensions that existed between the Black Panther Party and US Organization in southern California. Such tactics employed by the FBI include inflammatory cartoons distributed around southern California, featuring misinformation such as fictional assassination plots, and instigating violence.¹⁵ The intentionally lethal result of the FBI’s covert instigations were the assassinations of Alprentice “Bunchy” Carter and Jon Huggins on January 17th, 1969 in UCLA’s Campbell Hall by US Organization members George and Joseph Stiner, and Claude Hubert.¹⁶

Furthermore, this attempt by the FBI to exploit tensions between the Black Panther Party and US Organization extended far beyond southern California, evident in the various memos to several regional branches. In a memo dated November 25th, 1968, less than two months before the violent deaths of Carter and Huggins in Los Angeles, to the Boston regional office of the FBI,

13. The Black Panther Party

14. Ibid., 123.

15. Ibid., 133; FBI Memorandum, SAC San Francisco to Director, 12/13/68; FBI Memorandum, SAC Boston to Director, 12/9/68; FBI Memorandum, SAC San Francisco to Director, 12/16/68; FBI Memorandum, SAC Los Angeles to Director, 12/18/68; FBI Memorandum, G.C. Moore to W. C. Sullivan, 11/22/68; FBI Memorandum, Director to SAC San Diego, 12/27/68

16. Ibid.

17. FBI Memorandum, SAC Boston to Director, 12/9/68.

agents were instructed to further manipulate the conflict, the memo explicitly stating “Boston race sources have been alerted in this regard and if a unit of the U.S. should be established in the Boston area, suitable recommendations will be submitted to take advantage of the situation.”¹⁷ In addition, other memos to regional offices in San Francisco and Chicago reiterate that if the US Organization were to establish chapters in these cities, agents should act to exacerbate the situation.

The FBI effectively used the US Organization as a death squad to target and eliminate Black Panther members, as seen above in the case of Carter and Huggins. As the memos and subsequent events show, the FBI was more than willing to resort to the outright murder of Black Panther Party members by a rival group. The descent of both groups into violence not only dragged the Black community as a whole into violence, cultural nationalist leader Amiri Baraka states, the FBI’s COINTELPROs created divisions in the radical Black community that effectively prevented any sort of unified political action by the Black nationalist groups.¹⁸

The FBI’s provocation of BPP and US Organization in southern California was not the only COINTELPRO that ended in violence and death. When a rival group such as the US Organization could not be manipulated into carrying out assassinations of key Black Panthers, the FBI was not above using agent provocateurs and local police led by agents to do the work instead. The FBI’s surveillance, internal sabotage, and assassination of Fred Hampton led to the decimation of the Black Panther Party in Chicago, an event made possible with the infiltration of

18. Ibid., 135.

19. Churchill and Vander Wall, *Agents of Repression*, 65.

an agent provocateur; William O'Neal. O'Neal's disruptions included the sabotage of a merger between the Black Panther Party and a large South Side street gang, the Blackstone Rangers.¹⁹ The FBI was able to dismantle the alliance between the two groups by sending a letter to Blackstone Rangers leader Jeff Fort that stated the Black Panthers had a hit out on him.²⁰ Other alliances that were dismantled by the FBI in this time period included the "Rainbow Coalition", composed of the Black Panther Party, Students for a Democratic Society, the Young Lords, and the Young Patriots. This dismantling was accomplished through the release of racist cartoons meant to antagonize white activists.²¹

These COINTELPROs had effectively cut off the Black Panther Party from both inner city neighborhoods and fellow activist groups. The next step taken by the FBI was an attempt to then decimate the Chicago Black Panther Party from the inside out. The first actions taken were the attempts by O'Neal to incite the Black Panthers into crime and violence, such as bombing the city hall and advocating the use of nerve gas and electrocution as a "security plan".²² Hampton rejected the violent measures suggested by O'Neal, which then led to an escalation by the FBI in their efforts to neutralize the Chicago Black Panthers. In the early morning hours of December 4th, 1969, raiders led by Special Agent Roy Smith launched a raid of Hampton's apartment,

20. Ibid.; FBI Memorandum, SAC Chicago to Director, 1/13/69; FBI Memorandum, Director to SAC Chicago, 1/17/69; FBI Memorandum, Director to SAC Chicago, 1/30/69.

21. Ibid., 66.

22. Ibid., 67.

23. Ibid., 71.

using a floor plan provided by O'Neal in preparation of the raid. Upon entering, Mark Clark, a Black Panther Defense Captain from the Peoria Chapter, was immediately shot in the chest and killed.²³ Raiders then proceeded to fire forty-two shots into Fred Hampton's bed room, one of which struck him in the left shoulder, seriously wounding him while he slept. Following this, Hampton was executed by raiders with two shots point blank to the head and then dragged into the doorway of his bedroom, where agents photographed his body.²⁴ The remaining Black Panthers present in the apartment, including Hampton's pregnant fiancée, were subsequently beaten and arrested by the raiders.²⁵

The FBI's COINTELPRO against the Chicago Black Panther Party effectively ended the Party's ability to function as a significant political force the night Fred Hampton was killed. Churchill and Vander Wall state, "The December 4th, 1969 raid had broken the back of the Illinois BPP, and the Party in Chicago passed into oblivion."²⁶ The COINTELPRO was effective due to the cooperation of their infiltrator William O'Neal, who passed information to FBI agents who were able to compromise alliances with other activist groups and inner city gangs, successfully gutting the Black Panther Party from the inside with the neutralization of Fred Hampton. The FBI COINTELPRO against the Chicago Black Panther Party was not the only one that led to the neutralization of a local chapter through the activities of an infiltrator. The

24. *Ibid.*, 73.

25. *Ibid.*.

26. *Ibid.*, 77.

27. Williams, Yohuru. "No Haven: From Civil Rights to Black Power in New Haven, Connecticut." *The Black Scholar*. No. 3-4, 56.

activities of FBI agent provocateur, George Sams, in New Haven, show the FBI's unscrupulous recruitment practices in an attempt to discredit and dismantle the Black Panther Party by any means necessary.

New Haven, as described by Yohuru Williams in his article *No Haven: From Civil Rights to Black Power in New Haven*, did not have a strong civil rights movement, as Mayor Richard C. Lee used the local civil rights leaders as political puppets.²⁷ One group who attempted to break this mold was the Hills Parents Association (HPA), who took a more militant stance than their predecessors and genuinely cared for the people of their community.²⁸ This led New Haven officials to take action against HPA, which included harassment, surveillance, and arrests. Following a 1967 riot over the shooting death of a Hispanic youth by a white store owner that destroyed New Haven's image of a model city, HPA was neutralized by local police and government officials. Williams states that this sent a clear message: "no militants in the model city."²⁹ Thus, the arrival of the Black Panther Party in New Haven in the winter of 1968 was a clear challenge to that message, as the Panthers fostered an approach more focused on human rights in the community rather than civil rights.³⁰ In response to the arrival of the Black Panther Party in New Haven, police chief James Ahern began surveillance of Party members; Williams

28. *Ibid.*, 58.

29. *Ibid.*, 59.

30. *Ibid.*, 60.

31. *Ibid.*, 61.

states that the New Haven police conducted investigations without much FBI supervision.³¹ The FBI's tactic at this point was to sow seeds of distrust and fear within the Black Panther Party ranks by the use of agent provocateurs, who, according to Williams, would arrive in local chapters claiming to have arrived from the national chapter with orders to either go underground or that they had come to straighten them out.³² In the case of the New Haven Black Panther Party, an FBI informant named George Sams arrived in the New York Chapter and used violence and intimidation to spread fear among the Black Panthers.³³ Sams soon left for New Haven along with Alex Rackley, the latter of which was immediately accused of being a police informant upon arriving in New Haven. For three days, Sams directed torture against Rackley while the New Haven police department, listening to and fully aware of the events as they occurred, did nothing to act. On May 21st, 1969, Rackley's lifeless body was discovered, shot once in the head and chest.³⁴ The end result of the FBI's involvement in New Haven was the complete neutralization of the New Haven Black Panther Party due to the havoc that their infiltrator, George Sams, had created in his torture and murder of Alex Rackley. Further showcasing the FBI's total lack of regard toward the lives of any member of the Black Panther Party was the fact that George Sams had previously been a mental patient with violent tendencies.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid., 62; FBI Memorandum, Director to SAC New York, 1/7/69.

34. Ibid., 62-63.

This dealt a crushing blow to the New Haven Black Panther Party, which had barely established itself in the community when Rackley was murdered.

The FBI's attempts to neutralize Black nationalist groups were not only a clear violation of basic human rights, but, in many cases, actively endangered lives and resulted in numerous deaths, as previously stated in the cases of Carter, Huggins, Hampton, Clark, and Rackley. As seen through the manipulation of the US Organization into a 'death squad' used for the assassinations of prominent Black Panther Party members, the FBI was quite willing to use misinformation to order to create violent situations. A specific example of such actions taken by the FBI can be seen in a memo from the New York City regional office to H.Q., in which a circular created by agents is attached. This circular has the pictures and addresses of three activists, Jorge Aponte, Robert Collier, and David Brothers, and proceeds to state that these three men are paid police informants. Perhaps even more disturbing is that included in the information on this circular is the fact that both Aponte and Brothers live with their wives, Barbara and Jennie, respectively, at the addresses listed.³⁵ The implication of what would occur upon the general circulation of this circular to the public is a clear example of the FBI's disregard for the lives of those who were deemed 'subversive'. The subsequent memo back from H.Q. to the New York City office states that agents did not have permission to distribute the circular. However, H.Q. continues to state that the reasons why the circular is not to be circulated is due to the risks that distributing agents may encounter, as well as the issue that "furthermore, the photographs and detailed descriptions appearing on the circular give rise to the presumption that the circular

35. SAC New York (attached circular, see Appendix A).

was prepared by an intelligence or police agency.” H.Q. then states that the idea of spreading misinformation about the three ‘extremists’ is “a good one” and that they should target one who appears to be the most vulnerable, but not before interviewing the subject to see if he might have potential as an actual police informant.³⁶ As this particular example shows, the FBI was not concerned about endangering the lives of not only those involved in Black nationalist groups, but also the lives any acquaintances, as seen in regards to Barbara and Jennie, the wives of Aponte and Brothers. The date of this memo back to the New York City regional office is December 12th, 1968, just over a month before the assassinations of Carter and Huggins by members of US Organization in Los Angeles.

When information on the existence of COINTELPRO came to light in the early 1970’s, the public went into an uproar. As the vast scope of the COINTELPROs against Black nationalist groups in the late 1960’s became apparent, there was a heated debate on the FBI’s justification to take part in these covert activities. Even though most historians today tend to conclude that the FBI was not justified in their use of COINTELPROs against U.S. citizens, at the time, there were defenses made on the FBI’s behalf. One such article is a statement by then FBI director Clarence Kelly, saying that while there may be criticism of the COINTELPROs, that “there must be some effective way for the federal government to meet the challenge...of those who use any means to foment revolution.” Furthermore, Kelly states that the public’s perception is jaded due to the peace in the present time, while the situation in the late 1960’s called for extreme measures such

36. FBI Memorandum, Director to SAC New York, 12/12/68.

as COINTELPRO.³⁷ However, as Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall have noted, the FBI's illegal tactics had tragic results for those targeted, resulting in an unknown number of deaths and years of jail time for innocent people.³⁸ Ultimately, the FBI's terror tactics were not merely in defense of the nation's safety. As first stated in reference to RAM in Philadelphia, Black nationalist groups were "destroyed as an organization for no reason other than that of possessing an ideological perspective which was in opposition to the political status quo in the United States."³⁹

The FBI's COINTELPROs were incredibly effective in destabilizing the Black Panther Party using several methods, namely infiltration and deception, which inevitably led to distrust, violence, and death. Through fear and violations of basic civil and human rights, Black nationalist groups were suppressed from having any form of control over their own existence or their communities' existence. The message taken away from FBI memos in this time period is implicit but still quite clear: everything up to and including one's life is forfeit if one's ideology challenges the status quo. The public's response to the FBI's COINTELPROs was quite explicit, clarifying the ideology that 'by any means necessary', as practiced by the FBI, has no place in the United States.

³⁷ Clarence Kelly, "FBI Statement", 2/7/1974, Washington Capital News Service.

³⁸ Churchill, and Vander Wall, *COINTELPRO PAPERS*, 169.

³⁹ Churchill, and Vander Wall, *Agents of Repression*, 47.

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Along with the primary documents cited, I would like to note that the secondary sources I used had many good primary sources that I was able to use to corroborate the findings I had independently discovered through database research. I would also to note my inclusion of the circular seen in Appendix A, as I believe the circular to be a particularly strong primary source in regards to the FBI's direct attempts at the neutralization of deemed "subversives" through potentially violent means, thus making it a crucial addition to this essay.

Appendix A


HAVE YOU SEEN THESE PEOPLE

(1)




JORGE A PONTE

(2)



ROBERT COLLIER

(3)



DAVID BROTHERS

D A N G E R

BLACK MILITANTS BEWARE

THE THREE people pictured above are paid police informants who are furnishing information to the POLICE about their BLACK BROTHERS.

They are left to right

1) JORGE APONTE - born 10/4/41 in NY and lives with wife Barbara at 1017 BERGEN ST, BROOKLYN. He is 5'11", 140 lbs and a LT. in BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

2) ROBERT COLLIER - born 1/27/37 Boston, Mass and lives with wife ROMONA in APT 2B - 336 E 8th ST. New York City. He is 5'11", 170 lbs, and works at 601 E 9th STREET, New York City.

3) DAVID BROTHERS - born 1/25/19 NY lives with wife JENNIE in apt 7M - 333 LAFAYETTE AVE, BROOKLYN. He works in CORNELL CLUB OF NY and is in Black Panther

THE CINEMA OF MORAL ANXIETY

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Growing up in the post-Cold War United States, it is difficult to conceive of life in countries like Poland. The conflict that dominated the Baby Boom generation has left a dark veil where an Iron Curtain once stood, filling educational systems and political discourse with a natural aversion to the events in Poland and her neighbors. With twenty years separating the end of the Cold War from now, the time has come to lift the veil and begin to better understand what exactly the United States was fighting against so many years ago. Poland under Communism cannot be defined with political platitudes and simple arguments. Instead, with new information coming to the fore every day, there is a chance to uncover many of the secrets of life in Poland that have been either hidden or ignored.

Culminating in the events of 1989, in which Shock Therapy brought Poland out from under Communist rule and jolted it into the capitalist system, the around fifteen year period leading up to them were tumultuous. Strikes, protests, martial law, Solidarity, and countless other developments played out on the Polish psyche. Compounded with the memories of the struggles and tribulations that affected Poland under communism, an atmosphere of censorship and rebellion sought expression. In the realm of Polish film, this expression would come to be known as the Cinema of Moral Anxiety. Defined by such directors as Andrzej Wajda, Krzysztof Kieslowski, and Agnieszka Holland, this movement sought to explain their world through the medium of film. By analyzing the technical choices made by these directors, it is possible to

view these films as primary sources; as windows into a culture all too simplified by the typical United States education. Through elements of mise-en-scène (a film term for what is present in the filming space), cinematography, editing, and sound, it is possible to get an idea of how life under Communism affected Polish citizenry during this time period. However, Poland was by no means a simple story of Communist oppression. Themes of censorship and confining bureaucracies largely dominate these films, which create a picture of a Poland far from a socialist utopia but still farther from a Commie hellhole. It is clear through these works that the Polish populous was sufficiently discontented by the system to cause the fall of Communism in their country. A voice largely against the system present in Poland from around 1975 to the fall of Communism in 1989, the technical aspects at play in the Cinema of Moral Anxiety portrayed Communism in Poland as a claustrophobic and intrusive period, and rejected the false notions of Communist prosperity.

Andrzej Wajda,, perhaps the best known Polish filmmaker, provides his take on Polish Communism through his *Man of Marble* and *Man of Iron*. First, *Man of Marble* tells the story of a young filmmaker trying to uncover the life of a former Team Leader from the Stalinist era. The film makes effective use of a wide angle lens to create a world in which it is hard to move through space. Agnieszka, the spunky young filmmaker, and a Party man in charge of granting her resources for her film, are walking down a hallway that seems to stretch forever behind them. In real life, the hallway might be a reasonable length, but the wide-angle lens distorts this, so that despite Agnieszka's brisk pace, she walks toward the backward-tracking camera almost indefinitely. A similar effect is created as Agnieszka walks through an art gallery, where

reasonably sized rooms become enormous spaces that Agnieszka seems to fight through against the will of some invisible force. A third example occurs in a flashback to the Stalinist era in which Mateusz Birkut, a former Team Leader, bricklayer, and object of Agnieszka's proposed film, consults with a Party official in a Party building to try to get his abducted friend back. The hallway is stretched once again, and the Party official seems to take ages to get to the waiting Birkut.

Wajda also uses objects to block the action in his shots, concealing information from the audience. This kind of cinematography emphasizes something secretive and ambiguous that the audience does not know yet. In this case, Wajda is probably representing the feeling under Communism that the Party did not reveal the truth, and kept many things secret from the public. Frustratingly, large space is also a recurring theme in Wajda's work, indicating the inefficiency and oppression of the Communist bureaucracy. Characters must constantly fight against space itself in order to accomplish anything, and events that should reflect action and change are contained by the immense but confining setting.

In order to make Agnieszka seem powerful, many of the shots of her are low-angle shots, meaning the camera is positioned low and tilted upward to view the figure from below. Agnieszka towers over the audience and seems to represent a symbol of hope, based on her urge to uncover the past and create a bit of freedom and transparency. As she is successively disillusioned, however, she receives more straight-on shots, indicating that she has lost much of her will to continue, beaten down by the excessive bureaucracy. This was definitely an emotion

that Poles could relate to because of the numerous strikes and efforts to change the system that started out optimistic, but ended up in violence or dissatisfaction.

Another defining feature in *Man of Marble* is the use of found footage intermixed with old-style film shot by Wajda to create a type of pseudo-documentary. Wajda uses black-and-white footage of Mateusz Birkut to assimilate his story with actual film shot in the 1950's. Echoing the Social Realism films of the Stalinist era, Wajda creates a commentary on the overly-optimistic films made during that time period while also providing information about his present. The use of a pseudo-documentary style expresses a need of Wajda's to expose the hypocrisy of the Communist system. His choice seems to manifest a desire of Polish society during the 1970's to 1990's to look back at the history of Communist life and expose its inflated ideology. By placing his fictional character within the documentary style, Wajda wishes to increase the fictional aspect and show that the ideological system is based on such fictionalized accounts.

One of the only films included here with a distinct musical soundtrack, *Man of Marble* makes a statement through its sound--or lack thereof. In the beginning, Wajda uses jaunty and optimistic Socialist Realism music with his pseudo-documentary, which then fade into the urban sounds of modern Poland. The link produced by this fade indicates that the Socialist Realist period is linked profoundly with what is going on in the present, and in this way Wajda is able to create a social commentary on 1970's Poland. The other profound use of sound comes when a disenchanted Birkut tries to make a speech to his fellow workers at a Party meeting. When Birkut gets to the microphone, someone pulls the cord, rendering Birkut's speech mute. Then, the Party leaders urge the roomful of workers into a song of Party solidarity, further silencing

Birkut's pleas to be heard. Here, Wajda uses the lack of sound to provide commentary on the consequences of censorship in Poland under Communism. Anyone with complaints, Wajda shows, was silenced and drowned out by the voices of a manufactured Party support.

Man of Iron, Wajda's continuation of *Man of Marble*, picks up the story years later as another filmmaker, Winkel, explores the story that Agnieszka was eventually arrested for, and Solidarity begins its rise to prominence. Much of the same techniques are used in his second film as his first with a few differences. Once again, Wajda attempts to integrate his own footage of Winkel with actual shots of protests through an eye-line match, a principle of continuity editing in which a shot of someone looking at something cuts to the thing that they are looking at. This associates the two items—just as Wajda associates Winkel's gaze out the window with documentary footage of an actual protest. By grounding his action in actual footage, Wajda seems to emphasize the authenticity of the Solidarity movement in contrast to the empty claims of the Party.

Another aspect of *Man of Iron* that is present in many other Cinema of Moral Anxiety films is physical objects that get in the way of the camera or make it difficult for the characters to move in the frame. For example, when Winkel is in a screening room after watching some historical footage, boxes and other objects block him both physically and from the view of the camera. He visibly struggles to weave his way through the objects in the room, which echoes the effect of the wide-angle lens used extensively by Wajda earlier. Here, Wajda indicates that the history of Communism in Poland is difficult to sort through and one must struggle with it to find any truth. This implies a present in which there is an ambiguous history that makes it harder

negotiate the brand of Communism of the 1970's. Lack of reliable history stymies efforts to understand and adapt to the present in Poland.

This is all in contrast to one of the final scenes in the movie in which Winkel, fed up with the Party, walks into the office of Solidarity. In the office, the camera views him from farther back, giving him more space to breathe in the frame. In this way, Wajda shows how Solidarity represents freedom and a room to maneuver for a people frustrated with the oppression of Communism.

Illumination, directed by Krzysztof Zanussi, reiterates many of the themes introduced through Wajda. First, Zanussi strives to make his film look realistic, using a mobile and untrained cinematographic style that reminds the audience of a home video. Zanussi also uses a sort of documentary style by interviewing Talking Heads who explain such words as “illumination” and theories of physics. This is similar to Wajda's attempts to represent reality through pseudo-documentary and emphasizes the authenticity of Zanussi's message, so that we may trust his interpretation of late Communist era Poland.

Zanussi also makes many references to the intrusive and bureaucratic system through his cinematography and mise-en-scène. First, the film begins with a quantitative analysis of the film's main character, Franciszek. Doctors have him go through his attributes one-by-one, from his name and place of birth to his height and weight. This unorthodox way of introducing a main character betokens the bureaucratic and quantitative way the Party operates. Its impersonality focuses on the measurable rather than the intangible and treats people as objects to be studied. This trend continues as Zanussi includes close-ups of body parts, rather than showing Franciszek

as a whole. A telling scene in which a mountain climber is killed in an accident also uses this technique. Focusing on the hands, noses, and feet of a dead man suggests that nothing is sacred under the Communists' overly-scientific gaze. A dead man is nothing but a series of parts to be studied, instead of a human who deserves his peace as one of the dead.

For much of the film, Zanussi shoots the characters with rather extreme close-ups, destroying any sense of space. This way, the audience feels a sense of claustrophobia and disorientation. One feels that they are too close to the characters, and are forced to study their faces in intrusive ways. Through this choice, Zanussi shows how the intrusive tunnel-vision of the Party creates a disorientation and lack of space that confines Poland within the system, and destroys any type of personal privacy that humanity needs. Again, claustrophobia is a recurring theme in many of these films, reflecting a general sense of claustrophobia among Poles during this time period.

The remedy for Franciszek to escape from this claustrophobia is the green fields of nature, in which he seems the most happy. He runs and falls and plays there, free from the obsessive categorization of academics and pressure to succeed. Nature seems to be a theme which many of the films of the Cinema of Moral Anxiety deal with as a positive aspect of life under Communism. It represents an escape from the bureaucracy and complexity of the system.

Editing emphasizes the bureaucratic system as well. Franciszek's life is divided into chapters through cuts to diplomas and certificates he receives on his journey. Each new stage is preceded by a picture of a government document that seems to authorize his movement through life. The bureaucracy, says Zanussi, documents each section of one's life, and indeed a person

needs authorization from the government to proceed. The quick cuts to the documentation jar the viewer, making the transition from one stage to the next a somewhat violent and intrusive process that reflects the intrusiveness of the present Communist bureaucracy in Poland.

Sound plays a distinct role in creating an atmosphere of discomfort, and even fear, in two ways. One, Franciszek speaks softly and struggles to force out words. This frustrates the viewer, who develops a sense of anxiety because of the delay in information. Zanussi seems to be holding back from revealing what is happening to the viewer, and we become annoyed and disconcerted as we struggle to grasp the situation. This is meant to mirror the atmosphere that perhaps Poland was feeling at the time. Lack of information about what was truly going on in the Party drove people to frustration and anxiety, and Zanussi tries to accurately create that sense here. The other aspect of sound is the music—though it can hardly be called music. In minor keys and disharmonious, the sounds that Zanussi chose for *Illumination* disturb the viewer and indicate something grossly wrong. Frantic music at the beginning of the film emphasizes Franciszek's desire to know things, which seems to keep getting frustrated throughout the film. What's more, the "musical" interludes jolt into being at the same time as the cuts to paperwork and disturbing images that break up the action. This creates almost a sense of fear associated with the sound, and the audience's discomfort increases exponentially. Therefore, the sound in *Illumination* creates an atmosphere of fear and incongruity to echo the atmosphere in Poland at the time, one in which people lived in discomfort and a sense that something was grossly wrong with the system.

Screeching noises in the beginning of *Shivers*, directed by Wojciech Marczewski, also jolt the viewer into a sense of discomfort and anxiety. Consumed with the knowledge that the following events will represent a perversion of some kind, the audience is guided through the story of Tomasz, a boy who is sent to Communist camp to be indoctrinated. In addition to the disconcerting sounds in the beginning, much of the film includes a metallic buzzing sound in the background. This constantly reminds the viewer that all is not at peace in this story, and convinces the audience that something bad must be going on. This feeling, associated with Communist indoctrination, condemns the falsity of the Communist system and turns the viewer against the system that the repulsive sounds represent.

Marczewski uses internal framing and blockages to hide many adult discussions from view. Tomasz's father, who is sent to jail for his subversive activities, is framed multiple times by doorways and darkness, making the work he is doing in his study seem forbidden and secretive. Discussions of the Communist staff of the camp are conducted in internal frames as well. One discussion, in which the director of the camp and his wife are arguing about censorship and the future of the party, a doorway blocks the director for most of the argument. In this way, the audience acknowledges the truth of the Communist system in which much is hidden, protecting its injured ideology. Marczewski clearly wants to reflect the Polish atmosphere of clandestine action that the public did not have access to. Concealing the truth in this way was a flaw in the Communist system and Marczewski wanted to expose this flaw.

An interesting aspect of *Shivers* is the dream sequences, which evoke distress and merge smoothly with reality. Tomasz's nightmares at the camp consist of water seeping into the

building from a massive flood outside the window that he calls “the deluge.” The shots of the water seeping are at an angle, indicating that something is off balance. Other than this, it is extremely hard to differentiate between reality and the nightmare. Without any indication of change, the window showing the flood waters is replaced with a blurred and darkened image of a man outside on the street. The audience is not sure if this is a dream or not, and it seems neither does Tomasz. The lack of distinction between nightmare and real life not only seems to describe real life in the present Poland as a nightmare furthermore threatens the audience’s sense of reality. Marzewski questions truth under Communism because the system has invented its own truth. Therefore, there is no way to know the difference between reality and myth, which threatens the people of Poland, who seem to be living under a regime of manufactured reality.

Agnieszka Holland presents one of the most disconcerting views of Polish life yet. Her goal in *A Woman Alone* is to show the true ugliness of society in Poland, and she does not hold back in her scathing critique. The acting of Maria Chwalibóg deserves special mention here, because as the main character, Irena, she is the embodiment of jumpiness and anxiety. Her performance is almost a sickness, disallowing any sense of comfort and replacing it with worried fidgeting. She never relaxes and never lets down her guard—imbalanced and pitiable. Easily excitable, she represents the downtrodden, the absolute worst of Polish society, and her tragic story reveals the truly horrific scene of poverty in Communist Poland at this time.

Lovemaking, usually a beautiful and erotic moment in Hollywood Cinema, is ugly and disjointed in *A Woman Alone*. As Irena and Jacek struggle to find space for their gangly and awkward bodies in Irena’s tiny house, their timid sexual act brings not enjoyment, but pain, both

for the viewer and for Jacek. Close ups of his face emphasize his anguish as he struggles to participate in a private act with the woman he loves, but his injuries seem to be inflamed by his attempts; he jerks awkwardly, grimacing in pain. Perhaps the intrusiveness of the camera in their intimate act helps discourage their enjoyment of the experience. They know they are being watched, and behave mechanically, so as not to embarrass themselves.

Holland makes extensive use of internal framing and blockages as well. Much of the action on Irena's mail runs is blocked by stairway banisters, concealing information. One particular scene stands out in which the camera shoots Irena through a long corridor of blackness, formed by the bannister and a window to the street. In the bright light of the window, Irena walks, creating a spotlight on her that she does not seem to want. We focus on her, causing her discomfort and amplifying her anxious reactions. Irena's house also creates challenges in character movement and camera views. The house is small and dingy, filled to the brim with objects the characters must move around. This difficulty to move, even in one's own home, shows the dire psychological effects of poverty in Poland—the simplest tasks becoming struggles and annoyances. Naturally, all the things in the house block the camera's view at many points, frustrating the viewer and adding to the sense of anxiety.

Using extreme close ups of characters' faces, Holland also creates spatial ambiguity and discomfort. Especially in scenes of panic or intense action, extreme close-ups disorient the viewer, who loses context and is confronted head on by an intensified painful struggle. This happens especially in the first scene in which Irena and Jacek, an invalid who falls in love with Irena, meet. Irena, exhausted by her hard schedule of mail-delivering, faints in Jacek's apartment.

As she does so, the camera cuts to an extreme close-up of her face, and the distress of the scene amplifies as she falls contortedly to the floor. This intensification of her distress affects the audience's reaction by heightening their sense that something horribly wrong is happening in the film world, which translates to something horribly wrong happening in the real Polish world.

In contrast to the close and disorienting experience of watching Irena collapse or maneuver through her house, Irena and her son, Bogus, take a trip to the Party building to ask for help. As she enters the building, Irena stops, immobilized by the huge space of the building. The camera shoots Irena in a long shot, emphasizing the sheer volume of the lobby she has entered. The inherent impersonality of the Party building expands to the Party itself as they attempt to kick her out. Here, Holland seems to be juxtaposing the amount of space that the Party has compared to the amount of space Irena has. He condemns the Party for their inability to help those they claim to represent: the working people.

Religion seems to represent a refuge from the daily struggles that Irena encounters. The weather is sunny and bright; the family dresses in white and is surrounded by church friends. Irena even smiles as Bogus takes his first communion. The atmosphere in these shots is much more free, emphasized by nature and the fact that the camera shoots from farther back, allowing for spatial awareness and continuity that the rest of the film lacks. Holland could possibly be pointing to religion, specifically Roman Catholicism, as a support system for the beleaguered and downtrodden, so that they may find a bit of happiness and comfort.

However, in the last scene of the movie, an abandoned Bogus is visited by an animated paper angel in his new orphanage. Completely unanticipated, the arrival of such an obviously

fake being leaves the viewer in confusion, questioning what he just saw. This fake symbol of Roman Catholicism could possibly represent the falsity of this religion. Portraying an angel as a child's drawing delegitimizes the promises made by religion, and seems to represent the last hope of the Polish in poverty being dashed.

Rounding out this study of Polish film is the brilliant director Krzysztof Kieslowski. Once again, Kieslowski continues the aspect of internal framing and camera blockage in his film *The Scar*. People discussing things in Party offices are framed by doorways often, cutting the audience off from whatever clandestine dealing is going on in them. Trees also block much of the activity in the forest by the planners who are planning to build a factory there, seeming to further distance the viewer from their dealings. Again, the secretive motif surfaces and gives the audience the impression that they are not being given the whole truth by the Party. Blocking also occurs in the celebration of the factory's completion toward the end of the movie. A happy and energetic music performance is ruined by a small wall of blurry heads as the camera is forced to see the performance from the back. Even music is unsatisfying due to the blockages that always get in the way of true happiness.

A former documentarian himself, Kieslowski includes still photographs as well as documentary-style footage of normal people on the street. Here we see his effort to provide social commentary and emphasize the working class. In an effort to show how real people are living, he hopes to legitimize his own message and indicate the flaws in the Communist system.

The cinematography also emphasizes the working class in one telling scene. Though this film largely focuses on a factory director, Bednarz, and the upper class Party members, one scene

outside of a housing complex consists of the camera tracking left to reveal a working woman behind a corner. Before, the only person in the frame had been Bednarz. This scene explains the goal of Kieslowski's film well as an attempt to seek out the working people's experience behind the façade of the Party officials and the factory directors.

Portrayals of the factory itself are not optimistic. One impressionable shot shows a smoggy mist around the dark and ominous smokestacks of the factory. This portrays the factory as an undesirable installation in an otherwise beautiful landscape. Another example of this outlook comes later in the film when the camera pans right on a pivot, providing a panoramic view of nature. However, as the factory comes into view, the camera stops. This indicates an interruption of the natural order that the factory represents. As a perversion of the natural world, the factory serves the Party and not the people, who prefer the natural homes that are being disturbed by the factory.

Shallow depth of frame confines the characters, especially the main character, in his role. There is one specific length at which the object being filmed is in focus, while all else is blurry and undefined. This flattens the space in which the character can freely move, serving as a metaphor for confining him in terms of his role in the Party. He does not have much leeway, and is at the mercy of the Party's decisions as to what he must do with his factory. The Party's control over everything, indicated by the slim focal length, stunts creativity and impersonalizes the work. This reflects the resentment of Party control over the means of production during this time period.

Similarly, sound recognizes the impersonality of the Party in favor of the big picture. When Bednarz and the Party officials go up in a helicopter to view the building site from above, the audience can see the big picture, just like the Party wants to see. However, it is not possible to hear what the people in the helicopter are saying. Instead, all we can hear is the whir of the propeller blades. This abdication of the human power of speech, in exchange for the big picture that machinery such as a helicopter provides, accomplishes Kieslowski's message of human individual subjugation in favor of the mechanical elements of the whole; humans are viewed as cogs in the mechanism, rather than people with freedom and ideas.

Disconcerting buzzing sounds also surface in Bednarz's apartment, causing the audience to question the action and recognize that something is not at all right. Setting an anxious mood for the scene, the sounds are foreboding and ominous.

Bednarz explores the idea of the loss of human individuality in his apartment overlooking the worksite. He turns a light on and off. With the light on, he sees a ghostly figure of himself in the window, with the smokestacks in the background. With the light off, he sees just the dark outline of the factory out the window. He begins to realize that his role in the factory has been reduced to that of a mere shadow, something unnecessary and without creative ability. His sense of control is just a façade, with the Party truly in charge of the situation.

Blind Chance, another film by Kieslowski, does something different than the other films: it gives the main character options. The plot hinges around three scenarios based on whether or not Witek, a student, catches a train to Warsaw or not. However, all three plotlines turn out disastrously in perhaps an even more depressing message: no matter what one does, life will

lapse into tragedy. From the first scene, Witek is given no chance, as a close-up of his face slowly turns into a blood-curdling scream. The camera zooms into the blackness inside his mouth, predetermining his fate within a few seconds of the beginning of the film.

One extremely interesting cinematographic choice Kieslowski makes in this film is how the camera follows Witek. Always tracking backwards as Witek walks forward or trailing behind him as he transits from room to room, the camera receives information only as he does. This technique ties the audience to Witek's subjectivity, which restricts information, while emphasizing the individual. An effort on Kieslowski's part to describe most accurately the experience of the individual under Communist rule, the audience is constantly confronted and surprised, and through Witek, responds as an individual trying blindly to figure out the twists and turns of a Communist Poland.

Another technique to restrict information is the recurrence of a short focal length. Once again, this emphasizes Witek's lack of space to maneuver in his world, which keeps him confined and lacking information throughout the film. He and the audience only find out about things when they are confronted by something head-on, leading to the struggle of the individual to avoid being blindsided by the system he cannot understand. This returns to Kieslowski's attempt to reveal how an individual is affected by a restrictive Communist society, and how the individual is powerless against the damning fate prescribed by Communist omnipotence.

Internal framing in the lovemaking scenes emphasizes the restricted nature of Witek's desire. Always blocking the lower half of their intertwined bodies, it cuts Witek's passion in half, as he has no idea what direction his life is going in. Like the audience's view from behind him as

he enters a room, he has no idea what is coming next, and seems to make decisions without much contemplation. He just jumps into whichever activity he is pursuing. This could be a comment on the inability for the Polish people to truly express themselves under the Communist system. Always being watched, they had to be careful to hide any overzealous displays of passion for fear of the Party's control.

In his second adventure, in which he turns to Roman Catholicism, Witek still cannot escape the doubt manifested in shots blocked by objects. As he kneels to pray, a large, blurry object dominates the left side of the frame. This seems to show how Witek still is not quite sure about his choice to take up religion. His mind cannot be clear with such a blockage in his frame. Struggling to find a way to express himself, Witek cannot seem to fully commit to the church. He is just like many other Poles at this time who remained Catholics but stopped going to church.

Once again scenes of nature serve as the foil for the oppressive nature of buildings and cities. Witek says goodbye to his childhood friend, Daniel, on a backdrop of lovely green grass and sunlight. The fact that Daniel is leaving amidst such a setting seems to set up travel outside of Poland as a step towards freedom, or a goal to be aspired to. As in the previous nature scenes, the camera's view widens and lets in more space to emphasize the freedom of the moment. Another nature scene occurs when Witek meets his friend that will lead him to the resistance movement. The green of the grass and the color of the flowers in the background combine with the happiness inherent in the birth of a new friendship. The green trees of the park have the same effect on the scene where Witek meets his childhood sweetheart once again, refreshing the viewer's eyes and promising new beginnings. Nature is a recurring setting in these films, in

which it is possible for the individual to dominate and be a human being without the intrusive influence of the Communist system.

As Witek runs for the train all three times, a slow and tragic melody plays, ending Witek's struggle before it starts. The audience already knows the outcome of each different endeavor, whether or not he makes the train, because the same music plays every time, indicating the same outcome. If different music played for each scenario, then the audience could expect the outcome to be different, but the audience is confronted with the futility of Witek's situation right away. This points to the idea in Poland that the Communist system was too ingrained in society to go away. Arguably no one saw the fall of Communism coming in Eastern Europe, and the music in *Blind Chance* reflects this idea of unchanging outcomes and the powerlessness of the individual to change their own situation.

Lighting develops the importance of individual relationships well through one particular scene in the third episode of Witek's life. Choosing what seems to be his most freedom- and happiness-filled option, he pursues a medical career and gets married early. One scene, in which his naked wife is flooded with light in the bathroom, contrasts with the darkness of the doorway and the house around her. Here, light defines what is most important, and the awe with which the two approach each other emphasizes the profundity of the moment. Once again, Kieslowski laments the loss of individual pleasure in favor of the collective. He wants to communicate to the audience a sense of individual freedom that can only be attained through personal relationships, not restrictive ideology.

Kieslowski uses character placement and editing to emphasize how Witek forms and breaks his relationships in the film. When Witek grows close to someone, usually a role model or girlfriend, the camera will begin showing them in the same shot, pulled back a little bit to show the health of their relationship. However, when the relationship goes bad and they begin to go their separate ways, editing takes over and cuts back and forth to close-ups of each person's face in a shot, reverse-shot manner. The cutting deepens the rift between the two characters, elaborating on the separation. This could possibly be a commentary on how friends and role models were so easily gained and lost in a Communist society that was watching everyone. One slip-up could prove the end to any relationship, and decreased the ability of Polish citizens to trust each other.

The final film by Kieslowski is called *Camera Buff*, and it documents the story of Filip Mosz, who buys a camera to record the life of his newborn daughter but ends up destroying his family through his willingness to be seduced by film. Almost all the shots in *Camera Buff* are close-ups of the characters, hardly ever allowing the audience to develop any spatial awareness. Like a pest following the characters around, the camera adjusts to movement to stay with the characters, rather than pulling back and allowing them to move in the space. This type of cinematography strikes the audience as overly-intrusive, focusing incessantly on the little things while forgetting to take a step back and analyze the situation. A possible metaphor for the Communist Party in Poland and Eastern Europe, which lost its way in ideology and never took a step back to re-evaluate a declining situation; the audience and the characters seem to resent being constantly filmed or watched by the Communist Party.

Like the previous films, *Camera Buff* confines its characters within a short focal length, trapping them in one plane and blurring them as they move through space. Reiterating the point previously made, this probably serves as an analysis of the current situation in Poland, in which the Party left little space for individuals to maneuver.

A dream sequence in which a hawk swoops down, kills, and eats a chicken once again exemplifies the efforts of the directors of the Cinema of Moral Anxiety to find metaphor for the society in which they lived. The recurrence of the dream sequence can be interpreted as a collective subconscious that the directors want to tap into. This common identity between the people expresses a growing movement that had yet to come to the fore and manifest itself with the fall of Communism in Poland.

Kieszkowski's use of color is intriguing as well. The setting of *Camera Buff* consists of a rather drab palate. The dull brown of dirt against the cold grey of the housing structure in which the Mosz family lives does not leave much room for expression. However, when Filip meets the woman from the party who represents the advancement of Filip's film career, she is wearing a red dress. Not only is red the color of the Communist Party, but it is the color of seduction. Here we see a bit of a different interpretation of the Party than was seen previously. In this instance, the Party has cunningness to it, or an excitement that Filip is attracted to. The Party represents a successful career with the hotshots in the film industry, and the bright color red helps to distinguish between the drab life at the bottom and the sexy, successful life at the top. This is a bit of an ironic turn for the Party because they are supposed to represent the working class, but instead end up representing the aristocracy in the Communist system. Later, at a classy party,

Filip and the others drink a red beverage, leading the audience to believe that they are all “drinking the kool-aid,” or conforming to the demands of the Communists.

Editing sets up the dichotomy between Filip’s career and his family. While Irena, his wife, holds his newborn baby, Filip proudly presents his camera and the work he has done with it. A series of rather rapid cuts trade off, from the baby to the camera and back again. Here, Kieslowski shows the choice that Filip is forced to make in the Communist system. If he wants to achieve greatness in his career, he must ignore his family, as the attention they need cannot support his aggressive filmmaking hobby. According to Kieslowski, Polish society under Communism was full of choices like this that made it impossible for people to find true happiness in both their family lives and their careers.

Finally, the lack of a soundtrack in *Camera Buff* causes the sound of the film rolling through the handheld camera to come to the fore. This self-reflexivity reminds the audience that there is a camera running not just in the film, but that the thing they are watching is an illusion. One possibility is that Kieslowski wants to remind Poles of the rampant illusions that dominated daily life under the Communists. For the most part, the Party was ideologically bankrupt by this time, and Kieslowski wants to emphasize the falsity of their message by using his film to reiterate to the public the other parts of their lives that could be false. Another possibility goes in the opposite direction. Negating a soundtrack may have increased the authenticity of the film, which would further emphasize the themes discussed as truths. Instead of simply a piece of art, people could be persuaded to look at it as an informative piece as well—that is more trustworthy based on its recognition that music does not exist in the background in real life.

The films of the Cinema of Moral Anxiety offer a predominantly negative perspective on life under Communism in Poland from the 1970s to the 1980s. The techniques used by these directors reflected the time period in which the films were made, and offered a rather claustrophobic and oppressive view of censorship and Party rule. It must be said that the fact that such critical films were made during this time period says a lot for the easing up of regulations, despite the fact that a few were delayed in their release. An impressive body of work that allows us to look into the daily lives of people in the PRL, these films helped set the stage for cultural coherence that was needed for the fall of Communism.

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CHALLENGING JIM CROW: DESEGREGATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL

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“We're back in Reconstruction,” Chancellor Robert Burton House wrote to a colleague in August 1955. In his letter, Chancellor House referred to the latest pressure to reexamine race relations in the South—through the desegregation of public universities, such as the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The process to end segregation at the University had been a protracted struggle, wrought with jarring social change under Jim Crow discrimination. In the early 1950s, the push to provide equal schooling for African Americans gained momentum with the desegregation of the University's graduate programs in 1951 and the *Brown v Board* decision in 1954. Meanwhile, social progressives and civil rights activists lambasted the University system for deliberately using its power to deny all North Carolinians equal rights to a higher education. Due to Carolina's reputation for liberalism, many activists suggested Chapel Hill be “the place to start” the desegregation movement in Southern public universities.¹

Yet, the case of desegregation in North Carolina demonstrates a notable contradiction: a state located in the polarized South, populated by individuals bred with prejudicial psyches versus a University located in the heart of liberalism with progressive students willing to

¹ Letter to Charles Raper, 25 August 1955, in the Robert Burton House Papers, Folder 96; "Spalding Views UNC Issue," *The News and Observer*, 19 April 1948 in *Negroes in North Carolina*, v4, 1223.

challenge the status quo. White supremacist opposition coupled with a conservative Board of Trustees caused the University to approach the “new biracial responsibility” with what one journalist called “the gingerly reluctance with which one lifts the lid on a teeming beehive.” Despite this reluctance, a few African American students “took on the establishment” through a judiciary battle which “ended the policy of racial exclusion.”² In this paper, I will provide an account of the process of desegregation at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill through a discussion of the genesis of the movement, the court cases which propelled the process, the various positions on the issue, and the social changes which occurred.

As early as the 1930s and 1940s, desegregation emerged as a prioritized goal for civil rights activists in North Carolina. In February of 1939, both White and African American citizens of Chapel Hill organized on the campus of the University of North Carolina to discuss the prospect of desegregation in higher education. Various individuals, including UNC professors and community civil rights activists gathered in Graham Memorial to provide a preliminary course of action for the desegregation of public institutions. Although the meeting produced no policy changes, it increased the spread of desegregation discourse and cemented many biracial relationships among those calling for social change. After participating in the meeting, Charles Jones began correspondences with NAACP activists, strengthening his crusade for racial equality in Chapel Hill. The meeting provoked Jones to publicly condemn segregation in schooling, as he argued “the law says separate but equal and we never have really done that.”

² Cabell Phillips, "Another Trial of Integration," 4 March 1956, in *Negroes in North Carolina*, v4, 1295; Wallenstein, "Higher Education and the Civil Rights Movement: Desegregating the University of North Carolina," *Along the Color Line*, 16.

To critique the Jim Crow system, Jones compared southern race relations to the institution of marriage, saying “down the line,” a husband and wife could not do everything separately and still “care for each other.” This echoed the arguments of activists at the meeting who pointed to a similarly failed relationship between Whites and African Americans to argue the need for equality in schooling and improvement of race relations.

While a few individuals actively challenged Southern standards of discrimination, most North Carolinian leaders hesitated to advocate for immediate changes to the social order. Journalist Marion Wright and other critics condemned the reluctance of both the Governor and University officials who seemingly pursued “a policy of ‘wait and see’ that might better be described as ‘look the other way.’” Wright’s critique, published in *The New South*, expressed the views of the socially progressive Southern Regional Council, which criticized North Carolinian leaders for waiting until Court decisions forced the University into legal submission. According to the Council, white leaders thereby forfeited an opportunity to actively initiate biracial communication and cooperation. Additionally, the Council castigated the reluctant “attitude” for promoting “paralysis of public thought” and preventing “discussion and planning” between the races to provide a peaceful transition to desegregated schooling.³

By the mid-twentieth century, public sentiment within North Carolina varied from staunchly segregationist to radically egalitarian. Most White North Carolinians held beliefs reflected by the statement of UNC professor, Edward Woodhouse, who claimed, “Negroes are just better off in colleges exclusively their own.” While white supremacists used the argument of

³ M.A. Wright, *How to Implement the Supreme Court Decision*, March 1955, in the North Carolina Collection, 1, 8-9.

inherent “Negro inferiority” as unchallengeable dogma, other Whites and African Americans called on the University of North Carolina to open its gates to students of all races and provide opportunities for well-qualified individuals. Activism for desegregation increased with the social and political changes of the time, particularly with the service of African Americans in World War II. In the 1940s and 1950s, liberals used changing social standards to argue that the right to attend a school based on merit and not on skin color was “as sacred as any other right,” and that separate facilities for the races harmed southern society. Those advocating for desegregation, like the Southern Regional Council, pointed to the “financial drain” and “irritation and friction” caused by the intentional separation of Whites and African Americans. African American leaders, such as John Wheeler of Durham, reasoned that the ability to desegregate North Carolina’s public universities would “determine whether North Carolina's Negro population will become a great reservoir of productive capacity and purchasing power or whether it will continue to be the number one problem in our economic life.” Segregation, Wheeler insisted, stunted North Carolina’s potential to promote peaceful race relations. Many other activists echoed Wheeler’s sentiments, calling for an end to discriminatory practices within an institution meant to provide equally for all North Carolinians.⁴

The desegregation of graduate programs at the University cemented an initial step towards eliminating discriminatory admission practices. As pressure for desegregation of the University intensified, law experts and civil rights activists discovered the fragile underbelly of Jim Crow: the inability of White institutions to deny African Americans entrance into

⁴ “The Episode of Interracial Meeting,” *Chapel Hill Weekly*, 24 February 1939 in *NINC*, v4, 1222; M.A. Wright, *How to Implement the Supreme Court Decision*, in the North Carolina Collection, 6, 8, 9; Cabell Phillips, “Another Trial of Integration,” 4 March 1956, in *Negroes in North Carolina*, v4, 1295.

professional schools which lacked equal counterparts in the state. In 1950, the Supreme Court *Sweatt v Painter* ruled that the long-standing doctrine of “separate but equal” schooling was not applicable to the professional graduate programs of higher institutions. The *Sweatt* decision, which allowed an African American to enter law school at the University of Texas, challenged the legitimacy of segregation throughout the South. The justices declared that low-funded, unaccredited institutions created for African Americans provided inferior preparation compared to state-supported White institutions. While segregationists believed “no state more so than North Carolina” had made a “more sincere effort to provide graduate training in truly ‘separate but equal institutions,’” the *Sweatt* decision rendered separate professional schooling unconstitutional. North Carolina College, which became North Carolina Central University, provided a law school for African American students, but it lacked accreditation, rendering graduating students unable to take the bar examination. The inequality between segregated law schools provided the basis for lawsuits by African American students seeking enrollment at UNC Law School.⁵

Targeting the “separate but equal” clause championed by segregationists, lawyers in the court case for Harvey Beech, J. Kenneth Lee, Floyd McKissick and James Robert Walker Jr. argued that the rejection of African Americans into the UNC Law School denied the students’ constitutional rights, as they could not receive an equal education elsewhere. In 1951, the US Federal Court ruled in favor of the African American students and required their entrance into UNC. In a letter to University President Gordon Gray, Chancellor Robert House described this

⁵ “Segregation at the University,” *Asheville Citizen*, 24 March 1951 in *Negroes in North Carolina*, v4, 1240 ; L. J. Toler, *Carolina to celebrate 50 years of African-American students*, November 2001, UNC News Services.

process as “an exact illustration of the tail trying to wag the dog,” expressing his concern that the process to desegregate graduate programs would force the University to make far-reaching changes. Despite officials’ reluctance to social change within the institution, students appeared indifferent to African American matriculation in Carolina’s graduate schools. Henry Brandis Jr., the Dean of the Law School, reported that white students took “the presence of Negroes completely in stride” and did not “object to their presence,” which was shocking by Southern standards in the 1950s.⁶

In May of 1954, *Brown v Board of Education* jolted white southerners into a panicked realization: the US Courts would no longer uphold segregation in schools. C.P. Spruill, Dean of the General College, gathered statements from University leaders predicting the likely effects of the court decision, which he subsequently compiled into a memorandum sent to Chancellor House. While the memorandum did not argue a definitive stance on desegregation, Spruill and other leaders commented on the anticipated social and structural adjustments that would accompany an attempt to desegregate the undergraduate program. Within the report, Spruill suggested that one possible “unfavorable” result of desegregation would be a widening range of student preparedness. Additionally, Spruill conjectured that forced integration would repel white students and create a “less open and more fragmented” community. In the memorandum, Roy Armstrong, the Director of Admission, predicted immediate changes regarding the cost of University attendance, as whites would inevitably demand private housing. Further, Armstrong

⁶ Letter from Chancellor House to President Gray, 22 January 1952, in the Gordon Gray Files, Box 13; Letter from Henry Brandis Jr to Chancellor House, 11 October 1954, in the Gordon Gray Files, Box 13.

argued that enrollment of a significant number of African Americans would considerably decrease the number of white women applying to the University. North Carolinian B.C. Bartlett echoed this concern in a letter to Chancellor House, surmising that the only officials who would support desegregation must “enjoy seeing their wives in the arms of Negro men.”⁷

While the memorandum contained many wary sentiments, some leaders contributed optimistic expectations regarding campus desegregation. The Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, the Dean of the School of Journalism, and the Dean of the School of Business Administration all suggested that desegregation could be accomplished without “any serious disturbance.” Norval Luxon, of the School of Journalism, supported this statement with a student poll, which suggested “that none would object in any way to the presence of Negroes in classes.” Fred Weaver, the Dean of Student Affairs, reiterated Luxon’s belief, and reasoned that the main objection to the entrance of African Americans would not come from students, as the campus seemed widely “sympathetic” to desegregation. Weaver suggested that while many progressive students would “welcome” desegregation, others would simply “accept it as an established fact” of inevitable change. Officials predicted that statewide objection remained probable among students’ parents and the General Assembly.⁸

Within the state government, concern over *Brown v Board* prompted Governor Luther Hodges to create a Special Advisory Committee on Education in 1954. Per North Carolina’s executive office’s request, the Committee studied the *Brown* decision and produced a report that presented recommendations for future desegregation strategies, commenting specifically on

⁷ Memorandum to Chancellor House, 12 October 1954 in Gordon Gray Records, Box 13; Letter from B.C. Bartlett, January 1952, in Robert Burton House Records, Box 2; Memorandum to Chancellor House, 12 October 1954 in Gordon Gray Records, Box 13.

⁸ Memorandum to Chancellor House, 12 October 1954 in Gordon Gray Records, Box 13.

higher education. Gordon Gray, President of the Consolidated University System, was a member of the Committee along with other higher education officials who were deeply invested in the desegregation process. In Committee reports, officials declared “no other judicial decision...has ever affected the lives of all the people of North Carolina so directly and drastically.” Gray and other officials hesitated to draft a plan for future desegregation of the University system for fear of threatening “the social order and peace of the state.” Progressive North Carolinians, like Reverend Isaac Northup, who hoped UNC would “furnish moral leadership” in the South, criticized this reluctance. By failing to make concrete recommendations for peaceful desegregation, the Committee eschewed the opportunity to allow University leaders to implement plans of integration before the judicial system interceded.⁹

In May of 1955, the Board of Trustees of the Consolidated University System confirmed its policy on desegregation following a vote to reject African American applicants. The resolution passed after various African American high school students applied for undergraduate admission to the University of North Carolina and North Carolina State University. Responding to political pressure and racial prejudices, the Board passed a resolution stating applications from African Americans would not be accepted, as the state of North Carolina had “spent millions in providing adequate and equal educational facilities” for both races. Within the resolution, the Trustees advised that allowing minority races into white schools was unnecessary and imprudent. While the resolution expressed the attitude of the Board’s majority, discordant opinions emerged among a few members. John J. Parker and J. Spencer Love publicly dissented to express *shame*

⁹ Report from the Special Advisory Committee on Education, 1954, in the Gordon Gray Records, Box 15; “University Should Furnish Moral Leadership To South, Accept Negro Students: Northup,” *Asheville Citizen*, In *NINC*, v4, 1285.

in the decision and to praise the student generation for its willingness to challenge the status quo. Parker and Love contended that the resolution prevented Chapel Hill from “helping to solve world problems” through “local sacrifices.” Yet, among North Carolinians wishing to continue segregation, these dissents provoked indignation and prompted requests for the resignation of Parker and Love. Eugene Hood, the editor of the “Public Pulse” portion of the *Greensboro Daily News*, remonstrated no one “should be a trustee of a state institution who is not willing to go along with...the overwhelming majority of its citizenship.”¹⁰

While most officials avoided advocating for equal educational rights for African Americans, the younger generation coordinated multiple campaigns for desegregation in the undergraduate college. Director of the YWCA, Anne Queen, described the Campus Y as “very much involved” in the process of desegregation. Queen suggested that support for desegregation matched the Campus Y belief that “all individuals,” regardless of race, deserved a “well-rounded life at the University.” In the spring semester of 1954, the YMCA held a Human Relations Institute, with extended seminars on race relations and integration in North Carolina. A workshop on “The Student and Segregation” offered participants the opportunity to learn about the history of Jim Crow in North Carolina, as well as the future of desegregation under recent court decisions. This seminar, along with the integration of graduate school programs, led YMCA Vice President Bill Lofquist and other leaders to pose the question if “the graduate school is integrated, why shouldn’t the undergraduate school be?” In the fall of 1954 and early winter of 1955, Lofquist and other Campus Y members actively sought African American high

¹⁰ Board of Trustees Resolution on Policy of Admitting Blacks, May 1955, in the R. B. House Records, Box 2; Letter from J. Spencer Love to Gray, 22 May 1955, in the Gordon Gray Records, Box 13; Letter from Eugene Hood, 29 April 1955, W.C. George Papers, Folder 14.

school seniors to apply to UNC as undergraduates. Lofquist maintained an extensive correspondence with LeRoy Frasier Sr. and encouraged Frasier to seek applicants from Hillside High School in Durham. Desegregationists praised the effort of the Campus Y to end segregation, prompting one Trustee member to write to President Gray that he felt “very much impressed with the broad attitude of the younger generation.”¹¹

Shortly after the Campus Y voiced support for racial equality in schooling, the fervor of desegregation spread quickly to religious organizations on campus. In January 1955, the Wesley Foundation, a campus Methodist organization, passed a resolution denouncing segregation as a “denial of true Christian brotherhood” and opened membership to persons of any race. By March, the Wesley Foundation organized a lecture series entitled “Race and Segregation,” lead by Dr. Maurice Whittinghill, a University of Michigan geneticist. The Foundation organized the series to combat beliefs suggesting “Negroes were biologically inferior,” and the organization invited “all interested in desegregation” to attend. Subsequently, in May 1955, the Baptist Student Union passed a resolution supporting the admission of African Americans as undergraduates, declaring the Union as “concerned as Christians that the University of North Carolina discriminates against fellow citizens.” The Baptist Student Union, like the Wesley Foundation, championed the “Christian principles of equality and brotherhood” and urged University officials to consider admitting black students. While religious organizations provided vocal support for desegregation attempts, many white church-goers critiqued these sentiments and ridiculed white activists for “eating with niggers.” Charles Jones, a Presbyterian minister

¹¹ Oral History Interview with Anne Queen, 30 April 1976, in the Southern Oral History Program Collection; YMCA Minutes on the Human Relations Institute, 24 March 1954, in the RB House Records, Box 35; Oral History Interview with Bill Lofquist, 21 January 2010, in the Southern Oral History Program Collection; Letter from J. Spencer Love, 22 May 1955, in the Gordon Gray Records, Box 13.

who was active in organizing students, suggested this chastisement came largely from Chapel Hill citizens who disapproved of the radicalism of the student activists.¹²

Excluding religious organizations, student reaction to the prospect of desegregation seemed mixed. The *Daily Tar Heel* reported that a psychology course polled UNC students and found that while “integration was slightly favored,” most students remained “generally indifferent.” Other students voiced strong, definitive opinions on the issue of segregation. In May 1955, more than a dozen student leaders, including the YMCA and YWCA presidents, editor of the *Daily Tar Heel*, President of Graham Memorial Activities Board, chairman of the Student Party, and Student Body Vice President, gathered to petition for the integration of the University. The group insisted that “the ideal of human equality and freedom of association is one that can no longer be relegated to some future time,” and referenced the University’s duty as a “great liberal institution” to “set a precedent for the rest of the state and the South as a whole.” In addition, student leaders pledged “support for ‘educational implementation’” of court decisions to desegregate the Consolidated University.¹³

In response to the voiced support for desegregation, the President of Student Government, Donald Fowler, wrote to the Board of Trustees to “clarify” that the gathering of student leaders in support of desegregation did “not necessarily” reflect “the majority viewpoint.” The *Daily Tar Heel* suggested that “extreme opposition” to desegregation existed “in those areas where in the

¹² Edens, *Pioneers : The Daily Tar Heel and the Integration of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*, 1990, in the North Carolina Collection, 20; News Item from the *Daily Tar Heel*, 19 March 1955, in WC George Papers, Folder 14; Baptist Student Union Resolution Concerning the Admission of Negro Students, May 1955 in the Gordon Gray Records, Box 35; Oral History Interview with Charles M. Jones, 8 November 1976, in the Southern Oral History Program Collection.

¹³ "Psychology Students' Poll Slightly Favors Integration," *The Daily Tar Heel*, 4 March 1956, in *NINC*, v4, 1289; Powledge, Fred, "Over a dozen student leaders . . .," 14 May 1955, *The Daily Tar Heel*, in *NINC*, v4, 1278; "Seen," *Daily Tar Heel*, 22 October 1955, in *NINC*, v4, 1290.

individual is greatly affected,” referring to those who would live in close proximity to African Americans on campus. Additionally, on-campus living arrangements prompted parents to voice concern. Clinton West, from Kinston, expressed to President Gray the notion that the only students willing to live with African Americans would be “the lovers of mixers,” and he advised the University to build a separate dormitory for this group. West assured Gray that “95% of taxpayers” were “willing to pay to stay white.”¹⁴

In April 1955, five African American high school students applied to the University seeking admission as undergraduate students. Of these five students, three of the young men met academic qualifications, but Admissions rejected the applicants solely because of race: LeRoy Frasier Jr, Ralph Kennedy Frasier, and John Lewis Brandon. Each of the three young men resided in Durham and maintained high class rankings upon graduation from Hillside High School. During the application process, Frasier explained to Lofquist that they would wait and “see what the reaction of the Administration will be.” After review of the applications, Director of Admissions, Roy Armstrong, wrote to Chancellor House to announce the applications were “of such quality” the boys would “eligible for admission to the University.” Following correspondence, President Gordon Gray, Chancellor Robert B. House, and Dean of Admissions Roy Armstrong, drafted and sent a letter of rejection to each of the young men, explaining:

The Trustees of the University have not yet changed the policy of admission of Negro students to the University. Negroes are eligible to make application to come to the

University for Graduate and Professional Study not offered at a Negro College in North

¹⁴ Letter from President of Student Government Donald Fowler to the Board of Trustees, 1 June 1955, in the Gordon Gray Records; "Psychology Students' Poll Slightly Favors Integration," *The Daily Tar Heel*, 4 March 1956, in *NINC*, v4, 1289; Letter from Clifton West, 3 June 1955, in the Gordon Gray Files, Box 13.

Carolina. Negroes are not eligible at the time to make application for admission to the Undergraduate divisions of the University.¹⁵

The father of the Frasier brothers decided to take legal action against the University's discriminatory policies. Frasier, Sr. felt the three boys were "entitled" to "the best education the state had to offer." Frasier maintained that segregation highlighted obvious discrimination and was "just plain wrong."¹⁶

Frasier, Frasier, and Brandon filed a suit against the University on the Federal District Court level, purporting that the 1954 Supreme Court decision of *Brown v Board* applied to all public education, including higher education, with "equal force." Conrad Pearson, a prominent NAACP leader, Floyd McKissick, the first African American law student at UNC, and William Marsh, another African American graduate of UNC Law School represented the three African American students seeking admission. The plaintiffs argued that based on the *Brown* and *Sweatt* decisions, the University "must admit Negroes to institutions by determining their qualifications for admission on the same basis as that of other persons." In defense, the Board of Trustees maintained that the state of North Carolina provided equal undergraduate services for all races. Further, the defense argued that African American students were "in no way injured" by segregation policies and that to admit African American applicants would be "doing them a 'disservice.'" However, the court ruled unanimously in favor of the plaintiffs, generating the

¹⁵ Letter from Roy Armstrong, 14 September 1955, Chancellor RB House Papers, Box 2; Letter from Admissions to John Lewis Brandon, 28 April 1955, in the Leroy Benjamin Frasier papers, Folder 1.

¹⁶ Interview with LB Frasier, 27 June 1995, in the Southern Oral History Program Collection.

“second vital breach in the segregation barrier” as African Americans could no longer be barred from admission to the University as undergraduate students.¹⁷

The Court decision inflamed many Board members wishing to preserve the system of segregation. In a split vote, the Board of Trustees decided to appeal the case to the United States Supreme Court. Yet, some Trustees and University leaders were willing to admit these students to avoid the use of Supreme Court force. For instance, North Carolina Attorney General William Rodman anticipated that the Supreme Court would inevitably compel the University to cooperate, so he advised Chancellor Robert House to admit the students proactively. This contradicted Rodman’s personal beliefs that integration remained “not only wrong legally but socially, as well.” Within the Board, a movement to refrain from an appeal existed among trustees who believed that the University should accept the decision and actively pursue peaceful integration. Judge John Parker advised Governor Hodges that “the Board of Trustees of a state university cannot afford to put itself in the position of defying the law,” and it was the “duty” of the Board to “take the lead” in matters of desegregation in North Carolina. Additionally, Parker went on record to argue that “the words ‘university’ and ‘universal’ come from the same stem,” which meant a state-sponsored institution should be open to all people. The Campus YMCA also recommended that the Trustees not appeal the case to save “the University’s money” from “being spent in a futile court battle.”¹⁸

¹⁷ *Frasier et al vs Board of Trustees* Court Case Docket, in the Leroy Benjamin Frasier Papers, Folder 3; "State Answers UNC Suit," *News and Observer*, 29 July 1955 in *NINC*, v4, 1279; Cabell Phillips, "Another Trial of Integration," 4 March 1956, in *Negroes in North Carolina*, v4, 1295.

¹⁸ "State Answers UNC Suit," *News and Observer*, 29 July 1955 in *NINC*, v4, 1279; Letter from Judge John Parker to Governor L Hodges, June 1955, in the Gordon Gray Records, Box 13; "Time But Little Else," *Chapel Hill News Leader*, 15 September 1955, in *NINC*, v4, 1288.

In March 1956, the Supreme Court upheld the federal court decision, declaring equal opportunity in higher education a “right which must be made available to all on equal terms.” In the decision, Chief Justice Earl Warren proclaimed education as “the most important function of the state,” thereby obligating the University to fulfill its duty to educate all qualified North Carolinians. Furthermore, Warren argued that separate school facilities, even on the undergraduate level, provided unequal opportunities for African Americans, rendering separate institutions unconstitutional. Consequently, the Court ruled that race could not be used as a criterion of admission to the University, and the University “must not refuse to admit a qualified person merely because he is a Negro.” The elimination of racial discrimination in the admission of undergraduate students applied to the entire University system, prompting the admission of a few black students to other North Carolina institutions, as well. ¹⁹

For many white North Carolinians, the decisions of the district and Supreme Court to desegregate Carolina signified an attempt to undermine southern traditions of racial hierarchy. While some journalists insisted that the general public hailed the decision as a “timely expression of moral principle,” the white supremacist opposition provided fiery deprecations of the court system and integration movement. In an article for the New York Times, journalist Phillip Cabell condemned white supremacists as having been “steeped in traditions” of “prejudices and habits.” Yet, for those accustomed to the Jim Crow South, the court decisions infringed on the southern “way of life.” Many opponents to the admission of the three Durham natives argued that this

¹⁹*Frasier et al vs Board of Trustees* Court Case Docket, in the Leroy Benjamin Frasier Papers, Folder 3; Wallenstein, “Higher Education and the Civil Rights Movement: Desegregating the University of North Carolina,” *Along the Color Line*, 16.

initial step could lead to “mass infiltration” and race-mixing, resulting in the suffering of both races.²⁰

Anatomy professor Dr. Wesley Critz George conducted a nationwide campaign to amass opposition to desegregation. Active as an original founder and the president of “Patriots of North Carolina,” George worked with his “militant white supremacy group to combat the ‘usurpation’” of the state legislature and “‘mongrelization’” of the white race through integration processes, as described in the pamphlets and editorials George produced. The UNC professor denounced integration as a “‘device of a communist-clerical conspiracy to promote miscegenation and thereby the ultimate downfall of American civilization.’” In November 1954, George circulated a petition against the integration of UNC, which he later delivered to Governor Hodges, Chancellor House, and President Gray. In an effort to buttress his campaign to prevent black undergraduate students from being admitted to the University, the professor wrote an incendiary letter to the *Daily Tar Heel* claiming that integration violated natural law, for “when you cross up different breeds of animals, including man, you soil the breed.” Throughout the early 1950s, George published multiple scientific works to combat the “big lie” spread by “liberals” that desegregation would be beneficial, through an explanation of ways “race-mixing” would “lower the quality” of the white race and “destroy our civilization.”²¹

²⁰ M.A. Wright, *How to Implement the Supreme Court Decision*, in the North Carolina Collection, 6, 8; Cabell Phillips, "Another Trial of Integration," 4 March 1956, in *NINC*, v4, 1295; "The Sky Will Not Fall," *Greensboro Daily News*, 17 September 1955, in *Negroes in North Carolina*, v4, 1290.

²¹ Cabell Phillips, "Another Trial of Integration," 4 March 1956, in *NINC*, v4, 1295; Edens, *Pioneers : The Daily Tar Heel and the Integration of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*, 1990, in the North Carolina Collection, 17; Letter to John Clark, 21 April 1955, W.C. George Papers, Folder 14.

George's petition to combat desegregation within the University provoked a variety of responses from within the student body. By February 1955, George had gathered 5,900 signatures for his petition to halt integration of the University. Many students, however, discredited George's attempts, noting that he had circulated the petition in greater Orange County rendering it unrepresentative of University sentiment. Students argued that "experiences undoubtedly would have been different" within Chapel Hill and the student body. Yet, his petition did garner support from within the University. Students supporting the anti-integration cause created a supplemental petition with 1,000 signatures, threatening that students would resist any change to "the 'present social order.'" This student petition also surmised that integration would surely "hurt the Negro race," as well as whites. Despite this petition, most analyses of the UNC student body during the 1950s depict anti-integration students as "a vociferous but ineffectual minority." Meanwhile, as a response to the student petition protesting desegregation, the Campus Y circulated another petition in support of integration, claiming that "the other petition had presented a 'false and incomplete picture'" of the student body's general sentiment.²²

Additional white resistance to integration of the University came from North Carolinians determined to prevent race-mixing and the allocation of limited resources to blacks. In the early spring of 1955, the *Daily Tar Heel* printed an article praising the state's "intelligence and calm." The following day, the paper published a letter-to-the-editor from a Smithfield native, David Grimes. Referencing UNC Trustee member John Clark's campaign of white supremacy and

²² Edens, 17; Phillips; Edens 17, 22.

intimidation, Grimes, a 1954 alumnus, offered to explain “a few facts to you, your nigger-loving friends, the University and the State of North Carolina.”

You are getting much too loud. The people of the state do not like it and they are the University's pocketbook. You WILL cease! That is a fact. Those who put the future of the University ahead of the propagation of socialism and the destruction of the Germanic races in the South are going to cut you off. John Clark is the voice of this group. You had better listen to Clark because if he takes too long to eradicate your school of thought, you may go the unfortunate way of all niggers and Reds who have stepped out of line in the South. Go north, young man.

Despite some student body support for continued segregation, most found this letter appalling, including ten anti-integration students who wrote to the *Daily Tar Heel* to express their embarrassment at Grimes' extremism. While many Carolina students and officials were willing to delay desegregation, they found Grimes' letter to be far too intemperate.²³

Notwithstanding passionate opposition to desegregation, the arrival of Brandon and the Frasier brothers caused only “a mild ripple of interest” on the UNC campus, bringing “no more violent reaction than raised eyebrows,” according to contemporary news reports. While other southern states experienced heightened threats of violence requiring police assistance, the “violence and bloodshed which some individuals predicted” would occur in North Carolina “did not materialize.” In September 1955, when the trio arrived campus life reports suggested that the majority of students were *indifferent* to integration, as the general consensus maintained that the process would largely not affect individuals' lives. It seemed that most students shared the

²³ Edens, 22.

Greensboro journalist's sentiment that UNC would "survive the admission of three Negro youths to its undergraduate school just as it has survived other crises, real and imagined," highlighting what little effect desegregation actually had on the campus as a whole. Still, as Chancellor House observed the "matter-of-fact" calmness across campus, onlookers who had anticipated fierce protest to the presence of African Americans as students in Chapel Hill were shocked. LeRoy Frasier Sr. attributed "major credit to the student body and the boys" for securing a peaceful transition. One student attributed the lack of social upheaval to the size of the University, remarking, "Carolina is so big, you hardly realize they are here."²⁴

While North Carolina newspapers had widely covered the court actions leading to the trio's admission, the media generated only moderate coverage documenting the boys' first steps on campus as students. This was partially a result of Chancellor House and other University leaders pursuing a "quieter" approach to desegregation. The lack of media coverage pleased Chancellor House who believed the "less said and the more normally everything proceeds, the better." Additionally, following the contentious court case, NAACP leader Conrad Pearson sought to prove that the struggle to integrate the University had not been secured for the sake of publicity. Rather, Pearson argued that action to end segregation aimed to ensure African Americans "the right to go to school wherever they want." According to Pearson, the only picture taken of the three young men had been captured at the request of one white reporter.

²⁴ Phillips; "North Carolina Shows the Way," *Christian Science Monitor*, February 1956, from the Robert Burton House Records, Box 2; Neal Cheak, *An Historical Study of the Administrative Actions in the Racial Desegregation of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1930-1955*, from the North Carolina Collection; "Psychology Students' Poll Slightly Favors Integration," *The Daily Tar Heel*, 4 March 1956, in *NINC*, v4, 1289; "The Sky Will Not Fall," *Greensboro Daily News*, 17 September 1955, in *NINC*, v4, 1290; Letter from Chancellor House to Thomas Pearsall, Sept 24, 1955, in the R.B. House Papers, Folder 96; Interview with LB Frasier, 27 June 1995, in the Southern Oral History Program Collection; "Frasier Blames Alabama U. Officials for Disturbances," *Durham Morning Herald*, 9 February 1956, in the Leroy Benjamin Frasier papers, Folder 2.

The lack of media attention pleased the three new students. Brandon hoped that “now that the novelty and publicity is about over, maybe I can really settled down and take my place as another Carolina student.”²⁵

In reality, the three African Americans were not just any other students—and their transition into the University reflected the Trustees’ plan to accept the students “but do nothing to make them welcome.” A few white students echoed this sentiment, contending that although “barriers had been broken down...the Negro won’t be welcome in the social picture.” Notably, University officials did not acknowledge the arrival of the trio with any formal greeting. Although UNC remained violence-free during desegregation, the three African American students still sensed overt enmity from the trustees, the administration, and even some faculty. One white student suggested although the administration could follow through with the court decision, desegregation would not “legislate or enjoin a society” nor remove resentment towards the African American race. For this reason, the boys put forth “very little effort” to befriend whites, sensing the “concern” among white students that they would be criticized for socializing with African Americans.²⁶

Despite the prediction of total hostility, there were a few campus organizations which attempted to welcome the African American students. The Campus Y, the *Daily Tar Heel*, and the student government all provided a “friendly face” in a very inimical environment, according to LeRoy Fraiser, Jr. Upon the students’ admission, the YMCA sent an official letter of

²⁵ Letter from Chancellor House to Thomas Pearsall, 24 September 1955, in the R.B. House Papers, Folder 96; Oral History Interview with Conrad Odell Pearson, 18 April 1976, in the Southern Oral History Program Collection; Edens, 27.

²⁶ Phillips; “Students Not Worried Over Question of Admitting Negroes,” *Asheville Citizen Times*, 8 April 1951, in *NINC*, v4, 1254; David Brown, “A Grudging Acceptance,” *Alumni Review*, May/June 2002.

congratulations, expressing the Y's "pleasure" at the students' admission and offered to tour the trio around campus. Yet, some parts of campus life allowed for a greater degree of integration—most notably athletics. All three played intramural sports with white students. LeRoy Frasier, Jr, found that although "very, very few activities...welcomed us," athletics provided a common outlet for socialization across racial divisions. Frasier recounted spending time in the pool and gym with white students, as well as being allowed to play on the UNC's Finley Golf Course.²⁷

Reflecting similar "fringe problems" experienced by the first African American graduate students in 1951, the undergraduate pioneers dealt primarily with discrimination in social activities. While the Frasier brothers commuted from Durham during their freshman year, John Lewis Brandon lived in the segregated floor of Steele Dormitory along with African American graduate students. Continued segregation in Chapel Hill facilities challenged the ability for the African American students to integrate into campus life, as they could not "patronize...restaurants on Franklin Street, the Carolina Inn, or the movie theatres." Additionally, segregated facilities in the Chapel Hill area provided an obstacle to the trio's involvement in campus organizations. In 1957, at a Cosmopolitan Club picnic, an Umstead Park ranger asked LeRoy Frasier Jr. to leave the premises because of his race. The Cosmopolitan Club, which Frasier had joined in 1956, sought to "create a deeper and closer understanding between individuals of different...colors." The act of discrimination towards a member prompted the Club to pass a resolution declaring the "responsibility to guarantee equal rights to all members in participating in its activities." The group sent copies of its resolution to the Governor, State Park Administration, State Legislature,

²⁷ Letter from YMCA President Graham Rights to Frasier Brothers, in the Leroy Benjamin Frasier papers, Folder 1; David Brown, "A Grudging Acceptance," *Alumni Review*, May/June 2002, 8; Phillips; Brown, 9-11.

Student Legislature, and Student Body President, hoping to call attention to the injustices of segregation.²⁸

Although the Frasier brothers and Brandon breached the race barrier, they were not the first African American undergraduates to receive degrees from The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. After spending three years at Carolina, each of the three young men withdrew to pursue other options. During their time as students, they struggled academically, despite strong scholastic performances in advanced high school courses. LeRoy Frasier, Jr attributed his poor grades to the stressful environment on campus. Additionally, Frasier Sr. suggested they endured “so much trouble” of “alienation” and social tension that it was nearly impossible for them to excel in the classroom or enjoy their experience. After the three students left Carolina, *The Durham Herald* published an editorial reproving them for “failing out.” In response, Frasier Sr. wrote a piece in *The Carolina Times* defending the need for the young men to concentrate the majority of their efforts on making “academic adjustments and social adjustments”, compared to other students “normal” college experiences.²⁹

Although Frasier Jr. denied leaving because of “racist pressure” all three boys eventually transferred to the all-black North Carolina College to finish their degrees. LeRoy Frasier Jr., Ralph Frasier, and John Lewis Brandon became a teacher, a banker, and a chemist, respectively.

²⁸ Letter from Henry Brandis to Chancellor House, 11 October 1954, in the Gordon Gray Records, Box 13; Phillips; Cosmopolitan Club Resolution, May 1957, in the Leroy Benjamin Frasier papers, Folder 1.

²⁹ Transcripts from Hillside High School, Spring 1955, in the Leroy Benjamin Frasier Papers, folder 3; Letter to L Austin, June 3, 1959, in the Leroy Benjamin Frasier Papers, folder 1; Brown, “A Grudging Acceptance,” *Alumni Review*, May/June 2002, 10.

However, Ralph Frasier suggested in a 2002 interview that his experience at Carolina receives neither “credit nor blame for where I am today.”³⁰

Despite apparent problems along Carolina’s avenue to desegregation, the University seemed “unquestionably successful” compared to other Southern institutions facing the same issue. UNC represented an “anomaly” in the South, as it lacked violence, major protests, or aggressive violence. In 1956, the University of Florida sent its student body president, Fletcher Fleming, to visit Chapel Hill to observe the social climate surrounding desegregation issues. Fleming conjectured that Chapel Hill retained peace primarily because of the small number of African American students on campus. Fleming felt that it seemed unlikely that other southern schools could follow the same pathway unless other campuses mirrored this gradualism. Seemingly, Chapel Hill would become an example for other southern universities to follow a path to effective desegregation. Because the *Frasier* court decision forced the UNC system to change its policies regarding the admission of African American undergraduates, North Carolina State University and North Carolina Woman’s College in Greensboro began desegregation after the fall of 1955.³¹

In 1955, three African Americans challenged the University of North Carolina to receive students without discrimination—impeding the University’s ability to bar qualified students on the grounds of race. Within the struggle for desegregation, the provision of equal educational opportunities ranked as a high priority for civil rights activists who viewed higher education as an instrument of social progress. The desegregation of the undergraduate program at UNC

³⁰ Brown, 8.

³¹ Edens, 31-32; Wallenstein, “Higher Education and the Civil Rights Movement: Desegregating the University of North Carolina,” *Along the Color Line*, 16.

provided African Americans with newfound equality under the law. One Durham resident hoped this judicial victory “demonstrated to both the selfish bully and weary underdog that law and order” is the “supreme bulwark against men’s inhumanity to men,” and would produce an impetus for more widespread equality. Common perception deems Chapel Hill a liberal mecca—full of progressives advocating for social change. Yet, looking at the struggle for desegregation of the University provides an alternative account of bitter, reluctant leadership squirming to resist institutional transformation. As Conrad Pearson said of University officials, “every change they made...well, they were forced to do it.” Despite being the leading liberal institution in the South with “a reputation for enlightenment,” the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill approached desegregation at an unhurried pace due to “a social reality that was reactionary.”³²

The University’s reluctance to open its doors to large numbers of African Americans prevented the potential for Carolina to become a “real University of the people” of North Carolina. In the fall of 1956, only ten African Americans enrolled in undergraduate and graduate programs at UNC. Historians like William Chafe argue that the complacency of University officials to fully integrate prevented UNC from attracting numbers of African Americans proportional to the state of North Carolina’s population. Chafe believes the smug “civility” of University officials regarding desegregation limited the potential for true integration and only “provided a veneer for more oppression.” While critiques of University officials highlight the

³² Oral History Interview with Conrad Odell Pearson, 18 April 1976, in the Southern Oral History Program Collection; Letter from Frank Walter, 13 February 1956, in the Leroy Benjamin Frasier Papers, Folder 1; Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom*, 9.

prominence of racial prejudices under Jim Crow, the success of the trio of Tar Heels' challenge to end discriminatory policies marked a major triumph in the battle for racial equality.³³

³³ Interview with Bill Lofquist, 21 January 2010, in the Southern Oral History Program Collection; Phillips; Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom*, 249; Wallenstein, "Higher Education and the Civil Rights Movement: Desegregating the University of North Carolina," *Along the Color Line*, 16.

THE TURNING OF CHINESE PATRIOTIC EDUCATION

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Chinese patriotic education changed drastically in 1991, as China gradually shifted away from Marxist-Leninist politics in order to achieve economic development and modernization. Moreover, the Tiananmen incident of 1989 served as a catalyst to China's departure from the ideology of Marxist-Leninism. It was not until 1991 that the government decided to remove the idea of class struggle from school textbooks. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) continued the tradition of manipulating the ideology of patriotic education in order to fix the national identity crisis within China. Instead of emphasizing class struggle, the Party used national humiliation in Chinese education to galvanize a sense of nationalism in young school-goers. The first period of national humiliation lasted from the first Opium War in 1840 to the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, and was characterized by foreign invasion and exploitation of Chinese labor. The patriotic education presented the Chinese people as victims, and as such the Party was considered heroic and was glorified for its ability to save China from foreign enemies. This project will explore the change in Chinese patriotic education that was precipitated by China's political shifts in the late 1970s and reinforced by the Tiananmen Incident. Through careful analysis of the themes outlined in original textbooks and mandatory teaching outlines, one can recognize ideas of class struggle embedded in the Chinese education system before 1991. Class struggle was even inserted into math textbooks, which were supposed to be less political, during the climax of the Cultural Revolution in the late 1960s. However, this strong promotion of class struggle was erased after 1991. Subsequent history textbooks emphasized the external conflict, which referred

to the fight against foreign imperialism, by referencing the period of national humiliation. More importantly, Chinese people, especially the youth who endured this patriotic education campaign initiated in 1991, attained a strong sense of nationalism as a result. The anger and pride that resulted from learning about the national humiliation unified them.

Previous scholars, such as Zheng Wang and William Callahan, have analyzed the significance of this major shift in Chinese patriotic education. Both of them agree that the CCP utilized national humiliation instead of class struggle to promote nationalism after the Tiananmen incident. However, most of their claims are based on evidence from mandatory teaching outlines and state documents, and they fail to specifically analyze the most reliable primary source—the original Chinese textbooks. Although there are limitations to these primary sources because textbooks sometimes varied by province, I tried to overcome this difficulty by selecting the most frequently presented version: the “People’s Education Press” (人民教育出版社), which specified textbooks and various training materials. Not only does this version cover most of the provinces, especially major cities in China, it seemed to play a crucial role in the Chinese education sector after 1949. Chairman Mao inscribed the name of this press when it was first founded in December 1950.¹ It also established a specific textbook institute, which was devoted to the goal of strengthening fundamental education, under former president Deng Xiaoping’s support in 1983.² In addition, other presses, such as Cantonese press (粤教) and Suzhou press (苏教) are also controlled by the state. Hence, the “People Education Press” should reflect an accurate image of widely accepted Chinese textbooks.

¹ “人教历史,” 人民教育出版社. accessed May 10, 2013, <http://www.lvse.com/site/pep-com-cn-9394.html>.

² Ibid

Secondly, the scholars suggest that the national identity crisis that emerged from the Tiananmen Incident caused the shift in patriotic education. As a result, they ignore the Chinese government's motivations for utilizing class struggle in textbooks prior to 1979 and after. I would like to go beyond that by looking at the change in China's politics and economy in the 70s and 80s. I would like to build on these two scholars' works by introducing more convincing evidence from the Chinese textbooks and various teaching outlines that exist and provide a deeper, more comprehensive view of the cause of this shift.

Education and Nationalism

National history serves as the bond between the individual citizen and their homeland, and this powerful link is particularly salient in the education system. Since this project is dedicated to exploring the formation of nationalism through patriotic education, a theory that links education and nationalism is necessary. Benedict Anderson is best known for his celebrated book *Imagined Community*. One section in his book provides a careful analysis of the way culture, which is created by common experience, works as a vehicle for constructing an imagined collective identity within an imagined nation. Collective memory is formed on the basis of the invisible ties of common history, which allow people to attain shared feelings and thoughts as they experienced the past together.³ The shared history can also be transferred from generation to generation, so people can incorporate the mental representation of historical events into their

³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Community: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London & New York: Verso, 2006), 10-12.

identity.⁴ Hence, the stories that are chosen for historical myths become very crucial in shaping people's national identity. In that way, history does not merely depict the facts of the past, but is a socially constructed tool for building a collective identity. Anderson argues that print language laid a good foundation for national consciousness by creating unified fields of exchange and communication.⁵ In other words, print language was used to create manuscripts that allowed all the people within the state to learn about their history. During the turn of 20th century, when China strove for modernization, Chinese elites and intellectuals "sought to imagine a new community of the nation as they tried to define a new reading public" through popular press.⁶ Lu Xun was known for his enlightening literature (启蒙文学), which always incorporated the dark side of Chinese history and people's suffering. In that way, readers could empathize with the pain of the characters as if they had had the same experience. More importantly, this shared feeling allowed individuals to imagine themselves as part of a larger community. Hence, the historical myths contained in Lu Xun's novels played a crucial role in the task of "enlightenment."

Compared to novels, history textbooks seemed, at the time, to be an even better medium to convey chosen historical myths. Its focus on historical stories rather than literary themes allowed readers to directly engage with the national affairs. Besides, historical education was another source that people could learn the history, in addition to learning it from their parents and

⁴ Zheng Wang, "National Humiliation, History Education, and the Politics of Historical Memory: Patriotic Education Campaign in China," *International Studies Quarterly*, 52 (2008): 785.

⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Community: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. (London & New York: Verso, 2006), 44-45.

⁶ Leo Ou-fan Lee. "The Construction of Modernity in Print Culture," *Shanghai Modern: The Flowering of a New Urban Culture in China, 1930-1945*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 46.

grandparents. In China, the history textbooks, which contributed to the reproduction of national narratives, represent the dominant values of society under the government leadership. Hence, the stories chosen in history textbooks play an important role in shaping Chinese contemporary patriotism.⁷ Anderson's assertion helps us understand why the CCP has put so much effort on history education since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949.

Patriotic Education Prior to 1991

After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the concept of class struggle was particularly emphasized when drafting Chinese history under the CCP's regime. The CCP was inspired by Mao's understanding of Marxism, which claimed that class struggle against the bourgeoisie was the driving force of historical progress.⁸ According to this theory, the enemies were not defined by their nationalities but their class. As long as an individual was not a member of the proletariat, he/she should be criticized as China's enemy: a bringer of sorrow to peasants' lives via exploitation. Class struggle was the primary category for people to understand the society. This can be observed in the depiction of the Taiping Rebellion and the Sino-Japanese war of that time.

The Taiping Rebellion was a massive civil war that lasted from 1851 to 1864, and the Taiping army fought against the Ever Victorious Army supported by the ruling Qing court. This

⁷ Peter Gries, *China's New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy*, (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004), 46.

⁸ Adrian Chan, *Chinese Marxism* (London & New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2003): 138-150.

rebellion was significant in Chinese history because it was led by a peasant, Hong Xiuquan, who had no solid financial support or prestigious social background. Hong announced that he had received a sacred message that he was the younger brother of Jesus. However, the reason that Hong successfully mobilized the masses was due less to his deified identity and more to the historical circumstances. The corrupt Qing court and local elites exploited poor peasants, so the peasants were united by a common suffering; Hong's appealing call was a catalyst for their action. This period became a great example that incorporated the idea of class struggle. As a result, the CCP emphasized the evil role of the powerful ruling class, regardless of nationalities. For instance, in the history textbook of 1959, the failure of Taiping Rebellion was mainly caused by Zuo Zongtang, a senior Qing official, who cooperated with the French troop to suppress the peasant army.⁹ Although the Qing official Zuo Zongtang greatly contributed to China's modernization during the self-strengthening period of the early 19th century, he was still considered a relatively negative figure in the chapter about the Taiping Rebellion. Compared to his accomplishments during this period, his villainy of suppressing the peasant class seemed to be equally or even more noticeable in the history textbook of 1959. Zuo Zongtang's name was only briefly mentioned in the list of the self-strengtheners, such as Li Hongzhang and Zen Guofan; there was no more detailed description about this historical figure in this chapter.¹⁰ In contrast, Zuo attained much more attention and depiction in the chapter of the Taiping Rebellion.

During the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, the CCP and the Nationalist Party established a united front in order to drive the Japanese army out of the state. However, the depiction of the

⁹ ZHONGGUO LISHI (中国历史). (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyu Chu Ban She, 1959), 23-25.

¹⁰ Ibid, 12.

Sino-Japanese war in the Chinese history textbook of 1979 and 1982 shows that the CCP implicitly criticized the Nationalist Party despite their cooperation. The CCP and the Nationalist Party were the two main political rivals before the start of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937. The CCP claimed that the Nationalist Party would ultimately decline due to its bourgeois nature. In other words, class struggle was once again utilized by the CCP to attack the Nationalist Party. The CCP could not entirely praise the Nationalist Party when class struggle was the ideology of time, even for the history of the Sino-Japanese war.

The 1979 history textbook particularly emphasized the struggle before the establishment of the united front of the CCP and the Nationalist Party. The narrative of the declaration of the Nationalist-Communist co-operation reads: “the CCP senior official Zhou Enlai was assigned to ask for the co-operation on behalf of the country, the Nationalist Party hesitated during this process because it attempted to submit to the Japanese.¹¹” However, when the Japanese troops attacked Shanghai, approaching Nanjing where the Nationalist Party’s government was located, “the Nationalist Party was finally compelled to join the united front.” Driven by the ideology of class struggle of that time, the CCP was obsessed with criticizing the so-called bourgeois Nationalist Party even though the common enemy was the Japanese army.

Moreover, the CCP undermined the accomplishment of the Nationalist Party during the Sino-Japanese war. During the confrontation with the Japanese army, the Nationalist Party poured enormous amounts of money into its military. Compared to the CCP’s guerrillas, the Nationalist army experienced more serious casualties. However, in the history textbook of 1979,

¹¹ ZHONGGUO LISHI (中国历史). (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyu Chu Ban She, 1979), 49.

the only triumphal battle during the Sino-Japanese war mentioned in this textbook was the battle of Pingxingguan on September 1937.¹² This battle was instigated by the CCP's Eighth Route Army. In the history textbook of 1982, some Nationalist Party victories were included, but their narratives were still not very positive. For instance, the Nationalists won the Taierzhuang (台儿庄) battle against the Japanese in 1938. However, this triumph was linked to the failure of the following Xuzhou battle in this history textbook.¹³ The textbook says that the Nationalist Party "was carried away by the success of Taierzhuang battle..."¹⁴ This statement implies that the Nationalists' carelessness caused the failure of Xuzhou. Importantly, the loss of Xuzhou was described in detail: the Nationalist Party bombed the dykes around the Yellow River in order to prevent the Japanese army from entering Xuzhou.¹⁵ This textbook emphasized that the bombing of the dyke caused the deaths of more than 80,000 Chinese peasants. By observing this kind of historical narrative, one can recognize that the internal conflict seemed to be more important than the external conflict based on the Marxist's class struggle theory, which dominated Chinese ideology prior to 1991.

The ideology of class struggle reached its climax during the Cultural Revolution, which lasted from 1965-69. Hence, the focus on class struggle was supposed to be stronger around that time period. Indeed, even the math textbooks were politicized: the math textbook of 1969 was not produced by the education sector but rather the Revolutionary Committee in Guangxi. This fact further proves that the Chinese educational system was not objective, and that the political

¹² ZHONGGUO LISHI (中国历史). (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyu Chu Ban She, 1979), 67.

¹³ ZHONGGUO LISHI (中国历史). (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyu Chu Ban She, 1982), 96.

¹⁴ ZHONGGUO LISHI (中国历史). (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyu Chu Ban She, 1982), 96.

¹⁵ ZHONGGUO LISHI (中国历史). (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyu Chu Ban She, 1982), 97.

agendas, which emphasized class struggle, permeated even math textbooks. In this textbook, arithmetical concepts and theories were less important than political themes. By observing the textbook, it is clear that almost every exercise question is related to class struggle between landlords and proletariats. For instance, the first chapter of this book introduces logarithms. The first question is “The calculation of how landlords exploited poor peasants: poor peasant uncle Zhang was asked to pay a 30% interest rate to landlord “Qianbopi” (钱剥皮)...how much money will uncle Zhang have to pay after 10 months.”¹⁶ In addition, Mao’s quotes were inserted at the top of this exercise, saying that “Never forget about class struggle.”¹⁷ The example in the exercise perfectly responded to this call.

Teaching Outlines Prior to 1991

Whether students could successfully receive the message of class struggle that was embedded in their textbooks depended largely upon the way they were taught. Teaching Outlines included key themes that a teacher should cover in class; the information addressed in these themes would be particularly tested during exams. Hence, it is worth carefully noting the mandatory teaching outlines of the time. In China, teaching outlines were efficiently passed and implemented by Chinese schools, including elementary schools, middle schools and high schools.

¹⁶ Math (数学), (Guangxi: the Revolutionary Committee in Guangxi, 1969), 1. accessed May, 2013. <http://wenku.baidu.com/view/28e812c48bd63186bcebbc2b.html>

¹⁷ Math (数学), (Guangxi: the Revolutionary Committee in Guangxi, 1969), 1. accessed May, 2013. <http://wenku.baidu.com/view/28e812c48bd63186bcebbc2b.html>

In 1949, the Chinese education sector decided to divide the grade 11 students into two categories according to their abilities, hoping to cultivate their special talents: humanities and sciences.¹⁸ History, which carries the most constructed patriotic messages, was the testing subject only for students who chose humanities. However, politics is required for both categories. Students concentrating in the sciences could not escape from receiving the patriotic message.¹⁹

Most schools in China are run by the state, and nearly all school officials are connected or appointed by education agencies of local government. As a result, the patriotic education outline was surely applied in the classroom by schoolteachers. The minority private schools posed no threat to this implementation because the establishment of private schools has to be approved by local government. According to article 31 of the Education law of the People's Republic of China, only a "legal person" can establish an educational institution.²⁰ The legal person has to pass the scrutiny of the government. In other words, private schools are also indirectly controlled by the state. In addition, the dominant and famous public schools attract excellent teachers, so private schools receive relatively less public's attention.

By investigating the teaching outlines of 1978-79 and 1980-82, one can observe that class struggle played a major role in the principle of teaching, when coupled with the chapters in the textbooks of 1979 and 1982 mentioned previously. In the chapter about teaching requirements and the aims of the teaching outline in 1978-1979, the first sentence quotes Mao: "a successful

¹⁸ "文理分科," Wikipedia. Accessed May 2013. <https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/文理分科>

¹⁹ Zheng Wang, "National Humiliation, History Education, and the Politics of Historical Memory: Patriotic Education Campaign in China," *International Studies Quarterly* 52 (2008), 792.

²⁰ 第三章"学校及其他教育机构," 《中华人民共和国教育法》。全国人大常委会 (八届)。1995.

Party could not be established without the deep learning of theories and history.”²¹ Although this quote did not particularly mention class struggle, it did pass the message that “theories” and “history” are closely intertwined and the role of the “Party” was prominent. By going into detail of each chapter, the theme of class struggle was unveiled. In the chapter about the Sino-Japanese war, started in 1937, the first key knowledge that teachers should cover was the establishment of the united front of the CCP and the Nationalist Party; however, the role of the Nationalist Party was not emphasized.²² The second key point was the failure of the Nationalist Party’s battle with the Japanese army. The specific name of each defeat was written, including the lost provinces in the north China, Shanghai, Nanjing, Guangzhou and Wuhan.²³ More importantly, the Nationalist Party was called “the reactionary Kuomintang government” (国民党反动政府) here, prompting teachers to explain the so-called reactionary nature of the Nationalist government. As already mentioned, the history textbook of 1982 noted the Nationalist Party’s victories, and the Taierzhuang battle was additionally included as a key part of the teaching outlines of 1980-82. However, these successes were not expressed passionately as a “triumph” or “winning battle,” but merely as the name of the battle.²⁴ This implied that teachers did not need to heavily praise this battle when teaching. The patriotic education, which was carried out by textbooks and teaching outlines, conveyed the theme of class struggle prior to 1991.

²¹ The collection of China’s 20th Century history teaching outline (20 世纪中国中小学课程标准. 教育大纲汇编: 历史卷, (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyu Chu Ban She, 1999), 327.

²² The collection of China’s 20th Century history teaching outline (20 世纪中国中小学课程标准. 教育大纲汇编: 历史卷, (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyu Chu Ban She, 1999), 358.

²³ The collection of China’s 20th Century history teaching outline (20 世纪中国中小学课程标准. 教育大纲汇编: 历史卷, (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyu Chu Ban She, 1999), 358.

²⁴ The collection of China’s 20th Century history teaching outline (20 世纪中国中小学课程标准. 教育大纲汇编: 历史卷, (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyu Chu Ban She, 1999), 417.

Shift Away from Marxist Leninism

From the late 1980s to the early 1990s, China started to gradually shift away from Marxist-Leninist politics because this ideology failed to mitigate China's shattered economy and improve the standard of living during the post-Mao era.²⁵ The Marxist-Leninist ideology favored authoritarianism and radical class struggle; however, the Chinese people gradually realized that the strict state control hindered China's economic development. In late 1992, Deng admitted that "recently our comrades had a look aboard. The more we see, the more we realize how backward we are."²⁶ During Deng's era, key officials in China were assigned to travel overseas visiting capitalist countries, so that they could bring back and implement what they learned from the outside world.²⁷ For instance, the officials of the Ministry of Foreign Trade decided to create an export-processing zone, which later was named Shenzhen Special Economic Zone, in Bao'an county Guangdong after traveling to Hong Kong.²⁸ This decision generated both economic and social benefits: not only did this zone bring more job opportunities for Chinese laborers, the improvement in local economy also retained many talented young people, who once felt obligated to flee to Hong Kong for jobs.²⁹ As a result, China benefited from the detachment from old ideology and embarked on a new path.

²⁵ Russel Belk and Xin Zhao, "Politicizing Consumer Culture: Advertising's Appropriation of Political Ideology in China's social Transition," *Journals of Consumer Research* 35:2 (2008): 233.

²⁶ 邓小平南巡讲话(全文). 共知网. Accessed May 2013. Translated by Ezra F Vogel. http://www.21ccom.net/articles/zgyj/ggzhc/article_2012010251325.html

²⁷ Ezra F Vogel, *Deng Xiaoping and the Transformation of China*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 218.

²⁸ Vogel, *Deng Xiaoping*, 219.

²⁹ Ibid.

The 1989 Tiananmen Incident further “deteriorated the legitimacy of the Marxist-Leninist ideology.”³⁰ The Tiananmen Incident, also known as the June Fourth Incident, was initiated by student leaders with the help of local Beijing workers. As the recent high inflation diminished Chinese people’s purchasing power, they protested for a higher degree of democracy and the restoration of workers’ control over industries. An initial impetus for this incident was the death of former president Hu Yaobang on April 15, 1989. At the time, the CCP leadership was divided into two factions: a conservative party that supported intensive government control over the state and a reformist party that argued for economic freedom and openness. Hu’s death disempowered the reformists; Chinese students and workers felt that economic reform became more unlikely and that only massive demonstrations could express their dedication and anger. Students assembled in Tiananmen Square in Beijing in the summer of 1989, holding Hu Yaobang’s photo opposite Mao Zedong’s portrait on the gate of Tiananmen. The unarmed Chinese students used hunger strikes as a silent but powerful way to protest the conservative CCP members, and their action quickly drew the support from workers, doctors, nurses, and ordinary citizens. After few days of student demonstrations in Tiananmen Square, the Party finally decided to end the riot through military force. Many of these unarmed civilians, who tried to prevent the troops from entering the city, were killed. Since then, the Tiananmen Incident has been a taboo in China.

This incident served as a catalyst for China’s transition away from Marxist-Leninist politics. More importantly, it warned the CCP of the need to maintain control over the Chinese people, who were moving towards liberalism in order to encourage economic development. In response

³⁰ Michael Sullivan and Michael Sullivan. “The Impact of Western Political Thought in Chinese Political Discourse on Transition from Leninism, 1986-1992,” *World Affairs* 157:2 (1994), 84.

to this situation, a neo-conservatism emerged, utilizing elements in traditional culture to modernize China and forge a middle position between authority and freedom, which they believed was especially designed for China's case.³¹ The CCP continued the tradition of manipulating the ideology of patriotic education in order to fix the national identity crisis within China.³² When the government ignored the people's appeal and suppressed them through military force, the CCP lost the trust of Chinese citizens. The Tiananmen massacre left a deep scar in the heart of the Chinese people. Many embraced Chinese rock singer Cui Jian, who was officially banned by the CCP, because his song lyrics contained deep resentment towards the government. Chinese people, especially Chinese youth who were born in the 1970s, were dissatisfied with the government. In order to turn this into a positive situation, a new principle of patriotic education was launched to advocate socialist ideals, such as trust in the Party's leadership and national humiliation.

The end of Tiananmen Incident was also the beginning of the new era of the new patriotism education. All of the so-called counterrevolutionaries were arrested by June 9th, 1989, and the CCP commemorated the soldiers who died during the Tiananmen Incident on a truly grand scale. In the last ten minutes of the documentary *The Gate of Heavenly Peace* (天安门) directed by Richard Gordon and Carma Hinton, over a thousand Chinese primary school students held their "Red Scarf," an honored sign of the Young Pioneers of China, in the air, pledging to forever "love the Chinese Communist Party; love socialist China; love the People's Liberation Army; be

³¹ Sullivan and Sullivan. "The Impact of Western Political Thought," 85.

³² Ibid.

the successors of Communism.”³³ (热爱中国共产党！热爱社会主义中国！热爱人民解放军！做社会主义接班人！) These children are the currently so-called “Angry Youth” (愤青) and 80s generation (80后), who always show an extremely strong sense of nationalism; they are also the first group of people educated under the new principles.

Patriotic Education After 1991

China focused on its economic development after Deng’s policy of Reform and Opening in 1978. During the 70s and 80s, the government issued no official reform for textbooks according to the record, explaining why the textbooks of 1978 and 82 maintained the idea of class struggle mentioned in the previous analysis. Not until 1991 did the government recognize the need to change the principles of patriotic education, due to the Tiananmen Incident in 1989.

Deng Xiaoping, the former Chinese president, suggested that a revised patriotic education was imperative, concluding that the cause of the Tiananmen incident was mainly the CCP’s lack of focus on appropriate ideological education.

I have told foreign guests that during the last 10 years our biggest mistake was made in the field of education, primarily in ideological and political education—not just of students but of the people in general. We did not tell them enough about the need for hard

³³ Geremie Barmé and John Crowley, *The Gate of Heavenly Peace*, directed by Carma Hinton and Richard Gordon, 1995, Long Bow Group Inc.

struggle, about what China was like in the old days and what kind of a country it was to become. That was a serious error on our part.³⁴

As suggested by Deng Xiaoping, the patriotic education after the Tiananmen incident gives special attention to the old days of China when the country suffered from foreign invasion.³⁵ In August 1991, two documents were issued regarding the patriotic education campaign: “Notice about Conducting Education of Patriotic and Revolutionary Tradition by Exploiting Extensively Cultural Relics” and the “General Outline on Strengthening Education on Chinese Modern and Contemporary History and National Conditions.”³⁶ The notion of national humiliation and external conflict became the major theme in history textbooks.

Coinciding with the Party’s new goals, many historical descriptions and comments were altered, as one can observe in the depiction of the Taiping Rebellion and the Sino-Japanese war. In the chapter regarding the Taiping Rebellion of the history textbook of 2003, the role of the corrupted Qing government became less aggressive, even vulnerable at times, whereas the foreign invaders became the major criminals and instigators of the peasants’ suffering. The textbook says that the Qing government exploited Chinese peasants because they had to pay for the tremendous losses of the war.³⁷ This interpretation showed that the foreign invasion was the root cause of poor peasants’ sorrow. In addition, the historical figure Zuo Zongtang was not

³⁴ Deng Xiaoping (1994). “Address to officers at the rank of general and above in command of the troops enforcing martial law in Beijing.” (June 9, 1989), Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping, Vol. 3. Its English translation (translated by People’s Daily) is available at <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/dengxp/vol3/c1990.html> (June 23, 2005).

³⁵ Peter Gries. *China’s New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy*. (Berkeley& Los Angel: University of California Press, 2004), 46.

³⁶ CPC Central Committee 1991 and Ministry of Education 1991.

³⁷ ZHONGGUO XIANDAIJINDAISHI. Volume 1 (中国现代近代史—上册). (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyu Chu Ban She, 2003), 19. Available at http://www.51jcn.cn/book_mulu2025.asp

particularly mentioned in this chapter. As a Qing official, Zuo was appointed to suppress and kill the Taiping army, which was organized by the Chinese peasant class. This battle among the Chinese was understated in previous textbooks: instead, Zuo was only known as a national hero for his successful recovery of Xinjiang in 1878. In the chapter of this textbook about the crisis of Xinjiang, Zuo's quote was illustrated at the beginning of this chapter.³⁸ This quote was about the wise strategy in fighting against the Russian army.

In the chapter about Sino-Japanese war, one can clearly recognize that the narrative turned against the Japanese army without undermining the Nationalist Party's accomplishments. Unlike the history textbook of 1979, the 2003 textbook does not depict the Nationalists' attempts to submit to the Japanese army before the establishment of the united front. This chapter starts with the 1937 incident, when China and Japan officially declared war.³⁹ The textbook also emphasized that this incident marked the beginning of the second cooperation between the CCP and the Nationalist Party. This cooperation was expressed as "very close" and as "strong as the Great Wall."⁴⁰ Not only does the textbook mention the CCP's declaration of the united front, but it also describes the important role of the Nationalist Party's leader Chiang Kai-shek, who "confirmed" this united strategy while in Lushan.⁴¹

³⁸ ZHONGGUO XIANDAIJINDAISHI. Volume 1 (中国现代近代史—上册). (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyu Chu Ban She, 2003), 43. Available at http://www.51jcn.cn/book_mulu2025.asp

³⁹ ZHONGGUO XIANDAIJINDAISHI . Volume 2(中国现代近代史—下册). (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyu Chu Ban She, 2003), 29. Available at http://www.51jcn.cn/book_mulu2026.asp

⁴⁰ ZHONGGUO XIANDAIJINDAISHI . Volume 2(中国现代近代史—下册). (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyu Chu Ban She, 2003), 29. Available at http://www.51jcn.cn/book_mulu2026.asp

⁴¹ ZHONGGUO XIANDAIJINDAISHI . Volume 2(中国现代近代史—下册). (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyu Chu Ban She, 2003), 29. Available at http://www.51jcn.cn/book_mulu2026.asp

Furthermore, the textbook underlined the crucial function of the Nationalist Party during the confrontation with the Japanese army. The Nationalist army was depicted as fighting in the frontal battlefield.⁴² A script of the Nationalist army's defensive strategy was inserted in this chapter, and both the army's triumphs and defeats were depicted.⁴³ The Taierzhuang battle was expressed as the most successful battle of that time.⁴⁴ Although the Nationalist Party lost Xuzhou, the textbooks emphasized the difficulty of the situation and the aggressiveness of the Japanese army.⁴⁵ Importantly, the bombing of the dyke, which caused more than 80,000 deaths of Chinese peasants, was totally erased.⁴⁶ Prior to 1991, the history textbook detailed this error in order to criticize the Nationalist Party. However, when the CCP changed focus to condemn external conflict, the history textbook ignored it, hoping to avoid any internal contradiction.

When we look at the math textbook of 2003, almost all the mathematic textbooks after 1991 get rid of the notion of patriotic history education. In the chapter of logarithms, there is no patriotic slogan, which promotes class struggle, compared to the math textbook of 1949.⁴⁷

⁴² ZHONGGUO XIANDAIJINDAISHI . Volume 2(中国现代近代史一下册). (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyu Chu Ban She, 2003), 30. Available at http://www.51jcn.cn/book_mulu2026.asp

⁴³ ZHONGGUO XIANDAIJINDAISHI . Volume 2(中国现代近代史一下册). (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyu Chu Ban She, 2003), 29. Available at http://www.51jcn.cn/book_mulu2026.asp

⁴⁴ ZHONGGUO XIANDAIJINDAISHI . Volume 2(中国现代近代史一下册). (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyu Chu Ban She, 2003), 32. Available at http://www.51jcn.cn/book_mulu2026.asp

⁴⁵ ZHONGGUO XIANDAIJINDAISHI . Volume 2(中国现代近代史一下册). (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyu Chu Ban She, 2003), 32. Available at http://www.51jcn.cn/book_mulu2026.asp

⁴⁶ ZHONGGUO XIANDAIJINDAISHI . Volume 2(中国现代近代史一下册). (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyu Chu Ban She, 2003), 32. Available at http://www.51jcn.cn/book_mulu2026.asp

⁴⁷ Math for grade 10 (高一数学). (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyu Chu Ban She, 2003), 72. Available at http://www.51jcn.cn/book_mulu1001.asp

Secondly, all the examples in the exercise questions do not incorporate class conflict either. Most examples are about the calculation of population or scientific research.⁴⁸

Teaching Outlines After 1991

The patriotic education campaign was initiated in 1991, and its outline was published after three years preparation:

The objectives of conducting patriotic education campaign are to boost the nation's spirit, enhance cohesion, foster national self esteem and pride, consolidate and develop a patriotic united front to the broadest extent possible, and direct and rally the masses' patriotic passion to the great cause of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.⁴⁹

This mandatory teaching was enforced by the government; teachers in school had no choice but to follow the instructions. It explicitly laid out the goals of the campaign. The objectives of enhancing cohesion and consolidating the united front were achieved by shifting the focus away from the domestic struggles and toward foreign problems.

This patriotic education, which highlights external conflict and internal integration, was further refined in 2011. Ye Xiaobing, the vice president of History Teaching Professional Committee of Chinese society of Education, wrote a summary of the changes to this new version

⁴⁸ Math for grade 10 (高一数学). (Beijing: Renmin Jiaoyu Chu Ban She, 2003), 73-74. Available at http://www.51jcn.cn/book_mulu1001.asp

⁴⁹ English translation by Wang Zheng. The original text (Chinese) is available in the following site: Xinhua News Agency, 2005. http://www.news.xinhuanet.com/ziliao/2005-03/16/content_2705546

of the history education outline. For instance, the term “ethnic fusion” (民族融合) was changed to “ethnic integration” (民族交融).⁵⁰ Compared to the obscure meaning of “ethnic fusion,” “ethnic integration” clearly indicates the friendly and peaceful communication and corporation between Han people and the minority ethnic groups. The result includes once again an altered depiction of the July 7 Incident of 1937, which was the catalyst of the Sino-Japanese war. The history textbooks once claimed that this incident marked “the beginning of China’s total resistance” (中国的全面抗战开始). Now it is considered “the beginning of China’s nation-wide War of resistance” (中国的全国性抗战).⁵¹ The “total resistance” corresponds to a “partial resistance” a “nation-wide war of resistance” parallels a “local war of resistance.” The former emphasized the change in strategy, whereas the latter stressed the notion of a united front.

Anderson’s theory on the interaction between history and national identity helps explain the CCP’s motivation to construct a specific historical narrative. The shift from a Marxist-Leninism ideology, which emphasized internal class struggle, to an ideology that encouraged nationalism, was crucial to the recovery of China’s economy. Besides the economic benefit, this shift was also intended to strengthen the CCP’s leadership, which had floundered after the Tiananmen Incident. The success of this deliberate shift in patriotic education points to the dangers of constructed historical narrative. In this case, the manipulation of history leads citizens to act in

⁵⁰ 叶小兵。“《义务教育历史课程标准》（2011版）的新变化。”百度文库。Accessed May, 2013. <http://wenku.baidu.com/view/41560c36b90d6c85ec3ac64a.html>

⁵¹叶小兵。“《义务教育历史课程标准》（2011版）的新变化。”百度文库。Accessed May, 2013. <http://wenku.baidu.com/view/41560c36b90d6c85ec3ac64a.html>

very particular ways. However, as long as the Internet serves as a gateway to knowledge, perhaps Chinese citizens will begin to scrutinize and complicate these biased historical narratives.

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PROVINCIAL INFLUENCES ON LOYALIST WRITINGS

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While living in the seat of colonial independence, Joseph Galloway professed that the American colonists in 1775 “may as well attempt to scale the moon, and wrench her from her orbit as withstand the powers of Britain.” In a time when Virginians, even elites, were calling for consent of the governed, John Randolph argued in an anonymous pamphlet in 1774 that “the ignorant Vulgar are as unfit to judge of the Modes, as they are unable to manage the Reins of Government.” Thomas Hutchinson, Governor of Massachusetts Bay, the colony directly burdened by the 1765 Stamp Act, stated in a grievance to a noble lord in 1776, “thousands of people who were before good and loyal subjects, have been deluded, and by degrees induced to rebel against the best of Princes, and the mildest of Governments.”¹

By these examples, one could conclude that each man was shortsighted, perhaps even blinded, by a reverence for king and country, unable to comprehend the progression toward colonial independence. It is estimated that between one fifth and one third of colonists during the American Revolution remained loyal to England. Did all of their rhetoric take this radical form? Were John Randolph, Joseph Galloway, and Thomas Hutchinson as disassociated from their native homelands as these quotes portend? An answer in the affirmative would mischaracterize a group of intellectually grounded men and vilify loyalists according to a few select phrases. These sentiments should not be used to negate the ties that each loyalist had to their hometowns nor the knowledge that each possessed regarding the eighteenth century political and social makeup of the American Colonies. Loyalists born and raised in the colonies were very much products of their homes; the same can be said for the brand of loyalty each possessed. The writings of these three men advance arguments in favor of preserving the British Empire that were grounded in colonial circumstances and historical precedents particular to their residential homes.

¹ John E. Ferling, “Joseph Galloway’s Military Advice: A Loyalist’s View of the Revolution,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 98, No. 2, Apr. 1974, 173; John Randolph, “Considerations on the Present State of Virginia; Attributed to John Randolph, Attorney General,” *Virginia and the Revolution: Two Pamphlets*, Ed. Earl Gregg Swem, (New York: C.F. Heartman, 1919), 20; Thomas Hutchinson, “Strictures upon the declaration of the Congress at Philadelphia; in a letter to a noble lord, &c.,” *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (2013).

By analyzing the works of each, provincial influences in both content and style of writing can be identified, as all exhibit characteristics that distinguish them as a Virginian, a Pennsylvanian, and a Massachusite respectively. None of these men were out of touch with the colonial atmosphere surrounding the Revolution; they understood all too well the relationship between the colonies and the Crown according to their unique colonial perspectives.²

The historical analysis of loyalists has consisted of an oscillation between an emphasis on more outlandish and inaccurate statements like the aforementioned, and prophetic, more level-minded criticisms of the independence movement. After the sun had set on the military campaigns of the Revolution, and the new nation began to cast its eyes forward toward the design of government, loyalists were pinned as backwards individuals on the wrong side of history. This characterization further initiated a backlash of literature in support of loyalist thought which once again warranted an opposing response, recasting loyalists as misguided colonists in the 1970s. The most dramatic of these characterizations can be exemplified by an introduction to John Randolph's Plan of Accommodations written in 1971 by Mary Beth Norton. Norton criticized Randolph by stating "like all other loyalist exiles, he did not fully comprehend the depth of the American's commitment to independence." She attributed this fault to a process by which "Randolph's perceptions of America were distorted by the very fact of his fidelity to the crown." "That failing," she continued, "was the great tragedy of all the loyalists."³

The more moderate adaptation of this thesis began to accept the heterogeneity of loyalist thought, but still condemned the act of loyalty itself to be a flaw divesting them of their local ties and knowledge. An example of this logic is provided in Bernard Bailyn's work *The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson*. In the first chapter of the book, Bailyn argued that Hutchinson was

"sensitively attuned to a world of status and degree, bland, constrained, realistic, unromantic, ambitious, and acquisitive, he was, for all his hatred of religious zeal, the Puritan manqué. For he retained the self-discipline and seriousness of the colony's stern founders and something of their asceticism; but he lacked their passion, their transcendent vision, and above all their inner certainty."

² Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World* (New York: Knopf, 2010), 8.

³ Mary Beth Norton, Introduction to "John Randolph's 'Plan of Accommodations,'" *The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Jan. 1971), 106.

Hutchinson ultimately “lacked” these provincial qualities because of his loyalty to England. Bailyn insinuated, as Norton expressed, that his “transcendent vision” was clouded by his reverence for king and country.⁴

Current scholarship, however, has begun to move away from this negative characterization. Authors such as Maya Jasanoff and Ruma Chopra now strive to portray a more diversified picture of loyalists both during and after the Revolution. In *Liberty’s Exiles*, Jasanoff’s thesis hinges upon the destruction of common stereotypes including the homogeneous thesis of the 1970s. In the introduction of her work, she argued that in spite of a shared allegiance to the British Empire, loyalists’ “precise beliefs otherwise ranged widely.” In this assertion, Jasanoff directly challenged the simplification of loyalist thought and motivation tied to the “common flaw” of loyalty. In *Unnatural Rebellion*, Ruma Chopra also highlighted this fact by providing multiple anecdotes of loyalists with very different, and warranted, motivations for remaining loyal to England.⁵

For Chopra, loyalists did not maintain reverence for the British system based on an irrational reason to bestow their fidelity; loyalty could be attributed to economic self-interest or even sound theoretical understanding. She juxtaposed merchant councilors like John Watts who feared losing a profit from the act of independence with lawyers like Peter Van Schaack that wished to maintain the legal contractual relationship between an empire and her colonies. The act of remaining loyal was thus not a flaw but understandable within the context of their specific circumstances. However, all of these authors have failed to illuminate the unique connection that each loyalist had to their colonial homes. Randolph, Galloway, and Hutchinson were all products of their respective colonies. The arguments they made, the topics they focused on, and the language they used in their works ultimately reflected their experiences in the colonies in which they lived and worked. This observation does not excuse them from any inaccurate conclusions that were drawn in their writings. Nonetheless, choosing the losing side of a war should not

⁴ Bernard Bailyn, *The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1974), 26.

⁵ Jasanoff, *Liberty’s Exiles*, 8.

strip all accuracy from an individual's opinion nor characterize it as misguided; there is much to be learned of the colonies from the writings of provincial loyalists.⁶

John Randolph, the subject of Mary Beth Norton's most ardent criticisms, provides one of the best examples of provincial influences on loyalist writings. Born in Virginia in 1727, Randolph attended the College of William and Mary, later serving as Attorney General and Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court. He served a brief stint in the Virginia House of Burgesses and belonged to one of the most prominent Virginia families. Contrary to all of his local accolades, he would later become known as "The Loyalist" with the onset of the Revolution. However, as is exemplified in Randolph's Plan of Accommodations and Considerations on the State of Virginia, his understanding of colonial history and language utilized reflect experiences unique to a Virginian. His Plan of Accommodations written in 1780 began with the founding of the Virginia colony. Randolph argued that the endeavor was led by "certain adventurers, whose activity and Resolution led them to explore distant Regions, and add them to the Dominion of their native Kingdom." These words flew in direct opposition to those of Thomas Jefferson in the Summary View written in 1774. Jefferson coined Randolph's "certain adventurers" as "individual adventurers" who spread across the New World with the ghost of their Saxon ancestors and correspondingly independent spirits weighing heavily on their minds. Jefferson divorced any English influence from the founding of the colony by arguing "not a shilling was ever issued from the public treasuries of his majesty."⁷

Randolph argued otherwise, his account emerging as the most historically accurate. An exploration of early Virginia documents provides a reliable measure of truth. From the beginning, all laws passed in the colony had to "pass under the Privy Seal of our Realm of England." Even though the venture was sponsored by the Virginia Company of London, the monarchy still had a firm grasp of control over activities conducted in the New

⁶ Ruma Chopra, *Unnatural Rebellion: Loyalists in New York City During the Revolution* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 48.

⁷ John Randolph, "John Randolph's 'Plan of Accommodations,'" *The William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Jan., 1971), 106; Thomas Jefferson, "A Summary View of the Rights of British America, 1774," *The Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Ed. Adrienne Koch and William Peden, (New York: Random House, Inc., 1972), 293-295.

World. Yet British influence did not stop there. One of the few phrases that managed to survive revisions of the Virginia charter until 1774 was

“Whereas in all other Things, we require the said General Assembly, as also the said council of state, to imitate and follow the Policy of the Form of Government, Laws, Customs, and Manner of Trial, and other Administration of Justice, used in the Realm of England, as near as may be, even as ourselves, by his Majesty’s Letters Patent, are required.”

Randolph acknowledged this circumstance in his *Considerations* by highlighting the similarities between colonial and English laws. He explained “there is no Diversity between the Laws of each Country, but such as local Circumstances have occasioned.” Even as late as 1774, political voices in the colony were still proclaiming full sovereignty to England in *The Association of the Virginia Convention*. Following the dissolution of the House of Burgesses by order of Lord Dunmore, the last king-appointed governor of Virginia, a number of delegates gathered in Raleigh Tavern to forge a nonimportation association. During their first meeting, with the recent act of the governor fresh on the delegates’ minds, the participating colonists called for a stop to the importation of British goods while simultaneously acknowledging the sovereignty of the King. “We,” the delegates of the General Assembly professed, “[are] his Majesty’s dutiful and loyal subjects...avowing our inviolable and unshaken fidelity and attachment to our most gracious sovereign, our regard and affection for all our friends and fellow subjects in Great Britain.” Even on the brink of embarking upon a trajectory toward independence, Virginian colonists explicitly acknowledged their subjugation to the king; on the eve of 1774, Virginia was still very much a royal colony.⁸

⁸ “The First Charter of Virginia; April 10, 1606,” The Avalon Project, accessed April 9, 2013, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/va01.asp; “The Second Charter of Virginia; May 23, 1609,” The Avalon Project, accessed April 9, 2013, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/va02.asp; John Randolph, “Considerations on the Present State of Virginia; Attributed to John Randolph, Attorney General,” *Virginia and the Revolution: Two Pamphlets*, Ed. Earl Gregg Swem, (New York: C.F. Heartman, 1919), 23; “The Association of the Virginia Convention; August 1-6, 1774,” The Avalon Project, accessed April 9, 2013, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/assoc_of_va_conv_1774.asp; Ronald L. Heinemann et. al, *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth: A History of Virginia., 1607-2007* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 109-110.

The result of these legal ties, Randolph explained, was a strong similarity between the political structures of England and the Virginia colony--a point that becomes central to his premise for remaining loyal to England. In *Considerations*, Randolph explained, “the Constitution of England and Virginia resemble each other so much, that what I have said as to the one will hold equally as to the other.” He broke down the different components of the Virginia government and matched them to the division of powers that existed under the English constitution. He stated, “the King’s prerogative exists here, in its fullest Lustre and Vigour,” manifested in the office of the royally appointed governor. The House of Commons was mirrored by “the People, by their Representatives, compris[ing] a Branch of the Legislature,” whereas the House of Lords took the form of “the Council” in the colony. All of these characterizations and comparisons are reinforced by the Ordinances for Virginia passed in 1621, which juxtaposed a legalistic outline of the colonial governmental composition with the unyielding stipulation that the Virginians “follow the Policy of the Form of Government, Laws, Customs, and Manner of Trial, and other Administration of Justice, used in the Realm of England.” The political system of Virginia was cemented to its English roots, a fact that a prominent Virginia statesman turned loyalist could not omit from his plea to remain tethered to the British Empire.⁹

Randolph’s knowledge of Virginia history cast him as a Virginian not only by his correct and detailed explanations but by the topics that he chose to focus on in both his *Plan* and *Considerations*. Randolph roots much of his logic and suggestions in lessons learned from anecdotes of Virginia history. In his *Plan of Accommodations*, Randolph highlighted the importance and necessity of a role for parliament in inter-colonial disputes. “There are two instances,” he elucidated, “wherein the Supremacy of Parliament ought not to be diminish’d; the first extends to commercial matters; the second, to Points which may regard the Colonies collectively.” Not surprisingly, he provided an example of the latter, in which one of the two colonies whose governors sparred off against each other was Virginia. When “a Quarrel arose between the Pennsylvanians and Virginians...Messages of dertermin’d Nature passed between the Governors.” The dispute originated over a patch of land along the border between Pennsylvania and Virginia at the abandoned Fort Pitt. Governor Dunmore, who ardently supported the expansion

⁹ Randolph, “*Considerations*,” 24-25; “*Ordinances for Virginia; July 24- August 3, 1621*,” The Avalon Project, accessed April 10, 2013, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/va04.asp.

of Virginians westward, attempted to claim the land through the appointment of Dr. John Connolly as a speculator. However, Connolly utilized violent and coercive measures to drive Pennsylvanians from the land, including imprisonment and the slaughtering of livestock. This prompted what Merrill Jensen described as a small “war” between the two colonies. As Randolph rightly pointed out, only when parliament stepped in to assert its authority was the dispute resolved. In a footnote to this example, Randolph stated, “A Dispute of the same nature happen’d between New York and Connecticut, which rendered his Majesty’s Interference necessary.” Regardless, Randolph chose to focus on the example of Virginia, which was no doubt the anecdote he was most familiar with as a government official.¹⁰

Not all of Randolph’s anecdotal influences were so obvious. A more subtle example of his Virginian heritage creeping into the logic behind his assertions is illustrated by a discussion regarding the threat of a popular and rebellious colonial governor to royal authority in both works. In the *Considerations* he asserted, “The Populace, from Fear, or Interest, are ever ready to elevate their Leader to the Pinnacle of Fame.” “Experience informs us,” he continued, “that they are [also] as ready to pull him down.” Popularity was a constant threat to an ordered exercise of power in Randolph’s eyes, a problem that could only be corrected by the quality of a leader. In the *Plan of Accommodations*, he explained that a colonial governor “must be invested with extensive powers, and should he ever aim at Popularity, he may become dangerous to the Authority of the King.” The man that best fits Randolph’s profile is William Berkeley, who exercised a momentous thirty-five year reign as governor of Virginia.¹¹

Berkeley was as practical as he was political, advancing reforms that would lead to the modern development of Virginia while taking advantage of powerful interest groups to maintain authority. He appealed to the wants and desires of large planters, who held disproportionate power in the General Assembly, to gain political capital and influence over foreign policies by relinquishing control of local matters to the Virginia elite. He disregarded official decrees of the King, such as the Navigation Acts, to remain popular with planters-- who would benefit from an opened market with forbidden competitors like the Dutch. Tying himself to the wills of the people

¹⁰ Randolph, “Plan of Accommodations,” 111; Merrill Jensen, *The Founding of a Nation: A History of the American Revolution, 1763-1776* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 393.

¹¹ Randolph, “Considerations,” 22; Randolph, “Plan of Accommodations,” 108.

would backfire, however, once Francis Bacon led his rebellion in 1676. Bacon would attempt to divest Berkeley of his authority, forcing parliament to lead a royal investigation that blamed Berkeley for the unrest in the colony. Berkeley was effectively removed from power by an interest group, poor landless whites, which he neglected to favor others. As Randolph warned, the people were “as ready to pull” Berkeley down once dissatisfied as they were to elevate him when catered to, a situation that needlessly threatened the authority of the King and safety of the Virginia colony. This lesson, borne out by Bacon’s rash actions, branded itself in the minds of Virginians; John Randolph was no exception.¹²

Randolph’s deliberate use of Virginia history to make his case for loyalism is complimented by a quality of his writings that he himself may not have noticed. Randolph used certain phrases and ideas in his works that were unique to the social atmosphere of the Virginia colony on the eve of the Revolution. His Virginia lexicon can be divided into two themes: class stratification and republicanism. Beginning with the former, Randolph phrased many of his arguments in terms of the different classes that would affect, or participate in, the political structures that he discussed. In his Plan of Accommodations, he argued that “appeals from the Colonies ought to be free” if relations in the empire were to be restored and maintained. He argued that placing limits on the appeals that colonists could make to the Crown had led to a disastrous situation in Virginia: “It put the lower Class of People on a Level with the Gentry.” By forbidding all appeals less than “50 million sterling,” most cases went before “the Courts of America,” a condition that a former Attorney General would know all too well. By setting the limit to appeals at such a high level, a majority of Virginian elites were prevented from entering British courts run by individuals with social statuses more comparable to their own. Having elites judged by their lesser peers upset the social balance of Virginia, and to upset this balance was to threaten the interests of elites, contrary to years of traditional social interactions in the colony.¹³

Class distinctions translated into different levels of political and social activity. One example of this is illustrated by property requirements for voting. Following a major wave of reforms in 1736, Virginia voting

¹² Heinemann et. al, *Old Dominion, New Commonwealth: A History of Virginia., 1607-2007*, 41-43, 57-58.

¹³ Randolph, “Plan of Accommodations,” 107.

regulations limited political privileges to twenty-one year old adult white males with a minimum of twenty-five acres of cultivated land or one hundred acres of unimproved land. Virginia was a society divided along class cleavages, a condition that appears repeatedly in Randolph's words. In the Plan of Accommodations, he described how "the People seem'd to look up to no Superior, but their own or immediate Lord of the Soil." Later in the document, Randolph turned to class once again when discussing the colonial controversy surrounding paper money. By the late 1780s when Randolph put pen to paper to compose the Accommodations, paper money was printed at a higher rate in the colonies "for the Purposes of the Rebellion." The "Purposes" that Randolph alluded to were often funded by Continentals: paper money issued in the form of notes by the Continental Congress. As the war progressed and expenditures rose, the value of the Continental depreciated when the currency printed exceeded the amount of specie in the colonies; a debate followed over whether paper money should be recognized as holding the little value that it did in the market. Randolph warned that "all Ranks of Men, particularly those of Estates" would feel the most burden if the value of paper money were to be expunged. He viewed the controversy through the lens that a Virginian was equipped with by local circumstance: that of a stratified class structure. The distinctive class culture of colonial Virginia dripped from Randolph's words, but the atmosphere of the colony did not appear in his writings solely in this form.¹⁴

Randolph masterfully utilizes another form of language that runs counter to typical loyalist thought: that of republicanism. Though he condemned the idea repeatedly in his works, encouraging public officials to "withstand the Torrent of Republicanism," Randolph makes use of its central tenants reflecting both his upbringing in Virginia and wish to appeal to his fellow colonists. One tenant of republicanism that reoccurs often is the concept of virtue. Randolph's manipulation of this term can be analyzed in two instances. First, he continuously referred to the importance of "simplicity." In his Plan of Accommodations, he argued that the colonists would

"never agree to leave their public affairs to the negotiations of Representatives who must reside so far from them, and according to their imagination, lead a life in England incompatible with the Simplicity, which they have endeavored to establish, as the characteristic of their manners."

¹⁴ Randolph, "Plan of Accommodations," 117-118; Heinemann et. al, *Old Dominion*, 73-74.

Simplicity was a necessary component of virtue for a Virginian colonist. As T.H. Breen explained in *Tobacco Culture*, “[a citizen] was expected to lead an ethical life...to exemplify simplicity, rectitude, and incorruptibility. These were the essential attributes of eighteenth-century virtue.” This concept, however, was multifaceted, making it ironically complex.¹⁵

The second instance of Randolph’s manipulation of virtue reveals the other dimension of this republican tenant: a division between public and private spheres. In Randolph’s *Considerations*, he asserted “the best Associative will be to unite in Virtue, I mean public virtue. This consists in a strict obedience of the laws of our Country, and a steady adherence to the Principles of our Constitution.” There were certain qualities of an individual that were to be kept in certain spheres in order to maintain virtue in one’s life. For example, in Virginia, debt was an issue that was kept private in order to ensure healthy business transactions and a façade of public virtue. As Randolph rightly points out, another characteristic of public virtue was the promotion of order in society by following the law. By highlighting this important feature, Randolph directly opposed Virginian elites who called for the closing of courts to prevent private debts from being broadcast following demands for payment from British creditors. As Breen argued, this was one of the leading causes for Virginian elites to support the Revolution. Randolph, instead, reminded the colonists of their hypocritical actions. By using virtue to refute the movement toward independence, Randolph demonstrated his ties to his home colony while simultaneously defending what he believed to be the correct course for a Virginian: loyalty to the Crown.¹⁶

Through his use of colonial history and language, John Randolph marked himself as a Virginian, allowing his provincial roots to influence his particular brand of loyalism. Randolph, however, was not the only loyalist to exhibit similar qualities. In the colony that Lord Dunmore attempted to rebuke in order to expand the Virginian border resided another man whose provincial influences shone through his words of fidelity to the Crown. Joseph Galloway, a member of the Pennsylvania assembly, was born in 1731 in Maryland. He would make Pennsylvania his home in the late 1740’s, becoming a mentee of Benjamin Franklin in the process. During the Revolution,

¹⁵ Randolph, “Plan of Accommodations,” 110, 120; T.H. Breen, *Tobacco Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 11.

¹⁶ Randolph, “Considerations,” 38; Breen, *Tobacco Culture*, 31.

Galloway served as an intelligence officer for General Howe, championing the helpful role that colonial loyalists could play in England's war effort. In his 1974 article on Galloway's military advice, John E. Ferling described him as "one of the colony's most affluent citizens." Like Randolph, the prominent role that Galloway played in his colony before the Revolution flowed through his writings, demonstrating a mature understanding of Pennsylvanian history and culture. By analyzing the writings of Galloway, one can see the influences of his Pennsylvanian background on the structure of his proposed reforms to the imperial relationship between the American colonies and England, as well as the language he used before and during the Revolution.¹⁷

On September 28, 1774, Joseph Galloway presented a resolution to the First Continental Congress that would later become known as his Plan of Union. Though the Plan failed to pass, it encouraged members of Congress to seriously consider maintaining a colonial relationship with Britain, a possibility that nearly threw the floor into a stalemate forcing a single vote to decide the fate of the resolution. This document serves as a prime case study to examine the structural and linguistic influences of Galloway's Pennsylvanian heritage on his writings. Starting with the former, Galloway began the resolution by asserting fidelity to the supreme bodies of King and Parliament. He informed Congress that by accepting the resolution, they would "apply to his Majesty for a redress of grievances under which his faithful subjects in America labour." Like Randolph's assessment of the imperial relationship between the Crown and the Virginia colony, Galloway's assertions were reinforced by historical precedent in the founding legal documents of Pennsylvania. This trend takes two forms: the act of obtaining approval from the Crown and sheer loyalty to England.¹⁸

In the first Frame of Government of Pennsylvania adopted on May 5, 1682, under a section titled "Laws Agreed Upon in England, &c.," the document stipulated

"That the charter of liberties, declared, granted and confirmed the five and twentieth day of the second month, called April, 1682, before divers witnesses, by William Penn, Governor and chief Proprietor of Pensilvania,

¹⁷ John E. Ferling, "Joseph Galloway's Military Advice: A Loyalist's View of the Revolution," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 98, No. 2 (Apr. 1977), 172.

¹⁸ Joseph Galloway, "Plan of Union," *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, Ed. Worthington C. Ford et al., Vol. 34, (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 37.

to all the freemen and planters of the said province, is hereby declared and approved, and shall be for ever held for fundamental in the government thereof, according to the limitations mentioned in the said charter.”

At the most fundamental level, the colonial government of Pennsylvania had to obtain approval of their charter before it was enacted. However, the necessity of the Crown’s authorization in political instances occurred in multiple cases throughout the different charters of the colony. For example, in the 1682 Frame, any law could be declared insufficient by the King’s Privy Council. This power was expanded in the third Frame of Government of Pennsylvania passed on November 1, 1696, adding the requirement that “a Transcript, or duplicate [of laws] whereof, shall be transmitted to the King’s privy council...according to the said late King’s letters patent” in order for laws to be officiated. The precedent for appealing to the Crown was not set by Galloway, nor was it irrationally encouraged by him during the presentation of his Plan; submitting laws and resolutions to the King and his council was customary protocol for the Pennsylvanian legislative system.¹⁹

In the first sentence of his resolution, Galloway makes one condition explicitly clear before embarking on the outline of his Plan: the colonists preferred to remain under the purview of the English Empire rather than declare independence. The fidelity to England that Galloway professed “his [majesty’s] faithful subjects in America” to possess had an even greater track record in the legal documentation of Pennsylvania than mere appeals to the Crown’s authority. Going back to the very purpose behind the founding of the colony, the Charter for the Province of Pennsylvania began with an acknowledgement of William Penn, whose primary motivation behind venturing into the New World was described as “a commendable desire to enlarge our English Empire, and promote such useful commodities as may bee of benefit to Us and Our Dominion.” No mention of Penn’s notorious concept of the freedom of conscious is made, nor is his religious dissension from the Church of England ever referenced. Instead, the charter to found Penn’s colony and vest him with his proprietorship was first and foremost contextualized by the goal of benefitting the English Empire. This verbal frame is closely followed by an even more direct reference to a strong allegiance to the King:

¹⁹ “Frame of Government of Pennsylvania May 5, 1682,” The Avalon Project, accessed April 10, 2013, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/pa04.asp; “Frame of Government of Pennsylvania-1696,” The Avalon Project, accessed April 10, 2013, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/pa06.asp.

“AND to the End the said William Penn, or his heires, or other the Planters, Owners, or Inhabitants of the said Province, may not att any time hereafter by misconstruction of the powers aforesaid through inadvertencie or designe depart from that Faith and due allegiance, which by the lawes of this our Kingdom of England they and all our subjects, in our Dominions and Territories, alwayes owe unto us, Our heires and Successors...”²⁰

This strong tie to the Empire was coupled with policies that reinforced the loyalty expected from the Pennsylvania colonists. All ordinances of the colony were to be “consonant to reason, and bee not repugnant nor contrary, but soe farre as conveniently may bee agreeable with the Lawes of our Kingdome of England.” Colonists were also forbidden to “have or maintain any Correspondence with any other king, prince, or State, or with any of their subjects who shall then be in Warr against us our heires or Successors.” Colonists were further required to “pay such customer and impositions, subsidies and duties for the same, to US, our heires and Successors, as the rest of our Subjects of our Kingdom of England.” In recognition of this precedent, Galloway devoted the very first sentence of his Plan to ground the logic of the resolution in Pennsylvanian political tradition. Thus the bond that Galloway explicitly acknowledged between the colonies and the Crown in his exposition can be attributed to more than just his personal loyalty to the Empire-- the colony of Pennsylvania had a long and rich history of strong ties to King and Parliament.²¹

The structure of Joseph Galloway’s Plan of Union also reflects a deep rooting in the political culture of Pennsylvania in the elements of his design for a British and American legislature. Galloway thought the best way to mediate political tensions that arose from the distance between the government of the colonies and that of England was to create a new, continental legislative body. The logistics that surrounded this plan reflected heavy influences from the design of Pennsylvania’s own colonial government. Like the Pennsylvanian political system, there were three hierarchical levels of activity: the President General, the grand council, and the respective assemblies of each colony. In Pennsylvania, power was broken up between the governor (or proprietor), the

²⁰ Galloway, Plan of Union; “Charter for the Province of Pennsylvania- 1681,” The Avalon Project, accessed 4/12/13, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/pa01.asp.

²¹ “Charter for the Province of Pennsylvania- 1681,” The Avalon Project.

provincial council, and a General Assembly. Power in both systems was concentrated at the top, with the assemblies providing a foundation of consent that lent legitimacy to the constructions.²²

However, one may read the first Frame of Government drafted by William Penn and argue that the number of powers Galloway bestowed in the seat of the President General was very uncharacteristic of a Pennsylvanian political tenant: heavy popular involvement. In his Plan, Galloway designed the President General as a supreme power, seconded only by King and Parliament. The President's assent to all laws was required for passage; executive power lay in the hands of the President alone, and the President could "hold and exercise all the legislative rights" with "the advice and consent of the Grand-Council." William Penn, on the other hand, championed the role that common citizens could play in politics; their consent was necessary either directly or indirectly for many of the decisions that government could make as outlined in the first Frame to be enacted. Nevertheless, Galloway's expanded executive fit directly in line with a trend toward a more powerful proprietorship that began to develop soon after Penn's first Frame. In the 1682 Frame, Penn stated that the "Governor or his Deputy, shall or may, always preside" over the activities of the provincial council.²³

However, in the 1696 Frame passed by William Markham the word "may" was omitted, strengthening the Governor's role; the Governor would now always preside over the actions of the provincial council. Once Penn reassumed the governorship and granted the Charter of Privileges in 1701, he affirmed the expanded role of the governor by bestowing upon him a kind of veto power, stipulating that all laws "shall be, after Confirmation by the Governor, forthwith recorded in the Rolls office." Mere consent from the "Freemen" was no longer enough to legitimate laws. Even Penn, the champion of popular involvement in politics, supported the developing concentration of power into the executive head of the colony, in spite of the distance it placed between the people and their government. Galloway's strong executive thus reflected this development that Pennsylvanian politics had

²² Galloway, Plan of Union.

²³ "Frame of Government of Pennsylvania- May 5, 1682," The Avalon Project.

experienced over time. Like the governor of Pennsylvania, the President General of the continental legislature held supremacy over the subordinate council and representative bodies.²⁴

Joseph Galloway's political ties to Pennsylvania are not only demonstrated by the formal structure of his proposed resolution, but by the language he used within the Plan of Union. Like Randolph's Virginia lexicon, certain words appear in Galloway's work that are typical of tracts written by, or for, Pennsylvanians. Two words in particular, safety and freedom, are emphasized in both his Plan and the legal documents of the colony, words that do not appear at all or with the same prominence in works by Randolph or Hutchinson. In his Plan, Galloway argued that if a political union were to continue between the American colonies and Great Britain, it must be established "upon those principles of safety and freedom which are essential in the constitution of all free governments." Beginning with the former, safety is a word that reoccurs repeatedly in the founding documents of Pennsylvania. Safety is seen as an end of all governmental efforts. From defense measures to economic policies, the safety of the citizens of Pennsylvania is a necessary result of the actions of the state. This word first appears in the 1681 charter in relation to taxation. "The raising of money for the publick use of the said Province" is tied directly to the "safety of the said Country." The word reappeared in the 1682 Frame of Government, articulating the goal that officers within the Pennsylvanian system should aspire to achieve: "That the Governor and provincial Council shall, at all times, have the care of the peace and safety of the Province, and that nothing be by any person attempted to the subversion of this frame of government." Safety is even held to such a high level of desirability that a committee devoted to its preservation was established in the same Frame. The "Committee of Justice and Safety" was one of four committees created in the provincial council to "secure the peace of the Province, and punish the mar-administration of those who subvert justice to the prejudice of the public, or private, interest." For

²⁴ "Frame of Government of Pennsylvania- 1696," The Avalon Project; "Charter of Privileges Granted by William Penn, esq. to the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania and Territories, October 28, 1701," The Avalon Project, accessed April 11, 2013, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/pa07.asp.

a Pennsylvanian, safety was a concept that required a maximization of utility for the general welfare, an idea that fit perfectly with Galloway's intentions behind his reforms to maintain the cohesion of the British Empire.²⁵

The other facet of Galloway's constitutionally sound political union required the fostering of "freedom." This term should not be interpreted with the same liberal meaning that it holds today. In the Plan of Union, Galloway called for a "free government" while simultaneously distancing the colonial citizens from the body that would represent them. The most powerful actor of his colonial legislature, the President General, was to be appointed by the King. The freedom that Galloway supported was more akin to ordered liberty, a seemingly contradictory phrase that achieves meaning by an analysis of Pennsylvania's political culture. In the 1682 Frame of Government, William Penn introduced the Pennsylvanian populous to freedom in the sense of ordered liberty. He stated "Any government is free to the people under it...where the laws rule." Though he advocated for the people to be "a part of" the law, this still meant that people must be bound by a certain promulgated code in order to maintain true freedom: freedom from the assault of others or the detriment of one's self by their own hand. People needed to be governed, and proper administration would set them free. As Penn continued in the first Frame, the people "may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable, for their just administration." This "administration" was exercised in both the public and private sense: the government of Penn's colony could pass laws to ensure basic order as well as moral rectitude. Like the focus on ensuring safety within the colony, a committee was created to address issues of "manners and education." Even in a colony that bolstered the importance of "Happiness and Freedom of Conscience," strict moral codes were established and administered to prevent harmful disorder in the colony. A Pennsylvanian was free insofar as they followed the laws and customs of the colony, just as Galloway's government was free insofar as the Crown remained supreme and the President General separate from the colonists.²⁶

Joseph Galloway exuded the lessons borne out by Pennsylvania's political development in his Plan of Union. The structure of his proposed continental legislature and the language that he used to explain its mission

²⁵ Galloway, Plan of Union; "Charter for the Province of Pennsylvania," The Avalon Project; "Frame of Government of Pennsylvania- May 5, 1682," The Avalon Project.

²⁶ Galloway, Plan of Union; "Frame of Government of Pennsylvania- May 5, 1682," The Avalon Project.

mirrored the ideas of William Penn and his successors, serving as a manifestation of the logic behind the gradual increase in gubernatorial power to foster safety and freedom. As Galloway championed an imperial structure to maintain these provincial ideas in Philadelphia, Thomas Hutchinson grappled with much more dissatisfied colonists in Boston. Hutchinson was born in Massachusetts Bay in 1711, rising to the heights of public office in 1757 as Lieutenant Governor and subsequently Governor. However, as Edmund S. Morgan explained in the Stamp Act Crisis, Hutchinson would slowly lose popularity with the Massachusetts colonists as the onset of the Revolution approached. Yet, as the examples of Randolph and Galloway have thus far demonstrated, popular appeal did not lend accuracy or provincial understanding to one's words and actions. By analyzing speeches that Hutchinson delivered to the Massachusetts General Assembly in 1773 and his *Strictures upon the Declaration of the Congress at Philadelphia* printed in 1776, influences of his colonial upbringing can be identified, just as Virginia shone through Randolph's writings and Galloway embodied the characteristics of a Pennsylvanian politician. Hutchinson focused on historical examples from Massachusetts in his works, demonstrating an accurate understanding of the legal precedents of his colony, and, once again, using language unique to a Massachusetts political figure.²⁷

Perhaps the most persuasive case made regarding the necessity to label Hutchinson as a Massachusite was done by his own pen in a letter to a noble lord written while exiled to England in 1776. In that letter, he dissected the Declaration of Independence from the perspective of a citizen of Massachusetts, providing example after example of colonial history to support his greater aim of denouncing the colonists' turn toward independence. Hutchinson's focus on Massachusetts history should not be surprising, as he authored a three volume history of the colony over the course of his lifetime. When discussing the acts of Parliament that colonists denounced in the Declaration, Hutchinson argued, "The Colony of Massachusetts Bay was more affected by the [sugar] Act for granting duties, than any other colony. More molasses, the principle article from which any duty would arise, was distilled into spirits in that Colony than in all the rest." As Morgan asserted in his book, Hutchinson, like many colonists of Massachusetts and later revolutionaries, was no supporter of the Sugar or Stamp acts. He argued that the Massachusetts Assembly "had not picked the wrong man" when they sent Hutchinson to England to oppose the

²⁷ Edmund S. Morgan and Helen M. Morgan, *The Stamp Act Crisis: Prologue to Revolution* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1962), 217-220.

Sugar Act. Morgan pointed out that Hutchinson had an extensive background as a merchant, and he understood all too well the negative consequences that such an act could have on New England Commerce. Hutchinson was more than capable of representing the interests of a Massachusetts citizen.²⁸

This characterization is reinforced by Hutchinson's own words in the third volume of *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay*. In the second chapter concerned with the years 1760-1769, Hutchinson discussed the tension in his colony surrounding the passage of the Sugar Act. The way that he presented the opposing sides of the debate and the normative judgments he explicitly made within his account exemplify Hutchinson's ability to act in accordance with the interests of his colony. Directly following his introduction of the factual circumstances surrounding the passage of the Act, Hutchinson outlined the arguments of its critics extensively, specifically those of James Otis Jr. Otis was the son of a prominent lawyer in Massachusetts that was refused an appointment to the state supreme court; the position instead went to Hutchinson in 1761, creating animosity between the two families. Regardless of the family feud, Hutchinson fairly applauded, if not exaggerated, the credence of Otis's arguments in his *History*. He explained that Otis's 1764 pamphlet, *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved*, was used as a doctrinal premise to the instructions given to colonial representatives regarding the Act. He then included full quotes espousing the language of taxation without representation and natural rights that would characterize the Revolution in years to come. Hutchinson complemented his explanation of the critics' views by interjecting his own opinion: "It was very bad policy to keep the duty on molasses so high." Hutchinson did not hide his feelings toward the Act in his work nor did he silence its critics' voices in history with his pen. Ultimately, he did not view the passage of the Sugar Act in terms of an

²⁸ Thomas Hutchinson, "Strictures upon the declaration of the Congress at Philadelphia; in a letter to a noble lord, &c. London," *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, accessed April 12, 2013, http://oll.libertyfund.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1130&Itemid=264; Morgan, *Stamp Act Crisis*, 220.

English statesman during or after 1764; he even framed his opinion of the Act throughout the Revolution according to his experiences as a resident of Massachusetts Bay.²⁹

Hutchinson not only represented the interests of his colony, he understood them. As Morgan further elucidated, Hutchinson had taken many steps toward advocating for the prevention and repeal of the Stamp Act--actions that he failed to inform his fellow Massachusites of, as it would have been inappropriate to publicly encourage his citizens to act against Parliament. Hutchinson also provided another example in his letter that illuminated his role in an additional controversy unique to the colony. Far before the Sugar Act passed in 1764, Hutchinson was a principle advocate for currency reform in the late 1740's, leading the charge to pass a reform act in 1749. This bill returned Massachusetts to the silver standard by exchanging paper currency out of circulation. Though, as Morgan pointed out, this did not lend popularity to Hutchinson in the eyes of debtors, it did serve as a moment of great personal and local success: a moment that he could not resist bringing up in his *Strictures*. In the letter, he asserted both his experience in, and knowledge of the event by arguing, "I remember no laws which any Colony has been restrained from passing, so as to cause any complaint of grievance, except those for issuing a fraudulent paper currency, and making it a legal tender." These examples, coupled with countless others where Hutchinson cast himself as an expert on Massachusetts history, demonstrated the influence that his home had on his perception of world events. Hutchinson looked at revolutionary developments like the Declaration of Independence through the lenses of a colonist from Massachusetts; examples from his knowledge of the colony took precedence in his works.³⁰

Hutchinson's provincial influences did not cease to appear outside of his historical examples and anecdotes; like Randolph and Galloway, a linguistic trend persisted in his writings casting him as a Massachusite. In his speeches before the Massachusetts General Assembly, Hutchinson chose to emphasize a topic that the representatives preferred to hear: an accurate interpretation of the Massachusetts charter. Hutchinson devoted a

²⁹ "Thomas Hutchinson," NNDB, accessed May 9, 2013, <http://www.nndb.com/people/195/000049048/>; Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay*, ed. Lawrence Shaw Mayo, Vol. 3, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936), 76-78.

³⁰ Morgan, *Stamp Act Crisis*, 220; Hutchinson, "Strictures," ECCO.

majority of his speeches to the importance of the words in the charter and the illegitimacy that they lent to the actions of rebellious colonists. This focus was not accidental, nor unwarranted; it was a stylistic choice as much as a substantive one. As Hutchinson pointed out in his second major speech in 1773, the colonists attempted to use the language of the charter to support their arguments for independence. This can be exemplified by a charge that colonists put forth to Hutchinson while he was governor, which he quoted in his *Strictures*. The colonists claimed that “every colony, by charters or by Royal Commissions, was constituted with special legislative powers to raise monies by Taxes, Duties, &c. no monies ought to be raised from the inhabitants, by any other powers than the several legislations.” Hutchinson pushed back against interpretations in this fashion, championing a correct understanding of the charter in an effort to “prevent further deviation from the spirit” of it. Virtue, safety, and freedom may have been the buzzwords for Virginians and Pennsylvanians respectively, but the concept of the colonial charter was the topic of choice for Massachusettsites. As long as the independence-minded colonists spoke in the language of the charter, Hutchinson would likewise respond.³¹

Like Randolph and Galloway, Hutchinson reasserted the power of Parliament as it was expressed in the charters of his respective colony. Before the General Assembly he argued:

“When our Predecessors first took possession of this Plantation or Colony, under a Grant and charter from the Crown of England, it was their sense, and it was the sense of the Kingdome, that they were to remain subject to the Supreme Authority of Parliament.”

He coupled his understanding of the history of the colony with this assertion to further link the Massachusetts colonists and England through a comparison of their laws. He elucidated, “Our provincial Laws have, in numerous Instances, had relation to Acts of Parliament made to respect the Plantations in general and this colony in particular.” In the first Massachusetts charter of 1629, both of Hutchinson’s assertions are validated. First, the status of colonists as subjects of Britain was asserted even in cases of private property. When land was

³¹ Thomas Hutchinson, “The Speeches of His Excellency Governor Hutchinson, to the General Assembly of the Massachusetts-Bay. At A Session Begun and Held on the Sixth of January, 1773. With the Answers of His Majesty’s Council and the House of Representatives Respectively,” (Boston: Edes and Gill, Printers to the Honorable House of Representatives, 1773); Hutchinson, “*Strictures*,” ECCO.

bequeathed to a colonist, it was said to be given because the monarchy was doing so for “Us, our Heirs, and Successors.” England had no intention of giving up sovereignty over Massachusetts’ political realm nor its material wealth. The crown even went as far as to demand a “fifth Parte of the Oare of Goulde and Silver” mined in the colonies--success in the colonies would spell success for Britain. Second, the laws of Massachusetts not only resembled those of England, but they were required to. According to the charter, the “Bodie politique and Corporate” of Massachusetts Bay could only do as it pleased as far as “other our liege People of this our Realm of England, or any other coporacon or Body politique of the same may lawfully do.” English law and custom held final authority over the policies promulgated in the colony. Hutchinson won the battle of the charters invoked in the colony that overtly stressed their importance. As a Massachusetts politician, the language of the charters was a required dialect and the central topic of focus.³²

Though Randolph, Galloway, and Hutchinson exhibited countless differences between their writings, they all shared something in common beyond their loyalty to the empire: they were all products of the colonies in which they lived. From the arguments they made to the language they used, each cast themselves as a provincial loyalist, expressing ideas and concepts unique to the social and political atmospheres of their home colonies, a condition that allows for a better understanding of their loyalty to the Crown. John Randolph, often labeled “The Loyalist,” may in fact deserve the title “The Virginian,” as he demonstrated a masterful use of Virginia history in his tracts and communicated this information in a way that a colonist of the Old Dominion would understand. He paired his knowledge of the similarities between England and Virginia with phrases that espoused the concepts of virtue and republicanism. Regardless of the use that revolutionaries made of these terms, Randolph attempted to demonstrate their true meaning in the context of the colony in which they played an integral role; he reminded his fellow Virginians of the social and political code that they had submitted to since the colony’s founding.

Joseph Galloway also demonstrated a masterful understanding of the political climate of his colony, his works existing as a product of major developments in the political scene of Pennsylvania. The reforms that he

³² Hutchinson, “Speeches”; “The Charter of Massachusetts Bay: 1629,” The Avalon Project, accessed April 12, 2013, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/mass03.asp.

proposed to mediate tensions between the colonies and their imperial head mirrored the change in power distribution within the government of Pennsylvania following a number of alterations made by William Penn and his successors over time. This characteristic was coupled with Galloway's use of terms integral to the Pennsylvanian culture. Safety and freedom as ends of governmental action pinned Galloway's Plan of Union as a resolution written by a Pennsylvanian; these ideas reoccurred throughout the legal documents of the colony.

Thomas Hutchinson was no different than his fellow loyalists by his own use of colonial history and language. Hutchinson employed knowledge he accrued over the course of a lifetime of studying the history of Massachusetts in his works, influencing both the accuracy of his examples and the topics he chose to focus on. This demonstration of provincial ties was reinforced by his adoption of the language necessary to survive as a Massachusetts politician: the language of the charters. Each loyalist maintained the character of their colonial residencies, regardless of their ultimate choice to side with England during the Revolution. This retrospective flaw does not negate the mounds of evidence in the writings of each colonist linking them to their colonial homes nor the accuracy of all the opinions they expressed. Each understood the social and political atmosphere of the colonies on the eve of the Revolution according to their own unique perspectives. John Randolph was very much a Virginian, as Joseph Galloway utilized the political capital emblematic of a Pennsylvanian, and Thomas Hutchinson was well versed in colonial charters, as was expected of a Massachusetts politician. Each did not call for the rejection of independence simply because of sheer reverence for a time-honored imperial structure. They rightly understood the place of their individual colonies in the scope of the empire and provided arguments in favor of unity rooted in provincial ties--none should be characterized as grossly misguided or short sided. On the contrary, the history of their colonial homes provided a long strand of evidence in favor of loyalty. Randolph, Galloway, and Hutchinson simply chose to interpret such a vast quantity of precedent as their predecessors had: as residents of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts Bay.

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PARRISH S. LOVEJOY COLLECTION – MICHIGAN’S CONSERVATION MOVEMENT: POST-PROGRESSIVE ERA

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Characteristics of the Progressive Era

The Progressive Era in the United States was a period of social activism that flourished between the 1890s until the 1920s. The era was characterized by the need for reform and modernization in many areas of individual life and government. The existing construct of government, business, and politics were challenged. This era saw the rise of big business and instrumental were the railroad companies that revolutionized commerce. Corrupt party bosses and political machines were uncovered and dissolved, and “interest group activity became for many people a permanent means of affecting government¹.” Progressive efforts nurtured the women’s suffrage movement, and women were granted the right to vote with the passage of the nineteenth amendment to the United States Constitution in 1920.

Furthermore, an emphasis was placed on morality and social consciousness, for Protestant values were injected into every area of society. The work *Progressivism* by Arthur Link and Richard McCormick declares:

¹ Arthur S. Link and Richard L. McCormick, *Progressivism* (Arlington Heights: Harlan Davidson, Inc. 1983), 48.

Now the progressives carried the struggle into the modern citadels of sin – the teeming cities of the nation. No one can read their writings and speeches without being struck by the fact that many of them believed that it was their Christian duty to right the wrongs created by the process of industrialization².

The Evangelical agenda was to “make Christianity relevant to this world, not the next³.” This trend would be later known as the Social Gospel. Christian reform societies were quick to name industrialization and urbanization as the perpetrators of sin, and progressives “used moralistic appeals to make people feel the awful weight of wrong in the world and to exhort them to accept personal responsibility for its eradication⁴.” This attitude was reflected not only in a church setting, but was adopted nationally in many spheres of influence.

The Progressive Era also saw an emergence of professionals ready to absolve society’s evils. The 1890s in particular experienced a rise in university Ph.D. programs, specifically in statistics, economics, sociology and the natural sciences. Link and McCormick describe the young professional class as “confident, cosmopolitan, and educated, [for] they earnestly desired to remake the world upon their private models⁵.” This era marks the end of the last real cooperative effort between science and religion, and signifies the beginning of social science as the standard means to solve society’s issues. Progressive reform efforts often began with local leaders and intellectuals whose ideas first influenced local and state politics but later spread nationally.

² Ibid., 23.

³ Link and McCormick, *Progressivism*, 23.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., 85.

Parrish S. Lovejoy Collection and Michigan's Significance

One of the nation's backstage leaders during the Progressive Era was Parrish S. Lovejoy, a professor of forestry at the University of Michigan. Lovejoy was an integral member of Michigan's conservation movement, and became the first head of the Michigan Game Division and a leading writer on conservation topics⁶. Interestingly enough, Lovejoy, born in 1884, was one of the young professions whose diligent labor brought about much change. In Lovejoy's paper, *Forestry in Michigan*, he alludes to his glory days: "[O]n the oldest State Forest where in 1905 we students had dragged our clothes-line surveyor's chains through the scattering brush of \$10 a month, I saw whole forests of popple and oak and pine, almost merchantable already⁷." By submitting his papers to national journals and attending field conferences, Lovejoy's work became widely cited, and he became regarded as a foremost expert in the field of conservation.

His collection of papers is housed at the Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan. They include correspondence between Aldo Leopold and Gifford Pinchot, both well-known conservationists. The collection also holds unpublished papers, reports, photographs, journal articles, speeches, and programs from conferences attended, among many other artifacts. His authorship encompasses writings on issues pertinent to national conservation and Michigan's role in the larger scheme. Reading through the literature, it is evident that Lovejoy has a reform-minded agenda consistent with other activists of the time. The arguments presented within his writings are not solely about environment, but also the role of government in regulating the

⁶ Bentley Historical Library Finding Aid, "P.S. Lovejoy Papers 1918-1941"
<http://quod.lib.umich.edu/b/bhlead/umich-bhl-851738?subview=standard;view=reslist> (December 2012).

⁷ Parrish S. Lovejoy Collection, "*Forestry in Michigan*," Bentley Historical Library, Box 5.

environment. Lovejoy's work contains assessments on Michigan's growing social and environmental consciousness, the need for trained professionals, and the establishment of programs to encourage uniformity, standardization, and efficiency.

In this paper, I will argue that discourse about the environment provided an avenue through which intellectuals could critique the government; that environmental literature was not created solely as a means to inform the scientific community about relevant issues, but a way in which praises could be given, and condemnation could be spoken regarding the actions of the rapidly changing progressive government. This is evidenced by reading through the lines of the "environmental" literature contained in the Parrish Lovejoy collection.

Many of Lovejoy's writings are an illustration of progressivism at its finest. However, unlike most other progressives, Lovejoy only advocates for government control on a situational basis. Numerous papers were constructed in response to the over-bureaucratization of government that he witnessed in Michigan, and the resulting consequences of progressive programs. Lovejoy argues that states, localities, and specialists should control the fate of the environment, rather than a maze of government paper trails, organizations, bureaucracy and bosses.

My research is focused primarily on Lovejoy's work composed in 1920 and 1921. The decade of the 1920s shows a continuation of national policies and procedures largely implemented by President Theodore Roosevelt in the early 1900s, and the Pinchot-Ballinger controversy in 1910, among others. Though many books have been published about the national progressive conservation movement, little time has been devoted to assessing Michigan's

significance in it. Therefore, Lovejoy's collection is a valuable tool in evaluating the issues relevant to the state specifically.

I also found the work by Samuel Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency* to be highly useful in my analysis. Hays provides valuable insight to the way that the national government functioned in response to the conservation efforts, and he outlines the differences between the way that Congress, the Secretary of the Interior, and even different presidents of the same political party dealt with these relevant issues. Many of the terms associated with progressivism bear manifold meanings, 'conservation' being no exception.

The Conservation Movement: The Good, The Bad, The Ugly

First, I will turn my attention to defining what conservation is, and what it is not, and assessing its importance on the national spectrum. The conservation movement during the Progressive Era, in its most general sense, was a movement that aimed to combine scientific and economic analysis to determine effective resource consumption and allocation, with the ultimate goal of producing a structured and orderly schedule of future use. It encouraged prioritization of projects, establishment of central programs to standardize and control, and called for the elimination of anarchy. True conservationists worshipped the idol of efficiency.

It is important to realize that there was no unified conservation movement, and the above definition does not accurately represent the agenda of the many legions who were self-identified conservationists. Link and McCormick argue that "in retrospect, it is clear that progressives

always had been too diverse to remain united in a cohesive national political organization⁸” so too the conservationists should not be thought of as one group, but many who fought for their respective causes simultaneously.

The national conservation movement, which began in the early 1900s, encompassed many groups that did not have anything to do with the environment at all. *In Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency*, Samuel P. Hays writes:

The term “conservation” proved to be highly elastic. After the summer of 1908 its meaning expanded to include almost every movement of the day, and a wide variety of reformers flocked into conservation organizations...At the first session of the National Conservation Congress in August 1909[,] delegates delivered speeches on the conservation of peace and friendship among nations, the conservation of the morals of youth, the conservation of children’s lives through the elimination of child labor, the conservation of civic beauty, the elimination of waste in education and war, the conservation of manhood, and the conservation of the Anglo-Saxon race⁹.

As time progressed, the definition tapered away from these strange additions, and ‘conservation’ became more linked to environmentalism; issues such as hydrology, irrigation, ranching, farming, land economy, forestry, mining and others became of foremost importance. The broad and somewhat vague definition of the conservation movement eventually hindered the cause of environmental conservation, for as the definition narrowed, so did the movement’s widespread support.

Finally, conservationists should not be confused with preservationists. The preservationist movement calls for the protection of primeval forests and wildernesses against development altogether. Lovejoy was unimpressed with these groups, naming them “woman’s

⁸ Link and McCormick, *Progressivism*, 111.

⁹ Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890-1920* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999), 176.

clubs [that] were all jazzed up by the new conservation gospels¹⁰.” Conservationists in the true sense were not opposed to development, but unplanned and inefficient development.

In his work, Hays outlines some of the major players of the movement such as George H. Maxwell, Theodore Roosevelt, Francis G. Newlands, Gifford Pinchot and President Taft. He then contrasts their positions against one another and chronicles their conflicts with the two biggest, dirtiest players in game: the United States Congress and the Secretary of the Interior. The book concludes with a chapter entitled, *The Conservation Movement and the Progressive Tradition*¹¹, and in this, Hays concludes that, “the broader significance of the conservation movement stemmed from the role it played in the transformation of a decentralized non-technical loosely organized society, where waste and inefficiency ran rampant into a highly organized technical, and centrally planned and directed social organization which could meet a complex world with efficiency and purpose¹².” This emphasis on planning and stability is a key theme of the progressive era, as I will explain how the conservation movement affected the national politics of this era.

Nationwide Conservation Trends

When Theodore Roosevelt became president in 1901, his goal was to move the Republican Party towards progressivism. To achieve this, he implemented a series of reforms including trust busting, and a greater regulation of business, government, and the press.

¹⁰ Parrish S. Lovejoy Collection, “Forestry in Michigan,” Bentley Historical Library, Box 5.

¹¹ Samuel P. Hays, *The Conservation Movement and the Progressive Tradition*, 261-276.

¹² *Ibid.*, 265.

Roosevelt has been rightfully given the title of the 'conservation president' for his administration moved away from the status quo with regards to environmental legislation. An avid outdoorsman, Roosevelt was responsible for the creation of five western national parks, which doubled the existing number. Furthermore, his presidency saw the passing of the Newlands Act of 1902. This piece of legislation funded irrigation projects and encouraged farm establishment for twenty arid states in the American west; this was largely an effort to ease congestion resulting from urbanization.

Another feature characteristic to the Progressive Era conservation was the establishment of hundreds of programs to mend social ills. Indeed, flipping through the Hays book, dozens can be seen which relate specifically to the conservation movement and its bureaucracies. While I will not mention any of them specifically in this brief summary, it is important to note that they were all established to promote order and strength and, more importantly, to reduce the distribution of control and decision making. In his chapter about ranching, Hays notes, "[ranchers] moving their livestock from the higher alpine ranges during the summer to the lower grazing lands in the winter, cattle and sheep men could operate profitably with little capital and privately owned land. Chaos and anarchy, however, predominated the open range¹³." This elimination of loose industry and assumption of control was exactly the agenda of Congress and the Secretary of Interior, and resulted in much tension between the two entities, the Corps of Engineers, the executive branch, and other American political institutions. Congress was seen as a connoisseur of incompetence for it "[employed] logrolling techniques and developed many projects at once to satisfy a great number of localities rather than to construct the most important

¹³ Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency*, 50.

ones first¹⁴.” This inefficiency on the part of political establishments is perhaps why President Roosevelt and leaders of other branches of the Progressive Movement, including Lovejoy, believed that matters of importance are best handled by a few trained experts.

Roosevelt and his administration expanded the powers of the executive branch with the institution of the Antiquities Act of 1906. By signing this law, the president was able to restrict the use of public land owned by the federal government. The act was intended to allow the president to set aside valuable public land for park, recreation, and monumental purposes. However, the frequency with which this law was utilized has sparked much controversy. Not all leaders in the Progressive Era were in support of the Roosevelt conservation policies.

To heighten support, the Roosevelt administration employed lecturers, writers, and propagandists to travel the country to promote their agencies. In the article *Federal News Management in the Progressive Era: Gifford Pinchot and the Conservation Crusade*, Stephen Ponder writes, “Central to progressive reform was the presumption that concerned citizens, once informed about the facts of government and personal corruption would demand reform of the economic excesses and inefficiencies of industrialization¹⁵.” This era saw a mass circulation of newspapers with inconsistent messages concerning reform efforts. Ponder theorizes that “news of scandals and corruption seemed to reflect a drive for readership rather than support for political and economic change¹⁶.” He further describes:

¹⁴ Ibid., 247.

¹⁵ Stephen Ponder, “Federal News Management in the Progressive Era: Gifford Pinchot and the Conservation Crusade,” *Journalism History*, 13:2 (1986: [summer]), 42.

¹⁶ Ibid.

Between 1898 and 1910 the forest service produced 10.8 million copies of government advisories, pamphlets and various reports. Topics ranged from technical advisories on how to grow and use trees to, increasingly, materials on the need for the Progressive conservation policies of the Roosevelt administration¹⁷.

Arguably, the most important national controversy was the Pinchot-Ballinger Affair of 1910. Gifford Pinchot served as the first Chief of the United States Forest Service until his dismissal in 1910. Ponder explained the reasons behind his discharge from service in the following statement:

Excessive zeal in managing the news was at least partly responsible for Pinchot's firing by president William Howard Taft in January 1910. Roosevelt's successor did not support Pinchot's enthusiasm for conservation and appointed as secretary of the interior Richard A. Ballinger a Westerner who was unsympathetic to Pinchot's policies. Taft fired Pinchot after the forester admitted that his chief assistants helped prepare the articles, which accused Ballinger of hindering an investigation into corruption involving federal coal lands in Alaska¹⁸.

As stated before, the public loved a good scandal, and, ironically, Pinchot's firing aided the conservation movement. The scandal harbored greater public interest and readership on environmental issues, and helped to mobilize support for conservational action and legislation within the state and on a national scale.

The Barbarity of Michigan: Hack and Burn Policies in the Woods and in the Office

Most of the environmental literature from this era was distributed by the national forest service as propaganda. Its central dealings were with the western irrigation projects, and very little of it had to do with Michigan. The Parrish Lovejoy collection provides insight into the problems most significant to Michigan and the inter-workings of the state's bureaucracy, both of

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ponder, "Federal News Management in the Progressive Era," 42.

which are valuable tools in assessing this overlooked chapter in Michigan's history. The main issue which contributed to the most problems in Michigan was forestry.

Michigan's climate, loam soil, precipitation patterns, and abundance of trees make the state an ideal place for the lumbering firms to conduct their business. However, the 1920s in Michigan experienced a scarcity in lumber due to malignant forestry practices and loose industry. In response to this growing trend, Lovejoy comments:

Under the past and present methods of lumbering, the lumberman takes off the old timber as the miner takes out his ore, as though there were no possible use in waiting or planning for new accumulations of the valuable material...The lumberman strips off the timber, which the current market will absorb at a profit and leaves his old slashing to burn as they will¹⁹.

While Hays notes that true "conservationists favored commercial development when it conflicted with aesthetic values²⁰," Lovejoy does report on the aesthetic demise of Michigan farms and forests due to improper practices. Lovejoy laments, "In state after state and region after region that is to be seen, and by the tens of hundreds of millions of acres, spreading and spreading as blight goes: virgin forest in front and devastation behind²¹." The current forestry practices were in much need of reform, as they were swiftly turning once beautiful lands into hideous patches of idleness. These things, as well as the heightened demand for lumber to fuel industrial needs led Lovejoy to write: "the Secretary of Agriculture informs the Senate that we are using up our old forests at least for times as fast as new timber is being grown....Our forest affairs are in very bad

¹⁹ Parrish S. Lovejoy Collection, "*Farming and Forests: Forestry Series*," Bentley Historical Library, Box 4, 1-2.

²⁰ Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency*, 76.

²¹ Parrish S. Lovejoy, "*Farming and Forests: Forestry Series*," 4.

shape and need immediate attention²².” Similar to his progressive colleagues, Lovejoy recognized that the problem would not be absolved without central control from the government. He writes: “[t]o accomplish these things [solutions] is going to require vastly extended programs for the extension and support of the National and State Forests, control over lumbering operations and over forest fires and just timberland tax laws. All of those things will involve State and government legislation²³.” The rudimentary approach to lumbering in Michigan resulted in much physical and economic damage to the State; one of these unforeseen consequences being the loss of commerce with the Grand Rapids furniture companies.

In his article, *Not Just Automobiles: Contributions of Michigan to the National Economy*, Francis Blouin establishes: “In the decade following 1880, the number of furniture factories nearly doubled...By the turn of the century, furniture had made Grand Rapids a household word synonymous with quality factory made furniture. The city had a nationwide reputation²⁴.” Many of these companies looked to local forest reserves within Michigan and surrounding Great Lakes states to supply the raw materials necessary for production. As these resources were depleted, so were the abundant economic opportunities. Blouin writes,

The companies frequently formed subordinate or independent land companies to hold timber reserves. In the later years of the nineteenth century, these companies focused on Michigan lands. However, as the lumber resources of Michigan approached exhaustion due to heavy demand and lack of proper conservation measures, Grand Rapids furniture manufacturers began to look elsewhere for resources²⁵.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid., 5.

²⁴ Francis X. Blouin, “*Not Just Automobiles: Contributions of Michigan to the National Economy*,” in *Michigan: Visions of Our Past*, edited by Richard J. Hathaway (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1989), 158.

²⁵ Ibid.

The consequences of poor planning and a wide distribution of control led to a shortage of timber necessary to feed industrial needs. Instead of utilizing local Michigan laborers, the Grand Rapids companies were forced to search for resources outside of the state, thus eliminating opportunities for greater economic activity and growth within the state itself. Conservationists like Lovejoy worked to remedy this problem by advocating for legislation which encouraged planned development, and which protected and sustained not only Michigan's lands, but her industries and labor force as well.

As is consistent with the rest of the United States, Michigan experienced an urban sprawl during the Progressive Era. In his work, *Michigan: A History of the Wolverine State*, Willis Dunbar addresses this trend:

The movement from the farms to urban centers has been one of the most important changes in American life in the century since the Civil War. The trend is nation-wide. In Michigan, the movement to the cities was slower than in the other states of the Great Lakes region until about the turn of the century. Then it proceeded more rapidly than in Michigan's neighboring states²⁶.

Subsequently, the urbanization and industrialization that Michigan experienced created a greater demand for city housing. Since timber was an essential raw material in construction, the scarcity of timber and its inflated price had a direct effect on the availability of housing. The curtailment of the lumber industry led to a shortage of homes being created, thus leaving many people displaced and unable to find homes to suit their needs. Lovejoy documents that, "In 1920 we were short of something like a million homes. No matter how many prefer to rent or buy, the

²⁶ Willis F. Dunbar, *Michigan: A History of the Wolverine State* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1965), 581.

housing shortage will become steadily worse until the new building catches up with demand²⁷.” He also identifies that a lumber shortage was responsible for this dilemma: “The manufacturers of lumber and brick and tile and cement and other building materials cannot keep on manufacturing their products any faster than the public buys them²⁸.” He also points out the obvious, yet unconsidered fact that, “lumber, for instance, must be dried and season before it is fit to use and seasoning takes time²⁹.” Companies dealing with raw materials disregarded future environmental consequences in an effort to make profits in the short run. Therefore, national standards were desperately needed to regulate industries and enforce environmental standards, all in an effort to maintain stability and control, and to better serve the public through continued future use.

Another issue plaguing Michigan’s economy was the problem of idle-lands. Often times, former owners of lands were forced to forfeit their property for reasons of tax delinquency. The lands lay idle, producing neither revenue in the form of agriculture or taxes. Many of Lovejoy’s writings are in evaluation of this problem. As the Chairman of the Timberland Taxation Committee, Lovejoy presented the following finding at a regional conference, “[N]early a third of all the land in Michigan has been repeatedly cut and burned over and is now producing little or nothing in taxes or anything else³⁰.” He further voices his concern humorously: “to landowners, forest communities and experiment station specialists, we say: “Hi there! Look at all this idle land! Look how long it’s been idle already! What’s the matter here? How much longer

²⁷ Parrish S. Lovejoy Collection, “Building Series,” Box 5, 2.

²⁸ Ibid., 8.

²⁹ Ibid., 5.

³⁰ Parrish S. Lovejoy Collection, “Woodlot Problems (1922),” Box 4.

is that land going to lie there unproductive, eating its head off in taxes?³¹” Lovejoy is not solely troubled by tax revenue forfeited by these lands, but he suggests that a major improvement could be made. Lovejoy suggests that these idle-lands could foster the growth of new trees whose lumber could meet the market demand – an efficient solution nonetheless, yet one difficult to implement due to insufficient funds and lack of public interest.

Finally, the last of Michigan’s major conservation problems were the prevalence of land monopolies. Lovejoy’s tells of these monopolies nationwide: “with a shortage of a million homes and with wood our cheapest and easiest building material, we learn that nearly half of all the good log timber in the nation is owned by some 250 great lumber firms and that the present National and State Forests can never be expected to supply more than a fourth as much timber as we are now consuming³².” Lovejoy writes that in Michigan’s Upper Peninsula, “the bulk of the cut-over land is owned by relatively few lumber and land corporations: with some 13 owners holding 37 per cent of the [Upper Peninsula], for instance, and 90 owners holding over half of all the 14,000,000 acres³³.” While a small number of ownership may seem like a neutral matter, land monopolies become an issue when malicious activities, loose industries and inefficiencies on them occur, for regulations are difficult to enforce upon privately owned lands. This furthers the argument that national standards need to be created to evaluate the entire macro-environmental picture, instead of just profitability. To make these and many other changes, Lovejoy argued that professionals should lead the way. Yet, unlike many of his progressive

³¹ Parrish S. Lovejoy Collection, “*State Land Policy*,” Box 4, 5.

³² Parrish S. Lovejoy Collection, “*Farming and Forests*,” Box 4.

³³ Parrish S. Lovejoy Collection, “*Farm Development in the Cutovers*,” Box 5.

colleagues, Lovejoy was highly suspicious of government leadership, and was skeptical about the quality and intentions of the government programs being established.

Lovejoy on the Atrocities of Government

So far, I have highlighted many of the area-specific problems that overwhelmed Michigan in the 1920s. But the important questions remain unanswered: how and who should address Michigan's problems, and under what authority? Should the government intervene? If so, to what extent? How does the government impose regulations without impeding on individual choice? Unlike many progressives, Lovejoy refuses to view government intervention as the panacea of all conservation problems.

At times, Lovejoy's writings praise the government for acting as the eradicator of anarchy, but in most other instances, Lovejoy portrays the government as an invasive nuisance. He is frustrated by the web of bureaucracies and organizations that leaders must navigate to accomplish anything. At best, Lovejoy's support of government takeover is situational. This section of my paper will analyze the issue of government control versus state freedom. Lovejoy provides an interesting perspective on Progressive program establishment. As a progressive individual, Lovejoy's position is unique: he argues that government intervention has become over bureaucratized and has become part of the problem.

Lovejoy is supportive of government action if and only if it encourages efficiency, meaning, if it results in eliminating hoops that one must jump through to finish the job. In his

essay *Splitting of the Department*, Lovejoy condones separating government into separate bureaus if it makes them run more effectively. He encourages that:

“A reorganization of government work in the interests of efficiency and economy is being attempted, and if well done, will be a splendid accomplishment....Our official machinery has become very complex and wasteful....The other question: is there good reason to think that the work will be better or more cheaply done under some department?³⁴”

He later argues that limiting the distribution of control from a bureau to a few experts would save taxpayer dollars: “I believe that all these could be brought under central control and supervision and be directed by a commission of three, five, or seven members, with large saving to the tax-paying public³⁵.” He admits that the current mechanism of operation involves too many decision makers. He relays that, “Such a body is not a board—it’s a convention³⁶.” Lovejoy voices approval of government institutions when their policies conserve both money and time. However, this is an unusual sentiment for our author.

Most of the time, Lovejoy’s opinion of the government is consistent with something like this, as he says, “the only new fire laws needed be one to “Keep that... government inspector out of the state!³⁷” He further believes: “The county government as is now established is fundamentally wrong. We have too many officials, all independent of one another. We have too much duplication of work, too much conflict, too many independent boards and commissions, answerable to no one in particular.³⁸” In his papers, Lovejoy portrays the government and their

³⁴ Parrish S. Lovejoy Collection “*Splitting the Department*,” Box 4, 2.

³⁵ Parrish S. Lovejoy Collection “*Taxes and County*,” Box 5, 8.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Parrish S. Lovejoy Collection, “*Forestry in Michigan*,” Box 5.

³⁸ Parrish S. Lovejoy Collection, “*Taxes and County*,” Box 5, 7.

constituencies as meddling. He argues that the matters could best be handled by state professionals working in the field than in a central office hundreds of miles away.

In discussion about the establishment of the State Farm Bureau, one of Lovejoy's colleagues advised him: "Don't play that up... That's old history, now, and might leave the impression that the Farm Bureau was in trouble. And it isn't. It's getting along wonderfully well now. Everything's been fixed up-almost³⁹." But things are not fine. The over-organization of the State Farm Bureau is one of many examples of the government going too far. Lovejoy describes its central organization:

"At the annual meeting in February 1921, there were present some 85 delegates, representing 75 counties and a membership of some 97,000. A headquarters office and warehouse building had been purchased in Lansing and there were some 50 Farm Bureau employees in addition to the field solicitors. The Secretary's report listed twelve Departments which were hard at work: Publicity, Seed, Wool, Traffic, Marketing, Elevator Exchange, Purchasing, Accounting, Sugar beet, Dairy, Forestry, and Legislation⁴⁰ .

Like the propagandists that promoted the National Forestry service in the Pinchot-Ballinger days a decade earlier, the State Farm Bureau was also had mischievous solicitors who portrayed the Farm Bureau as the remedy for all farming problems; he mocks their gimmicks,

"That is still a matter of opinion, but it seems very clear that some of the solicitors offered even more than they had been authorized to. Are you getting the full market value of your farm produce? No? Well join the State Farm Bureau. Do you think the middle men are getting too much of a rake off? Yes? Well join the State Farm Bureau. Do you think the farmer is getting proper treatment from the legislature and Congress? Join the State Farm Bureau! Join, join, JOIN! Sign right here⁴¹ ."

³⁹ Parrish S. Lovejoy Collection, "*State Farm Bureau Growing Pains*," Box 4, 1.

⁴⁰ Parrish S. Lovejoy Collection, "*State Farm Bureau Growing Pains*," Box 4, 2.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

Lovejoy labels these government solicitors as obnoxious and offensive, and guilty of perverting the truth. Lovejoy is also saddened by the central takeover for another reason. Good, locally-operated programs that once existed to aid farmers were now given the short shift, and were eliminated or defunded because of the new institution. He writes, “And a good many of the organizations that were saying ‘ouch’ were farm and farmer’s organizations which had been operating before any ever heard of the Farm Bureau⁴².” Newer, larger government programs were inferior to the older better programs that were being replaced, thus making the farmers and the public worse off.

In order to solve these issues, Lovejoy advocates for a professional or a team of them to pool their expertise in finding a workable solution. In response to the woodlot and idle lands issue, Lovejoy makes clear: “The only intelligent procedure seems to be as follows: get the facts as to the condition and quality of the idle lands. This is being done already through the excellent land economic survey now operating under the state geologist and in cooperation with the departments of agriculture and conservation and many other agencies, in cooperation with the University and the Agricultural College⁴³.” Instead of having an unknowledgeable government mitigate the environment, Lovejoy encourages local conservation professionals to become activists. In an effort to conserve Great Lakes resources, learned delegates from the Tri-State areas met in the Upper Peninsula to discuss issues plaguing the region. Lovejoy attended the conference in Menominee, Michigan; in a newspaper clipping in the collection, it is written:

⁴² Ibid., 7.

⁴³ Parrish S. Lovejoy Collection, “*Woodlot Problems*,” Box 4.

“Upper Michigan vast though un-used natural wealth in soils, water, power, minerals, roads, forests, climate, scenery and geographical location received a through inventory at the Tri-State Congress held Thursday and Friday, January 18 and 19, at Menominee. It was two days of constructive discussion, constituting one of the most important and interesting conferences that has ever been held in the Upper Peninsula⁴⁴.”

The Tri-State Congress met to discuss issues relevant to the region, and addressed many problems, including the idle-lands of Michigan’s Upper Peninsula: “Upper Michigan vast though un-used natural wealth in soils, water, power, minerals, roads, forests, climate, scenery and geographical location received a through inventory at the Tri-State Congress⁴⁵.” The professionals bounded together to create a constitution of conservation and their objective is as following:

“We believe that it is our measure of service to our generation to bring into use the natural resources of desirable homes, satisfactory neighborhoods, and an era of economic consisting of lands, forests, lakes, rivers and climate of the states of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, useful to this generation in the making production that shall make the three states play their full part in the growth of the country. By cooperation, planning and in action we shall achieve for ourselves, and our children, the ends to which our purpose is set⁴⁶.”

Lovejoy’s main criticism of the government is its imposition of policies that do not address issues relevant to the state, or replace existing programs that are adequate in and of themselves. He argues that experts who study these regions specifically should be the decision makers, rather than the central government, who make decisions about most everything else in the Progressive Era.

⁴⁴ Parrish S. Lovejoy Collection, “*UP gets Tri-State Congress*,” Box 5.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Parrish S. Lovejoy Collection, “*Tri-State Congress Constitution*,” Box 5.

Conclusions and Progressivism's Aftermath

In closure, Lovejoy's work suggests that the assumption of government control over many aspects of life, which was characteristic of progressive-era policies that harbored inefficiency. The establishment of huge programs often replaced older, better programs and left Michigan farmers, families, and residents worse off. After performing much additional research into the Progressive Era thinkers, activists, and leaders, Lovejoy stands out from others in the way in which he does not call upon the government to enact all reforms. When I began the initial research of his collection, I was expecting to find papers praising the government's work at eliminating anarchy and establishing reforms, but I was surprised to find much of the opposite sentiment being expressed.

The spirit of Progressive Era conservation remains today. National legislation that has been established recently, such as the Corporate Average Fuel Economy Standards of 1975 as well as the Clean Air Act of 1990 were national acts that have helped to eliminate air pollution, thus lengthening the average American life span. Tragedies such as the British Petroleum oil spill of 2010, and Hurricanes Katrina and Sandy have sparked many debates about the repercussions of rebuilding and regulating misfortunate areas. In Michigan specifically, 2012 Proposal 3, which would have amended the Michigan constitution to mandate a new renewable energy standard for the state's needs, was not enacted. New issues arise every decade, and problems such as fracking, the Keystone pipeline, and the pharmaceutical of the water supply are the forefront of discussion among policy makers.

Many of the problems that the progressive leaders faced still persist, just disguised under acronyms. Instead of the State Farm Bureau, the debate is about the Federal Emergency Management Agency and the Environmental Protection Agency. Although Lovejoy argued that the Progressive government overstepped their authority in regulation, much change was needed, and much change came. Progressive conservation policies were effective in ushering the standards and criterion that were responsible for mobilizing conservation policies out of the Stone Age, and into the more organized, and unified systems that we witness today.

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WHEATLAND OF WRATH: A TALE OF 20TH CENTURY AGRICULTURAL LABOR AND HISTORICAL MEMORY

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“And the little screaming fact that sounds through all history: repression works only to strengthen and knit the repressed. The great owners ignored the three cries of history. The land fell into fewer hands, the number of the dispossessed increased, and every effort of the great owners was directed at repression. The money was spent for arms, for gas to protect the great holdings, and spies were sent to catch the murmuring of revolt so that it might be stamped out. The changing economy was ignored, plans for the change ignored; and only means to destroy revolt were considered, while the causes of revolt went on.”

— John Steinbeck, *The Grapes of Wrath*⁴⁷

On the sweltering evening of August 3, 1913, shots sounded out across the dusty crossroads of the Durst ranch. Men, women, and children scrambled for asylum as bullets flew through the agitated assembly of 1,700 laborers. These migratory workers had peacefully arisen to remonstrate against their exploitation by the proprietors of the establishment. The Durst brothers had repeatedly misused them by employing false advertising, constructing a corrupt wage system, and providing inadequate housing and sanitation facilities. Upon the arrival of Durst’s posse of police, the workers’ attempt at pacific protest devolved into anarchy. The owners’ message was clear: retribution would be swift; repression would be renewed. As the screaming stopped and the gun smoke dissipated, four lay dead, including the deputy sheriff and district attorney. The events of that day would become known as the Wheatland Hop Riot.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ John Steinbeck, *Grapes of Wrath*, (1939), accessed January 24, 2013,

http://archive.org/stream/grapeswrath00cablgoog/grapeswrath00cablgoog_djvu.txt.

⁴⁸ “Militia Camp at Wheatland—No Further Disorder From The Strikers, Six Arrests Are Made, The Proprietor of Hop Farm Recites Trouble That Resulted in Four Deaths,” *Lewistown Morning Tribune* (Aug. 5, 1913), 2, accessed January 17, 2013, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=2sxJA AAAIBAJ&sjid=-IQMAAAAIBAJ&pg=2829,3529592&dq=wheatland>.

A century has past, and what was once the site of agrarian riot, multiple deaths, and media attention is now a silent solitary monument. This is today's Wheatland: home of the hop fields of California. It remains out of sight and out of mind. Yet, should we confine the 1913 Wheatland Hop Riot to the recesses of historical memory? Never again to be investigated? Never again to be probed? Such a compelling tale of avarice, violence, injustice, and the human condition surely merits recognition in the most basic form. The historical community widely acknowledges the 1843 Lowell Strike, the 1887 Haymarket Riot, the 1894 Pullman Strike, and the 1919 General Strike as groundbreaking movements in labor history. Similarly, they should also note the importance of the Wheatland Hop Riot, as it is among the first strikes in farm labor history and a forerunner of future labor uprisings.

Yet historians have largely forgotten the Wheatland Hop Riot, as well as its larger and far-reaching ramifications, such as the establishment of the Commission of Housing and Immigration, the expansion of the Industrial Workers of the World in California, and the exposure of inferior labor conditions in the farming industry. The tendency of historians to glaze over the history of California farm labor has left Wheatland to languish in the narrative of our nation's history like a raisin in the sun. Contemporary residents of California should remember this pivotal event, especially considering our contemporary issues involving the deferred dreams of migrant laborers in the agricultural sector. So, why did we forget? Why were the lessons learned at Wheatland disregarded by subsequent generations? Can we avoid fulfilling George Bernard Shaw's maxim that "We learn from history that we learn nothing from history"⁴⁹?

The Wheatland Hop Riot deserves a place in our historical memory. By using it as a case study, we reveal important, enduring relationships between agrarian employers and migrant workers, as well as the dynamics operating at the time between the IWW, the government, the courts, and labor. Indeed, many of the problems of Wheatland, such as the substandard housing conditions of migrant workers, still persist in the modern era. We do not

⁴⁹ George Bernard Shaw in *The Quotable Intellectual*, ed. by Peter Archer, (Avon, Massachusetts: Adamsmedia, 2010).

have to “learn nothing from history”: we can learn from the lessons of Wheatland, for as Steinbeck said, the causes of the revolt go on and we can labor to end them.

To understand the Wheatland Hop Riot we must first examine it within the context of economic, political, and social forces at play during the period. Following the Gold Rush, agriculture became the largest division of the California economy.⁵⁰ The development of urban areas, such as San Francisco, required an increase in food production.⁵¹ As a result, farmers in possession of large tracks of land came to rely on a new type of production called “bonanza farming.” Bonanza farms were increasingly mechanized harvesting operations that were managed like factories and relied upon the railroads for the distribution of products.⁵² The owners of these enormous ranches sought cheap labor to fill the plethora of unskilled positions available in the fields. As a result, California agribusiness became the largest employer of migrant labor and temporary wage labor in the United States during the early 20th century.⁵³

California’s farm labor situation differed substantially from farming in the Midwest and East. Between 1902 and 1906, there was a shortage of laborers in California.⁵⁴ In 1907 and 1908, economic downturn in urban areas forced thousands of factory workers to pursue jobs in the farm-labor industry. This alteration in the composition of the workforce led to the development of tension between new migrant laborers and proprietors, as the former group desperately sought employment from the latter. These dynamics attracted the attention of the American labor movement. For the American Federation of Labor, agrarian labor seemed to threaten the viability of their organization in California cities and towns and thus, they made no effort to welcome migrant farm labor into

⁵⁰ Cindy Baker et al., “Work Camps: Historic Context and Archaeological Research Design,” *Cultural and Community Studies Office, Division of Environmental Analysis, California Department of Transportation*, (Sacramento, June 2007), 23.

⁵¹ Greg Hall, *Harvest Wobblies: The Industrial Workers of the World and Agricultural Laborers in the American West, 1905-1930*, (Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State University Press, 2001), 10.

⁵² Hall, 13.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁵⁴ Thomas A. Romero, *The Wheatland Hop Riot: Syndicalist Act or Media Fiction*, (California State University Dominguez Hills, Winter 1991?), 37.

the fold of their urban proletariat organization. On the other hand, the Industrial Workers of the World elected to aid this struggling demographic.⁵⁵

A 1905 Chicago convention marked the establishment of the Industrial Workers of the World. The IWW or Wobblies, as they were known, began as a movement of migratory workers in the West. Organizers came from logging operations in the Northwest and traveled southward, promoting freedom from capitalist oppression and from the employer exploitation.⁵⁶ The IWW's policies of migrant coordination and lack of association dues made the organization appealing to workers in industry; however, party leadership sought to interest agricultural workers, as well.⁵⁷

The IWW saw the California farm worker as a potential warrior in the combat against "wage slavery" and capitalism.⁵⁸ To this end, the IWW held "free-speech" battles in San Diego and Fresno, California. Located in the San Joaquin Valley, Fresno was—and continues to be—a strong center of agriculture. There, the IWW advocated for the right to establish headquarters, produce pamphlets, and conduct public assemblies. They made some headway in 1910, encouraging migrant farm workers to join their ranks. Their progress was so great that in less than two years, authorities in San Diego had to issue an ordinance to outlaw their speech. 150 Wobblies came to San Diego to protest this inequity, although the press erroneously reported that thousands traveled to "concentrate" on the city.⁵⁹ The vigilantes of San Diego were determined to silence these demonstrations. To this end, they marched all suspected Wobblies to Sorrento, where they forced them climb a platform, kiss the American flag, and sing the national anthem. Then, the vigilantes surrounded the Wobblies with clubs, whips, and knives, with which they were corralled into a pen and systematically beaten, resulting in many grievous injuries and one fatality. However, the vigilantes were not punished for their transgressions; rather, they were praised for their dastardly deeds. Indeed, the fear of the Wobblies and power of the authorities were such that a local editor who opposed the beatings of IWW

⁵⁵ Carleton H. Parker, "The California Casual and His Revolt," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 30.1 (Nov., 1915), 114.

⁵⁶ Hall, 6.

⁵⁷ Carey McWilliams, *Fool's Paradise: A Carey McWilliams Reader*, ed. by Dean Stewart and Jeannine Gendar, (Santa Clara: Santa Clara University, 2001), 167.

⁵⁸ Parker, 14.

⁵⁹ McWilliams, *Fool's Paradise: A Carey McWilliams Reader*, 167.

members was threatened with lynching.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, the IWW continued in their struggle for an egalitarian society.

Three years later, in 1913, depression rocked the nation. Prices of crops, such as the hop, dropped.⁶¹ Unemployment was at thirty percent and labor unrest made the daily headlines.⁶² Strikes were commonplace, such as the IWW strike in Patterson, New Jersey.⁶³ By this time, the IWW could count eight percent of the migratory farmer population as members.⁶⁴ In this economic climate, the Wobblies saw the opportunity to expand their ranks both numerically and racially in California. Their chance came in a small town near Marysville in the Sacramento River Valley. The conditions were ripe for strike in Wheatland.

The tranquil town of Wheatland was named in 1860, owing to the 20,000 acres of wheat farmed in the area.⁶⁵ Located near the foothills of the Sierra Nevada, fifty miles from the Sacramento Valley, its lands were among the most fertile in the state. With high humidity and high temperatures, Wheatland's growing seasons could range between 240 and 299 days.⁶⁶ By the 1880s, this frontier town acquired a reputation as a haven for hop farmers.⁶⁷ There were 680 acres of hops in Wheatland itself and an additional 500 acres to the west of the neighboring town of Marysville. When Wheatland was formally incorporated in 1874, Dr. Daniel Peters Durst, the proprietor of the largest hop yard in the region, became the city council's first president.⁶⁸ Later, his sons Ralph, John, and Murray Durst inherited the land. These men advertised for labor from Oregon to Nevada, leading to dramatic fluctuations in the area's population.⁶⁹

In the beginning of 1913, the community of Wheatland consisted of a mere 480 people, while there were only 10,000 total in Yuba County. The Chinese constituted ten percent of the population, and the remaining

⁶⁰ Ibid., 168.

⁶¹ Hall, 48.

⁶² Romero, 24.

⁶³ Ibid., 18.

⁶⁴ McWilliams, *Fool's Paradise: A Carey McWilliams Reader*, 168.

⁶⁵ Romero, 6.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 7.

⁶⁷ Wheatland Historical Society, *Wheatland* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 91.

⁶⁸ Romero, 6.

⁶⁹ "Wheatland Riot, 1913," in *American Violence: A Documentary History*, ed. by Hofstadter, Richard and Michael Wallace, (New York: Alfred P. Knopf, 1970), 158.

percentage was predominantly white.⁷⁰ However, the labor-intensive hops required massive amounts of cheap labor, more than the amount of able workmen in the town. Thus, hop owners in the area endeavored to attract workers to the area. A one page article entitled “Wheatland---Second City in Yuba in Commercial Importance: Hops Grow Here and Give Employment to Many People” is evidence of their efforts. In the *Marysville Democrat*, Wheatland was the quintessential town of the American West with its agriculture, horticulture, dairying, shipping, and mining, as well as its virgin lands and tantalizing promise of future affluence. Ignorant of the manipulating nature of these advertisements, migrant workers flocked from every corner of the country to this “most prosperous and most progressive” region of Northern California.⁷¹

By the time 2,800 workers had arrived at the Durst Ranch during the summer of 1913, the demographics of the town had drastically shifted.⁷² 27 nationalities were soon represented at the Durst Ranch, including Cubans, Greeks, Hawaiians, Hindus, Japanese, Lithuanians, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Syrians.⁷³ The profile of a typical migratory worker was a young man, who traveled alone, was unmarried, and was in poor health.⁷⁴ A third of the workers came from California towns, another third were homeless, and the remaining third were “quasi-gypsies” from the Sierra foothills.⁷⁵ Even some workers’ families sojourned to Wheatland; however, they would soon encounter conditions that belied the sugarcoated promises and alluring advertisements of the Dursts.

In Wheatland, workers encountered bestial conditions, minimal opportunity, and unhindered exploitation. This reality stood in stark contrast to the picture presented in the ads illuminating the virtues of the town. Undeniably, the labor situation at Wheatland was deplorable at best and hellish at worst. The overcrowded campsites were damp and a breeding place for mosquitoes, as they lacked proper drainage.⁷⁶ There were 2,800 workers, but Durst only possessed facilities that could provide for half of that number. There were only 9 toilets

⁷⁰ Romero, 8.

⁷¹ Wheatland Historical Society, 91.

⁷² Romero, 8.

⁷³ Hofstadter and Wallace, 157.

⁷⁴ Romero, 18.

⁷⁵ McWilliams, *Fool's Paradise: A Carey McWilliams Reader*, 170.

⁷⁶ Association of Schools of Public Health, “Sanitation of Rural Workmen's Areas: With Special Reference to Housing,” *Public Health Reports (1896-1970)* 33.36 (Sep. 6, 1918), 1477-1507, accessed January 26, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4574879>.

total.⁷⁷ There was no separate toilet for the women. Drinking water was polluted, thus allowing dysentery to spread. Clothes were washed in well water, further contaminating the drinking source and stimulating the spread of typhoid and malaria.⁷⁸ There were between 400 and 500 children, many of whom suffered from dysentery and other camp diseases.⁷⁹ Although there were no housing facilities on the ranch, roughly thirty acres was reserved for residence of the workers. Those that did not own their own makeshift burlap tents could rent them from Durst for \$1.50 to \$2.25 for a season or 50 to 75 cents per week, though many decided that sleeping on the ground was cooler and more affordable.⁸⁰

The wage system on the Durst Ranch was another source of contention between workers and their employer. There were four variations of wages that could exist each day, with one dollar per hundred pounds of hops being the initial rate and \$1.25 being the advertised rate. The wage would be lowered from \$1.00 to 90 cents if there were an excess of unemployed laborers within the immediate vicinity. The next morning, it would be lowered again to 85 cents. If workers were discontent, the Dursts would raise the standard wage back to one dollar per hundred pounds. Ten percent of the pickers' gross wages were held by the Durst until the end of the season in case they deserted, which they frequently did. Finally, wages would be increased to \$1.10 if there was an insufficient supply of workers. Once there was an excess of laborers, the process of wage depreciation would begin anew.⁸¹ Additionally, the Dursts had not hired any "high pole" men, as was a standard practice of the time. Their job was to pull down the higher growing vines, which could reach 25ft, so that workers could more easily pick their one hundred pounds. To worsen matters, 1000 workers were forced into idleness because there was not enough work.⁸² With little money, prospect, or hope, these workers became susceptible to IWW doctrine and were willing to protest the pitiable state of labor on the ranch.

⁷⁷ Hofstadter and Wallace, 157.

⁷⁸ Robert V. Howard, "Bloody Sunday: The Wheatland Hop Fields Riot," Thesis (California State University, 1973), 4.

⁷⁹ Richard Steven Street, "'We Are Not Slaves': The Photographic Record of the Wheatland Hop Riot: The First Image of Protesting Farm Workers in America," *Southern California Quarterly*, 64.3 (Fall 1982), 220.

⁸⁰ Howard, 3.

⁸¹ Parker, 111-112.

⁸² Romero, 36.

The ultimate catalyst for the violence was a meeting that began on the scorching Sunday morning of August 3, 1913 at ten o'clock. 1,700 pickers were in attendance, as was Ralph Durst. ⁸³Durst had seen the first "signs of discontent" Saturday evening, when workingmen in collared shirts and suspenders arrived with their wide-brimmed hats, ready to strike.⁸⁴ His brother—John Durst—usually dealt with such situations; however, in his absence, Ralph assumed John's role by recommending that a committee be formed to present him with their list of grievances. Instead, the pickers offered him an ultimatum:

One dollar and twenty-five cents per hundred pounds, no bonus.

Drinking water delivered in the fields twice daily.

A committee of pickers to inspect and pass on hops.

High pole man to be paid by the company.

Better toilet accommodations in camps.

Lemonade to be made of lemons, not of acid.⁸⁵

Durst reportedly acquiesced to two of the demands, but refused to compromise on the coveted wage increase proposition. Strike leaders loudly proclaimed that they were from the IWW and that they would continue to resist until Durst conceded to all of their stipulations. ⁸⁶ One hundred IWW "card-men" were among the Wheatland farmworkers, meaning that they had at some point had formal affiliations with the IWW. One of these men, Blackie Ford, was a Wobbly who had participated in the San Diego Affair, the Fresno rallies, and a free speech fight in Spokane, Washington.⁸⁷ He had been sent by party leaders to promote the IWW message. In anticipation of the strike to come, he sent a wire on the afternoon of August 2, 1913 that read: "To San Francisco Bulletin, San

⁸³ Associated Press, "Strike Riot in California; Four Killed; Four Injured," *Youngstown Vindicator* 24.333 (August 4, 1913), 3, accessed February 2, 2013, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=2sxJAAAIAIBAJ&sjid=IQMAAAAIAIBAJ&pg=2829,3529592&dq=wheatland+riot&hl=en>.

⁸⁴ Street, 213.

⁸⁵ "Wheatland Riot Inquiry," *Boston Evening Transcript* 84.273 (August 29, 1914), 2, accessed January 25, 2013, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=mlEnAAAIAIBAJ&sjid=2AMGAAAIAIBAJ&pg=2197,4159220&dq=wheatland+riot&hl=en>.

⁸⁶ Associated Press, "Strike Riot in California; Four Killed; Four Injured," 3.

⁸⁷ Howard, 5.

Francisco. Twenty-five hundred hop-pickers out on strike at Durst Bros. ranch tomorrow. Strike conducted by IWW. Send reporter to take news.”⁸⁸ With zeal, Ford urged the migrant workers to boycott the Durst company restaurant, bakeshop, meat stall, and shooting gallery, as well as to halt any hop picking operations.⁸⁹

The impetuous Durst responded to these threats to his power by firing the leaders of the gathering. When they refused to vacate the premises, Durst assembled a posse, headed by deputy sheriff E.T. Manwell to forcibly remove the rioters. When Constable Anderson moved to arrest Ford, thirty men gathered around the constable, wrenching Ford from his grasp.⁹⁰ In his court statement, Durst said, “I urged Anderson not to shoot.”⁹¹ However, someone did shoot. Henry Daken, a game warden of Marysville, claimed to have fired the first shot. The “signal for the battle” was when Sheriff Voss grabbed a particularly violent striker and attempted to arrest him. All hell broke loose as scores of strikers rushed the posse, particularly Voss.⁹² In the confusion that followed, Daken fired a warning shot. Though this shot did cause the affray to somewhat disperse, crowd members wrestled Voss’s gun from his control.⁹³ More shots were immediately fired. Within a minute, four men lay dead and eight were badly wounded. Among those killed were District Attorney E.T. Manwell, deputy sheriff E. Reardon, a white bystander, and a black hop-picker.⁹⁴ Ultimately, the officers fled in their automobiles, though a posse of 100 officers was later amassed for the purpose of taming the mob.⁹⁵ *The Day* reported that the strikers were still in “an ugly mood” during the night following the riots, but Wheatland citizens opposing the Industrial Workers of the World appeared on the

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁹⁰ Associated Press, “Strike Riot in California; Four Killed; Four Injured,” 3.

⁹¹ “Militia Camp at Wheatland—No Further Disorder From The Strikers, Six Arrests Are Made, The Proprietor of Hop Farm Recites Trouble That Resulted in Four Deaths,” *Lewistown Morning Tribune* (August 5, 1913), 2, accessed January 20, 2013, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=QnhfAAAAIBAJ&sjid=rC8MAAAAIBAJ&pg=3948,154009&dq=wheatland+riot&hl>.

⁹² “Four Are Dead in Hop Pickers Riot,” *Lewistown Daily Sun* 21 (August 4, 1913), 1, accessed January 25, 2013, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=WbQgAAAAIBAJ&sjid=bWkFAAAAIBAJ&pg=1649,4726937&dq=wheatland+riot&hl=en>.

⁹³ “Hop Pickers Leave - Quiet at Wheatland Yesterday but Militia Remains—Condition of Sheriff Improves,” *Lewistown Morning Tribune* (August 5, 1913), 10, accessed March 1, 2013, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=QnhfAAAAIBAJ&sjid=rC8MAAAAIBAJ&pg=3785,235406&dq=wheatland+riot&hl=en>.

⁹⁴ “Four Are Dead in Hop Pickers Riot,” 1.

⁹⁵ “Rioters Kill Officials - District Attorney and Two Deputy Sheriffs Shot Dead by Hop Pickers,” *The New York Times*, (August 4, 1913).

scene of the riot at daybreak.⁹⁶ By August 5, 1,500 of the hop field workers had fled the area. Those that remained showed “no indication to make trouble.”⁹⁷ The hop-pickers camp was described as a pathetic “huddle of tents, sacking shelters, and even brush lean-to's [sic]. They left by means of train, wagon, or simply walking.”⁹⁸ The author Jack London was in nearby Sonoma County at the time, and commented that the fleeing rioters “reminded him of the survivors of the San Francisco earthquake.”⁹⁹ Nevertheless, the hop-pickers’ journey was by no means over.

In days, months, and years following the Wheatland Hop Riot, apprehension and mistrust of the IWW pervaded every corner of Californian society. Fear of anarchy fueled the fire of law enforcement’s retribution. The authorities exerted a “determined effort” to round up the men involved in the riot as the paranoia of the public mounted.¹⁰⁰ Six companies of the National Guard accompanied Adjutant General Forbes as he “regained” control of Wheatland by throwing a cordon around the hop-pickers camp.¹⁰¹ Each man these units carried three days worth of rations and 200 rounds of ammunition.¹⁰² Furthermore, one hundred operatives of the infamous Burns Detective Agency were deputized to conduct a manhunt for the Wheatland Wobblies. Their subsequent, gun-toting exploits led one labor historian to classify their enthusiastic efforts as “one of the most amazing reigns of terror that California has ever witnessed.”¹⁰³ Vigilantism especially pervaded the agricultural regions. Any individual remotely suspected of involvement with the Wobblies was arrested. The former police department of Sheriff Manuel issued John Doe warrants, which allowed police officers to fill in the name of a person on a warrant after the arrest. Officers refused

⁹⁶ “Militia Out in Hop Field Strike, District Attorney and Two Deputies Killed in a Riot at Wheatland Cal.,” *The Day* 33, (August 4, 1913), 33, accessed February 21, 2012, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=YekiAAAAIABAJ&sjid=rnQFAAAAIAAJ&pg=4155,3436437&dq=wheatland+riot&hl=en>.

⁹⁷ “Hop Pickers Leave - Quiet at Wheatland Yesterday but Militia Remains—Condition of Sheriff Improves,” 10.

⁹⁸ “Wheatland Riot Inquiry,” 2.

⁹⁹ Hall, 51.

¹⁰⁰ “Militia Camp at Wheatland—No Further Disorder From The Strikers, Six Arrests Are Made, The Proprietor of Hop Farm Recites Trouble That Resulted in Four Deaths,” 2.

¹⁰¹ “Wheatland Quiet—Six Companies of Militia Guard Town Where Four Men Were Killed,” *Spokane Daily Chronicle* (August 4, 1913), 2, accessed February 21, 2013, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=ZPgZAAAAIABAJ&sjid=NvQDAAAIAAJ&pg=6719,2368291&dq=wheatland+riot&hl=en>.

¹⁰² “Four Are Dead in Hop Pickers Riot,” 1.

¹⁰³ McWilliams, *Fool’s Paradise: A Carey McWilliams Reader*, 171.

to inform lawyers where their clients were detained.¹⁰⁴ Some of the Wheatland workers were held in isolation for extended periods without trial, tortured for their “true” confessions of what transpired on that fateful day in August.¹⁰⁵ Burns detectives placed stool pigeons on one rioter at regular intervals and struck him with rubber bludgeons.¹⁰⁶ Another rioter was “rendered insane by a beating by detectives” and sent to the Stockton Insane Asylum.¹⁰⁷ Such cruelty and injustice could not be concealed permanently from the public.

The Wheatland Hop Riot sparked controversy across California. Strikes conducted in the name of the imprisoned rioters were widespread.¹⁰⁸ In the winter of 1914, 75,000 migratory workers, who were unemployed in the area around San Francisco, joined General Kelly’s Army to protest the mistreatment of the hop-pickers, as well as the scarcity of jobs.¹⁰⁹ Likewise, the IWW vigorously protested, targeting bonanza farmers, burning wheat fields, and driving copper spikes into fruit trees in retaliation for Wheatland.”¹¹⁰ In 1915, Wobblies engineered a boycott against California agricultural products on behalf of the imprisoned rioters.¹¹¹ By the close of the year, hop farmers were expressing their unhappiness with the punitive campaign, some having lost up to ten thousand dollars in profit. Moreover, California officials and growers estimated that the IWW’s boycott had amounted to \$20 million in damages to the California agricultural industry. Governor Johnson and other officials requested that the federal government intervene to inhibit the proceedings of the IWW; however, as they were not breaking any federal law by boycotting, there was very little that could be done.¹¹²

Some historians, such as Greg Hall and Woodrow Whitten believed that the IWW sacrificed a valuable opportunity to organize farm labor by instead organizing a boycott; nevertheless, the IWW did amass momentum.¹¹³

¹⁰⁴ Hall, 52.

¹⁰⁵ Al Richmond, “From Suffrage to Socialism,” in *Native Story: The Story of Anita Whitney* (San Francisco: Anita Whitney 75th Anniversary Committee, 1942), 62.

¹⁰⁶ McWilliams, 171.

¹⁰⁷ United Press, “Hop Pickers Convicted: Two Are Found Guilty of Second Degree Homicide,” *The Milwaukee Journal* (February 1, 1914), 1, accessed February 21, 2013, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=B3QxAAAIAIBAJ&sjid=JiEEAAAIAIBAJ&pg=3929,1451752&dq=wheatland+riot&hl=en>.

¹⁰⁸ Hall, 206.

¹⁰⁹ McWilliams, 173.

¹¹⁰ Wheatland Historical Society, 105.

¹¹¹ Hall, 92.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 92.

¹¹³ Hall, 75.

Surprisingly, their violent means had achieved at least some of their ends. As a consequence of the riot, the IWW gained a foothold in California.¹¹⁴ The agricultural subdivision of the IWW was chartered on April 21, 1915. This section, deemed the Agricultural Union No. 400, was particularly influential in California and the Midwest. Its inauguration into the IWW enabled organizers to travel directly and frequently into the fields to unionize farm workers.¹¹⁵ Moreover, both migrant workers and employers realized the value of action. The Wheatland Hop Riot had an impression on future activists, such as communist Anita Whitney, whose first experience with class struggle was through the stories of the “undisguised” exploitation of Wheatland.¹¹⁶ Fresno farm owner Wylie Gillen ascertained, “only by organization can farm laborers ever elevate their standards. We employers are likely not to do things for the betterment of our employees until we are forced to.”¹¹⁷

The Wheatland Hop Riot had adverse impacts on labor, as well. The American Federation of Labor, which had from 1909 to 1914 expressed some commitment to the organization of farm labor, drastically differed from their Wobbly counterparts. Frightened by the violence of Wheatland, the AFL terminated all action related to the organization of farm workers. From 1919 to 1934, there was no mention of the subject of farm labor in the proceedings of the State Federation of Labor.¹¹⁸ The efforts of the IWW, both to free the imprisoned rioters and to spark an agriculturalist movement, also played a significant role in the passage and subsequent enforcement of the 1919 Criminal Syndicalism Act.¹¹⁹ This act specifically banned all forms of syndicalism in California. Still, the riot influenced more than simply the status of labor organizations.

For the first time, the Wheatland Hop Riot directed public attention to the plight of labor. Media attention swirled around the dire situation of migrant workers. Groups sought to advocate for their rights. Both the public and the state governments reprimanded the Dursts for their treatment of migrant laborers. It was also observed that the

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 206.

¹¹⁵ Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field: The Story of Migratory Farm Labor in California* (Santa Barbara, California: Peregrine Publishers, Inc., 1935/1971), 169.

¹¹⁶ Richmond, 60.

¹¹⁷ Carleton Hayes and E.M. Salt, “Record of Political Events,” *Political Science Quarterly*, 28.4 (Dec., 1913): 727, *The Academy of Political Science*, accessed February 21, 2013, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2141841>.

¹¹⁸ Don Villarejo, “The Challenge of Housing California’s Hired Farm Laborers,” in Marcoullier, Lapping and Furuseth, eds., *Rural Housing* (Ashgate Publishers, Hampshire, UK and Burlington), 2.

¹¹⁹ Woodrow C. Whitten, “The Wheatland Episode,” *Pacific Historical Review*, 17.1 (Feb., 1948), 42.

conditions on the Durst ranch were no different from those anywhere within the state.¹²⁰ Thus, in a sense, Wheatland came to serve as a microcosm of agrarian labor troubles in California. After studying and debating the riot, the state government decided to act on the issue of migrant labor. During the Hiram Johnson governorship, reformer Simon Lubin responded to the plight of migrant workers by establishing the social welfare agency known as the Commission on Immigration and Housing (CIH). Under the direction of Carleton S. Parker, this innovative organization aimed to launch “a program of immigrant assimilation unparalleled in the United States at the time.”¹²¹ The first actions of the commission were to assess the conditions under which the aliens labored. Housing experts and special investigators were assigned to conduct field surveys. Their reports detailed the storage of waste, as well as the location and construction of privies, the placement of tents, the sanitation of water, the lack of ventilation, and the overcrowding.¹²² From April 1 to August 1, 1914 with \$50,000 at their disposal, the Commission examined 641 labor camps that were home to more than 41,000 workers. Of those camps, 188 were deemed to be in a perilous state of sanitary condition while a mere 195 met the very minimum sanitation levels set.¹²³ The aforementioned Parker concluded that “Nurture has triumphed over nature, the environment has produced its type,” meaning that the Wheatland rioters were not by nature violent.¹²⁴ Rather, the wretchedness of their existence reasonably drove them to strike, and thus, they were not culpable for the damages attributed to the riot. In addition to delineating the causes of revolt, this report led to deliberate and meaningful improvements to the conditions under which migrant workers labored.

By 1915, conditions had drastically improved. Ten percent wage increases were granted after Wheatland.¹²⁵ Farmers adhered to the recommendations of the CIH, including the “devilish” Durst brothers.¹²⁶ According to attorney for the IWW workers at Wheatland:

¹²⁰ Howard, 16.

¹²¹ Spence C. Olin, Jr., *California's Prodigal Sons* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 76.

¹²² Association of Schools of Public Health, 1500.

¹²³ “Wheatland Riot Inquiry,” 2.

¹²⁴ Parker, 126.

¹²⁵ Hayes and Salt, 727.

¹²⁶ Cletus E. Daniel, *Bitter Harvest: A History of California Farmworkers, 1870-1941*, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1981), 96.

With regard to the actual cleaning up of hop camps and construction camps, the change has been so great in the state of California, as to be almost revolutionary. Where formerly places were filthy in the extreme, and the livers in them were subjected to all manners of risky infection and the like, as well as unmentionable results of the crowding of both sexes indiscriminately in vile and unsanitary surroundings, the camps have now been transformed into decent places.¹²⁷

Furthermore, in 1915, the state legislature approved the Bureau of Labor Statistics, which created employment bureaus in a number of cities. The legislature also passed the Camp Labor Standards Act, mandating sanitary bedding, toilets, and eating areas in labor camps.¹²⁸ Finally, the state government established the State Colonization and Rural Credits Committee to investigate the large land holding of families, such as the Dursts.¹²⁹ Although this swift progress was momentous both in principle and scope, it would soon be lost to history.

The reformatory measures adopted after the Wheatland Hop Riot signified a step in the right direction, but history would move in a manner so as to destroy both the memory of Wheatland and the improvements it inspired. As written by the famed California labor historian Carey McWilliams, the “recognition of an acute social problem in migratory farm labor, a problem so serious as to shake the foundation of the state, which the Wheatland riot and the appearance of General’s Kelley’s army had forced upon the people of California, was, unfortunately, destroyed by the world war. Both incidents passed into history.”¹³⁰ Yet, McWilliams interpretation of historical memory remains overly simplified. While it is true that World War I did overshadow the Wheatland Hop Riot in its importance, the war also had the effect of shifting the dynamics of the migrant labor force. When millions of white laborers were drafted into the Great War, California farm owners began advertising for labor in Mexico. As a result, 368,000 Mexican migrant farmworkers had traveled to California by the end on the 1920s. This statistic represented about 75 percent of the state’s workforce, a surge from the roughly 50 percent of Mexican migrant workers at the time of the Wheatland Hop Riot.¹³¹ This influx of braceros, or temporary Mexican laborers, exacerbated the problems first

¹²⁷ Olin, 79.

¹²⁸ Olin, 80.

¹²⁹ *Report on the Commission on Land Colonization and Rural Credits of the State of California* (Sacramento: California State Printing Office, November 29, 1916), accessed March 14, 2013, <http://archive.org/stream/cu31924013988906#page/n7/mode/2up>.

¹³⁰ McWilliams, *Factories in the Field: The Story of Migratory Farm Labor in California*, 174.

¹³¹ Stuart A. Kallen, *We Are Not Beasts of Burden*, (Minneapolis, MN: Twenty-First Century Books, 2001), 22. McWilliams, *Factories in the Fields*, 124.

presented to the public at Wheatland.¹³² Despite this backsliding in the arena of migrant labor, attention remained on issues abroad and national security rather than on agrarian matters. Furthermore, additional factors reveal that remembering Wheatland Hop Riot is more complex than McWilliams suggests.

The context of remembrance is grounded in the social, economic, and political climate of the time. For instance, in the 1910s and 1920s, the general populace feared the IWW; thus, during this period, Wheatland was a vivid memory in the minds of citizens and migrant laborers alike. As this trepidation declined, so too did the nation's awareness of Wheatland. The rural (rather than urban) character of the Wheatland Hop Riot also played a decisive role in its omission from America's collective conscience. As the metropolitan areas grew, the labor history of factories in cities garnered greater attention than the agrarian history of "factories in the fields."¹³³ Moreover, during this period the Progressivism of the early twentieth century dissipated. Reactionary postwar administrations soon rendered the Commission of Housing and Immigration powerless. As progressivism waned and business interests gained increasing foothold, the enthusiasm for reform lessened. With the resignation of Lubin as the chair of the Commission, the CIH lost all of its impetus. By 1927, its independence was stripped as a governmental organization, effectively eliminating its ability to influence working conditions.¹³⁴ As a result, the standard environment in which the migrant worker labored regressed to a state of filth and abhorrence.

During the Great Depression, economic turmoil further eclipsed the memory of Wheatland. Financial panic led to an immediate lowering of farm wages in the state of California. By 1929, salaries were at a historic low, and 59.3 percent of workers were involved agriculture. Throughout the next six years, California experienced a series of serious strikes that were unmatched in labor history.¹³⁵ 400,000 migrant workers traveled to California, with 200,000 of them arriving between 1935 and 1937. A majority of these workers came from the Dust Bowl region and were nicknamed "Okies," as many were from Oklahoma. Okies were "different" from Mexicans and Filipinos in that they were "refugees" rather than immigrants.¹³⁶ The struggles of this historical group were epitomized in John

¹³² Kallen, 22.

¹³³ Hall, 13.

¹³⁴ Daniel, 96.

¹³⁵ McWilliams, 211.

¹³⁶ Baker et al., 28.

Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*, which revealed a labor situation almost identical to that of Wheatland. However, the repetition of history does not end in the Depression.

Wheatland-like situations have replayed again and again throughout the history of this state. On September 8, 1965, one thousand migrant farm laborers led by César Chavez went on strike from the ranches of Delano, California. These grape-picking protesters demanded an elevation of wages to \$1.40 per hour, which was the regular wage earned by native farmworkers. In contrast, the Delano migrant workers were paid a measly 90 cents per hour.¹³⁷ Their fieldwork was still as “hard, dirty, and dangerous” as during the period of Wheatland, and farm equipment and DDT were occupational hazards.¹³⁸ Their existence was bleak, with average life expectancy hovering around forty-nine years.¹³⁹ In short, the worst of Wheatland was still seen more than six decades after the event, and such conditions still persist in the modern era.

The story of the Wheatland workers is one of the ages, one that was painfully paralleled in Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*, one that was reiterated in future strikes, such as those led by César Chavez. As a consequence of the riot and the media attention it received, California became the first state in the nation to regulate farm labor housing. The subsequent regulatory initiative, the Labor Camp Act of 1915, was later rewritten into today's Employee Housing Act, which establishes rigorous standards for housing provided to workers by employers.¹⁴⁰ In 2004, a third of the United States' hired farmworkers were located in California. Today, 95 percent are foreign-born according to a U.S. Department of Labor's National Agricultural Workers Survey.¹⁴¹ These migrant workers are still in dire need of improved housing and working conditions. We must learn from the lessons of the past decades. If we disregard what we learned from Wheatland, we will be caught in a perpetual cycle of oppression and strike. At Wheatland, the land had fallen into a few hands, such as those of the Dursts. The dispossessed and repressed workers of Wheatland banded together, but instead of working to ameliorate the labor issue, Durst aggravated it by favoring force over compromise. If we consider “only the means to destroy the revolt,” the causes of the revolt go

¹³⁷ Kallen, 4.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 5.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 5.

¹⁴⁰ Villarejo, 2.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 2.

will go on. By replicating successful solutions, such as the Commission of Housing and Immigration, and ensuring that they are preserved in their original form, we can use our historical knowledge to protect our present and our future. Moreover, we should prevent such historical memory loss by incorporating microcosmic tales like Wheatland into our history books. By scrutinizing these stories, we can discover the relationships between the past and the modern day. We can strive to end the cycle of oppression. We can learn *something* from history.

MASS PILGRIMAGE AND THE CHRISTOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF THE FIRST CRUSADE

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Introduction: Lessons from a Dismembered Knight

On Good Friday in the year 1064, according to the chronicler Marianus Scottus, a German knight was torn limb from limb by Arabs just outside the abandoned citadel of Carvalasim.¹⁴² Impatient with being trapped behind the walls by the enemy forces, the knight stripped off his clothes to demonstrate his peaceful intent and came out from the fortified town, determined to once again take up the way to Jerusalem. Unfortunately, as the chronicler reports, “the Arabs immediately stretched him out flat in the shape of a cross, pinning his hands and feet to the ground with nails, and they cut open the surface of his stomach on two sides...After that, they chopped him up into bits.” In case the knight’s companions watching from the walls did not get the message right away, the Arabs clarified the meaning of their brutal deed: “This is what will happen to you, if you don’t hand over all of your money!”

In light of this horrible spectacle, it seemed that the outnumbered Christians would be forced to yield to the besiegers’ demands. Although they received a reprieve after one of their leaders, Bishop Gunther of Bamberg, managed to knock the leader of the Arabs unconscious during surrender negotiations and his men were able to take several hostages, the besieged

¹⁴² It is likely that these ‘Arabs’ were not actually Arabs, but Seljuk Turks. See p. 7 below for a brief discussion of the Seljuks.

Christians were still unable to escape. Only the fortuitous arrival of the ruler of Ramla with a large force was enough to disperse the hostile Arabs, allowing the Christians to continue on their journey and reach Jerusalem at last.¹⁴³

This anecdote is taken from an account of the so-called ‘Great German Pilgrimage’ of 1064-1065, an event commonly cited by scholars as a small-scale precursor to the First Crusade preached a generation later in 1096 by Pope Urban II at Clermont.¹⁴⁴ Jay Rubenstein, for example, discusses the event at length in *Armies of Heaven*, his apocalyptic history of the First Crusade, saying that “such a story would have provided useful imaginative fodder for preachers hoping to inflame Christian passion. The Turks...were money-crazed killers...who preyed upon pilgrims.” For Rubenstein and other like-minded scholars, the take-away message of the Great German Pilgrimage is that conflict was already brewing between Christians and Muslims almost three decades before anyone sewed a cross to their clothes and headed to Jerusalem on the First Crusade shouting “God wills it!” As he puts it, “A war was already occurring in the Holy Land, incited by the ‘enemies of Christ.’...If something were not done soon, no right-thinking person would ever be able to visit Jerusalem again.”¹⁴⁵

Rubenstein and other scholars are clearly justified in identifying the Great German Pilgrimage as an early sign of tensions between Christians and Muslims. There is no doubt that

¹⁴³ Chronicle of Marianus Scottus in *Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages: A Reader*, ed. Brett Edward Whalen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 179.

¹⁴⁴ The best general treatment of the German pilgrimage of 1064-1065 remains Joranson’s classic from the early twentieth century. See Einar Joranson, “The Great German Pilgrimage of 1064-1065,” in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro by His Former Students*, ed. Louis J. Paetow (New York: F.S. Crofts & Co., 1928).

¹⁴⁵ Jay Rubenstein, *Armies of Heaven: The First Crusade and the Quest for Apocalypse* (New York: Basic Books, 2011), 11.

the Western European audience, hearing about the Arab attack on Christian pilgrims and details such as the grisly dismemberment of the knight, would have been angry and in search of vengeance upon the Muslims.¹⁴⁶ Nevertheless, scholars' tendency to cast the presence of violence between Christians and Muslims as the defining theme relating pilgrimage to crusading has often led to a lack of consideration of other important topics expressed in eleventh-century pilgrimage narratives. In particular, episodes such as this one are significant not only for their illustration of Christian-Muslim violence, but also for their illumination of Christological themes. A careful reading of eleventh-century pilgrimage narratives demonstrates that the development of theology emphasizing the human nature of Christ had an important influence on medieval understandings of pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which subsequently informed the actions of crusaders.

Scholars commonly associate pilgrimage to Jerusalem with crusading. In his classic work *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, eminent crusade historian Jonathan Riley-Smith points out that medieval people themselves viewed crusading as a form of pilgrimage. Urban II preached the crusade as pilgrimage at Clermont, departing crusaders writing charters described their undertaking in the language of pilgrimage, and those on the march to Jerusalem performed the liturgical practices traditionally associated with pilgrims.¹⁴⁷ As a result of this association, historians interested in the motivations of crusaders have frequently looked to pilgrimage as a source of clues. Nevertheless, although Riley-Smith, Marcus Bull, and others have argued that

¹⁴⁶ For a discussion of the motif of violence between Christians and Muslims in miracle stories as a component of crusade thought see Marcus Bull, "Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in Miracle Stories, c. 1000-c. 1200: Reflections on the Study of First Crusaders' Motivations," in *The Experience of Crusading*, vol. 1, ed. Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 36-37.

¹⁴⁷ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London, Continuum, 1993), 22-24. This work remains a standard history of the First Crusade.

everyday religious devotion was the primary motivation for both pilgrims and crusaders and discussed the privileged position of Jerusalem among destinations of pilgrimage, they have not specifically identified the growth of devotion to the humanity of Christ as a context for understanding eleventh century pilgrimage and, by extension, crusading.¹⁴⁸

The story of the knight told by Marianus Scottus suggests that historians may have underrepresented the importance of Christocentric devotion. Both the date of the event (Good Friday) and the manner of the knight's execution (a primitive form of crucifixion) suggest that this story is also meant to be read in a Christological sense. The knight does not go out dressed up in chain mail and brandishing his sword, ready to meet his foes in battle as one might expect. Instead, he goes out naked, a peaceful and innocent man of God who is seized upon by wicked men and murdered in the cruelest imaginable fashion. While the knight's decision in this scenario might seem odd to a contemporary reader, it would have made perfect sense to an eleventh century audience given the context of pilgrimage to Jerusalem. As the site of Christ's death and resurrection, Jerusalem was irrevocably connected with devotion to Christ, and especially to Christ's suffering human nature.¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, as I will show, a special concern with the humanity and suffering of Christ is not unique to the writing of Marianus Scottus, but rather is featured in many of the other narratives concerning eleventh century mass pilgrimages to Jerusalem. These narratives make it clear that devotion to Christ's humanity was a significant factor motivating both eleventh-century pilgrims and crusaders.

¹⁴⁸ See Marcus Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony c.970-c.1130* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1993), 204-249.

¹⁴⁹ An especially good account of the development of Christology is Rachel Fulton, *From Judgment to Passion: Devotion to Christ & The Virgin Mary, 800-1200* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

“An Innumerable Multitude”: The Development of Mass Pilgrimage

Historians have long recognized that the eleventh-century was a ‘golden age’ for pilgrimage to Jerusalem.¹⁵⁰ Although a steady flow of Western Europeans had been traveling to Jerusalem since the fourth-century rebuilding of the city under the emperor Constantine and his mother Helena, and these pilgrims most certainly traveled in groups for safety and companionship on the long and difficult journey, there is little evidence to suggest that they formed large crowds. For example, a ninth-century account of a pilgrimage taken to Jerusalem by an Italian monk named Bernard says that he traveled together with two other monks, while the *Hodoeporicon* or “Guidebook” of Saint Willibald states that he took his pilgrimage with “his father and unmarried brother... [and] a band of friends.”¹⁵¹

By the 1020s at the latest, although this small-scale type of pilgrimage traffic certainly continued to exist, a new mass pilgrimage model that much more closely resembled crusades in scale had emerged. Between 1026 and 1065, there is evidence that four mass pilgrimages took place: that of Richard of Saint-Vanne in 1026-1027, that of 1033, that of Lietbert of Cambrai in 1054, and the Great German Pilgrimage of 1064-1065.¹⁵² Chroniclers such as Rodulfus Glaber

¹⁵⁰ A classic description of eleventh-century pilgrimage can be found in Jonathan Sumption, *Pilgrimage: An Image of Medieval Religion* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1975), 114-136. A more recent work on pilgrimage is Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co, 1999). This book contains sources in translation, along with introductions to each set of sources.

¹⁵¹ “The Monk Bernard’s Journey to Jerusalem,” trans. P.E Dutton, in *Pilgrimage: A Reader*, ed. Whalen, 126; The *Hodoeporicon* of Saint Willibald, trans. W.R. Brownslow, in *Pilgrimage: A Reader*, ed. Whalen, 118.

¹⁵² Sources for the pilgrimage of Richard of Saint-Vanne include the Ademar of Chabannes’ *Historia*, the *Vita Richardi*, and Hugh of Flavigny’s *Chronicon*. Sources for the pilgrimage of 1033 include Rodulfus Glaber’s

report that “an innumerable multitude of people from the whole world, greater than any man before could ever have hoped to see, began to travel to the Sepulchre of the Saviour at Jerusalem.”¹⁵³ Even if the figures given by chroniclers for the mass pilgrimages are implausibly high, such as the seven or even twelve thousand people said to have participated in the Great German Pilgrimage, the size of companies still underwent a dramatic increase.¹⁵⁴ For example, the chronicler Hugh of Flavigny reports that the company of Richard of St-Vanne numbered seven hundred people in 1027.¹⁵⁵ Likewise, this new form of pilgrimage featured much more geographically diverse bands of travelers. Richard’s pilgrimage had participants from all over Northern France from Normandy to the Rhineland, while the Great German Pilgrimage included companions from wide areas of western and southern Germany.¹⁵⁶

These large-scale pilgrimages attracted a significant amount of attention from and participation by the aristocracy and church officials. The historian Richard Landes calculates that Richard of St-Vanne’s pilgrimage included “two counts (including William of Angoulême), several important lords, three abbots, and three future abbots,” and Hugh of Flavigny reports that

Histories and Ademar’s *Historia*. The pilgrimage of Lietbert is described in the *Vita Lietberti*. The Great German Pilgrimage is described in the *Annals of Neider-Altach*, Marianus Scottus’ *Chronicle*, the *Vita Altmanni*, and the *Annales of Lambert of Hersfeld*. Rather than include a long and confusing list of internal citations here, I will provide an initial footnote for each of these sources as it becomes necessary in the course of my argument.

¹⁵³ Rodulfus Glaber, *Histories, in Rodulfus Glaber Opera*, trans. John France (New York, Oxford University Press, 1989), 199.

¹⁵⁴ Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 139.

¹⁵⁵ Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptorum*, vol. 8h (Hannover, 1898), 393. All translations of this work found in this paper are mine, unless otherwise noted. For more information on Richard of Saint-Vanne and his pilgrimage, see Hubert Dauphin, *Le Bienheureux Richard: Abbé de Saint-Vanne de Verdun* (Louvain : Bibliothèque de la Revue d’Histoire Ecclésiastique, 1946), 281-96.

¹⁵⁶ On the geographical distribution of participants on Richard of Saint-Vanne’s pilgrimage, see Richard Landes, *Relics, Apocalypse, and the Deceits of History: Ademar of Chabannes, 989-1034* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 157; Regarding the geographical distribution of participants on the German Pilgrimage, see Joranson, “Great German Pilgrimage,” 11.

the abbot was funded by the duke of Normandy.¹⁵⁷ The pilgrimage led by Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai in 1054 included such notables as Galcherus, an archdeacon and provost of the episcopal court, and Erlebald, who was judge and procurator of the city.¹⁵⁸ Likewise, the Great German Pilgrimage included four bishops (Gunther of Bamberg, Siegfried of Mainz, William of Utrecht, and Otto of Rasibon), two future bishops, several distinguished canons, and a large number of nobles, including counts and princes.¹⁵⁹

It is tempting to view the emergence of mass pilgrimages as evidence for a continuously swelling tide of travel to Jerusalem, growing from the end of the tenth century and culminating in the expeditions of 1095. According to this version of history, the increase in pilgrimage in the eleventh century can be explained by the opening of a land route to the Holy Land as the result of the conversion of the Hungarian king Stephen at the beginning of the eleventh century. As Glaber writes, “At that time the Hungarians, who lived among the Danube, together with their king, were converted to the faith of Christ...After that almost all those from Italy and Gaul who wished to go to the Sepulchre of the Lord at Jerusalem abandoned the usual route...making their way through the country of King Stephen.”¹⁶⁰ This understanding of mass pilgrimage, however, is problematic for a number of reasons. For one, the spread of the nomadic Seljuk Turks throughout the former Abbasid caliphate by the middle of the eleventh century made travel to

¹⁵⁷ Landes, *Deceits of History*, 157; Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, 293; Marcus Bull disagrees with Landes’ suggestion that William of Angoulême traveled with Richard of Saint-Vanne, since Hugh of Flavigny does not make any mention of companions from Aquitaine. If he is correct, the number of aristocratic participants would be slightly lower. See Bull, *Knightly Piety*, 209.

¹⁵⁸ Vita Lietberti episcopi Cameracensis auctore Rodolfo monacho S. Sepulchri Cameracensis. Translated by John Ott. <http://www.web.pdx.edu/~ott/hst399/vitalietberti/index.html> (accessed February 24, 2013).

¹⁵⁹ Joranson, “German Pilgrimage,” 10-11.

¹⁶⁰ See Glaber, *Histories*, 97.

Jerusalem after 1050 much more dangerous and much less frequent than in earlier decades.¹⁶¹

The troubles experienced by the participants of the Great German Pilgrimage are evidence enough of this. Another problem with this view of mass pilgrimage is that, in reality, such pilgrimages were not that common: a grand total of four for an entire century does not truly amount to a popular trend. As historian Rachel Fulton points out, “Opportunity is not in itself sufficient motivation to risk one’s life. There must also be a conviction that other potential benefits or dangers outweigh the risks.”¹⁶² It seems likely that pilgrims must have had some inspiration beyond the simple fact that a land route was open through Hungary to endure such a long and dangerous journey, especially at a time when other major sites of pilgrimage such as Rome or Santiago de Compostela, the Spanish resting place of the apostle St. James, were both closer and safer.

Jerusalem: Holy City, Sacred Relic

The importance of Jerusalem as a holy city for Christians serves as a starting point for understanding the motivations of eleventh-century pilgrims. As historian Bernard McGinn points out, “It is impossible to recapture the full range of meaning that the name *Jerusalem* would have evoked in the eleventh or twelfth century.” Medieval understandings of Jerusalem were complex and inextricably linked with the Scriptures. Historically, Jerusalem was the city of the Jews and the location of Christ’s death. Both literally (see Figure 1) and spiritually, as the location in which these important events from the Scriptures had taken place, Jerusalem was the center of

¹⁶¹ See, for example, Rubenstein, *Armies*, 8 on the rise of the Seljuks.

¹⁶² Fulton, *Judgment to Passion*, 77.

the universe. Allegorically, Jerusalem symbolized the Church, and an intimate connection existed between “the dogmatic Jerusalem, the central institutional object of faith, and the historical Jerusalem, the city of Palestine.” Finally, Jerusalem was also the heavenly city of the Book of Revelation, connecting the sacred past with the expectation of the Second Coming.¹⁶³



Figure 1. This thirteenth-century *mappa mundi* places Jerusalem at the center of the world, a typical move for medieval cartographers.

“Map of the world showing Jerusalem at the center,” in ARTStor, cited 22 April 2013.

¹⁶³ Bernard McGinn, “Iter Sancti Sepulchri: The Piety of the First Crusaders,” in *Essays on Medieval Civilization*, ed. Bede Karl Lackner and Kenneth Roy Philp (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), 40.

Above all else, the privileged position of Jerusalem was guaranteed by its relation to Christ. As Jonathan Riley-Smith explains:

Jerusalem and the land around it...was a relic, having absorbed the *virtus*, the sacred power, of the prophets and holy men of Israel, the apostles and first Christians and above all Christ himself, the incarnate God. He had walked there. He had been baptized in the waters of the Jordan. He had been crucified on Golgotha, where the ground had soaked up his blood. He had been laid to rest in the Holy Sepulchre, from which he had risen. In an age in which...men felt strongly the cultic power of those localities where saints had lived or where their relics rested and in which the ideals were set by monks whose lives and interests were bound up with the maintenance of such shrines, Jerusalem was bound to outshine all others...¹⁶⁴

For pilgrims seeking to connect to the human nature of Christ, there was no better place than Jerusalem. Walking in the same places that Christ walked and seeing the sites of his crucifixion and resurrection were the closest that a medieval person could experience to going back in time and being a witness to the events of Christ's life and death.

Marcus Bull has convincingly used miracle stories from the eleventh century to demonstrate the particular importance of Jerusalem to people in that period. In his essay "Views of Muslims and of Jerusalem in Miracle Stories, c. 1000 – c. 1200: Reflections on the Study of First Crusader's Motivations," Bull argues that Jerusalem was respected significantly more than even other major pilgrimage sites such as Rome or Compostela. As evidence, Bull cites *miracula* in which penitents bound with iron bands travel between various shrines in order to be freed. In many of these *miracula*, Jerusalem is the first place listed in the sequence of shrines and often

¹⁶⁴ Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, 21.

begins the process of breaking off the iron bands piece by piece. For example, Bull tells how “In the *Miracles of St. William of Norwich*, a knight from Lorraine is progressively freed from his penitent’s mail shirt, belt and iron bands at various places: first the Holy Sepulchre, then Clonfert in Ireland, and finally Norwich.” Bull also examines *miracula* in which a saint facilitates the travel of pilgrims to more distant locations by saving them from drowning or shipwreck. A significant number of these stories mention Jerusalem as the destination of the travelers. As Bull points out, “In these stories, the status of Jerusalem is appropriated by the cult centre that is the narrator’s particular interest. In the process...Jerusalem is moved closer to home: the sentiments, associations and images that it evokes elide into a domestic frame of reference.” These miracle stories clearly exhibit the evocative power of Jerusalem for people in the eleventh century.¹⁶⁵

Unsurprisingly, the privileged position of Jerusalem which Bull demonstrates in miracle stories is also found in pilgrimage narratives. In these narratives, the pilgrims’ enthusiasm for Jerusalem is explicitly connected with devotion to Christ. For Lietbert of Cambrai, being in the presence of the physical locations associated with the Gospel narrative allowed him to conflate his present experience with that of the followers of Jesus from the past:

He believed it would indeed be a blessed thing to see the humble dwellings; to adore in spirit with the shepherds the whimpering Christ-child; to celebrate in the church of Golgotha the sacraments of the blessed passion, crucifixion, and death; to lament the death with the blessed women at Christ’s tomb; to utterly wash with tears both his and their wounds inside its walls; and to follow with the most profound and heartfelt passion, on the Mount of Olives above the heavens, the ascending Christ with Mary his mother and the blessed apostles.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ Bull, “Muslims and Jerusalem in Miracle Stories,” 32-34.

¹⁶⁶ Vita Lietberti, trans. Ott, 3. ‘Whimpering’ is an odd adjective to describe the Christ-child. Perhaps it is intended to evoke Christ’s human nature?

The opportunity that pilgrims to Jerusalem had to so closely experience the divine provoked a strong emotional response. The author of the *Vita Richardi*, a biography of Richard of St-Vanne, writes, “How much, do you think, did the fountain of his tears erupt with the force of his piety, how much did his heart fill with the grief of his piety, with the pain of his piety?”¹⁶⁷ In this scene, the physical nearness that Richard feels to the divine as a result of his presence in Jerusalem, the site of Christ’s death and resurrection, provokes the equally physical response of weeping.

In the *Chronicon* of Hugh of Flavigny, Jerusalem’s special appeal is highlighted by the miracle of the Holy Fire which takes place at the Holy Sepulchre. According to Hugh, on Holy Saturday in Jerusalem, thousands of Christians including Richard of Saint-Vanne were gathered at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Everyone was waiting eagerly for the annual miracle of the lamps to occur. This particular year, however, the anticipation was mixed with fear because the Muslims threatened to unleash their swords on the Christians if the miracle failed to occur. Suddenly, it happened. With no human intervention, a fire spontaneously lit in one of the lamps by the power of God. This miracle proved the power of Christ to believers and nonbelievers alike.¹⁶⁸

Just as important as the spiritual experience of traveling to Jerusalem was the chance to return home with some portable piece of the divine, either from Jerusalem itself or from Constantinople along the way. In the *Vita Richardi*, Richard stops in Constantinople on his way to Jerusalem and meets the emperor Constantine VIII and the patriarch Alexius I Studites. The

¹⁶⁷ *Vita Richardi abbatis S. Vitoni Vidunensis*, ed. D.W Wattenbach, in *Pilgrimage A Reader*, ed. Whalen, 173.

¹⁶⁸ Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, 396.

patriarch gives Richard several relics, including “two small fragments of the cross of salvation, encased in pure gold in the shape of the cross,” along with relics from other saints. Lest there be any doubt about the legitimacy of these relics, the necklace containing the fragments of the true cross is the star of a miracle story found later in the narrative. Richard goes for a bath in the river Jordan, only to leave without realizing that he has lost the necklace in the water. When he returns, he finds the relic floating back to him on the waves.¹⁶⁹ In Hugh of Flavigny’s account, the patriarch of Jerusalem gives Richard a *marsupium...reliquiis sanctorum*: a bag containing relics of the saints to carry with him on his journey. Along with these relics, Richard also takes home an actual rock from the Holy Sepulcher that had been dislodged when Muslims threw rocks at the building during Holy Week.¹⁷⁰ The importance of this structure is so great that it itself is considered equally as holy as the bones of saints and other more traditional types of relics.

In Glaber’s account of the pilgrimage of 1033, many of the pilgrims had another purpose, namely “to die before they returned to their own lands.” In particular, Glaber recounts the story of a certain pilgrim named Lethbaud:

A certain Burgundian called Lethbaud, from the region of Autun, went on this journey in the company of others. When he had seen these most holy of places, he went to the Mount of Olives...[and] threw himself to the ground, his arms extended in the form of a cross, and with many tears he exulted in the Lord with indescribable joy...revealing the desires of his heart: “Lord Jesus...I beseech thee by the plenitude of thy goodness, if this year is to be my last, let me not return to my own land but let it come to be accomplished in the sight of this, the place of thy Ascension.”

¹⁶⁹ Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, 174.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 396.

After dinner that night, Lethbaud falls ill, receives the Eucharist, says farewell to his companions, and dies.¹⁷¹ For Lethbaud and other pilgrims, the spiritual merits of Jerusalem as a result of Christ's presence there made it an especially auspicious place to die. The fact that Lethbaud throws himself to the ground in a cruciform shape illustrates the specifically Christological nature of his devotion.

Finally, it is not only the destination of Jerusalem that counts, but also what occurs on the journey. One example of this can be found in the *Vita Lietberti*. Despite the best efforts of Lietbert and his companions, their journey ends before reaching Jerusalem when the sailors he hires on Cyprus take him and his group back to Laodicea rather than risk a pagan ambush. Nevertheless, the account of Lietbert's pilgrimage includes several miracles that indicate that God looked favorably upon Lietbert and his companions. In one instance, Lietbert faces down a fierce-looking group of Saracens. The chronicler says that they were "bandits with crested and bound hair and half-clothed, wearing mantles and broad boots. Quivers hung from their shoulders and they carried bows and long spears." Nevertheless, Lietbert is undaunted, and God does not permit the bandits to do him or his men any harm. Later, a member of the group known as Lord Fulk becomes ill in Corinth while the bishop and his companions wait for a ship to take them to the Holy Land. On the night before the group is to leave, Fulk is on the brink of death and sees a demon that has come with a red-hot trident to snatch his soul off to Hell. Just before the demon succeeds in his mission, Mary and Saint Andrew intervene. In the morning, Fulk is completely healed and is able to join Lietbert and the others on the next leg of their

¹⁷¹ Glaber, *Histories*, 201.

journey. In the case of Lietbert's pilgrimage, it is the orientation and motion of the pilgrims towards Jerusalem that ensures their spiritual benefit.¹⁷²

A similar series of miracles occurs in the *Chronicon* of Hugh of Flavigny. At the beginning of the journey, Hugh reports that a bedridden man named Hubert sees a vision of an angel in the form of a dove who tells him, "Go, prepare what's necessary, and hurry to Jerusalem, because God orders it!"¹⁷³ With the help of his son Gauzfred, Hubert readies his belongings and is carried by friends and relatives to the edge of town. Once Hubert is placed on his horse and crosses the bridge, his sickness disappears, and he is able to join the company of Richard of Saint Vanne.¹⁷⁴

Later on the journey, according to Hugh, another miracle occurs which mimics Jesus's transformation of water into wine, as featured in the scene of the Wedding at Cana from the Gospel of John.¹⁷⁵ Abbot Richard is sitting at a desert oasis and orders a servant to get him a drink from the well. When Richard drinks out of the vase that the servant brings back to him, however, he is perplexed to find it full of wine. Although he pours it out and sends the servant back to the fountain once again, the result is the same: the water has been transformed into wine. What's more, the wine proves to be an inexhaustible supply; after recognizing the miracle and drinking the wine, Richard offers it to his companions, who are all able to drink without diminishing the amount left in the vase. This part of the miracle is reminiscent of Jesus'

¹⁷² Vita Lietberti, trans. Ott, 5-6.

¹⁷³ While the phrasing of the angel's message is similar to language used in accounts of Urban II's speech at Clermont, there is no good reason to think that the two are directly connected.

¹⁷⁴ Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, 393

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, 394. cf. John 2:1-12.

multiplication of the bread and loaves in the Gospels, in which a large crowd is able to be fed from a small supply of bread and fish with baskets of food left over.¹⁷⁶

Lastly, Hugh describes a confrontation between Richard of St-Vanne and his companions and the Muslim inhabitants of a certain city on the way to Jerusalem. When Richard's company reaches Jerusalem, the men set up an altar outside the walls in order to celebrate mass. As the mass is taking place, however, Muslims who had been laying an ambush begin to throw rocks at the altar and at the monks and priests who are performing the service. Miraculously, the rocks are diverted from their paths and fall harmlessly to the ground, far from their intended targets. This marvel so astonishes the Muslims that they abandon their hostility and depart the company of pilgrims.¹⁷⁷ Like the dismemberment of the German knight, this miracle is as much about the special spiritual benefits bestowed upon pilgrims to Jerusalem as it is about Muslim violence against Christians.

“Take Up Your Cross and Follow Me”: Mass Pilgrimage, the Suffering Savior, and Apocalypse

Although Jerusalem's particular connection with Christ helps to explain why pilgrims may have wanted to travel there, this is only a partial answer to the question. After all, Jerusalem had been a destination for Christian pilgrims since the fourth century, but the phenomenon of mass pilgrimage emerged only in the eleventh century. Likewise, the opening up of the land route through Hungary still does not explain pilgrims' willingness to take such a difficult journey. As scholars such as Rachel Fulton have shown, however, the development of mass pilgrimage in

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Matthew 14:13-21, Mark 6:31-44, Luke 9:10-17; John 6:5-15

¹⁷⁷ Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, 394-395. This story is potentially derived from John 8:59.

the eleventh century also coincided with a new emphasis on the 'cult of the cross' and the importance of experiencing closeness with Christ's human nature, which had experienced pain and died for the sins of humanity. This type of devotion was especially expressed in the art of the period, such as the late tenth century Gero cross in Cologne cathedral which depicts a suffering Christ (see Figure 2).¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁸ Fulton, *Judgment to Passion*, 60-64. See also Morris, *Sepulchre*, 150-151.



Figure 2. This realistic representation of Christ dying on the cross was produced at the end of the tenth century. It is one of the earliest artistic representations of this trend, depicting a dead Jesus hanging on the cross with his eyes closed.

“Gero Crucifix,” 10th century, in ARTStor, cited 7 April 2013.

Often, historians writing about this new theological development have been vague about its origins. As Rachel Fulton notes, those discussing the period have said that the causes of devotion to Christ’s suffering humanity are ‘complex and mysterious,’ ‘defy definition,’ and that ‘the connexion between them cannot be explained.’ Nevertheless, in her book *From Judgement to Passion*, Fulton sets out to locate the catalysts for this change. She asks, “Why, after all, did

the image of Christ change *at just this time* in the history of Christian devotion, and why did it change *in the way that it did?*” Ultimately, Fulton argues that the eleventh-century’s special interest in Christ’s humanity was derived from thought about the dual millennia of the year 1000 and the thousand-year anniversary of Christ’s passion in 1033. She writes, “in the particular case of the great eleventh- and twelfth-century change in the devotional attitude toward Christ and Mary, which scholars have typically ascribed to a ‘change in sensibility’ ...that catalytic ‘something’ was in fact the calendar.”¹⁷⁹

A reading of the pilgrimage narratives reveals a connection between pilgrimage, devotion to Christ, and eschatology. Based on the sources available, at least three out of the four mass pilgrimages can be linked to an expectation of the Second Coming. Although no explicit mention of eschatological thought is found in any of the three main chronicles describing the pilgrimage of Richard of St. Vanne, Richard’s own writings reveal that he was interested in the subject. In a letter written around the beginning of the eleventh century, Richard describes voyages to the otherworld taken by two monks at the monastery of Saint-Vaast in 1011 and 1012. This letter contains many eschatological themes, including references to Elijah and Enoch, whom medieval exegetes associated with the two witnesses described in Revelation 11:3-12. Richard also makes a connection with himself and the apostle Nathaniel, who is promised by Jesus in John 1:51 that he will see “heaven wide open, and God’s angels ascending and descending upon the

¹⁷⁹ Fulton, *Judgment to Passion*, 60-64.

Son of Man.”¹⁸⁰ Near the end of the second vision, Richard reports than an angel showed the visionary a door with an inscription on it. Then, the vision takes an eschatological twist:

With the light of the eyes being applied a little more perspicaciously, before the great clarity with which they completely shone forth, he was thus scarcely able to read the inscriptions that were contained there: “The day of the Lord will come, it will come quickly like a thief.” He said, “What, lord, what will the sinners do then? Rather, how many years remain for this last age to await the arrival of the Judge of all? The angel said, “Soul, read that which follows, and know those things that are to be marveled at by all who contemplate them...” He said, “Indeed, lord, the years are few.” And the angel said, “I tell you, it is no longer. But today it was revealed to you how in a short while will be the end of the world.”¹⁸¹

The content of this letter suggests that Richard would have been motivated to go on pilgrimage, at least to some degree, by the notion that the Second Coming of Christ was near.

Rodulfus Glaber suggests that the pilgrimage of 1033 was also caught up with apocalyptic expectations. He describes it, saying, “When some consulted the more watchful of the age as to what was meant by so many people, in numbers unheard-of in earlier ages, going to Jerusalem, some replied cautiously enough that it could portend nothing other than the advent of the accursed Anti-Christ who, according to divine testimony, is expected to appear at the end of the world.”¹⁸² The interpretation of this passage is somewhat controversial. According to some scholars, including the translator of Glaber’s *Histories*, John France, the millennium held no

¹⁸⁰ The letter itself can be found recorded in Hugh of Flavigny, *Chronicon*, 390. Recently, it has attracted attention from scholars and resulted in several articles including Sharon Roubach, “The Hidden Apocalypse: Richard of Saint Vanne and the Otherworld,” *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006): 308-310 and David C. Van Meter, “Apocalyptic Moments and the Eschatological Rhetoric of Reform in the Early Eleventh Century: The Case of the Visionary of St. Vaast,” in *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950-1050*, ed. Richard Landes, Andrew Gow, and David C. Van Meter (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 311-325.

¹⁸¹ On pg. 338 of *The Apocalyptic Year 1000*, in the section on “Documents on Eschatological Expectations and Social Change,” Van Meter includes a translation of a portion of the letter; to my knowledge, this is the only part of the letter available in English.

¹⁸² Glaber, *Histories*, 205.

apocalyptic resonance for Glaber. In his introduction to the chronicle, France suggests that Glaber is merely reporting the speculation of others and writes, “There is no hint that Glaber had expected the world to end at either of the millennia.”¹⁸³ Other historians, such as Rachel Fulton, however, have argued that the otherwise chronologically-disorganized Glaber’s precision regarding the two Christological millennia of 1000 and 1033 suggests that he was more invested.¹⁸⁴ Either way, that even some made the connection between this pilgrimage and the end of the world is significant for the sake of this argument.

Finally, at least one source for the Great German Pilgrimage suggests that it too may have been a response to a period of perceived chronological significance associated with the end times. The author of the *vita* of Bishop Altmann of Passau, a participant on the pilgrimage, writes that many were deceived by the idea that the Day of Judgment would occur on Easter in the year in which Good Friday and the Annunciation fell on the same day. “At that time,” he reports, “many nobles went to Jerusalem to see the Lord’s Sepulcher, deceived by a certain popular opinion, namely that the Day of Judgement was at hand, because in that year Easter would come on the sixth of the Kalends of April, on which the resurrection of Christ is written.”¹⁸⁵ The coincidence of these two notable religious holidays was rare (the last time it had occurred was in 992, seventy

¹⁸³ France’s introduction can be found in Glaber, *Histories*, lxiv.

¹⁸⁴ Fulton, *Judgment and Passion*, 71. I am inclined to agree with Fulton, given that heightened apocalyptic expectation explains the otherwise somewhat odd coincidence of so many people taking advantage of the opening of the land route to Jerusalem specifically in the year 1033.

¹⁸⁵ “Eo tempore multi nobiles ibant Ierosolimam, invisere sepulchrum Domini, quadam vulgari opinione decepti, quasi instaret dies iudicii, eo quod pascha illo anno evanisset sexton Kalend. Aprilis, quo scribitur resurrection Christi.” See *Vita Altmanni Episcopi Pataviensis*, ed. D. W. Wattenbach, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores*, vol. 12 (Hannover, 1856), 230. Translation mine.

two years earlier) and helps to explain why such a large group of pilgrims may have chosen to travel to Jerusalem at an otherwise unexceptional time.¹⁸⁶

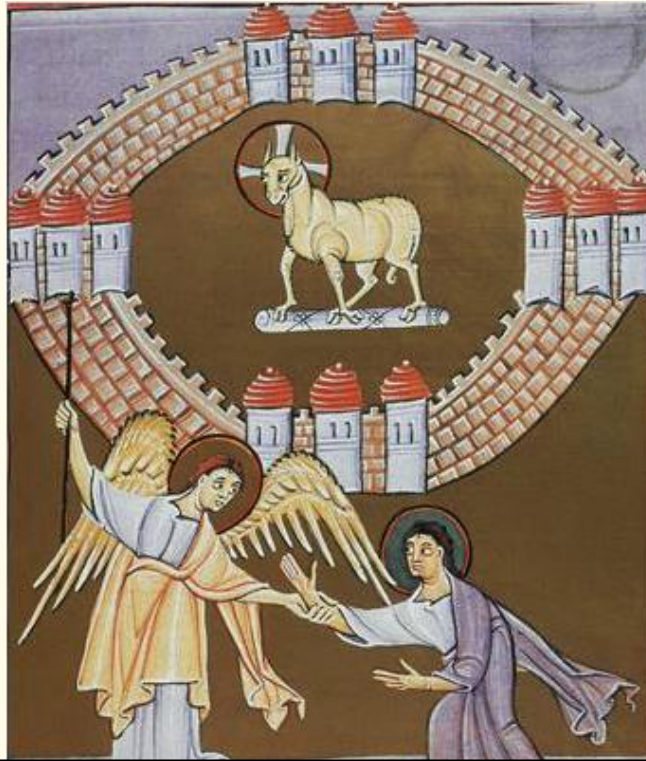


Figure 3. The association of Jerusalem with the Second Coming can be traced to the New Testament. For example, Revelation 21:22-23 says, “I saw no temple in the city, for its temple is the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb. The city does not need the sun or the moon to shine on it, for the glory of God gives it light, and the Lamb is its lamp.” This scene is being depicted in the folio above from the Bamberg Apocalypse.

“Bamberg Apocalypse,” codex Bibl. 140, fol. 55 r., in ARTStor, cited 7 April 2013.

¹⁸⁶ Rubenstein, *Armies*, 9. Here, Rubenstein catches onto the eschatological significance of the German pilgrimage, although he overdoes the violence as foreshadowing the crusade and plays too little attention to the Christological significance.

Conclusion: From Pilgrimage to Crusading

The study of mass pilgrimage is applicable to an understanding of the crusades in a number of ways. The privileged position of Jerusalem for pilgrims, both in terms of its connection with the Biblical past and its bearing upon the apocalyptic future, is a motif that carries over well into the study of crusading. The devotion to Christ reflected in the pilgrimage narratives is also found in histories of the First Crusade. For example, the accounts of Urban II's speech at Clermont portray him as using Christocentric discourse to promote the crusade. In Robert the Monk's account, Urban says, "This land our Savior made illustrious by his birth, beautiful with his life, and sacred with his suffering; he redeemed it with his death and glorified it with his tomb. This royal city is now held captive by her enemies, and made pagan by those who do not know God."¹⁸⁷ Likewise, Peter the Hermit was popular in part because he practiced a form of *imitatio Christi*. As Jay Rubenstein describes, Peter's "connection to Jerusalem, the redeemed sinners in his entourage, perhaps even his preference for fish—all of these signs together would have shown how Peter followed the example of Christ, who had also walked barefoot, avoided handling money, and taken as companions one prostitute and at least two fishermen."¹⁸⁸ These are only two examples, but they serve to illustrate the trend of devotion to Christ that permeated the crusading endeavor.

Relics also play a major role in histories of the First Crusade. Along the route to Jerusalem, the crusaders collected whatever they could find (and steal) in the areas through which they passed. Gerbault of Lille took an arm of St. George, other crusaders collected a

¹⁸⁷ Robert the Monk in *The Crusades: A Reader*, ed. S. J. Allen and Emilie Amt (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 41

¹⁸⁸ Rubenstein, *Armies*, 13.

reliquary containing two of St. Andrew's fingers, and a knight named Ilger Bigod won the prize for strangest relic (at least by modern standards) when he collected a ball of hair torn out by the Virgin Mary as she grieved over Christ's death. The most famous relic of all those discovered by the crusaders was, of course, the Holy Lance, which was said to have been used by the centurion Longinus to pierce Christ's side at his crucifixion. The discovery of the Lance at Antioch following Peter Bartholomew's series of visions of Jesus and various saints was an important morale booster for the crusaders during an otherwise terrible siege. This find also inspired a whole series of miracle stories in the crusade chronicles, involving miraculous protection given to those near the Lance in battle and the appearance of a heavenly host of saints and ghost crusaders, who helped the living win the siege.¹⁸⁹

Finally, although historians disagree about the extent to which the idea of the Last Days stimulated crusaders, there are several reasons to think that apocalyptic thought played at least some role in motivating participants on the First Crusade. One well known example is the preaching of Peter the Hermit, who claimed to have a mandate from God instructing Christians to fight the Muslims. This mandate said that "Jerusalem will be downtrodden by gentiles until the times of nations are fulfilled," echoing the words Jesus used to describe to his disciples how to recognize the last days.¹⁹⁰ Moreover, even Jonathan Riley-Smith, a historian known to be skeptical of eschatological interpretations, admits that the crusaders had a "conviction that they were operating in a supernatural context" as the results of natural phenomenon that occurred

¹⁸⁹ Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, 95-96.

¹⁹⁰ Rubenstein, *Armies*, 14.

throughout the expedition, such as the appearance of a comet in October 1097 on the march into Syria or a lunar eclipse on June 5, 1099 as the crusade neared Jerusalem.¹⁹¹

Although this list of similarities between mass pilgrimage and crusading is by no means exhaustive, it serves to illustrate the significance of mass pilgrimage and Christology to the study of the First Crusade. While some texts related to mass pilgrimage, such as Glaber's *Histories*, are widely available and frequently studied, other equally valuable texts, such as the *Chronicon* of Hugh of Flavigny or the *Vita Lietberti*, are underused, in part due to the dearth of reliable published translations. The argument made in this paper is only a small taste of the fruitful investigations which future scholars can make using these sources. I believe that they have much to offer both for historians of the First Crusade and for those interested in the theological developments of the eleventh-century.

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¹⁹¹ Riley-Smith, *First Crusade*, 92.

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