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About the Cover

The cover photo depicts a popular protest in Cochamba, Bolivia over water rights at La Plaza de la 14 de Septiembre in February 2000. The photo comes from "The Fight for Water and Life: Popular Participation in Cochabamba's Water War," by Abigail Austin, which is featured in this volume of the Michigan Journal of History.

Source: http://ejfood.blogspot.com/2013/03/environmental-justice-blogs-winter-2013_7.html

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A Letter From the Editor-in-Chief

Dear Readers,

On behalf of the editorial staff I would like to thank you for reading volume XIII of the Michigan Journal of History. This volume marks the 16th anniversary of the Journal, which was founded in 2001. The Journal has grown immensely since its foundation; now receiving hundreds of submissions each year from students both from the United States and internationally. This year was another year of continued growth and we believe that the essays published in volume XII demonstrate the exemplary historical research and writing occurring at the undergraduate level today. Our aim for this year's publication was to highlight historical research that is not only rooted in the past, but also relevant in the present. We believe we have accomplished this goal while at the same time publishing a diverse collection of essays centered around a multitude of countries, regions, ethnicities, and belief systems.

I would like to thank and congratulate the editorial staff for their hard work this year. The Journal's continued growth is only possible through their dedication, collaboration, and input. A special thank you to the faculty of the History Department of the University of Michigan for their continuing, invaluable support of this publication. We are also immensely appreciative of all the students who have submitted their excellent work to the Journal this year. Finally, I would like to extend my congratulations to the authors published in volume XIII of the Michigan Journal of History.

Sincerely,

Andrew Grafton
Editor-in-Chief, Michigan Journal of History

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Paid by the Rich: Carriages and the Birth of Progressive Federal Taxation, 1794-1816

Parker Abt
Yale University

Two horses made all the difference. When Napoleon came to London to negotiate terms of war in 1803, America was watching. He proposed to meet the British representative, Lord Whitworth, in a carriage and six horses. Lord Whitworth only had four horses at the time and replied to Napoleon, that as a representative of King George III, he must refuse to meet with him until an extra two could be acquired. Eventually Napoleon agreed to arrive with only four horses himself, and thus negotiations began. An American newspaper exclaimed, "According to the French side, it is said, that peace and war depended some time on *two horses*!"[1]

Horse-drawn carriages were status symbols of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In America, very few people had the means to own them until they were successfully mass produced in the 1870s.[2] In the seventeenth century, only colonial governors, who had the resources to have them imported from Britain, owned carriages. It was not until the middle to late eighteenth century that domestic carriage manufacturers started springing up in cities like New York and New Haven.[3] Even then, only the wealthy owned carriages, as most traveled by

[1] "Foreign Herald. London, January 27," *Otsego Herald*, April 14, 1803, America's Historical Newspapers, SQN: 10C8660C11E106C0.

[2] Thomas A. Kinney, *The Carriage Trade: Making Horse-Drawn Vehicles in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 11.

[3] George W. W. Houghton, *The Coaches of Colonial New-York: Paper Read on the Evening of March 4th 1890 Before the New-York Historical Society* (New York: Hub Publishing Co., 1890); Ben Ford, "The Cruttenden Carriage Works: The Development and Decline of Carriage Production in New Haven, Connecticut," *IA. The Journal of the Society for Industrial Archeology* 38, no. 1 (2012): 55.

foot or horseback.[4] Carriages were a sign of wealth and prestige, something to flaunt, something by which one aristocrat could be measured against another. The number of horses that drew it, the precious metals that adorned it, and the quality of its curtains were all ways to distinguish between the wealthier of two parties. Lord Whitworth could not be seen with fewer horses on his carriage than Napoleon because it would make Britain look weaker than France.

The most distinct case that demonstrates the symbolism of the carriage is that of George Washington. As President of the new, rising United States, George Washington needed a carriage that symbolized his country's might. Indeed, one senator acknowledged that Washington would only "have power as far as he would be seen in his Coach."[5] Accordingly, his carriage was built to be "the most splendid looking carriage ever exhibited among us was that used as befitting the character of that chief of men, George Washington, while acting as President of the United States."[6] A contemporary writer described the carriage's grandeur:

> One of the best of its kind, heavy and substantial; the body and wheels were of cream color, with gilt moldings, and it was suspended upon leather straps resting on iron springs. Portions of the sides of the upper part, as well as the front and rear, were furnished with neat green Venetian blinds, and the remainder was inclosed with black leather curtains.[7]

While such a carriage afforded President Washington an aura of wealth and excellence, he did not always use it. Choosing to espouse republican values, Washington walked the streets of the capital with the common folk daily. This practice earned him a reputation as a man of the people, an inspiring figure who exhibited the values of his country, the world's first democracy in the age of Westphalian states. The carriage represented the persona Washington wanted to play

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[4] Kinney, *The Carriage Trade*, 13.

[5] Joanne B. Freeman, *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 46.

[6] Houghton, *The Coaches of Colonial New-York*, 29.

[7] Ibid.

within certain contexts. With his "substantial" carriage, he was the esteemed leader of a wealthy state, and without it, he was a commoner who only governed those around him by their consent.

Given the powerful symbolism of the carriage, it is unsurprising that the carriage was one of the first items taxed by the federal government. Yet, at the time, this was not certain. The federal government tried to tax the people as little as possible, instead preferring to rely on a series of tariffs that could be collected at the port of trade.[8] In 1794, as a measure to raise revenue, Congress enacted a series of taxes on luxury items known as "internal duties," of which the carriage tax was one. However, whereas the other taxes applied to items at their point of production (excise taxes), the carriage tax applied to ownership. Taxing owners for their property was a novel concept at the time. This paper will explain the importance of this shift in federal taxation in addition to highlighting the carriage tax as an early example of the federal government taxing the wealthy for their extravagance directly. Further, it will demonstrate that even in the era of Adam Smith, it was still considered appropriate to enact taxes that specifically targeted the wealthy and their material possessions.

Early Carriage Tax History

Though the carriage tax of 1794 was monumental because it came from the federal government, carriage taxes were common in the states. Some states, especially in the South, kept taxation to a bare minimum, though many of the states that did have substantial tax regimes put a tax on carriages.[9] Along with items like tobacco, liquor, and refined (as opposed to brown) sugar,

[8] Max M. Edling, *A Hercules in the Cradle: War, Money, and the American State, 1783-1867* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 69.

[9] Julius Goebel and Joseph H. Smith, eds., *The Law Practice of Alexander Hamilton: Documents and Commentary*, vol. 4 (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1980), 301–2. States with various forms of carriage tax included New York, Connecticut, Virginia, South Carolina, New Jersey, and Rhode Island.

states viewed carriages as an unnecessary luxury item worthy of taxation if necessary. One 1781 Massachusetts tax law states this explicitly, stressing that the tax on these items exists "for the Supression of Immorality, Luxury, and Extravagance in this Commonwealth."[10]

From this law, which in a religious, Puritan state put extravagance in the same league as immorality, one can infer that owning a carriage could be shameful. Indeed, one editorialist in the *Gazette of the United States* referred to riding in carriages as a "bad habit" and proclaimed, "I should not be sorry to see the duty on carriages increased so as to amount to a prohibition."[11] Legislators, most of whom were wealthy landowners who used luxuries like the carriage as a method for maintaining an upper class reputation, were particularly ripe for shaming. In the new era of republican government, these legislators had to balance the prestige imputed by their wealth with a responsibility to appear, as George Washington did, a man of the people.

Finding oneself astray of this balance could mean public ridicule. John Adams learned this lesson the hard way. While serving as Vice President in 1789, it was publicly alleged that Adams routinely rode through the capital in a carriage with six horses, a level of extravagance unbefitting of a republican representative.[12] The controversy made it all the way to George Washington, who deemed it false. Though Washington was unhappy to see Adams made the subject of libel, he was even more dismayed by the level of attention the charge received in the popular press: "[Adams] has never, I believe, appeared with more than *two* horses in his Carriage—but it is to be lamented that *he,* and *some others,* have stirred a question which has

[10] "An Act Laying Certain Duties of Excise on Certain Articles Therein Mentioned, for the Purpose of Paying the Interest on Government Securities," in *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves, 1780-81*, n.d., 525, https://archive.org/stream/actsresolvespass178081mass#page/524.

[11] "From the Gazette of the United States," *The Herald; A Gazette for the Country*, March 2, 1796, America's Historical Newspapers, SQN: 10DF938E207C1210.

[12] Freeman, *Affairs of Honor*, 47.

given rise to so much animadversion; and which I confess, has given me much uneasiness."[13] The charge would continue to stain Adams's reputation; even three years later, a man accosted him in public about his carriage use. A bemused Adams sarcastically replied, "[I have] walked a league in the streets of Philadelphia everyday…in this respect I am undoubtedly the man of the most merit, any where to be found."[14]

Despite the popular awe and accompanying animosity that carriages engendered, a federal carriage tax was not an assured matter. In the early days of the United States, under the Articles of Confederation, the federal government could only impose taxes through the ineffective method of requisition.[15] The states were also terribly inefficient tax collectors in their own right.[16] When the Constitution gave the federal government more effective taxation powers, the Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, maneuvered to make the federal government the main collector of taxes rather than the states. In addition, some considered taxes a form of government oppression and the states were happy to foist this unenviable responsibility on the federal government. The Federalists, the political party led by Hamilton, believed that in this role, the federal government could, by willfully accepting the unpopularity, collect taxes more effectively than the states could. According to Max Edling, "In [the Federalists'] view, the state governments were too weak and changeable to command respect and collect taxes. They

[13] George Washington to David Stuart, July 26, 1789, The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008., http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/GEWN-05-03-02-0180.

[14] Freeman, *Affairs of Honor*, 48.

[15] Joseph M. Dodge, "What Federal Taxes Are Subject to the Rule of Apportionment Under the Constitution?," *University of Pennsylania Journal of Constitutional Law* 11, no. 4 (April 1, 2009): 848.; Requisition was a centuries-old method of taxation whereby the federal government requested a certain sum of money from the states, which could supply it to the federal government by whatever manner they wished. However, because the Articles of Confederation included no enforcement mechanism, the states could, and often did, avoid paying the requested tax.

[16] Edling, *A Hercules in the Cradle*, 57.

espoused a stronger, more stable central government that could require obedience to the law."[17] He accomplished this primarily by convincing Congress to assume the debts of the states. One effect, was that the states no longer had to pay down large debts and therefore had little reason to continue taxing as they had done previously.[18] With the federal government set as the nation's primary tax collector, Hamilton laid out his vision for the federal government's role in raising revenue.

In two works, the *Report on Public Credit* and the *Report on Funds for the Payment of the States' Debts*, published in 1790 and 1792, respectively, Hamilton suggested a tax regime based heavily on an impost tax, commonly referred to as the tariff. This was not a novel idea. Indeed for some time, federal legislators had agreed that impost taxes were the easiest to collect (the tax collectors were only at ports, out of the sight of most people), the most profitable for the government, and the least burdensome on the people. After this, however, the two eminent political factions disagreed. The Democratic Republicans, led by Thomas Jefferson, believed that impost taxes alone (perhaps with an emergency direct tax if necessary) were sufficient to run the government.[19] Hamilton and the Federalists contrarily believed that more taxes were necessary to raise and support a national army and navy. Hamilton personally believed that the United States would inevitably find itself in war, and that in war even the most powerful nations, let alone the fledgling United States, lack the necessary funds to avoid accruing a deleteriously large debt. Hamilton wanted a series of domestic excise taxes on carriages, tobacco, sales at auction,

[17] Ibid., 69.

[18] Ibid., 68.

[19] Robin L. Einhorn, *American Taxation, American Slavery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 158. Direct taxes, traditionally levied on people and land, were special in that the Constitution mandated they be apportioned by state based on population. Its definition was the central issue in *Hylton v. US*.

licenses for the retail sale of alcohol, and licenses to practice law.[20] He believed that the carriage tax in particular would be an effective tax because it would usually fall on individuals wealthy enough that such a tax would have such an insignificant impact on their estates that they would not try to evade it. [21]

Controversy over the First Federal Carriage Tax: *Hylton v. US*

Hamilton left office at the end of 1794. By that point, most of his tax agenda had become law. The impost tax naturally passed first, becoming only the second law passed by the United States under the Constitution when George Washington signed it into law on July 4, 1789.[22] By 1793, Hamilton's prediction that an army, and therefore more revenue, would be necessary had come true. Aided by the British, Native Americans were attacking American outposts in the Northwest Territory and British ships were capturing American trading ships in the Atlantic that aimed to bring American exports to the French West Indies.[23] To provide additional funding for the army, in June 1794, Congress passed many of the excise taxes that Hamilton had previously proposed on luxuries, including those on tobacco, refined sugars, and sales at auction.[24] June 5 saw the passage of the first federal carriage tax.

The structure of the tax had never been seen before in federal law. To begin with, the tax only applied to carriages owned for personal use or to be rented out for hire; only the wealthy

[20] Alexander Hamilton, "Report on Funds for the Payment of the Interest on the States' Debts," To the Speaker of the House of Representatives (Philadelphia: Treasury Department, March 4, 1790), http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/ARHN01060201790001. Excise taxes were generally assessed on producers at the point of production.

[21] Alexander Hamilton, "Report on the Redemption of the Public Debt," To the Speaker of the House of Representatives (Philadelphia: Treasury Department, November 30, 1792), http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/ARHN-01-13-02-0118-0001.

[22] Edling, *A Hercules in the Cradle*, 50–51.

[23] Goebel and Smith, *The Law Practice of Alexander Hamilton*, 4:298.

[24] Edling, *A Hercules in the Cradle*, 76.

could own carriages and rarely did anyone else even rent them.[25] The tax did not apply to carriages "chiefly employed in and for the transporting or carrying of goods, wares, merchandize, and commodities,"[26] meaning that people who used carriages as a tool to conduct business or transport goods to market would not be harmed. The tax also distinguished between carriages carrying different levels of prestige (e.g. coaches, chariots, chaises, etc.), charging a higher rate for the more prestigious carriages. Taking into consideration that Americans correlated carriage opulence with social standing, it is evident the legislators implicitly oriented the tax around the carriage owner's wealth. One editorialist wrote, "What tax can be more congenial to our republican form of government than the one calculated to reach the most wealthy class of people...What higher proof can be required of a man's ability to pay taxes than his state of living?"[27]

The critical distinction between the carriage tax and the others enacted in June 1794 was that the carriage tax applied to the owners of the item as opposed to the producers of the item. The practical effect was simple; instead of the government taxing the carriage manufacturer at the point of production (i.e. a tax collected once), the government would tax the owner annually.

Philosophically, taxing owners instead of producers represented a major shift in the federal government's role in taxation. Taxes on production were simple excise taxes. When a merchant produced items for consumption, the government taxed it. The logic was simple. As the provider of a stable market in which to sell a good, the government could tax that good to keep providing the stable market. Furthermore, goods for sale do not enable the same personal attraction as a

[25] Oliver Wendell Holmes and Peter T. Rohrbach, *Stagecoach East: Stagecoach Days in the East from Colonial Period to the Civil War* (Washington, D.C: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1983), 6.

[26] United States. Congress (3rd, 1st session : 1793-1794). House., "A Bill Laying Duties upon Carriages for the Conveyance of Persons" (Philadelphia: Printed by Francis Childs and John Swaine, 1794), Early American imprints. First series ; no. 47258.

[27] "From the Gazette of the United States."

good meant for private ownership. For example, taxing a carriage that one owns would have been more contentious than taxing a carriage that one plans to sell because it represents greater government intrusion into one's private life. Whereas excise taxes applied to actions (producing something, using something, selling something at auction, obtaining a law license), the carriage tax applied to ownership, where one is essentially taxed for doing nothing (the carriage could sit in a shed for the year and it would still be taxed). As one correspondent to James Madison remarked about the structure of the tax, "I cannot distinguish between a tax on my Carriage, and a tax on any other part of my property real or personal."[28]

Taxes on land and taxes on people, known as capitation taxes, were examples of federal taxes where no action was necessary to induce the tax. These taxes were known as direct taxes. Direct taxes were special because under the Constitution, they had to be apportioned among the states by population.[29] The apportionment rule for direct taxes clashed with a rule governing excise taxes stating that taxes on the given item must be uniform across the nation (uniformity rule). The carriage tax would not have been such a landmark statute if Congress had implemented it as a direct tax. However, as the following table shows, the carriage tax would have been grossly unfair if it had been apportioned among the states like a direct tax because there were so few carriage owners to begin with. For the tax to work, Hamilton needed it to function as an excise tax. [30]

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[28] Alexander White to James Madison, May 19, 1794, The Papers of James Madison Digital Edition, J. C. A. Stagg, editor. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2010., http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/JSMN-01-15-02-0239. Here White uses "property real or personal" according to a legal definition whereby real property is immovable (land or a building) and personal property is moveable (a carriage or firearm).

[29] For example, if the federal government wanted to raise $1 million through a direct tax on land, each state would have to provide a portion of that amount in line with their population (more populated states paid more of the tax). Similarly, each state would then usually tax each landowner in line with what portion of the state's land they owned. In calculating each state's population, slaves counted only as three-fifths of a person.

[30] Table from Einhorn, *American Taxation, American Slavery*, 161.

Table 2: The 1794 Carriage Tax as an Apportioned Direct Tax, 1796

	Population (three-fifths) 1790	Tax Quota (dollars)	Number of Carriages	Carriages per 1,000 (three-fifths)	Tax per Carriage (dollars)
Delaware	55,541	621	847	15.2	0.73
New Jersey	179,570	2,006	2,195	12.2	0.91
Maryland	278,514	3,112	1,942	7.0	1.60
South Carolina	206,235	2,304	1,385	6.7	1.66
Rhode Island	68,729	768	446	6.5	1.72
Massachusetts	475,257	5,310	2,972	6.3	1.79
New York	331,590	3,705	1,811	5.5	2.05
Connecticut	237,037	2,648	1,288	5.4	2.06
Virginia	699,282	7,813	2,663	3.8	2.93
New Hampshire	141,836	1,585	418	2.9	3.79
North Carolina	387,946	4,335	1,100	2.8	3.94
Pennsylvania	432,878	4,837	1,178	2.7	4.11
Georgia	70,842	792	139	2.0	5.69
TOTAL	3,650,668	40,790	18,384	5.0	2.22

NOTE: The Virginia figures include Kentucky, the North Carolina figures include Tennessee, the Massachusetts figures include Maine, and Vermont is excluded entirely. The quotas are computed from the actual yield of the carriage tax in fiscal year 1795–96 ($40,790).

SOURCE: Tench Coxe, "Internal Revenues," February 21, 1798, ASP-F, 1: 565; Seventh Census, 1850, ix.

The disparities between a regular excise tax and the carriage tax, as well as the carriage tax's striking similarities to a direct tax, were too many to ignore. In 1793, even before Congress passed the carriage tax bill, Daniel Carroll, a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, wrote to James Madison that a carriage tax would be "simple & equall; but still this is a direct Tax."[31] Carroll expressed frustration that a carriage tax was worthy yet could never work because it had to be a direct tax. Further, when the carriage tax was introduced in Congress as an indirect tax, Madison wrote to Thomas Jefferson about it with surprise.[32] In later correspondence, Madison believed that an *indirect* carriage tax must be unconstitutional.

Madison was not alone in his thoughts. The debate over the carriage tax's constitutionality was so contentious that to settle the issue, Alexander Hamilton concocted a fictional test case

[31] Daniel Carroll to James Madison, January 13, 1793, The Papers of James Madison Digital Edition, J. C. A. Stagg, editor. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2010., http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/JSMN0114020395.

[32] James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, April 14, 1794, The Papers of James Madison Digital Edition, J. C. A. Stagg, editor. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2010., http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/JSMN-01-15-02-0203.

that could quickly proceed to the Supreme Court, which could give a definitive ruling.[33] Hamilton and his opponents stipulated that a Virginian, Daniel Hylton, owned 125 carriages (an absurd number) all for his own personal use and refused to pay the tax on them. In *Hylton v. US*, Hamilton himself argued on behalf of the government and a Southerner named John Taylor of Caroline represented Hylton.

A fiery orator, Taylor asserted that the direct tax clause of the Constitution was "the most important stipulation of the whole compact…the strongest band of the union."[34] Taylor interpreted a direct tax as one that the payer gave directly to the government, without the intercession of a third party (i.e. the producer with an excise tax). Taylor's definition and its application to the carriage tax was the same echoed by Alexander White to James Madison prior to the tax's approval: "By a direct tax I understand a tax in which no one participates except the man who pays it."[35] Taylor further argued that uniformity in taxation was one of the most important Constitutional principles, citing that the Constitution banned taxes on exports because they might be used as a federal instrument for favoring some states over others by taxing goods only produced in some states. Therefore, he argued, the carriage tax must be unconstitutional because it violated the uniformity principle by falling heavily on certain states, per the disparities highlighted in the earlier table.

While Taylor argued that the unequal burden the carriage tax would place on the states was a reason for it to be unconstitutional, Hamilton argued the unequal burden proved the exact opposite. In addition to disputing Taylor's definition of a direct tax, Hamilton said that since the

[33] Einhorn, *American Taxation, American Slavery*, 160. This solution was significant at the time because, as Justice Samuel Chase would later write in his opinion, the Supreme Court had not yet decided that it could void acts of Congress by declaring them unconstitutional. It would take another seven years for Chief Justice John Marshall to assert the Court could do so in *Marbury v. Madison*.

[34] Cited in Goebel and Smith, *The Law Practice of Alexander Hamilton*, 4:318.

[35] White to Madison, May 19, 1794.

carriage tax could not be reasonably apportioned among the states, it was constitutional as it stood, affecting each carriage owner fairly regardless of the state in which they resided.[36] To declare the tax unconstitutional by Taylor's reasoning would hamstring the broad power of the federal government to lay taxes, as granted by the Constitution.

Adding another layer of complexity, historian Robin Einhorn argues that Taylor and wealthy Southerners like Madison who opposed the constitutionality of the carriage tax had something implicit undergirding their side's argument: the protection of slavery. Taylor argued that ruling the carriage tax unconstitutional would set a dangerous precedent:

> If Congress can assess or rate one species of property…it follows that they may assess or rate every species of property…Unhappily for the southern states, they possess a species of property, which is peculiarly exposed, and upon which if this law stands, the whole burden of government may be exclusively laid.[37]

Essentially, Taylor believed that the government could tax slavery out of existence by putting a duty on slaves so high that they would be unprofitable to keep. If all property taxes had to be apportioned among the states as direct taxes, as Taylor argued, then the northern states would pay a large tax proportional to their population for something none of them owned; the northern states would never agree to such a tax. Justice William Paterson, a former delegate to the Constitutional Convention, agreed with Taylor's argument in this respect. Paterson wrote:

> The [direct tax] provision was made in favor of the southern states. They possessed a large number of slaves; they had extensive tracts of territory, thinly settled and not very productive. Congress in such case might tax slaves at discretion or arbitrarily, and land in every part of the Union after the same rate or measure… To guard [the southern states] against imposition in these particulars was the reason of introducing the clause in the Constitution which directs that representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the states according to their respective numbers.[38]

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[36] Goebel and Smith, *The Law Practice of Alexander Hamilton*, 4:334.

[37] Quoted in Einhorn, *American Taxation, American Slavery*, 197.

[38] "Hylton v. United States 3 U.S. 171 (1796)," *FindLaw*, accessed December 14, 2016, http://caselaw.findlaw.com/us-supreme-court/3/171.html.

Ironically, Justice Paterson used this reasoning to rule the carriage tax constitutional. The Court voted unanimously for Hamilton's side. The court ruled the carriage tax was not a direct tax. Justice Paterson used the above reasoning to explain that the direct tax was a terrible instrument for raising revenue, but was a necessary compromise to pass the Constitution. He believed that the direct tax should not extended any further than to protect the Southern states from egregious taxes on land and slaves. As a carriage tax did not impinge on either of these factors, the government should be allowed to impose the tax per their broad power to lay taxes. Whereas Taylor had argued that the power to lay taxes was limited to those taxes enumerated in the Constitution, the justices each implied in their opinions that the power to lay taxes was infinite, only constrained by the enumerated clauses: the apportionment rule constrained direct taxes and the uniformity rule constrained excise taxes (along with impost taxes and duties). Nothing constrained taxes that fell outside of these ranges. The justices further agreed with Hamilton that the absurdity of apportioning the carriage tax meant that it was not a direct tax. However, the justices never took the next step of explicitly defining the carriage tax as an excise tax. As Justice James Iredell succinctly put it, "As all direct taxes must be apportioned, it is evident that the Constitution contemplated none as direct but such as could be apportioned. If this cannot be apportioned, it is therefore not a direct tax in the sense of the Constitution."[39]

It is important to note that despite the unprecedented opposition the carriage tax faced in *Hylton v. US*, no one questioned the underlying mechanism of raising revenue by taxing the wealthy for their extravagance.[40] To avoid the possibility of the Supreme Court ruling the carriage tax unconstitutional, the Federalists could have designed it like a regular excise tax that

[39] Ibid.

[40] Goebel and Smith, *The Law Practice of Alexander Hamilton*. This was the first case in which the Supreme Court was called upon to rule on the constitutionality of a law.

impacted producers with the cost reflected in an increased price paid by the wealthy consumer. That the Federalists were willing to put the law through such a constitutional test evinces either that they were extremely confident in their position or that they felt a sincere commitment to continuously taxing the wealthy for their enduring status symbol, the carriage. A common theme of the carriage tax throughout its time as a law is that practically all agreed that its method for raising revenue, a tax on property owned primarily by the rich that paraded their wealth, was a worthy one. All opposition to it was only ever based on logistics, or a constitutional issue with far greater implications, such as the future of slavery.[41]

The Repeal of the Carriage Tax

In 1801, the Democratic-Republicans had their first President in Thomas Jefferson. Part of their program was to repeal the so called "internal duties" of Hamilton's original tax plan, which included the carriage tax, leaving the impost tax as the government's primary revenue source. In his first Annual Message to Congress, Jefferson communicated a vision regarding war and taxation that directly opposed Hamilton's. According to Jefferson, "Sound principles will not justify our taxing the industry of our fellow citizens to accumulate treasure for wars to happen we know not when, and which might not perhaps happen but from the temptations offered by that treasure."[42] Instead of saving money to have funds available for war, Jefferson wanted to cut taxes and only fund wars should they arise. He felt that the impost tax alone would be enough to fulfill the obligations of government.

[41] Despite Taylor's worries, the decision in *Hylton* never led to a large slave tax. It led to few new taxes on property at all. The most consequential was a short-lived tax on house furniture enacted to help fund the War of 1812.

[42] Thomas Jefferson, "First Annual Message to Congress," December 8, 1801, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition, ed. James P. McClure and J. Jefferson Looney. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2008–2016., http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/founders/TSJN01360200340003.

Jefferson's policy proposal led to vigorous debate in the public sphere, highlighted by a series of anonymous editorials that either slandered Jefferson as a rich, out of touch southerner or praised him as a proponent for the common farmer. Ironically, those who professed disgust at Jefferson's tax cut usually signed the editorial as some sort of farmer. In one editorial entitled "Farmers Attend," the author (signed, A Farmer) conducted a mathematical analysis and concludes that "The stamp tax, therefore, and that upon carriages, and the excise upon refined sugar fall almost exclusively upon the merchants, the inhabitants of great towns, and the rich."[43] An editorial by an Otsego Farmer was far blunter in naming benefactors of the tax cut:

> The President recommends by name the repeal of the Carriage Tax, meaning thereby to court the *rich* who pay annually for this luxury. If this is done…unprotected commerce must bear it, which in the end will settle on the Farmer. The President recommends a repeal of the law of licenses for selling Wines, *drank mostly by the rich*… the repeal of the Stamp Act, a revenue paid mostly by the *rich*… the duties on Refined Sugar…paid by the *rich*.[44]

Other writers point out that if Jefferson sincerely wanted to help the poor instead of the rich, he would have kept the internal duties and instead lowered the impost tax on more essential goods bought by every class of person, not just the rich. One writer was particularly stung because Jefferson's party was supposed to advocate for the "people" while the Federalists wallowed in wealth:

> [The Democratic Republicans] have the people always in their mouths, but let us appeal to their actions…In the reduction of taxes they have only touched the luxuries…which are above the reach of the poor…while they continue to exact a duty from the earnings of labor for brown sugar…tea, and salt which are necessaries for all classes and conditions of men…I have been taught to think that the luxuries of life ought to be the first objects of taxation, but the reverse appears to be the doctrine of the present day.[45]

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[43] A Farmer, "Farmers Attend!," *Republican*, March 11, 1802, America's Historical Newspapers, SQN: 10C10195A16EC6E0.

[44] Otsego Farmer, "For the Otsego Herald," *Otsego Herald*, January 14, 1802, America's Historical Newspapers, SQN: 10C86631F067DC68.

[45] "The Repeal of the Internal Revenues of the United States," *Republican Gazetteer*, July 17, 1802, America's Historical Newspapers, SQN: 10C101F3E98AC018.

He later went as far as to praise the Federalists, relating a plan of theirs to keep the carriage tax and cut the tax on salt instead. A key similarity between Jefferson's critics was that they all viewed the carriage tax as one that targeted the wealthy and that, as a result, would be one of the most noble taxes to keep.

Defenders of the tax cut in the press did not have as easy a banner to rally around as helping the poor in the face of the rich. Only one writer met the prevailing narrative directly, saying that the rich were only a small percentage of the people who used carriages. Other, more honorable groups that relied on carriages included the elderly, the physically disabled, religious ministers, and doctors. The other primary defense of the carriage tax cut in the press was that it would help American carriage producers and benefit the men who service the industry, such as those who drove the carriages and raised the horses. This criticism was supported by two statements from Alexander Hamilton in 1790, the first expressing that the internal duties mostly targeted foreign produced goods, and the second saying that the American carriage-making industry had grown to become a substantial market force.[46]

When the House Ways and Means Committee officially recommended the repeal of the internal duties, their reasoning was quite different from that reported in the press. The carriage tax in particular was ripe for criticism. In the few years that it had been in force, the tax had racked up quite a few logistical complaints. Even before the Supreme Court ruled the carriage tax constitutional in *Hylton*, a New Jersey representative named John Beatty complained that the valuation methods in the tax were arbitrary. Beatty relayed to Congress the sad state of the tax in New Jersey, where carriage owners took advantage of ambiguities in the valuation clauses of the law to pay as low a rate as possible. Congress allowed Beatty to convene a special committee to

[46] Edling, *A Hercules in the Cradle*, 76; Kinney, *The Carriage Trade*, 13.

remedy the issue.[47] The result was a second version of the law, which passed in 1796.[48] This new version was more descriptive than the old one in how to value carriages. Instead of merely categorizing carriages with vague terms such as coaches, chariots, or chaises, this version of the law listed objective characteristics of value that could be found in carriages, like the number of wheels it had and the building material for its springs.

In 1797, the committee received a letter from Daniel Stevens, a tax collector from South Carolina. He claimed that the tax was virtually unenforceable. Stevens believed that the effort necessary to collect the tax was so great as to be impractical. He declared that in order to collect the tax from wealthy planters, he often had to travel forty miles on horseback to reach a planter's estate, only to be told that the law had one provision or another that would force him to leave and come back at another time.[49]

When addressing why the carriage tax and the other internal duties should be repealed, the Ways and Means Committee echoed Stevens's concerns. In addition to a few sentences declaring the taxes a burden on the American free market, the committee asserted that the taxes may be more trouble than they were worth. They calculated that all the internal duties accounted for about $650,000 in revenue, a pittance in comparison to the $7 million made off the impost taxes. Further, they subtract $120,000 as the cost of collecting the taxes, lamenting the considerable effort spent on collecting a small portion of the country's revenue.[50] For the Ways and Means

[47] House of Representatives, 3rd Congress, 2nd Session, "Tax on Carriages," February 1795, Annals of Congress, https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llac&fileName=004/llac004.db&recNum=603.

[48] United States. Congress (4th, 1st session : 1795-1796). House., "An Act Laying Duties on Carriages for the Conveyance of Persons, and Repealing the Former Act for That Purpose" (Philadelphia: Printed by John Fenno, May 9, 1796), Early American imprints. First series ; no. 47949.

[49] Daniel Stevens to Tench Coxe, December 18, 1797, National Archives, Reports of the House Ways and Means Committee, 178-79.

[50] House Ways and Means Committee, "Report on the Expediency of Repealing the Laws Laying Duties on Stills and Domestic Distilled Spirits, on Refined Sugar, Licenses to Retailers, Sales at Auction, Pleasurable Carriages,

Committee, assuaging the concerns of some by abolishing the taxes was worth more than the $530,000 in net revenue that the duties bring in. With Jefferson's assent, Congress followed the recommendation of the Ways and Means Committee and repealed the internal duties, including the carriage tax soon thereafter. Again, it is important to note that Congress repealed the carriage tax due to practical considerations, namely that the tax was hard to collect. No one questioned the law for taxing the wealthy.

One expert in the history of American taxation, Joseph Dodge, describes the carriage tax in different terms.[51] When applying his analysis, the intent of the legislators to tax the rich for their ostentation is even clearer. He believes carriage owners were not taxed for *owning* the carriages, but for *using* the carriages. Whether the government chooses to tax carriages at the point of production or the point of ownership is only a matter of convenience, not legal substance. The government taxes carriages at the point of ownership because they are used differently than other excise taxed goods.

Whereas tobacco, wine, and refined sugars are consumed immediately, the carriages are consumed over time. One pays a tax every time they buy a bottle of wine. Any given bottle can only be used once. If one wants more wine, they must buy another bottle and pay a second tax. With carriages though, they can be kept for a period of years and used repeatedly. For Dodge, the carriage tax applied to owners instead of producers because this was the best way to tax the use of a carriage. Each year one paid the tax on a carriage, it was because they had gotten a year's worth of use out of the carriage, not a year's worth of ownership. This, according to Dodge, is why the law specifically says the tax applies to carriages "for personal use." Dodge writes:

Stamped Vellum, Parchment and Paper, and Postage on News-Papers" (Washington, DC, March 8, 1802), National Archives, Reports of the House Ways and Means Committee, 338-41.

[51] Dodge, "What Federal Taxes Are Subject to the Rule of Apportionment Under the Constitution?," 827–30.

> The tax was imposed only on carriages subject to certain uses, as opposed to ownership per se. Imposing the tax on use rather than ownership appears to have been done precisely to overcome constitutional objection. Today such a tax is called a license fee, and license fees (as taxes on uses) are considered to be excises.[52]

Dodge distinguishes excise taxes from "tangible personal property taxes," which instead of applying to the use of an item, are "imposed periodically by reason of ownership *and* according to value." Dodge says that even though a carriage's level of taxation is based on its physical characteristics, this does not constitute an *ad valorem* tax like would be assessed on tangible personal property. Ostensibly this is because physical characteristics do not assert value on their own; the carriage law taxed a carriage with iron springs at a certain rate regardless of if iron springs were considered valuable when the tax collector arrived (the tax does not change if they go out of fashion, or if someone invents a better technology that makes iron spring carriages worthless, etc.). Dodge summarizes his argument into a legal test:

> A test that is simple and easy to apply is this: a tax on tangible personal property is a "property" tax if it is imposed *periodically on the value of the item*. Since the carriage tax in *Hylton* was not imposed according to valuation, it was an excise (rather than a personal property tax) under this test.[53]

Dodge's analysis illustrates how the Federalists wrote the carriage tax to count as an excise tax for constitutional purposes. Nevertheless, the practical intent of the legislators was to impose a tangible personal property tax per Dodge's definition.

When the legislators divided carriages by physical characteristics, they were making their best attempt to divide them by value. When Rep. John Beatty argued to make a second iteration of the carriage tax in 1796, it was because the tax's divisions needed a better formula for valuation. Further evidence for the practical intent of Congress can be seen in the deliberations surrounding the carriage tax of 1813, long after *Hylton*. That year, to fund the War of 1812,

[52] Ibid., 828.

[53] Ibid., 829.

Congress re-imposed many of the internal duties that Jefferson repealed in 1802, including the tax on carriages.[54] Within a few months though, this version of the carriage tax ran into the same problem as its predecessors: its descriptors for expensive carriages did not sufficiently judge value.

In 1814, a letter from the Treasury Department concluded that it would be best to do away with the system of descriptions altogether. In its place, the Treasury Department suggested a no-nonsense valuation method: an appraiser would value the carriage each year using whatever valuation method he saw fit and Congress would tax the carriage based on that value, with the more valuable carriages taxed a higher amount.[55] Congress adopted this revision soon after the Treasury Department recommended it, passing the final iteration of the carriage tax in late 1814.[56]

If Dodge had extended his analysis to include this iteration of the carriage tax, it would become evident that Congress had meant to value carriages all along. Perhaps Congress felt at first that more objective methods were fairer, but over time they learned that crafty men could find the subjectivity in their definitions. The carriage tax of 1814 clearly passes Dodge's test for a tangible personal property tax. The practical intent of the previous carriage tax iterations passed the test as well, though the language Congress used did not make it as clear.

Legacy of the Carriage Tax

[54] United States. Congress. House., "A Bill Laying Duties on Carriages for the Conveyance of Persons," June 10, 1813, Early American imprints. Second series ; no. 30102.

[55] S.H. Smith to John Wayles Eppes, November 15, 1814, Annals of Congress, https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llac&fileName=028/llac028.db&recNum=308.

[56] United States. Congress. House., "A Bill to Provide Additional Revenues ... by Duties on Carriages and the Harness Used Therefor," November 21, 1814, Early American imprints. Second series ; no. 33205.

The carriage tax of 1814 would be the last version. In 1817, Congress repealed all the internal duties it had enacted to fund the War of 1812.[57] A decade and a half prior, Thomas Jefferson envisioned a federal tax regime where America would be such a trading power that the government could run itself of the impost tax alone. After the War of 1812, Jefferson's vision came true. From 1817 until the start of the civil war, the impost tax was the only federal tax.[58]

Despite the carriage tax's shortcomings, it has a special place in the tax history of the United States. For one, it was a precursor to the federal income tax of the twentieth century.[59] The Federalists wrote the carriage tax bill just like a regular excise tax, probably to pass constitutional muster, except there was one notable difference. For the first time, the federal government claimed the power to enter the privacy of one's estate and tax one's (according to Dodge's definition) tangible personal property.

That Congress felt it necessary to do this to anyone indicates a large shift in the role of the federal government in taxation. That Congress did this to the rich in particular reflects the republican values of the new nation under the Constitution. It is certainly true that support for the carriage tax came from those who believed its mission was to tax the rich because they were the ones who could best afford it. But this line of thinking, that the government should tax the rich for being rich, could be easily applied to a general income tax.

However, the carriage tax represents something deeper. If wealthy John Hancock had kept his fortune under his mattress and chose to walk the streets in the spirit of George Washington, he would have paid no carriage tax. As the situations of Adams and Washington indicate, the common folk viewed carriages as a sign of unnecessary wealth and prestige. Anyone who rode in

[57] Einhorn, *American Taxation, American Slavery*, 196.

[58] Ibid., 157.

[59] Edward B. Whitney, "The Income Tax and the Constitution," *Harvard Law Review* 20, no. 4 (1907): 280–96, doi:10.2307/1322450.

an ostentatious carriage was doing so to make a statement. Therefore, the carriage tax did not penalize the wealthy for being wealthy, rather it taxed them for unabashedly flaunting their wealth. In this sense, the carriage tax was an extension onto all wealthy people of the republican values the people sought in their leaders. For a Congressman to defend the morality of the tax was to embody these values, values that they hoped would persist in their country's psyche forever.

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Tranquilized, Exoticized, Not to be Homogenized: Canada's National Identity in the Canadian Pacific Railway's Advertising Campaigns

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While railways are often understood as industrial machines, especially those that foraged a path into the undeveloped West in the 1800s to establish economic ties to the land's natural resources, North American firms cultivated an image of refinement. Diversifying beyond their governmentally sponsored mission of laying tracks, both American and Canadian companies built hotels and politically bolstered the creation of National Parks, understood as zones to introduce the tourist to the region. In addition, American and Canadian railways sponsored artistic and cultural creation. Oftentimes part of public relations campaigns, these initiatives were intended to shape interest in the West, either galvanizing settlement or a tourist industry. As the first western powers to develop the land, railroad entrepreneurs were also the first to associate the land with cultural connotations.

For American railroads, land to the west was an empty expanse rich with opportunity, a zone to be settled in order to establish national boundaries and reach the nation's full potential. Only after inhabiting it would the true identity of the nation be solidified. In the aftermath of the Civil War, this imperative to settle assumed new urgency as people looked to the empty space to inspire a new national character, one that would unify the nation. But for Canada, part of the British dominion, this land occupied a different geographical realm. The West did not possess the same inspirational potential as it had in America, for the crown's empire had long ago expanded to occupy a territory in which the sun would never set. After establishing Confederation, Canadians sought to incorporate western expanses into the vision of the English

empire. Therefore, the Canadian Pacific Railway's advertising designs were driven by overseas interests from the British homeland.

By looking to characterize zones that had no pre-established identity, either French or British, the early artists were able to ignore the presence of French culture in the nation, casting Canada as a unified member of the British Empire. Later, the Canadian Pacific would revivify the image of the nation by divorcing itself from its Victorian parents. Advertising campaigns associated Canada with the exotic far reaches of empire, then with minority societies of Europe immigrants. In the process, campaigns forever looked to foreign precedent, compromising an investigation of the essentiality of Canadian national identity by identifying it with international tropes for the international tourist.

A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway's Advertising

E.J. Hart, in addition to other scholars, identifies the profound influence of the company's first director, William Cornelius Van Horne, in establishing the precedent of using advertising to craft the company's and the nation's image. This tradition was continued throughout the company's history, as a recent exhibition on the Canadian Pacific Railway's publicity output has concluded as many as 2,500 different poster designs were commissioned.[1] As Marc Choko points out, this was especially visionary as poster design had only made its great leap forward in France earlier in the nineteenth century, when both wallpaper printing techniques were adapted for advertising campaigns and the lithographic production process came into use.[2] The Canadian Pacific's prescient investment in advertising is even more significant given that the tourist

[1] Marc H. Choko, *Canadian Pacific : creating a brand, building a nation*, edited by Matthias C. Hühne (Berlin, Germany: Callisto Publishers GmbH, 2015), 10.

[2] Choko, *Canadian Pacific,* 12.

industry market, the object of these campaigns, ultimately composed a small proportion of the business's total profits.[3] Instead of a moneymaking venture, the posters were a cultural and political project.

When the final spike was driven in the transcontinental route in 1886, the company began work casting the West. While the railroad was immediately able to fulfill a commercial purpose, ferrying goods such as silk between Pacific and Atlantic markets, without established cities in the prairies and along the Pacific coast, there was no terminus for a passenger service. Thus, advertising campaigns sought to populate the uninhabited zones, guaranteeing a renewable market that would forever drive human demand for the railroad as a means of transportation. The campaigns, from their beginnings, cast their attention on the uninhabited rather than inhabited regions of Canada.

Loyalties of the company to England were cemented prior to the completion of the line, for it was financed by British backed loans. In a nation in which vying French and British identities have dominated the history of political strife, the British ties of the Canadian Pacific Railway had important implications for the cultural identity of Western Canada. Unlike the American precedent, the Canadian Pacific Railway targeted English rather than eastern citizens, revealing the Canadian business model's colonial interest.[4] In their origins, the campaigns projected English rather French identity on the virgin lands.

Casting the Canadian West in the British Vernacular

[3] E.J. Hart, *The selling of Canada : the CPR and the beginnings of Canadian tourism* (Banff, Canada : Altitude Pub., c1983), 8.

[4] On a note of historiography, the Canadian Encyclopedia's entry on the Canadian Pacific Railway's history cites precedents not in America but instead in Britain. This could further evidence the disconnect between the company's mission and American ones. Although parallel projects developed concurrently in Canada and America, Canadians were looking to British precedent rather than that of their neighbors.

Omer Lavallé, "Canadian Pacific Railway," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia. Historica Canada*, 1985–, published March 6, 2008, http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/canadian-pacific-railway/.

The British biases of the Canadian Pacific were announced immediately by its logo, developed in 1886, the year after the completion of the transcontinental route. Like the Hudson Bay Colony coat of arms developed in 1678, the crest featured the beaver perched at its top, a common emblem of British, as opposed to French, Canada. [Fig. 1]

The first advertising endeavors, and thus the first attempts to capture a tourist market, were made in England, not Canada. In 1886, the Marquis of Lorne published *Our Railway to the Pacific* in the British newspaper *Good Words*, relating his experience crossing Canada.[5] His endorsement held special weight given his royal lineage, connecting Western Canada directly with the heart of the empire. Like this first campaign, initiated by a respected British subject, much of the early advertising work would be commissioned from British artists. Choko's scholarship suggests a substantial portion of the artists were from Britain until the 1930s, their work emerging from the Canadian Pacific's London Office with three English artists—Norman Fraser, Tom Hall, and Peter Ewart—taking a lead in the company's advertising campaigns.[6] Therefore, in its origins, a Canadian company was imagined by the British, for the British.

Precedent had demonstrated that most British travelled within the empire. Rather than capitalize upon the exotic, campaigns highlighted the connections between the Western Canadian landscape and the Victorian landscape of refinement, allaying travelers' fears with guarantees of their comfort. In keeping with Victorian standards of luxury, an early ad sold "magnificently equipped trains," as demonstrated through the depiction of a man and woman in refined travelers' dress. [Fig. 2] Even in terminology, the land became familiar, as in 1884 when Emerald Lake was renamed Lake Louise in honor of Queen Victoria's daughter for a publicity

[5] Hart, *The selling of Canada,* 23.

[6] Choko, *Canadian Pacific,* 11.

campaign advertising the railroad's chateau.[7] Rather than the wilderness, the Canadian West was cast as a familiar, Victorian playground.

Also unlike the American wilderness, the Canadian wilderness was not always depicted as uninhabited. But instead of representing the prairies as populated by indigenous peoples, the Mountie became a common figure in Canadian Pacific ad campaigns, indicating life on the prairies. An ad from 1931 depicts the Mountie, helpful but protective, hovering over the traveling woman. [Fig. 3] The figure has knelt between two triangular abstractions of mountains so that he physically consumes the empty space. His bent right arm forms the inverse of the peaks, suggesting his physical connection to the landscape. The Mounties, serving as Canada's police force, were the first Canadian presence in the Yukon and Northwest territories, responsible for securing the region for the government. Thus, the presence of Mounties in advertisements would remind the British consumer of governmental protection on the plains. Furthermore, the Mounties became famous in 1885 for their response to the Riel Rebellion; thus the presence of the Mountie would also connote the absence of the Indian and Metis. Because his uniform has remained static through time, the Mountie has become an icon of the Canadian frontier. But at his creation, in the 1800s, the red Norfolk jacket without trimmings and the pillbox cap strapped below the chin were selected to connote the styling of the contemporaneous British Army uniforms.[8] Wearing such a uniform, the Mountie promised the same security for British travelers as if they were under the protection of the British Army.

Like many of the American railway campaigns, imagery capitalized upon the majesty of the western scenery. But while American campaigns emphasized its drama, differentiating it

[7] Ibid., 25.

[8] Royal Canadian Police, "Uniforms and equipment," *Royal Canadian Police*, last modified December 17, 2014, accessed May 6, 2016, http://www.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/en/uniforms-and-equipment.

from eastern resort destinations in its immensity and thus danger, Canadian ads presented a tamed landscape by linking the Canadian West with established British tourism models. In vogue at the time was travel in Switzerland, an alpine retreat. The empty landscape of the Selkirks and Canadian Rockies was recreated to boast the accouterment of an alpine village. The hotel at Banff recalled a Swiss chalet. Swiss mountaineers replaced the original Native American guides, offering climbing excursions with the comfort of "guaranteed" mountain expertise.[9] These initiatives are evidenced in a campaign in 1900 that directly addresses the presence of "Swiss Guides, brought from Switzerland for the purpose, [who] will show holders of Banff in the Canadian Rockies." [Fig. 4] The slogan is accompanied by a photograph of an anonymous mountain range, one that could either be the Canadian Rockies or the Swiss Alps. Campaign terminology associated the resorts with popular Swiss destinations including St. Moritz and Champs-Elysees, establishing their equivalency. Then, by 1906, a popular slogan became "50 Switzerlands in One," suggesting the merits of the Canadian mountains surpassed those of Switzerland's. [Fig. 5]

Connection to empire was most clearly evidenced by the Canadian Pacific's presence at world fairs. At the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, held in London in 1886, empire was illustrated in the Canadian Pacific Railway's building, which displayed three large watercolors of the Rocky Mountains by John Fraser. Commissioned prior to Fraser's later visit to the mountains, these pieces were painted in his Boston studio based upon another artist's photographs. In the exhibition setting, overwhelming spectacle was prioritized over an accurate

[9] In an effort to facilitate the guide's migration to Canada, the railroad even provided the group of Swiss mountaineers with an exclusive settlement nearby the resort called Edelweiss, a colony reconstructed in the model of an Alpine village with goats, chickens, typical plants, and cottages.

Hart, *The selling of Canada,* 92.

depiction of landscape.[10] Later, Canada was envisioned in the company's displays for a series of exhibitions that included the Scottish National Exhibition in 1910, London's White City Exhibition with moving pictures illustrating Canadian life, and finally in 1924, in the British Empire Exhibition. The proliferation of images of the Canadian West, integrally linked to other images from the British dominion, established the English familiarity and association with the territory.

It can be argued that advertising campaigns designed to attract a British clientele in Western Canada were part of an early effort to link the newly inhabited territory with British, as opposed to French, cultural values. But after common understanding associated a British identity with the West, advertising campaigns continued to evoke Victorian ideals, well into the thirties. Mark Choko explains this continued capitalization on the British market in hotel advertising campaigns as a means for guaranteeing a continued market for the railroads rather than the hotels themselves.[11] With the rise in automobile tourism, only the British market remained a steady source of tourists guaranteed to arrive via the rails.

The paradox of Victorian values is most striking in a series of thirties' campaigns, when images of clapboard houses were paired with the stereotypically elegant British traveller of the Canadian Pacific. The bungalow camps had been founded in a response the rise in the popularity of nature travel and the development of hiking clubs. But while the advertisements display more rough-and-tumble destinations in the background, the familiar, refined Victorian occupies the foreground. This is striking in the case of a menu used at a bungalow camp in the Canadian Rockies in 1928 which features a khaki clad equestrian, atop a clean white horse, much akin to the earlier images of British travellers, but riding before a rustic red hut with none of a Victorian

[10] Ibid., 37.

[11] Choko, *Canadian Pacific,* 216.

mansion's elegance. [Fig. 6] The artist furthers the dislocation between the rider and setting with a sketchy, incomplete rendering of the turf surrounding the cabin so that it does not extend to the foreground of the image, occupied by the rider. The large scale of the figure gives the small background cabin the appearance of a toy. The preposterous disjunction could evidence the company's failure to rectify the evolving identity of the Canadian West with the nation's British ties in the thirties.

Making the Canadian West a Critical Link to Empire, with the Risk of Compromising Identity

In the early depictions of travel, representing embarkation, movement, and arrival, advertisements cast the Canadian prairies as a territory to pass through, by train, rather than an ultimate destination. This is visualized by the implied setting of the tourist within the train, which moves through the wilderness, rather than outside of the train, interacting with the landscape; only upon arrival in the resort bubble in the West does the tourist emerge. Therefore, the Canadian Pacific assumes the travelers' eyes are continually set toward land farther West. The Canadian Pacific's aspirations for further expansion, beyond the Pacific Coast, was cast in concrete terms in 1842 when Hong Kong was made a colonial possession of Canada.

The first Canadian dream, pursued originally by Samuel de Champlain and the other Canadian explorers, was the discovery of the Northwest Passage, the fabled route to China. The legacy of this dream was preserved in the Canadian Pacific's goal to redirect British travel from an eastern path toward China to a route that passed through the Canadian landscape. Finally, through the further diversification of company services, the addition of a steamship line made the route to the Far East possible through the Americas.

Initially, the company's steamship route had been established across the Atlantic to capitalize on the passage of immigrants into Canada. When Hong Kong became a colony, the railroad initiated a project of winning control of the British government's mail services to the nation, arguing it controlled a more direct route than the established passage to Hong Kong through the Suez Canal. The project developed into a patriotic campaign, arguing for the transmission of mail purely through "Red" hands. In 1886, by shifting the terminus of the transcontinental railroad to Vancouver harbor, a region with sufficiently deep anchorage for steamships, lines were launched between the Canadian coast and Hong Kong and Yokohama. By 1890 the mail contract with the British government had been guaranteed. Branded as the Imperial Highway or the all-British route, Canadian territory and the transcontinental line served not just as a frivolous vacation destination but as an essential contributor to the empire's daily functioning.

In addition to the campaign to capture the mail trade, the telegraph lines laid along the tracks in 1883 guaranteed the Canadian Pacific's role as an intermediary in communication. This functional role is most evident in a poster by A. W. Ashburner from 1925 that features a chain metal link across the surface of the globe. [Fig. 7] The rectangular metal links, their gray scale, and the other innately geometric forms of the flag and globe in the backdrop, recall the streamlined sensibility of industrial design. The company began to associate itself with a practical vision over a luxury one.

As ranges of ships lengthened, Australia and New Zealand became new destinations, selected given their participation in the British Empire. Finally, the company diversified further in 1942, adding airplane service in order to provide transportation alternatives "by sea, by land, by air," as a 1949–50 triptych series enumerates. [Fig. 8] These advertising campaigns continued

in the style of previous homages to Britain, now establishing Canada as an essential link in the framework of empire.

Because the identity of Canada as a link to empire was not a cultural characterization but a practical one, a shift in advertising content meant the marketing of the means of transit as opposed to the destination. A disassociation with the destination is seen in an Empress Britain World Cruise campaign launched in 1935, when Canadian Pacific advertised the opportunity to "see Hong Kong from your apartment." [Fig. 9] In the accompanying photograph, a couple stands before their personal cabin's window, but overexposure makes their view invisible. Without a sense of place, the couple could be anywhere, content with any view as long as it is visible from the comforts of their own apartment. Tourists were not encouraged to disembark from the ship, instead being assured that "as you bask in the sun on the terraces of the biggest ship ever in this harbor, you look across another teeming scene. This one swarming with sampans, Chinese junks, coasters, warships." In an attempt to emphasize the convenience and ease of luxury travel, the advertisements overlook the driving motivation, the destination itself.

Deeper disassociation with the destination was evoked in campaigns from the 1950s that employed blurred photographs. One brochure, *Canada by Canadian Pacific*, uses a technique overlaying unaligned images to create a hazy view reminiscent of a painterly style of illustration. [Fig. 10] The brochure begins by citing "to an old adage, 'it is better to travel hopefully than to arrive.'" While ad campaigns traditionally feature photography to evidence authenticity, this campaign's confusion of the purpose of the medium demonstrates a failure to commit the location to a single identity. Instead, the Canadian Pacific left the classification of palace to be defined by the passenger.

Attempts to Differentiate from Britain with the Exotic

Although developed for commercial reasons, the steamships, like the railroads before them, were promoted in tourism campaigns. The success of winning the mail subsidy galvanized the development of a new line of faster and more luxurious ships suitable for tourists. In their names, the Empress of China, Empress of India, and Empress of Japan evoke the luxury and splendor of the East.

The steamship services flowered in the 1920s, accompanying an era that also saw a burgeoning production of new advertising materials.[12] These designs departed from earlier attempts to cast the Canadian West as a continuation of the European travel industry. Instead, the Canadian landscape assumes an exotic tone through aesthetics that included simple compositions, calligraphic fonts, watercolorist washes of color, and longitudinal orientations that recall Japanese screens and ukiyo-e prints. While artists like Carl Rungius had previously operated in a more utilitarian black and white palette, in the 1920s, at the height of the cruise campaign, he adopted a new aesthetic approach for watercolor commissions.[13] This style accompanied slogans that cast Canada as the oriental highway. An 1895 steamship ad for trips through Canada and into Japan and China represents the Canadian Rocky Mountains as smoother, more gently sloping shields, akin to the artistically molded peaks that form the backdrops of Hiroshige's ukiyo-e scenes. [Fig. 11] As water dominates in many Japanese print compositions, in this advertisement the rushing river overpowers the eroded mountains which have been diminished from their towering status in earlier ad campaigns. Despite the vertically formatted page, the image is in horizontal orientation, further recalling these prints. The typography too shows the influence of Asian calligraphy. Similarly, in a 1919 brochure

[12] Hart, *The selling of Canada,* 7.

[13] Ibid., 107.

advertising resorts in Quebec, a bohemian woman stands below a lanterned tree, with a background of reflective waters and a gently inclined mountain. [Fig. 12] With a junk ship in the lower right, the backdrop recalls a Tokyo bay more than the St. Lawrence River. In the foreground, the figure's coat, although European in design, airily floats like a silky Japanese kimono. Only the whiteness of the figure and the text itself identifies the location as Quebec as opposed to Japan.

This shift in advertising style could have evidenced attempts to unravel the cultural uniqueness of the Canadian West, for its proximity to Asia was indeed a differentiating factor. But while in previous advertising campaigns the Victorian figure was inserted into the Canadian West, creating a cultural affinity between England and Canada through human interaction, the Asian artistic style rather than the Asian figure has been imposed on the landscape of Canada. In the two images of the Quebec landscape discussed above, the absence of the figure or the presence of the white figure could suggest a level of discomfort with the Asian presence in Canada. While the Chinese had a long history in the West, and were essential to the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, the legislation that followed the railroad's completion attempted to preclude further immigration These restrictions culminated in the 1923 Chinese Exclusion Act, not to be repealed until 1947.

Instead, Japanese aesthetics were used to connote a more general exoticism, not a uniquely Asian one. In cruise campaigns that advertised circumnavigational itineraries, the Asian-style techniques were imposed upon all locales, regardless of their cultural identity, as evidenced in a 1925 campaign for a world cruise. [Fig. 13] While the advertisement for Japan appropriately features characteristic architecture, the torii gate that would have marked the entrance to a Shinto shrine, and the rising mountains reminiscent of ukiyo-e print work in the

background, the Japanese style is also used in a scene of Venice, which features the ethereal haze created in Eastern wash paintings. In the artistic language of the Japonisme, fostered by Art Nouveau trends and the techniques of Whistler, "oriental" translated to exotic. Thus, the incorporation of Asian aesthetics into the twenties advertising campaigns was not truly an attempt to incorporate foreign culture into the language of Canadian identity but rather another attempt to recreate a Canada according to European artistic motifs.

The Arrival of a Brit and the Ensuing Embrace of the French Culture

With the implementation of oriental techniques, advertising trends suggest an attempt to associate Canada with the exotic rather than the familiar or the functional British environment. This served as the beginnings of artists' attempts to represent a unique Canadian identity, distinct from the British. An explanation for this new claim of independence from Britain can be found in transformations in the company's source of funding following the First World War. In addition, in the thirties, the advertising agency increasingly employed Canadian artists with the intent of fostering a unique Canadian aesthetic and thus a unique Canadian image.

This movement to establish the nation's cultural identity through advertising was excited by the work of John Murray Gibbon. Paradoxically, Gibbon, the man responsible for diverting attention away from the British Canadian identity, was a product of England himself, assuming his first role at the company in its London office outpost in 1907 as its European advertising agent. But by spending his youth in Ceylon and traveling to South Africa to report on the Boer War, he had been introduced to subcultures within the British Empire. His interest in cultural identity had intensified during his educational career, devoted to the study of Germanic folk tradition.

He recounts in his narratives that, upon arrival to Quebec alongside Prime Minister Laurier, his party was greeted by supporters singing a chorus of French Canadian folk songs.[14] Captivated by these musical traditions, Gibbon began his a love affair with French Canadian culture. Finally, after moving to Montreal in 1913, his advertising campaigns capitalized upon the unique French heritage of the region, shifting attention away from national ties with Britain.

The Chateau Frontenac was essential to Gibbon's success constructing an image of French Canadian identity. Although built alongside a historic site, it was a modern creation resulting from the Canadian Pacific Railroad's commission of American architect Bruce Price. Working in the model of the enormously successful hotel at Banff, which had been associated with a Tudor castle by some and a Swiss chalet by others, Price featured a polyglot of materials such as Scottish brick alongside medieval turrets, giving the Chateau Frontenac an ambiguous architectural style as well. Its tower suites were fashioned to harken three distinctive cultures, that of the French-Canadian *habitant*, the Dutch (company shareholders at the time), and the Chinese.

The Chateau was founded for the practical purpose of serving as an additional layaway during heightened tourist traffic expected for the Columbian Exposition in Chicago. But the unexpected and continued popularity of the hotel following its foundation made it a symbol of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Advertising campaigns came to capitalize upon this popularity, later branding it as a French Canadian symbol, despite its lack of intentionally French design.

In late 1925, when a fire destroyed this typical *habitant* dwelling, Gibbon had the opportunity to reassert the Chateau as French. He assumed responsibility for the redesign of the room, commissioning the folklorist at the National Museum of Canada to advise in the process

[14] Stuart Henderson, '"While there is Still Time...": J. Murray Gibbon and the Spectacle of Difference in Three CPR Folk Festivals, 1928-1931,' *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes* 39, no. 1 (2005): 145, accessed May 6, 2016, https://muse.jhu.edu/.

by supplying a series of recommendations and inspirational photographs.[15] This effort suggests authenticity of French tradition was important to Gibbon. To celebrate the reopening of the hotel at an event attended by journalists, Gibbon commissioned a performance by Charles Marchand, known for his French Canadian folk music. The success of the event galvanized an annual tradition, the Folksong and Handicraft Festival, featuring weavers and spinners.[16] Between 1928 and 1931, sixteen Folk Music and Handicraft Festivals were staged by the Canadian Pacific Railroad, days devoted to traditional folk music and dance.

While the advertising campaigns of Gibbon's predecessors had sponsored graphic artists and photographers to portray the nation, Gibbon's project pioneered a new kind of artistic patronage by the firm. By shifting the approach from the promotion of existing culture to the creation of culture that could be advertised, Gibbon further diversified the role of the company in defining Canadian identity. Along with this provocative change in advertising technique, Gibbon reversed the precedent of manipulating the Canadian image to appeal to British consumers, instead embracing authentic Canadian imagery for campaigns that were decided by national rather than foreign interests.

The Association of French Canada with Folk Culture, Critique and Refutation

For these folk festivals, the Canadian Pacific sponsored the production of commodities that were to be judged, evaluated, and purchased by tourists. Canadian Steamship Lines advertised these products on menus in 1968. One menu's cover features a Quebecois woman at work, a saintly image on the wall behind identifying her as Catholic. [Fig. 14] The back of the menu describes her weaving, stating that "in few places in the world is the hand-loom put to

[15] Henderson, "While there is Still Time…", 147.

[16] Hart, *The selling of Canada,* 108.

better use than in the rural part of Old Quebec." In a narrative form, the text shows how the woman's process of production imbues her work with value: "she sings old French Canadian songs, beating time with the treadle and weaving a little of Old Quebec into every fabric." Another menu sponsors a hooked rug from Quebec, suggesting that while it existed as craft in Europe hundreds of years ago, its production has survived in "Old Quebec." [Fig. 15] In both advertisements, use of the saturated primary hues of red, yellow, and blue, the free painterly style, and the flattening of the picture plane to create a reduced sense of depth endow the images with an easily digestible simplicity recalling a folkloric style.

The style of the products was described as old and traditional as a means of differentiating the object and attracting attention. But with greater distinction, the products became more incongruous with daily life. This disjunction with reality is what leads Stuart Henderson to interrogate the definition of folk, critiquing the campaigns as a ploy of the tourist industry to reduce ethnicity to the common denominators of food, dress, and music: surface traits designed to impress rather than impart meaning.[17] To Henderson, the sponsorship of folk culture is done with the assumption that it is a tradition that has died out. The advertisements of Canadian Pacific would then be equating French Canada to a saleable cultural artifact rather than a living and changing society.

This identification of Quebec with the old is further supported by advertising campaigns for Quebec as a destination. One from 1928 prominently features Chateau Frontenac, encouraging tourists to "visit Old Quebec." [Fig. 16] Among the attractions of the "medieval" city are "many houses three hundred years old" and "an old-world market where goélettes unload fish and sheep," obvious hyperbole as Quebec had not yet been founded in medieval times. The

[17] Henderson, "While there is Still Time…", 156.

image from a campaign designed to encourage June visitors features two women in the foreground, young, elegantly dressed, and assumed to be tourists. [Fig. 17] Standing beside them, a withered, hooded figure with a cane is assigned the role of the gawking local, an antiquated species beside the fresh, foreign traveler. Instead of roads, or other marks of modernity, the figures walk in a park setting with only wood and stone constructions visible. The notion that the city was permanently frozen in time would further assert British primacy.

Hart suggests that Gibbon operated autonomously, oftentimes pursuing ventures without the awareness of Canadian Pacific executives.[18] It is evident his study of cultural identity was a highly personal project as he wrote prolifically on the subject, composing five histories, two novels, and several volumes of translations of musical pieces. His analyses demonstrate his understanding of craft production as the primary means of preserving the cultural traditions of different racial groups. Gibbon spends time in the early section of his *Canadian Mosaic* seeking to define the question of race. While he concludes that religion is an ineffective means of cementing cultural ties, he does find that "the racial spirit seems to be held together best among the common people by a common mother tongue, by folk songs and dance, folklore and folk arts (such as spinning, weaving and embroidery)."[19]

While Henderson compellingly critiques Gibbon's promotion of Canadian folk tradition, he ignores Gibbon's attempts to interact with the live French Canadian community. Upon his arrival in Canada, Gibbon hired Raoul Clouthier as the French language editor in the Canadian Pacific's office, suggesting materials should be simultaneously printed in both languages.[20] By

[18] Hart, *The selling of Canada,* 99.

[19] John Murray Gibbon, *Canadian mosaic; the making of a northern nation* (New York: Dodd, Mead & company, 1939), 3.

[20] Hart, *The selling of Canada,* 99.

the thirties, French language tourist brochures had become standard.[21] In 1923, special trains were commissioned to tour France and attract French immigrants to Canada.[22] Via effective communication, Gibbon had begun the process of linking the French Canadian identity with the larger Canadian one.

Accompanying Marchaund's performance at the reopening of the Chateau's *habitant* room, a pamphlet was printed with the corresponding lyrics in English.[23] Later, Gibbon would publish additional English translations in an anthology entitled *Canadian Folk Songs, Old and New*. This suggests the content as well as the spectacle of the French Canadian folkloric tradition was important to Gibbon. Rather than marveling at a cultural artifact, Gibbon understood artistic creation, in song or art, to be an active method of cultural communication. By overcoming the barrier posed by a dual language community, Gibbon attempted to inspire a cross-cultural dialogue. The production of artistic products to be shared across communities would inspire communal identification.

The Association of Canada with Immigrant Culture, Critique and Refutation

Gibbon's interests were not limited to French Canadian folk traditions, but those of other immigrant groups as well. His Scottish origins had galvanized his study of Scottish immigration to Canada while he was still working in London and prompted a trip to the country to collect immigrant stories while disguised as a pauper.[24] Following his initial foray into French Canadian

[21] Ibid., 131.

[22] Choko, *Canadian Pacific,* 95.

[23] He was massaged into performing despite his opposition to the urban (but not British) sponsorship. Henderson, "While there is Still Time…", 147.

[24] Ibid., 146.

folk music, his future festivals sponsored the representation of a breadth of European folk traditions, with his performance at Winnipeg featuring as many as fifteen ethnic groups.

Henderson points to the ordering of the performances at the Winnipeg Festival as exemplary of Gibbon's colonial gaze. While the program interspersed performances by Southern and Eastern European nations without regard for geographical or cultural allegiance, performances by Scandinavian and British countries were grouped as a unified, white norm.[25] Henderson's detected pattern is understood as an assertion of white primacy. Because of the many immigrants that had arrived in Canada in the recent past, he sees Gibbon's language of a mosaic of identities as a colonial response, attempting to "impose order on a disordered cultural landscape."[26]

In its classification of different racial groups, Antonia Smith also argues that the *Canadian Mosaic* establishes a racial hierarchy. Smith understands Gibbon's approach to be perpetuating the trend of colonization, not reversing it. Smith points to the racial types imaged in the text, suggesting depictions of eastern and southern Europeans employ tonal darkening of skin to suggest a distinction between white and non-white groups.[27] In his effort to define Canadian ethnic identity, both Henderson and Smith detect Gibbon's underlying claims of British primacy.

But instead, I would argue Gibbon's text seems to humble the British rather than elevate them. To do so, Gibbon devotes distinct chapters to the English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh, refusing to define groups based upon language identity. While all speak English, they have unique cultural traditions. This fractures the claim of Anglo-Saxon preponderance, suggesting

[25] Ibid., 157.

[26] Ibid., 142.

[27] Antonia Smith, '"Cement for the Canadian Mosaic": Performing Canadian Citizenship in the Work of John Murray Gibbon,' *Race/ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts* 1 (1): 51, accessed May 6, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25594975.

minority status for the four English-speaking language groups. This, in turn, unifies them with the larger body of ethnic minorities in Canada.

His preface points toward hardship in "disturbed areas" as the immediate impetus for all migration to Canada. A refugee heritage would establish a communal experience as cause for national identification. Unlike the established historical narrative that early British settlers had been lured to Canada as imperial overlords with economic desires, Gibbons reimagines their migration, beginning with the War of 1812 and extending to recent migrants, as a result of the "over-population in England and agricultural distress due to Free Trade resulted in a heavy emigration . . . with the result that the Anglo-Canadians are sprinkled all over the prairies."[28] Rather than the campaign for English privilege that Henderson and Smith discern, Gibbon seeks to associate the British with the struggles of other ethnic groups.

Essential to Gibbon's text is the attempt to embrace the distinct cultural identities and traditions of immigrant groups, endowing value in their uniqueness to guarantee a diverse community. If each group was rendered minority, cooperation and cohesion became unavoidable. Gibbon's notion of the Canadian mosaic was one that defied the American norm of melting pot assimilationist policies by embracing multiculturalist attitudes. Like America, Canada had undergone immense immigration in its postwar years, and it was encountering the challenge of defining its national identity when such a high percentage of its population was foreign-born. Gibbon's text had enduring political ramifications, inspiring more liberal immigration policies and promulgating the nation's reputation as a society that embraced foreigners.

[28] Gibbon, *Canadian mosaic*, v, 75.

A New Critique of Gibbon, Multicultural at the Expense of the Indian

Although Gibbon campaigned against British supremacy and for cultural diversity, an obvious lacuna in his mosaic is the absence of non-Europeans. Gibbon handles the Native American only once in his first chapter of *Canadian Mosaic*, in the context of the "skull and skeleton of the Cro-Magnard" and their "facial resemblance."[29] Gibbon's fascination with the immigrant identity of Canada left no room for those that had been present before the arrival of Europeans: Native Americans. To Gibbon, the Native American occupied the Canadian past but not its present. His advertising work actively made this the case by excising the Native American presence from the imagined Canadian West.

Prior to Gibbon's arrival, the Native American had played a role in the advertising work of the Canadian Pacific Railway, perhaps most famously in the case of the Banff Indian Days which were developed in cooperation with Native Americans on the nearby Morley Reserve beginning in 1889. These days had much in common with Gibbon's later festivals; three to four thousand Stoney Indians would publically compete in what were seen as traditional Indian activities and sell their craft products, in many ways a ploy to entertain tourists.[30]

The Canadian Pacific employed an American artist Wilfred Langdon Kihn, who had trained with ethnological artist Winold Reiss in New York, to advertise these Indian Days in poster art. [Fig. 18] These advertisements feature colorful Native American figures in a diversity of clothing from traditional outfits to cowboy dress. As the mountains in the background have been abstracted, the tepees take on the shape and the role of the mountain ranges in earlier advertisements, forming the main attraction for Canadian Pacific tourists.

[29] Gibbon, *Canadian mosaic*, 1.

[30] Hart, *The selling of Canada,* 59. Choko, *Canadian Pacific,* 171.

In addition, Kihn was commissioned to illustrate Marius Barbeau's *Indian Days in the Canadian Rockies*, a text sponsored by the Canadian Pacific. In many ways Barbeau's interest mirrored those of John Murray Gibbon. Born in Quebec, after an education in anthropology he joined the new Anthropology Division of the Geographic Survey in 1910. Despite his mission to understand Western Canadian cultures, Barbeau fostered a passion for French Canadian folk culture much like Gibbon, perhaps evidencing an analogous passion for underrepresented cultural traditions. Although professionally employed as an anthropologist, he catered to a non-specialist audience as well, as in the production of this book for the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Like Gibbon would later, Barbeau attempts foster a mutual understanding between ethnic groups in the book. This is evidenced in his introduction when he states his intent: "we have tried in the following chapters to visualize the advent of the white man into the northwest from the Indian standpoint."[31] This attempt at a cultural conversation is visualized in a portrait done by Kihn, "George McClean or Walking Buffaloe or Tatanka-mani Stony Indian." [Fig. 19] Like other images in the book, the portrait renders the face with rich detail and aspirations toward verisimilitude. Unlike common advertising campaigns, it does not present a stereotype but rather an example of cultural crossover; the Indian wears a cowboy hat. Barbeau and Kihn demonstrate in their work that interaction between white and Native American groups on the frontier was possible.

While the Indian Days that occurred at Banff had enduring popularity, they underwent an era of suppression from 1915 to 1952. New executive Norman Luxton precluded rodeos and cowboy music, the most frequented events at the fair, because he saw them as inauthentic. Ironically, as Morgan Bailargoeon recounts, the first rodeo had occurred in 1901 as a result of

[31] Marius Barbeau, *Indian days in the Canadian Rockies* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, ltd., 1923), 8.

Canadian Pacific intervention, when general livestock agent H.C. McMullen organized it as an attempt to bring together the province's Native American and immigrant societies.[32] Immediately, at the first rodeo, the Indians surprised white communities by outmaneuvering them at their own craft and winning all prizes. But the cowboy Indian, an image of the interactions between ethnic traditions, was not permitted to survive. To Luxton, like to Gibbon, Native Americans were relegated to history, not a live community with evolving traditions.

A poster from 1937, created by Thomas Charles Purvis, an English artist, vividly depicts the absence of the Native American in the West after the company came under the sway of thinkers like Gibbon and Luxton. A white woman is depicted, smoking an Indian pipe, wearing an Indian headdress. [Fig. 20] In Gibbon's rebranding of the entire Canadian national identity as part of the immigrant culture, the uniqueness of the West as a landscape the Native American could still inhabit, was lost. Instead, the Native American only survives in his physical artifacts, now donned by a woman of European origin. This is where Canadian identity differs from the American precedent; the iconic cowboy and Indian never became the brand of the Canadian Pacific.

The relation of Canada to the British Empire influenced the early advertising decisions of its first transcontinental railroad, prompting a cascade of reactionary national images. While Canada was originally linked to Victorian values, then made exotic like distant empire, then idealized as an immigrant nation, it continuously looked abroad for precedent. In the process, the Native identity in the region, that of the First Nations people, was compromised in favor of a multinational Canadian identity. Always related to Europe, the Canadian West was never truly depicted as authentically Canadian in the lens of the Canadian Pacific Railway advertisements.

[32] Morgan Baillargeon, "Native Cowboys on the Canadian Plains: A Photo Essay," *Agricultural History* 69 (4): 556, accessed May 6, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3744430.

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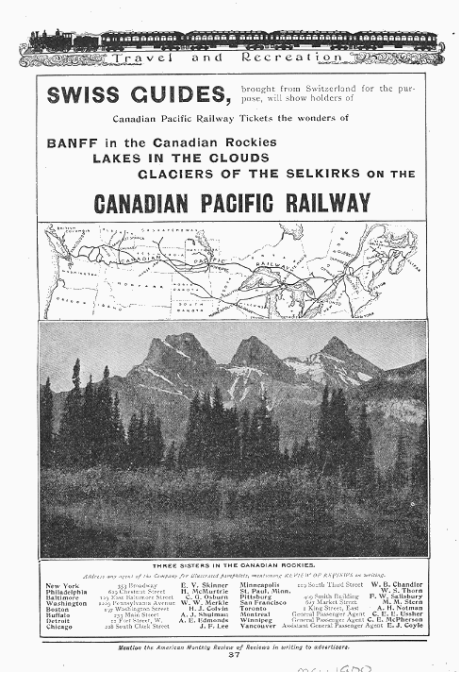

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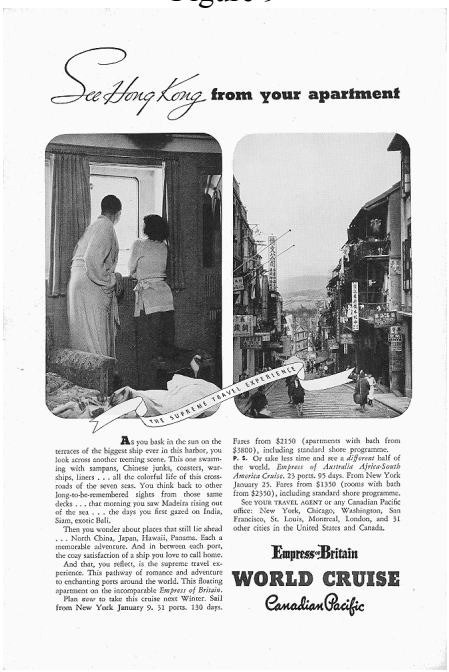

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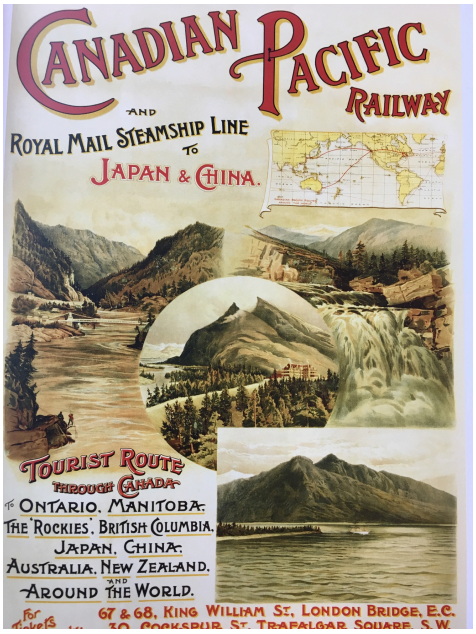

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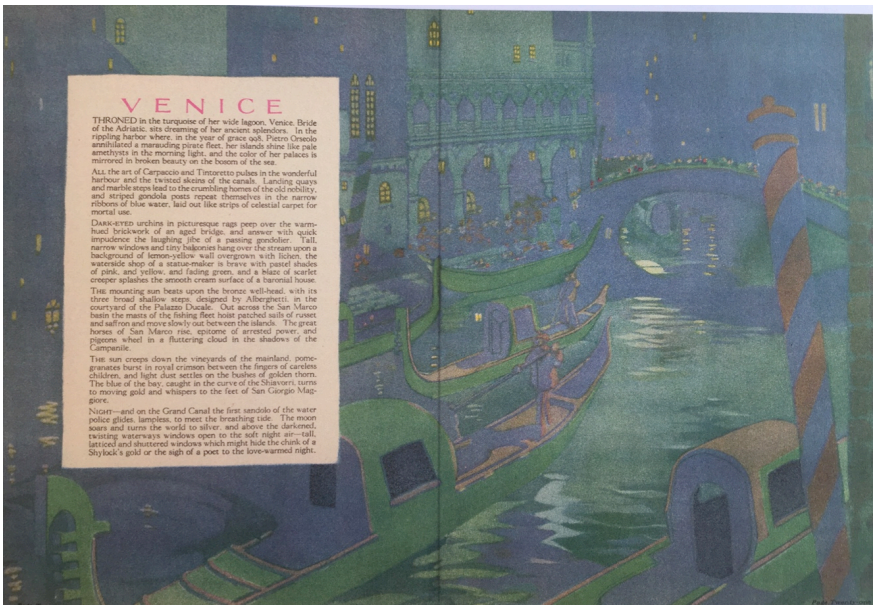

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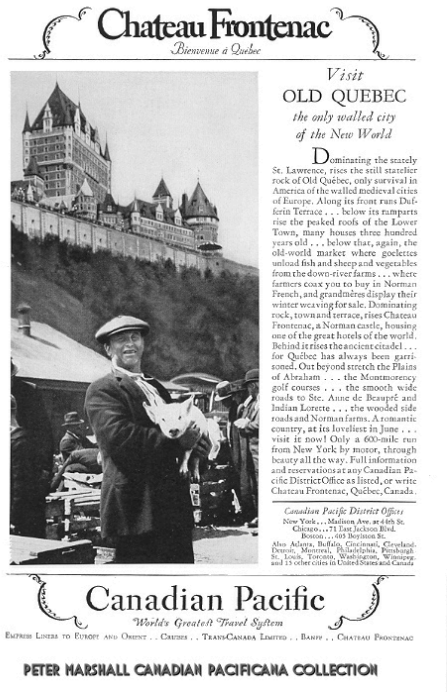
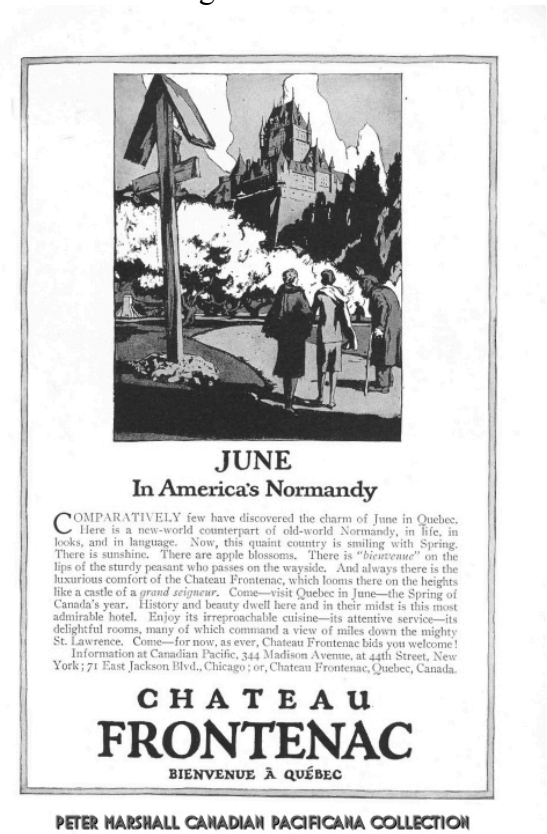


PETER MARSHALL CANADIAN PACIFICANA COLLECTION

Figure 17



PETER MARSHALL CANADIAN PACIFICANA COLLECTION

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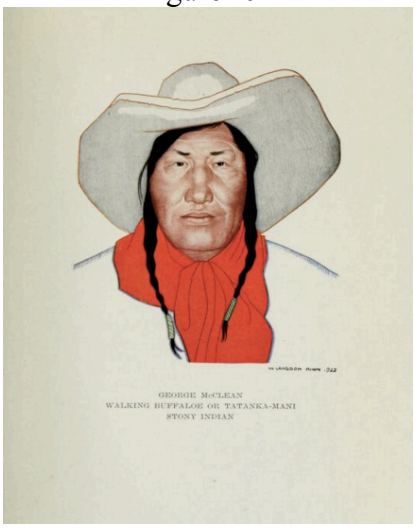

Figure 20

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The Fight for Water and Life: Popular Participation in Cochabamba's Water War

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Clouds of light brown dust follow the tanker trucks that bring water to many of Cochabamba's residents. Nestled into a valley in the high Andes, this "City of Eternal Spring" is more shades of brown than green. Dust covers every road, yard, and person. Trucks carry water from wells in the northern part of the city to the dry southern zone where women and children, clad in their colorful traditional *polleras* and bowler hats, line up to buy gallons of water to use in their homes. The few that do have wells are spared the long lines, but wells in the southern zone are few and far between. Buried under the city streets, the water distribution system lies neglected and decaying. Sewage and dirt seep into the water delivery pipes and every glass of water harms each of the city's inhabitants. Beyond the reach of the pipe networks, residents are forced to rely on inconsistent water deliveries and conserve as much rain as they can.

Water, necessary for most aspects of life, is a scarce resource in Cochabamba, and the people do not underestimate its value. Water, like all natural things, is an integral part of *Pachamama,* the spirit of the earth that binds all of nature together in a balance. In traditional villages nobody can own either water or land. Nature is a collective good shared by all people. As protest leader Oscar Olivera puts it,

> "water is a right for us, not something to be sold… as it has been since the time of the Incas. The traditional social practices and ideas behind the use of water go beyond the distribution of water to encompass the idea that water belongs to the community and no one has the right to own the water[1]

[1] Oscar Olivera, *Cochabamba: Water War in Bolivia* (Cambridge: South End Press, 2004), 8.

The people have maintained this communal spirit even as they move from their ancestral villages to the cities. Neoliberalism, an economic system imposed by the United States that encourages privatization, contradicts the traditional values of the local communities. The people of Cochabamba were ready to fight back when the government policies threatened their beliefs and their access to this most basic necessity.

Friday, February 4, 2000 is seared into the memories of most Cochabambinos as the day that the Water War became a part of their identity. The Water War was a series of mass protests over the privatization of the municipal water distribution system in Cochabamba, Bolivia. Cochabamba, Bolivia's fourth largest city, is normally quiet and out of the national or international spotlight. The Water War, though, brought the city out of the shadow of the Andes and into a larger conversation about the costs of economic policies and the effects of forced privatization on people in developing countries.

The sale of Cochabamba's municipal water system to a company called Aguas de Tunari spurred outrage and mobilization across the city. The Water War was the first successful instance of an anti-neoliberal popular movement in Bolivia, and helped start the country down the path to electing the second wave leftist government of Evo Morales. The mobilization of diverse actors under *La Coordinadora* de Defensa del Agua y la Vida (*La Coordinadora*) instigated a larger movement across the country and spurred other protests and events that have had significant impacts on Bolivian policy and politics over the previous nearly twenty years. The work of *La Coordinadora* and the protesters showed the municipal and national governments that the people would no longer put up with unfair policies that damaged the communal well-being of their cities. Though this fight continues today, the Water War showed that popular movements could be used to successfully fight privatization and neoliberal policies.

Victory in the Water War is still a point of pride in Cochabamba nearly 20 years later. This paper will focus on the Water War from the point when the privatization of water became legal in Bolivia to the expulsion of Aguas de Tunari from the city 6 months later. In April 2000, the water issue was at the forefront of Bolivian's minds. People such as Oscar Olivera and Evo Morales emerged from the protests as prominent leaders of Bolivian civil society. I will focus on how mass participation in the movement led to the eventual success of *La Coordinadora.*

The Water War is still a relatively recent event, given that it took place less than 20 years ago. As a result, few historians have written about the water protests in a historical context. What little has been published on the topic comes from South American universities and a few American leftist journals. The existing literature focuses on how the protests fit into a larger anti-neoliberal movement in South America.[2] In comparison, my study of the Cochabamba Water War analyzes more closely the events that led to the expulsion of Aguas de Tunari from the city and how effective mobilization of people at all levels of society allowed for the success of the protesters. This work fills a gap in the literature about the Cochabamba Water War and the history of Bolivian society, as well as the reactions to neoliberalism in modern Latin America.

Bolivia has always had a tenuous relationship with their natural resources. They are a source of wealth but also the instigator of many conflicts. This is true also in the case of the Water War. The network of *La Coordinadora* began, writes Oscar Olivera, when "water was not yet an issue on [the] horizon. In a real sense the Coordinadora began with an effort to reconstruct

[2] Alberto García Orellana, *La Crisis de la Política: La Guerra del Agua en Cochabamba* (La Paz: Programa de Investigación Estratégica en Bolivia, 2002); Moisés Arce and Roberta Rice, "Societal Protest in Post-Stabilization Bolivia," *Latin American Research Review* 44 (2009): 90-99; Susan Spronk and Jeffrey R. Webber, "Struggles Against Accumulation by Dispossession in Bolivia: The Political Economy of Natural Resource Contention," *Latin American Perspectives* 34 (2007): 31-47; Jeffrey R. Webber, "Left-Indigenous Struggles in Bolivia Searching for Revolutionary Democracy," *Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine*, September 2005.

a social network, or the social fabric of solidarity that had been destroyed by neoliberalism."[3] Olivera, the man who became the leader of the effort, was a former shoe factory worker and in 1999 worked for the Bolivian Federation of Factory Workers. Evo Morales, *La Coordinadora*'s second most important leader, joined the movement from the Chapare region where he was an association leader for indigenous coca farmers. *La Coordinadora* organized slowly over the summer of 1999 in response to neoliberal policies of President Hugo Banzer. President Banzer had ruled Bolivia as a dictator in from 1971 to 1978. A close ally to Chile's Augusto Pinochet, he was democratically re-elected to the presidency in 1997 after 19 years out of power.

La Coordinadora leaders, Oscar Olivera (with hat) and Evo Morales (far right) being interviewed by a local reporter. Source: http://narconews.com/Issue67/article4292.html

The leaders of *La Coordinadora believed*, according to Olivera, that neoliberalism "catapulted the largest transnational firms, as well as the main international financial institutions, into positions of world dominance."[4] The goal of the companies operating in Bolivia was to efficiently exploit natural resources in order to increase profits. Cochabambinos' desire to protect their environment and their traditional values inspired the anti-privatization movement. It also

[3] Olivera, *Cochabamba*, 26.

[4] Olivera, *Cochabamba*, 14.

signaled the end of Bolivian's complacency towards national policies largely dictated by the World Bank, the IMF, and other international institutions.

La Coordinadora had three levels of participation in their organizational structure. The first level of participation in *La Coordinadora* was the popular meetings. These were spaces where the organizations, such as the Environmentalists of Cochabamba, the association of shoe factory workers, or groups of businessmen, could organize their complaints and ideas among themselves. The next level of participation was through assemblies. Assemblies were where representatives of each of the groups would meet to present their ideas and concerns and create proposals for action. The final level of participation in *La Coordinadora* was the *cabildos,* or town meetings. At the *cabildos,* the leaders of *La Coordinadora* would present potential plans for action for approval by the fifty thousand to seventy thousand citizens that would gather in a plaza to participate in the decision-making. People would show their support for ideas by cheering or their disapproval by booing. This system allowed *La Coordinadora* to involve the entire community in their planning and organization and maintain popular support. [5]

The Water War began months before violent protests broke out in the streets of Cochabamba. In contrast to the violent clashes between citizens and the police that would ensue, the first few months of the conflict were relatively peaceful and took place behind closed doors. The foundations of the conflict were laid with the passing of Law 2029 on October 29, 1999. Law 2029, which was written with the assistance of the World Bank, took away the guarantee of water and sanitation services to outlying areas even though service was, in Olivera's words, "a practice in place for so long it was – and still is – considered a custom."[6] During the 1990's it

[5] Olivera, *Cochabamba*, 37-38; Oscar Olivera, "El Guerra del Agua y Otros Movimientos Sociales en Bolivia," Lecture, School for International Training en convenio de la Universidad Mayor de San Simon, Cochabamba, Bolivia, September 29, 2015.

[6] Olivera, *Cochabamba*, 8.

was common practice for the World Bank to participate in domestic legislation as a condition for economic assistance. Law 2029 allowed for the sale of water rights to private companies, if the water systems were not profitable. Once water systems were privatized, the companies had full control over all of the water in the municipality. This included natural sources of water and pre-existing communal water systems or wells that the communities may have built on their own. [7]

In 1999, nearly 400,000 homes, or half of Cochabambinos, were not connected to the municipal water system.[8] This made Cochabamba look like a great target for foreign development, even though this figure did not include homes connected to community water systems that were built outside of the main water network. In many parts of Cochabamba, these communal wells were the primary source of water, as they were more reliable. The informal wells were unofficially maintained and funded by the communities they served, but under Law 2029 they became illegal and the private water companies were given the right to shut them down. When Aguas de Tunari took over the SEMAPA (existing water system), it made a conscious effort to shut down the community water systems and instead make residents pay for water from their tanker distribution system. [9]

Though Cochabamba is an urban center in Bolivia, many of the city's poor residents still have strong ties to their traditional Quechua and Aymara roots. Members of these indigenous cultures believe that everything natural, such as people, animals, the earth and water, are all intertwined and no one part of nature can own any other part. The balance of *Pachamama*, the spirit of the living world, is based upon the communal nature of life and respect for all living and nonliving things. These beliefs manifested themselves in the development of the community

[7] "Bolivia: Ley de Agua Potable y Alcantarillado Sanitario, 29 de Octubre de 1999," *Lexivox Libre*, October 20, 2016, http://www.lexivox.org/norms/BO-L-2029.xhtml.

[8] PBS NOW: "Water Wars," Aired July 5, 2002, http://www.pbs.org/ now/printable/transcript125_full_print.html.

[9] Olivera, *Cochabamba*, 10.

water systems. Where the government failed to provide for the people, they worked together to provide for themselves and the community's future development.[10]

In some areas, such as the community of San Miguel in Southern Cochabamba, the community water systems were the only reliable access to water. San Miguel resident Fredy Villagomez explained that, "all of us from the region built [the well] by working together, everyone as a group so it belongs to all of us by right, because we all invested our hard work in [the] well. We fought a lot and sacrificed a lot to build it."[11] In neighborhoods such as San Miguel, the arrival of Aguas de Tunari, which capped the communal well, resulted in a loss of service. Rather than use their own systems, which they had already paid for and built, people were forced to pay exorbitant prices from the tanker trucks that unreliably brought water from the northern part of the city. This caused social as well as economic problems. As Oscar Olivera explained, "it is crucial to preserve the social character and the accrued rights of the local water committees, the city's neighborhood cooperatives and the rural communities," and the privatization fundamentally altered the communal nature of water.

Once Aguas de Tunari took over the distribution of water in Cochabamba, residents saw their water bills skyrocket. In his reports to the Pacific News Service, Jim Schultz wrote that, "our own water bill… leapt from $12 per month in December to nearly $30 in January… By U.S. standards that may not be much, but for the many Bolivian families who often earn as little as $100 per month, these increases were catastrophic."[12] Poor families who were connected to the municipal water system were most affected. Aguas de Tunari claimed that rate hikes were

[10] Rafael Puentes, "La Historia de Bolivia," Lecture, School for International Training en convenio de la Universidad Mayor de San Simon, Cochabamba, Bolivia, October 14, 2015.

[11] PBS NOW: "Water Wars."

[12] Jim Schultz, "Bolivia's War Over Water – The Dispatches in Full," *The Democracy Center*, February 4, 2000, http://democracyctr.org/bolivia/ investigations/boli via-investigations-the-water-revolt/bolivia%E2%80%99s-war-over- water-%E2%80%93-the-dispatches-in-full/.

generally kept to around 10%. The company justified them by citing necessary repairs to the water system that would benefit the entire city. [13]

Most residents saw rates jump significantly higher than 10%, and the average rate hike for those classified as "very poor" was 43%.[14] Jose Aramayo's water bill increased to 39.80 Bolivianos from a pre-hike average of about 25 Bolivianos, which was a 60% increase.[15] Saturino Main saw his jump to 131.80 Bolivianos, an increase of nearly 50%, even though his water usage decreased 18%. Aguas de Tunari defended itself by saying that prices rose because water usage rose, but that was clearly not true.[16] Finally, the rate for Lucio Morales, a third Cochabambino, also increased 60% to 39.80 Bolivianos. Morales was classified as an R-2 customer, meaning his household is among the poorest of the poor with very little water use. The new rate of 39.80 Bolivianos would have amounted to nearly 10% of the official minimum wage at the time.[17] These increases severely impacted people's ability to afford to live in the city. As one resident said to a reporter, "people need water to cook, clean, drink, grow crops. We simply could not pay the rates they wanted."[18]

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[13] "The Water Rate Hikes by Bechtel's Bolivian Company (Aguas deTurnari)," *The Democracy Center*, October 15, 2016, http://democracyctr.org/bolivia/ investigations/bolivia-investigations-the-water-revolt/bechtel-vs-bolivia/3409-2/.

[14] "The Water Rate Hikes,"*The Democracy Center*.

[15] "Bechtel vs. Bolivia: Water Bills for Jose Aramayo," *The Democracy Center*, October 15, 2016, http://democracyctr.org/bolivia/investigations/bolivia- investigations-the-water-revolt/bechtel-vs-bolivia/bechtel-vs-bolivia-water- bills-for-jose-aramayo/.

[16] "Bechtel vs. Bolivia: Water Bills for Saturnino Main," *The Democracy Center*, October 15, 2016, http://democracyctr.org/bolivia/investigations/bolivia- investigations-the-water-revolt/bechtel-vs-bolivia/bechtel-vs-bolivia-water- bills-for-saturnino-marin/.

[17] "Bechtel vs. Bolivia: Water Bills for Lucio Morales," *The Democracy Center*, October 15, 2016, http://democracyctr.org/bolivia/investigations/bolivia- investigations-the-water-revolt/bechtel-vs-bolivia/bechtel-vs-bolivia-water- bills-for-lucio-morales/.

[18] Jimmy Langman, "Bechtel Battles Against Dirt-Poor Bolivia / Nation Severed Water Deal After Hefty Rate Increases Led to Protests," *San Francisco Chronicle* (San Francisco, CA), Feb 2, 2002.

Some of the questions that *La Coordinadora* asked as they began to organize were: 'Who was Aguas de Tunari?' and 'Who really controlled the company?' The firm, it turned out, was created specifically for the Cochabamba project. *Tunari* is the name of the largest mountain in the part of the Andes that surrounds Cochabamba, and is considered sacred by the native people, and Aguas refers to 'water' in Spanish. The company was officially registered in the Cayman Islands as a consortium of companies, including International Water of Spain and four smaller Bolivian companies.[19] International Waters, the major stakeholder in Aguas de Tunari, was a part of the holdings of Bechtel, a San Francisco based construction and engineering conglomerate. Bechtel was the largest construction company in the United States and has projects on all 7 continents.[20] It was given the rights to the water contract in Cochabamba through secret government meetings and deals. Like most multinational corporations, Bechtel had no associations in Bolivia other than to make a profit. *La Coordinadora* worked with Jim Schultz, an American journalist living in Cochabamba, to discover Bechtel's stake in Aguas de Tunari.

Once *La Coordinadora* announced who it was really fighting against, the protests increased. The first took place on December 1, 1999. Ten thousand workers protested in the center of Cochabamba outside of the government offices. Olivera lead the protest, which cemented his place as the head of *La Coordinadora*. After the strike, *La Coordinadora* organized a town hall meeting to call for the government to reverse the rate hikes and revoke their contract with Aguas de Tunari.

A month passed and the government still had not responded to the demands of the protesters. *La Coordinadora* decided that it was time to do something more, as the people of Cochabamba continued to suffer from the rate hikes and a lack of water services. The first

[19] Olivera, *Cochabamba*, 10.

[20] "History," *Bechtel Corporation*, November 15, 2016, http://www.bechtel.com/about-us/history.

general *paro,* or strike, in conjunction with the water crisis happened on January 11, 2000. Protesters went on strike from the factories and created blockades along the main city arteries to create confusion and frustration. This *paro* only lasted 24 hours though, and the impacts were not widely felt. This *paro* showed *La Coordinadora* that they did, in fact, have the support of many Cochabambinos. After the *paro,* graffiti began to appear around Cochabamba with slogans such as "with the people mobilized, we will cancel the contract with Aguas del Tunari" and "thieves."[21]

Graffiti on a wall in Cochabamba with the slogan "the water is ours."
Source: http://tasmaniantimes.com/index.php/article/travels-without-a-donkey-bolivia-2-not-yet-mate-worked-the-mines-last-coupl

Though no policies were changed after the first general *paro,* the protesters and *La Coordinadora* had gained the attention of the city government of Cochabamba. On January 13, Coordinadora leaders Oscar Olivera and Evo Morales went to meet with the government about the water issue, as well as an unrelated strike at the MANACO shoe factory in Cochabamba. During the meeting with the government officials, protesters gathered outside in the *plaza de armas* (main square) of Cochabamba. The plaza is named *La Plaza de la 14 de Septiembre* to memorialize the date the city of Cochabamba gained independence from the Spanish empire. The

[21] PBS NOW: "Water Wars."

headquarters of the three largest influencers in society ringed the plaza; the Cathedral of Saint Sebastian, representing the Catholic church, the offices of the powerful *sindicatos* or labor unions, representing labor, and the offices of the city's government as well as the offices of the *Alcalde* of the Department of Cochabamba, representing the state. On a calm day in Cochabamba, people gathered in the plaza to learn the day's news and stop and have a coffee or orange juice. January 13, 2000 was not a calm day.

Hundreds of protesters gathered while *La Coordinadora* leaders met with the government. According to Schultz, "it was the kind of action that can only happen with broad popular support and it culminated in a mass march to the city's central plaza."[22] The government, still not taking *La Coordinadora* seriously, made Olivera, Morales and others wait over two hours for their meeting. The protesters outside became restless. The local police had followed the protesters into the square to keep the peace. While the meeting was still taking place, the police began to shoot tear gas into the crowd to break it up. This was significant, as Cochabambinos' have a long history with violent repression. As Olivera remarked, "for the first time in twenty years, I smelled – many Cochabambinos smelled – tear gas. The last time we suffered a repression like this was in 1982, when a massacre of factory workers had occurred in the plaza."[23]

When word reached the leaders that the police were firing tear gas at the protesters, they stormed out of the meeting shouting, "we [can] not negotiate if the people [are] being repressed."[24] The government had agreed to consider revising the terms of the privatization.

[22] Schultz, "The Dispatches in Full," February 4, 2000.

[23] Olivera, *Cochabamba*, 31.

[24] Olivera, *Cochabamba*, 31.

They explicitly did not agree to consider modifying the rate hikes, even though the rate hikes were the primary concern of the people protesting in the square.

After Cochabamba settled down, the leaders of *La Coordinadora* met again to discuss further action. The government had failed to address the people's main concern, the rate hikes, which were still impeding people's access to the water they needed to go about their daily lives. People like Jose Aramayo, Saturnino Main, and Lucio Morales were bringing their water bills to *La Coordinadora* offices to ask for help in fighting Aguas de Tunari. *La Coordinadora* took on this fight as a personal war against forces of neoliberalism. On the night of January 13, *La Coordinadora* brought bags of water bills that people had given them to the main plaza and burned them symbolically. This protest signaled that *La Coordinadora* would not stand by while a foreign corporation took advantage of the people of Cochabamba.

The next step for *La Coordinadora* was to decide how to continue the protests. The leaders of the group decided to organize a peaceful march for February 4, 2000. It is important to note *La Coordinadora* did not plan any blockades or violence. They named it *la toma de Cochabamba,* or the takeover of Cochabamba. Though it was called *la toma*, *La Coordinadora* did not intend to actually take charge of the city. Rather, they wanted to reclaim what was already theirs – their rights to water and life.

All of Cochabamba was warned about the protest that was planned for February 4. The rumor that flew throughout the wealthy northern neighborhoods of Cochabamba was that "Indians are coming to seize the city". [25] The government began its violent repression of the protest before it even really began. Representatives from the federal government based in La Paz had come to the city to oversee what they perceived as a potentially dangerous situation, even

[25] Olivera, *Cochabamba*, 32.

though the protesters had planned a peaceful protest. President Banzer deployed 1,000 riot police to Cochabamba from the capital of La Paz overnight.[26] Soldiers met protesters where they gathered at the four main entry points to the city and tried to block them from advancing closer to the city center. They fired tear gas into the crowd before the protesters even had a chance to formally begin their protest. Despite the repression, the protesters continued to make their way towards *La Plaza Principal*.

Federal Police lined up on motorcycles in *La Plaza de la 14 de Septiembre*.
Source: http://arenaria.home.xs4all.nl/water/Cochabamba%20pictures.html

As the protesters closed in on the heart of the city, the fight between the police and the water warriors grew fiercer and the protesters grew more diverse. Though the majority of the protesters were still poor laborers and peasants, middle class Cochabambinos began to join in the fight. Protesters were bombarded with tear gas and beaten with clubs. The police sent by the national government were not native to Cochabamba, and so did not have the same reservations towards the violence that local police would have. The protesters fought back with fire, which cut through the tear gas, rocks and anything else they could find. The city center was turned into a war zone for the first time since the era of the Banzer dictatorship. Entire families came out to participate and show the government that the people of Cochabamba would not be ignored any longer.

[26] Schultz, "The Dispatches in Full," February 4, 2000.

After a long day of violence on Friday, the leaders of *La Coordinadora* believed that no one would continue protesting on Saturday, but they were wrong. As they made their way from their homes back towards *la plaza principal,* they realized that overnight the *coacleros* (coca farmers), who had come from the countryside with Evo Morales, had surrounded the entire city with blockades and armed themselves with rocks, bricks, and fire. The citizens of Cochabamba, young and old, were showing the government that they would not be repressed. Kids set up their own blockades down side streets using anything they could find: sticks, small stones and even their own bikes and toys. Children used nails and tacks to set up traps that would puncture car tires. Though they protested on side streets that no one was likely to use, the children understood enough of the water conflict to want to participate. Elderly people helped by opening their homes to injured protesters and providing food and water to the young people fighting in the center of the city.

During the day on Friday, the local radio and television stations had broadcast live coverage of the protest. People saw their neighbors and family members on their televisions and decided to join in the protests on Saturday. The protesters were especially mad about the police officers from La Paz; they threw insults at them yelling, "go back to La Paz, you *Cholos*! Let our own police beat us, not you!"[27] Many people felt they had no other option than to join in the fight, as one protester said, "what can we do when they charge us so much for water… we had to fight in whatever way we could. Of course what we have seen is that we are fighting between brothers, but they have not left us any other option."[28]

[27] Olivera, *Cochabamba*, 35.

[28] "Texts of the Coordinadora del Agua of Cochabamba: El Opinion 8 Febrero 2000," *Archives of Global Protests*, October, 5 2016, https://www.nadir.org/nadir /initiativ /agp/cocha/agua.htm.

La Plaza de la 14 de Septiembre filled with protesters in February 2000.
Source: http://ejfood.blogspot.com/2013/03/environmental-justice-blogs-winter-2013_7.html

The fighting continued throughout the day even as both the protesters and the police grew weary. During the fighting, the leaders of *La Coordinadora* returned to the offices of the government to negotiate an end to the violence. On Sunday, the government and *La Coordinadora* announced that they would enter into two weeks of talks over the water issue. The government announced that it would work towards coming up with a solution to the problem that included a price freeze and no new rate hikes. The government also agreed to revisit the water deal with Aguas de Tunari. This announcement stopped the violence in the streets and the protesters returned to their homes.

The repression had been violent and took a toll on both the people and the police. *Los Tiempos*, the local newspaper, reported that on the first day of fighting the government used 3,840 canisters of tear gas. Over the two days, a total of 5,600 canisters were fired. Each can of tear gas costs between five and ten dollars, which means that the government spent nearly 42,000 dollars just to repress two days of water protests.[29] At least one person was blinded by tear gas during the protests. The government was more focused on protecting its contract with Aguas de Tunari than protecting its own citizens.

[29] "Texts of the Coordinadora del Agua of Cochabamba: Los Tiempos 8 Octubre 2000," *Archives of Global Protests*, October, 5 2016, https://www.nadir.org/ nadir/initiativ /agp/cocha/agua.htm.

A sense of unease hung over the city over the next two months. Though no one's water rates increased, people were still being charged exorbitant prices. After the violence in February, people had lost their sense of fear. They had shown that together they had a voice against the forces of neoliberalism and Aguas de Tunari. They now knew that they could influence government policy, and that conflict was not over, that the fight had not yet been won.[30]

On March 22, 2000, after the government missed their deadline to release a new water deal, *La Coordinadora* took the next step in showing that the people still disapproved of the situation in Cochabamba. It organized an informal referendum and allowed any citizen who wished to cast their votes. The results of the referendum were clear, the people wanted more change. 96% of the 50,000 people who voted wanted the government to revoke its contract with Aguas de Tunari and supported the revocation of Law 2029.[31] This show of popular support for the efforts of *La Coordinadora* strengthened their movement and encouraged them to continue their work.

Over the last weeks of March, *La Coordinadora* continued to organize its protests. Cochabambinos got more fed up as the days passed without action from the government. Eventually, the leaders of *La Coordinadora* realized that the government was trying to wait them out, and did not plan on actually changing their policy or doing anything to improve the situation. During March, the government tried to blame the protests and unrest on 'drug traffickers' due to the involvement of Evo Morales and the *cocaleros*. Coca is a sacred part of indigenous culture, and the unionized coca farmers are not a part of the illegal drug trade. By the end of March, *La Coordinadora* was ready for action.

[30] Olivera, *Cochabamba*, 36.

[31] Schultz, "The Dispatches in Full," March 23, 2000.

Trucks lined up creating a blockade along one of Cochabamba's main avenues, America Avenue. Source: http://arenaria.home.xs4all.nl/water/ Cochabamba%20pictures.html

La Coordinadora organized its next round of protests for April. It planned to surround the city with road blockades until the government responded to them. The leaders also increased their demands on the government; they called for the expulsion of Aguas de Tunari, rather than just a renegotiation of the contract. During March, *La Coordinadora* held various assemblies where people could air their grievances. People of all economic classes came together to discuss what could be done about the water issue and participate in the political process by discussing the issues with community members and leaders.

Leading up to the protests, the leaders of *La Coordinadora* were worried for the safety of the city. When the protest began on Tuesday April 4, the government responded differently than they had in February. This time, the government did not react. It did not send out the police or call up the army. The protesters blockaded the highways entering Cochabamba and brought the city to a halt, but still the government did nothing.. Though the government again refused to send military or police reinforcements, the protests continued anyway.[32] *La Coordinadora* wanted a response from the government. The group decided to try, and paralyze the city in order to elicit a reaction. On the first day of protests twenty thousand protesters gathered in the main plaza. Eventually, they thought, the government would have to do or say something.

[32] Olivera, *Cochabamba*, 37.

A group of government leaders and ministers came to Cochabamba on April 5, 2000 to discuss the situation. The leaders of *La Coordinadora* were not invited to the meeting. Olivera and others went anyway and were told by a vice-minister that the government had no intention of dealing with them.[33] The leaders refused to leave, though. Finally, Manfred Reyes Villa, the mayor of Cochabamba, allowed them to join the caucus of government leaders and citizens selected by the government, who discussed how to modify the contract with Aguas de Tunari, rather than revoke it as *La Coordinadora* wanted. Once allowed into the room, the police in the square began to fire tear gas into the crowd to try to break up the protest. Before the meeting was over, police arrived to arrest Olivera and 14 other leaders of *La Coordinadora* who were meeting with the government. They were taken across the square to the police station, where they were placed in a holding cell for a few hours. The Archbishop of Cochabamba stepped in and was able to get the leaders released from prison. The leaders left the police station and went directly to the press, who were recording the scene in the square, to call for continued blockades and protests.

The violence continued throughout April 6 and 7. On April 7, President Banzer declared a state of siege in Bolivia and enacted martial law. The army and riot police again descended on Cochabamba. The protests involved everyone, even "housewives, people you wouldn't believe could become violent." Olivera noted that "they were there, they were throwing stones at the police. Everybody was protesting, everybody."[34] Over 100 people were wounded in the fighting and one, a teenager named Victor Hugo Daza, was killed by an army officer who fired into the crowd gathered in the plaza.[35]

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[33] Olivera, *Cochabamba*, 39.

[34] PBS NOW: "Water Wars."

[35] Olivera, *Cochabamba*, 43.

An indigenous woman clad in her traditional *pollera* talks to riot police officers.
Source: http://www.thehealthculture.com/2010/11/the-cochabamba-water-wars/

Once martial law was declared, the leaders of *La Coordinadora* went into hiding. They feared for their personal safety. There were reports of torture and police intimidation towards people who the police believed to have knowledge of the location of the leaders of *La Coordinadora*.[36] The government's continued repression inspired even more people to action, and as many as 600,000 protesters came from the surrounding countryside and from every part of the city.[37] The protests were larger than ever before and this time they were different, too; Olivera noted, "people from all walks of life participated… this time [the rich] marched behind the slogans of the poor, instead of the other way around."[38]

On Monday, April 9, Olivera, Morales, and the other leaders of *La Coordinadora* were summoned to a meeting with Vice-Minister Jose Orías and other government officials. They came out of hiding to meet with the officials, who assured them of their safety. The protesters had broken the army's hold on the main square and thousands of people gathered in the center of

[36] "Bolivia: Further Information on Fear of Ill-Treatment / Legal Concern and New concerns: Illegal Detention / Death Threats," *Amnesty International*, April 13, 2000, https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/amr18/003/2000/en/.

[37] Jim Schultz, "The Dispatches in Full," April 10, 2000.

[38] Olivera, *Cochabamba*, 47.

town for the largest show of force yet. When the leaders arrived, they found a group of ministers that was finally ready to negotiate. Many politicians as well as the Aguas de Tunari executives had already fled the city for fear of their own safety. During the meeting, *La Coordinadora* negotiated a deal with the government to end the violence and solve the water issue. Later that day, the government announced that it had agreed to four points: that Aguas de Tunari would leave the country, that civic leaders who had been arrested would be released, that the government would revoke Law 2029, and they would give financial compensation to the families of those who had died or been seriously injured in clashes with the army. The government stated that when the Aguas de Tunari executives fled the country, they had nullified their contract. A special session of Congress was called to sign the accord.

The signing of the agreement was not the end of the conflict. On April 11, Bechtel's leadership released a statement that they "were saddened by the violence that [had] occurred in Bolivia this past week" though they maintained that, "much of the blame is falsely centered on the government's plan to raise water rates in Cochabamba, when in fact, a number of other water, social and political issues are the root causes of this civil unrest."[39] The company continued to fight the Bolivian government's revocation of its contract, but failed. As Olivera said after the contract had been signed, "the blood spilled in Cochabamba carries the fingerprints of Bechtel."[40]

On April 12, the last of the roadblocks were removed. The water warriors had won. Together, the people of Cochabamba, a small city hidden in the Andes, had taken on one of the largest multi-national corporations in the world. The water system passed back into the hands of the government, as *La Coordinadora* had no intention of taking over governance of water

[39] Schultz, "The Dispatches in Full," April 12, 2000.

[40] Schultz, "The Dispatches in Full," April 13, 2000.

distribution in Cochabamba after the expulsion of Aguas de Tunari. People's water rates returned to their pre-privatization levels and people could again afford the water they needed for their daily lives.

The people of Cochabamba have great pride in their accomplishments during the Water War. The protests revealed the deep divide between people's priorities and the neoliberal policies that the government was advised to adopt by the IMF and World Bank. Their success showed how "in a time of privatization and monopoly ordinary working people were able to 'unprivatize' the monopoly of the word – of voice and expression – and reclaim this right for themselves."[41] The protesters also showed the power of a society united, rather than fragmented by class and labor. One of the great successes of *La Coordinadora* was its ability to involve all Cochabambinos in the movement. *La Coordinadora* gave people a voice and a way to participate in their own democracy. People were fed up, and as Olivera later wrote, "[I]n the case of Cochabamba's water, we wanted to make our own decisions. That was what democracy would mean in practice."[42]

The success of the people in the Cochabamba Water War is important in the larger anti-neocolonialist narrative of 21st century Latin America. After two decades of neoliberal policies that favored the wealthy and multinational corporations, working class Latin Americans in this instance took back their own policies and laws. The masses stood up to the oppression of foreign-owned multinationals, which like the Spanish centuries ago, wanted only to profit off the natural wealth of Latin America. The people of Cochabamba reclaimed their rights to self-governance and political autonomy. The Water War also launched the political career of Evo Morales, the first indigenous president of Bolivia. President Morales has made it his work to

[41] Olivera, *Cochabamba*, 47.

[42] Olivera, *Cochabamba*, 29.

decolonize Bolivian society and develop the country equitably. The Water War and likewise *La Coordinadora* were about much more than rate hikes. As one peasant said, "[T]hey are taking everything away from us. All that's left to us is the water and the air."[43] The Water War became a life and death fight for the city's ability to survive. The people's success in the Water War reaffirmed that the indigenous belief that water cannot be owned still holds true in the modern era.

[43] Olivera, *Cochabamba*, 27.

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Titian and the Black Page Portrait: Race and Power in the Venetian Renaissance

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Between 1435 and 1510 depictions of Black subjects in Italian art, although sparse, were commonly portrayed positively.[1] And yet by the 1550s the objectification of the Black subject as a symbol of European power in the Black page portrait genre was not uncommon. These portraits featured a powerful European subject with his or her Black page to heighten the prestige and power of the European. Although there are many factors at play as to why this trend began, such as the increasing prominence of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, the presence of racial prejudice before the 1550s, and the lack of accurate information about Africa and the Middle East in Europe, I seek to better understand this transition by looking at what is known as the very first portrait of the Black page genre, the influential portrait master Titian's "Portrait of Laura Dianti*"* (Figure 1).

I will argue that Titian used a Black page as a foil to Dianti, his middle class subject, to highlight the hierarchy of the time and empower the woman in his painting. Although Black subjects were depicted both positively and negatively before and after this period, the spread of such a genre left a significant impact on how European artists depicted and understood Black subjects in their art. The use of Black subjects as a symbol of European power continued for centuries taking on many different forms. I hope by looking at the first of its kind we can better understand the impact and legacy of this trend.

Historiography

[1] Paul D. Kaplan, *The Rise of the Black Magus in Western Art* (Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1985), 119.

Recently historians and museums have sought to address how Black subjects were portrayed in European art. For example, in 2008, CODART in Amsterdam hosted the *Black is Beautiful* exhibit focusing on how Africans were depicted in the Low Countries (Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg) from the 1300s to the present day in chronological fashion. Additionally, the Princeton University Art Museum in 2013 held the exhibit, "Revealing the African Presence in Renaissance Europe," which portrayed the various roles and societal contributions of Africans and their descendants in Renaissance Europe during the 1500s through some sixty-five works. This exhibit was inspired by Kate Lowe's conference, which was held to increase knowledge on how Blacks were portrayed in European art. Her conference was later published in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*.

The Image of the Black in Western Art is a detailed and in-depth volume on how Europeans portrayed Black subjects in European art. This ongoing project was launched in 1960 by the Menil Foundation in response to the continuing segregation in America despite the Supreme Court's 1954 ruling of *Brown v. Board of Education*. In 1974, Peter Mark wrote *Africans in European Eyes: The Portrayal of Black Africans in Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century Europe,* providing great historical context and a collection of artworks that depict Black people. However, some of his analysis is out-of-date, as pointed out in later works such as *The Image of the Black in Western Art* and Paul H. D. Kaplan's *The Rise of the Black Magus in Western Art* and *Saint and Servant Blacks in European Art to 1520*. However, these works and exhibits fail to address the portrayal of Black servants in full in this "relatively unexplored field" of how Black subjects were portrayed in European art.[2] Titian is studied extensively but little is known about "Portrait of Laura Dianti". In this paper I will add to this field by looking at this central work in

[2]Joaneath Spicer, "Introduction," in *Revealing the African Presence in Renaissance Europe* ed. Joaneath Spicer (Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, 2013), 9; "Black is Beautiful Researchlab opened: an interactive research platform for the study of black people in art," News, last modified 18 February, 2009, accessed April 8, 2015.

the Black page genre by first analyzing the "Portrait of Laura Dianti" and looking at how Black subjects were portrayed in European art before Titian's 1525 painting and afterwards.

Portraiture and Titian's "Portrait of Laura Dianti"

Laura Dianti stands at an angle three quarters away from the viewer and looks to the side, tall, regal, and demanding homage. With her blue, gold, and white dress she is distinctive from the dark background. Her right hand rests on the shoulder of a Black page who looks up at Dianti, holding Dianti's gloves and wearing earrings and a luxurious yellow, pink, green, and orange-striped outfit. Dianti's left hand drops down to hold some of the many thick folds of her blue dress. The brush strokes are wide and she stands assertive and monumental, commanding the center of attention.

There is a long tradition in Europe of portraits standing in for their subjects in very direct ways. Harking back to iconology and the role of portraits during the Middle Ages, portraits of Renaissance Europeans could stand in place of the actual person. In the 1200s and 1300s, iconic images played a large role in devotion. To pray, kiss, and stand before an image was to do so before the person it represented. The painting was a window to the person it depicted. Stories demonstrating how real the depicted subject appeared were not uncommon.[3] This mentality persisted even outside of religious images during the 1500s. Alberti explained that the deceased and absent are present in their images. As such, images had to represent the identity, character, role, and social standing of the individual.[4] Titian's portrait of Dianti could stand in the place of Dianti herself.

[3] Some stories: Mary stepping out of her picture, *S. Maria delle Carceri*; blood coming from Mary's forehead when a child's ball hit the painting, *Madonna dell'Arco.*

[4] This did not necessarily mean representing the physical attributes accurately. See Rona Goffen, *Titian's Women* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 47.

Titian was a prolific painter of portraits. There is a count of 104 portraits of men and around 14 of female subjects by Titian.[5] Titian's portraiture production peaked between the 1530s and 1550s, and his contemporaries Vasari and Ludovico Dolce praised the quantity and quality of his portraits. In fact, Titian's fame, high status and income depended on his portraits,[6] each of which was meticulously custom-made to match the patron's character, psychology, and actions. For example, Carlo Ridolfo in 1648 described figures including those of Titian in his *Marvels of Art* as "ritratto d'un homo in atto di" or the "portrait of the man in the act of". If done correctly, Ridolfo argued, a portrait's pose could show the inner thoughts of the person depicted.[7] Consequently, the colors, pose, background and brush strokes that Titian chose were all carefully composed to present an image that represented the character, inner thoughts, and personage of the individual depicted. As such, this painting could stand in the place of the actual person in a particularly dynamic way.[8] The implication of this is that the components of each painting can be analyzed to better understand the message or character Titian sought to convey.

Laura Dianti was of middle class breeding and lived with Alfonso d'Este after the death of his second wife in 1519 until her own death in 1573. [9] Though they were never married, the names of their children show that Dianti and d'Este had children together and are evidence of

[5] This is the best count we have. It is estimated that Titian did more as some were destroyed (Fletcher, "Titian as a Painter of Portraits," 33); Goffen, *Titian's Women*, 57. The disproportionate ratio of men and women portraits is not odd during the Renaissance. There are many theories as to why there are not many women portraits. Goffen in *Titian's Women*, looks as to why this is. She argues that woman were viewed as symbols to state, theologies, ideals; Women were still considered a part of her father's house even when married as such she is not part of the family with whom she is residing with complicating portraits, and although laws and dowry inflation gave some women money and power, not many patron paintings of themselves as to explain why there are less women portraits than men portraits.

[6] Fletcher, "Titian as a Painter of Portraits," 31-33; Sep 1533: "Charles V's ambassador in Venice tried unsuccessfully to persuade the doge to grant Titian leave of absence by arguing that while other painters could complete the narrative cycle in the Great Council Chamber only Titian could adequately portray the emperor." (Fletcher, "Titian as a Painter of Portraits," 40).

[7] Goffen, *Titian's Women*, 57.

[8] Fletcher, "Titian as a Painter of Portraits," 37.

[9] Harold E. Wethey, *The Paintings of Titian* (London: Phaidon, 1969), 93.

their relationship.[10] Titian's portrait was painted when Dianti was living with d'Este. The portrait is similar to Titian's portrait of him in which d'Este looks at the viewer as he rests his right hand on a cannon and his left hand grasps his sword (figure 2). The background is also dark as d'Este he stands at an angle away from the viewer. The positioning of d'Este and of Dianti match: both are assertive and take the center of the canvas. What differs is what Dianti and d'Este rest their hands on. Dianti clutches her dress and d'Este clutches his sword, which relates to their respective gender, as the cannon refers to d'Este's success as a military leader.[11]

Although not much is known about this painting, the unique position of Dianti helps the viewer understand the message or character that Titian is conveying. He depicted her in an assertive, monumental way that he usually reserved for portraits of men.[12] This signifies that the character Titian sought to portray was one of power, which is strengthened by the inclusion of a Black page.

The Black page is used to highlight Dianti's power in two ways. First, the page acts as a foil to highlight Dianti's power. Depicting ideal beauty standards of the time, "pure shining whiteness," and harmonious proportions, was one way that sixteenth-century artists tried to convey the grace or inner goodness of an individual.[13] The Black page stands in contrast, not necessarily as bad verses good, but rather to highlight the aristocratic beauty of Dianti through

[10] Goffen, *Titian's Women*, 62.

[11] In the Italian Wars, Alfonso had the toppled Michelangelo's bronze statue of the Pope recast into a cannon for which he named, *La Giulia*. The cannon in this painting most likely refers to *La Giulia*.

[12] For the unique exceptions see Titian's *La Schiavona* (1510) who has a very strong and assertive pose for a woman and Leonardo's *Gioconda* (1474), which was the first to show a woman looking at the viewer. See Goffen's *Titian's Women* for more information on this subject.

[13] Anu Korhonen, "Washing the Ethiopian White; Conceptualizing Black Skin in Renaissance England," in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, ed. T. F. Earle and K.J.P. Lowe (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 97.

the contrasting colors.[14] This foil of color is further emphasized through the warm colors of the page's clothing and skin tone against the cool colors of Dianti and of her dress. Dianti's inner grace is highlighted through color. Dianti is portrayed in a typical, High Renaissance three-quarter view, providing a greater window into her soul. The page, by contrast, is shown in a simple profile. In addition, he seems to fade into the background and is positioned in a corner, partly cut off. By decreasing the presence of the page, Dianti's already unique assertive stance is emphasized as she stands out from the background and is facing more towards the viewer than the page.

The page is also used more directly as a symbol of Dianti's power. Firstly, the ability to own and dress a page well was only achievable for the rich and powerful. Therefore, the Black page in his finery represents Dianti's wealth and power. Secondly, the fact that the page is portrayed as a child looking up at the European adult and holding her gloves, a surrogate to holding her hand, underlines the adult-child relationship in which the child must obey the adult because the adult is in a position of authority. This aspect of the painting also emphasizes Dianti's power. Dianti's hand rests on the Black page, and he holds her gloves. This displays the page's role of servitude. Titian used posture, color, and the page to show the power of his subject. However artists before and after Titian represented Black subjects in their art quite differently.

Implications and legacy of Titian's usage of the Black page

[14] Giotto was the first to use black in a "dramatic and monumental manner" in his *The Flagellation* in the Scrovengni Chapel (about 1305). See Peter Mark's *Africans in European Eyes: The Portrayal of Black Africans in Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century Europe* (N.Y: Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, 1974).

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Europe reestablished sustained contact with Africa as it explored its Western coast. Despite the recent acquisition of more accurate information, beliefs about Africa and its people were largely based on fictional accounts, which mixed scholastic investigation with myth.[15] By the fourteenth century, Black subjects begin to be portrayed in paintings. This is in part due to the increase of a Black population in Europe. Most Black people came as Muslim prisoners of war or as captives.[16] For example, by the mid-thirteenth century, domestic slaves were restored in Florence and by 1475 the Portuguese and Italian slave trades brought Africans, Asians, and Slavs to Europe as domestic servants.[17] Black skin did not necessary mark "servile status" but it did mark a religious distinction between the Christian Europeans and Muslim Blacks.[18] This is reflected in the art of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

After the Black Plague, the inclusion of an African king hailing from a non-Christian world coming to adore Christ became a standard feature of the iconography of the Adoration of the Magi scenes. [19] One example is the Flemish painter, Hieronymus Bosch's "Adoration of the Magi" (figure 3). Bosch, along with other Flemish artists, had a huge impact on Venetian art. Bosch depicted his Black king with clothing and personal adornments that are unique in comparison to the other individuals in the painting. For example, whereas the other subjects wear cloak-like outfits, the African king's outfit consists of large tassels on his sleeves and sharp

[15] Mark, *Africans in European Eyes: The Portrayal of Black Africans in Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century Europe*, iii and 7.

[16] Idib., 22-25.

[17] Iris Origo, "The Domestic Enemy: The Eastern Slaves in Tuscany in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Speculum* 30, no.3 (1955): 324, accessed March 8, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2848074; John Turner, "Michelangelo's Blacks In "The Last Judgment"," *Notes in the History of Art* 33, no. 1 (2013): 8, accessed March 8, 2015, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23595748.

[18] Mark, *Africans in European Eyes: The Portrayal of Black Africans in Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century Europe*, 22-23.

[19] Ibid., 44.

pointy decorations on his unevenly cut collar and on top of his shoulders. He is also the sole wearer of earrings. In a society where dress was an indication of who one was in society, his clothing and personal adornments were used to distinguish this king as Black, non-European. Outside of highlighting the non-European aspect of the Black king, some historians have argued that often the Black king was depicted as either younger or smaller than the other kings, making them less important.[20] However, they did not serve as a symbol of European power, depicted negatively or not.

During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, as contact between Europeans and Blacks increased so did the presence of Black subjects in European art. Most paintings at this time are thought to be largely free of racial prejudice among historians.[21] Hieronymus Bosch's "Garden of Earthly Delights" (figure 4) is one great example, in which he depicts Black subjects outside of the Adoration of the Magi scene and shows them interacting with white subjects. Rather than convey a message of superiority of one group of people based on color, his artwork reflects the changing world he lives in, one in which population is changing as more Black persons integrate into European society. However, this does not mean racial prejudice did not exist in Europe.

The lowlands largely led the depiction of Blacks in European art, and although influenced by Northern art, the use of the Black king in the Adoration of the Magi scene was not yet iconized in Venice until Titian. Titian was one of the first to use the Black king in Venice.[22] This is just one example of how Titian's portrayals of Black subjects in art impacted other artists during his time and afterwards.

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[20] See works by Paul H. D. Kaplan for an example

[21] See Kaplan, Mark, *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, Vol. 2, From the Early Christian Era to the "Age of Discovery": Africans on the Christian Ordinance of the World (Switzerland: Harvard University Press, 1979).

[22] Kaplan, *The Rise of the Black Magus in Western Art*, 116.

However, a change began to occur in European art during the sixteenth century. First, Black subjects were portrayed in a greater variety of ways and, second, these depictions were often degrading in their portrayal, depicting Black subjects as inferior to European subjects in either nature or occupation. Renaissance Humanism held the liberal arts in high esteem and included math, rhetoric and poetry. However, Black subjects were often portrayed in occupations and activities outside of the liberal arts such as dancing, swordplay, horsemanship, and playing instruments.[23] Another way Black subjects were depicted in a degrading way was when they were used as to highlight a lack of self-control such as drunkenness, lawlessness, and sexual promiscuity.[24] Black subjects were also depicted in an ennobling manner, although such depictions were uncommon. Usually if a Black subject was depicted in a manner that highlighted his integration in European culture, it was because he had European ancestry. As historian Lowe explained, most artwork that depicted Black subjects was to "show off the status of their masters."[25]

Conclusion

Titian had established fame during his lifetime and his portraits were greatly sought after. In a society where one learned through copying the masters, Titian influenced Venetian Italian Renaissance art through his Black king. But Titian's influence did not stop in Venice. He set the foundation of using Black subjects as a symbol of European power through his original "Portrait of Laura di Dianti" of 1523. This Black page portrait genre spread throughout Europe during the

[23] Kate Lowe, "The stereotyping of black Africans in Renaissance Europe," in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, ed. T. F. Earle and K.J.P. Lowe (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 20-21.

[24] Ibid., 28-29.

[25] Ibid., 23-24.

1600s and 1700s.[26] Although this genre died down, its impact has been felt through centuries of art that continued to use Black subjects as a symbol of European power.

[26] Devisse, *The Image of the Black in Western Art* 2, 194.

Fig. 1: Titian *Portrait of Laura Dianti,* c. 1523.

Fig. 2: Titian *Portrait of Alfonso I d'Este,* c. 1523

Fig. 3: Hieronymus Bosch *Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1490-1510

Fig. 4: Hieronymus Bosch *Garden of Earthly Delights,* c. 1510

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Dressing for Success: The Political Role of Fashion in the WSPU's Suffrage Campaign

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Under the leadership of Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst, the members of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) employed feminine fashion as the ultimate weapon to achieve tactical dissimulation and political unity. Indeed, the WSPU elevated fashion to a place of equal importance with politics to shape an aesthetically driven militant movement. Through the developments in both the fashion and politics of the WSPU between 1903 and 1914, from the group's use of dress to unify their members, to their strategic employment of clothing to at once emphasize femininity and simultaneously dissimulate, the WSPU politicized fashion to reappropriate stereotypes against women and categorize women's suffrage in Britain as a political, economic, and social issue.

As this paper will show, any study of the WSPU would be incomplete without research encompassing the crucial role of fashion in this British women's suffrage movement. However, in traditional research, historians have tended to focus on comparisons between the WSPU and the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS). Fashion, if mentioned at all, appeared in an additional paragraph or two, a 'fun-fact' rather than an integral element of the political action. Yet contrasting the NUWSS and WSPU without a significant focus on the fashion of the latter reduces the groups' rivalry to a generalized notion of respectability versus militancy. Certainly, the WSPU suffragettes chose to smash windows, plant bombs, and spend months in prison, whereas the women of the NUWSS led peaceful marches and collaborated with existing political parties to attempt progress on paper. However, it would be erroneous to assume that in terms of appearances, the militant WSPU members dressed in radical attire; on the

contrary, their pseudo-dress code mandated highly respectable, hyper-feminine fashions—costumes which logically would be attributed to the NUWSS—and allowed the WSPU to employ femininity as the ultimate weapon. Some historians have started to touch upon this fascinating dynamic; Wendy Parkins and Joel Kaplan dedicate chapters to address the fashion of the WSPU, and June Purvis notes the garments worn by WSPU members in her research; however, none delve into any concrete analysis of the effects or motives of dressing with respect to the overarching goals and accomplishments of the suffragettes. By reducing fashion to an afterthought, historians neglect the WSPU's tactical sophistication in reappropriating women's dress, one of the few arenas in which women had any significant agency, to advance the suffrage movement. The WSPU integrally and inextricably linked fashion and politics, and therefore they must be studied in concert to truly understand the movement as a whole.

By the turn of the twentieth century, new practices regarding shopping and consumption created a location outside the domestic sphere in which women could engage as economic and public players. This development allowed the women of the WSPU to use the newly integrated public sphere, especially shopping areas, as a political stage. Although women in public continually faced scrutiny and endured projections of social anxiety, shopping was the one space outside the domestic sphere in which women had tangible independence as consumers.[1] Shopping and fashion, inextricably linked with femininity in the public mind, thus presented the most natural location and means by which women could take on roles as public actors. According to Wendy Parkins, the suffragette deployment of fashionable dress and display "offered the most profound destabilization of a binary opposition between the private sphere as the realm of consumption and the public sphere as the realm of politics…[revealing] that a

[1]Lysack, Krista. *Come Buy, Come Buy: Shopping and the Culture of Consumption in Victorian Women's Writing*. Athens: Ohio UP, 2008. Print.

consuming public was not necessarily opposed to the notion of a political public."[2] With the practices of shopping and dressing as a public stage for its politics, the WSPU would adopt a dress code to aesthetically unify its members. Contrary to stereotypes promoted by anti-suffrage propaganda, the fashions deployed by the suffragettes were not radical, unfeminine, or remotely construable as inappropriate. Through adoption of recognizable colors and respectable middle-class fashions, the WSPU members modeled ideal Edwardian femininity in their appearances.

The WSPU's adoption of respectable and fashionable dress achieved a political advantage by shocking the public in two ways: conservative, feminine fashions dismantled negative stereotypes about politically involved women, and most alarmingly, fashion acted as a masking agent for the group's radical tactics. According to newspaper articles from the era, the aesthetic appearances of WSPU leaders shocked audiences due to the women's unexpected beauty and femininity. In an article from *The Guardian and the Observer* in 1913, audiences who attended Christabel Pankhurst's speaking engagement in Paris remarked "'Qu'elle est gentille! Qu'elle est jolie!' The French could not conceive a suffragette who was not badly dressed and plain. Miss Pankhurst looked charming in an up-to-date costume and a large hat and feathers."[3] Indeed, the surprise of suffragettes' appealing fashions took precedence over their politics, at least in the way in which journalists elected to structure their reports. One journalist from the *Los Angeles Times* in 1906 described in exhaustive detail that Christabel Pankhurst was "a pretty, fluffy girl...of medium height and quite delightfully plump. A wealth of curly light brown hair straggles around a high broad forehead… in repose her mouth is the ideal cupid's

[2]Parkins, Wendy. *Fashioning the Body Politic: Dress, Gender, Citizenship*. Oxford: Berg, 2002. Print.

[3]A Lady Correspondent. "Feminism and Fashion in Paris: Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Her Critics." *The Guardian and the Observer* [London] 9 Mar. 1913: n. pag. *Josiah*. Web.

bow"—all before any mention of Pankhurst's political activity.[4] Yet the suffragettes of the WSPU seemed to implicitly understand that through unexpectedly typical and respectable clothing, they could use fashion to their advantage. No one would expect a girl with a cupid's bow mouth to plant a bomb—and thus, through forging a fashionable public identity, the suffragettes of the WSPU essentially masked themselves in plain sight, which allowed them to make their militant strikes all the more striking. Annie Kenney, an integral member of the WSPU, explained how the suffragettes constructed respectable fashion as a weapon:

> Mrs. G.C., dressed like a fashion plate, stepped out of her car at the side gate that leads to Westminster Abbey. She entered with superb dignity...then she took a tiny bomb from her muff, tossed it with rather poor aim in the direction of the Coronation Chair...With an air of quiet self-possession she left...and approached the gate. Here she was greeted by a polite policeman who offered to call her a car. She smiled agreeably, tipped the bobbie handsomely and drove off quite unruffled.[5]

Thus, the WSPU suffragettes used feminine fashions, unexpected of politically and publicly active women, as a decisive tactic to help achieve their militant movement's goals.

In addition to using fashion to dissimulate for militant purposes, the WSPU strove to refashion conceptions of politically engaged women. One woman, writing in the WSPU's journal, *Votes for Women,* in 1911*,* elucidated the way in which suffragettes used fashion to combat stereotypes: "Suffragette of the shorn locks, billycock hat, ill-fitting skirt, masculine habit, collar and tie—Beloved of the caricaturist—where art thou? Vanished with the back numbers, if ever thou didst exist? Behold the present-day Suffragette pondering fashions side by side with political problems, for she is an essentially up to date being."[6] *Votes For Women*

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[4]Byng-Hall, Charles. "Crusade That Stirs All England; Pretty Girl Commander-in-Chief: Christabel Pankhurst, Who Is Right, besides Young and Comely." *Los Angeles Times* 2 Dec. 1906: *Josiah*. Web.

[5] Parkins, Wendy. *Fashioning the Body Politic.*

[6] Kaplan, Joel H., and Sheila Stowell. *Theatre and Fashion: Oscar Wilde to the Suffragettes*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994. Print.

articulated the contrast between stereotypically unfeminine, dowdy suffragists of yore (Figure 1) with the modern women of the WSPU. The journal thus served as both a fashion magazine as well as a political publication, emblematic of the dualities embodied by the suffragettes themselves. As explained by Krysta Lysack, "during the five years that *Votes For Women* was the WSPU's official organ, the call for urgent and militant action ran alongside fashion columns, shopping directories, advertisements for West End retailers, and articles concerning the WSPU's fleet of shops."[7] Based on the WSPU's own publication, the suffragettes evidently viewed fashion and politics as inextricably linked. Moreover, *Votes For Women*, edited by Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, helped solidify the hyper-feminine dress code that would come to be associated with the suffragettes.

Indeed, *Votes For Women* popularized one of the most recognizable features of the WSPU, the tri-color sash. In 1908, Pethick-Lawrence wrote "you may think that this is a small and trivial matter but there is no action and no service that can be considered as small or trivial in this movement. I wish I could impress on every mind as deeply as I feel myself the importance of *popularising the colours* in every way open to us. If every individual woman in this Union would do her part, the colours would become the reigning fashion."[8] The colors, purple, green and white, created a distinguishable public identity and a way for the suffragettes to attain symbolic recognition. Christabel Pankhurst likewise encouraged women to adopt the colors in her article entitled "The Political Importance of the Colours" in *Votes For Women* in 1909: "the colours enable us to make that appeal to the eye which is so irresistible. The result of our processions is that this movement becomes identified in the mind of the onlooker with colour,

[7] Lysack, Krista. *Come Buy, Come Buy.*

[8] Lysack, Krista. *Come Buy, Come Buy.*

gay sound, movement, and beauty."[9] With symbolic meaning attributed to the colors, worn together in a cross-body sash—green for hope, white for purity, and purple for dignity (and/or Green for Give, White for Women, and Violet for the Vote)— the suffragettes established and promoted their public visibility through their attire.[10] The WSPU's active popularization of their colors emphasizes the importance the WSPU attributed to aesthetic appearances in achieving their political goals. Moreover, the WSPU's spearheading of symbolic colors to create visual spectacles achieved the important step of establishing the suffrage fight as an economic issue, because the newly popularized colors transcended into a marketable fashion phenomenon.

With women's burgeoning power as consumers, department stores, who mainly served women, took note of the popularization of suffragette imagery; in the words of Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, the WSPU colors did indeed become the reigning fashion. During this turn-of-the-century renaissance of retail, London's major department stores began actively catering to their audience of fashionable suffragettes, and by virtue of their organized buying power, these women influenced the retail market.[11] The suffrage movement, therefore, established economic implications, and a wide range of stores such as "Swan and Edgar, William Owen, Burberrys, Peter Robinson's, Derry and Toms, and, of course, Selfridge's, supplemented regular advertising with extraordinary notices coinciding with major suffrage events."[12] The stores evidently took advantage of the popularity of the suffrage movement and the fashionable intentions of its members. In a Selfridge's advertisement (Figure 2), the shop offered accessories such as

[9] Lysack, Krista. *Come Buy, Come Buy*.

[10] Crawford, Elizabeth. *The Women's Suffrage Movement: A Reference Guide, 1866-1928*. London: Routledge, 2001. Print.

[11] Kaplan, Joel H. *Theatre and Fashion.*

[12] Kaplan, Joel H. *Theatre and Fashion.*

'Suffrage Dorothy Bags' and 'Suffrage Stationary.' The latter item's design was a "Purple diamond enclosed in a Green wreath, with the words 'Votes for Women' inscribed in the centre"—Selfridge's thus designed and promoted items specifically for the WSPU, which clearly emphasizes the group's successful commitment to using fashion to raise suffrage to a highly publicized and economically relevant issue.[13] Thus, "apparently fixed demarcations between politics, fashion and consumption were unsettled and reconfigured by the suffragettes" as the women constructed practices of conventional femininity, namely shopping and dressing, as political.[14] Additionally, Derry and Toms advertised "charming hats for the June 17th demonstration" (Figure 3). Although the ad did not specify a specific suffrage group, the store offered the option to make up the hats in the "distinguishing colors of any organization."[15] The WSPU's efforts to popularize their colors therefore clearly transcended into the consumer sphere. Such advertising not only reveals the emphasis the women placed on self-fashioning, but the ads also provided the movement with free publicity.

Hats, like those advertised by Derry and Toms, were a crucial and politically selected accessory for the suffragettes to combat stereotypes, insults, and attacks launched by anti-suffragists. The women faced anxiety regarding the stability of their hats due to the cultural implications of an un-hatted woman. "Unkempt hair signified uncontrolled femininity, or worse still a failed femininity" and the press "frequently depicted hatless suffragettes with long hair trailing."[16] On one particularly disturbing occasion, male spectators, allegedly "responding to an implicit incitement from [Chancellor of the Exchequer] Lloyd George's speech, attacked

[13] Figure 2.

[14] Parkins, Wendy. *Fashioning the Politic.*

[15] Figure 3.

[16] Parkins, Wendy. *Fashioning the Politic.*

protesting suffragettes with unusual savagery and there were reports of men parading with locks of suffragette hair pinned to their coats or hats."[17] Once again, the women of the WSPU strove to counteract attacks, both physical and those written by the anti-suffrage press, through self-fashioning. Christabel Pankhurst, recognizable for her "millinery excess," modeled respectable femininity through hat-wearing and thus refuted these literal and symbolic attacks.[18] Additionally, the suffragettes held exhibitions, where they sold goods to raise money for the WSPU.[19] In Figure 4, Emmeline Pankhurst sits at her booth at the 1909 WSPU exhibition, intentionally counteracting anti-suffrage attacks through the sale of large, decorative, feminine hats.

The WSPU's use of feminine fashion and display to achieve political recognition crescendoed with an enormous procession in Hyde Park on June 21, 1908.[20] The *Detroit Free Press* reported "500,000 Attend Demonstration: English Suffragettes Hold the biggest meeting ever in Hyde Park."[21] In an astonishing organizational feat, the suffragettes not only assembled record numbers in attendance, but also created a uniform spectacle. As described in the *Detroit Free Press,* "almost all the suffragettes wore white dresses with sashes of their colors, green, white, and purple, inscribed 'Votes for Women' and this scene, as viewed from the platforms, was quite a feast of color."[22] As Lisa Tickner argues, through the uniformity of the spectacle, "their bodies were organized collectively and invested politically and therefore resistant to any

[17] Parkins, Wendy. *Fashioning the Politic.*

[18] Parkins, Wendy. *Fashioning the Politic.*

[19] Kaplan, Joel H. *Theatre and Fashion.*

[20] Purvis, June. *Emmeline Pankhurst: A Biography*. London: Routledge, 2002. Print.

[21] "500,000 Attend Demonstration: English Suffragettes Hold the Biggest Meeting Ever in Hyde Park." *Detroit Free Press* 22 June 1908: n. pag. *Josiah*. Web.

[22] "500,000 Attend Demonstration."

simply voyeuristic appropriation."[23] In her autobiography, Emmeline Pankhurst reflected upon her view from the podium, where she overlooked the immense crowd before her and the "awe-inspiring spectacle" of thousands of women "in white gowns and flower-trimmed hats."[24] The procession was more than symbolic; it created public awareness of the new woman-citizen, claiming inclusion not in spite of, but on the basis of, sexual specificity. The WSPU juxtaposed "the quasi military sash in the WSPU colours and the Edwardian muslin dress" to signify "the construction of a new kind of political subject." In another iteration of military accessories appropriated for the women's cause, Sylvia Pankhurst, Emmeline's second daughter, designed badges for suffragettes who exhibited exceptional dedication. For example, "Holloway Badges" were presented to women after their release from Holloway prison..[25]

As the WSPU shifted to increasingly militant tactics, feminine and respectable fashion remained deeply entrenched in its political agenda, even as the group diverged further from the conservative NUWSS. Emmeline Pankhurst's motto "Deeds not Words" emphasizes the key difference between the WSPU and the NUWSS.[26] In a volatile 1908 speech, Christabel Pankhurst stressed the need for new tactics and condemned the old strategies of the NUWSS:

> You know the old methods of working for the vote are futile, and not only futile, but humiliating, unworthy of you. I say any woman here who is content to appeal for the vote instead of demanding and fighting for it is dishonouring herself! That she may have a right to do, but she has no right to dishonour her sex, and I say you drag our women's manner in the very mud, that political roughs may trample upon and defile it, when you are

[23] Tickner, Lisa. *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign, 1907-14*. Chicago: U of Chicago, 1988. Print.

[24] Pankhurst, Emmeline. *Suffragette: My Own Story*. London: Eveleigh Nash, 1914. Print.

[25] Purvis, June. *Emmeline Pankhurst.*

[26] Pankhurst, Emmeline. *Suffragette.*

> content with the old proved failures of methods of getting votes for women.[27]

Under the leadership of Millicent Garrett Fawcett, the NUWSS remained devoted to old methods of protest. Fawcett's "faith in the British parliamentary institutions and in the basic good sense of the people" motivated her continued attempts to negotiate with the existing government, including an alliance with the Labour Party.[28] While the WSPU had spent years attempting to collaborate with the Labour Party, they had done so to little avail. Since Britain did not yet have universal male suffrage, the Labour Party prioritized this over women's suffrage.[29] By 1912, Christabel Pankhurst announced that "A Women's war upon the Parliamentary Labour party [was] inevitable."[30] As the WSPU broke from the Labour Party, however, the NUWSS began working more closely with it. A gradualist, Fawcett was even prepared to "exclude married women from any franchise measure if thereby the sex bar against women might to any degree be removed."[31] By contrast, the women of the WSPU refused to accept gradualist treatment of their goals and decided to adopt a stringent anti-male policy. Even Frederick Pethick-Lawrence, husband of Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, who served as treasurer of the WSPU and bailed out imprisoned suffragettes, was asked to leave the group (his wife would leave with him).[32]

The WSPU embraced their anti-male policy as an indication of their commitment to proving women's independence and capability, a political statement again underscored by their fashion choices. To visually mark their self-sufficiency, the WSPU formed an all-female drum-

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[27] *The Political Outlook, Speech Delivered by Christabel Pankhurst, Queen's Hall, December 22, 1908*. *Speeches and Trials of the Militant Suffragettes: The Women's Social and Political Union, 1903-1918*. Ed. Cheryl R. Jorgensen-Earp. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 1999. N. pag. Print.

[28] Crawford, Elizabeth. *The Women's Suffrage Movement.*

[29] Pankhurst, Emmeline. *Suffragette.*

[30] Smith, Harold L. *The British Women's Suffrage Campaign, 1866-1928*. London: Longman, 1998. Print.

[31] Crawford, Elizabeth. *The Women's Suffrage Movement.*

[32] Purvis, June. *Emmeline Pankhurst.*

and-fife band, which the mainstream press construed as the "final marker of men's superfluity" and furthermore, the band, "drilled to military precision and wearing uniforms in the WSPU colors, provided suffragettes with a visual representation of a collective feminist agency."[33] The suffragettes, however, did not dress in male band uniforms.[34] Rather, continuing their tradition of dressing fashionably, they promoted female empowerment through traditionally feminine uniforms and simply rendered male involvement unnecessary in all aspects of their campaign. Long-time suffragette supporter Keir Hardie, a socialist leader, continued to advocate for the WSPU despite their anti-male policy. In a 1914 speech, Hardie stated:

> Woman, even more than the working class, is the great unknown quantity of the race. Already we see how their emergence into politics is affecting the prospects of men. Their agitation has produced a state of affairs in which even radicals are afraid to give more votes to men, since they cannot do so without also enfranchising women. Our interests are theirs, and theirs ours. Henceforward we must march forward as comrades in the great struggle for human freedom.[35]

The suffragettes undoubtedly respected Hardie's speech (especially Sylvia Pankhurst, with whom he had a long affair), however, the women of the WSPU were satisfied to forge an independent path without the aid of the Labour party, the Socialist party, or any male members.

An important factor in the WSPU's independent path was the emphasis on women's differences from men, an emphasis achieved through politicized fashion. This tactic, one that is highly controversial in today's feminist dialogues, stressed the differences between men and women to ultimately argue for equality of treatment. For example, in a 1912 speech, Emmeline Pankhurst stated: "there are the questions of divorce and the training of children. Who knows better of these matters than do women?...It is only right that we should have a say in the

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[33] Parkins, Wendy. *Fashioning the Body Politic.*

[34] Parkins, Wendy. *Fashioning the Body Politic.*

[35] *Keir Hardie, Bradford 11 April 1914 'The Sunshine of Socialism'. The Penguin Book of Twentieth-century Speeches*. Comp. Brian MacArthur. London, England: Viking, 1992. N. pag. Print.

legislation concerning us."[36] Thus, through focusing on women's femininity as mothers and wives, Pankhurst argued for equal opportunity in lawmaking. This argument additionally took on a sartorial twist, especially as the members of the WSPU sought to counteract accusations of failed womanhood and motherhood. The leaders of the WSPU "developed what was in effect a dress code for their members, an emphasis on feminine dress and avoidance of tailor-made suits, shifts and ties."[37] While the less radical NUWSS sported somewhat un-feminine attire, such as masculine-inspired lapels and plain hats (Figure 5), the WSPU promoted femininity in appearances even as their actions diverged far from what was considered ladylike. In a 1912 speech entitled "This Last Fight for Human Freedom," Emmeline proudly stated "I would not be a man for all the world."[38] Indeed, the suffragettes' key and recurring argument emphasized their right to vote not in spite of their womanhood, but rather *as* women. The suffragettes thus utilized the same argument as the government—that women are different from men—in order to turn that notion on its head and achieve equality.

Emmeline Pankhurst's defense of one of the WSPU's most criticized acts of militancy, window-breaking, faced extreme hypocrisy and criticism due to the gender of the stone throwers. In a 1910 speech, Emmeline referred to window-breaking as a "time-honoured official political argument," stating "we don't want to use weapons that are unnecessarily strong. If the argument of the stone... is sufficient, then we will never use any stronger argument. I believe

[36] *Emmeline Pankhurst, Canada, 14 January 1912 'This Last Fight for Human Freedom'. The Penguin Book of Twentieth-century Speeches*. Ed. Brian MacArthur. London, England: Viking, 1992. N. pag. Print.

[37] Crane, Diana. *Fashion and Its Social Agendas: Class, Gender, and Identity in Clothing*. Chicago: U of Chicago, 2000. Print.

[38] *Emmeline Pankhurst, Canada, 14 January 1912.*

myself it is."[39] Indeed, male-protesters had used public speaking and stone throwing as accepted methods of political protest for centuries. As elucidated by Parkins, "the reiteration of these conventions by fashionably dressed 'ladies' profoundly altered the protest's conventional meaning."[40] When male members of the Labour Party engaged in public demonstrations, their voices received government recognition; yet, when the suffragettes spoke out in Trafalgar Square or sent deputations to the House of Commons, the women were arrested. In a 1908 speech, Christabel Pankhurst implored her audience to recognize the hypocrisy of the government's reaction to the suffragettes as opposed to male protesters using identical tactics:

> When men begin an agitation like ours, they are, of course, open to all kinds of criticism and attack, but I do not think that the very dangerous and difficult form of attack is brought to bear against them that is brought to bear against us. Men are never told that they are hysterical and that they do not know what they are doing. They may be told they are violent, they may be told their action is reprehensible, but people are usually willing to admit that at least there is method in their madness...We in this women's movement, on the other hand, have been accused of not having thought things out, and of simply running along in a headstrong fashion without knowing where we are going or why we do go.[41]

Language of female "hysteria" and "madness" reveal Christabel's awareness of centuries of male dismissal of women on the basis of gender. Yet even though the suffragettes attempted to reclaim their place in political discourse by engaging in the historic action of stone throwing, proudly dressed in feminine attire to emphasize their rights as women, the government would continue to impede equality of treatment.

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[39] *The Argument of the Broken Pane, Emmeline Pankhurst, 1910*. *Speeches and Trials of the Militant Suffragettes: The Women's Social and Political Union, 1903-1918*. Ed. Cheryl R. Jorgensen-Earp. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 1999. N. pag. Print.

[40] Parkins, Wendy. *Fashioning the Body Politic.*

[41] *The Political Outlook.*

The suffragettes' experiences in prison reveal the extent to which their choice of attire continued to be imbued with political significance, particularly with respect to their treatment in contrast with male prisoners. Unlike the members of the NUWSS, a distinctive characteristic of the WSPU was the members' willingness to go to jail.[42] Not only did imprisonment signify the women's determination and commitment to the cause, but also, it represented another element of the fight for equality; the suffragettes fought to achieve the status of political prisoners granted to male protesters, rather than common prisoners, which would provide them with better treatment in the first division of the prison, as opposed to the second or third divisions.[43] The suffragettes repeatedly underwent imprisonment in the lower divisions, however, which meant that they endured solitary confinement, the rule of silence, no reading or writing materials, and disgusting prison garb. The latter consisted of a "voluminous mustard-coloured woolen skirt, a tight bodice of the same colour and material, an enveloping apron patterned with broad arrows and, with all these a mob cap that was apparently made in only one size" (Figure 6).[44] The suffragettes reported these garments as dirty, stained and uncomfortable, but more importantly, coercion into wearing the clothes rendered the women common, not political, prisoners. Their dressed bodies thus functioned as sites of political combat, as the suffragettes resisted and struggled for recognition as political prisoners and, as revealed by the *New York Times* on July 14, 1909, they "refuse[d] to wear prison garb."[45] *The Washington Post* likewise reported that the suffragettes "decline[d] persistently to change their street clothes for the prison garb. The rules of silence [were] also ignored, and in short, there has broken out a general revolt

[42] Crawford, Elizabeth. *The Women's Suffrage Movement.*

[43] Kaplan, Joel H. *Theatre and Fashion.*

[44] Kaplan, Joel H. *Theatre and Fashion.*

[45] "Suffragettes Won't Eat." *New York Times* 14 July 1909: n. pag. *Josiah*. Web.

against the attempts to treat them as ordinary criminals."[46] Due to the government's own policy that politicized clothing, since political prisoners could keep their clothes and not wear prison uniforms, the suffragettes continued to use fashion as a form of revolt in jail.

Upon the women's eventual release from London's Holloway Prison, clothing continued to play a political role in the WSPU's movement. Reports vary regarding the suffragettes' so-called "Uniform for Leaving Jail."[47] *The Washington Post* reported on September 20, 1908, the "latest suffragette fashion is the wearing of 'martyr robes' which consist of a white dress adorned with ribbons of suffragette colors" upon release from jail.[48] Characteristic of the anti-suffrage press, *The Washington Post* continued to report that "these martyr robes are worn when welcoming prisoners fresh from Holloway jail and *when planning onslaughts on the government*" (emphasis added).[49] In and out of jail, clothing functioned as a means of making a political statement. In another instance a few months later, on December 6, 1908, the *Los Angeles Times* described how recently released women used their prison attire to create a different kind of political spectacle. The women showed up to a meeting presided over by David Lloyd George, "divested themselves of their outer wraps and appeared in their jail garments...The stewards at length lost their tempers, and as they continued their work of throwing out the demonstrants, the clothing of many women was torn off their backs."[50] Likewise biased, the *Los Angeles Times* declared that, despite the physical violence against the women, Lloyd George was the "victim of the demonstration."[51] The alarmingly violent attacks

[46] "Suffragettes Enliven Jail." *Washington Post* 12 July 1909: n. pag. *Iliad*. Web.

[47] "Suffragettes' New Fashion." *Washington Post* 12 July 1909: n. pag. *Iliad*. Web.

[48] "Suffragettes' New Fashion."

[49] "Suffragettes' New Fashion."

[50] "Women in Mad Mob: Clothes Torn Off in Struggles." *Los Angeles Times* 6 Dec. 1908: n. pag. *Josiah*. Web.

[51] "Women in Mad Mob: Clothes Torn Off in Struggles."

against the women simply due to their presence wearing prison garments emphasize the politicized nature of fashion in this context. Attacks and condemnation aside — unfortunately, this was nothing new for the suffragettes—the women of the WSPU strategically used clothing to make political statements both inside and outside of jail.

For nearly a decade, the bodies of WSPU women continued to function as sites of aggression; Black Friday, as it came to be known, was one of the most disturbing instances of such violence. Emmeline Pankhurst led a deputation of 300 women to the House of Commons on November 18, 1910, where the women endured hours of physical assault by police officers under the orders of the Home Secretary, Winston Churchill.[52] The assaults were sexual in nature; police officers lifted the women's skirts above their heads, kicked women between the legs, and according to Dr. Jessie Murray, who composed a report on the incidences of Black Friday based on eyewitness testimony, the most frequently voiced grievance "was variously described as twisting round, pinching, screwing, nipping, or wringing the breast...often done in the most public way so as to inflict the utmost humiliation."[53] To add an even more sinister element to the distressing violence, at the time, common belief held that injury to a woman's breast was the primary cause of breast cancer.[54] After the events of Black Friday, Emmeline spoke out to declare a change of course, stating that women "should not be battered about and be insulted...women had their health injured. Women lost their lives."[55] One woman who lost her life was Mary Clarke, Emmeline's beloved sister.[56] The change in tactic advocated by

[52] Purvis, June. *Emmeline Pankhurst.*

[53] Purvis, June. *Emmeline Pankhurst.*

[54] Purvis, June. *Emmeline Pankhurst.*

[55] *The Argument of the Broken Pane.*

[56] Purvis, June. *Emmeline Pankhurst.*

Emmeline would take the form of hunger strikes, a tactic already employed on a small scale but soon to become the primary practice of the suffragettes.

Thus, continuing their revolts in prison, suffragettes not only refused to don prison garb, but now also refused food. "Hunger striking in 'a nice velvet dress' is an image that neatly captures the apparent contradictions of the suffragette campaign," Parkins writes.[57] Indeed, the "dainty" suffragettes, as one *Votes For Women* columnist described her sisters, continued to shock their opponents through incredible perseverance in the face of violence, sickness and invasion of their bodies.[58] The government responded initially through force feedings, a painful process that often left the women sicker and weaker than when they began. "The instrumental invasion of the body by force, in a process accompanied by great pain and personal indignity, was felt as a form of rape," according to Purvis.[59] One suffragette, in an interview with the *Washington Post* after her release from Holloway, recalled the trauma of force feeding and how "the shrieks" of women being force fed could "be heard all over the building."[60] Nevertheless, the indignity and pain caused by force feeding did not stop the suffragettes from continuing their hunger strikes.

However, the suffragettes' publicization of the indignities of force feeding did sway public opinion enough that the government resorted to a different tactic. Instead of force feedings, hunger striking prisoners would be released, permitted to return home and recover strength, and then rearrested to serve the remainder of their term. Both Emmeline and Christabel Pankhurst were released on the grounds of this "Cat and Mouse Act."[61] Upon their release and

[57] Parkins, Wendy. *Fashioning the Body Politic.*

[58] Parkins, Wendy. *Fashioning the Body Politic.*

[59] Purvis, June, and Sandra Stanley. Holton. *Votes for Women*. London: Routledge, 2000. Print.

[60] "Suffragettes' New Fashion."

[61] Pankhurst, Emmeline. *Suffragette.*

recovery, the women again used fashion as a tactic of political dissimulation. Emmeline, for instance, evaded arrest "when police watching the house she was occupying followed a cab bearing a 'veiled lady' believed to be Pankhurst while the WSPU leader escaped in another vehicle."[62] Similarly, Christabel escaped detection when she "merely substituted a plain straw hat for her customary millinery excess."[63] It may seem obvious to use hats as a disguise, but the suffragettes' employment of fashion for use as a masking agent was far from trivial. In a society which promoted women as decorative and apolitical beings with the primary function of looking attractive and pleasing their husbands, the suffragettes' use of feminine resources to achieve their political success revolutionized the political sphere and reappropriated female stereotypes for political advantages.

The word 'suffragette' itself highlights the WSPU's history of strategic reappropriation of misogynistic statements. Initially coined by the *Daily Mail* in 1906 as a derogatory term to distinguish the militant members of the WSPU from the conservative NUWSS suffragists, under Christabel Pankhurst's lead, the WSPU commandeered the pejorative word and inaugurated its new definition.[64] Christabel differentiated between suffragists and suffragettes, emphasizing that while both words encompassed people who wanted the vote, suffragette indicated a woman taking action to get it.[65] In 1912, when Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence stepped down from her post as editor of *Votes For Women* with the WSPU's adoption of its anti-male policy, Christabel took on the editor role herself and renamed the publication *Suffragette.*[66] Overall, a significant strength of the WSPU included their use of the element of surprise,

[62] Parkins, Wendy. *Fashioning the Body Politic.*

[63] Ibid.

[64] Smith, Harold L. *The British Women's Suffrage Campaign.*

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

whether through dressing in feminine attire while throwing stones to smash windows, or through turning a disparaging word into a proud title.

Surprise, indeed, greeted spectators at Emmeline Pankhurst's many speaking engagements. Leaving Britain in 1909 in order to raise money on an American speaking tour, Emmeline shocked crowds due to her feminine and poised appearance.[67] At Carnegie Hall in New York City on October 25, 1909, Emmeline wore a "mauve velvet dress with large, loose sleeves lined in a dull green, an over skirt of the same shade of green, and a white close-fitting lacy blouse" and according to the *New York Post*, "she looked 'as if she were ready to pour a cup of tea in an English vicarage.'"[68] Yet, "those expecting the leader of the 'screaming sisterhood' to be a 'bold, coarse, aggressive, unfeminine woman' found themselves listening to a speaker of 'attractive voice, of refinement, and of rare ability."[69] Emmeline's femininity, dignity, and poise, visibly encapsulated by her respectable and fashionable attire, consistently surprised spectators and made her political arguments more persuasive to many. Indeed, Purvis writes, "her dignity and ladylike femininity made it impossible for people in her presence to believe the 'scurrilous things' the press wrote about her."[70] The strength of fashion in redefining stereotypes and disparagements successfully converted audiences to the cause from continent to continent.

The women's strategy of using feminine appearances as a political tactic was no secret, either. In her speech entitled "The Political Outlook" from December 8, 1908, Christabel Pankhurst addressed a crowd and divulged the essence of the WSPU's appearance-based

[67] Purvis, June. *Emmeline Pankhurst.*

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

strategy: "You say 'women are weak, they can't fight.' But have not we just made up our minds that weakness—apparent weakness—is often the real strength?"[71] Apparent weakness, or apparent respectability as emphasized through conservative, feminine fashion choices, was indeed the real strength of the WSPU. The WSPU formed as a reaction against the ineffective NUWSS, yet, as Christabel explained, WSPU used the apparent weakness of women's femininity to make their militant tactics more successful than anything the NUWSS had accomplished. Emmeline clearly outlined this tactic in her "Address at Hartford" in 1913, in which she concocted a scenario of two hungry babies to emphasize the rationale behind, and necessity for, the WSPU's militant tactics:

> You have two babies very hungry and wanting to be fed. One baby is a patient baby, and waits indefinitely until its mother is ready to feed it. The other baby is an impatient baby and cries lustily, screams and kicks and makes everybody unpleasant until it is fed. Well, we know perfectly well which baby is attended to first. That is the whole history of politics. You have to make more noise than anybody else, you have to make yourself more obtrusive than anybody else, you have to fill all the papers more than anybody else, in fact you have to be there all the time and see that they do not snow you under.[72]

Clearly, the impatient baby, the WSPU, would receive its nourishment first, before the NUWSS or any other political group aiming for the government's attention. The polite tactics of the NUWSS would not work; visual spectacle through dress, and deeds, not words, were key, according to the Pankhursts. Even in unexpected moments of tragedy, the suffragettes continued to promote the aesthetic unity of their movement. Emily Davison, a member of the WSPU, died during a demonstration when she ran onto the racetrack at the Epsom Derby in 1913 and the king's horse trampled her. The *Washington Post* reported on June 9, 1913: "A few moments

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[71] *The Political Outlook.*

[72] *Address at Hartford, Emmeline Pankhurst, 1913*. *Speeches and Trials of the Militant Suffragettes: The Women's Social and Political Union, 1903-1918*. Ed. Cheryl R. Jorgensen-Earp. Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson UP, 1999. N. pag. Print.

before her death, two comrades draped the screen surrounding her cot with the fateful colors of the Women's Social and Political Union, which she wore when she made her sensational attempt to interfere with the great classic of the British turf."[73] The colors, so ardently emphasized by the WSPU, remained symbolic throughout the trials, tribulations, successes, failures, and tragedies of the movement.

A combination of factors ultimately resulted in the parliamentary approval of women's suffrage starting in 1918, including the end of World War I, but undoubtedly the years of work by suffrage groups, particularly the highly organized and militant WSPU, were pivotal. Certainly dresses alone did not win the vote, but when historians study the British women's suffrage movement, the relationship between fashion and the WSPU requires attention. Exploring this movement's politics without fashion neglects the significant role of the latter and leaves any study incomplete. Fashion, historically relegated to the periphery of studies as something merely frivolous, cannot be regarded as such in the case of the WSPU due to the explicit fact that the leaders of the movement themselves placed such emphasis on the role of dress. For the Pankhursts, as evidenced by their journal *Votes For Women*, fashion and politics were inextricably linked; Emmeline and Christabel publicly modeled feminine fashion, defining and embodying the aesthetic appearance of the WSPU. The WSPU formed in 1903 as a reaction against the thus-far ineffective NUWSS; while the WSPU intended to take unprecedented action, in contrast to the conservative NUWSS, they simultaneously adopted a stringent notion of femininity through fashion. Fashion and militancy, emphasized with near-equal importance in the WSPU political programme, would in concert strive to accomplish what the NUWSS could not. Dressing fashionably defied stereotypes of unfeminine women in public and even used such

[73] "Derby Dash." *Washington Post* 9 June 1913: n. pag. *Iliad*. Web.

preconceived notions to mask the women of the WSPU in plain sight, allowing them to successfully employ militant tactics unnoticed. Through popularizing the colors, the women's suffrage fight became not just a social issue, but a marketable economic one. And, by consistently emphasizing respectability and femininity through fashion, whether in prison or in protests, fashion ultimately became unequivocally politicized.

Figure 1. The stereotypical suffragette, sporting masculine attire and wielding a hammer. "The Suffragette Nails Her Colours to the Mast." Kaplan, Joel H. *Theatre and Fashion.*

Figure 2. Selfridge's. *Votes For Women* 18 Mar. 1910: n. pag. Print. Lysack, Krista. *Come Buy,*

Figure 3. Derry and Toms. *Votes For Women* 9 June 1911: n. pag. Print. Lysack, Krista. C*ome Buy, Come Buy.*

Figure 4. Emmeline Pankhurst, seated at the center, sells hats in May 1909. Kaplan, Joel H. *Theatre and Fashion.*

Figure 5. Members of the NUWSS in July, 1913, wearing the masculine, tailored attire avoided by the WSPU. Crawford, Elizabeth. *The Women's Suffrage Movement.*

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India-Pakistani Divergence: The Forming of Two Different Politics

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India and Pakistan share a long and complicated history having faced similar political dilemmas over the last century. Both were subject to the same abject circumstances under British colonial rule. Initially, both struggled to make the transition to democracy in the wake of internal political strife after their independence and partition. Yet their paths have diverged significantly since partition. India has cemented itself as a stable—albeit still flawed—democracy while Pakistan is struggling simply to stay afloat in democratic waters. Consider this: in 2014, India held the largest-ever democratic elections for the *Lok Sabha,* the lower house of Parliament, in which nearly half a billion voters participated and elected, in a surprise victory, the center-right Bharatiya Janata Party (BJB) to the majority and Narendra Modi as Prime Minister. Pakistan, meanwhile, just enjoyed its first peaceful transfer of power from one civilian government to another in 2013, and the election was still wrought with tremendous violence, controversy, and allegations of corruption and fraud. What, then, explains the drastically different paths Indian and Pakistani politics have followed since the countries each gained independence in 1947? In deciphering this, it is necessary to consider two very important and intertwined variables: first and foremost is the role of political parties in the aftermath of partition. Because Britain had centered its imperial holdings in Delhi, India had stronger and better-established political parties upon gaining independence and was thus more readily able to create stable political institutions and democratic practices. This lent an air of security to the foundations of the new regime, enabling it to focus on governance and growing democracy. Pakistan, on the other hand, experienced tremendous volatility, and its political elites struggled to

find consensus and form stable parties upon independence. In fact, the most stable force in Pakistan seemed to be the military, which has remained extremely active in the country's politics. Second, the events of the India-Pakistan partition themselves necessarily dictated the direction in which each country's political landscape shifted. The partition was largely created along religious lines, with most Hindus near the border returning to India and Muslims being included in the new Islamic nation of Pakistan. This particularly exacerbated the political uncertainty within Pakistan as an ethnic community was created where one had not truly existed, thereby thrusting Pakistani politics into difficult circumstances. The country's political leaders were unable to unite and find consensus, unlike India's, while the makeup of the body politic further promoted a divisive and unstable political climate. Thus, these very different sets of circumstances in post-partition India and Pakistan have led to their distinct political atmospheres today, with the former much further down the path to achieving a long-lasting democracy and the latter seeming to be stuck in limbo.

If democracy is as much about the process as the result and, as Bernard Crick suggests, "the moral consensus of a free state is not something mysteriously prior to or above politics: it is the activity (the civilizing activity) of politics itself," then the last several Indian elections seem to provide convincing evidence that the nation's democracy has made great strides.[1] In 2004, upon hearing of his party's loss in the Indian *Lok Sabha* elections and thereby losing his place as Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee "did not question the results or accuse his opponents of unfair tactics," instead declaring, "The people have given their verdict. I accept it."[2] Such willingness to accept the results of the political process has legitimized India's status as a properly functioning democracy to the rest of the world. It has also succeeded in convincing the

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1 Bernard Crick, *In Defence of Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 24.

2 David Rhode, "The World; India and Pakistan: So Close but So Different," *The New York Times,* May 16, 2004.

Indian citizenry that political disputes should be policy-specific and must not turn into debates about the state of the regime itself. Though allegations of corruption do still manifest themselves—14 percent named this as their primary concern in 2014—several other issues can claim to be more important to the Indian citizenry.[3] Most Indians, at this point, seem to be worrying more about the decisions their government makes regarding the nation's economy and infrastructure than about viability of the political system itself, which seems to be promising sign for Indian democracy.

Pakistani democracy, meanwhile, has not enjoyed the same level of recent success. Pakistan's last two elections have nearly ended in crises of hung parliament only to be saved by eleventh hour negotiating and almost-certainly unconstitutional backroom politicking. More significant, however, is the fact that its 2013 general election marked just the first time in the nation's democratic history that a civilian government transferred power to another civilian government without military intervention or regime change. Despite this, complaints about election-fraud and political corruption were widespread, even leading to protests and violence. In contrast to India's election the following year, citizens focused more on the personality and charisma of each of the individual candidates rather than on their ideologies or specific policy proposals, indicating that the election "highlighted the vibrancy of Pakistani politics [but] also drew attention to the gaping holes in the country's democracy."[4] Further complicating the election were threats of terrorist violence, especially from the Taliban, which left many voters dead and others afraid of going to the polls, endangering the sanctity and security of the democratic process. Likewise, just one week before Prime Minister Vajpayee's peaceful defeat in India's 2004 election, riots broke out in Lahore when the brother of a former prime minister

[3] "Price Rise is the key issue in Lok Sabha Election 2014: Zee News-Taleem pre-poll survey," last modified March 13, 2014.

[4] Declan Walsh, "Ex-Premier Is Set to Regain Power in Pakistan Vote," *The New York Times,* May 11, 2013.

attempted to re-enter Pakistan peacefully and was immediately deported. This prompted government-sanctioned violence on journalists and civilians along with massive media censures aimed at preventing the dissemination of any message inconsistent with the government's official explanation. A senior government official even went so far as to comment that while democracy might improve the lives of Pakistani citizens and he was impressed with its development in India, he simply did not feel "democracy was right for Pakistan at this time."[5]

One explanation as to the stark contrast modern-day India poses to its Pakistani counterpart is that the former was able to capitalize on strong political foundations laid during British colonial rule. Thus, its institutions, and especially its political parties, were firmly entrenched in Indian political culture, which allowed them to govern more effectively and with more legitimacy after independence than Pakistan's. In democracy and democratic consolidation, political parties play a crucial role in taming the passions of the people.[6] They serve as buffers and mediators between the citizenry and democratic institutions, translating the hopes and desires of the people into more tangible policy proposals and legislative goals.[7] Additionally, they are critical in the organization process. By pooling together their individual resources, party members are able to achieve a synergistic effect—informing and galvanizing a far larger audience than if each elite within the party had independently attempted to disseminate their message to the public. The most important such party in India was the Indian National Congress party, a "pro-democratic movement" established in 1885, which "sought a more representative political regime" and "first functioned as a forum to bring together [Indian] elites from all across

5 Walsh, "Ex-Premier Is Set to Regain Power in Pakistan Vote."
6 Shervin Malekzadeh, "When Democracies Fail: The Case of Chile." Lecture, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA, March 24, 2016.
7 Ibid.

British India in order to overcome colonial objections to the devolution of political power."[8] The Congress party was almost entirely responsible for the mass-mobilization of Indians in the independence movement, giving citizens the means to express their opinions and participate in an open and nonviolent political process. The party's leaders, the most prominent of whom were Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, were instrumental in informing citizens, particularly those living in rural areas where information was difficult to come by, about the fight against the British. They kept them apprised of any and all developments and gave them the opportunity to join in the push for independence. Thus, the Congress party began to build towards democracy in India even before independence, as it created an atmosphere in which party members and citizens sought to work together to achieve their shared goals and an infrastructure that made this possible.

However, the divergence in the activity of India and Pakistan's political parties is most noteworthy after the two countries achieved their respective independences in August of 1947. While organization and mobilization was more effective and efficient in India than in Pakistan under British occupation, the manner in which the Congress party acted after independence was critical in setting India on the path to democracy. At the same time, the disorganization that Pakistani parties exhibited, specifically the Muslim League headed by Muhammad Ali Jinnah, rendered stable democracy much harder to achieve on that side of the border. Indeed "the Congress party [in India] was almost solely responsible for the speedy adoption of India's constitution," as "the leaders of the Congress party took particular care to broaden the representation…reflecting a democratic inclination."[9] It also labored to guarantee universal suffrage as a non-negotiable tenet of India's new democracy and sought to ensure that

[8] Maya Tudor, "Explaining Democracy's Origins: Lessons from South Asia," *Comparative Politics Vol. 45 No. 3* (April 2013): 256-257.

[9] Tudor, "Explaining Democracy's Origins," 266.

government leaders would be subject to the will of the people—thereby preventing any slip back into authoritarianism. By attempting to ensure that democracy would be secured and respected immediately in the new regime, the Congress party thus functioned as close to an "ideal" political party as possible. It worked to grant rights that citizens deemed vital for an equitable and decent society, making certain that they would be included in India's new constitution and governmental proceedings.

In this manner, the Congress party also led India to fulfill the three necessary conditions,, to be considered a consolidated democracy immediately after independence, as defined by Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan. First and most importantly, the party achieved the significant level of political influence it wielded not because it "[turned] to violence or foreign intervention," but because its leaders were considered the most able and qualified group to guide an independent India by the people.[10] Having earned recognition as the group largely responsible for independence in the first place, the Congress party was well respected and had legitimacy as a group that could continue to help Indians achieve their sociopolitical goals. Secondly, the party ensured that the new constitution would create strong political and governmental institutions, and it sought to preserve those institutions' integrity and trustworthiness. The party and its leaders thereby fomented a profound faith within the Indian body politic—one that is still very much alive today—and a "belief that democratic procedures and institutions are the most appropriate way to govern collective life in a society."[11] Thirdly, and expounding upon the importance of legitimate and trustworthy political institutions, is the fact that the Congress party created an India in which citizens and political elites alike have become "habituated to the resolution of conflict within specific laws, procedures, and institutions sanctioned by the new democratic

[10] Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, "Democracy and Its Arenas" in *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 6.
[11] Ibid.

process."[12] That is, citizens and elites are inclined to solve political problems via the political process itself rather than seeking outside force or radical regime change. This has played out time and time again over the course of recent political history in India; the graceful manner in which Prime Minister Vajpayee stepped down in 2004 and the election of Narendra Modi in 2014 are simply isolated examples of a nationwide trend. Thus, the actions of the Congress party after India gained its independence—actions that incentivized political leaders to respect democracy and democratic proceedings—set a precedent early on in the country's path to democracy. These values are still very much alive in modern-day India, and they have encouraged the nation to continue growing and solidifying its democracy.

Just as the Congress Party was instrumental in cultivating an atmosphere of openness and democracy in India, Pakistan's most influential party, the Muslim League, laid the foundations for a nation that has oscillated between authoritarian rule and weak democracy in recent decades. Prior to independence, the Muslim League failed to galvanize the Pakistani people in the same way that the Congress party did in India, as it "possessed little party infrastructure."[13] While the Congress party was extremely successful in incorporating Indians from several walks of life into its independence movement, the Muslim League's severe lack of organization contributed heavily to the lack of political openness that would ensue in a post-partition Pakistan. For example, in 1941, it had only 15,000 members in Punjab, where the Muslim population was extremely dense, and it had almost no presence in Bengal, half of which would later constitute East Pakistan.[14] Rather, "obedience to the party's charismatic leader was the defining characteristic of those who rose to positions of power in the League," a quality that continues to

[12] Ibid.
[13] Tudor, "Explaining Democracy's Origins," 265.
[14] Tudor, "Explaining Democracy's Origins," 266.

be true of Pakistani politics today.[15] While the Congress party was almost religious in its effort to continuously raise funds and ensure that its message reached both the British and Indian audiences it was aimed at throughout the independence movement, the Muslim League's political efforts—ones that were largely undefined and constantly changing—were subject to the whims of Jinnah and the party's leaders. Decisions as to what platforms, be they political, economic, or social, the party would pursue were chosen in a seemingly arbitrary fashion and were often in the best interests of party elites rather than the Pakistani people. As late as the mid 1940s, the party's leadership had little accountability to its members, and the League was effectively ruled "under Jinnah's virtual monopoly."[16] Because of Jinnah's no tolerance attitude, "the League resolved that no standing member of the Working Committee could publicly criticize [Jinnah]," a policy that had lasting implications for Pakistani politics in later decades and one that continues to hinder democratic growth today.[17] Hence, the Muslim League was neither successful in cementing itself as a stabilizing political force before independence nor did it serve to translate the interests of the people into policies and movements that would benefit them, which is the primary task of a successful democratic party.

After independence, the differences between the Congress party in India and the Muslim League in Pakistan became even more pronounced, and consequently, Pakistan stagnated as India became more democratic. As the Congress party was expediting the creation of a democratic constitution in India that would protect the rights of Indian citizens, Jinnah and the Muslim League's top-down policies coupled with the opaqueness of their interactions with the Pakistani people created an environment in which elites did not value democracy and

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15 Ibid., 265.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.

transparency nearly as much. Intraparty disputes, such as whether power ought to be centralized in East or West Pakistan or whether Urdu should be made the nation's official language, along with the overall lack of a clear vision as to the direction the new Pakistani regime was to go, rendered the creation of strong political foundations all but impossible. In fact, "by mid-1950, after India ratified its constitution, any clear specification of the constitutional power allocation had yet to emerge in Pakistan," foreshadowing the political tumult that has ensued in the country.[18]

It is no coincidence then that the military seized power in 1958 as soon as it perceived that democratic institutions would be unable to cope with the economic and political difficulties the nation faced. Since the Muslim League failed to create a strong and durable constitution, it consequently formed institutions that inspired neither trust nor hope in the Pakistani citizenry. Thus, the belief that democracy was the best hope for progress was not as prevalent as it was in India. Nor should it shock that the military has continued to keep power within arms grasp for nearly seventy years, always prepared to overrule civilian government in, what it terms, the best interests of the nation. Similarly, it comes at no surprise that as recently as 2012, Pakistan's prime minister was indicted on corruption charges for having turned a blind eye when the president accepted "$12 million in kickbacks…from a Swiss company."[19] The significant differences in the way India's Congress party and Pakistan's Muslim League acted in the years preceding independence, and especially in the years immediately after the countries' independences, played a tremendous role in shaping their respective political landscapes today. India's currently stable democratic system and commitment to preserving the integrity of its institutions can be attributed to that same desire that the Congress party's leaders demonstrated

[18] Tudor, "Explaining Democracy's Origins," 268.

[19] Declan Walsh and Salman Massod, "Pakistani Prime Minister Is Indicted on Contempt Charge," *The New York Times,* February 13, 2012.

in the 1940s. Similarly, the lack of long-lasting democracy in Pakistan has been a direct result of the Muslim League's inability to rally the nation around a set of democratic values and goals. And this lack of a democratic atmosphere has unfortunately wreaked political havoc and tumult in Pakistan, where regime change and political volatility have been significantly more common post-independence than in India.

In addition to the actions of India and Pakistan's leading political parties, the very different sets of politics that have developed in the two countries can also be attributed to their ethnic makeups—specifically the formation of an ethnic community in Pakistan where one had not existed historically. In India, the Congress party and indeed the vast majority of people who had been pro-independence worked together to foment an atmosphere in which the caste system, something that had been prevalent in India for centuries, would become increasingly less important to national politics.[20] Notions of "untouchability" were largely cast aside in the pursuit of a more just and equitable democratic process. This allowed India to enjoy a more unified and close-knit national community than it had had through much of its history. Consequently, the country's democratic institutions flourished and have, for the most part, continued to do so since independence.

However, Pakistan had to unify vastly different groups of people mostly only connected via Islam. Thus it was unable to create such a distinct national community and sense of camaraderie. Given that "the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship," and, despite being imagined, is still recognized as "sovereign" and "as a community," a strong belief and trust that the best interests of the nation run parallel to the best interests of the individual is

[20] Tudor, "Explaining Democracy's Origins," 262.

integral to forming a stable democracy.[21] That is, interactions among citizens and between the government and its people within a well-established national community tend to focus on how belonging to that community can serve to improve the lives of its members. In Pakistan, however, nationalistic rhetoric focused on why Pakistanis were better off in their own separate community as opposed to remaining unified with India—as they were before partition—and "was defined by its opposition to Congress's rule rather than by specific programs or principles."[22] Jinnah and other proponents of a sovereign Pakistani state stressed that Pakistanis needed a "sovereign state…to be created because Muslims formed a distinct nation," but they failed to articulate how specifically citizens' lives would improve beyond that. For example, one of the fundamental goals of the formation of a new Pakistani constitution was to prevent a "tyranny of the Hindu majority," yet its framers failed to discuss far more important matters such as how voting would occur and what rights and civil liberties Pakistani citizens would be guaranteed.[23] Framing important national matters in an "us versus them" manner only went so far in galvanizing the Pakistani citizenry, and it exposed the significant shortfalls in Pakistan's state and nation formation in later decades. The political bonds that nationalists intended to form by inventing a new national community thus failed to create durable political foundations that could withstand the chasms within Pakistani society, which has continued to hinder the development of Pakistan's democracy to this day.

The significant differences that have emerged in the developments of Indian and Pakistani democracy and the countries' respective political landscapes pose a fundamental question as to how the events surrounding the formation of a new state or nation impact the

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21 Benedict Anderson, "Introduction," in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Books, 1983), 7.
22 Tudor, "Explaining Democracy's Origins," 263.
23 Ibid.

manner in which these countries realize their political goals. What contributed to India's rapid consolidation of democracy—the cohesiveness of its Congress party and its commitment to ensuring that stable democracy emerged in the country—necessarily impeded the formation of strong democratic roots in Pakistan. Pakistan's Muslim League was far less organized than the Congress party, lacking the same commitment to democracy, and therefore set Pakistan on the course to political volatility. Further impeding Pakistani democracy was the creation of an imagined national community. While Indians had long been tied together for various social, religious, political, and cultural reasons, there was very little that bound together Pakistanis with one another. Their political elites and leaders failed to articulate a vision for the new nation's future other than the hope that it would be separate from India. This instability has continued to play out in recent years, as Pakistan struggles to preserve democracy and ensure that neither authoritarianism nor military rule replace civilian government again. The country's elections have been surrounded by controversy and remain highly subject to the whims of its leaders rather than to political process. Meanwhile, India has enjoyed much more political success, in large part due to the commitment to democratic practice and principle its leaders displayed in the years immediately surrounding independence. They helped to cultivate a belief that no individual or party should be more important than the political process itself, and this has ultimately allowed India to become the largest and one of the more successful democracies in the world today. The differences between India and Pakistan highlight the importance of the interactions between political elites, parties, and the citizens within the national community, demonstrating that the actions of all these groups profoundly impact the way in which future generations perceive and interact with the state.

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Print, Plants, and Piracy: Botanic Herbals and the Emergence of Intellectual Property

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Introduction

The history of the printed image is closely tied to a redefinition of property and ownership occurring throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Western Europe. This period, the Reformation, was characterized by advances in scientific thinking, global religious conflict, and emerging forms of literature and knowledge. In all, it constituted an entire refiguring of Europe, politically, socially, and economically. The invention of the printing press was particularly instrumental in facilitating these changes; suddenly, literature could be easily reproduced on a massive scale and traded across borders and between countries through manuscripts, books, pamphlets, and wood cuts. As a result, knowledge could be disseminated all across Europe through all levels of society. Printed images in particular, accessible to both literate and illiterate groups, began to take on new significance as a means of depicting knowledge, especially within scientific texts. One of the greatest examples of the image as a tool for learning was the Herbal, a form of illustrated manuscript depicting plants and their social and medicinal properties. These Herbals were the epitome of the possibilities of printing and knowledge production - combining the knowledge of ancient authors, stories of the Middle Ages, and emerging forms of scientific analysis and thought, these Herbals represented the intersection of old and new knowledge and served as the foundations for contemporary botanical sciences. Containing highly detailed images of plants as well, they represented a new form of art appearing during the Renaissance, one dedicated to realistic depictions of nature.

And yet, despite the success of the Herbal as a medical and scientific instrument, these images were also at the center of another movement - intellectual property. Herbals provided some of the first instances of printers claiming ownership over their illustrations and texts, and demanding that these rights be respected by other printers and authors across Europe. The ease and efficiency of the printing press made it possible for printed works to be copied and printed by others. This mean that, unlike hand-written works of the past, printed books and images were in danger of being plagiarized, or 'stolen'. Other printers could recreate images, print them within their own texts, and pass them off as original works. Early in the print world, such *piracy,* as it was indeed called, was an expected consequence of the production of printed knowledge. Almost every printed text ran the risk of plagiarism, and it was "regarded as extremely usual for a book professing knowledge - from lowly almanacs to costly folios - to be published in th[is] relatively unproblematic manner."[1] However, with the emergence of the Herbal, and the incredibly specialized and detailed images that filled their pages, the issue of piracy reached new heights. Images were being stolen and investments lost, and as a result, printers began to try to seek legal means and reparations to protect their images from theft. From allegations of copied images from Herbals came some of the first instances of legal cases over image ownership. These cases serve as the original foundations for modern copyright definitions and intellectual property laws.

On the other hand, it could also be argued that without the piracy of herbal images, botany would not have become the discipline it is today. The initial absence of laws regarding piracy and property facilitated a new wave of interest in natural art and botanical studies which was documented in Herbals and, through piracy, was shared throughout Europe. Herbal

[1] Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Print and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago, US: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 30.

imagery, in essence, allowed for growth both in science and art, as well as the birth of intellectual property law, forming the foundation of some of the most important images, sciences, and legal systems in the world today.

Reformation Ideals: Realistic Depictions of Plants

The period of the Reformation was a time of huge change in that way that knowledge was produced, recorded, and distributed on a global scale. The invention of the printing press in the early 1400s suddenly made it possible for knowledge to be written down and shared faster than ever before. As a result, information was suddenly more abundant and accessible throughout society.[2] Ancient texts in particular were printed and distributed widely, and for the first time in history, the works of authors such as Plato and Aristotle became available in bookshops and street corners.[3] Originally only the privilege of literate scholars and elites, these ancient philosophical texts were now available to the whole European population.

At the same time came an emergence of new ideologies and increased interest in philosophy, science, and politics. Ancient texts were reevaluated in light of these new understandings, and for the first time, could be compared with common knowledge on all levels of society. Additionally, ancient texts had been greatly changed and reimagined throughout the Middle Ages to include medieval myths and superstitions.[4] A movement began to try to return these texts to their original state of knowledge, "an overt break with the present state of affairs and a rejection of the recent past as scientific thinkers disclaimed the errors which had

[2] Kenneth F Thibodeau, "Science and the Reformation: The Case of Strasbourg," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 7.1 (1976): 36, accessed May 3, 2016. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2539627

[3] A huge number of ancient texts were re-published at this time, allowing for ancient knowledge to be shared and considered by a wider audience. (Thibodeau, "Science and the Reformation," 38)

[4] Elizabeth L Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe (*Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1979), 97.

accumulated over time and returned to ancient, pristine sources as a foundation on which to rebuild."[5] New sciences looked to justify their claims and gain support from these revered ancient texts, and "much effort was spent not only recovering ancient texts and publishing them in authentic form but also disentangling ancient science from medieval elaborations and making it the basis for further development."[6]

Through the exploration of ancient texts and the possibilities of printing, science was on the rise in Reformation Europe. New forms of inquiry and scientific discovery were emerging, and with them, new forms of literature.[7] Medicine in particular became more prominent and elaborate and was divided into several branches of enquiry, including the study of nature. Many Reformation scientists tried to understand how nature functioned and was manifested in humans, animals, and plants. However, these scientists were not only interested in understanding the form of nature itself; they wanted to be able to *depict* it for themselves and share their insights with the world.[8] As a result, many combined their interest in science with the practical skills of an artist, such as Leonardo Da Vinci, celebrated for his incredibly accurate drawings of human dissections and the human body. Increased scientific studies in nature led to increasingly detailed and rigorous illustrations of the natural world and of the humans, animals, and plants that populated the earth.

Botany was born as a result of this interchange between science and art. Although not exactly a new discipline, botany had for centuries been limited to the categorization and characterization of plants for medicinal purposes. Medieval botanists had created a few hand-

[5] Thibodeau, "Science and the Reformation," 40.

[6] Thibodeau, "Science and the Reformation," 39.

[7] Thibodeau, "Science and the Reformation," 38.

[8] Frank N Egerton, "A History of the Ecological Sciences, Part 10: Botany during the Italian Renaissance and Beginnings of the Scientific Revolution," *Bulletin of the Ecological Society of America* 84 (2003): 131, accessed May 3, 2016, http://www.jstor.org/stable/bullecosociamer.84.3.130

written manuscripts, containing information about plant functions and sometimes including images of the plants themselves. However, these descriptions and images remained simplified and stylized, recognizable to a lower-class, illiterate audience, but not useful for in-depth, scientific study or an attempt to accurately depict nature.[9] (see Figures 1-2)

The Reformation scientists, on the other hand, prided themselves on realism and accuracy. Even artists began to take on this challenge, studying nature and trying to capture it as it really was. Albrecht Dürer, a renowned Renaissance artist, was the first to try to challenge the medieval style of over-simplifying plants and sought to rediscover their natural beauty. His painting "A Large Piece of Turf" (see Figure 3) represents one of the first strictly ecological depictions of the Reformation.[10] His image is not stylized, mystical or magical. His plants are realistic; some are even damaged or dying. There is no attempt at any sort of imagined beauty or artificial elegance. His drawing also explores not only a single plant or species, but the diversity and interactions between natural elements, a specific scene of life as it is lived.

Dürer's work also incorporated elements of the plant which, in the Middle Ages, had been ignored by artists, choosing to focus specifically on the way that the plants interacted with their environment. Not only are the plants the focus of his painting, but Dürer also pays special attention to the plant's roots and the ways they associate and reside within the earth. Every aspect of the plant is depicted in his image, from its roots to its leaves and flowers, and its position within the wider world.

With his attachment to realism and the depiction of the plant from nature, Dürer inspired a new wave of interest in art and analysis focusing on plants and their place in the environment.

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[9] Agnes Robertson Arber, *Herbals, Their Origin and Evolution: a Chapter in the History of Botany, 1470-1670* (Cambridge: University Press, 1938), 119.

[10] Egerton, "A History of the Ecological Sciences," 131.

From this emerged the first systematized studies of plants, with particular emphasis on accurately recording their features and characteristics through the printed image.[11]

In addition to these changes in Renaissance art, Reformation botanists also returned to ancient texts for inspiration. Ignoring the simplifications that had occurred throughout the Middle Ages, botanists attempted to recreate the herbal images using ancient sources as models. Many ancient texts contained elaborate illustrations of plants, and it was these images that inspired the illustrators of many of the Reformation Herbals. One of the most famous was the *De Materia Medica*, an early manuscript on plants and nature written by the Greek doctor and philosopher Dioscordes.[12] An illustrated copy of the text dating from 512, called the *Vienna Dioscordes*, became one of the most famous of the early Herbals and its style and techniques were widely copied by Renaissance artists.[13] (see Figures 4-7) These images depicted the plants in full, from leaves to roots, and did not restrict the plants strictly to their useful pieces. In this way, plants were identifiable not simply by specific features, but as whole, natural beings. Other Renaissance artists also adopted this technique of showing the entirety of the plant in their illustrations. Additionally, many publishers copied the way in which Dioscordes incorporated the images into his text. Rather than leaving the image to the side, the images of the *Vienna Dioscordes* were built into the center of the text, with writing and descriptions filling in around the images of plants. This served to emphasize the importance of the image within the Herbal,

[11] Arber, *Herbals, Their Origin and Evolution,* 170.

[12] "De Materia Medica by Discorides." Last modified August 28, 2015. https://www.wdl.org/en/item/10632/

[13] Although it was unlikely that most early botanists ever saw this work in person, its images served as the standard and basis for many early botanical images in universities. With the increase in the exchange of printed works and images, the style of these illustrations became the standard form used by botanists and their artists.

and not the writing. This form would be adopted throughout Reformation Herbals, presenting the image as dominant and the text as secondary.[14] Image was, in essence, the real work of the book.

The first Herbal to embrace the intersection between science and art was that of Otto Brunfels, who published the first Reformation Herbal, entitled *Herbum vivae eicones*, in 1530. A huge supporter of ancient works, Brunfels advocated for a return to the simpler medicinal practices illustrated in the ancient herbals of philosophers like Dioscordes. He claimed medicine "has strayed from the true old springs of Hippocrates and Galen and fallen in the stinking puddles of the Arabs."[15] His system was based on the ancient idea that plants were the only medicine needed by man; God had provided "a specific herb as remedy for each illness that afflicts man. Botany, then, becomes the key to pharmacy."[16] To fully understand medicine, Brunfels believed that one must understand nature, and specifically, plants.

In doing this, Brunfels attempted to return to the art and science of botany exemplified in ancient writing and text, removed of medieval influences, and to rework this study into the emerging world of print. Brunfels launched a program, one of the first of its kind, to systematically record and print the characteristics of plants that could be used for medicinal purposes.[17] Additionally, Brunfels commissioned a series of woodcuts to illustrate the plants explored in his book. In this way these botanical works would be visual as well, which could expand Brunfel's audience to those who were illiterate.[18] Influenced heavily by the style of Dürer's early works, as well as the studies by scientists like Da Vinci and ancient philosophers

[14] This was especially important since, in many early Reformation Herbals, the text was incorrect. More emphasis was placed on the images and the text was often taken from older medieval sources, reused without ever being verified. This focus on the realistic depiction of the plant through image therefore countered some of the textual inaccuracies of these Herbals.

[15] Thibodeau, "Science and the Reformation," 39.

[16] Ibid. 41.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Arber, *Herbals, Their Origin and Evolution,* 169.

like Dioscordes, Brunfels commissioned over three hundred images from the young artist Hans Weiditz, who had studied under Dürer.[19]

Weiditz also embraced the idea of depicting plants as realistically as possible. He was especially unique in his approach, going directly to nature and drawing plants from life. This great artistic focus is demonstrated in his illustrations for Brunfels', where "the innovative and progressive features of Bunfels' Herbal lie solely in the pictorial area. The plants were keenly observed and drawn with a vigorous realism that sometimes went beyond the needs of botany. If a plant had a broken stem or a worm-eaten leaf, that was the way it was shown."[20] Brunfels' images depict individual specimens, showing a level of commitment to real life and actual plants which had not been seen before in such a large and informative publication.[21] By showing the plants as they truly appeared, complete with flaws and imperfections, Weiditz was not producing images to be used merely as references for scientific text; he was instead creating botanical works of art.[22] (see Figure 8)

In addition to Brunfels' Herbal, there were two other celebrated botanists who published works at the same period and adopted similar styles of illustration. Hieronymus Bock and Leonhart Fuchs, both German botanists like Brunfels, also incorporated realistic images into their texts.[23] Fuchs in particular was especially dedicated to the images within his Herbal. Published in 1542, *De historia stirpium commentarii insignes* was probably the most beautiful

[19] Arber, *Herbals, Their Origin and Evolution,* 122.

[20]Frank Anderson, *An Illustrated History of the Herbals* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 122.

[21] The title of Brunfels' volume also illustrates his determination to return to nature: *Herbarum vivae eicones* translates to 'Living Pictures of Plants', indicating that both the images and text within the book are taken directly from nature and portray it as accurately as possible. (Anderson, *An Illustrated History of the Herbals,* 172)

[22] Indeed, it was almost as if the original focus of the book was not botany but rather the artwork. Brunfels' Herbal has numerous errors about the uses and properties of plants, and many of the descriptions do not match the images themselves. (Anderson, *An Illustrated History of the Herbals,* 126)

[23] It is even believed that the three collaborated on their texts, and there are reports that Brunfels encouraged Bock to write his highly descriptive text and incorporate images. (Anderson, *An Illustrated History of the Herbals,* 128)

and realistic of the German Herbals ever produced. (see Figure 9) He even wrote a disclosure for his work, advocating for images that were true to nature and assuring the reader of his intentions in this work:

> As far as concerns the pictures themselves, each of which is positively delineated according to the features and likenesses of the living plants, we have taken peculiar care that they should be most perfect, and, moreover, we have devoted the greatest diligence to secure that every plant should be depicted with its own roots, stalks, leaves, flowers, seeds, and fruits. Furthermore we have purposefully and deliberately avoided the obliteration of the natural form of the plants by shadows, and other less necessary things, by which the delineators sometimes try to win artistic glory: and we have not allowed the craftsmen so to indulge their whims as to cause the drawing not to correspond accurately to the truth. Vitus Rudolphus Specklin, by far the best engraver of Strasburg, has admirably copied the wonderful industry of the draughtsmen, and has with such excellent craft expressed in his engravings the features of each drawing, that he seems to have contended with the draughtsmen for glory and victory.[24]

Fuchs was one of the first authors to make such claims in support of his work, advocating for their accuracy. It was almost as if he wanted his audience to know the time, effort, and cost that went into the production of his drawings. Such confidence definitely inspired other authors, who wanted to create images as beautiful and real as Fuchs but on a cheaper, more reduced scale. The result, unfortunately, was a proliferation of imitations and copies - in essence, plagiarism and piracy.

The Dangers of Images: Piracy Scandals and the Emergence of Copyright

With greater dedication being placed on the creation of realistic, understandable images, artists and printers alike were expending more effort and resources in the creation of beautiful texts than ever before. Especially within the early editions of Herbals, the illustrations required great skill and attention to detail and famous artists were hired to create pictures for the text.

[24] Leonhart Fuchs quoted in Arber, *Herbals, Their Origin and Evolution,* 183.

These images therefore represented an important investment, both of artistic talent for the engraver and time and money for the publisher.[25]

By the early sixteenth century, it was widely recognized that there were a limited collection of *truly* great botanic images. These were those done by the original 'German Fathers of Botany': Brunfels, Bock, and Fuchs. As important examples of the new phase in botany and art, these images were in great danger of being replicated by other printers and used in other texts.[26] All that was needed was the image's printing block, either stolen or copied, and the work of art could be printed hundreds of times, linked with hundreds of texts and reused and appropriated for different purposes.[27] These images, initially understood to be the works of these famous botanists, began to lose their associations and could be considered the work of any printer or author. Images could, in essence, belong to anyone, depending on who printed them.[28] Creation and application were no longer the same thing.

Early on, printers tried to deal with plagiarism and theft through a sort of 'honor-code' system. Printers were expected to respect "these customary principles. They pervaded the realm of print, and shaped that realm along with the more formal practices of licensing, patenting, and registration."[29] For a time, it seemed as if these codes were respected by printers and book sellers.[30] However, as the printing press spread across Europe and the market for printed books grew even larger, this code became harder to enforce. Images became increasingly easy to replicate and the economic advantages of copying an image, rather than commissioning new

[25] Johns, *The Nature of the Book* (1998)*,* 45.

[26] Arber, *Herbals, Their Origin and Evolution,* 199.

[27] Adrian Johns, *Piracy: The Intellectual Property Wars from Gutenberg to Gates (*Chicago: U of Chicago, 2009), 8.

[28] Ibid. 9.

[29] Ibid. 12.

[30] Ibid.

illustrations, outweighed the sense of chivalry of the printing community.[31] Book buyers, the common people, did not generally care for the authenticity of their books; they wanted the knowledge, the images, at whatever quality, for the cheapest price.[32] What did it matter if the images were not the originals if the book could be bought inexpensively?

Piracy was, in this way, actually considered beneficial to the European community. Plagiarism lowered the cost of texts, and made more copies available to wider audiences.[33] Especially when it came to Herbals, the pirated images and texts allowed the poorer, less literate classes to still access this medical knowledge and gain an understanding of the properties of plants.[34] Additionally, widespread plagiarism actually facilitated the standardization of botany as a discipline. Botanic texts and images could be compared between countries, and errors and discoveries adopted and adapted into newer editions of books.[35] The botanic sciences, therefore, could be shared throughout Europe and advanced and improved through piracy.

Although this piracy facilitated the sharing and development of knowledge, it posed a huge problems for the authors, scientists, and artists who had contributed to the original publications. Writers and engravers had no way to protect their images or even associate themselves with their own work. Once these images had left their original texts and manuscripts, they could be incorporated into any text a printer desired. Herbal images began appearing everywhere, used in publications other than their original, scientific frameworks. Additionally, piracy posed an economic issue. Printers who commissioned texts and images for their books

[31] "Martin Luther's German translation of Scripture was actually beaten into print by its first piracy, and in succeeding years the proportion of unauthorized to authorized texts was roughly ninety to one." (Johns, *Piracy* (2009), 31)

[32] Johns, *Piracy* (2009), 13.

[33] Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change,* 21.

[34] Johns, *Piracy* (2009), 52.

[35] Johns, *The Nature of the Book* (1998),10.

began losing money as the illustrations they had invested in were copied and reprinted for cheaper. As a result, their texts were being undersold by lower-quality, plagiarized versions.

Printers tried to counter this phenomenon, seeking to protect their texts, images, and profits through complicated lawsuits. The first was by Johannes Schott, the publisher of Brunfels' Herbal, in 1533. Right after Brunfels' *Herbum vivae eicones* had been published in Germany in 1530, Christian Egenolf, a printer based in Franfurt had many of Brunfel's images copied and published in an Herbal entitled *Kreütterbuch*.[36] Schott sued Egenolf for piracy, claiming that Egenolf had stolen and used images which Schott claimed to control.[37] In addition to theft of the images, Schott accused Egenolf of many other crimes regarding printing:

> It is reported that you [Egenolf] have nevertheless been re-cutting and re-engraving all the plants which he [Schott] arranged for the Strasbourg painter Hans Wyditz [Weiditz] to portray in a praiseworthy manner - that is, by artistic observation of these plants' ages, leaves, seeds, shrubs, and roots: a task which required great effort, expense, and labour - and that you [Egenolf] have published these in a work that you purport to be new and never seen in print before; and that you have, moreover, scaled down, line by line, a number of these counterfeit illustrations and publicly sold them in a most abject manner at the recent autumn fair in Frankfurt, despite your having been sufficiently warned and admonished not to do this by our privilege; and that you have therefore contributed greatly to Schott's losses and detriment.[38]

This summons demonstrates all the ways in which images could be pirated and reused and the harm that it caused not only the printer, but also the author and the artist of the text and images. Such piracy took advantage of the work and skill of the artist while at the same time denying the engraver credit and artistic ownership of his own works. Additionally, Egenolf tried to sell the illustrations individually by separating them from the context of the work, the Herbal, for which they had been created. Piracy of images thus not only took away the ownership of images from

[36] "Schott v. Egenolf (1533)," last modified June 1, 2016. http://copyrighthistory.org/cam/tools/request/showRecord.php?id=record_d_1533

[37] Anderson, *An Illustrated History of the Herbals,* 157.

[38] "Commentary On: Schott v. Egenolf, Strasbourg (1533)."

those who had made them, but also removed illustrations from their original interpretation and function by repurposing them for other uses and texts.

This case was important in that it defined, for the first time, the legal concept of piracy. While Egenolf had recreated the images, copying directly from Brunfels' text, he had not actually stolen the physical wood-blocks themselves. He had even changed some of the images by reducing their size and altering their coloring when printed in his texts. And yet, given the similarities in Egenolf's images and those found in Brunfels' Herbal, there was enough of a resemblance between the two sets of illustrations to show that one had been copied from the other.[39] While the images were not exactly the same, this likeness was enough to prove plagiarism and to warrant a punishment. Egenolf was forced to pay a significant fine and give his set of one hundred and thirty-two copied Brunfel's woodcuts to Schott.[40]

Unfortunately, despite the severe punishment inflicted on Egenolf and the success of Schott's suit, piracy continued to be incredibly prevalent within printing culture. Egenolf himself continued his trade of printing and piracy, and managed to escape punishment for the rest of his career.[41] It would be several hundred years before images were fully protected, and artists and authors received full legal rights to their works.[42] However, the Schott versus Egenolf case was one of the first instances of a fight over ownership of images and served as an

[39] In fact, he had also taken and reduced images from several other Herbals as well, including those by Bock and Fuchs. However, neither of these authors, nor their printers, even filed a lawsuit against Egenolf.

[40] Anderson, *An Illustrated History of the Herbals.* 122.

[41] Indeed, Egenolf was almost celebrated for his plagiarism, because, as a result, his books were able to printed at lower costs than most others of his time. Although his readers might not have known the reason for his cheap prices, they certainly did not try to stop his piracy. (Anderson, *An Illustrated History of the Herbals,* 157)

[42] Sell, Susan, and Christopher May, "Moments in Law: Contestation and Settlement in the History of Intellectual Property." *Review of International Political Economy* 8.3 (2001): 482, accessed May 3, 2016. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4177394

important milestone in establishing the rights of artists and printers and the defining how illustrations could be controlled and protected in the age of printing.

Conclusion

The importance of the Herbal as a work of art, a work of knowledge, and a work of law is immense. It truly represents the possibilities presented by the printing press during the Reformation: the interchange between art and science, the exchange of texts and images, and the consolidation of ancient knowledge with the new. The Herbal also constituted a new importance of the image as part of literature. Suddenly, within the Herbal, the image could be considered the main source of scientific knowledge rather than a secondary feature of the text.

The proliferation of the image also facilitated the distribution and accessibility of the Herbal and the medical knowledge that it held. Images could be extensively shared and understood by a diverse audience, even among those who were illiterate. Additionally, images could be easily replicated by printers and incorporated into a variety of texts, allowing the knowledge to be distributed cheaply across Europe in a variety of forms, from pamphlets to books. The image, then, allowed the botanic sciences to flourish.[43] Even piracy facilitated this spread, allowing Herbal images from Germany to be recopied and printed in various other countries, without being extensively changed. In this way, botany was able to become a widely accepted and practiced discipline of science in a relatively short period of time.

Of course the issue of piracy, especially of such beautiful and important images as those which filled the Herbals, caused huge problems for the original publishers and artists. To protect their investments and interests, printers had to fight for their legal rights over these illustrations,

[43] Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change,* 37.

creating the first cases regarding intellectual property and defining ownership rights over images. This too was an important step in the emergence of modern science and art, and set the stage for many future contributions and legal standards. The Herbal facilitated not only the growth of science and art as mediums of knowledge sharing and expression, but also helped to create the systems for its protection, many of which are still in place today.

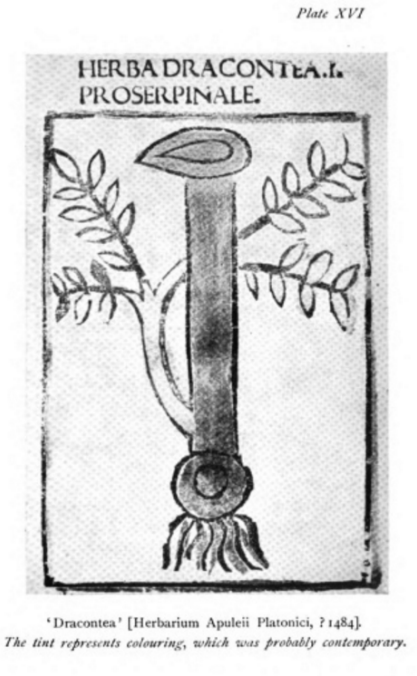

Figure 1
Image from a Medieval Herbal: Herbarium Apuleii Platonici
Unknown Artist, 1484
Arber, *Herbals, Their Origin and Evolution,* 156

Figure 2
Image from a Medieval Herbal: Tractus de virtutibus herbarum
Arnaldus de Villa Nova, 1499
Arber, *Herbals, Their Origin and Evolution,* 161

Figure 3
"A Great Piece of Turf"
Albrecht Dürer - Nuremberg, 1503
Albrecht Dürer, *The Large Piece of Turf*. Wikimedia. Accessed June 1, 2016.

Figure 4
Vienna Dioscordes, 512
Osterluzei

Figure 5
Vienna Dioscordes, 512
Wild Karde

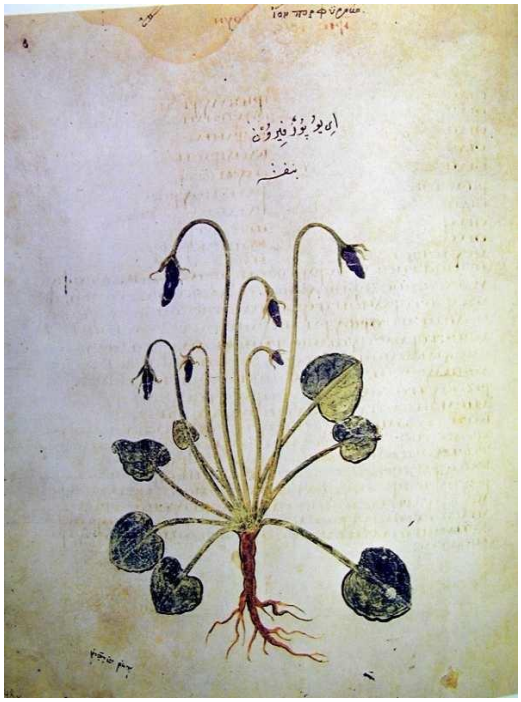

Figure 6
Vienna Dioscordes, 512
Violet

Figure 7
Vienna Dioscordes, 512; Blackberry; Wikimedia, “Vienna Dioscorides.".

Figure 8
Herbarum vivae eicones - Volume 1
Otto Brunfels, 1530
Arber, *Herbals, Their Origin and Evolution,* 171

Figure 9
De historia stirpium, 1542
Leonhart Fuchs
Arber, *Herbals, Their Origin and Evolution,* 176

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Quattrocento Florence's Humanistic Ideals Portrayed Through Architecture

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Florence during the fifteenth century was a great pool of learning and wealth. Both of these factors combined to create a unique social atmosphere of learning and beauty that is portrayed through the architectural masterpieces that were built during the fifteenth century. Concurrently, a new social class was created in Florence during the Quattrocento. Whereas most of Europe was being ruled by nobility, Florence was being governed by the wealthy merchant class. Gene Brucker described this new class as the "urban bourgeoisie",[1] who gained immense amounts of wealth with which they were able to become deeply invested in learning and study of ancient civilizations. Many Quattrocento Florentines became involved in the humanist movement. Because of Humanism, there was a great revival of interest in the ancient Greeks and Romans. Roman philosophers were rediscovered and Greek philosophers were translated.[2] The renewed interest in the ancient philosophers also created a renewed interest in all of the subjects of the philosophers' musings. The ancient Roman, Vitruvius, gained fame once again and his book, *De architectura*, piqued the interest of many humanists causing them to study in detail the ancient architecture of Rome. These students of classical architecture included Filippo Brunelleschi and Leon Battista Alberti. Their studies led to the creation of the most marvelous architectural masterpieces that "were on par and even potentially superior to the work of the

[1] Brucker, Gene A. Renaissance Florence. (New York: Wiley, 1969), 222.

[2] Hart, Vaughan. *Paper Palaces : the Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatise*. (Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998), 2.

Romans."[3] Through these superior architectural buildings, one can see the Quattrocento Florentines devotion to the Humanism movement since it was largely portrayed through the decisions that went into renovating the city. Even though these decisions were made by the more wealthy social classes, the decision to renovate instead of demolish was in consideration of all of Quattrocento Florence social classes which was a true embodiment of the Humanism movement.

Poggio Bracciolini rediscovered Vitruvius's work in the early 15th century. It was copied and expounded upon by many, but one of the most famous imitators was Leon Battista Alberti, an exiled Florentine. Alberti was a well-learned man from a wealthy family and thus had the privilege of studying the ancients with great fervor. This fervor led to Alberti writing *On the Art of Building in Ten Books* as a way to expound upon Vitruvius' initial ideas and study of architecture. Florentines then used Alberti's ideas and suggestions on architecture as a standard for building during the fifteenth century.

The standard originally described by Vitruvius and later expounded on by Alberti portrayed the quattrocento Florentine's humanistic interests in a variety of ways. Florentines portrayed their humanistic ideals through their decisions to renovate and restore instead of demolishing the older buildings and beginning anew. Their decision to incorporate the older medieval structures into the newer Renaissance structures is a clear example of their fascination with history and their interest in preserving and remembering the past despite the challenges the incorporation of buildings presented. In addition to wanting to highlight their dedication to Humanism, incorporating buildings was also more cost effective. Even though many Florentine families could have afforded the costly demolition and rebuilding, completely demolishing

[3] Giovanni Rucellai. "A Merchant's Praise of Florence" in *Images of Quattrocento Florence: Selected Writings in Literature, History, and Art* by Stefano Ugo. Baldassarri and Arielle Saiber, eds. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 74.

multiple blocks of the city at the same time would have dislocated a large portion of the lower class Florentines. Thus, the Florentines often chose to renovate instead of *force* relocation on many lower class families. Florence was unique in the setup of the city. The social classes were not separated by physical space. The rich and the poor lived together in neighborhoods. Therefore, if a wealthy family decided to demolish and rebuild, they would not only be relocating themselves for a significant period of time but they would also be destroying the houses of people from all social classes that lived beside them. Thus, Quattrocento Florentines were able to be more economically reserved and less ostentatious while also remaining true to their ideals. Unlike Pope Nicholas V's urban city plan of demolition and rebirth, the Florentines incorporated their past and thrived because of it.[4] Through Alberti's writings and the subsequent buildings, modern historians are able to trace the important role Humanism played in Florentine society through the decisions of the Quattrocento Florentine urban bourgeoisie when it came to building, restoring, ornamenting, and demolishing important buildings in their great and powerful city. Alberti's *On the Art of Building in Ten Books* was written in the same style of Vitruvius's book, *De Architectura*. Both Alberti and Vitruvius's books were written in ten chapters, yet their objectives in writing their treatises differed. Vitruvius wrote on ancient structures and focused mainly on the past, whereas Alberti focused more on the present and the future. Vitruvius described and analyzed existing architectural structures. [5] His analysis was useful to Humanism because many of the structures described in Vitruvius's writing had been lost but Alberti's treatise allowed Quattrocento Florentines to more easily apply the advice and information found in his writings. Alberti models the Vitruvian ideals and suggestions in *On the*

[4] Smith, Christine. *Building the Kingdom : Giannozzo Manetti on the Material and Spiritual Edifice*. (Tempe, Ariz.: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies ;, 2006), 213.

[5] Hart, 37.

Art of Building in Ten Books and expounds upon them for his Quattrocento readers. Alberti's study of Vitruvius's work heavily influenced *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, but unlike many of the fifteenth century Vitruvius imitators, Alberti did not only write on premade structures.[6] Instead, Alberti looked to the future and created a treatise that enabled modern Florentines to more accurately display their humanistic ideals. [7] Most scholars acknowledge the similarities between Alberti and Vitruvius's architectural guides, yet there is some debate whether *On the Art of Building in Ten Books* was conceived as a counter argument to Vitruvius or if a few of the books were written as a guideline for Pope Nicholas V and then later expounded on after Pope Nicholas V.[8]

In the late 1440s, Alberti became an architectural advisor to Pope Nicholas V and collaborated on his plans to renew the grandeur of Rome through architecture. If historian Christine Smith's theory about the original purpose of *On the Art of Building in Ten Books* is to be believed, then Pope Nicholas V rejected Alberti's plans and suggestions and instead decided to demolish many of the historic buildings in Rome.[9] Alberti explains his approach towards restoration when he says, "I would prefer you to leave all old buildings intact, until such a time as it becomes impossible to construct anything without demolishing them".[10] Instead of tearing down and building new, the Florentines usually followed the advice given by Alberti in ten books. Alberti only condones demolition "if a building cannot be improved without changing every line." [11] The complete disregard for any attempt at restoration or renovation by Pope

[6] Ibid, 15.

[7] Ibid, 37.

[8] Smith, 197.

[9] Ibid, 196-197.

[10] Ibid, 321.

[11] Ibid.

Nicholas V was against many of the Florentines humanist ideals. Although the Pope was not interested in restoring grand, historical architecture, the Florentines were unwilling to disregard completely all of the historical sites in their city.

Completely demolishing a city was quite costly. Therefore, many families chose to remain true to Humanistic ideals while also saving money. By choosing to renovate the Sacrestia Vecchio in the Medici parish church of San Lorenzo for example, the Medici family chose to keep the history of the church intact while still modernizing the church.[12] The Palazzo Vecchio was also renovated during the fifteenth century in order to accommodate the new Consiglio Maggiore. Additions were made throughout the fifteenth century to the Palazzo Vecchio but the structure always remained whole. Renovations were made and additions were made yet the building adjusted to each new requirement without ever having to be completely demolished.[13]

In an effort to help transform Florence into a beautiful and powerful city, Alberti describes his ideal city. According to Alberti, an ideal city would "provide pleasant areas and open spaces set aside as ornament and for recreation away from the cares of civic business: race courses, gardens, ambulatories, and swimming pools."[14] This is remarkably close to the ideals that prevailed during the Roman era. Vitruvius's treatise described a world that was interconnected and reminiscent of nature. His treatise "aspired towards a poetic and metaphorical imitation of nature."[15] In nature one would find open fields for animals to frolic in. There are cool, shaded forests to provide protection from the weather and also large pools to supply a

[12] Sider, Sandra. *Handbook to Life in Renaissance Europe*.(New York: Facts On File, 2005), 101.

[13] Rubinstein, Nicolai. *The Palazzo Vecchio, 1298-1532 : Government, Architecture, and Imagery in the Civic Palace of the Florentine Republic*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press ;, 1995), 3.

[14] Leon Battista Alberti. On the Art of Building in Ten Books. Trans. Joseph Rykwert with Neil Leach and Robert Tavernor. (Cambridge, Mass.: MITPress, 1988), 101.

[15] Hart, 28.

steady supply of water and a place to bathe. The wealthy cities in the Roman Empire resembled nature in a way. They created multiple baths for practical bathing and leisure and had common gathering areas where citizens could meet socially or conduct business. There was also entertainment in theatres and coliseums. Alberti's ideal Quattrocento renaissance city was essentially a variation of a typical wealthy and powerful city during the peak of the Roman era. This close resemblance is understandable because Alberti's fascination with Rome and Roman ideas.[16]

This fascination with the architecture of ancient Rome led to the formation of an interesting landscape in Florence. The city was once again beginning to resemble the original open and clean city that was established by the Romans. Florentines began remodeling their city in an effort to make their city more closely resemble the original grid-like garrison town that was begun by the Romans. During the later Middle Ages when Florence expanded, the city had gradually become a labyrinth of winding streets and a conglomeration of buildings.[17] Florence was no longer an easily navigable grid of interlocking streets. The Florentines began applying Alberti's idea of a perfect city when they started to widen the streets to major, communal religious and civic structures. Through this application of Alberti ideals, the Florentines were also harkening back to their original roots.

It is uncertain when Florence was originally founded or by whom. Giovanni Gherardi, who wrote *Inquiry into the Origins of Florence*, believed that the veterans of Sulla's army

[16] Goldthwaite, Richard A. The Building of Renaissance Florence : an Economic and Social History. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 84.

[17] Ibid, 2.

originally settled Florence 667 years after the initial founding of Rome.[18] Yet Angelo Poliziano, a contemporary of Gherardi, believed that three Roman generals, Augustus, Mark Antony, and Lepidus, settled Florence.[19] Despite this dispute over the founder, it is commonly agreed upon that Florence was indeed built by the Romans. This is known because, as Poliziano writes, "the Romans developed their colonies as small models or imitations of their own city" thus "Florence was also modeled on Rome."[20] Poliziano and other Quattrocento, Humanist Florentines studied the models of other ancient Roman colonies and compared them to their own city layout.[21] Poliziano realized that the name Capitol was "still used in the city and the names of some neighborhoods… therefore, [Florence and Rome] were one and the same thing."[22] These findings caused Poliziano to conclude that because the layouts of known Roman models and the layout of Florence were similar, the Romans were the people who originally settled Florence. Although the exact origin story of Florence is not known, "it is not the origin that matters, but the significance to a later society of what that society considers originary."[23] The Florentines believed that the Romans founded Florence. As a result, the Florentine officials applied Alberti's ideal city to their new urban plan. When Florentine officials ordered that the streets leading to the four most important buildings in the city be widened, the streets between Santa Maria Novella, Santa Maria del Fiore, Santa Croce and the Palazzo Vecchio, they were using Alberti's

[18] Giovanni Gheradi, "Inquiry into the Origins of Florence" in Images of Quattrocento Florence: Selected Writings in Literature, History, and Art by Stefano Ugo. Baldassarri and Arielle Saiber, eds. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 30-31.

[19] Angelo Poliziano " The Only City Founded by Roman Generals" in Images of Quattrocento Florence: Selected Writings in Literature, History, and Art by Stefano Ugo. Baldassarri and Arielle Saiber, eds. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 32-33.

[20] Ibid, 34.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Charles Burroughs, "From Daedalus' Cave to Florence Cathedral" in A History of Architectural Theory : from Vitruvius to the Present. By Kruft, Hanno-Walter. (London: Princeton Architectural Press, 1994), 178.

suggestions and their preferred origin story to have Florence resemble, once again, the original, centralized Roman plan for the city.

In addition to Florence renovating the medieval city into a cleaner, more open city built in the Roman style, Florence was also renovating in order to make herself look more impressive to visitors by widening many of the roads leading to religious and civic buildings that were prominent in Quattrocento Florentine society. During the fifteenth century Florence had "carved out a large territorial state extending over much of Tuscany".[24] Her military might and immense wealth made her a popular destination for foreign ambassadors and merchants despite the fact that Florence was located fifty miles from the sea.[25] Because Florence was becoming a great power, Florentines were traveling more to other famous political cities. Through their travels, the Florentines realized that their great city of Florence needed to be updated in order to show off her great might.[26] New buildings were built and old buildings were renovated in order to accommodate the increasing complexity of life brought on by Florence's newfound power.[27] Alberti believed that "the skill and ability of the architect" were responsible for more victories than any general because through imposing architecture, Florentines could "live in a dignified manner, free from any danger."[28] Thus the widening of the roads leading to Santa Maria Novella, Santa Maria del Fiore, Santa Croce, and Palazzo Vecchio not only impacted how the resident Florentines interacted with each other but it also affected how the foreign ambassadors and visitors perceived the city.[29] A large part of humanism revolved around reason and rationality.

[24] Goldthwaite, 69.

[25] Brucker, 42.

[26] Goldthwaite, 74-76.

[27] Ibid, 67-68

[28] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 4.

[29] Goldthwaite, 74-76.

By widening roads to the most important buildings, the Florentines made their city's urban plan have a more rational and reasonable layout. Anyone could easily find the major religious and secular buildings of Florence simply by following the crowds and remaining on the main roads. If a foreigner only had a few hours to form an opinion of Florence, the grand buildings and wide, clean streets would give them an impression of great power and authority.[30] By harkening back to her Roman roots, Florence was not only an example of her inhabitant's great historical interest in the Romans, but also a physical representation of how the Florentines wanted the rest of the world to view them. By modeling Florence off of Roman designs, Quattrocento Florentines were making a physical testament to their culture, learning, and their life-long study of Humanism.[31]

The Florentines combined the old and the new. The confusing labyrinth of architecture that was Florence in the fourteenth century was gradually renovated into cleaner, straighter lines as Florentines spent vast amounts of time and money incorporating preexisting designs into new buildings. Unlike Pope Nicholas V's plan for Rome, Florentine urban design did not include tearing down and beginning again. Instead it "called for the reconfiguration of existing buildings and the opening of dramatic straight new roads through old neighborhoods." [32] During the renovation of Quattrocento Florence "older and newer works coexisted in common spaces."[33] Often the renovation would be as simple as adding a new, Renaissance façade to a conglomeration of medieval buildings.[34] For example, the wealthy Florentine merchant Giovanni

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[30] Ibid, 20.

[31] Grafton, Anthony. *Leon Battista Alberti : Master Builder of the Italian Renaissance.* 1st ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), 279.

[32] Ibid, 281.

[33] Crum, Roger J. "The Florence of Cosimo 'Il Vecchio' de' Medici: Within and Beyond the Walls," in *Florence*. Edited by Francis Ames-Lewis. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 169.

[34] Stokes, Adrian. *The Quattro Cento, a Different Conception of the Italian Renaissance. Part One: Florence and Verona, an Essay in Italian Fifteenth-century Architecture and Sculpture,*. (Faber and Faber, limited, 1932), 168.

Rucellai hired Alberti to modernize the façade of Santa Maria Novella. This modernization was achieved by simply adding a marble façade to the front of the church. Santa Maria Novella was already a richly decorated church and thus some previous marble work had been attached to the façade in previous centuries in the form of sharply pointed arches in the Gothic style.[35] Alberti worked with the preexisting gothic arches and incorporated these into his design in order to make the church have a cohesive front. Although the gothic arches were no longer in vogue, Alberti decided to forgo having a completely new and modern look for the church in favor of retaining the history of the building. Because Quattrocento Florentines believed so highly in renovation, it is difficult to date many of the buildings that were built during this period. The architectural works during the Quattrocento do not have a beginning and end date. Instead "they represent chronologies that extended from the nebulous beginning of intention to the more specific moments of commission, execution and installation."[36]

Despite that fact that many of Alberti's writings were geared towards the tremendously wealthy because of the significant cost his ideas entailed, once his ideas were incorporated into actual structures, the buildings themselves involved all levels of society. Because Alberti's grand designs required people of all classes and skills to work together in order to complete each project, the members of each social class in Quattrocento Florence mingled more often and more freely than people of differing social classes in other cities. Architecture was a communal enterprise. In order to build a magnificent and beautiful city, every class of society was needed. The upper, wealthier members of society would bankroll the project, but in order to complete the project, one would need carpenters, painters, stonemasons, and general workmen. The attitude

[35] Stefano Ugo. Baldassarri and Arielle Saiber, *Images of Quattrocento Florence: Selected Writings in Literature, History, and Art* by eds. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 72.

[36] Crum, 169.

towards beautifying the city was almost universal. Alberti states that all Florentines "thought that they owed to their country all labor, diligence, and art, that all they had should serve the public welfare and provide reward and sustenance for the whole community."[37] Everyone in Florence benefited from grand architectural projects. The buildings created by Quattrocento Florentines are a testament to the upper society's fascination with Humanism, but they are also a testament to the unusually free society that was Quattrocento Florence.[38]

The crowning jewel of Quattrocento Florence was Brunelleschi's dome. Brunelleschi was the mastermind behind this magnificent piece of architecture, yet it would not have been possible if the entire city had not come together in unison to make it happen. The wool guild in Florence commissioned and paid for the dome, but such a structure would not have been built had the guild not worked in tandem with the skilled and unskilled workers from the lower classes. Brunelleschi showed the bricklayers how he would like the brick to be laid, but the bricklayers were the ones who labored every day on "the most magnificent dome since the Pantheon in Rome."[39] Since every social class was needed to make Florence's iconic cupola, every person in the city was able to feel pride whenever they looked upon the Duomo. Beautiful and magnificent buildings were not only a source of pride for the wealthy patrons, but also a source of pride for all Florentines involved in the construction of the stunning structures.

Florence also had a freer society because the city was not segregated by wealth. Instead family segregated the city. Each wealthy family lived in a neighborhood of the city that they had

[37] Alberti, Leon Battista. The Family in Renaissance Florence. Translated by Renée Neu Watkins. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1969), 27.

[38] Brucker, 215.

[39] Vasari, Giorgio. Vasari's Lives of the Artists; Biographies of the Most Eminent Architects, Painters, and Sculptors of Italy. (Simon and Schuster, 1946),147-160.

claimed for their families many years before.[40] This segregation led to the wealthy and the poor living in close contact. The wealthy Medici family attended the same church, San Lorenzo, which their poorer neighbors also attended.[41] A wool merchant, a goldsmith, and a wool carder could all live near each other and frequent the same places. Because the wealthy lived in close contact to people of all social classes, the wealthy had to take into account their less wealthy neighbors when they built their grand private residences. The residences inside of the town should be places of safety and relaxation but the residences must also give "security, dignity, and honor" to the household residing inside.[42] According to Alberti, "the security, dignity, and honor" of a household depended greatly on the structure and decoration of the private residence.[43] Because Alberti's audience was the upper class, wealthy Florentines, in order to retain their high social standing in the community, had to build a grand urban residence that brought honor to their family name, but they also had to make certain that they were not being too ostentatious and excessive. A wealthy Florentine family had to design their residence in such a way that all citizens of Florence would "approve and express joy for their own sake, as well as for yours."[44] Because Florence did not have a noble ruling family, the wealthy upper class Florentines were obligated to appease the *popolo minuto* in order to remain in power. In order for Florence to remain a peaceful place, the general masses of the Florentine population had to be appeased. There could be no overly ostentatious displays of wealth. Ostentatious displays could have created resentment in the common people. Therefore, every grand display of wealth

[40] Crum, 184.

[41] Singer, 101.

[42] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 5.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid, 4.

had to prove that the wealthy Florentine had spent his wealth in order to bring honor to his family, his descendants and the city as a whole.[45]

Family was incredibly important in Florentine society. One relied upon his family name in order to secure a good place in society. One needed a respected family background in order to hold any political office or wield any significant power in Florence during the fifteenth century.[46] Alberti came from a good family, but because he was an illegitimate child, he was at a disadvantage compared to his legitimate brothers and sisters. Alberti was required to work twice as hard in order to bring honor and fame to his family name. It was this work ethic that turned Alberti into a self-proclaimed universal man. He "played ball, hurled the javelin, ran, leaped, [and] wrestled", he "devoted himself entirely to the study of letters" continually even after his studies made him gravely ill.[47] His intensely focused study of Humanism was brought about because of his desire to bring honor to his family. Family was so important to Alberti that he went to great lengths to describe how a house is supposed to function not only as a place to retreat from the weather but also a place that is supposed to provide all the comforts of life, which included family. He believed that a building not only provided "that safe and welcome refuge from the heat of the sun and the frosts of winter" but it also provided a place for the family to gather at the end of the day.[48] Alberti was such a strong believer in the importance of family that he wrote a whole treatise, *Della Famiglia*, in order to emphasize the importance and influence the family had in Florentine society. If a man's family was content then he would be happy. Thus, Alberti specifies that each room of a building should have a particular purpose in

[45] Ibid.

[46] Brucker, 91.

[47] Leon Battista Alberti. " Self Portrait of a Universal Man," in The Portable Renaissance Reader, Bruce Ross and Mary Martin McLaughlin, eds. (New York, NY: Viking Press, 1953),481-482.

[48] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books,* 92.

order to be the most useful to the family that is residing within it. The building inside should have a particular purpose but the façade of the building should also be useful for the family. The more beautiful and stunning the façade of a building, the more honor and fame are bestowed upon the family inside.[49]

People went to many lengths in order to bring honor to their family. For example, the Peruzzi family had multiple medieval buildings near Santa Croce yet none of these buildings were connected. In order to make a public proclamation that the Peruzzi family occupied all of the buildings, the family built similar facades for all their buildings along with building "four arches linking the buildings across the side streets opening off Via de Benci, each arch conspicuously marked with the Peruzzi coat of arms."[50] The Peruzzi family was making a statement by creating a uniform, elegant façade with their coat of arms being prominently displayed. Because their residences were close to the important church of Santa Croce, they were bringing honor to themselves by beautifying the area around the prominent building as well as ensuring that all who visited the church knew who the patrons in residence were. Thus, the Florentine families that patroned grand, religious projects were able to show their devotion to God in addition to showing their intelligence and devotion to the Humanism movement.

Men always brought honor for their families by becoming patrons, not only of their own residences but also of God's many residences. During the fifteenth century, many Florentine churches were renovated and expanded. Many prominent families invested in chapels that would then bear their insignia to demonstrate their power and wealth.[51] These chapels were then decorated by the best artists of the time, which would further exalt their family name. Although

[49] Ibid, 4.

[50] Goldthwaite, 14.

[51] Ibid, 12-13.

these private chapels were built mainly for personal gain, the chapels still displayed the humanistic ideals of the city through the architectural structures that made up the background of the frescos. The decorations in the private chapels created a unique opportunity for wealthy Florentines to show off their wealth while remaining pious as their efforts to beautify their chapels in turn beautified the churches.[52] Although the artists who were hired were told what story they were to paint, they were given relatively free reign when it came to the background images. They were told what scenes and subjects to paint, but how they should portray them was left to the imagination of the painter. This resulted in biblical stories being painted upon backdrops featuring humanistic and modern elements. The biblical stories were placed in a modern setting, yet this modern setting still contained elements of ancient and classical design. The same way that the physical Florentine buildings contained elements of ancient Roman designs. For example, Jacopo del Sellaio painted an altarpiece titled "The Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Lucy, Sebastian, John the Baptist, and Catherine of Alexandria" in 1490. This altarpiece is true to the title and portrays the mother and child seated on a throne surrounded by Saints. While this painting was a typical portrayal of the Virgin and child at the time, what makes the painting interesting is not the subject, but the background. In the Sellaio altarpiece there is a wall behind the Virgin Mary that wall has intriguing ancient architectural elements woven into it. The wall contains columns similar to the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian columns that littered Roman architecture. Also in the background there is an arch that is also reminiscent of classical Roman architecture.[53] Although Sellaio was ordered to paint a typical biblical scene, his

[52] Westfall, Carroll William. *In This Most Perfect Paradise; Alberti, Nicholas V, and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome, 1447-55.* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974), 42-43.

[53] del Sellaio, Jacopo, *The Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Lucy, Sebastian, John the Baptist, and Catherine of Alexandria,* 1490, Tempera and gold on wood panel,65 7/8 x 69 1/2 in. (167.3 x 176.5 cm)Ackland Art Museum, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill The William A. Whitaker Foundation Art Fund

and his patrons' Humanistic inclinations shone through the painting through his use of classical architectural techniques.

There is an urban legend first recorded by Giorgio Vasari in his book, *Lives of the Artist*. In his chapter on Filippo Brunelleschi he tells the story of Cosimo de' Medici requesting Brunelleschi to design a new building that would beautify and edify the city while honoring the Medici family. In the legend, Brunelleschi designed a beautiful building but Cosimo de' Medici deemed it too ostentatious.[54] Although they were one of the wealthiest families in Quattrocento Florence, Cosimo de' Medici was very aware that his power came from the people. If he built a home that was too ostentatious then he would lose the people and possibly the power that came from their support. Instead of building Brunelleschi's design, Cosimo de' Medici went instead with the more reserved plan of Michelozzo di Bartolomeo. Michelozzo's plan was a more open and friendly plan. Cosimo de' Medici created a palace that was at least in part open to the public. The corner loggia of the Medici Palace became a common meeting point for all Florentines.[55] By choosing the less grand design, Cosimo de' Medici made his family palace the center of Florence without being offensively ostentatious. Although his family was already a central and key part of the social fabric of Florence, by letting his house become a social point of the city, Cosimo de' Medici had created a physical representation of the importance of the Medici family to Florentine society. Although Cosimo de' Medici had enough money to build a bigger and grander palace, he was aware of the fine line between grandeur and opulence. By choosing the second building design, he showed his understanding of Florence and her relation with ancient Rome and previously held Roman views.

[54] Vasari, 165-166.

[55] Crum, 194.

Quattrocento Florence not only resembled ancient Rome in structure but also in the decorations and designs of the buildings. The Florentines were very careful to not be considered overtly ostentatious. If fellow Florentine's deemed a project too ostentatious, instead of bringing honor to the family name, the patron would be shamed and the censure of the church would fall on them.[56] Alberti portrayed these ideals when he describes the perfect royal palace. Alberti believed that "a royal palace should be sited in the city center, should be of easy access, and should be gracefully decorated, elegant, and refined, rather than ostentatious."[57] The Medici palace is a perfect example of this Florentine ideal. Although the Medici family was not official rulers, they were a very prominent family that held sway over much of Quattrocento Florentine society. The Medici palace is located in the center of the city. It is located near Santa Maria del Fiore and the Baptistery. Due to the widening of the roads that lead to these key landmarks, the Medici Palace was easily accessible by all citizens and also foreign dignitaries.[58] The Medici palace is ornate, but not overly pretentious. The façade employs a relatively simple volumetric design.[59] Although simple, the design resembles the same façade design of the Palazzo Vecchio, thus connecting the two buildings, which in turn connected the Medici family with the power of the Palazzo Vecchio in the minds of all who had seen both buildings.[60] The only other decoration is the Medici family crest, which was displayed prominently on the sides of the residence and above the doors.

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[56] Goldthwaite, 77.

[57] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, 121.

[58] Crum, 194.

[59] "Mediateca Di Palazzo Medici Riccardi." Palazzo Medici - Facade of Palazzo Medici - Mediateca Di Palazzo Medici Riccardi.. http://www.palazzo-medici.it/mediateca/en/Scheda_Facciata_di_Palazzo_Medici.

[60] Grafton, 279.

Although Cosimo de' Medici decided to build an entirely new palace, he still incorporated ancient designs. By destroying existing buildings, Cosimo de' Medici was able to build his palace as a perfect representation of Florentine, humanistic ideals. For example, the Medici palace is built around an inner courtyard. This courtyard had practical uses. By building around an open space, the inner rooms can be lit by sunlight, thus reducing lighting expenses.[61] The open courtyard also enabled easy access to most parts of the house. Instead of walking through dim passages, one can easily cut through the courtyard and quickly be in a separate part of the house.[62] Alberti describes a courtyard as being a "marketplace to the whole house" where one can derive "all the advantages of communication and light."[63] Even though the courtyard was immensely functional, it was also another example of the Florentines' interest in Rome. One of the main features of a Roman Villa was the courtyard, which was the heart of the villa. Alberti describes a villa as "the principal member [of a house], by which all the other members must correspond."[64] By incorporating this ancient architectural convention, Cosimo de' Medici was publicly displaying his admiration of the Romans while also providing a very functional addition to his house.

Even though Quattrocento Florentines were cautious with displaying their money in the fear of being viewed as overly flashy, this fear did not completely quell all ornamentation. The Florentines' used the facades of their buildings as a canvas to further show their dedication to Humanism, which in turn showed off their good breeding. Architecture was no longer solely for functional purposes. During the Quattrocento, "a desire to give these buildings a certain physical

[61] Crum, 195.

[62] Goldthwaite, 15.

[63] Alberti, "The Perfect Country House", 336.

[64] Ibid, 335.

presence, and an interest in new ideas" was instilled in the Florentine upper class.[65] Quattrocento Florentines were not simply following current fashions, but instead they were expressing their desire to make a name for themselves through their buildings. They achieved this by expressing their knowledge and interests in the ancients through the choice of decorative items for their façades. For example, the Rucellai palace façade, which was personally designed by Alberti, has three stories of Roman pilasters. Alberti followed his own advice when he designed the façade. In his *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, Alberti described how to properly use columns as decoration. The second floor should be half the height of the first floor. The third floor should then be a two-thirds the height of the previous floor. [66] One can see this in the Rucellai façade. The first floor of the palace has tall, strong, and flat columns. Although the columns are only decoration and have no structural support, the fact that they appear strong lends credence to the belief that the inhabitants of the building are strong and powerful. The second tier of columns is also flat yet designed in the Ionic style. This style is an ode to the humanistic ideals the Rucellai family held. The third tier was decorated with Corinthian style columns. This style of column appeared to be the most elegant and fragile of the three styles and thus gave the façade an air of grandeur. All three tiers of columns were reminiscent of the Roman Coliseum.[67] Therefore by using all three types of Roman columns in the façade, Alberti subtly invoked the idea of great Roman grandeur by basing his design off the Roman Coliseum, one of the most recognizable Roman architectural masterpieces.[68] Although the façade was beautiful in its own right, the ingenuity of the façade was its ability to effortlessly cover up the inconsistencies of Medieval

[65] Goldthwaite, 68-69.

[66] Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books, 298-299.*

[67] Crum, 183.

[68]Brenda Peryer. "Style and Attribution" in *Giovanni Rucellai Ed Il Suo Zibaldone* by Perosa, Alessandro. (The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1960), 193.

buildings that stood behind the façade. Though the three Medieval buildings formed a lopsided courtyard, the general public would not be aware of the flaws of the original palace because of the beautiful façade Alberti had designed.

Although much of the decorative items during the fifteenth century were reminiscent of ancient times, a few trends from the medieval era carried over into the Renaissance era. The main, most distinctive decorative trend that remained was the familial coats of arms being prominently portrayed on almost every building a wealthy family owned, or of which they were patrons. Marking a family's territory with their family crest quickly developed during the fifteenth century in Florence. Each building that a family owned would be visibly and grandly marked with the family's personal coat of arms, whether the building was public or private.[69] The Medici family put their family crest on the Medici palace, the Strozzi family also had their crest on their palace. The family crests became so prominent that it became almost shameful to allow a palace to slip outside of the family since the new family would have no use for the previous occupant's crest. Once the crest was removed, this would then become a shameful situation for the family that was unfortunate enough to have to sell.[70] The fad of putting the familial crest on anything that one patronized became so popular that people would not donate to a church project if they would be unable to put their own stamp on the building. For example, the façade of Santa Croce does not have a familial crest on it. An unidentified family had donated funds in order to beautify the church, yet when the heard that their crest would not be allowed to adorn the front, the family withdrew their funds and instead invested into building a new church, where the family seal would be allowed.[71]

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[69] Goldthwaite, 86.

[70] Ibid, 88.

[71] Ibid, 12.

Florence was not a perfect city. The Florentines had flaws. They spent vast amounts of money in order to promote themselves and their families. The site that the Romans had settled so many years before was not the perfect land that Alberti describes in his first book, yet it still managed to become a grand, beautiful city. If Alberti had stayed in Rome, he would have been able to create great masterpieces from scratch, but Alberti did not want to completely destroy and rebuild every building in a city. To him, this was a wanton disregard for historical architecture. The Florentines were more in line with Alberti's beliefs. They did not choose to renovate and remodel every time, as the Medici Palace proves, yet they often chose to renovate instead of demolish in order to remain true to their humanistic ideals. Alberti enabled his fellow Quattrocento Florentines to portray their own humanistic ideals in the decorations and structures of Florence's religious buildings, civic buildings, and private residences through the application of his own humanistic ideals portrayed through architecture in his treatise, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*. Quattrocento Florentines portrayed their admiration for Rome in various ways. They decorated the facades of their houses with Roman-style columns. They incorporated courtyards into their palaces as an ode to the Roman villas. Quattrocento Florentines built buildings that were useful and functional, yet also beautiful. The buildings not only portrayed what was important to Florentine society in terms of beauty and art but also what was important in terms of family and society values as a whole. During the fifteenth century, Florence became a city of art and beauty where the power of the citizenry was displayed through physical buildings. Brunelleschi aptly summed up the quattrocento Florentine idea of beauty and architecture when he stated, "the walls of our buildings are all we leave behind us and that they commemorate those who put them up for hundreds and thousands of years."[72] Brunelleschi and his fellow

[72] Vasari, 162.

Quattrocento Florentines were proud of the city they left behind. They left an abundance of architecture and historical evidence that overwhelmingly display their humanistic opinions, ideals, and beliefs. The buildings left behind give modern historians a unique insight into the societal interactions, culture, and humanistic values of Quattrocento Florence.

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Protestant Persuasion: Anne Boleyn's Influence on the Protestant Reformation

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Chapter One: Introduction

Anne Boleyn's role in history is often summarized as the notorious beheaded second wife of King Henry VIII of England. However, Anne Boleyn played a significantly influential role in shaping the history of England. She followed her Protestant beliefs and helped bring about a religious reformation that would shape England for the next 500 years. The Anglican Reformation led to the eventual martyrdom of Catholics and Anglicans alike under different English monarchs. The religious history of England played a role in England's relationship with other European powers such as Spain and France, led to tensions and violence in British-ruled Catholic Ireland, and even influenced the settlement of the New World. Tensions between Catholic continental Europe and the Anglican island of England meant that there would be constant strife among various nations. There have been violent revolts and rebellions against Protestant rule in Ireland, where Catholics are prevalent. In addition, having a Catholic ruler after this reformation led to the Glorious Revolution of 1688, where the anointed king abandoned his throne to avoid death at the hands of Protestants. England's conversion to Anglicanism has shaped the history of the country and the world, and it started with King Henry VIII, and behind him, Anne Boleyn.

The genuine beliefs held by Anne Boleyn have long been debated by historians, as well as the credibility of her role and influence on Henry VIII's Anglican Reformation. It is the central argument of this essay that over time Anne Boleyn developed strong Protestant convictions in several stages and played an influential role in the development of the Anglican

Reformation. Anne Boleyn's personal Protestant convictions developed in several stages, beginning at a young age, when she spent time in Austria and France. She was exposed to the ideas of Luther and Calvin that were spreading rapidly through Europe.

After returning to England, Anne continued her learning and stayed in touch with her French contacts. Through them, she was supplied with a steady stream of Protestant literature. She continued to read and study Protestant works, and discussed the meanings of these works after arriving in England with fellow evangelicals. In the last years of her life as Queen, Anne Boleyn continued studying and became a supporter of the Protestant cause. After becoming a favorite of King Henry VIII, Anne Boleyn became a catalyst for religious change in England. She met with the King and showed him Protestant works and would discuss these with him over meals, or when the two would go on walks together. In addition, as she rose in prominence, she began to elevate fellow evangelicals to positions of secular and religious power and intervened to protect evangelicals from persecution. In doing this, she exposed the King and the country to more and more Protestant ideas, and helped convince him to change the religion of the entire country. Lastly, she found Biblical support for Henry's divorce from Katherine, which may have helped her achieve her goal of becoming the King's wife. After their marriage went ahead and she was assured of her station in the court, she continued to spread Protestant beliefs throughout the country.

Chapter Two: Stages of Development of Anne Boleyn's Protestant Beliefs

Introduction

Anne Boleyn's life experiences heavily influenced her religious beliefs. This chapter will discuss the chronological stages in which Anne Boleyn developed her evangelical convictions.

These stages encompass her childhood and adolescence spent in the Austrian and French royal courts, as well as her arrival in England and her servitude under Catherine of Aragon. They also include her courtship with King Henry VIII, and finally, after her coronation, her reign as Queen Consort of England until her execution in 1536. Throughout these stages, Anne was exposed to different Protestant ideas, and by her later actions she demonstrated that these stages did impact her religious beliefs.

Stage 1: In the Austrian and French Royal Courts in her Youth, c. 1514-1521

The first stage of development in the foundation of Anne Boleyn's Protestant convictions was her time spent overseas at the Austrian and French courts during her youth from 1513-1521. It was during this time that Anne was first exposed to the Protestant ideas rapidly spreading throughout continental Europe. As an envoy to Maximilian I, Sir Thomas Boleyn had been able to secure a spot for his daughter at the court of Margaret of Austria, daughter of the Holy Roman Emperor, and Anne arrived in Austria in 1513. Margaret's court has been described by the Belgian historian Ghislain de Boom, as a "princely school and a center of high culture and advanced civilization."[1] Margaret filled her court with Humanists such as Erasmus and had fantastic libraries filled with books of poetry, music, history and art. It was this setting that helped Anne develop classic Renaissance thinking, later turning her towards Protestant ideals.

She had been tutored with royalty, and was taught how to speak and read French and Latin.[2] Claire Ridgway states, in terms of how Henry VIII would come to view his future wife, that"she had been educated with princes and princesses, she had style and culture, she was highly intelligent and she could talk to him on his level and discuss the things he loved. She was a

[1]Claire, Ridgway, "Anne Boleyn's Early Life," in *The Anne Boleyn Files*, 2015.

[2]Ridgway,"Anne Boleyn's Early Life." *The Anne Boleyn Files*, 2015.

Renaissance woman and he saw himself as a Renaissance prince."[3] While Anne was not in Austria long, her time did allow her to develop an education that would continue to grow while in France and in England. Her knowledge of languages was expanded as well as her love for art, poetry, and her ability to discuss and think deeply about theology. This foundation continued as Anne moved from the Holy Roman Empire to the French court in 1514.

In France, Anne was shown greater luxuries, ideas, art, and other aspects of French lifestyle that she never would have been exposed to in England. She was growing up as a French noblewoman instead of as an English maid, further impacting her open mindedness to Protestant ideas, as well as giving her the tools she needed to read translations of these texts in French or English. While living at the French court, "Anne had devoted herself to biblical study, reading the Scriptures in the new French translations, a rare and decidedly dangerous activity."[4] By learning and gaining fluency in French, she was able to read these translations, dangerous for her, since the only approved translations of these texts were Latin. From a young age Anne demonstrated her willingness to move away from the rigid rules of the Catholic Church.

The fact that these translations were available is attributable to the difference of growing up in the French court as opposed to the English court, where such books were banned absolutely and where she would have been punished severely for reading such material. While England survived in isolation, the French court was exposed to the Protestant ideas flowing through continental Europe, where the Reformation was spreading quickly. "A reforming tendency existed at the highest level of the French nobility. This Reforming fervor was embodied in Marguerite of Angouleme, Gillaume de Briconnet, her Reformist bishop, and Jacques Lefevre d' Etaples, the humanist Bible translator...Luther's ideas...came to France through these three

[3]Ibid.

[4]Denny, *Anne Boleyn*, 100.

brilliant individuals. It is through their writings, specifically, that the Reformation insight first came to Anne Boleyn."[5] Her knowledge of the French language meant that as she grew older, she was able to read their books in a vernacular that was well known to her. Peter Zahl states in his book that "Anne's delight in the French language made the works she began to receive as gifts later on as a young adult, entirely accessible and also pleasant to her."[6] Joanna Denny supports this claim that Anne's knowledge and joy in the French language left her eager to read. "Anne was never without 'some book in French' in her hand, 'as, for example, translations of the Holy Scripture.'"[7] In fact, Anne's treasured Bible was a 1534 French edition translated by Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples himself.[8] His influence reached Anne in other ways as well, for "Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples, the leader of religious reform in France had spoken out openly against the tyranny of the Roman Church five years before Luther emerged on the scene. His commentary on Paul's letters, which Anne read, had been published in France in 1512."[9] Not only were these books available to her, but Anne took to them with an eagerness that left her with a book always in hand. This helped to create a foundation for Protestant thinking which she carried into her future. "During her time in France Anne had access to books that were banned in England. When she returned she kept her contacts and obtained many new evangelical works through the underground channels and networks."[10]

Some of the ideas expressed in these readings include the belief that the Scriptures played an important role in the individual's life, and that priests were of less importance than

[5]Paul F. M. Zahl, *Five Women of the English Reformation* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing), 15.

[6]Zahl, *Five Women*, 15.

[7]Denny, *Anne Boleyn*, 100.

[8]Zahl, *Five Women*, 18.

[9]Denny, *Anne Boleyn*, 40.

[10]Ibid.128.

taught by the Roman Catholic Church. "The emphasis has been on the preaching of Scripture that leads to personal conversion and holy living."[11] In addition to this, evangelicals at this time did not believe in Host worship, having elaborate masses, or churches filled with ornate decoration.They did not view the Host as the physical body of Christ, but as symbolizing the body of Christ. Living abroad had provided Anne Boleyn with a firm foundation of evangelical beliefs, and it left her willing to accept more beliefs as she matured into adulthood in England.

Stage 2: The initial years following her return to England, while she served under Catherine of Aragon,. c. 1521-1525

Anne Boleyn was not the only member of her family to believe in and act in accordance with the evangelical ideas arising during this period. Her father had also been a supporter of reform and was one of the first to try to introduce these ideas into England. This had to be kept secret, of course, from the King who at the time referred to himself as the *Fidei defensor*, Defender of the Faith. Despite this, a growing evangelical underground community was emerging in England. "A close-knit community promoted the cause and protected one another in a time of danger and oppression. They were all part of an underground circle of evangelicals dedicated to illegal and very dangerous work. This was the secret church of God, the first wave of evangelical believers, of which the Boleyns were the vanguard."[12] It is probable that after returning to England, Anne would have been influenced by her father's beliefs, would have continued to read and examine the Gospels and Scripture in the vernacular, and would have examined them from an evangelical point of view. It was not only her father who was committed

[11]Andrew Village and Leslie J. Francis, "An Anatomy of Change:Profiling Cohort Difference in Beliefs and Attitudes among Anglicans in England," *Journal of Anglican Studies* 8 no. 1 (2010): 61.

[12]Denny, *Anne Boleyn*, 104.

to the Protestant faith, but her brother as well. George Boleyn, very close to his sister, "became an extremely committed and articulate advocate of Protestant Reform in England."[13] It is entirely probable that Anne and George discussed Protestant ideas and exchanged Protestant literature, considering their close relationship and shared commitment to the new faith.

Stage 3: During her Courtship with Henry VIII, c. 1525-1532

During her courtship with Henry VIII, Anne Boleyn's Protestant convictions grew steadily. She was able to use her elevated position to get in touch with the underground network of Protestants, and was able to and willing to dissect the Holy Scriptures for any reasons that would support Henry VIII's claim for divorcing Katherine of Aragon. However, it was not only the desire to marry the King that Anne fought so heavily for divorce, but also because she truly believed in the Reformed religion and sought to bring this religion to England. In addition, both she and the King found evidence for his divorce in Leviticus 20:21: "If a man takes his brother's wife, it is impurity. He has uncovered his brother's nakedness; they shall be childless."[14] Although Anne did need to show the King his need for a divorce, this was not her only drive urging the King towards Reform. "True, in order for the King to marry Anne he had finally to deny papal authority, but the Queen's interest in reform came long before she conceived such lofty matrimonial ambitions, and her passion, first and last was the Gospel."[15] This evidence supports the idea that Anne Boleyn was not driven towards marriage with the King simply for personal gains, but because she had developed such strong religious convictions that she felt it

[13]Zahl, *Five Women of the England Reformation*, 14.

[14] Biblehub, "Leviticus 20:21" 2004-2016, http://biblehub.com/leviticus/20-21.htm.

[15]Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford: Faber and Faber), 221.

was her religious duty to convert both King and kingdom, in order to save the kingdom and support the reform ideas found in the Gospels.

Stage 4: After Her Coronation as Queen, c. 1532-1536

As Anne Boleyn ascended the throne of England, her Protestant beliefs moved her forward in bringing reform to the kingdom which helped her bring the people into conformity with the "proper" religious fold. The beliefs she had imbibed throughout her life led to this pivotal moment, and Boleyn believed that it was her duty from God to liberate England, set high moral standards, and bring the Reformation to England. Historians such as Paul Zahl argue that if it were not for Anne Boleyn, the Reformation would not have entered England, which happened only because she was spurred forward by her Protestant beliefs. He writes, "Anne understood her providential mission to be this: to bring the Reformation to England and employ every single instance of patronage and influence to that end. Her self confidence and bearing aided the Protestant cause immeasurably. In fact it was through Anne that the New Religion entered England."[16] While this attests to Anne Boleyn's influence in the flourishing of the Reformation in England, it also attests to the fact that her motives were religious; having read the Gospel and the Bible in Latin, French and English, she believed she had reached a higher connection with God, and that it was her duty to bring others into the Reformed religion. Boleyn's goal was to guide the kingdom away from the grandiose theatrics of the Catholic Church, and instead focus on every individual's relationship with God, without interference from priests and ministers. These ideas and values would retain their importance for Anne, and would eventually play a major role in the future of Catholic institutions in England. "The Dissolution of

[16]Zahl, *Five Women of the Reformation*, 26.

the Monasteries might never have happened had Henry VIII not lusted after the coquettish younger daughter of one of his counsellors, Sir Thomas Boleyn."[17]

An example of Anne's religious dedication lies in her actions after she ascended the throne: "One of Anne's major goals as Queen was to set higher moral standards at court...Her household attended religious services once a day and they Queen gave each one a book of Psalms in English. Their inner circle of court ladies were twenty-four hours a day Bible studies."[18] At this point, Anne Boleyn's convictions had been set, and now she could implement her beliefs, such as believing that the Bible should be read in English by individuals. This was to support her belief that the connection between God and individuals does not require a priest to interpret the Gospels, but it is for each individual to do so.[19] Were it not for her religious motivations, she may have never set her sights as high as marriage to the King of England. "Many reformers saw Anne's elevation to Queen as the act of God to liberate England from the oppression of Roman domination...since More's persecution with its arrests and burnings, London was increasingly inclined to evangelical reform."[20] Anne's beliefs would have run similar to these reformers mentioned by Joanna Denny, since Anne would have agreed that her elevation to Queen was an act of God. She too believed that the Catholic Church was playing too heavy a role in English life, and that the practices of the Roman Catholic Church were not necessarily the most orthodox practices. Instead, Anne was a believer in that the Bible should be available for the common man, and in the common tongue, and in addition, the ornamentation of

[17]Geoffrey Moorhouse, *The Last Divine Office: Henry VIII and the Dissolution of the Monasteries.* (New York: Blue Bridge) 91.

[18]Denny, *Anne Boleyn*, 210.

[19]Anglican Consultative Council "Doctrine." Anglican Communion Office, 2016. http://www.anglicancommunion.org/identity/doctrine.aspx

[20]Denny, *Anne Boleyn*, 195.

the churches was unnecessary. After being crowned Queen, Anne Boleyn's beliefs were firmly imbedded in her nature, and drove her actions forward, realizing her goal of many years.

Chapter Three: Anne Boleyn's Influence on the Anglican Reformation

Introduction

As shown, the foundation of Anne Boleyn's beliefs lay in her life experiences starting at a young age. This chapter will discuss the influential role that Anne Boleyn had on Henry VIII and his Anglican Reformation. Anne's influence can be seen in a number of different ways. First, during their courtship Anne provided and exposed the King to illegal Protestant literature, which they discussed and debated at length when they were alone together. Secondly, she helped find support for his divorce from Katherine of Aragon. In addition, she intervened to protect evangelicals from secular prosecution. Lastly, Anne worked to promote men with evangelical beliefs into positions of power within Henry's court. Anne now saw that she could use her position as Queen to influence the rise of good men and women into court, fellow evangelical believers whose moral standards were of a higher order than those who had obtained office in the past."[21]

Providing Literature and Discussion

The first example of Anne Boleyn's influence comes from her attempts to persuade Henry VIII to accept, understand, and believe the Protestant ideas that she had come to believe by giving literature to the King, discussing it with him, and arguing different opinions. She exposed the King to these new ideas, and helped him see that they were not simply heretical

[21]Ibid., 210.

nonsense. Instead, they were backed and supported by the Bible. In addition, she helped him see the positive effects of having the Bible and Gospels available in the vernacular. One of these advantages is that reading the Bible for themselves meant that nobles and educated common people could think deeply about their connection to God, and live more religious lives. Anne promoted this and, "in her chamber the Bible in English was left open for her ladies' edification, to turn them from frivolous pursuits."[22]

As noted earlier, Anne's early years in France allowed her to maintain relationships with evangelicals after she returned to England, and through this network she was able to obtain new Protestant works, even though they were outlawed in London. Her access to these works meant she could bring them to court and use her close relationship with the King to try to convert him to Protestant thinking, "During her time in France Anne had access to books that were banned in England. When she returned she kept her contacts and obtained many new evangelical works through the underground channels and networks. Anne owned the Epistle and Gospel for Fifty-Two Sundays in the Year and Le Pasteur Evangelique (The Gospel Shepherd) by the anti-establishment and reformist poet Clement Marot."[23] Her link to these reform circles in London was critical because it provided her with the materials necessary to help influence the King. "Somehow, Simon Fish in exile knew that if he sent Anne Boleyn a copy of his *Supplicayon for the Beggers* his offering might be welcomed. So it was, and so impressed was Anne that-so it was said-showed it to the King. Clearly, she had links with reforming circles in London."[24] Anne's fascination with these texts and her determination to persuade the King helped to lay the foundation for the Reformation in England. Not only is there evidence that she was in possession

[22]Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, 221.

[23]Denny, *Anne Boleyn*, 128.

[24]Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, 128.

of such texts, and that she showed them to him, but, "William Latimer describes her habit of discussing some scriptural problem whenever she dined with Henry, and said that this was copied at the tables of her chamberlain and vice-chamberlain."[25] This is evidence that religious conversations took place between Anne, Henry and other men, and that she held her own in these discussions. Henry's infatuation with Anne may have led to him being more susceptible to listening to her ideas and beliefs. "No king had ever been so completely controlled as Henry was by his great minister, though there were now signs of restiveness...The situation was made all the more difficult by the domination Anne Boleyn established over the King during the years when he was trying to nullify his marriage to Katherine."[26] She would have believed that God had cursed the King's first wedding, for he had married his brother's widow.[27] Her dedication to this reading of the Bible would have helped to sway the king away from the wife he had already decided he wished to be free from. However, for this to happen, he would need to force through the Anglican Reformation, with all of Anne's support behind him.

A clear example of this is the introduction of the Act of Succession, deemed heretical by the Catholic Church, by which Henry VIII declared his children with Anne Boleyn his legitimate heirs (and Princess Mary a bastard with no claim to the throne). "Never before had a spiritual instrument of commitment been used as a political test."[28] In addition, the Reformation can be traced back to her persuasion, because while many men also tried to gain the ear of the king, one reformer had obtained a place directly at his right hand as friend, lover and advisor. "There was, however, one at Court who had been touched by reform, who was more influential by far than

[25]Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn*, 268.

[26]Theodore Maynard, *The Crown and the Cross* (New York: McGraw- Hill) 32.

[27]Henry Ansgar Kelly, *The Matrimonial Trials of Henry VIII* (Standford: Standford University Press) 21.

[28]Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, 223.

any yeoman usher; one whose power over the King by 1527 was unrivalled; one who had bewitched him, so many said: Anne Boleyn."[29]

Elevation of Fellow Evangelicals

Another way Anne Boleyn influenced the Anglican Reformation was her support in elevating fellow evangelicals into positions of power, both in religious and secular offices, once Anne and Henry began their courtship, and continued throughout her reign as Queen. As Anne Boleyn rose in power within the Tudor court, so did other evangelical believers. Henry VIII took suggestions from his new lover, and eventual Queen, and this had a deeper impact on the country than could have been imagined at the time. Prior to being exposed to these ideas, Henry had been a devout Catholic, granted the title of Defender of the Faith by Pope Leo X. Despite this, the change to the Anglican Church was not simply the work of evangelicals, but was promoted by the King himself. "No one could have foretold that the threat, when it came, would not be foretold from the heretics alone, but from the King whom More served, and who had vaunted himself defensor fidei: Henry VIII. Knowingly, or unknowingly, he had gathered evangelicals around him, in the highest places of all, and for a time it served his purpose to listen to them."[30] The men mentioned by Susan Brigden in 'the highest places of all' include Bishops and high advisors. "Around him at Court and in his Privy Chamber, Henry gathered those who protected the evangelicals, indeed were evangelicals themselves: Thomas Cranmer, Queen Anne, and Thomas Cromwell. While they held the King's favour the old ways would not return,"[31] The King was heavily interested in the ideas being promoted by the evangelicals, since they would

[29]Ibid., 1.

[30]Ibid., 1.

[31]Ibid., 219.

eventually lead to his divorce, and his huge accumulation of gold from the dissolution of the monasteries. However, it was not just Anne's influence that allowed Protestants to rise to power.

Anne Boleyn herself took advantage of the freedom and power given to her by the King, and promoted fellow evangelical believers within her own household, as well as supporting their elevation within the King's council. "Anne now saw that she could use her position as Queen to influence the rise of good men and women into court, fellow evangelical believers whose moral standards were of a higher order than those who had obtained office in the past."[32] These new secular appointments helped to fill the court and councils with men whose goals were to prompt the King to bring about both religious and secular reforms. In addition, Anne filled her own household with men who had the same religious beliefs. "Anne appointed evangelical chaplains to her household, such as William Betts and Robert Singleton."[33] These appointments were not limited to Anne's private household, for during her reign "seven of the ten bishops elected between 1532 and 1536 were appointed through Anne's influence."[34] Among these newly appointed bishops were men such as Hugh Latimer of Worcester, Nicholas Shaxton of Salisbury, Thomas Goodrich of Ely, John Skip of Hereford, and Thomas Cranmer.[35] These men were known Protestants, and Hugh Latimer would later be burned at the stake for heresy in 1555 under the reign of Queen Mary I, as would Thomas Cranmer in 1536.[36] In addition to these men, Bridgen writes that "In her chamber the Bible in English was left open for her ladies' edification, to turn them from frivolous pursuits. For her chaplains, 'lanterns and light of my court,' she

[32]Denny, *Anne Boleyn*, 210.

[33]Denny, *Anne Boleyn*, 211.

[34]Ibid., 212.

[35]Ibid., 212.

[36]Ridgeway, "The Reformation," *The Anne Boleyn Files*, 2015.

chose men won to reform."[37] It is through these appointments that Anne Boleyn helped to elevate fellow evangelicals and helped them create both a religious and secular presence in the court of Henry VIII. In surrounding the King with these men and women, she helped them gain his attention and to persuade him to bring the kingdom into the Protestant fold.

Secular Intervention

Anne Boleyn's influence in Henry VIII's creation of the Anglican Church can also be accredited to her intervention of the persecution of those who believed and promoted evangelical beliefs. These interventions came not only when she had her own royal power to execute these orders, but once she had the ear and the eye of the king. These secular interventions actually had religious motivations, for Anne intervened for those who believed in and helped to spread the evangelical beliefs coming into England through underground tunnels. While these men were being persecuted for different reasons, most were involved in the spreading of Protestant literature which Anne believed in, despite the fact that its existence was viewed as Catholic heresy. "Before ever she was Queen, Anne dared to use her influence to protect those who were persecuted for the Gospel's sake...she pleaded for Richard Harman, who had been expelled from the house of the English merchants at Antwerp in 1528, 'but only for that, that he both with his good works and policy, to his great hurt and hinderance in this world, help to the setting forth of the New Testament in English."[38] Taking actions like this before she had solidified her position in the court was a daring move for Anne and demonstrates her dedication to her beliefs and their cause. Having the New Testament available in English was very important to Anne, and by keeping men such as Richard Harriman out of prison (or worse, saving them from life sentences)

[37]Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, 221.

[38]Ibid., 128.

she allowed for the spread of Protestant literature and ideas. The spread of these ideas went from the common merchants of London all the way into the heart of the Tudor court. The presence of these ideas at court was noted by the Catholic Spanish ambassador, and "the Imperial ambassador was to state that the Boleyns were the 'principal instruments' of rescuing 'heretics' from prison and that Anne was the 'the principal cause of the spread of Lutheranism in this country', which made her the enemy of the Catholic Church."[39] The Spanish Ambassador's account provides first hand evidence of how Anne Boleyn's actions were perceived by Catholics in court, and shows the growing animosity between the Catholics and evangelicals at the time. The Ambassador also attributes the influx of Protestant ideas to Anne's intervention in "rescuing heretics from prison." Her drive and dedication to her Protestant cause had made her and the King enemies of the Catholic Church. In combination with his pursuit of divorce, the King would eventually be excommunicated. The King's excommunication came from his refusal to accept the Pope's ruling that he was in fact married to Katherine of Aragon and was not free to marry Anne Boleyn. After the Pope delivered his ruling, Henry VIII turned to the Anglican thinking that the Pope had no authority in England, and that as King he was the Head of the Church. Ultimately, the Bible was the supreme authority on doctrine, and it did not matter how the Pope chose to interpret its passages.[40]

As shown by Denny, "Anne now took the opportunity of her growing influence to save some of the evangelical network from arrest, torture, and even death. She influenced the King to write to Wolsey on behalf of another victim of the heresy laws, the Prior of Reading, who had

[39]Denny, *Anne Boleyn*, 127.

[40]Anglican Consultative Council "Doctrine." Anglican Communion Office, 2016. http://www.anglicancommunion.org/identity/doctrine.aspx

been seized with Forman for possessing Lutheran books."[41] It would appear that the most common way that these men were being caught was from smuggling Lutheran or Protestant literature into London. Anne not only intervened because she hoped for the ideas to spread, but also because she had personal interested in being able to attain these books. Also, as previously mentioned, she had kept contact with these underground groups after she had returned to England from France. Her intervention helped keep these ideas alive, and helped to convert many followers, who were eager and supportive of religious reform in the country.

Chapter Four: A Powerless Woman

Introduction

While this paper has argued that Anne Boleyn acquired her Protestant beliefs in several stages throughout her life, and that she played an influential role in the Anglican Reformation, some scholars assert opposing and alternative theses. These opposing theses center around the idea that instead of being a religiously convicted woman, Anne Boleyn was an educated but vain woman, seeking personal and familial power and glory. In addition, they assert that she played little or no role in the Anglican Reformation other than being an attractive, sharp witted woman, whose promise of fertility tore Henry VIII away from his first wife Katherine of Aragon. They argue that instead of being religiously pious, Anne Boleyn held no genuine religious convictions, and sought to marry the King to achieve power for herself and her family. Her pretty face and youth were all that she contributed to English history, and the divorce of Henry VIII and the subsequent Reformation were brought about due to other factors, such as the need for a national religion and the work of men within the King's court.

[41]Denny, *Anne Boleyn*, 127.

Catherine Fletcher's thesis in *The Divorce of Henry VIII: The Inside Story From Inside the Vatican* is that while there is more to the story, it comes from inside the Vatican, and how the English ambassador in the Vatican tried to fulfill his King's wish. However, she does state that"Henry and Catherine have no sons, and Henry comes to believe that this is God's punishment for marrying his brother's widow. Henry falls in love with Anne Boleyn. Henry declares himself head of the Church of England, breaks with Rome and marries Anne."[42] Fletcher asserts that Anne Boleyn played no meaningful role in the Anglican Reformation, and that it was not her religious piety that propelled her forward, but simply her attractiveness at the time when the King was struggling with the idea of not having male issue. From her standpoint, Fletcher believes that Anne Boleyn was replaceable, and that the real work of the Anglican Reformation came from the King and Gregorio Casali, the King's ambassador to the Vatican.[43]Anne Boleyn is described as a power seeking woman, focused only on the crown and glory. She writes that "in the aftermath of Wolsey's fall, Anne Boleyn and her family were cementing their ascendancy at court. On December 8, 1529, her father Thomas was created Earl of Wiltshire."[44]Anne Boleyn is not given any significance, and instead Fletcher focuses on the ambassador, who she claims is a true center of the Anglican Reformation. Gregorio Casali was, as she describes, "A man who was not himself great, but who knew the great men of history. And a man who found himself, quite unexpectedly, and the heart of the king's 'great matter.'"[45] She documents the trials and difficulties that Casali faced in the Vatican trying to achieve papal dispensations for the King, and asserts as fact that in the Reformation, Anne Boleyn had little to

[42]Fletcher, Catherine. *The Divorce of Henry VIII: The Inside Story From Inside the Vatican*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012) i.

[43]Ibid., xiii.

[44]Ibid., 110.

[45]Ibid., xiv.

no influence because"it was a matter for diplomatic horse-trading, open to negotiation. King, queen, Pope and emperor could surely cut a deal."[46] When it came to the Reformation and its cause and development, Anne Boleyn merely sat on the sidelines waiting for her elevation into royalty.

Thomas Maynard also argues that while there were multiple influences for the Anglican Reformation, he does not count Anne Boleyn one of them in his book *Crown and the Cross*. He attributes the Anglican Reformation to several factors, the most important of which was the person of Thomas Cromwell. He asserts that "The occasion of Luther's quarrel with the papacy did not touch England at all."[47] Instead of these ideas affecting England, and of Anne Boleyn carrying these ideas over from France, he attributes the Anglican Reformation to several other causes. One of these factors was poor leadership within the Catholic Church. He argues that they were more worldly than they should have been, and that instead of recognizing the need for change within the institution, they instead helped raise a storm against Catholicism.[48] Another claim Maynard makes is "one of these factors was an increasing national consciousness, something that tended to grow with the fancied discovery of a need for a national religion. Inevitably this made for an enormous augmentation of the authority of the prince as the visible embodiment of the nation."[49]

As an additional opposing viewpoint, Maynard asserts that instead of Anne showing Henry religious documentation and discussing these new ideas both on divorce and other evangelical topics, the King played a small role in his own divorce, and designated others to find

[46]Ibid., 12.

[47]Thomas Maynard, *Crown and the Cross* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1950) 4.

[48]Maynard, *Crown and the Cross*, 4.

[49]Ibid., 4.

him a way out of his marriage. "Henry was a man who originated very little. Quick and clever as his mind was, it operated on the surface of things. Having let it be known what he wanted- at this time and for some years to come it was freedom to marry Anne Boleyn- he looked to others to find the means for bringing this about."[50] Thus, Maynard dismisses the idea that it may have been Anne herself who helped to find a way to bring this about, and instead places the achievement of the Reformation on the shoulders of men like Thomas Cromwell.

G. W. Bernard, in his article "The Making of Religious Policy 1533-1546" argues against the fact that Henry VIII was influenced by Anne Boleyn and other evangelicals she promoted into positions of power. "Argument is that Henry VIII was the principal architect of religious policy, that Henry was not the plaything of factions, and that religious policy did not fluctuate between reform and reaction, depending on who was most able to manipulate the King at any time."[51] Bernard argues that Henry VIII forged his own path in deciding to break from the Roman papacy, , and that he did not act in accordance with the wishes of others, but instead fulfilled his own wishes and desires. Bernard cites many different occasions in which the King wrote discussions in his own hand, and annotated different religious texts. "A draft preface for the Bishop's Book described the King 'Ioynyng hymself with them in the mature and deliberate aduise debatement and perfytt examynacion' of these matters, and causing the reinstatement of four sacraments not elaborated in the Ten Articles."[52] This suggests that the King took great interest in religious studies, and supports the idea that he implemented reform in England due to his own religious beliefs, and not because of the prompting of Anne Boleyn or other evangelicals like Thomas Cromwell. The King himself would have also been a proponent of divine

[50]Ibid., 60.

[51]Bernard, G. W. "The Making of Religious Policy, 1533-1546: Henry VIII and the Search for the Middle Way." *The Historical Journal*41, no. 2 (1998): 321-49

[52]Ibid., 322.

supremacy, as well as secular rule. "Henry was consistently and fundamentally hostile to the papacy and firmly defended his royal supremacy, 'the central and continuing preoccupation of the Henrician Reformation.'"[53] Bernard asserts that Henry VIII was responsible for his own Reformation, and that the ideas that brought about the reformation were not the ideas of Anne Boleyn at all.

Bernard argues that Henry VIII's reformation was based on his ideas alone, since there is no indication that he fully adopted Protestant beliefs, and he did hang on to some very Catholic ideas. Among these are the idea that at the Mass, the consecrated host and wine become in fact the true body and blood of Christ, whereas some Protestants such as Huldrych Zwingli believed that these are just symbols, representing the body and blood. Other Protestants, such as Martin Luther, support the theology of consubstantiation, that the bread and wine coexist with the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist. Henry, in opposition to this, believed in the Catholic idea of transubstantiation, in which the bread and wine are transformed entirely into Christ's body and blood. In March of 1535, when the separation from Rome was already beginning, the King denounced those who denied that the Eucharist truly was the body of Christ. In addition, the King never accepted some of the firm Protestant beliefs floating around his court: "above all he always rejected the Lutheran theology of justification by faith alone,"[54] asserting the theory that Henry VIII broke from Rome solely because he did not belief in papal authority over him and his kingdom. The idea that Henry VIII pushed forward his own religious reform, and that he clung to some Catholic tradition, in his view proves that the Anglican Reform was brought about solely by the King, and that he was not influenced by outsiders like Anne Boleyn.

[53]Ibid., 323.

[54]Ibid., 326.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

The English Anglican Reformation of the reign of Henry VIII has undergone many changes since its creation in the 1530's. However, this movement has significantly impacted the history of the western world. Without the Anglican Reformation the history between England and France, Ireland, Spain and America would have been unrecognizably different. This Reformation can attribute some of its success and creation to the influence of Anne Boleyn. Throughout her life Anne Boleyn was exposed to various religious ideas, and her subsequent adoption of these ideas led to her influence on Henry VIII as he split from the Roman Catholic Church. It is possible that without her the Anglican Church may not have existed, or would have come about later, or would have had very different fundamental beliefs. Henry's divorce from Katherine of Aragon was only one driving factor behind this religious schism, and while Anne Boleyn was a significant factor in that decision, she also exposed the King to the different religious ideas of the time, beginning Martin Luther and the Protestant Reformation. This, and the Anglican Reformation, rocked Europe and played an influential role in Western history.

Did Anne Boleyn have strong Protestant convictions? Did she play an influential role in Henry VIII's Anglican Reformation? It is the central argument of this essay that over time Anne Boleyn developed strong Protestant convictions through several stages, and played an influential role in the development of the Anglican Reformation. These include her youth spent in continental Europe and arrival in England,when she was exposed to her father and brother's evangelical beliefs. Her interest in religious continued as she served Katherine of Aragon, and she did not abandon her interest in religious literature and practices after she became Queen of England. Throughout all of this she shared these ideas and writings with King Henry VIII. She also helped to fill his court with those who had similar beliefs, and elevated Protestant thinkers to

positions of clerical and secular power. During her courtship with the King she helped to find Biblical evidence supporting his divorce from Katherine of Aragon, claiming she was without issue because God cursed the marriage of the King to his dead brother's widow. In addition, she helped Protestant ideas spread throughout England by intervening when evangelicals were being prosecuted, allowing them to remain free and continue spreading these heretical works.

Anne Boleyn developed her Protestant beliefs throughout her life, and never lost her interest and passion for religious studies. Starting in Austria, and continuing in France and England, Anne used her gift of languages to read several religious document in their vernacular, and became accustomed to the belief that vernacular adaptations of the Bible should be available everywhere so that the average person may interpret the words as they desired, without blindly accepting a translation from a priest or bishop. She accepted the belief that the relationship to God was between God and the individual, as shown by multiple authors. Susan Brigden discusses how Anne Boleyn took these beliefs, and how she believed that it was her personal mission from God to help bring the Reformation to the people of England. Spurred on by this notion, she did what she could to help promote Protestant ideas in London, gaining the ear of the King so that she may try to expose him to these ideas. In addition, she helped find evidence supporting the King's divorce, so that she might gain a position of power for herself, as well as oversee the spread of evangelical beliefs throughout the country. Anne Boleyn, King Henry VIII's second wife, was more than a pretty face the King was drawn to in his search and desire for a male heir. Her life had given her the education and beliefs that moved her to be a major influence in the creation of the Anglican Reformation.

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Ping Pong Diplomacy: Impacts on Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and China

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Glenn Cowan and Zhuang Zedong shake hands in the US in April 1972, commemorating the one-year anniversary of the beginning of Ping Pong Diplomacy. CREDIT: NPR

Introduction

In April of 1971 at the 31st World Table Tennis Championships in Japan, Ping-Pong Diplomacy began with an accidental meeting between the American ping-pong player, Glenn Cowan, and the Chinese ping-pong world champion, Zhuang Zedong. This prompted an invitation to visit China from the People's Republic of China (PRC) to the United States table tennis team. The US team spent eight days in the country playing ping-pong, touring attractions like the Great Wall and the Summer Palace, and watching a ballet. However, the event was more than just a tourist visit; a United States delegation had not been to China since 1949, when the

communist PRC took power.[1] It represented the beginning of a thaw in Sino-American relations, leading to Henry Kissinger and Richard Nixon's visits to China in the following year and the Shanghai Communiqué of 1972. This paper will show that the event of the Ping Pong Diplomacy was critical to ameliorating Sino-American relations because it re-established communication between the two countries, demonstrating to Chinese and American political leadership, as well as their general publics, that both sides were willing to make a change. It was an exploration into what relations could be, and made the Nixon administration's steps towards détente possible.

What prompted this reconciliation beyond Cowan and Zhuang's chance interaction were several stalemates on domestic and international levels, as well as economic interests. The Cultural Revolution in China had lost much of its momentum by 1971, and the Sino-Soviet split in the 1960s gave the US and China a shared adversary, though the US was still wary of China and vice versa. The US maintained its Cold War ideology against communism and was also concerned with China's potential to rise in economic stature, which could put them in a position to threaten the US. In this way the Triangular Relationship between the Soviets, the US, and China had come to a head. These factors lead to the April 1971 Ping Pong Diplomacy. This paper will also make evident that the event did not indicate a shift in ideology, but rather laid the foundations for a relationship of opportunity and mutual gains between the United States and China.

Ping Pong Diplomacy became representative of the changing relations between the two countries and how diplomacy would be conducted into the future. The way the US and China dealt with each other changed from non-communication to normalized diplomatic interaction and "constructive engagement." In relation to the Ping Pong Diplomacy, Zhou Enlai, the Premier of

[1] Kissinger, Henry. *On China*. New York: The Penguin Press, 2011. 235.

China said, "friendship first, competition second."[2] This became the unofficial slogan for the event as a whole, repeated by players from both sides, and it came to represent what the United States and China's relationship would become. The two were able to separate their opinions about each other from foreign policy and do what was in the best interests of both countries.

US-Sino-Soviet Relations, 1950 - 1971

The policy of non-communication became the status quo during the Cold War, with major countries confronting each other indirectly through proxy wars, like in Korea and Vietnam, rather than head on. However, all of this changed for the US and China with Ping Pong Diplomacy, where the dynamics of diplomatic relations experienced a shift to more face-to-face interaction. This amelioration in Sino-US relations, however, seems odd when considering the countries' attitudes towards each other in the middle of the 20th century.

Before the Ping Pong Diplomacy event in 1971, there had not been an American delegation that visited China since 1949. In fact, in 1950 the United States cut all diplomatic ties with the country. In the years before this break in relations, the United States had supported the Chinese Nationalist Party (the GMD) in the Chinese Civil War, however they lost to the Communist Party (CCP) and fled mainland China for Taiwan. In 1949, the Chairman of the PRC, Mao Zedong, made a speech stating that in the Cold War there could be no middle ground and countries had to pick what side they would belong to, East or West. This was the beginning of the solidification of the US' and China's positions on opposite sides of the Cold War.[3]

[2] Zedong, Zhuang. "Interview." At the USC US-China Institute, Los Angeles, CA. September, 2007.

[3] Wang, Chi. *The United States and China Since World War II: A Brief History*. NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc, 2013. 18-27.

The year 1950 was significant for this relationship in more ways than just the breaking of diplomatic ties. In the United States the "Red Scare," a fear of communist subversion in American society and politics, was reaching a peak. Senator Joseph McCarthy was a driving force of this scare. He stated that he had a list of 205 communist sympathizers in the US who were influencing policy decisions. Many of those he singled out had been critics of the Chinese Nationalist Party in the past.[4] Though the accusations were largely unfounded, they helped add to the hysteria, overreactions, and misunderstandings surrounding communism at the time.

While the United States was cutting ties with China in 1950, the latter was building a connection with the Soviet Union. The Chinese made a friendship pact with the Soviets promising to come to the aid of the other should either be attacked by Japan or one of Japan's allies. The treaty gave China a greater sense of security on its northern borders, allowing Mao and the CCP to focus on domestic challenges. The Soviets recognized the validity of Chinese communism and as a result of this alliance the countries participated in a wide array of exchanges in technology and education.[5] This partnership further alienated the Chinese from Americans as the Soviets and the United States were entrenched on opposite sides of the Cold War.

The other major important event in 1950 that brought the Soviets and Chinese closer while estranging the US was the outbreak of the Korean War in June. Stalin and Mao were reported to have met in 1949 along with the leader of North Korea, Kim Il Sung, to plan an invasion of South Korea from North Korea. This was done in the name of communism. These leaders believed that their main way to combat imperialism was to support and encourage the expansion of smaller communist countries. The UN, headed by the United States, came to the aid

[4] Wang. *The United States and China Since World War II.* NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc, 2013. 33.

[5] Wang. *The United States and China Since World War II.* NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc, 2013. 33.

of South Korea after North Korea began its advance towards Seoul. The Chinese were brought into the war after the UN forces pushed North Korean forces back across the 38th parallel out of South Korea. The Soviets were pleased to have help from the Chinese in securing and defending North Korea. This alliance reinforced US fears of the threat of international communism.[6] Eventually a stalemate was reached in Korea. By the armistice in July of 1953, the Chinese had suffered about 1.5 million casualties and the US had lost close to 60,000 troops, not to mention the nearly four million Korean troops and civilians who had been killed over the three years. This was a devastating war for both the US and China.[7]

In attempts to undermine Chinese security and the well-being that came from the Sino-Soviet relationship the US implemented an embargo of China, de-neutralized the Taiwan Strait, and signed the Taiwan-American Mutual Defense Treaty. The issue over Taiwan remained an incredibly influential factor in determining the course of Sino-American relations even after détente began in 1971. This has to do with the island's history as a pawn for relations between the US and China. Ever since the Chinese Nationalists fled to Taiwan in 1949 because of their loss to the Chinese Communist Party, Mao and his government had wanted to get the territory back under their control. There had even been plans between the North Koreans and Communist China to invade Taiwan until the Korean War necessitated the use of the troops elsewhere. In a Cold War point of view, the Nationalist Leader, Chiang Kai-Shek, was a major ally for the United States in resisting the spread of communism. With the backdrop of the Korean War in 1950, the US government saw Taiwan as a way to hit back at China.

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[6] Chang, Gordon H. *Friends and Enemies: The United States, China, and the Soviet Union, 1948- 1972*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990. 76.

[7] Wang. *The United States and China Since World War II*. NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc, 2013. 38.

Beginning in 1950, the United States funded and trained the Taiwanese army. What is more, President Eisenhower de-neutralized the Taiwan Strait in 1953 and said the US forces were only there to protect Taiwan from mainland China, not the other way around. Eisenhower saw no need to protect a country that was fighting against the US in Korea. This also meant that if Chiang Kai-Shek wished, he would be able to invade China. Finally in 1954, Taiwan and the US signed a Mutual Defense Treaty that did everything short of obligating the US to help Taiwan should China choose to attack. It said that the countries would work together to resist communist plots to undermine their political stability and that they would also help each other in advancing their economies. Whether or not Eisenhower actually thought anything would come to pass between China and Taiwan, these actions certainly would have made mainland China worry about its flanks.[8]

The Korean War was not the only military conflict in which the United States and China would come head-to-head. Soon after the Korean War's end, the Vietnam War began with the French fighting against Vietnamese leader Ho Chi Minh. The United States sent hundreds of millions of dollars to help the French in their efforts to stop the spread of communism in Asia. The Geneva Conference was held in 1954 in an attempt to resolve the conflicts in the French-Vietnam war. But the US refused to participate in the agreements made during the Geneva Conference, which expelled France from Vietnam and temporarily divided the county into North and South Vietnam, decisions that China and the Soviet Union participated in.[9]

Both countries had very definite opinions of each other, which is apparent in the rhetoric of both Mao Zedong and Richard Nixon. In a speech during his 1960 presidential campaign, Nixon stated that the major threat from communist powers was their penchant for military

[8] Wang. *The United States and China Since World War II.* NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc, 2013. 39-44.

[9] Wang. *The United States and China Since World War II*. NY: M.E. Sharpe, Inc, 2013. 42.

aggression to spread their ideals, threatening the "peace and freedom" of free people all over the world. He says that in order to combat the communist bloc, the United States must maintain the military and economic upper hand.[10] Mao returned the sentiment in 1964 in a speech focusing on American interests in the Congo. He denounced American interventions around the world, from Latin America to West Germany to Indochina, saying they the US had overstepped its bounds. "People of the world," he states, "unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs! People of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed."[11] Both were calling for active military confrontation to combat the other's spread of power.

So how could these two seemingly natural adversaries who had such irreconcilable ideological differences manage to come together in an act of friendship in 1971 with the Ping Pong Diplomacy? To answer this question, it is necessary to look at the triangular relationship that emerged between the three major powers: the United States, China, and the Soviet Union. As mentioned previously, the Chinese and the Soviets had built a relationship in the 50s, but it was not destined to be long-lasting. By 1959, Mao had become disillusioned with the Soviet's revisionist policies and early attempts at rapprochement with the United States under Nikita Khrushchev.[12] He also began to believe that the Soviet alliance was no longer necessary to protect Chinese security or economic interests. This position was further exacerbated in the Second Vietnam War (1964 – 1975) as the two countries had very differing opinions militarily for what to do in the country. China had been a strong supporter of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) since 1949, but the Soviets were very hesitant to show any interest in the

[10] Richard Nixon. "Meaning of Communism to Americans." 1960 Presidential Election Campaign Speech. August 21, 1960.

[11] Mao Zedong, "American Imperialism Is Closely Surrounded By The Peoples Of The World," 28 Nov. 1964.

[12] Luthi. *Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World* (Princeton University Press, 2010), 114 – 116.

conflict even when the US became involved after the Gulf of Tonkin Incident.[13] Though the Soviets did eventually show some support for the DRV, their initial hesitancy made the Chinese government lose trust in Soviet motives. In 1964 an indictment against Moscow was released called "On Khrushchev's Phony Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World," many believe it was directly written by Mao. The essay criticized everything from problems in Soviet domestic life, to its apparent need for and acceptance of US imperialism. It said all these factors were proof that the USSR had turned away from communism to capitalism and imperialism.[14]

Mao started the Chinese Cultural Revolution in 1966 in an attempt to regain political power and bring China to its full communist potential by actively ridding Chinese society of the "four olds: old habits, old ideology, old customs, and old culture." Mao had little faith in China's ability to gradually achieve ideal communism and so decided to expedite the process with revolution.[15] Another motivation for Mao to start the Revolution was to prevent the sort of revisionism he saw in the USSR under Khrushchev from happening in China.[16] If there were any remaining ties to the Soviet Union they were severed with this decision. Mao called to adolescents and young adults to form the Red Guard to bring about Maoist communist ideals in China.[17] But by 1967, the revolution had backfired with various factions of the Red Guards and other non-student revolutionaries running rampant and terrorizing the Chinese population. In an effort to stop this, Mao banished all the Red Guards to the countryside in 1968. Mao now had a problem on his hands, his revolution had failed and China was left traumatized by the violence and fears of the past few years. Mao's own health was also deteriorating by the early 1970s.

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[13] Ibid. 302-303.

[14] Mao Zedong, "On Khrushchev's Phony Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World," Jul. 1964.

[15] Richard Baum, *The Fall and Rise of China* (Virginia: The Great Courses, 2010), 85.

[16] Chang, *Friends and Enemies: The US, China, and the USSR, 1948-1972* (Stanford University Press, 1990), 276.

[17] Baum, *China*, 81-88.

Faced with the possibility of having an enemy in both the United States and Soviet Russia, he and the Chinese Premier, Zhou Enlai, chose the lesser of two evils, the United States, which had recently indicated that it was open to considering a normalization of relations.[18] By the end of the 1960s, the Sino-Soviet split was irreversible and China was in need of foreign support, so suddenly, the US and China found their positions more aligned than they had been for several decades.

On March 15, 1971, before anyone (or at least anyone in the public) was aware of China's invitation to the US Table Tennis team, Nixon ended the travel restriction to China that required US citizens to obtain specially validated passports to go to China. In retrospect this could indicate that there had been conversations between the governments about having the US ping-pong team visit China, because the timing seems all too auspicious. But at the time, a spokesperson for the Nixon administration stated that it was simply to "create broader opportunities for contacts between the Chinese and American peoples."[19] Exactly one month after this announcement, the US team would be five days into their trip to China.

1971 Ping Pong Diplomacy

By 1971, the stage had been set for a new approach to Sino-American diplomatic relations. The event of Ping Pong Diplomacy itself has an interesting narrative. The 31st World Ping Pong Championships were held that year in Japan. Both the Chinese and American teams were in attendance and by happenstance there was an interaction between two players, one from each team, which made the event particularly poignant and set the wheels of Ping Pong

[18] Chang. *Friends and Enemies: The US, China, and the USSR, 1948-1972*. Stanford University Press, 1990. 277.

[19] Kwan, Ha Yim, ed., Manhattanville College Department of Political Science. *China & the U.S. 1964-72*. New York, NY: Facts On File, Inc., 1975. 217.

Diplomacy in motion. This was the meeting between the 19-year-old American, Glenn Cowan, and the 30-year-old Chinese table tennis world champion, Zhuang Zedong.

Though some of the details of the meeting have been muddled in the retellings of the story, there is a generally accepted narrative for what happened. One evening, Glenn Cowan had stayed late at the practice arena and missed his bus back to the hotel with the American team. When he went outside he saw another team's bus was about to leave and he got on and sat in a front seat to catch a ride back with them. This happened to be the Chinese bus and everyone onboard was immediately at a loss for what to do. Later in a 2007 interview Zhuang recalled the thoughts running through his mind as he stared at Cowan's head from the back of the bus. He said that for as long as he could remember, his government had taught him that America was China's greatest enemy. In previous trips to foreign countries with his team he had repeatedly been told that he could shake hands, exchange gifts, and interact with people from any nationality except the United States and that if they broke this rule they would immediately be sent back to China. Zhuang knew that many people were being arrested during the ongoing Cultural Revolution in China for simply contacting foreigners.[20] In short, Zhuang and his team members were frozen in uncertainty with these anti-American ideas they had always taken for granted racing through their minds.

But Zhuang also recognized the changing tides in Sino-American politics and the overtures towards friendship and acceptance that were emerging on both sides. In the previous year, Mao had met and interviewed with an American writer, Edgar Snow (an early biographer of Mao who had an interest in communism), and mentioned that he was open to reevaluating

[20] Zhuang Zedong, "Interview," USC US-China Institute, Los Angeles, CA, September, 2007.

China's position on the US.[21] Mao had also recently stated that there was a difference between the American policy maker and the average US citizen. Finally, he remembered the words that had been told to him and his teammates before the World Championships by Zhou Enlai, the Premier of the People's Republic of China at the time, "friendship first, competition second." In Zhuang's own words, "it is easy to develop friendship with countries that [we] have good relations with, but we should be nice to countries that are our adversaries, that is the key point."[22] Realizing his position as the World Champion and the senior member of his team and the responsibilities that afforded him, he decided to act despite his fears and extend a greeting to the young American.

He got up from his seat and brought an interpreter with him to greet Cowan and present him with a gift of an artfully painted silkscreen (it was common for the Chinese team to have gifts on hand). The moment he said hello he knew he had done the right thing. In his interview 36 years later, he laughs remembering how Cowan's face lit up with joy and relief. Cowan searched through his own bag for a gift but could not find anything appropriate to give to Zhuang (the next day he gave Zhuang a red, white, and blue t-shirt with the famous words "Let It Be" on the front)[23]. The two continued to exchange pleasantries and soon after the interaction quietly ended.[24]

This contact between Zhuang and Cowan became symbolic of everything that Ping Pong Diplomacy would come to stand for. Before Glenn got on the bus, both sides were content within their separate spheres. But when he sat down in the front seat, their spheres overlapped, just like

[21] Ha Yim Kwan, ed. *China & the U.S. 1964-72* (New York, NY: Facts On File, Inc., 1975), 62, 222.

[22] Zhuang, "Interview," 2007.

[23] Team USA, "From Ping Pong Diplomacy to the Beijing Games," last modified June 12, 2008.

[24] Zhuang, "Interview," 2007.

how the United States and China suddenly found their positions aligned at the end of the 1960s. They were then faced with a decision, they could continue their policies of non-communication, or instead they could reach out to each other. In doing the latter, Zhuang and Cowan showed that despite their differences, they could interact peacefully and have both sides come out on the other end richer for the experience.

Zhou Enlai was responsible for a large amount of Chinese foreign policy during his time in power. After word of Cowan and Zhuang's meeting reached Mao Zedong and himself, he decided to invite the US Ping Pong team to China from the World Championships along with a few other teams (Canada, Colombia, England, and Nigeria), with the permission of Mao.[25] The teams got the opportunity to tour around a country that was notoriously closed off and isolationist.

Tim Boggan, a member of the US team that visited China, recalled the event in an interview with NPR in 2001. He says that the members of the team and their staff were incredibly apprehensive going into the trip. One woman was worried because she was very involved in her church, but she had heard that communists were atheists and she did not know what it would mean if they found out she was religious. Another person, according to Boggan, literally worried herself sick and contracted shingles from the nerves. The players had no idea what to expect going in. Arriving in the country did little to assuage their worries, as they saw no cars despite the fact that it was a large city and when they got out at the station they were greeted by a crowd of clapping people and a three story high picture of Mao. The word Boggan used to describe their arrival was "disorienting." Things started looking up for the Americans very quickly however, and many of their fears were assuaged. Boggan remembers the moment when

[25] Baum, "Nixon, Kissinger, and China, 1969 – 1972," in *The Fall and Rise of China,* 2010, 96-98.

they started to feel more comfortable as when they played some matches against the Chinese Ping Pong team. The Chinese team was far superior to the Americans in skill, with the World Champion Zhuang Zedong on their team. But during the matches the Chinese went easy on the Americans, only winning by three, "though," Boggan remembers, "they easily could have skunked us."[26]

Though the Chinese had been hosting the Americans and playing ping-pong matches with them, there were not any more unscripted, one-on-one encounters like Cowan and Zhuang's at the World Championships. Boggan commented on how choreographed their interactions had been in his description of the ping-pong matches. They took place in an arena that could seat 18,000. For spectators, the Chinese filled the stadium with soldiers who were told when and how much to clap by flashing lights. No part of the event was left to chance; even setting up the barriers around the courts was done with a dance.[27] These actions, which stood out to the US visitors, were common for the Cultural Revolution. This emphasizes the fact that the Sino-American relationship was being built into the narrative of the Cultural Revolution. Nonetheless, the event was progressing along nicely and everyone could pack up and go home recognizant of the fact that they had achieved something important.

At a reception ceremony for the Americans on April 14th about halfway through the visit, Zhou stated, "Your visit to China on invitation has opened the door to friendly contacts between the people of the two countries." In response as an act of reciprocity and goodwill for the opening of China, Nixon announced on the same day his plan to end the United States' trade embargo on China. A few days later, China also announced it would relax its own trade embargo

[26] Tim Boggan, "Interview," National Public Radio, Washington, D.C., 2001.

[27] Ibid.

on the US.[28] Both sides, showing that they were serious about changing their relationship and that the Ping-Pong Diplomacy was not a fluke, were hopeful and making promises.

When asked in 2001 if the players knew the significance at the time of the event, Tim Boggan answered that over the course of the visit they were very aware of the symbolic position they were in. When the Chinese would come visit the US in 1972, the feeling would be more of camaraderie, but this first visit was loaded with the larger implications of their presence in China. He added that of course the Chinese had been more than welcoming, and closes with the familiar line "friendship first, competition second."[29]

Ensuing Developments

However, as diplomatic relations opened up between China and the US, the shift was only representative of a change in diplomatic interaction, not a change in ideologies regarding each other. China maintained its view of the United States as evil imperialists and the US remained distrustful of communism. A speech made by Nixon in 1971 after the Ping Pong Diplomacy but before the Shanghai Communiqué, which clearly defined Sino-American diplomatic goals, further illuminates why the US was willing to change its relationship with China. In it he stated that the balance of power in the world was shifting to be run by five major powers: Western Europe, the Soviet Union, Japan, the US, and China. He also acknowledged the potential for economic growth in China's working class.[30] In short, China would only continue to grow as a threat to the United States in the future.

[28] Wang, *The United States and China Since World War II*, (New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc, 2013), 75.

[29] Boggan, "Interview," NPR

[30] Richard Nixon, "Domestic Policy Briefing," Kansas City, Missouri, 6 Jul 1971.

These sentiments are not all that different from Nixon's 1960 presidential campaign speech on communism, however his response to the rising threat of China's economy is very different. Instead of calling for combative measures to keep China down, he calls for further normalization of their relationship, bringing mainland China out of isolation into the international community. Finally he mentioned that the interactions made so far (referring to Ping Pong Diplomacy), "opened the door for travel, [and] opened the door for trade."[31] Nixon was clearly not endorsing communism in any way here and his position against it was still firm, but he simply had realized that the better economic choice is cooperation rather than confrontation.

It is evident that Ping Pong Diplomacy was important in both countries by observing the media coverage on both sides of the event. Both the *Peking Review* in China and the *New York Times* in the US gave multiple reports as the event unfolded, and continued to publish articles on Ping Pong Diplomacy in the following years. That being said, at the beginning both sides were very careful not to pass any judgment on the events that transpired, giving only timelines. They were hesitant to acknowledge that Ping Pong Diplomacy would have long lasting implications. The *Peking Review*, for example, was careful to always mention all five foreign teams that were invited to China in alphabetical order, and gave no country, including the US, preferential treatment.[32] Conversely, the *New York Times* makes no mention at all of the presence of Canada, Colombia, Great Britain, and Nigeria in China in their early articles.[33] And they also only stick to the facts and do not delve into the symbolic meanings just yet. As Nixon said a few days after the

[31] Ibid.

[32] "Canadian, Colombian & US Delegations Arrive in Peking," in *Peking Review*, Vol. 14, No. 16, 16 Apr. 1971.

[33] Anonymous, "Ping-Pong Diplomacy," *The New York Times*, 10 Apr 1971.

American players returned home, "What we have done is broken the ice. Now we have to test the water to see how deep it is."[34]

Two independent narratives came out of China after Ping Pong Diplomacy, both of which were represented in Chinese news sources. One stated that the United States and China were on their way to building a stronger friendship, and the other stressed how horrible American interventionist policy was. On April 23, 1971, the *Peking Review* published its third report on the five table tennis delegations visiting China. A quote from Zhou Enlai was included saying, "[the United States'] visit to China on invitation has opened the door to friendly contacts between the people of the two countries. We believe that such friendly contacts will be favored and supported by the majority of the two peoples."[35] The fact that this statement was published shows that China was sincere in its attempts at friendship with the US; the country would not be broadcasting these sentiments to their public if they did not believe it. However, in that very same issue of the *Peking Review* there were articles on the American war of aggression in Vietnam led by the "US imperialist chieftain, Nixon" and American imperialism in Africa.[36] This dichotomy was repeated over and over again in the *Peking Review*'s articles in the month following the US visit to China.

The United States also expressed somewhat conflicting narratives towards China. Most of the articles printed by the *New York Times* about the Ping Pong event had very little analysis, choosing simply to state the order of events. These were peppered with a few pieces written by people in the US table tennis delegation that largely focused on topics like shopping in Shanghai

[34] Ha Yim Kwan, ed. *China & the U.S. 1964-72* (New York: Facts On File, Inc., 1975), 220.

[35] "Premier Chou Meets Table Tennis Delegations of Canada, Columbia, England, Nigeria and United States," in *The Peking Revi*ew Volume 14, No. 17. 23 Apr. 1971.

[36] *The Peking Revi*ew, Volume 14, No. 17, 23 Apr 1971.

or the impressive displays of discipline from the Chinese army.[37] But there were also some pieces that discuss the more diplomatic aspects. An article in the *New York Times* said that Americans should stop pursuing détente with "Red China" until the communists demonstrate that they can be trusted. The author contends that the Chinese were cruel and ruthless in their attacks on South Vietnam, and insists that many Americans shared his opinion.[38] Other articles were more hopeful and suggested "[the US and China] have been separated from each other much too long; renewed contacts will advance the cause of understanding between the two countries."[39] Around the same time Nixon made his 1971 speech on the growing economic potential of China's working class and the United States' need to have them as a friend, not an enemy.[40]

The overarching story that these narratives coming out of both countries tell was that both countries valued each other insofar as how much a diplomatic friendship could work to both of their benefits. But neither country portrayed it as anything other than a relationship of opportunity. Their opinions of each other and their ideologies remain unchanged. And in the end, this sort of relationship did not prove to be a problem for the two countries. There are several immediate and measurable developments that can be seen after the Ping Pong Diplomacy in 1971. These developments would not have been possible had the April Ping Pong Diplomacy not reinstated a working relationship between the two countries.

In July, the diplomatic relationship was explored in a more serious manner. In the somewhat dramatic style characteristic of US National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger, he embarked on a secret diplomatic mission to China. The only Americans who knew about the visit

[37] Boggan, "US Team Is Returning Home With Mixed Impressions of China," in *The New York Times*. April 18, 1971.

[38] Paul Chiera, "Letters to the Editor; Wrong Time for Ping-Pong," in *The New York Times*. 2 May 1972.

[39] Anonymous, "Ping-Pong Diplomacy," in *The New York Times*. 10 Apr. 1971.

[40] Nixon, "Domestic Policy Briefing," Kansas City, MO, 6 Jul 1971.

were the President, Secretary of State, and Kissinger's delegation. This would be the first US trip to Communist China with the exclusive purpose of discussing foreign policy and diplomacy. Kissinger stated that the reason the visit was kept secret was because the process of acquiring the clearances for such a mission so soon after relations had been restored would have taken too long. The American leadership could not wait for that long process to play out because they felt it was imperative not to waste the opportunity for dialogue that Ping Pong Diplomacy had created. After Kissinger and his party travelled to India and Pakistan, Kissinger feigned an illness and the group disappeared away for forty-eight hours in which they went to China.[41]

The conversations during this trip were between Zhou and Kissinger, and while the two did not focus in on any topics in particular, both showed that their countries were willing to compromise in the future to achieve mutual goals. For instance with the case of Taiwan, the US said it could acknowledge that the People's Republic of China was the only legitimate government in China (turning their backs on Taiwan) while China said that it would be able to defer a settlement on the Taiwan question until there had been more negotiation.[42] Along with the confirmation that the two countries could play nice in more situations than on a ping-pong table, this visit marked the official beginning of a new diplomatic era between the US and China. It was decided during the secret trip that both countries would announce this interaction and the subsequent invitation from Mao and China for Nixon to visit, which was accepted "with pleasure." This was simultaneously publicized from Los Angeles and Beijing on July 15, four days after the interaction.[43]

[41] Henry Kissinger, *On China* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2011), 234-235.

[42] Wang, *The United States and China Since World War II* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc, 2013), 78.

[43] Kissinger. *On China*, 255.

The most visible and important result of the relationship established by Ping Pong Diplomacy was President Nixon's February 1972 visit to China and the resulting Shanghai Communiqué. This document outlined how the US and China hoped to use and cultivate their alliance. In the beginning it has this telling statement, "There are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies. However, the two sides agreed that countries, regardless of their social systems, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, nonaggression against other states, noninterference in the internal affairs of other states, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence."[44] The US and China were announcing that they could move past old differences for a better future.

The Shanghai Communiqué had many goals but the following were some of the most significant. Most urgently, both countries wanted to reduce the potential for international military conflict and proxy wars. The wars in Korea and Vietnam had proved to be very costly to both countries. Working off that idea, both sides also wanted to end the strategy of collusion between any "major" world country and another country against a third. This included negotiating on behalf of a third party and any attempts to gain regional hegemony in the Asia-Pacific area. Essentially this means they want to turn away from the Cold War paradigm of spheres of influence, which was seen as contradictory to progress.[45] Thinking back to Mao's 1949 speech promoting spheres of influence by saying there can be no middle ground, it is obvious that the Chairman has experienced a turnaround in diplomatic beliefs.[46]

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[44] "Joint Statement Following Discussions With Leaders of the People's Republic of China – Shanghai Communiqué," *US Department of State,* 27 Feb. 1972.

[45] "Shanghai Communiqué," *US Department of State* 27 Feb. 1972.

[46] Wang, *The United States and China Since World War II (*New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc, 2013), 27.

Other things the Communiqué hoped to promote were increased contact and communication as well as bilateral trade, which came to be known as "constructive engagement." They made plans for exchanges in the fields of science, technology, sports, and journalism. For example, just after the Communiqué, a prestigious American ballet company, the City Center Joffrey Ballet, included China's most famous ballet, "the Red Detachment of Women," in their repertoire. Nixon saw this same ballet when he visited China the month before.[47] The most measurable outcome of the Communiqué was its impact on trade. In 1971, total trade between the two countries amounted to $4 million at most, but in 1972 the trade increased to $92.5 million worth of goods exchanged.[48] The positive economic and social implications of this friendship were immediately recognizable. Today, total trade between the US and China has skyrocketed to about $580 billion annually, showing that this trend has continued.[49]

The main prevailing obstruction in the way of total normalization of Sino-American relations was the conflict over Taiwan. This issue was not solved during the Shanghai Communiqué though both sides were hopeful for a peaceful outcome. The Chinese asserted that the People's Republic of China was the only one true government of China, and that since Taiwan was a province of China, it should fall under the PRC's jurisdiction. Following that logic, any attempt of Taiwan to become independent would be considered a domestic affair which foreign governments, like the US, had no right to be involved in. The Chinese wanted all US military troops to be immediately removed from Taiwan. The United States on the other hand did not contest that it was a domestic issue, but thought that immediate withdrawal would not be

[47] Clive Barnes, "The Ballet Nixon Saw in Peking," *The New York Times*. 19 Mar 1972.

[48] Wang, *The United States and China Since World War II,* 76.

[49] Office of the United States Trade Representative, "People's Republic of China," last modified Apr 2014.

the best option. They called for a slower reduction of US forces in Taiwan as tensions diminished. There was no timeline set out for how long this process could take.[50]

However, this clash of interests over Taiwan would not be the downfall of Sino-American relations. There are some less obvious impacts of Ping Pong Diplomacy that took several more years to manifest themselves. The final normalization of Sino-American relations came in 1979 when the Congress, under President Jimmy Carter, passed the Taiwan Relations Act. This was the official moment when the United States recognized the People's Republic of China, under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, as the legitimate government in China. The two countries exchanged foreign ambassadors and swore to maintain full diplomatic relations under the one condition that the future of Taiwan would be determined by peaceful means.[51]

Despite The Taiwan Relations Act, Taiwan has proved to be a magnet for disagreement since 1979. For instance, in 1995, Taiwan's president, Lee Teng-Hui, stated that Taiwan was an independent country from China. This angered the PRC enough to practice several threatening military training exercises and demonstrations in the Taiwan Strait. This then prompted the US Clinton Administration to send two aircraft carrier groups to the area.[52] The Sino-American relationship continued to be very strained up to about 2000. The Taiwan Strait military buildup left a lot of tension, and in 1999 an American military aircraft accidentally bombed a Chinese embassy in Belgrade. It looked like the whole relationship that was built on the foundations of Ping Pong Diplomacy could fall apart. But because of the "constructive engagement" that their alliance had fostered, the two countries were able to move past these issues and not give up on

[50] "Shanghai Communiqué."

[51] 96th Congress, "H.R.2479 - Taiwan Relations Act," *House - Foreign Affairs Committee* (1979–1980).

[52] Baum, *The Fall and Rise of China*, 155.

each other.[53] In 2001, after the 9/11 bombings in New York and Washington, DC, the US and China formed a policy for joint efforts in counter-terrorism. China had also been suffering from extremist attacks at that time.[54] This is an example of the sort of relationship the two countries had built from the format of Ping Pong Diplomacy. Despite some difficult differences, the two countries could step back and recognize the potential benefits of working together.

Conclusion

When Glenn Cowan accidentally got onto that Chinese tennis table team bus at the 31st World Table Tennis Championships in Japan and Zhuang Zedong chose to welcome him, they most likely did not recognize the profound implications of their interaction. But this simple exchange provided the US and China with the occasion they needed to facilitate a new alliance. Cowan and Zhuang could not have known the chain of reactions that would follow: the US Team being invited to China, a growth in communication and trade, and, eventually, normalized diplomatic relations.

It is important to recognize that this occurred in the context of the Chinese Cultural Revolution. Domestic problems inside of China with the Cultural Revolution, which had begun in 1966 under Mao, helped to facilitate the interaction between the two ping-pong teams. The revolution had reached somewhat of a stalemate after Mao Zedong sent the Red Guard to the countryside in 1968 as a way to keep them under control. The country was terribly destabilized by the violence and distrust of the revolution.[55] The People's Republic of China needed a change in policy and so was more open by the beginning of the 1970s to trying new approaches for the

[53] Ibid., 157.

[54] Shirley Kan "U.S.-China Counter-Terrorism Cooperation: Issues for U.S. Policy," *CRS Report for Congress*, 7 Dec 2004.

[55] Wang, *The United States and China Since World War II* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, Inc, 2013), 64 – 65.

betterment of their country. China officially dates the Cultural Revolution from 1966-1976, and the Ping Pong Diplomacy along with Kissinger and Nixon's visits fall comfortably into that time frame. So, the Chinese acceptance of rapprochement with the US was the final act confirming a new Cultural Revolution narrative that had emerged when Mao banished the Red Guard.

Relations between China and the US were fraught with conflict right from the installation to power of the People's Republic of China. While neither country wanted to change their opinion of the other, they recognized that forming a relationship would be to both of their benefits in the long term. They could not afford to continue to butt heads in proxy wars that cost millions of dollars and lives. Both also realized the advantages of creating close trade ties to benefit both economies. So when the Ping Pong Diplomacy began in April of 1971, the two countries used the opportunity to figure out how to communicate in a civilized and diplomatic manner. Though the initial visit to China by the US table tennis team was mostly a sign of goodwill and no actual diplomatic interactions took place between the two governments, it was what made the Sino-American détente in the following decade possible. It showed the people in both countries that they were willing to open a new chapter in history.

Ideologically, throughout the process, the two countries' opinions of each other did not really change. But in the end, the economic and diplomatic benefits of reconciliation far outweighed any dislike of the other's way of life. This was made evident in the Shanghai Communiqué and in various news articles published at the time where columns praising increased communication appeared side by side with ones condemning the other country's ideals. People were able to compartmentalize their principles and realized that they did not need to agree with everything the other country was doing in order to have a lucrative working relationship.

United States President Jimmy Carter would get a lot of the credit for reestablishing diplomatic connections with China because he was in office in 1979 when complete diplomatic normalization occurred. But the bulk of the thanks should go to the Nixon Administration and China's Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai for realizing the potential to build off of the opportunity for diplomatic friendship that Ping Pong Diplomacy created. These two governments used Ping Pong Diplomacy to their benefit to lay the groundwork for full diplomatic relations. The potential of every interaction was recognized and built upon from the beginning onwards and a direct connection can be made linking every step of the way. Zhou and Mao invited the US Team to China because of Cowan and Zhuang's meeting. Kissinger and Zhou met a few months later because of, in Kissinger's own words, "strategic imperatives that progress toward resumption of the dialogue continued." The progress he is referring to was the Ping Pong Diplomacy. In the two days of conversation between Zhou and Kissinger, it was decided that Nixon would also visit China to meet with Mao Zedong. And finally, Nixon and Mao's meeting resulted in the creation of the Shanghai Communiqué, which served as a blueprint for all the economic trade and diplomatic and societal exchanges to come after, including the 1979 return to full diplomacy. Before 1971 the two countries had virtually no interaction for several decades except through violent conflict in proxy wars like Korea and Vietnam. But in just eight short years after Glenn Cowan and Zhuang Zedong had their fortuitous bus ride conversation the United States and China were able to peacefully build a mutually beneficial relationship that has lasted up to the present.

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The Immobilization of the Roman Government in the 5th Century and Its Consequences

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As he lay dying, Septimius Severus, according to Cassius Dio, is said to have advised his sons to "Be harmonious, enrich the soldiers, and scorn all other men."[1] Even if he did not know it or intended to do so, these words would come to reflect the ethos of the office of the Augustus for some time after the death of his dynasty. Following the death of Septimius Severus, military dictators who used the state as a way to funnel money to the troops ruled Rome during the tumultuous third century. Emperors remained primarily with their armies. The reigns of Diocletian and Constantine saw some return to normalcy; their reigns saw a flurry of legislative activity aimed primarily at the bureaucracy and the people. Despite this, the office of the Augustus remained a position that was martial in nature and secluded from the common citizens it ruled. Success on the battlefield and the personal leading of troops was critical to the success and security of the Augustus. Following the division of the empire in the 4th century, this began to change in the Eastern Empire. In the Western Empire, this tradition continued on, depending on the specific Emperor, in the person of the Emperor or the barbarian generals who controlled him. In the East, however, this tradition was broken. In situations where Emperors personally commanded troops in the past, they stopped doing so in the East. The Roman central administration became effectively immobilized within the walls of Constantinople with the Emperor rarely leaving the confines of the palace. This shift in the nature of government happened through a number of mechanisms, the most influential of them being the types of

[1] Dio Cassius, *Roman History* (Cambridge, Loeb Classical Library, 1954), Vol. 9 271-273.

Emperors who were selected, the political geography of Constantinople, and the introduction of women and Christianity as significant factors in the court life of Constantinople. In the 5th century, the Eastern Roman Empire transitioned from a roving military dictatorship to an immobilized bureaucratic autocracy, and this paper will discuss how that happened and the consequences of it.

The Roman Government Before the 5th Century

In order to fully appreciate the changes that the Roman government went through in the 5th and 6th centuries, it is useful to have a clear image of what exactly it was changing from. The terms "military rule" and "civilian rule" will be referred to multiple times throughout the course of this paper. The definition for military rule is self-evident: it is the system of government in which the army rules the state. Examples of this are numerous throughout Roman history; the army of Rome was, until the 5th century, more often than not the arbiter of who wore the purple. The primary (and often only) concern of the state was paying its soldiers. Civilian rule, however, is less obviously defined when viewed in the context of Roman imperial history. At no point did an Emperor decide to demilitarize and focus his entire treasury on the welfare state or restore elections. Instead, civilian rule in this context is the state in which the non-military government apparatus is the most powerful arbiter of who wears the purple and what policies are enacted. Alongside this, civilian rule also means that there is civil control of the armies; armies are not marching on Rome every time something they do not like happens.

Following the overthrow of the Republic, the government structure changed little as Augustus strove to maintain the façade of the Republic. Elections lost all relevance to the lives of the average person, but beyond that, the relationship that the individual had with the

government changed little.[2] This period, traditionally referred to as the *Principate* due to the use of the imperial title *Princeps* (first citizen), saw emperors that were expected to be open and approachable. In Pliny the Elder's panegyric of Trajan, for example, Pliny goes so far as to state that Trajan is "one of us."[3] The Augustus was essentially the central cog in a large bureaucratic machine. Trajan and his letters with Pliny paint the image of a hands-off Emperor; Trajan stresses to Pliny to only pass on decisions of critical importance to the Emperor.[4] The Emperor during the Principate, with few exceptions, was not someone shaping the entire state and people to his will. Instead, the Emperor was the captain of a ship that had its own autonomous crew; only general policy and important decisions met his attention and his rule was for the betterment of the Roman people. The view of an Emperor ruling on behalf of the people for the betterment of Rome is also found in Tacitus's description of the governance of Tiberius, another *Principate* era Emperor.[5] Emperors were officially invested with their position via laws in this period, highlighting the bureaucratic nature of the office of Emperor by officially tying his power to legislation, not the army or some higher power. Only the law passed to bestow power on Vespasian survives, but it is reasonable to assume that this custom was maintained well beyond his death.[6] [7]

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[2] Galinsky Carl, *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005), 24-25.

[3] Pliny the Younger, *Pliny the Younger, Letters and Panegyricus,* trans. Betty Radice (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1969), Vol. 2, 359.

[4] Ibid., 309.

[5] Tacitus Cornelius, *Annals* trans. John Jackson (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1980), Vol. 4. 13,15.

[6] Mellor Ronald, *Augustus and the Creation of the Roman Empire. A Brief History With Documents* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan 2006), no.17 102-103

[7] Kaldellis Anthony, *The Byzantine Republic: People and Power in New Rome* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2015), 100

During the *Principate*, transfers of power from one Augustus to the next were primarily localized. Outside of the tumultuous Year of the Four Emperors, there were no Empire-wide civil wars that truly risked the overthrow of the regime until the fall of Pertinax in 193. Transfers of power that were not from one Emperor to his chosen successor, even if they were violent, happened in a typical "intrigue" manner; the primary players of the change were members of the court, central bureaucracy, or people close to them. Caligula was assassinated and the Praetorian Guard put in Claudius, Commodus died and the court invested Pertinax with the purple, etc. The bureaucracy and the aristocracy were the ones who dominated the process of political change. They, the powers localized in Rome, were the final arbiters of who wore the purple, not the armies in the field.

This dynamic started breaking down with the rise of the Severan Dynasty and the state's transition to an outright military dictatorship during the third century. This shift reached a climax with the establishment of what is traditionally referred to as the *Dominate* during the end of the third century. *Dominate* is the name traditionally given to this period due to the newfound prevalence of the title *Dominus,* which slaves would refer to their master as.[8] This is in stark contrast to the rule by an approachable first citizen during the *Principate.* The fact that Augustus discouraged the use of the title *Dominus* and Tiberius described it as sycophancy, while later Emperors would heavily employ it, highlights this change in attitude of government.[9]

Presaging the rise of the *Dominate* in the tumultuous third century was the rise of the field army as the primary arbiter of who held political power within the Empire. Throughout the 3rd century, Emperors were made by the army and then overthrown by another general at a fast pace. Not until Diocletian did long periods of peaceful transfers of power begin to appear again.

[8] Bowman Alan, *The Cambridge Ancient History* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000), 82.

[9] Shotter David, *Rome and Her Empire* (London, Longman 2003), 174.

The dangers of the army supporting a rival general meant that Emperors began to spend more of their time at the head of an army as opposed to sitting on the Palatine as they had in the past. This was not an entirely new development to the third century; Trajan and Marcus Aurelius both spent a good part of their adult lives at the head of armies. However, other Emperors during the *Principate*, such as Antoninus Pius and Vespasian, rarely left the environs of Rome and did not command troops while Emperor. This demonstrates the lack of perceived need to campaign in person during the *Principate* and highlights the perceived need during the *Dominate*. From the death of Commodus in 193, to the death of Theodosius in 395, every Emperor who had the opportunity (by this it is meant that they ruled for long enough and were old enough to be able to command) spent a significant portion of their reign at the head of an army. This militarization of the government caused the devolution of the state into a way for enrichment for the soldiers. The auctioning off of the purple to Didius Julianus is a particularly comical example of this.[10] Under Emperors like Caracalla, with his roaming orgy of looting and pillaging, the state existed to support and pay the army.[11] Taxes were raised, property stolen, and Emperors killed for nothing more than soldier pay. Septimius Severus's final advice to his sons well encapsulates the dynamic of this period.

Another development that occurred during this time was the increased association of Emperors with the divine. The Senate had Emperors posthumously declared divine going back to Augustus. With few exceptions, the sources do not record any Emperor making a claim to be a living god. The Emperors who did make these claims are the ones who are described as tyrants and evil in the sources, demonstrating the fact that these claims of divinity were rejected and

[10] The Editors of the Encyclopedia Britannica, "Marcus Didius Severus Julianus," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, last edited October 13, 2009, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Marcus-Didius-Severus-Julianus. (Note, to save space all future Encyclopedia Britannica citations will read *EB,* "title," www.url.com)

[11] *EB*, "Caracalla," https://www.britannica.com/biography/caracalla

associated with bad Emperors by the people writing the histories.[12] Where they were generally accepted instead was in the case of dead Emperors. The divine Augustus, for example, appears frequently in artwork and in propaganda. The Great Cameo of France and the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti,* in particular, illustrate the toleration of these claims of divinity when they were done post-mortem.[13] [14] Emperors could be Gods if and only if they were already dead. If an Emperor was living and made a claim to divinity, he would be hated and written down as a tyrant.

With the coming of the *Dominate,* however, personal ties to or claims of divinity became more common. Elagabalus's short and eccentric reign and his association with the identically named deity Elagabalus started this trend.[15] Aurelian closely associated himself with his preferred god Sol Invictus, and beginning with his reign, the title *Deus et Dominus Natus* (God and Born Ruler) begins to appear on coins.[16] Divine association continued under Diocletian with his personal association with Jupiter. Diocletian emphasized sacrifice to the Emperors themselves and Emperor worship as symbols of loyalty. This practice had been going on in the East since the beginning of the Empire, but it had not been so in Italy and only under Diocletian did it begin to be systemic.[17] A state religion was developing as an association between the living Emperor and the divine became more common.

The increased association between the Divine and the Empire reached its fruition with the Christianization of the Empire under Constantine. Constantine, although dropping the personal

[12] Take, for example, the fact that Dio blames Commodus for the rot of the Empire in book LXXI.

[13] The Editors of the World Digital Library, "Great Cameo of France," *World Digital Library*, last edited March 16, 2015, https://www.wdl.org/en/item/683/.

[14] Title means "Deeds of the Divine Augustus." The fact that it was called that demonstrates toleration of post-mortem divinity.

[15] Dio vol. IX 451.

[16] Halsberghe Gaston, *The Cult of Sol Invictus* (Leiden, Brill 1972), 152.

[17]Victor Aurelius, *De Caesaribus,* trans. H.W. Bird (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1994) 46.

divinity claims, claimed his rule and success were due solely to the power of the Christian God, not the power of Roman arms or his own skills.[18] The imperial idea of the Emperor as God's vice-regent on Earth appeared at this time, and historian Alan Cameron argues that Emperors used the title of *Pontifex* to assert their power over religion and enforce the imperial idea.[19] Some historians, such as Anthony Kaldellis, dispute whether or not this idea was ever been taken very seriously, but the fact that it does appear during the reign of Constantine, and would become a critical portion of imperial propaganda, highlights how much Christianity became a central part of the office of Augustus.[20]

The last change from the *Principate* to the *Dominate* that is relevant to this paper is the evolution from a static to a mobile emperor. Beginning with Augustus, Emperors tended to stay in Rome or its environs. As the imperial system began to entrench, the center of power gradually shifted from the city of Rome itself to the Emperor's person. Beginning with Domitian, Emperors tended to move around and not use Rome as their sole residence. Hadrian, for example, spent a good deal of his life legislating in the provinces instead of Rome.[21] This shift allowed Emperors to more or less ignore public opinion by simply moving when they disliked the city or had worn on the people of whatever city they were living in. Diocletian, for example, simply left Rome when its radically different political culture than what he was used to wore on him.[22] Another example of this is how Julian, after exhausting the people of Antioch and earning their hatred, was able to simply move from Antioch to another city and not face the

[18] Brown Peter, *The Rise of Christendom* 2nd edition (Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 60.

[19] Cameron Alan, *The Last Pagans of Rome* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2011), 53-55.

[20] Kaldellis, 165-198.

[21] *EB,* "Hadrian," https://www.britannica.com/biography/Hadrian.

[22] *EB*, "Diocletian," https://www.britannica.com/biography/Diocletian.

consequences of that hatred.[23] This will change with the founding of Constantinople, and the mechanisms of this change will be the focus of this paper.

Age of the Emperor

An important factor in the immobilization of the Byzantine government during the 5th century was the selection of men to hold the office who were either unable or uninterested in leading armies in person. The unwillingness of Emperors in the 5th century to lead was due to two primary factors: age and weak will. The trend began with Arcadius, who was young and had no experience leading troops at the start of his reign, being only 18 at the time.[24] When Arcadius grew older, he continued to not take the field, instead preferring to stay in the palace.[25] His reign is marked by his domination by court officials such as Eutropius, Anthemius, and his wife Aelia Eudoxia.[26] They remained in Constantinople where they could control Arcadius from his seat in the palace and likely opposed his going out to campaign on his own.[27] This likely had to do with the fact that had Arcadius taken the field at the head of an army of his own, he would have had the opportunity to potentially be successful on the field of battle and turn the army into a base of support. Arcadius having a base of support to rely on outside of the court threatened the power of the court officials, so they would have opposed Arcadius taking command himself. Historian Charles Diehl proposed that the murder of Constantine VI happened when it did due to similar concerns. Constantine was young and under the thumb of the court, led by his mother, and his going out to campaign and gaining the support of members of other members of the government

[23] *EB*, "Julian," https://www.britannica.com/biography/Julian-Roman-Emperor.

[24] *EB,* "Arcadius," https://www.britannica.com/biography/Arcadius.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

threatened to undermine the control that faction of the government had of him. As such, the court conspired to eliminate him before Constantine had a chance to solidify the support of the army.[28] Constantine was in a very similar situation in terms of relation to the court bureaucracy as Arcadius: both were young and dominated by the court that surrounded them. As such, it is reasonable to assume that the members of the court who dominated Arcadius were not interested in him leading, much like those in the court of Constantine VI.

The pattern of weak Emperors controlled by their courts was repeated with Theodosius II, who was dominated by his sister Pulcheria and court officials such as the already mentioned Anthemius.[29] Despite his reign of 42 years, no sources record him having gone out and commanded in person. From 395 to 450, weak and pliable Emperors ran the Empire from the palace and never left to command their armies in person. This established a precedent of court-centered rule. The continuous rule of Emperors sitting secluded in their palaces in this period engrained in the Eastern Roman political culture the idea that the Emperor did not have to lead troops in person anymore. Emperors could rule from the palace and only the palace, a break from two centuries of personal command.

Further evidence of the changed perception of qualifications for rule can be found in the choice of Emperors following the death of the Theodosian dynasty. Theodosius II was succeeded by his sister who then married the senator Marcian to make him Emperor.[30] Marcian was 58 at the time of his donning the purple and no sources record him personally commanding troops after his investiture.[31] He still, however, had some military experience from the days of his

[28] Diehl Charles, *Byzantine Empresses* (New York, Knopf, 1963) 86.

[29] *EB,* "Theodosius II," https://www.britannica.com/biography/Theodosius-II.

[30] *EB,* "Marcian," https://www.britannica.com/biography/Marcian.

[31] Ibid.

youth.[32] His successor Leo I did not go out and campaign and was a Senator by profession, not a general, further emphasizing the lack of need of military experience to hold the office of Augustus. Leo II, Leo I's successor, was just a child and could not lead.[33] His successor Zeno, already fairly old at the age of 49 when he took the throne, only led troops in person when he was fighting his civil war against his brother-in-law Basiliscus.[34] Following him, Anastasius I was 60 when he took the throne and was thus too old to command.[35] His successor Justin I, who was 68 at the time of his accession, is not said to have campaigned in any of the primary sources.[36] All of these men were too old to lead men in person by the time of their accession. Leo and Marcian had minimal military experience at the time of their becoming Emperor, and Anastasius had no military experience at all that is recorded in the sources. This demonstrates that there was no longer a perceived need to lead troops or have military experience to be Emperor. Conformation of this fact can be found the fact that Justinian, in his mid forties at the time of his investiture, is not recorded as having campaigned in person, despite being of age and clearly being energetic enough to do so.

Political Geography and Control of the Armies

One particularly important distinction between the Western and Eastern courts during the early 5th century was their ability to control their armies and keep their top-level army commands divided. In the West, the civil central government lost control of the armies and the state. Generals such as Aetius and Ricimer were able to effectively govern the Empire as they saw fit

[32] Ibid.

[33] *EB,* "Leo II," https://www.britannica.com/biography/Leo-II-Roman-Emperor.

[34] *EB,* "Zeno," https://www.britannica.com/biography/Zeno-Emperor.

[35] *EB*, "Anastasius I," https://www.britannica.com/biography/Anastasius-I.

[36] *EB*, "Justin I," https://www.britannica.com/biography/Justin-I.

with little in the way of responsibility to the government in Ravenna beyond basic lip service. The *Magister Utriusquae Militiae*, the office held by the generals who controlled the government, was the effective head of the government and the other generals of the West were responsible to them, not the Emperor.[37] In the Eastern Empire, on the other hand, the situation was different. Unlike in the Western Empire, the Eastern court managed to keep its commands divided and subordinate to Constantinople. The armies of the East, Illyricum, Thrace, and in the Emperor's Presence, those stationed near Constantinople, were all top-level officers who answered only to the government in Constantinople.[38] The Byzantine civilian bureaucracy was able to maintain their control of the state by their control of the armies and the unique political geography their capital afforded.

A demonstration of the control the Eastern government maintained over their armies can be found in the defeat of the revolt of Gainas and the lessons that the Eastern government learned in its aftermath. Gainas was, like most Theodosian generals, a Goth who was in the service of the Roman government under the Emperors Theodosius and Arcadius.[39] While holding the rank of *Magister Militum*, Gainas joined the revolt of fellow barbarian-general Tribigild in 399 and was able to enter Constantinople and dominate the government with his largely Gothic army garrisoning the city. Once he had control of the city, Gainas began to centralize the government under him. He fired everyone who was anti-Goth and, by executing his enemies, was able to fill many of the government positions with men loyal to him.[40] However, Gainas made the critical mistake of making an enemy out of the Empress Aelia Eudoxia who, due to developments

[37] Hughes Ian, *Aetius: Attila's Nemesis* (Yardley, Westholme, 2012) 87.

[38] Holumn Kenneth, *Theodosian Empresses* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1982) 68.

[39] Ibid., 61.

[40] Friell, J. G. P.; Williams, Stephen Joseph, *The Rome that did not fall: the survival of the East in the fifth century* (New York, Routledge, 1999) 11–12.

discussed later in this paper, was a powerful political figure in Constantinople.[41] Gainas had, according to Theophanes, looted the city and had been attempting to force his Arianism on others, resulting in great public resentment.[42] In 400, he entered the city, sparking riots due to popular resentment of his rule. When Gainas attempted to leave the city, supposedly to calm his nerves, his men, believing he was abandoning them, tried to leave the city in pursuit. At this moment, the Empress riled her people up into a frenzy and led them against Gainas and his men, slaughtering many of the Gothic soldiers as they tried to flee the city whose gates they now found barred.[43] Further military defeats would end the career and life of Gainas. Following the revolt of Gainas, a return to normalcy occurred and the civilian governmental apparatus in Constantinople once more took control of the armies by firing Gainas's appointees and putting in place people loyal to the court. The lessons of Gainas's revolt were not forgotten by the court officials and bureaucrats it threatened. A foreign general had entered the capital and humiliated its leaders by dominating the Emperor. In response, the central administration went about ensuring that a scenario like Gainas's revolt would not be repeated. The government continued to employ the strategy of using barbarian generals who had little to no stake in the government, but this clearly was not enough to ensure their safety.[44] To ensure that a general did not usurp the government again, the Roman government took advantage of one of the factors that brought Constantine to Byzantium in the first place: its supreme defensibility.

The defenses of Constantinople are unlike that of any other medieval city. If some sort of supreme deity designed a location to be a capital city, it is likely that Constantinople was the

[41] Holum, 67.

[42] Theophanes, *The chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern history, AD 284-813* trans. Cyril Mango (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1997), 117.

[43] Holum 67.

[44] Ibid., 68.

location of that divine agency. Its geography, being on a peninsula, gives the controller of the city exquisite control over who can come in and leave the city. This is in contrast to the capitals of the Empire in the past. Rome and Milan were relatively easy to approach from land and could be completely surrounded by an opposing army. Ravenna, although difficult to approach, was still much more difficult to keep supplied than Constantinople due to its being deep in the Adriatic Sea. With Constantinople, however, there is only one way in on land with numerous accesses to supplies via the waterways it is located near. Control of that one land route meant that the Roman Emperors were able to put themselves into a bubble in which they were supreme and outside armies had a very hard time influencing them. The consequences for this system failing were demonstrated in the revolt of Gainas, so more defenses were needed. Anthemius was the one to go about and ensure that Constantinople received those defenses with his construction of the Theodosian Land Walls, which were finished in 413.[45] The construction of the walls effectively sealed off the inside the city from the outside, limiting the threat of outside generals coming into the city. With the construction of the walls, Constantinople became exceedingly difficult to isolate or capture. Enemies who approached the gates on land rarely had navies capable of sealing it off on water, allowing easy resupply of the city. Alongside this, the walls themselves were fearsome and nearly impossible to breach as evidenced by the fact that no foreign army was able to advance past them until the fall of the city in 1453. Enemies who came by boat, such as the Rus, often struggled to find allies who could field armies large enough to blockade it on land. Alongside this, the Greek fire wielding dromons of the Roman navy were particularly effective in the calm waters around Constantinople. Anthemius and his wall defended a government that was fully insulated from its armies and which either saw weak

[45] Ibid., 89.

Emperors controlled by career bureaucrats or tireless law-giving Emperors lay in their beds safe from the armies they commanded.[46] The geography of Constantinople and the impenetrable fortress it allowed gave the government unrivaled safety, helping end the rule by armies and personal command of the armies by the Emperor.

The veracity of this idea can be demonstrated by examples throughout the 5th and 6th centuries, but a particularly demonstrative one is found within the reign of Anastasius I. The revolt of Vitalian shows the safety that Constantinople provided its Emperors and government. For two years, Vitalian rebelled against the Miaphysite doctrines promoted by the Emperor Anastasius. His revolt was fairly successful; he seized important cities all throughout the prefecture of Illyricum, yet he was never able to take the city of Constantinople. Had the capital of the Empire been in say Thessalonica, or Serdica, or some other city, Vitalian may have been able to surround the city and force his will upon Anastasius in much the same way that Gainas was able to in 399. Instead, Anastasius was able to completely lock Vitalian out of the capital and outlast him.[47] Anastasius, despite his throne being in danger, never saw the need to take the field himself and deal with the rogue general who was roaming about the Balkans. Behind the walls of Constantinople, the government was safe to do as it wished; there was no need for Emperors to defend their throne by taking the field.

The Christianization and Feminization of the Roman Court

A striking change that the Roman government went though in the late 4th and early 5th centuries was the introduction of women as major players within the Roman courts, particularly

[46] Ibid., 89.

[47] Theophanes, 238-245.

on the Bosporus. This change began with the reign of Theodosius I and reached its climax with the ascension of Aelia Pulcheria to the head of the regency for her younger brother Theodosius II. Pulcheria's rule was possible due to a variety of changes in the culture of the Roman Empire along with, to her credit, her unique and individual talents. The first of these was the Christianization of the Empire and the fact that acts of piety could gain for women influence within the government due to the popularity that they earned by being seen as pious people. The second of these changes was that women in the imperial court began to use their popularity as leverage to gain power in the government. These changes further helped the immobilization of the Roman government, as women were unable to command armies themselves and as such had to stay behind the walls of Constantinople. The Roman government became partially feminized in the 5th century, as women were able to play a larger role in the government than they had before.

The Christianization of the Roman Empire is a well-documented and discussed phenomenon, and most of its effects are tangential and not directly relevant to this paper. One change that it did spark that is directly relevant to this paper was the introduction of Christian acts as a source of popularity.[48] This popularity, a powerful source of political capital, allowed some to oppose or work within the imperial government in ways and with power they would not otherwise have. St. Ambrose and his occasional principled stalwart opposition to the Valentinian-Theodosian dynasty is a good demonstrator of the efficacy of this. Ambrose was able to play his popularity with the masses to effectively oppose the use of churches in Milan, his see, for Arian worship despite the fact that the main driver of the push to use a church for

[48] Holum, 25.

Arianism was the imperial government.[49] The image of Theodosius being forced to join the penitent against his wishes after his slaughter of Thessalonica is a particularly powerful example of the power that perceived piety could give people.[50] Throughout Roman history, money and the force of arms were the only ways that people could oppose the imperial government before, but now religion could be used as well. This, of course, was a bilateral relation, and only worked because of the Christianization of the imperial government as well as the people.[51] Theodosius was, by all accounts, a pious man, and the potential harm to his soul must have been prominent in his mind and played a part in his yielding to St. Ambrose. Still, this obstruction of imperial will by a clergyman was unprecedented, and its efficacy must be attributed first to the rise of Christianity and the political capital it made available to its clergy and followers.

What made a public perception of pity as a source of political power unique is the fact that, unlike the more traditional forms of political power in the mandarin Roman bureaucracy, such as military experience and political office, pious acts could be performed by women in the same way they could by men.[52] Of course, women could not join the clergy, but a perception of being a pious Christian could come from many sources and was not exclusively accessible to men. The women of the Theodosian dynasty became to be seen as pious Christians via *philanthropia*, or what modern eyes would see as traditional acts of Christian charity and piety.[53] As described in *Theodosian Empresses* by Kenneth G Holum, the women of the Theodosian dynasty became hugely popular by performing these sorts of acts. A particularly powerful example given was how Aelia Eudoxia attracted huge crowds during her transmission of relics to

[49] *EB,* "Saint Ambrose," https://www.britannica.com/biography/Saint-Ambrose.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Holum., 51.

[53] Ibid., 23.

Constantinople. The praise given to her by her contemporaries was quite high. John Chrysostom's description of Aelia Eudoxia's part in the moving of relics is particularly indicative of these feelings.

> But why speak of women or magistrates when she who wears the diadem and purple mantle would not abide the slightest separation from the relics through the whole distance but attended the saints like a handmaid, clinging to the relic box and to the linen that covered it? … Through the whole distance they saw her, holding tightly to the bones, not flagging or giving in to her weariness.[54]

John Chrysostom heaps praise on Aelia Eudoxia not for the traditional attributes of womanhood, but instead due to her care for the relics and her Christian piety. The fact that this adulation comes from Chrysostom, a future enemy of Aelia Eudoxia, highlights the efficacy of these acts.

A woman becoming a popular and important figure in the Roman government was not completely without precedent. Helena was used as a powerful propaganda tool to generate popular goodwill for Constantine after his "accidental" execution of Crispus. What was unique for the Theodosian women is that they were able to use it for the purpose of political power due to the aforementioned de-militarization of the Eastern Roman government. Holumn describes it well when he states, "A woman's *basileía* (rule) could have nothing to do with the troops."[55]

The political empowerment of women can be seen in a multitude of examples throughout the 5th century. She who best demonstrates this ability to use Christian acts as a source of political power is Aelia Pulcheria who, through her public works of *philanthropia* and her famous vow of virginity, was able to both protect herself from marriage offers and leverage her way to the head of the regency council for her young brother Theodosius II.[56] The fact that she did made her vow publicly, as Sozomen describes, was certainly on purpose and was meant to be

[54] Ibid., 57.

[55] Ibid., 66.

[56] Ibid., 73.

done to bring popular support for the pious and virtuous young empress.[57] Her "godly resolve," as Sozomen put it, made her an object of affection for the masses which helped protect her from those like Anthemius who wished to see her pushed aside for the betterment of their own power over Theodosius II.[58]

All of these developments can be traced in numismatics as well. Before the Theodosian women, empresses were depicted on coins in a feminine style that was distinct from that of their male counterparts. For example, take the Solidi of Constantine and his mother Helena (Figure 1). While Constantine is seen depicted in the traditional laurel crown, Helena, as a woman, is depicted in typical aristocratic female dress for the period. This is in stark contrast to the Solidi of Theodosius I and his daughter in law Aelia Eudoxia (Figure 2). Their dress is remarkably similar; Aelia is depicted in a full diadem and the traditional *fibula* of the Emperors on her shoulders keeping her purple cloak bound to her. According to Holum, this change was apparent in most forms of imperial propaganda, such as the busts of the Theodosian women that were present in the Senate house.[59] Attempts to link the power of these women to the divine can also be found in the coinage of the time as well. Before the Theodosian dynasty, the reverses of Roman coins often had some sort of tie to military prowess such as the goddess Nike. In the Theodosian era, however, a *Dextera Dei*, or the hand of God, puts crowns on the heads of both Emperor and Empresses. Constantine had employed a similar style of iconography, but it had been absent on the coins of his successors before its reappearance in the Theodosian era. For Arcadius and his successors, the utility of this change is obvious. Arcadius, becoming junior Emperor starting at the very unwarlike age of seven, was not able to draw on martial success as a

[57] Ibid., 93.

[58] Ibid., 96.

[59] Ibid., Figure 9 (pages for figures not numbered).

source of legitimacy in his propaganda. Instead he does so from God, who literally gives Arcadius his crown in some coins of the period.[60] Also important is how women are also seen wearing this crown, further evidence of the newfound power of women in the Roman government. The equating in imperial propaganda of the status of both the Augusta and Augustus reflects that women were able to play a role in politics that they had not been able to in the past.

With the rise of the Theodosian dynasty came something that was fairly new in Roman history: a woman wielding power due to her own traits and not exclusively due to her relationship with the Emperor. Although women such as Livia and Julia Maesa had played roles in politics before, they did so as advisors to their husbands or figures to rally around in times of political turmoil.[61] [62] The Theodosian women, on the other hand, were able to play a part in the government themselves for long periods of time. During the 5th century, powerful women were not just loose advisors to the dominating will of men such as Augustus or playing power broker when the Emperor was dead. This was able to happen because women were able to draw on public acts of piety as a source of political power that they could use, much like men could, to advance their own desires in the government. This played a large part in the immobilization of government, as these women, acting as effective regents within the boundaries of Constantinople, were incapable of commanding troops themselves. The rule of women during much of the early 5th century did much to cement in the minds of Romans that the Emperor did not have to go out and campaign. Within the safe boundaries of Constantinople, women could control weak Emperors, and control them they did.

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[60] Ibid., 66.

[61] *EB*, "Livia," https://www.britannica.com/biography/Livia-Drusilla.

[62] *EB,* "Julia Maesa," https://www.britannica.com/biography/Julia-Maesa

Consequences

Following the immobilization of the Roman government, a shift to civilian rule occurred and the civilian bureaucracy once more came to dominate the government. Concurrent with this is the addition of the common people as a political force whose will needed to be heard and heeded. By framing the argument within the definitions of civilian rule and military rule that were stated above, it can be clearly demonstrated that a drastic shift in the style and manner of Roman government occurred in the 5th century. Military rule ended and civilian rule was once more instated.

By the 5th century the Emperors of the Eastern Roman Empire rarely moved outside of the capital for extended periods of time. Due to the fact that the government existed in, and almost never left, the protected bubble behind the walls of Constantinople, the armed forces of the Empire were almost entirely removed from the equation of deciding who would be Emperor. Between the accession of Theodosius I and the murder of Maurice, a period of 223 years, power in the East was handed from Augustus to Augustus without violent interlude. This time period more than doubles the longest period of peaceful transfer of power before: 96 years between the assassination of Domitian and the assassination of Commodus. For 223 years, the army had no say in who was chosen to be Roman Emperor. Instead, fathers passed the throne to their sons, daughters married Emperors, or, such as in the case of Anastasius and Justin, the civilian bureaucracy and court were the primary movers in the choosing of an Emperor.[63] [64] The one possible exception to this rule, Leo I, chosen by Aspar due to his believing that Leo could be

[63] *EB*, "Anastasius I."

[64] *EB*, "Justin I."

controlled, still goes against the main trends of the 4th and previous centuries. Leo was an old man, not someone who went out campaigning. Regardless of the circumstances surrounding his accession, Leo continued the trends discussed in this paper.

The immobilization of the Roman government forced the Emperor to be in much closer contact with the people than Emperors had been in the previous two centuries. Once the Emperor was living in constant contact with his people, the people became a much larger force and influence on policy than they had ever been in the history of the Roman Empire.[65] It is during this period of the 5th century that we begin to see popular interventions in the realm of government decisions. By this it is meant that a popular outcry forced the government to change its policy. These sorts of events began almost immediately following the settling of the government in Constantinople; public outcry is cited as the reason that Aelia Eudoxia was forced to recall the popularly beloved and exiled St. John Chrysostom.[66] Popular interventions continued to happen throughout the remaining life of the Empire. Some examples include: :

- Upon the death of Zeno, the people of Constantinople filled the hippodrome where Ariadne, the widow of Zeno, sat. There, the people made mass chants to ensure that the court could hear whom it was that they wanted as Emperor: someone who was Roman and Orthodox. This led to the selection of Anastasius as Emperor. [67]

[65] Kaldellis, 148.

[66] Holum, 75.

[67] Constantine VII, *The Book of Ceremonies* trans. Ann Moffatt (Canberra, Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 2012) 417-425.

- In 577, a few pagans from the east were put on trial in Constantinople and were acquitted, sparking accusations of bribery from the people of Constantinople. This led to riots that forced the Emperor, Tiberius II, to retry and convict those pagans.[68]
- In 641, following the death of Heraclius, his widow Martina went to the Hippodrome to explain Heraclius's will. Specifically, she attempted to make both her son and stepson, Heraklonas and Constantine III, Emperors while making herself Empress. The people and Senate, who likely resented her incestual union with Heraclius, allowed the boys to be their rulers but refused to make Marina Empress. Martina thus was forced to withdraw her claim.[69]
- The people intervened on behalf of Zoe and Theodora, the daughters of Constantine VIII, on two separate occasions. In 1041, Michael V, the adopted son of Zoe, attempted to have them shipped off to a convent, sparking a mass uprising within the city that saw Michael eventually killed.[70] In 1044, Constantine IX attempted to visit a church when protests were sparked due to the rumor that Constantine sought to displace Zoe and Theodora from the palace. These protests were only calmed when the two appeared in public.[71]
- In 1197, Alexius III attempted to impose a tax to pay off the Germans and prevent them from attacking the Empire. When he proposed this tax in the Hippodrome, the public was

[68] John of Ephesus, *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John, Bishop of Ephesus* trans. R Payne Smith (Oxford, Oxford University Press 1860) 3.30-3.33.

[69] Theophanes, 475.

[70] Skylitzes John, *Sysnopsis of Byzantine History* trans. John Wortley (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2010) 391-396.

[71] Skylitzes, 434.

> outraged and began to hurl insults at him. In response, Alexius rescinded the request and said he would find the money elsewhere.[72]

These are but a few examples that were specifically chosen to demonstrate the long lasting effect that the settling of the government had. These popular interventions are rare or non-existent before 400. If some was resisting the will of the imperial government, it was either the army or, following the Christianization of the Empire, a clergyman. The masses had not been as important in the government of the Roman state since the fall of the Republic. The settling of the government within the protected bubble of Constantinople is what facilitated this change and allowed popular interventions to occur and actually be effective.

Further evidence of the newfound importance of the people in the Roman Empire can be found in the various law codes published by Roman Emperors throughout the centuries, particularly so within the *Novels* of the Emperor Leo VI. In the *Novels*, Leo describes the relationship between ruler and ruled as a sort of dialogue where the needs and concerns of the people are the subject of a continuous conversation about what is best to do for the health of the state.[73] Laws were not something that the Emperor handed down to his subject. Instead, laws were something that the people desired or thought best for their governance; the laws would be ratified and given the weight of imperial government. In one case, for example, Leo justifies the need for new laws by saying that there was legal confusion due to the presence of customs that had as its justification for existence the "will of the masses."[74] Leo begrudgingly accepts that a law passed by his father Basil I is in effect useless due to popular custom ignoring it, and so he

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[72] Choniates Niketas, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates* trans. Harry Magoulias (Detroit, Wayne State University Pres, 1984) 262-263.

[73] Kaldellis, 9.

[74] Ibid., 11.

casts it out.[75] After another custom is passed as law, Leo states, "Let that now be part of the *politeia* (state) … that which was already part of the politeia before this legal ratification."[76] In effect, Leo is saying that his government exists and operates due to the will of the people and that he, Leo, is putting the stamp of the government on their will. Conversely, Basil II is criticized by the chronicler Zonoras for having his laws set to his will, not the popular custom.[77] The need to specifically mention this criticism in an otherwise fairly positive telling of the reign of Basil II indicates that this new dynamic had well been ingrained in the system by the year 1000.

This new dynamic in the relationship between ruler and ruled meant that it was more important than ever for an Emperor to maintain high standing with the people of his Empire. This resulted in a government that was more responsive to its people. If the people disliked and turned against an Emperor, he was finished.[78] Only Justinian, who had to kill around a tenth of his people to do so, was able to resist a mass uprising against him.[79] An Emperor's relative popularity could prevent violent overthrow or, if an opponent was more popular, seal his doom. A few examples of this are given below:

- During the revolt of Thomas the Slav, Michael of Amorium was able to resist a siege by Thomas the Slav for almost two full years. Michael had made the decision to keep the majority of the officials of Leo V in place, meaning that the civilian bureaucracy in Constantinople was behind him. Had they, or the people in the streets, been opposed to

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid., 13.

[78] Ibid., 126.

[79] Prokopios, *Wars of Justinian* trans. Anthony Kaldellis (Indianapolis, Hackett Publishing Company, 2014) 60-68.

the rule of Michael, it is unlikely he survives this siege due to what happens in the next example.[80]

- Conversely, the siege of Constantinople by Constantine V in 743 was successful. Many in the city undoubtedly saw Constantine as the legitimate ruler due to the successful reign of his father and saw Ardabasdos as illegitimate. As such, when the siege began to wear on the people of Constantinople, they turned against Ardabasdos and delivered the city to Constantine. Constantine was able to enter the city and executed Ardabasdos in the Hippodrome, a fate Ardabasdos almost certainly would not have suffered if he were still a highly popular figure.[81]
- Phokas had become deeply unpopular due to his failures against the Persians and his supposed tyranny. This allowed Heraclius to execute him in the Hippodrome following his seizure of the city. Heraclius was able to enter the city without much of a fight, signaling the unpopularity of Phokas.[82]
- When, in 1057, Michael VI sparked a military uprising against him, his initial instinct was to abdicate. However, the civilian bureaucracy pressured him to stay and refused to allow him to abdicate. As Isaac Komnenos, the leader of the uprising, marched on Constantinople, the people of the city rioted against Michael in favor of Isaac. This forced Michael to step down and allow Isaac to take the throne.[83]

[80] Skylitzes, 32-47.

[81] Theophanes, 574-581.

[82] Theophanes, 425-428.

[83] Skylitzes, 462-465.

- Theodosios Monamachos, the nephew of Constantine IX, attempted to make himself Emperor at the expense of Michael VI. He armed his followers and slaves and, with a small mob behind him, marched on the palace in Constantinople. By the time he reached the *Augustaion* he was alone and his followers abandoned him, allowing him to be easily captured by the Varangian guard. Theodosios was not popular enough to successfully launch his coup.[84]
- The opposite of this scenario happened later during the reign of Andronikos I Komnenos. Andronikos attempted to arrest the general Isaac II Angelos, who he suspected of disloyalty. Isaac was able to flee to the Hagia Sophia and rally the people to his cause due to the severe unpopularity of Andronikos. Isaac launched a coup and was able to overthrow Andronikos and make himself Emperor.[85]

This is not to say that military prowess was taken completely out of the picture and that popularity was the sole determining factor in retaining the throne. Basil II simply beat down the people who tried to rebel against him.[86] However, popularity could be decisive in determining who won or lost a civil war.

Another development at this point in Roman history is the importance of the Hippodrome and other public meeting areas as mediums of government interaction with its citizens. The importance of the Hippodrome can be seen first and foremost by its geography within the city of Constantinople. The Grand Palace was at the furthest point in the peninsula, insulating the Emperor as much as possible from potential outside enemies. Yet, the Hippodrome is right next

[84] Skylitzes, 449-450.

[85] Choniates, 188-195.

[86] Skylitzes, 299-321.

to it and the palace had a direct bridge to the *Cathisma* where the Emperor sat, demonstrating its importance to the central government. Beginning with Leo I, for example, the Emperors were invested with the title of Augustus *or Basileus* in a public ceremony in the Hagia Sophia and, following Leo, were acclaimed by the people in the Hippodrome.[87] Accounts of a few of these acclamations are found within the *Book of Ceremonies* and although a few particular details and the narrative of the events themselves change, what does not change is the public nature of the event. The official investing of an Emperor was due to his acclamation in the Hippodrome by the people of Constantinople, not due to armies declaring someone Imperator or the Senate passing a law. This is in stark contrast to the investment and proclamation of Emperors in the past. Before, Emperors had primarily been acclaimed by armies in the field, which, although a public event, were still not civilian-driven events due to their being in the camps of armies and the field of battle. If it was not the army making an Emperor, they were made via laws in the Senate, as previously discussed, or in private court ceremonies. When Diocletian invested Maximian with the rank of Augustus and later Galerius and Constantius the rank of Caesar, he did so in a private solemn ceremony in the city of Milan.[88] What had been private, military, or aristocratic events before had become public in Constantinople. Many other things are presented in the *Book of Ceremonies* as being meant for public spectacle, such as the birth of a male child.[89]

The immobilizing of the Byzantine government had one last effect that will be discussed in this paper: it made it unnecessary for Emperors to go out and campaign in person even if they were capable of it and were in control of their own government. In the 5th century, Emperors, as previously discussed, did not go out and campaign because they were either not of the right age

[87]Constantine VII, 410-417.

[88] Birley Anthony, *The Roman Government of Britain* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005) 382.

[89] Constantine VII, 615-619.

or had no military experience. In the 6th century, Emperors who were both of age and who had military experience ruled the Empire, yet none of them went out to campaign themselves until Heraclius.[90] Constantinople was a bubble in which Emperors were almost completely safe, so there was little reason for them to go out when the safety of Constantinople allowed them to maintain control over their armies. From Arcadius to Heraclius, no Emperor in the East went out campaigning in person. Even when the Empire was being attacked, such as when the Sassanids were ravaging Syria and sacked Antioch during the reign of Justinian, the Emperor never went out in person to meet them and face them himself.[91] This demonstrates that personal military success was not needed anymore for an Emperor to remain in power, only that the state did not fall apart due to military defeat. Even Emperors who became Emperor while actively assigned as *Magister Militum* resigned their posts and gave them to someone else so that they could go take their seat on the throne. When Tiberius II became Emperor, he stopped commanding, as did his successor Maurice.[92] [93] This was unprecedented in Roman history, as before Arcadius every Emperor after Pertinax who was capable commanded troops in person.

Beginning with Heraclius, however, this does change. Heraclius went out and campaigned because his Empire was under existential threat and defeat likely meant that the Empire would dissolve. He was likely under enormous pressure by his people to do something about the problem, and so he did. His successors followed this precedent while the Empire remained besieged by the Arab caliphate; every Emperor after Heraclius who ruled for more than a year or two lead troops in person against the great enemy of the Empire. This changes once the

[90] Theophanes, 425.

[91] Prokopios, 92.

[92] Theophanes, 368-370.

[93] Ibid., 373.

Empire begins to recover under the Amorian Dynasty. Michael III likely did not go out campaigning in person, preferring to leave that responsibility to members of his court. His successor Basil I did, perhaps due to a lingering worry about illegitimacy.[94] Leo VI, according to the sources available, never went out campaigning and did not suffer a military or popular uprising against him outside of the abortive attempt by Andronikos Doukas. That potential revolt, it should be noted, was due to Leo VI not having an heir and not martial ineptitude.[95] This indicates that the popular consciousness was aware that the Empire was not in the same situation as it was during the 7th and 8th centuries and so personal campaigning was no longer inherently part of the job of Emperor. Leo's son and grandson continued this trend and did not campaign in person.

This is not to say that Emperors stopped campaigning in person. On the contrary, personal military glory remained a powerful tool to gain legitimacy and security as an Emperor. Basil II, always mistrustful of the elites of Constantinople following the rebellions of Bardas Skrellos and Phokas (and supposedly due to the advice of the former) campaigned for the majority of his rule, the army as his base of support.[96] Likewise, his stepfather and Guardian Nikephoros II and John I both campaigned in person extensively during their reigns.[97] [98] It is important to note, however, that for all of these Emperors there sat in Constantinople an already invested Emperor or the woman from whom they drew their right to govern. Once the Turks became the principal enemy of the Empire and constantly pushed on its borders, almost every

[94] Skylitzes., 141.

[95] Ibid., 181.

[96] Psellus Michael, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers; the Chronogrophia* trans. Edgard Robert (Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1966) 43.

[97] Skylitzes, 259.

[98] Ibid., 295.

Emperor until the fall of the city in 1453 campaigned in person. Even the Komnenoi, who ruled during the Empire's last years of being a superpower, did not escape this trend.[99] Once the government of Rome settled in Constantinople, the need to lead militarily in person is diminished, allowing for the rule of the great law giver Emperors such as Justinian and Leo VI. Only when there was a need for legitimacy, support from the army, or the Empire was under existential threat did Emperors feel the need to go out and campaign.

Conclusion

In the 5th century, the Roman central government became immobilized in the city of Constantinople. It did so due to years of precedent of sedentary rule due to the introduction of powerful women and Christianity to the court, the rule by Emperors who could not command, and the geography of Constantinople making it safer to remain in the city. By permanently remaining in the city, the central government of the Empire fundamentally changed its nature. The transition from military rule to civilian rule in the 5th century had profound effects on the nature and operation of the Roman government. By removing the military as the primary arbiter of who was Emperor, the government was able to become stable for longer periods of time than it ever had before. For the entirety of the 5th and 6th centuries, there were no violent revolutions that lead to the overthrow or installment of an Emperor. This was only possible due to the fact that the government existed within the walls of Constantinople, a bubble that allowed the government inside to completely lock out those who the government and people did not want within the city. With the government immobilized within the bubble of Constantinople, the

[99] See the Alexiad or the entirety of the works of Kinnamos and Choniates.

powerful figures within Constantinople, namely the people and to a lesser extent the civilian bureaucracy, gained a voice in government they had not had since the rise of Julius Caesar.

Figure 1
Solidus of Constantine minted in Constantinople 326
Dumbarton Oaks

Figure 2
Solidus of Aelia Eudoxia minted in Constantinople 400-404
Dumbarton Oaks

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Perceptions on KKK Violence in the Late Insurrectionary South: United States Congress Joint Select Committee Reports and Testimonies 1871-72

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The term, "carpetbaggers" was used by southerners to describe, who they saw as unscrupulous opportunists that moved from the North to the South following the American Civil War. Many of these northerners were, however, well-meaning people dedicated to restructuring southern society to accommodate newly enfranchised blacks. Historian Eric Foner describes them as combining the desire for personal gain with the commitment to substitute the civilization of slavery with that of freedom.[1] Southerners saw them as being part of one overarching group and, as we will see through this analysis, looked unfavorably upon all of them. Nevertheless, their role was crucial in shaping Southern society during the Reconstruction period.

South Carolina, like many of the other late insurrectionist states, experienced a tumultuous reconstruction. The rise of the KKK was coupled with an increased presence of "carpetbaggers" in the form of Union League members, Freedmen's Bureau officials and other individuals seeking to enfranchise blacks amidst this confrontational backdrop. Many "carpetbaggers" aimed to restructure the governments and economies of the southern states, but were met with opposition by groups such as the KKK. I will attempt to discuss this dichotomy in South Carolina using the KKK court hearings and various secondary sources. The testifiers mildly decried KKK violence, and used the actions of "carpetbaggers" as a justification for it. Rather than dissociate themselves from the Klan, they attempted to minimize its activities through explanations citing them as responses to Republican corruptness and acts against "men

[1] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution 1863-1877*, (New York: Harper & Row, 2014), pg. 296.

of bad character." In my view, this lackluster denunciation points to the fact that they indeed shared many beliefs with the Klan—further demonstrating the deeply engrained racism present in the fabric of the post-antebellum South.

Before a further analysis of the primary sources, it is important to discuss the backdrop of Reconstruction and the influence of organizations such as the Union League and Freedmen's Bureau. The Union league aimed to secure the complete ascendancy of the true principles of popular government—equal liberty, education, and the elevation of working men.[2] Eric Foner explains that it emerged as the political voice of impoverished freedmen during the Reconstruction.[3] He goes further in discussing the fact that, by 1867, almost every black voter in the south had enrolled in the Union League or a satellite political organization.[4] League meetings met in various places including black churches, which as we will see from the court testimonies, served as a point of conflict for many white southerners, who saw them as being representative of militancy and government takeover. The Union League was a leading cause of disdain for many white southerners because of it's outspoken Republican activism and incorporation of blacks in its pursuits. Historian Steven Hahn describes the negative sentiment towards the Union League as a reminder of the Confederate defeat. He states that there was belief by many local whites that the league was dominated by Radical Republicans, intent on mobilizing the black vote and disenfranchising white democrats.[5] The activities of the Union League often coincided

[2] Joint Select Committee on the Conditions of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States, *Report of and testimony: South Carolina,* vol. 2, (Washington: United States Congress, 1872), p. 951.

[3] Foner, kindle page 5554, chapter 7.

[4] Foner, kindle page 5563, chapter 7.

[5] Steven Hahn, *A nation under our fee: Black political struggles in the rural South, from slavery to the great migration* (2003). pp 165-205.

with those of the Freedmen's Bureau, as both organizations were dedicated to enfranchisement, education and political activism.

The Freedmen's Bureau was created to aid former slaves in their violent struggle for emancipation. The Bureau provided schools, hospitals, courts of law, and the introduction of a workable system of free labor in the south.[6] These initiatives were meant to bring blacks into the free market society as productive members. Foner's discussion of the bureau's initiatives explain how they uplifted black communities, while at the same time underestimated the racial opposition they would foment.

Creating a free labor society was of utmost importance to the Freedmen's Bureau because it was something the officials believed would be governed autonomously after certain rights and privileges were granted to the black community. In order to grant these rights and privileges, they relied on the activities of the Union League and other political activists in conjunction with their own endeavors. Foner discusses the bureau's role in attempting to establish this society in the south, and the ways in which they succeeded and failed. The Freedmen's Bureau initially set up its own court system to adjudicate on matters related to physical as well as economic crimes against black people.[7] These courts were more equitable than the individual state courts in the south, particularly South Carolina, "where a military system of tribunals became most extensive…[and] blacks consistently received sentences more severe than those meted out to whites convicted of the same crimes."[8] This describes South Carolina's political system as being less inclined to include blacks, which as we will see later, explains the harsh sentiment put forward by white testimonies in South Carolina. The restructuring efforts of the Freedmen's

[6] "Oliver Otis Howard," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed October 28, 2016.

[7] Foner, page 3102, chapter 4

[8] Foner, page 3107, chapter 4.

Bureau and incorporation of blacks into society as freedmen were reminiscent of the South's former glory and defeat. As we saw with the Union league, local whites felt that the surge of republicans coming to the South, and their efforts to mobilize freedmen threatened their own political representation. This racial divisiveness, even in the midst of a mutual benefit, outlines the confrontational nature of the reconstruction-era south, and adequately provides the context in which the KKK testimonies from South Carolina can be further analyzed.

Threats of racial violence across the South, and specifically in South Carolina, resulted in the imposition of the "Klan Act," and additional combative measures by President Ulysses S. Grant.[9] Federal troops, opposed to local state militias, were given the authority to enforce the law, and many Klansmen were prosecuted in federal court, and trialed by predominately black juries. This is considered one of the most comprehensive uses of Presidential power and was successful in dismantling the Klan until the 20th century.[10] It brought about the KKK hearings of 1871 that took place in the late-insurrectionist states, and it set a precedent for future civil rights legislation.

Let us now attempt to grapple with the primary documents from the KKK hearings in South Carolina. I will discuss several white testimonies, and analyze how the rhetoric is in many ways sympathetic to the Klan, further examining the various justifications they use for its actions. Many southerners attempted to de-politicize the Klan, and paint their crimes as the result of "personal disputes." Simpson Bobo, a white lawyer native to South Carolina, was asked by the chairman what he felt was the "cause of trouble with negroes" in his county. He responded by saying, he didn't think the disputes were political, but instead, personal, or as he describes them

[9] Foner pg. 8603, chapter 9.

[10] "Second Enforcement Act of 1871," *Encyclopedia Britannica Online,* accessed 23 Nov. 2016.

"private piques."[11] He aims to shield the crimes of the KKK from being perceived as racially or politically motivated. By depicting them as "private," it situates them in the context of this society. It was not all that uncommon for citizens to engage in, often times, violent disputes over property and ownership. In order to further deduce that Bobo's motivations stemmed from his sympathetic attitude towards the Klan, we must further examine his testimony. In many instances, he responded with hostility towards statements about the Union League, "carpetbaggers," and freedmen. He reasons that, "the carpetbaggers in the State [have] the negroes to themselves," and "have appointed a parcel of men unfit for office." He further explains that if the county were to rid itself of "carpetbaggers," it would be in "perfect peace."[12] His praise for a denouncer of negro government, as "thorough going," displays his allegiance to the "good democrats," and further those seeking to impede black emancipation and representation in government.[13] This testimony shows how individuals sought to shield the racially and politically motivated acts of the Klan by labeling them as personal. Furthermore, it reveals how Bobo is able to use, what he saw as, the egregious actions of the "carpetbaggers," as a justification for the lack of peace in South Carolina.

Another testimony from William Irwin, an Irishman residing in South Carolina for 30 years, aims to reveal if the laws were upheld, and if the security of freedmen and outsiders was adequately maintained. It is very evident right away that Irwin aims to separate the acts of the Klan from the democratic party. He describes the "indignation at the conduct of the [Republican] state officials," as visiting itself on the blacks. He classifies those acting violently toward blacks as "vagabonds," resulting from an "off-scouring," of the democratic party. He is distinguishing

[11] "Testimony of Simpson Bobo," Joint Select Committee, *South Carolina,* vol. 2, p. 809.

[12] Ibid. 805-806

[13] Ibid. 804-805

the acts of the Klan from the Democratic party, while also recognizing that they belonged to the party, but were acting "without the knowledge of the prominent men." Irwin is able to describe the Klan as the result of a general dissatisfaction with the Republican and "negro-controlled" state governments, which inherently assumes its political motives.[14]

In his testimony, South Carolina native and member of the state legislature, Robert Smith justifies KKK violence by expressing his dissatisfaction with Republican government, and what he sees as the arming of blacks against whites. When asked about his view on the "general condition of things," his response echoed a sentiment of discontent towards the manner in which the state government was operating. He states that its top down corruption "produced a considerable degree of uneasiness and dissatisfaction among the people."[15] Furthermore, his negative sentiments for the Republican-controlled government resonate with his response to the growing violence: "I think that a great deal of this violence has originated from the feeling of insecurity on the part of the citizens, brought about by the corrupt administration of the government."[16] Referring to their emancipation efforts, Smith describes the "carpetbaggers" as taking part in "arming one class of citizens and refusing arms to another," highlighting the subtlety of his testimony.[17] He describes freedmen as a different "class of citizens," and describes his discontent towards the state government on the grounds of "corruption," which, as we see, equates to the "arming" of blacks with the rights and privileges they were previously deprived of. Smith attempts to shield the severity, and the racially motivated intentions of Klan violence behind his hatred for "carpetbaggers," and belief in a corrupt state government

[14] "Testimony of William Irwin," Joint Select Committee, *South Carolina*, vol. 2, p. 844.

[15] "Testimony of Robert Smith," Joint Select Committee, *South Carolina*, vol. 2, p. 728.

[16] Ibid. 728.

[17] Ibid. 729.

controlled by them.

At this point, we see a common attempt to mollify the actions of the Klan by labeling them as personal disputes or the result of corrupt Republican state government, stemming from the actions of "carpetbaggers." Furthermore, it is evident there is a significant hatred for northerners adventuring to the South. A plausible explanation for the animosity towards the "carpetbaggers," could stem from simple racism—a view that the status of blacks should not be uplifted in government and society, and organizations that aim to do this should be driven out. In Smith's case, the unequal "arming" of classes is a cause for his dismay. Smith "[does] not consider that the negro has business capacity to do anything," and describes them as having "no more to do with [justice] than your foot."[18] Using these responses, which clearly highlight his belief in the inferiority of blacks, let us examine his response to the accuracy of a statement. The Chairman read a description of "carpetbaggers" by whom he described as a "very distinguished man,":

> "Some of them got elected senators, others representatives, some sheriffs, some judges, and so on. And there they stand, right in the public eye, stealing and plundering, many of them with both arms around negroes, and their hands in their rear pocket…greatly concerned for the education of the blacks and for the salvation of their souls."[19]

Smith responded, "He is nearer right than any man I had heard describe it before."[20] This description of "carpetbaggers" paints their concern for the "education" of blacks as a cover up for "plundering," and "stealing." When combined with Smith's previous statements about blacks, we conclude that his racist views lead to his lack of sympathy for emancipation, and his

[18] "Testimony of Robert Smith," Joint Select Committee, *South Carolina*, vol. 2, p. 808.

[19] "Description by Chairman," Joint Select Committee, *South Carolina*, vol. 2, p. 744.

[20] "Testimony of Robert Smith," Joint Select Committee, *South Carolina*, vol. 2, p. 744.

recognition of "arming" and "educating" done by "carpetbaggers," as detrimental to society.

A description read by the Chairman in the hearings, which he describes as a "florid specimen of political literature," depicting the "wild times in South Carolina," serves to highlight this resentment for "carpetbaggers,":

> "It affords me great pleasure to be able to report that, after having 'thoroughly investigated' the matter, I am of opinion that the ghosts, hobgoblins, jack-o'-the-lanterns, and Ku Klux of the third congressional district, are all but allotropic conditions of the witches of New England, whose larvae, having long laid dormant until imported hither in the carpet-bags of some pious political priests, germinated in the too credulous minds of their poor proselytes."[21]

This portrayal summarizes the view among many whites in South Carolina. The satire in its animation of the Ku Klux as "ghosts" or "hobgoblins," speaks to the belief that the the Klan's actions were not severe or problematic. In addition, the depiction of "carpetbaggers," as "witches of New England," whose "larvae" is imported to the South and "germinated" in the minds of the "poor proselytes," further demonstrates the general abhorrence for them. Blacks were mordantly referenced as poor proselytes or, in other words, those who have altered their stance; in this case perhaps political party affiliation.

In many cases, whites saw the crimes against blacks as non-issues and often talked down their severity. In his testimony, Robert Smith, expressed his disbelief for the whippings reported by blacks. He felt they were "no strange thing," for blacks to lie about. When probed further with evidence of scars, he responds by saying that they should "test the age of scars," as "they might

[21] "Description by Chairman," Joint Select Committee, *South Carolina*, vol. 2, p. 929.

have been received in slavery times."[22] His response highlights his lack of regard for the well being of blacks. Further, it demonstrates how whites minimized black testimony regarding the violence they faced. In the case of Smith, he used, what he saw as, an insufficient amount of evidence to disparage those claims. Simpson Bobo also attempts to minimize the crimes against blacks by characterizing them as "private piques." By doing this, he redirects the violence from being against all blacks to only a select few. We see clearly from this discussion that Klan violence was in fact racially and politically motivated, and not the result of secluded disagreements, as testifiers such as Smith and Bobo express.

Testimonies by colored men express the severity of KKK violence and further dispute the claims made by Smith and Bobo. In his testimony, Caleb Jenkins describes his encounter with the KKK: "They came in on me, and the gentlemen hit at the door and called my name…and fired three balls, and shot three times in the house."[23] They told him they were there to kill him for voting for the Union Ticket. Jenkins justified his actions by stating that the Union League told him it was right. They eventually told him to leave town or they would "sacrifice [his] life."[24] Because Jenkins voted in opposition to the Democratic party, he was harassed and beaten. Mervin Givens, another colored testifier, received, as he describes it, a powerful whipping with sticks and hickories for voting on a radical ticket. He was blindfolded and whipped "stark naked."[25] Eliphaz Smith was physically disabled by the Klan for voting opposition.[26] These examples can go on. In fact, Reverend Cummings compiled a list of 227 whippings from

[22] "Testimony of Robert Smith," Joint Select Committee, *South Carolina,* vol. 2, p. 742.

[23] "Testimony of Caleb Jenkins," Joint Select Committee, *South Carolina*, vol. 2, p. 697.

[24] Ibid.

[25] "Testimony of Mervin Givens," Joint Select Committee, *South Carolina,* vol. 2, p. 699.

[26] "Testimony of Eliphaz Smith," Joint Select Committee, *South Carolina*, vol. 2, p. 701.

Spartanbraugh County for his testimony.[27] These instances, and the many other crimes listed, reaffirm the conclusion made earlier regarding the political motives of the Klan. It is clear from the evidence and testimony, in discordance with Smith's and many others' "disbelief," that blacks were taunted heavily by the KKK for their political affiliation. In addition, when put together with what we saw regarding whites' attempts to minimize the claims made by blacks, we are given a more comprehensive picture, a black response to the white testimony.

Many northerners came to South Carolina to re-establish the principles of popular government embodied by the Constitution. They established schools, and engaged in efforts to assemble the black population in order to secure their freedom. Because of their engagement with black communities, and political mobilization they garnered many black votes for offices ranging from sheriff to senator. This led to the growth of "carpetbaggers," in local and state governments, which in turn, encouraged black representation, and equality. This dynamic upset many southern whites, who saw the presence of northerners and "inferior" blacks in government as reminiscent of their defeat. This political climate fueled the violence that enveloped this period. The Klan, as we have seen, was very much politically and racially driven, opposed to what various testimonies claim. It was a political machine that engaged in violent, and horrific crimes against blacks who voted in opposition to it. By painting these crimes as inconsequential, and situating them on the backs of northerners, whites were able to label the problems of the south as foreign, illustrating their homegrown pride and persistence in upholding Southern prestige. Their testimonies encompass a deeply engrained racism—one that consistently fails to placate the violence of the Klan without justifying it on the actions of blacks, and "carpetbaggers."

[27] "Testimony of A.W Cummings," Joint Select Committee, *South Carolina*, vol. 2, p. 919.

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The Soviet Occupation of Afghanistan: A Genocidal Perspective

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The Soviet-Afghan War from 1979 to 1989 is often considered to be the Soviet Union's Vietnam and was a crucial proxy war within the larger Cold War conflict.[1] However, it is less frequently defined as a genocide. While many scholars acknowledge the large number of atrocities within the conflict and the brutal nature of the war, few venture to use "genocide" in reference to the Soviet occupation.[2] Even when the word "genocide" is mentioned in scholarly work related to the conflict, it is often a side note and is not the primary focus of the works in question, with only a few pages, if that, being devoted to the topic.[3]

My research reveals that the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan can, in fact, be defined as a genocide, especially upon examination of its two distinct, but intimately related, reigns of terror, one taking place in the countryside and the other in the major cities. Although various groups were targeted, the two campaigns were united by a common goal: isolating the Mujahedeen resistance fighters from their primary source of support, the Afghan populace. This was to be accomplished by the coordinated execution of a reign of terror in the countryside designed to make the lives of rural Afghan unbearable, forcing them to flee the country itself or flee into urban centers. The second reign of terror would then begin in the cities, where the Soviets exercised the most control, and would primarily target intellectuals, political enemies, class

[1] "Interview with Zbigniew Brzezinski," (Paris: Le Nouvel Observateur, 15-21 January 1998) in "Afghanistan: The Soviet Invasion in Retrospect," by David N. Gibbs, (Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona, 2000), 242.

[2] Steve Coll, "Ghost Wars," (New York: Penguin Publishing, 2004), refers to the war as "a brutal grassroots national struggle fought among rocks and boulders. It was a war fueled by two superpowers but also indifferent to them," (Page 69), but does not refer to the conflict as genocide.

[3] Joseph Collins, "Understanding the War in Afghanistan," (Washington D.C.: National Defense University Press, 2011), 31.

enemies, dissidents, and those guilty of aiding the Mujahedeen, whether such charges were real or imagined. To facilitate a thoughtful analysis, the essay will address five distinct elements of a genocidal campaign: agent/perpetrator, victim, goal, strategy, and intent.

The sources which illuminate the clear genocidal pattern during the occupation primarily consist of (but are not limited to) annual reports from various international relief organizations, in-person interviews with Afghan refugees who were eyewitnesses to the genocide, transcripts of talks between high-level Soviet and Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (DRA) officials, meticulously-researched demographic studies on Afghanistan during the conflict, reports of Soviet military officials, and transcripts of prominent local Afghan intellectuals who successfully fled to the United States.

It is perhaps understandable that many scholars have shied away from deeming this conflict a genocide. This is likely because of the large volume of high-level U.S. and USSR documents referring to the conflict as a Cold War conflict. Many transcripts of Politburo meetings refer to the war as just that, a war. Civilian deaths are often written-off as collateral damage. Indeed, in the words of Jacques Sémelin, "War's special trick is to push to incandescence the *imaginaire* of fear…It is 'them' or 'us.' In the name of the security dilemma, everything becomes justifiable."[4] Extermination during war has the convenient excuse of, "well that's war!" but upon a quick glance at 20th century history, the three most internationally-recognized genocides in modern memory, the Armenian Genocide, Holocaust, and Rwandan Genocide, *all* occurred in a context of civil war and/or international war, and this is no coincidence. Proving genocide in Afghanistan from 1979-1989, at first glance, is daunting for

[4] Jacques Sémelin, "Purify and Destroy: The Political Uses of Massacre and Genocide," (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 145.

these reasons. However, upon careful inspection, the obvious conclusion reveals itself: what occurred in Afghanistan between 1979-1989 is nothing short of genocide.

The primary agents of the genocide in Afghanistan under Soviet occupation were the Soviets themselves, especially after 1980 due to the shift in counterinsurgency tactics from ground raids carried out by foot soldiers to airstrikes and helicopter raids. However, the role of the DRA should not be understated. In one especially chilling account from Shir Dal, a local of the Kats region in Afghanistan, "…They even killed chickens, pigeons, everything alive they killed… When the Russians came, the children were hiding in a cave. One Parchami Communist man (an Afghan) was with them, and helped bring the children out, and they burned them to death."[5] The identification of this man as a "Parchami Communist" requires further explanation.

There were two competing factions within the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), the Khalq and Parcham factions. The Khalq faction were of a very Stalinist mindset and ran the PDPA up until 1979. Both Nur Mohammed Taraki and Hafizullah Amin were of the Khalq faction. Taraki was President of Afghanistan from April 1978 (when Taraki, Amin, and Karmal launched the Saur Revolution to overthrow then-President Mohammed Daoud Khan) until his execution, which was ordered by Amin in September of 1979. Amin quickly assumed power after Taraki's execution but quickly began to distrust the Soviets and went about instituting communist reforms much too quickly. Amin was assassinated by the Soviets on December 27th, 1979, and the Soviets elevated Babrak Karmal, a Parchami, to the head of the CC PDPA.

[5] "Interview of Shir Dal," in "To Die in Afghanistan," (*Helsinki Watch* and *Asia Watch*, 1985), 7.

Once Karmal assumed power, he used the KhAD (State Information Services),[6] the KGB-funded Afghan secret police, to target Khalq members who did not join the Parcham faction. This was not unheard of in Afghan politics. In fact, it was the norm when the PDPA were in power. A Report on the Situation in Afghanistan presented to the Soviet Politburo on November 29th, 1979, specifically mentioned that it was becoming obvious that "He (Amin) is clearly pursuing the removal from power of practically all eminent figures of the Party and government whom he views as his real or *potential* enemies."[7] The report continues, specifically mentioning that "at the present time the execution of a group of Politburo members (Zeray, Misak, Panjshiri) who are subject to fictitious accusations of 'anti-Party and counter-revolutionary activity,' is planned."[8] This early use of political terror paled in comparison to what was to come, but does offer historians somewhat of a blueprint as to how PDPA officials viewed political rivals and how they were dealt with. Clearly, there was a paradigm of violence pervading the PDPA. This trend, which was quite clear when the Khalq faction was in power, would continue and increase in severity under the Parchamists.

According to M. Hassan Kakar, an Afghan author who was arrested in 1983 by the DRA[9] and fled from Kabul, Afghanistan in 1987, writes "In contrast with the Khalqi period, when detainees were treated violently during their interrogations, in the Parchami period torture became 'part of a scientific system of intelligence rather than just a form of sadistic

[6] "*Khadamat-e Aetla'at-e Dawlati*" translates literally to "State Intelligence Agency" in English but is more accurately understood as "State Information Services."

[7] "Report on the Situation in Afghanistan, Gromyko, Andropov, Ustinov, and Ponomarev to CPSU CC," (Wilson Center Digital Archive, Nov. 29th, 1979), 2. http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/111576.

[8] "Report on the Situation in Afghanistan, Gromyko, Andropov, Ustinov, and Ponomarev to CPSU CC," 2.

[9] "Amnesty International Annual Report 1984," (London: Amnesty International Publications, 1984), 205.

punishment.'"[10] This is strikingly similar to how the NKVD operated during the Stalinist era in the Soviet Union. Although the Khalqi were the self-professed Stalinists, the Parchami employed a very similar system to the NKVD, torturing victims until they admitted their guilt and named names of their accomplices in the so-called "crimes" they committed. This method of torture and the extraction of more names of alleged "anti-communists" was a staple of the reign of terror conducted by the Soviets in the major cities of Afghanistan. The KGB method of denunciation, interrogation, and eventual murder of suspected enemies of the state was welcomed by the Parchamists, many of whom had been radicalized from their period of persecution by the Khalqis.

According to a report of high-ranking Soviet military officials in Afghanistan to Minister of Defense Dmitriy Ustinov, the Parchamists attempted to create a factional majority within DRA VS (Afghan armed forces). In January of 1980, just days after the Soviet invasion started, there were "about 13,000 PDPA members and candidate members in the DRA VS, among them 11,300 Khalqis and 1,500 Parchamists." As of January 1981, "there were 15,000 PDPA members and candidate members, of which as before up to 70% were former Khalqis."[11] Clearly then, many former Khalqis found it wise to switch to the ruling faction for political gain, and also for fear of targeting by the KhAD. Similarly, the Karmal regime attempted to create a majority in the DRA government itself. In 1981, seventeen of twenty appointees for the CC and Revolutionary Council were former Parchamists.[12] Interestingly, this report goes on to mention that if elections were to be held for CC PDPA positions, the Parchamists would likely lose their

[10] M. Hassan Kakar, "The Soviet Invasion and the Afghan Response, 1979-1982," (*University of California Press*, 1995), 59.

[11] "Report of Military Leaders to D. F. Ustinov," (*Wilson Center Digital Archive*, May 10, 1981), 4.

[12] "Report of Military Leaders to D. F. Ustinov," 4.

majority as of 1981.[13] It is clear that the Parchamists realized this and used coercive measures to maintain their dominance of the DRA and the PDPA.

One important fact to consider is that Khalqi supporters were mainly *rural* Pashtuns while the Parchamists were largely *urban* Pashtuns and Tajiks.[14] This can perhaps explain the adoption of a very anti-rural strategy by the DRA, since as we have seen, the DRA was controlled by the PDPA which was made up overwhelmingly of Parchamists after Babrak Karmal's ascension to power and subsequent persecution of Khalq supporters. Perhaps the DRA was in a position to be uniquely receptive to the Soviet scorched earth tactics due the DRA's high level of urban membership. The DRA did not maintain a high degree of control outside the cities, where their power was often secondary to tribal leaders, so the combination of these factors could explain why the DRA was not as resistant to the intentional destruction of much of their homeland and civilian population by the Soviets as one would expect.

Thus, one of the other primary agents of genocide in Afghanistan was the Parcham faction of the PDPA, although it should be noted that many of the Parcham members were ex-Khalqis. The PDPA clearly controlled the DRA VS (DRA army) command structure as evidenced by the military leaders report above. Therefore, genocide committed by the DRA VS certainly had major ties to high-ranking Afghan officials, usually Parchamists, who sanctioned the killing, like in the testimony from Shir Dal. The primary agents of genocide in Afghanistan were thus the Soviets as well as the DRA VS, whose highest-ranking positions were controlled by members of the PDPA, specifically the Parcham faction.

[13] "Report of Military Leaders to D. F. Ustinov," 5.

[14] Zalmay Khalilzad, "The War in Afghanistan," (International Journal, Vol. 41, No. 2, Southwest Asia (Spring, 1986), pp. 271-299, 1986), 280-281.

The question of victim group is one of the first potential criticisms of labelling the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan genocidal. The United Nations Genocide Convention definition does not specifically mention political groups in the list of agreed-upon victims in genocide. Psychologist David Moshman argues,

> "all genocides involve multiple motives, complex interactions of causal factors, and groups that can be divided and defined in multiple ways… A purist definition of genocide requiring unmixed motives, singular causes, and discrete groups would render the concept irrelevant to the actual social worlds of human beings."[15]

Victims of genocide can be concurrently representative of, for example, a social class, a political entity, or an ethnic entity at the same time. Since identities overlap in this way, the other forms of genocide, such as politicde (targeting of members of a rival political group), eliticide (targeting of a groups elites or leaders), or democide (targeting of civilians by their own government), are crucial to bolstering the argument for genocide and more accurately explaining the various dimensions of the genocide itself. Placing the victim group into neat, rigid boxes does not aid in the study and categorization of genocide. Rather, it prevents discussion of otherwise seemingly clear cases of genocide. After all, if political groups must be excluded, then the genocidal regime of Pol Pot in Cambodia cannot be considered genocidal.

It is important to remember that while it may seem difficult to group these victims into one singular category, identity can be placed upon the victim group by the perpetrators of genocide, and this is often the case! For instance, say one man was a poor fruit vendor in the Kandahar market and was tortured for "capitalist actions" while another man, an affluent local politician from Herat, was also tortured to death by the Soviets. These men seemingly do not have anything in common besides their sex, nationality, and religion (traditionally accepted

[15] David Moshman, "Conceptions of Genocide and Perceptions of History," in Dan Stone, ed., *The Historiography of Genocide* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 86.

victim groups in genocide studies). However, they were both killed for their alleged anti-communist actions and thus, they are lumped into the same victim group on the basis of each being political enemies of the state. It would have been likely that neither of these men would have identified themselves as such, however, identity of the victim group can be crafted in the minds of the perpetrators.

The identity of civilian and insurgent was often fluid. There are numerous high-level Soviet accounts of the Soviets taking control of a village by day, only to have the Mujahedeen re-enter the village once night set and the Soviets withdrew.[16] The Soviet forces did in fact conduct numerous military operations against the Mujahedeen, but as the war dragged on, the targets of Soviet and DRA attacks increasingly became the rural, Afghan civilian population itself instead of the armed rebel groups. Babrak Karmal, head of the CC PDPA Politburo, is even documented asking Soviet General Lieutenant V. Cheremynkh, "How do you determine the precise number of rebels and distinguish them from the local population?" To which Cheremynkh responded, "– It's not easy. Reliable information is needed."[17] Even high-level officials had great difficulty finding reliable information of who was an enemy and who was not. Growing Soviet and DRA frustration over this game of cat and mouse, coupled with the effectiveness of Mujahedeen guerrilla tactics, prompted the Soviet generals to switch from a policy targeting the Mujahedeen to a policy targeting the rural, Afghan populations.

The primary goal of the Soviet/DRA genocide in Afghanistan was to pursue a policy of terror to make living in rural Afghanistan impossible, thus forcing the populace to flee the

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[16] Svetlana Savranskaya, "*Pravda* Correspondent I. Shchedrov's letter to the CC CPSU on the Situation in Afghanistan," (Document 15) In "The Soviet Experience in Afghanistan: Russian Documents and Memoirs," National Security Archive, 2001. http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB57/r15.doc.

[17] "Conversation with Babrak Karmal," October 11th, 1981, (*Wilson Center Digital Archive),* http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/113135.pdf?v=04f01b33c289976287483925d73ada33.

country, be killed, or relocate to Afghan urban centers. According to Claude Malhuret, the head of Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF), the Soviets and their DRA allies actively pursued this policy because the Soviets understood that, "… the war would be won by the side that succeeded in making terror reign."[18] The Soviets found success in forcing the rural civilian population to flee. The exact numbers of Afghan refugees from 1978-1984 are found in J.B. Amstutz' "Afghanistan: The First Five Years of Soviet Occupation," in the following table:[19]

Period	*To Pakistan*	*To Iran*	*To other destinations*
Through 1978	18,000	?	?
Through 1979	389,000	?	?
Through 1980	1,232,000	250,000	?
Through 1981	2,500,000	?	?
Through 1982	2,700,000	500,000	?
Through 1983	2,900,000	650,000	?
Through 1984	3,200,000	850,000	70,000

These large refugee numbers correspond to the increasing measure of Soviet adherence to "scorched earth" tactics against the rural Afghan population. As noted by Claude Malhuret, the Soviets began using these scorched earth tactics early in the occupation with the specific goal of draining the rural population from the country, whether that was through killing them or forcing them to flee in order to isolate Mujahedeen fighters from their main foundation of support.[20] The increase in refugee numbers can be explained by the Soviet shift from the predominate use of ground forces to jets and helicopters targeting rural villages and towns. These operations peaked in 1985. A testimonial from Najibullah, a resident of Sayed District in Wardak Province, provides clear insight into the functions of the jets and helicopters, "The task of the helicopters was different than the task of the MIG jets… The gunship helicopters circled those miserable

[18] Claude Malhuret, "Report from Afghanistan," (*Council on Foreign Relations*, 1983), 4.

[19] J.B. Amstutz, "Afghanistan: The First Five Years of Soviet Occupation," (Washington DC: *National Defense University*), 1986, 224. http://oai.dtic.mil/oai/oai?verb=getRecord&metadataPrefix=html&identifier=ADA187795.

[20] Claude Malhuret, "Report from Afghanistan," (*Council on Foreign Relations*, 1983), 3.

villages, flying very low over them, hunting any living being visible to them. The livestock, the cattle, and the beasts of burden were also main targets."[21] This is one of many interviews with Afghan refugees which verify the Soviet strategy of intentionally targeting food supplies and the people themselves through indiscriminate bombing of the village by MIG jets followed by more targeted attacks by helicopters. These were *not* military targets; these were civilians being intentionally targeted for being rural Afghans.

While there is a notable shift in Soviet strategy post 1980 from ground forces to air forces, Soviet and DRA VS ground forces continued to operate during this period. Hanneke Kouwenberg, of the Swedish Committee for Afghanistan, travelled around northeast Afghanistan during May and June 1985. Her observations led her to conclude, "Before they (the soviets) would enter a village and pick out a few people. Now they surround a whole village and kill everyone."[22] This view of the situation is supported by Malhuret's observations about Soviet strategy from 1979-1980, "Civilians would flee into the mountains, leaving the village mostly deserted… The Russians would destroy almost everything, they pillaged and burned homes, set fire to crops, and dragged off the few inhabitants left behind who were mostly old people. These people were interrogated and summarily executed."[23]

Soviet and DRA VS ground forces also shifted their tactics post 1980 in order to maximize the terror. Instead of killing a few individuals, the Soviets and DRA shifted their focus to destroying entire villages and making sure that the population was in the village when the attack occurred. One testimonial from Najibullah of the Wardak Province provides further clarity on this point. Najibullah mentioned how the Afghans became knowledgeable about the

[21] "Testimony of Najibullah," in in "To Die in Afghanistan," (*Helsinki Watch* and *Asia Watch*, 1985), 11.

[22] "Rubin Barnett's Interview with Hanneke Kouwenberg," in "To Die in Afghanistan," (*Helsinki Watch* and *Asia Watch*, 1985), 10.

[23] Claude Malhuret, "Report from Afghanistan," (*Council on Foreign Relations*, 1983), 4.

intent of Soviet helicopters by what altitude they were flying. For instance, if the helicopters were at a high altitude and were flying quickly, odds were that their village would not be targeted that day.[24] However, on the day his village was bombed, the Soviet helicopters made such a passing run over his village, Wonkhi, and so the villagers returned to their occupations, believing the potential threat had passed. However, the helicopters soon returned, flying low, and proceeded to obliterate the town and most of the inhabitants. This indicates that the Soviets intentionally made it seem as if they were simply flying to another objective, ensuring that the villagers of Wonkhi did not flee into the mountains or whatever hiding place they had designated. This is a good example of the shift in Soviet policy in Afghanistan. Attacks were conducted post 1980 using air power and targeted the entire population of the designated village instead of a portion of the village population. This tactic was a major pillar of the Soviets genocidal strategy in Afghanistan.

This scorched earth method also deprived the Mujahedeen of food because of the intentional destruction of mass amounts of Afghan agricultural harvests by Soviet and DRA forces. This is evidenced by Rubin's interview with refugees from Kunduz and Laghman Provinces in Manda Refugee Camp, Pakistan,

> "When the people gather the harvest, the Russians completely burn the harvest with tanks, rockets. When they come to the village they kill children, ladies, (unmarried) girls, old people, and they say, "we don't need the people, we need the land" … That's why they're killing the people. They said, 'if there are any Afghan children, we will not be able to rule Afghanistan, so we have to finish this nation.'"[25]

The refugees went on to mention how the Soviets proclaimed these messages via loudspeaker. This quote highlights multiple instances of genocide. The intentional destruction of food

[24] "Testimony of Najibullah," in in "To Die in Afghanistan," 11.

[25] "Rubin's Interview with Refugees from Kunduz and Laghman Provinces in Manda Refugee Camp, Pakistan," in "To Die in Afghanistan," 7.

supplies, thus depriving the population of that which is necessary for survival, food, is a good indication that this was not a military action, it was action targeted against the civilian population. The specific mentioning of Soviets killing children, women, and old people also indicates genocidal activity. These victims clearly were not military targets but were targeted nonetheless. The quote "We don't need the people, we need the land," also buttresses the argument that Soviet policy was a campaign of terror, not a campaign to win "the hearts and minds" of the civilian population. The terror was simply a means to an end, that end being the destruction of the Mujahedeen. However, the mean was genocidal in nature and overwhelming evidence supports the fact that the pursuit of their goal, the destruction of the Mujahedeen, yielded a myriad of genocidal results from the onset of adopting their scorched earth strategy. Even high-level Soviet officials acknowledged the destruction of food supplies. *Pravda* correspondent Ivan Shchedrov's letter to the CC CPSU on the Situation in Afghanistan, penned in 1981, mentioned specifically that "the tactics of hot pursuit of the rebels and that of destruction of rebels' nests on their own territory is facing growing criticism on the part of the local population. In the course of those operations, the housing and the agricultural fields are often destroyed, the civilian population is killed."[26] While this is not an admission of intent, it is at least a high-level verification of the widespread annihilation of rural Afghan food surplus and confirms that high-ranking Soviet officials knew about this very early-on in the war.

Marek Sliwinksi, after extensive interviews with refugees in refugee camps in Pakistan, concluded that by the end of 1987, about 9% of the Afghan population had been killed. Sliwinksi puts the total number of civilian deaths around 1-1.5 million while the exact number is

[26] Svetlana Savranskaya, "*Pravda* Correspondent I. Shchedrov's letter to the CC CPSU on the Situation in Afghanistan."

likely closer to 1.25 million.[27] It is important to note that these are simply *civilian* deaths as a result of the conflict, these deaths were not battlefield occurrences. A further 3.2 million Afghans had fled the country as of 1984 (refer to the table on page 7 seven). A breakdown of the deaths by age group was written by one Noor Ahmad Khalidi and offers an immense amount of depth in regards to which age groups were most afflicted. Khalidi provides a multitude of primary sources and graphs illustrating the demographic impact of the genocide on the Afghan population. The most shocking piece of data is a graph showing deaths per 1000 in each year of the occupation.[28] Males were killed far more than females, this is to be expected in a conventional war. However, damningly, battle-age males (ages 20-49) were killed equally as frequently or *less* than males above battle age[29] (elderly people), meaning that there was clearly an intentional targeting of civilian centers since most people who could not flee were the old and sick.

One frequently-overlooked aspect of many modern genocides in the twentieth century is the consistent targeting of intellectuals in the opening stages of genocide. Intellectuals pose a unique threat to governments or groups that wish to commit genocide. Scholars are in a powerful position where they can function as a "whistleblower" when genocidal actions are being committed or when an event occurs which could enable genocide or make its occurrence more likely. Scholars are also capable of seeing the seeds of genocide before any killing actually begins. Evidence of this would be the widespread study of the "genocidal continuum" and its importance in rendering genocide possible. Ideas are dangerous to those who wish to oppress

[27] Marek Sliwinksi, "Afghanistan 1978-1987: War, Demography, and Society," *Central Asian Survey*, Incedental Paper Series No. 6 (1988) in "Afghanistan: Demographic Consequences of War, 1978-1987," by Noor Ahmad Khalidi, *Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 10, No. 3, 1991, pg. 101.

[28] Noor Ahmad Khalidi, "Afghanistan: Demographic Consequences of War, 1978-1987," (*Central Asian Survey*, Vol. 10, No. 3, 1991), 108.

[29] Noor Ahmad Khalidi, "Afghanistan: Demographic Consequences of War, 1978-1987," 101.

others, and scholars are the keepers of ideas which they can then spread to the population as a whole.

Scholars have been some of the first victims in many genocides and this is the case in Afghanistan as well. Renowned Holocaust and genocide scholar Omer Bartov summarized Hitler's goal for the Eastern Front in World War II: "to wipe out the Soviet state, to enslave the Russian people after debilitating them by famine and all other forms of deprivation, systematically to murder all "biological" and political enemies of Nazism, such as the Jews, the Gypsies [Roma], members of the Communist Party, *intellectuals*, and so forth…"[30] The destruction of the intellectual community is also required to ensure that organized resistance to the perpetrator does not take place. Hitler targeted intellectuals in the Holocaust in order to "dumb down" the victim populations and make organized resistance more difficult. Hitler and Stalin both targeted Polish intellectuals in their joint-invasion in 1939[31] in their attempt to dumb down the Poles. Stalin is guilty of pursuing this policy in Ukraine, the Baltic states, and even against Soviet intellectuals as well; most were sent to the infamous Gulag.[32]

Intellectuals also have the capacity to influence a population to a great degree. If the scholarly community totes the party line of the perpetrators of genocide, this gives the perpetrators a great deal of credibility. Groups committing genocide have often looked to intellectuals to bolster their claims of legitimacy in regard to their genocidal actions. Having the intellectual community in one's proverbial pocket is a great tool for genocidaires to have at their

[30] Omer Bartov, "Germany's War and the Holocaust: Disputed Histories," (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), 7.

[31] Adam Jones, "Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction," (New York: Routledge, 2011), 199.

[32] The Soviet Gulag is frequently contested as a case of genocide. Author Adam Jones posits that the answer is determined according to location. Jones believes that the northern camps of the Artic Circle "appear to have exhibited a high degree of genocidal intent…" (Page 197 in the 2011 edition of Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction) and this author agrees. For further reading on the subject, see page 197 in the aforementioned text. The case is quite compelling.

disposal. When intellectuals do not choose to kneel to the perpetrator, they are quickly targeted as political enemies. One of the greatest testaments to this fact is the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. While Pol Pot came from the countryside, the core group of leaders belonged to the small, privileged intellectual class.[33] One of the primary victim groups in the Cambodian genocide in the 1970's was in fact intellectuals. Most of the Khmer Rouge's leaders were intellectuals themselves and they understood the potential power that intellectuals had. Their systematic targeting of the intellectual community was no coincidence, it illustrates how feared intellectuals are to genocidaires.

As a modern, 20th century genocide, Afghanistan under the Soviet occupation follows this trend of anti-intellectualism. Amnesty International, in its 1984 Annual Report, cited the arrest of several academics from the University of Kabul in 1983, "Professor Hassan Kakar, Dr Osman Rustar, and Shukrullah Kohgadai were tried in camera for "counter-revolutionary offences."[34] All three were denied the right to a lawyer as well as the right to appeal the verdict, which was sentences of 7-10 years in prison. Several hundred alleged members of the Afghan Social Democratic Party also were arrested to same year according to the same source. 19 alleged members of *Sama,* a Maoist group, were also detained in 1982 without being notified of charges. According to Amnesty International, "Detainees were allegedly subjected to beatings. deprivation of sleep and electric shock torture involving the use of electric shock batons or electrodes wired to a telephone."[35] Interviews with former detainees also pointed to the existence of eight KhAD (Afghan secret police) torture centers in Kabul alone. The damning evidence follows, "Those arrested and subjected to torture included not only people accused of

[33] Adam Jones, "Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction," 290-291.

[34] "Amnesty International Annual Report 1984," 205.

[35] Ibid. 207.

involvement in armed resistance to the government but civil servants, doctors, teachers, students and many others seized on suspicion of non-violent opposition. In most cases torture was apparently used either to extract information or to force confessions from detainees."[36] The fact that there was such a concerted effort to target the main organs of non-violent resistance in Afghanistan during the occupation points to the fact that there must certainly have been something the Soviets and DRA wanted covered up. If the Soviets had nothing to hide, why not let the intellectuals write freely? After all, there would, in theory, be no evidence of genocidal activity if none occurred.

The great emphasis placed on silencing these intellectual critics illuminates the degree of genocidal intent in Afghanistan during the 1980's. Silencing these intellectuals and political rivals effectively would mean that there were not many credible voices left in the urban Afghan population to critique the regime and serve as a legitimate whistleblower. The fact that intellectuals were targeted in Afghanistan is a strong piece of evidence for the case of genocide during the occupation. This trend follows other 20th century genocides such as Hitler's invasion of the East, Stalin's Great Terror, Gulag system, and invasions of Poland, Ukraine, and the Baltic States, and the Khmer Rouge's placement of urban intellectuals at the top of their kill list. Soviet and DRA/PDPA targeting of Afghan intellectuals does not prove genocidal intent by itself, but does offer strong support for the case for genocide in Afghanistan. Upon further analysis of 20th century genocides, it seems that the trend of targeting intellectual communities is convincingly persistent.

Similarly, silencing critique from the press, both foreign and domestic, is another indication of genocide in the Afghan case. The Soviets and DRA made a conscious and overt

[36] "Amnesty International Annual Report 1984," 207.

effort to stymie the efforts of western journalists as well as domestic Afghan reporters during the occupation. Firstly, as in many Communist states, most approved newspapers were very pro-DRA. The *Kabul Times* was staunchly pro-DRA throughout the invasion. This is another reason why the Soviets and DRA attempted to force the rural Afghan population to flee to the cities, the Soviets and DRA could more effectively control the message the civilians received from the government in areas controlled by pro-DRA forces. The authorities could also, in theory, monitor what information was accessible to the public in these areas under Soviet control and thus attempt to control how people think by framing issues using a Soviet lens. Some article titles in the *Kabul Times* included, "People Receive Soviet Aid All Over the Country," "People of Helmand, Herat Support DRA Government" (they most definitely did not), "Saur Revolution Brought Happiness to Oppressed People," "People of Panwar, Kunar Condemn Imperialists," "Desperate Enemy Efforts Doomed to Fail: Karmal," and "People are Firm Against Imperialist Aggressions."[37] All of these article titles were taken from only a couple pages of the *Kabul Times*, showing the obvious pro-Soviet sentiment. By concentrating the majority of the population in cities, the Soviets controlled the message being sent by the Afghan media, something they could not control if western journalists operated freely in the country or if freedom of the press existed in the domestic sphere.

There were multiple instances of overt Soviet attacks on western journalists during the occupation. An American, Charles Thornton of the *Arizona Republic* was killed by a Soviet ambush in the Kandahar province in 1985.[38] Vitaly Smirnov, Soviet ambassador to Pakistan,

[37] Afghanistan, "Kabul Times, June 1980" (1980). Books in English. Paper 97. All article titles can be found in the newspaper issues from early June, starting on June 3rd, 1980.

[38] Rubin Barnett and Jeri Laber, "To Die in Afghanistan," (*Helsinki Watch* and *Asia Watch*, 1985), 3.

provided one of the most chilling and overt warnings to western journalists and confirmed the targeting of western journalists by Soviet and DRA forces,

"I warn you, and through you, all of your journalist colleagues: stop trying to penetrate Afghanistan with the so-called Mujahedeen. From now on, the bandits and the so-called journalists – French, American, British, and others – accompanying them will be killed. And our units in Afghanistan will help the Afghan forces to do it."[39]

This message is loud and clear and came from an ambassador, someone charged with communicating the official stance of the state he represents. This admission is clear evidence of the targeting of western journalists in Afghanistan. This also indicates that Thornton's death was no accident, and that journalists were openly targeted by the Soviets and the DRA VS. International aid workers were, just like journalists, often portrayed as CIA agents or agents of the west. Both foreign and domestic journalists were targeted by the Soviets intentionally and their targeting builds a strong case for the presence of genocidal activity in Afghanistan.

One particularly startling account was provided by Judge Omar Babrakzai, a graduate of the University of Paris and a former judge of the Kabul High Court of Appeals, who gave his testimony about the situation in Afghanistan to a meeting of the Committee on International Human Rights of the New York Bar Association on January 28, 1983. Babrakzai mainly focused on the Afghan legal system as he was a judge in Afghanistan and understood the legal system intimately. He testified that the carefully monitored system of judicial checks and balances was destroyed when the Soviets invaded. He went on to elaborate on the new system used by the DRA, "People who express dissent…without having committed any crime

[39] "Vitaly Smirnov's Telegram to Olivier Warin of *Agence France Presse* Correspondent in Islamabad," October 5th, 1984, in "Tears, Blood, and Cries: Human Rights in Afghanistan Since the Invasion 1979-1984," (*Helsinki Watch* and *Asia Watch*, 1985), by Rubin Barnett and Jeri Laber, 186.

whatsoever, and without ever appearing before a court-are hauled from their homes in the middle of the night. They are first sent to the torture chambers of the [Communist-created and Soviet supervised] Kabul security police, which is known as KhAD. After this they are sent to Pul-i-Charkhi "detention center," or *concentration camp*, ten kilometers east of Kabul. Every night between 200 and 300 people are told that they are being released from detention, and are escorted to a former artillery field known as the Polygon, where they are executed."[40] This in-depth explanation of the process by which dissidents were silenced by the DRA, from an Afghan judge and intellectual nonetheless, provides yet another source validating the claim that the KhAD operated torture facilities targeting political dissidents. What is unique about this source is the categorization of Pul-i-Charkhi as being a concentration camp, and Babrakzai's description certainly seems to adhere to the definition of a concentration camp. This practice can be placed into the category of Politicide. Barbara Harff defines Politicide as "the promotion, execution, and/or implied consent of sustained policies by governing elites or their agents— or, in the case of civil war, either of the contending authorities—that are intended to destroy, in whole or part, a communal, political, or politicized ethnic group."[41] The Pul-i-Charkhi concentration camp certainly falls into this category, as well as the purging of the Khalq supporters and all other political dissidents through violent force (i.e. Maoist parties in Afghanistan). Labelling this specific aspect of the genocide as Politicide is important because it exposes one of the many "faces" of the Afghan genocide and can help scholars more accurately explain the genocide in comparative studies on the subject.

[40] "Testimony of Judge Omar Babrakzai," in Dagens Nyheter, "Atrocities and Violations of Human Rights and International Law in Afghanistan," (World Affairs, Vol. 145, No. 3, Afghanistan (Winter 1982/83), pp. 299-314), 303.

[41] Barbara Harff, "No Lessons Learned From the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder since 1955," (The American Political Science Review, Vol. 97, No. 1 (Feb., 2003), pp. 57-73), 58..

Omar Babrakzai's testimony also mentions the targeting of class enemies. An important point to keep in mind is that group identity is often imposed (even imagined) by the perpetrators rather than claimed by the victims themselves. This seems to be the case in Afghanistan in regards to the KhAD charging Afghan citizens with the crime of belonging to the "capitalist class." Babrakzai mentions in his testimony that this charge does exist and that the Soviet advisors involved in court cases have their judgement treated as law,[42] indicating that the KhAD acted only when their Soviet advisors sanctioned the action in question. In the case Judge Babrakzai was involved in (mentioned in the footnotes), the Justice Minister gave a guilty sentence immediately once the Soviet advisor on hand said that an example must be made and the sentence certainly must be "guilty." This shows the power of the Soviet advisors in Afghan courts in USSR-controlled areas. Babrakzai contends that the exact number of people killed without trial is difficult to count. However, Michael Barry submitted that 13,000 people were killed in this manner by KhAD agents from 1978-1979 alone. Interestingly, Barry also mentioned how Karmal himself accused his predecessors of killing one million Afghans during their rule.[43] While this is likely an exaggeration and was said as a way to demonize Khalq supporters, it does offer a high-level admission of a high degree of disregard for standard court procedures and the widespread practice of extrajudicial killings. As Babrakzai's testimony shows, this practice certainly continued well into Karmal's regime which was controlled by the Soviets. Since the Soviets had so much power over judicial proceedings in Afghanistan, they

[42] "Testimony of Judge Omar Babrakzai," in Dagens Nyheter, "Atrocities and Violations of Human Rights and International Law in Afghanistan," 305. Judge Babrakzai goes into detail about a specific court case involving workers who likely got food poisoning and one ended up dying. The man who cut and distributed the meat (he himself a worker in the group) was convicted for the deliberate poisoning of the other workers because the Soviet advisor on hand said an example must be set that crimes will be punished. There was no medical evidence or evidence of foul play. Babrakzai was a judge on the case but did not accept the result, eventually forcing an autopsy and proving that the potatoes had been bad, not the meat, and therefore the man was innocent. The man was not executed. Full detail of the story found on pages 305-306.

[43] Dagens Nyheter, "Atrocities and Violations of Human Rights and International Law in Afghanistan," 304.

have a large degree of culpability for the staggering numbers of Afghans put to death for such petty crimes as accidently giving someone food poisoning. Furthermore, Judge Babrakzai mentions that the right of private property is not respected and that when Soviets do search the homes of suspected criminals, they confiscate any valuables they find, saying "you people have no right to possess such things."[44]

Lastly in regards to Soviet "legal" proceedings in Afghanistan, Mr. Ghafoor Yussofzai mentioned that the Soviets practiced "collective guilt" in Afghanistan. If they cannot find the person who actually committed the crime, they target their families. Mr. Yussofzai joined the resistance, a crime in the eyes of the Soviets, and they could not find him. Therefore, a couple days before the conference where this transcript is found, his brother, a student at the University of Kabul, was arrested and "disappeared from sight." His wife and two children were executed by firing squad.[45] This is simply another aspect of the Soviet genocide meant to give such killings of civilians a pseudo-legal justification. In reality, there is no justification for the slaughter of innocent women and children who happen to be related to resistance members.

Another indication of genocidal intent is the overt denial of humanitarian aid organizations, such as the Red Cross or Doctors Without Borders, to enter the geographic area in question where the genocide is taking place. If the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was being conducted with a strictly military-oriented strategy, the Soviets should have welcomed such international aid organizations to help combat the collateral damage war inevitably produces. In fact, if the Soviet policy was not scorched earth tactics, they would have benefited from international aid. The Soviets and DRA should have welcomed humanitarian relief as a method

[44] "Testimony of Judge Omar Babrakzai," in Dagens Nyheter, "Atrocities and Violations of Human Rights and International Law in Afghanistan," 306.

[45] "Testimony of Mr. Ghafour Yussofzai," in Dagens Nyheter, "Atrocities and Violations of Human Rights and International Law in Afghanistan," 307.

of maintaining Afghan approval of the regime. Reducing civilian suffering should be priority number one of any occupier who is strictly attempting to root out an insurgency and not target the civilian population. However, that is precisely the opposite of Soviet and DRA intent. Their strategy was the overt targeting of rural Afghans in order to force them out of the countryside, force them into the cities, or kill them. Denying international aid organizations access to the country where so many millions were clearly suffering is a strong indication of genocide, or at the very least, the regimes blatant disregard of human suffering and the value of innocent human life.

International relief organizations provide some of the most important primary source accounts on genocidal activity in a given region. They saw firsthand what genocidal policies produced and often document their experiences or can recall, through eyewitness testimony, what they saw. Relief workers do, in fact, act as whistleblowers in cases of genocide. To the Soviets, having international aid organizations in Afghanistan would not help public relations at home nor in Afghanistan. If "People Receive Soviet Aid All Over the Country," and the "Saur Revolution Brought Happiness to Oppressed People" as these *Kabul Times* articles suggest, there should be no need for international aid organizations. Allowing relief organizations into Afghanistan was akin to allowing western journalists to enter unimpeded, it would be a public relations disaster. Thus, the policy of not allowing western journalists or relief organizations into Afghanistan was a rational decision made by Soviet and DRA officials. The distinction between a *rational* decision and a morally sound decision should be noted.

There is a myriad of examples of international relief organizations being targeted by the Soviets or their DRA allies. The Red Cross was denied access to the country by the Soviets, and since the Red Cross' policy is to only operate in countries with the support of the local

government, the Red Cross was limited to very few operations in Afghanistan.[46] However, many other agencies entered Afghanistan anyway, namely MSF. In 1985, a few days after the death of Charles Thornton, five MSF doctors narrowly escaped an attack by Soviet helicopter gunships in Balkh province[47] and this attack was not the exception, it was the norm in Afghanistan during the occupation. Claude Malhuret, president of MSF, mentioned specifically in his report that by 1981, four of twelve MSF hospitals had been intentionally bombed by Soviet planes.[48] Helsinki Watch's report also mentions the destruction of an American-made hospital in Yakaolang as well as the destruction of a small hospital in Lolenj, Afghanistan. These reports were later corroborated in Malhuret's "Report from Afghanistan,"[49] indicating that Malhuret's claims of the destruction of hospitals were accurate and based on hard evidence. MSF published an article, "La Situation dans le Hazarjat," on January 20th, 1982, which described numerous attacks on MSF staff and hospitals.[50]

MSF was not the only aid organization targeted. MSF Doctor Juliette Fournot described recent attacks on hospitals as of 1981 in an interview with Rubin Barnett. Dr. Fournot mentions three Medecins du Monde hospitals being bombed early in 1981 as well as Aide Medicale Internationale's hospital in the Panjsher Valley being bombed by four MIG- 27's and Soviet armored helicopters. Dr. Fournot also mentioned a hospital in Jaghori, Ghazni Province being

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[46] "International Review of the Red Cross, July-August 1984," (Geneva, Switzerland: *International Committee of the Red Cross*, November 1984, No. 241), 239.

[47] "*Agence France-Presse despatches* from Islamabad on September 30 to October 1," in "To Die in Afghanistan, A Helsinki Watch and Asia Watch Report," by Rubin Barnett and Jeri Laber, 4.

[48] Claude Malhuret, "Report from Afghanistan," 1.

[49] Claude Malhuret, "Report From Afghanistan," Yakaoloang page 1, Lolenj page 4.

[50] "La Situation dans le Hazarjat," (Paris: Medecins Sans Frontieres, 1982) in "Tears, Blood, and Cries: Human Rights in Afghanistan Since the Invasion 1979-1984," (*Helsinki Watch* and *Asia Watch*, 1985), by Rubin Barnett and Jeri Laber, 184.

razed as well as a hospital in Waras Province.[51] The Jaghori and Waras bombings were also expressly mentioned in Malhuret's "Report from Afghanistan," further showing the link between high-level MSF understanding of the situation in Afghanistan with low-level aid worker's understanding of the situation on the ground. Multiple sources prove these actions to have taken place. A critic might argue that perhaps these were accidental bombings, simply an unfortunate byproduct of a grizzly, urban, counterinsurgency campaign. However, there clearly was intent in these premeditated bombings. The most damning source would be the Jaghori hospital bombing. On Nov. 5th, three MI-24 helicopters destroyed the MSF hospital in Jaghori. MSF quickly went about establishing a new hospital… which was then bombed in 1982.[52] This was a clear, premeditated, and intentional bombing of a hospital by Soviet forces and bolsters the argument that the other foreign aid hospitals were targeted with equal intent.

In conclusion, the Soviets and their DRA allies conducted a multifaceted genocide in Afghanistan during the Soviet occupation from 1979-1989. This genocide had two distinct categories, the first being a reign of terror in the countryside and the second being a reign of terror in the cities, each with their own unique characteristics. The Soviets adopted this strategy in order to isolate Mujahedeen resistance fighters from their primary source of support, the rural Afghan population, by forcing the rural Afghans to flee the country or flee into Afghan cities where the Soviets exercised the most control. The reign of terror in the countryside consisted of wholescale physical destruction of innocent civilians, the intentional destruction of the necessities required to support life (i.e. food, medicine, and shelter), the intentional bombing of villages by helicopters and jets, and ceremonial executions of civilians usually involving

[51] All three reports from "Testimony of Dr. Juliette Fournot," in "Tears, Blood, and Cries: Human Rights in Afghanistan Since the Invasion 1979-1984," 185.

[52] "Testimony of Dr. Juliette Fournot," 185.

immolation. The reign of terror in the cities was perpetrated by the KhAD, the Afghan secret police, which was directly controlled by the PDPA and the Parchamist faction in particular. Their main targets were Khalq supporters in the DRA and DRA VS, political groups that were anti-Karmalist, intellectuals, journalists both foreign and domestic, dissidents, class enemies, and anyone whose name was mentioned by a torture victim as being involved with the Mujahedeen or any other of the myriad of classifications that could damn one to execution.

The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan is an important case study to consider in the wider study of genocide. The occupation is a prime example of the potential outcome of a successful insurgency campaign against a superpower. This type of warfare has certainly become the norm in lieu of large, conventional wars of the early-middle 20th century. The prevalence of wars consisting of conventional state militaries vs non-state insurgents in the 20th century carried into the 21st century as evidenced by the wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, Ukraine, and Syria. The Soviet occupation is a valuable case study in one method of responding to insurgency, brute force and terror. The occupation also illuminates how easily these types of wars can turn into indiscriminate bloodbaths as the occupying forces become frustrated by the success of the insurgents, the futility of "capturing" territory, and the difficulty in identifying who is friend and foe. It also serves as a chilling reminder of how easily occupying troops can justify genocidal policies as long as they are receiving the orders from their commanders. This alleviates the personal guilt which they may have otherwise associated with their actions… they were just following orders. It should be noted that the U.S. tactics in Vietnam, Iraq, and Afghanistan all centered around the notion of winning the "hearts and minds" of the population in question and that there was not a coherent plan for a reign of terror in any of the occupations, although atrocities certainly did occur. The Soviet occupation offers a flip side to the more "gentle" U.S.

strategy and serves to illustrate the truly effective guerrilla campaigns are against conventional militaries, regardless of the strategy employed by the conventional force.

Perhaps most importantly, the Soviet occupation illustrates how all genocides are a mix of a multitude of "cides." The occupation consisted of eliticide, politicide, democide, gendercide, ethnocide, linguicide, and classicide. By breaking down the overall label of genocide into more specific and pointed categories, a more accurate and realistic understanding of the Soviet occupation is realized. Alone each category may not seem "big enough" to constitute the overall label of genocide, but taken as a collective they buttress the case for genocide by illuminating the many forms the genocide in question took. The brutality of modern war has a way of shrouding genocide from the public eye, providing a convenient justification for staggering civilian deaths which otherwise would be unacceptable. It seems that when such losses are described as a consequence of war, we write them off as tragic, but inevitable, accidents. This paradigm must be totally replaced. Further investigation must always follow claims of "collateral damage" by combatants in any conflict, especially if it is the aggressor claiming civilian deaths were a result of being in the wrong place at the wrong time. We, as people, must not dismiss civilian deaths during war as inevitable accidents in order to protect our own consciences. As Afghanistan has shown, digging deeper can quite often illuminate the darker truths of such dismissive explanations, even if it is often painful to investigate.

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"A Malthusian Reckoning": The Economic State of Fourteenth-Century Europe

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Malthusian economics is the study of corrective measures, both preventive and positive, that take place in overpopulated nations and countries. English theorist Thomas Malthus outlined a framework for understanding population changes outlined in *First Essay on Population* (1798), where he suggested that food is necessary to the existence of man and reproduction is key to continual existence of society.[1] Both in the Famine of 1315-1317 and the Black Death of 1348-1349, the European population suffered several adverse events which have been mistakenly interpreted as a Malthusian crisis. Negative economic trends, such as rising prices and a sudden drop in population, prevailed throughout the fourteenth century, as the population appeared to be unsustainably large. However, through Dr. David Herlihy's analysis and the economic record, it as clear that there was not a Malthusian crisis in Europe but rather a combination of other economic and environmental factors that contributed to debilitating manifestations of famine and disease. Much work has been done using empirical data from churches, tax offices, and other large institutions.[2] However, this research uses the qualitative records of those who observed the famines of Europe firsthand. An in-depth study of these circumstances reveal that issues over population levels and standard of living contradict the principles outlined in *First Essay* and that a Malthusian crisis did not transpire.

[1] Thomas R. Malthus, "Essay on Population, 1798," *Fordham University: Modern History Sourcebook*.

[2] Using empirical data, some scholars have found "evidence supporting the Malthusian scenario for the period from 1315 to 1330, and in the 1350s and 1360s"; Jean-Paul Chavas and Daniel W. Bromley, "Modelling Population and Resource Scarcity in Fourteenth-century England," *Journal of Agricultural Economics* 56, no. 2 (2005), 231.

The initial famine of 1315 struck Europe in the spring. Due to bad weather and a subsequent poor harvest, extreme levels of hunger, diseases, and death prevailed throughout Europe. In England, in particular, there was a desperate shortage of food, the effects for which were further exacerbated by reported accounts of high inflation: "Meat and eggs began to run out, capons and fowl could hardly be found, animals died of pest, swine could not be fed because of the excessive price of fodder," an English monk, John of Trokelowe, describes. The monk of St. Albans Abbey recounts the famine and the adverse living standards which subsequently emerged: "A quarter of wheat or beans or peas sold for twenty shillings."[3] Certainly the price of wheat increased due to the high demand for food, and the price of wool faced a similar economic change. These higher prices were accompanied by the death of livestock, both from hunger and from human consumption: "horse meat was precious; plump dogs were stolen [for food]."[4] Thus, an unfortunate chain of events, beginning with crop failure, led to ensuing issues related to livestock and high inflation, all of which brought about an economic disaster for Europe.

Malthus continued his analysis with an explanation that standard of living for the poor in crises must have been much worse, "and many of them [were] reduced to severe distress."[5] For Malthus, the price of labor supply (wages) would have fallen due to the lack of demand, and at the same time the price of goods ("provisions") would have subsequently risen.[6] However, Herlihy's scissor theory described how not all poor Europeans suffered from this distress. The surviving poor, as it turned out, experienced improvements in overall standards of living. Their real wages rose because of the lack of labor supply (e.g. other peasants) to work on farms. As a

[3] Johannes de Trokelowe, "Famine of 1315," *Annates*, ed. H. T. Riley from *Fordham University: History Sourcebook*, http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/source/famin1315a.asp.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Malthus, "Essay on Population."

[6] Ibid.

result, the peasants who did survive were able to utilize buyer power and demand higher wages from the lords. It was not the case that all of the poor suffered serious "distress," as Malthus conjectured, but rather that the famine brought on a new demographic structure in Europe. While attempting to classify the events of fourteenth century, Herlihy argued that "High wages and low rents… [increased] the standard of living for substantial numbers" in times of post-crises.[7] The lower class had an opportunity to amass higher salaries for their work and strove to fulfill the high loss of labor supply.

While it was within the realm of possibility that the preceding events could have been explained through a Malthusian analysis, environmental factors likely played a more pervasive role in shaping the demographic state of Europe. Beginning in the fourteenth century, when summers became cooler, the world was in the midst of a "Little Ice Age." The lower temperatures would have explained the resulting poor harvest. Such a conclusion became apparent through John of Trokelowe's 1315 descriptions of a lack of "warmth of summer sunshine" for medieval farmers.[8] Because the economy of Medieval Europe was "overwhelmingly rural," as one scholar opined, these environmental problems posed great difficulties in everyday life.[9] Trokelowe was clear in his account that somehow that year's harvest was also less nutritious than prior ones. Of course, even the worst of all plagues could not have manipulated the amount of sunlight continental Europe received. A Malthusian reading of the crisis would have attempted to describe endogenous variables, such as disease or overpopulation, as the culprit for a famine. He described how a "whole train of commons

[7] David Herlihy, *The Black Death and the Transformation of the West*, ed. Samuel K. Cohn, Jr. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 57.

[8] De Trokelowe, "Famine of 1315,"

[9] Robert S. Gottfried, *Black Death: Natural and Human Disaster in Medieval Europe* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1983), 24.

diseases and epidemics, wars, plague, and famine" all acted as positive checks on the population.[10] However weather, an exogenous variable, had not been taken into account in Malthus' analysis. The poor harvest had placed a significant burden on those who were already limited in their access to nutritious food and clean water. Thus, the toll of a poor harvest exacerbated the effects of the population crisis. An understanding of population and environmental factors during the Black Death explain trends in what could have been easily mistaken as a Malthusian crisis.

The second variable used to challenge much of the Malthusian argument for the Great Famine was the change in population levels. Despite the episode of "The Great Hunger" in 1315, there was little to no sizable reduction in population levels.[11] In fact, many of the famines from the fourteenth century do not appear to have any, or at least very negligible, collapses in population levels.[12] For example, in the case of fourteenth-century Tuscany, notwithstanding severe hunger and malnourishment among those of the lower class, the overall population remained relatively stable. It was only through an exogenous variable (Ice Age for a famine, spread of bubonic plague for the Black Death) that a population could have been suddenly decimated. Bruce Campbell describes this as an "exogamous" variable, which was unrelated to the economic and social factors that had already been in place.[13] Thus, without evidence for a sharp decline in men and women, a severe crisis did not occur, and any fluctuations in population were simply an incident incited by exogenous variables of weather and the environment.

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[10] Malthus, "Essay on Population."

[11] Herlihy, *The Black Death*, 33.

[12] It is worth noting that some estimates "of the population of mediaeval towns are notoriously uncertain," as one historian suggests; Henry S. Lucas, "The Great European Famine of 1315, 1316, and 1317," *Speculum* 5, no. 4 (193), 369.

[13] Herlihy, *The Black Death*, 4.

Some thirty years later, the Black Death devastated Europe. Allegedly carrying the disease from the Black Sea port of Kaffa via rodent, Genoese ships brought a plague to European cities for which local populations had little immunity.[14] Beginning in southern Europe around Sicily, the disease infiltrated city walls and spread throughout the major towns of northern and eastern Europe. The onset of the disease in Florence arrived as a "deadly pestilence, which... propagated itself without respite from place to place, and so calamitously, had spread [from the East] into the West."[15]

Herlihy expounded upon the events of the Black Death through his analysis of fourteenth-century events. "Positive checks" refer to mechanisms that limit population through limited resources, such as famines, malnutrition, and war, all of which increase the death rate. Conversely, "preventive check" involved economic changes in society, such as rising food prices or reduced real wages, as the culprit of controlling growth and keeping population steady, thereby decreasing the birth rate.[16] Malthus makes reference to these checks in his comment on humans deciding to reproduce less when they were concerned for their offspring's future: "They are all impelled by a powerful instinct to the increase of their species, and this instinct was interrupted by no reasoning or doubts about providing for their offspring."[17] Unable to measure preventive checks quantitatively due to insufficient economic data, Herlihy attempted to fill in the historical narrative with information from public records and parish registers.[18]

Unlike the aforementioned famine of 1315, the Black Death of 1346-1353 decimated the populations in many European cities. Despite this collapse, Herlihy argued that this instance did

[14] Ibid., 24.

[15] Boccaccio, "The Decameron: Introduction," Fordham University: *Medieval Sourcebook*.

[16] Ibid., 52.

[17] Malthus, "Essay on Population."

[18] Herlihy, *The Black Death*, 52-53.

not resemble a Malthusian crisis. If the plague had been due to overpopulation, as Malthus claimed, then it should have materialized decades earlier.[19] Historian Bruce Campbell supported this evidence, viewing this "prolonged demographic recession" as defiant of "Malthusian… logic."[20] The plague could not have been seen as an incident provoked by any particular event or trend, but rather as the result of many outside forces over which the Europeans had little to no control. He supported this claim by stating how populations were gradually declining even prior to the Black Death. While he contended that such population pressures had existed prior to the outbreak of the plague, he did not agree that a check or "Malthusian reckoning" occurred.[21] Malthus believed that prior to the plague, "all the members of [society], should live in ease, happiness, and comparative leisure; and feel no anxiety about providing the means of subsistence for themselves and families."[22] However, due to overpopulation and worker exploitation, it was improbable that pre-plague workers lived carefree lives. Thus, from the beginning it appeared that Malthus had weaknesses in his argument.

General population trends also revealed that the insular event of the Black Death was likely not a Malthusian catastrophe. In regard to birth rates, Malthus claims that during times of crises, human beings will be forward thinking. An individual should question "whether he may not bring beings into the world, for whom he cannot provide the means of subsistence."[23] However, economic data revealed that birth rates did not decline post-plague as expected. "The failure of the birth rate to respond to the stimulus of deaths" was evident that a Malthusian

[19] Ibid., 33.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid., 32.

[22] Malthus, "Essay on Population."

[23] Ibid.

approach can be discredited in certain respects.[24] Even after the population of Europe fell to comparatively low levels, it did not immediately rebound back to sustainable levels. Malthus ascertained that populations would have certainly increased when there were "means of subsistence" after the plague ended.[25] In reality, population continued to fall well into the fifteenth century.[26] The historical record reveals that, even though there was plenty of food post-plague, the population continued to decline and birth rates continued at stable levels.

Inflationary fluctuations should have also contributed to the worsening of the crisis. The price of wax rose due to the need for candles at funerals: "A pound of wax would have gone up more than a florin."[27] Furthermore, goods such as wheat also appreciated in value as there were fewer laborers to harvest the crops at the end of each summer. Wool cloth was in high demand, since it was customary to wear a "long cloak" while in mourning; a typical veil and mantle rose from three to thirty florins in less than a year.[28] Not only were goods inflationary products, but also the cost of labor rose was as well. As Herlihy noted, per-family rents increased amidst declining feudal power.[29] Moreover, individuals who saw their wages rise were those in professions such as the clergy, medicine, and gravedigging. Since the plague killed many monks in the process, there was a high demand for sacraments and last rites to be delivered.[30] Physicians were sought out as the unknown contagion attacked young and old, rich and poor, women and men. And gravediggers, who were known as *beccamorti* (vultures) in Florence, were paid high

[24] Herlihy, *The Black Death*, 2.

[25] Malthus, "Essay on Population."

[26] Herlihy, *The Black Death*, 33.

[27] Marchione di Coppo Stefani, "The Florentine Chronicle," Fordham University*: History Sourcebook*.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Herlihy, *The Black Death*, 36.

[30] Ibid., 41-42.

prices for their services, which few wanted to conduct yet many desired.[31] Several professions saw the death of a large number of workers, and so a new labor class emerged to fill the spots left behind by those who succumbed to disease. Both the prices of goods and the wages of services witnessed an increase in the years during and after the crisis.

Lastly, Herlihy noted that, rather than a crisis, medieval Europe faced a "stalemate." In this apparent deadlock, Europe was at a standstill from a population viewpoint, or "maintaining at stable levels very large numbers over a lengthy period."[32] Although the economic data was unclear, it was likely the case that communities of Europeans were able to maintain high and, more importantly, generally steady levels of population for extended periods of time prior to the epidemics of the fourteenth century.[33] It was not until 1300 that the continent was "marked by saturated use of resources and stagnant outputs."[34] The plague acted as a catalyst for change. By removing large portions of the local population and redrawing the social order between the upper and lower class, the Black Death recreated the economic state of society. New cultural traditions were born, and there was a heavy promotion of universities for higher learning.[35] Furthermore, the plague was notable in sparking waves of artistic movements and humanistic ideals in paintings as people began to value life more. The plague contributed to giving Europe a new identity and bringing about a universal appreciation for the life that was in the present, since they had become aware of how short it could be. These long-term effects revealed that the Black Death brought about an economic and cultural "Transformation of the West." Herlihy asserted that, the population data from pre-plague Europe suggested that Europe was in a Malthusian

[31] Stefani, "The Florentine Chronicle."

[32] Herlihy, *The Black Death*, 34.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid., 81.

[35] Ibid.

deadlock, or equilibrium, because it maintained stable levels of population over long periods of time and appeared to be unable to make any series economic changes. Only the plague was able to break this deadlock, allowing individuals to make societal advancements and rebuild economic systems. The exogenous events of both famine and disease shifted population levels but were not the result of any causal or "historically necessary" turn of events.[36]

After a plague or large devastation to the population, Malthus expected citizens to enter a primitive state of existence, in which living was a struggle and there was little hope for economic opportunity: an individual may have very well been "reduced to the grating necessity of forfeiting his independence, and of being obliged to the sparing hand of charity for support?"[37] This dismal view on societal expectations ultimately appeared to show that overpopulation was utterly detrimental to a region's social and economic progress. However, Herlihy commented on how the plague allowed the Europeans to free themselves from the population deadlock, limited by their inabilities to produce goods in particularly new or novel ways, thereby rebuilding both demographic and economic systems that permitted further development. A rapid decline in population seemingly "liberated land for uses other than the cultivation of grains."[38] Diversification of economic resources was key. Pastures that had been solely devoted to grain could soon be rebranded as one in which cloth was made and wood was chopped. And from the plague, Herlihy remarked on the economic developments that could have subsequently occurred.

Even more important to the economic changes that manifested themselves was the opportunity for the creation of a middle class. While still relatively inegalitarian compared to later centuries, European society did progress to a state of better opportunities for the previously

[36] Ibid., 4.

[37] Malthus, "Essay on Population."

[38] Herlihy, *The Black Death*, 46.

disenfranchised lower class. Evidence for the creation of a new caste existed in late-century Italian descriptions of "Women and men [who] began to dress ostentatiously."[39] With a sudden dearth in labor, laborers were able to receive higher salaries, far above the amounts to which they were previously accustomed. The former peasant class had newfound opportunities to purchase better goods, as shown through the increased demand in silk, "indicating smaller, but richer markets."[40] Malthusian economists could have argued that goods, such as wool, may have fallen in price due to the lack of aggregate demand from consumers. Yet, while this is important to take into consideration, the industries of luxury goods (silk) and necessary food staples (wheat) still experienced higher prices. This inflationary period suggested that, with both higher salaries and richer markets, the quality of life invariably increased, In Marxist terms, there was an opportunity for the once-suffering proletariat to earn profits from the bourgeoisie without the need for a social revolution.

However, such a Marxist approach to European woes further complicated the continual development of the post-plague economy. It was unlikely that a Malthusian crisis was responsible for the Black Death, as plagues had occurred throughout the centuries before and after 1348. However, as Guy Bois noted, the driver of a social order crisis was sparked by feudalism. Through economic analyses, he deemed that a singular event in 1315 sparked an incident of mass proportions: the decline in per-family rents.[41] Since the peasants controlled production and distribution of food, lords had to pay for cultivation of larger areas of land. This only became an issue when total revenue declined during a "crisis of feudal rent."[42] When these

[39] Stefani, "The Florentine Chronicle."

[40] Herlihy, *The Black Death*, 48.

[41] Ibid., 36.

[42] Ibid., 36.

lords faced potential losses, warfare and chaos ensued in the European countryside. This upward pressure on wages directly contrasted with Malthus' description that "the price of labour must tend toward a decrease."[43] A contrary argument would have asserted that, rather than a greater divide between classes, there was gradual convergence in wages. It was through the dichotomy between the rich and the poor that Bois identified the eventual capitalist exploitation of the lower class and subsequent class warfare as the main after effect of the Black Death.[44]

The Great Famine of 1315-1317 and the Black Death of 1348-1349 devastated Europe from a population and commercial standpoint. An estimated third of Europeans were killed, while trading between merchants grinded to a halt.[45] Individuals faced grim chances of surviving as "Frightened people abandoned the house and fled to another... Physicians could not be found because they had died like the others."[46] Yet, despite the negative effects of the consequences proposed by Malthus, the qualitative evidence suggested that these changes were likely not the result of a Malthusian crisis or positive check that befell European society. As shown through examples concerning environmental trends, birth rates, rising wages, and a burgeoning middle class, a Malthusian crisis was improbable, and it was more likely that endogenous factors could have explained the sudden change in population. In this regard, the fourteenth century became a period of population crises, subject to external factors and events, which resulted in the development of unprecedented ensuing economic changes.

[43] Malthus, "Essay on Population."

[44] Herlihy, *The Black Death*, 37.

[45] Ibid., 45.

[46] Stefani, "The Florentine Chronicle."

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