

The Michigan Journal of History
Volume XIV



About the Cover

The cover photo depicts the painting *The Hungry Lion Throws Itself on the Antelope*, a piece painted by Henri Rousseau in 1905. The painting comes from “*Stranger Things: Hunting, Collecting and Displaying Animals in the Powell-Cotton Museum*,” by Miguel Alegre, which is featured in this volume of the Michigan Journal of History.

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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 XIV of the Michigan Journal of History. This volume marks the 17th 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 XIV 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, particularly the executive board: this simply would not have been possible without all of your tireless work. 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 XIV of the Michigan Journal of History.

Sincerely,

Robert J. Molnar
Editor-in-Chief, Michigan Journal of History

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Stranger Things: Hunting, Collecting and Displaying Animals in the Powell-Cotton Museum

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Introduction: Knowledge and Empire in the Powell-Cotton Museum

At the time of his death in 1940, Percy Powell-Cotton – a renowned hunter and naturalist – had already gathered a vast taxidermic collection. The three galleries of his personal museum near Birchington, East Kent, exhibited around 6.400 animals whose bodies had been hunted in Africa as well as in India and then put to display. In the ‘breathless zoo’ of this museological collection,¹ the histories of animals and hunting, taxidermy and museums, science and empire all intersected, forming a tangled story that pervaded imperial networks of production and display of seemingly revived animal bodies. If animals are “good to think [with]”, as Lévi-Strauss’s oft-cited phrase indicates,² then what do Powell-Cotton’s taxidermic specimens say about the cultural contexts in which they were produced and displayed, and how does this collection reflect and represent the society of which it was part? By looking at the taxidermic exhibits of the Powell-Cotton Museum, this article investigates the role of museums as ‘tools of empire.’³ Scholarship on the British Empire has recently sought to determine the extent to which museological displays formed part of the expansive imperial project of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁴ This paper charts the history of Powell-Cotton’s animal-objects across the sites of their pursuit, collection and display to illuminate the ways in which colonial knowledge was produced through the establishment of a museum. The visual and material cultures of museums reinforced

¹ The expression ‘breathless zoo’ is borrowed from Rachel Poliquin, *The Breathless Zoo: Taxidermy and the Cultures of Longing* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012).

² Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Totemism*, trans. Rodney Needham (London: Merlin Press, 1991 [1962]), 89.

³ See John MacKenzie, *Museums and Empire: Natural History, Human Culture and Colonial Identities* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 7.

⁴ For a brief overview of the historiography on the relationship between museums and empire, see Sarah Longair and John McAleer, eds., *Curating Empire: Museums and the British imperial experience* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 1-16.

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the imperial project, “bringing the exotic world home, . . . placing it in new structures of knowledge” and enabling the ‘othering’ of non-European peoples, spaces and species.⁵

Museums are not neutral institutions. The ways in which knowledge – the primary ‘commodity’ offered by museums – is produced, structured, ordered and presented result from specific and selective decisions and, as Foucault demonstrated, are inscribed in social and cultural practices rooted in history.⁶ As Longair and McAleer argued and as this article will hopefully show by focusing on the work of one man, Powell-Cotton, individual agency is often of fundamental importance in shaping decisions about what, and what not, to display in museums.⁷ During the long nineteenth century in Britain, establishing museums, acquiring knowledge and promoting empire were inextricably linked: so much so that Warren Hastings, governor-general of Bengal, argued in 1799 that presenting knowledge in a museological institution would add “to the power, the riches, and the glory . . . [of] the British Empire,” and therefore contribute to its importance.⁸ In surveying the history of the Powell-Cotton Museum alongside the construction of colonial knowledge and the practice of empire, this paper will follow and employ the arguments used by Bernard Cohn. Analysing empire as an intellectual and cultural phenomenon, Cohn sees colonialism as an epistemological practice. For him, the imperial project was shaped by the production, collection and distribution of knowledge that was often transformed into ‘science’ and related to institutions such as the museum.⁹

⁵ Robert Aguirre, *Informal Empire: Mexican and Central America in Victorian Culture* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), xxvi.

⁶ See, for example, Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Routledge, 2002 [1966]). For a study on the constructedness of museums and their relationship with structures of knowledge, see Eileen Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992).

⁷ See Longair and McAleer, *Curating Empire*, 8-10.

⁸ British Library, India Office Records, E/1/101/236: Warren Hastings to Stephen Lushington (15 November 1799).

⁹ Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 5, 9-10.

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Recent historiographical studies have been critical of Cohn's approach. Conal McCarthy, for example, bemoaned "the predilection for theory over history" in museum studies and called for scholarship that goes beyond post-colonial studies and recognises the complexity of empire, museums, and their relationship.¹⁰ In her most recent monograph, Sarah Longair argues that although there was an important connection between museums and empire, there was nonetheless no centrally defined plan to establish and create museological institutions. Instead, she wishes to focus on the fragmented and incomplete nature of colonial knowledge, the fragility and failures of museums, and the multifarious and heterogeneous complexity of identity and culture.¹¹ Whilst these critiques are certainly important and worthy of note, this article will shed light on the ways in which post-colonial theory remains an important framework to investigate the relation between museums and empire. Powell-Cotton's collection was constructed across trans-imperial networks and sites through the practices of hunting, taxidermy and visual display, all carried out with 'scientific' precision and awareness. The body of knowledge built by Powell-Cotton through cataloguing, meticulous record keeping, and writing hunting travelogues created a museum composed of life-like animal-objects all of which sought to commemorate the dramatic grandeur of empire. As such, the Powell-Cotton Museum and its history provide a significant case study in which post-colonial scholarship on museums and empire still retains its explanatory power. Moreover, the use of concepts and theory enhances the study of history, rendering it more analytic. Lamenting the "predilection for theory over history" may lead to self-proclaimed empiricism, resulting in uncritical studies with a lack of methodological self-awareness which obscures the constructedness of reality and of the historical past.

¹⁰ Conal McCarthy, "Carving out a place in the better Britain of the South Pacific: Māori in New Zealand museums and exhibitions," in *Curating Empire*, eds. Longair and McAleer, 57-59.

¹¹ Sarah Longair, *Cracks in the Dome: Fractured Histories of Empire in the Zanzibar Museum, 1897-1964* (London: Routledge, 2016), 7-10.

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Concepts are central to this study of Powell-Cotton's taxidermic exhibits; chief among these is the concept of 'otherness.' The notion that 'othering' constituted a crucial feature of the workings of empire comes from post-colonial theory and, in particular, from Said's *Orientalism*. In this foundational study that placed the history of empire firmly within the realm of culture, Said argued that European empires exerted dominance over the East on the basis of a particular epistemology. Acquiring knowledge about the 'Orient' involved representing it and depicting it as different – as the 'other.' This process of 'othering' rendered the Arab-speaking world as an object of wonder, fascination, and romanticism; but also as an object of weakness and inferiority in the eyes of Western observers.¹² Whilst the discourse of binary and dichotomic distinction identified by Said does not perhaps fully capture the historical complexities of empire, it is nonetheless a useful framework in thinking about imperial encounters, and can be applied to other colonial settings. The history of Powell-Cotton and his collection is a history of generating knowledge within, and about, imperial contexts. Obsessed with hunting animals, collecting their bodies and gathering data about them and their habitats, Powell-Cotton travelled extensively throughout the Empire and beyond it, chiefly in India as well as in central and east Africa. The texts he wrote, the photographs he took and the taxidermic collection he assembled – all of which formed part of building a museum – speak of the spatial, racial and animal 'others,' whereby Africa was construed as 'wilderness,' its peoples as 'primitive' and its animals as 'exotic.'

Identifying processes of 'othering' as the vehicle through which colonial knowledge was apprehended, built, and visualised constitutes a theoretical framework whose use generates scholarly disagreement. In rather the same way as McCarthy and Longair above, C. A. Bayly

¹² Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003 [1978]). See also Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994 [1993]).

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also seeks to underline the shortcomings of post-colonial theory. Writing about the social history of intelligence and communication in colonial India, Bayly stresses the negotiated and syncretic nature of colonial knowledge, thereby criticising the un-nuanced character of Said's dichotomy.¹³ Granted, the representations and depictions of the 'other' do not account for the whole story of knowledge-building within and about empire. But the way in which Powell-Cotton and other white male hunters and naturalists, whose lives became synonymous with imperial 'adventure,' gathered knowledge was intimately connected with textual, visual, and material representations of the spaces and species they encountered. These representations formed part of the museum-building process and culminated in the establishment of museological institutions. Donna Haraway's study of the American Museum of Natural History and its taxidermic collection offers an important example of how late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ideas about race and gender permeated museological depictions of the 'natural world.' From the pursuit and killing of animals to their bodily preservation and display, 'scientific' classification, taxonomic hierarchies, and notions of difference became constitutive elements of knowledge.¹⁴ This article will build upon and expand the findings of Haraway's precursory study.

Historiographically, the originality of this paper lies in attempting to bridge the gap between various strands of historical scholarship. Its aim is to weave together the histories of animals, hunting, taxidermy and museums by placing them in an imperial framework and by analysing the notions of colonial difference which stood at the root of 'scientific' knowledge about the 'natural world.' The primary material employed herein is also original. The Powell-Cotton Museum and its history have received little historical attention. Powell-Cotton's two travelogues, his

¹³ See Christopher A. Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780-1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), esp. 6-7, 314, 370-371.

¹⁴ Donna Haraway, "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936," in *Primate Visions: Gender, Race, and Nature in the World of Modern Science* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1989).

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correspondence, notes, and collection will be the principal focus of this article. There are, however, two challenges with resorting to this type of material. On the one hand, the representativeness of Powell-Cotton's case study may be called into question; thus, in order to bring together the global and the local, this paper will make use of newspaper articles, hunters' travelogues, late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century studies of taxidermy, museological collections, and other visual and material representations of animals to contextualise the imperial history of the Powell-Cotton Museum. On the other hand, there is a challenge about interpreting, reading, and analysing visual and material objects, which is to be met by following the methodology of precursory studies on material history.¹⁵ More broadly, the scope of this article does not allow for an analysis on the role of indigenous or animal agency to emerge; however, the focus of this study is on the metropolitan vision of the 'natural world' and how this vision informs knowledge-building processes at play in the imperial museum.¹⁶

By following Powell-Cotton into the 'wilderness' of empire, this article explores the ideas of the 'natural world' in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Britain. The following three parts shall analyse Powell-Cotton's collecting endeavour across the three sites of capture (part I), production (part II) and exhibition (part III) of taxidermied animals, which culminated in the establishment of a museum. Hunting, collecting, and displaying were never isolated activities; rather, they formed part of an integrated whole in Powell-Cotton's life – for they were all driven by the pursuit of knowledge and resulted in the promotion of empire through the setting up of a museum. By charting Powell-Cotton's taxidermic museology across these three locations of animal life and death, this study will follow some of Merle Patchett's methodologi-

¹⁵ See, for example, Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn, eds., *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1998).

¹⁶ For the role of indigenous agency in the history of hunting, see Edward Steinhart, *Black Poachers, White Hunters: A Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya* (Oxford: James Currey, 2006). For the role of animal agency in historical scholarship, see Jason Hribal, "Animals, Agency, and Class: Writing the History of Animals from Below," *Human Ecology Review* 14, no. 1 (2007), 101-112.

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cal insights with regard to space, particularly her concept of ‘biogeography’ that stresses the spatiality of taxidermic practices.¹⁷ In doing so, this article shall also highlight the locatedness of ‘scientific’ practices of natural history, which arise from, and are bound up with, particular geographies.¹⁸ Seeking to assert their masculine prowess, Powell-Cotton and other imperial naturalists like him went to Africa and the distant lands of empire to hunt. Fascinated by a world of ‘wild animals’ and ‘pristine landscapes’, Powell-Cotton hoped to capture his experiences by classifying animals, preserving their bodies, and displaying them in a museum. His taxidermic collection constituted a visual and material discourse of colonialism, forged through imperial encounters with the ‘other.’

Hunting in the Empire: Knowing the Colonial ‘Other’

Percy Horace Gordon Powell-Cotton was born in Garlinge, Margate, on 20 September 1866 and died in Midhurst, Sussex, on 26 June 1940.¹⁹ The short obituary in the front page of a local newspaper, the *Thanet Advertiser*, described him as a “big game hunter” who travelled around the world and whose museum was “famous throughout the country and was one of the largest single collections ever made by one man.”²⁰ In 1881, his father inherited Quex Park, the ancestral family home in Kent, which Powell-Cotton came to possess upon his father’s death in 1894, and where he would later display his taxidermic collection. Powell-Cotton purchased an officer’s commission with the Northumberland Fusiliers in 1885, eventually becoming a Major –

¹⁷ Patchett analyses taxidermied animals across sites of death, transformation and conservation, but her focus is on animal history rather than knowledge-building, museums and empire. See Merle Patchett, “Tracking Tigers: Recovering the Embodied Practices of Taxidermy,” *Historical Geography* 36 (2008), 17-39; and Merle Patchett, Kate Foster and Hayden Lorimer, “The Biogeographies of a Hollow-Eyed Harrier,” in *The Afterlives of Animals: A Museum Menagerie*, ed. Samuel Alberti (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 110-133.

¹⁸ For the spatiality of science, see David Livingstone, “Site: Venues of Science,” in *Putting Science in Its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

¹⁹ For a biographical sketch of Powell-Cotton’s life, see Andrew Joynes, *Tracking the Major: Sketches from the Powell-Cotton Museum* (Canterbury: Mickle Print, 2016). This is a relatively unacademic, hagiographical study written in a rather lyrical fashion by a family friend, but it provides useful facts about Powell-Cotton’s life.

²⁰ “Death of Big Game Hunter,” *Thanet Advertiser* (Ramsgate, UK), June 28, 1940.

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a military title by which he was known throughout his life. Between 1887 and 1939 he travelled widely in Asia and Africa, pursuing animals and collecting all manner of artefacts in his twenty-eight expeditions. His longest trip, in which he explored equatorial Africa and got married in Nairobi, lasted for three years, between 1904 and 1907. Figure 1 maps Powell-Cotton's hunting expeditions in Africa, whose territories he covered extensively. His earlier trips in the 1890s also saw Powell-Cotton hunting and collecting in India and Tibet. A Fellow of the Zoological Society, the Royal Geographical Society, and the Royal Anthropological Institute, as well as a regular contributor to the Natural History Museum, Powell-Cotton integrated his hunting activities firmly within the world of 'scientific' knowledge. His expeditions, often covered by the news agency *Reuters* and the popular press more broadly, turned him into an 'imperial hero.' News of his 'adventures' reached as far as America, where newspapers like *The Washington Post* reported on his "most interesting journey[s]" with valuable "scientific results."²¹

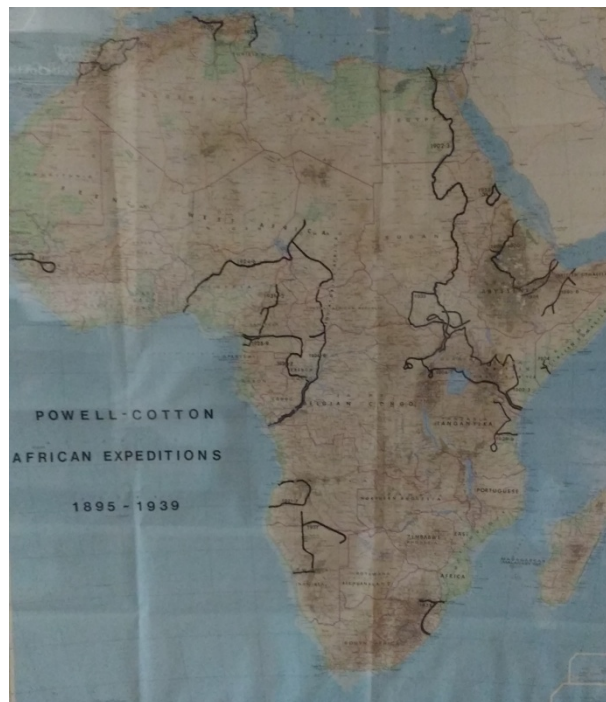


Figure 1: Powell-Cotton's African Expeditions, 1895-1939.
Powell-Cotton Museum. Author's own photograph.

²¹ "The Life of an African Explorer is Saved by a Copy of Punch," *The Washington Post* (Washington, D.C.), March 10, 1907.

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Imperial hunting was inextricably linked with ‘scientific’ collecting and museum-building. Big game hunters sought to gather knowledge about the territories they ‘explored,’ which subsequently informed zoological and ethnographic studies, as well as ideas about the ‘natural world’ more broadly. The animal exploits collected in Africa and elsewhere ended up in museums and private collections, such as those of Lord Rothschild at Tring or of Frederick Selous in Worplesden. The hunting site was not merely a ‘biogeography’ of animal capture, to employ Merle Patchett’s terminology, but also the first stage in the production of knowledge. Understood not only as an institution but also as an unfolding process, the taxidermic museum transcended the frontiers of its physical location, arising from the first encounter between the hunter and the animal ‘other.’ In fact, Powell-Cotton himself made the connection between hunting and collecting. In the conclusion to his travelogue *A Sporting Trip through Abyssinia* (1902), he expressed his desire to further explore the “Dark Continent” so that he could “add to [his] collection of . . . big game.”²² For Powell-Cotton and his peers, to hunt was to collect and to establish museums. In his second travelogue *In Unknown Africa* (1904), Powell-Cotton lamented that the Natural History Museum – unlike “several continental museums” – “did not contain a single complete specimen of any northern forms of giraffe.” He therefore decided to hunt in British East Africa and Uganda so that he could “lay to remedy this state of things.”²³ He was alone in espousing this view: Hubert Maydon, in the preface to an edited volume about shooting in

²² Percy Powell-Cotton, *A Sporting Trip through Abyssinia: A narrative of a nine months’ journey from the plains of Hawash to the snows of Simien, with a description of the game, from elephant to ibex, and notes on the manners and customs of the natives* (London: Rowland Ward, 1902), 443.

²³ Percy Powell-Cotton, *In Unknown Africa: A narrative of twenty months’ travel and sport in unknown lands and among new tribes* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1904), 2.

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Africa, wrote that exploring, hunting, and collecting were irrevocably related, and that killing animals necessarily led to keeping and treasuring their dead bodies.²⁴

The fact of empire infused all steps of musealising. Colonial expansion constituted the framework upon which the practice of hunting was built. In a mutually reinforcing process, European adventurers could explore Africa as continent came increasingly under European control; but this control would not be possible without the actions and practices of the explorers whose knowledge about the colonial ‘other’ bolstered domination. Understanding this complex dynamic, Powell-Cotton dedicated his second book “to the wandering spirit, to whose influence England owes her Empire.”²⁵ From the 1880s to 1920s, there was a growing British interest in the practice of big game hunting. Hunting narratives written by white, upper-class males shaped imperial knowledge, creating images and myths about Africa, its territory, its people, and its fauna. Seeking to escape the traps of modernity, these explorers resorted to the expansive geography of empire to encounter ‘unknown’ lands, ‘primitive’ tribes, and ‘wild’ animals. Through literature, photography and taxidermy, these white hunters came to embody a version of idealised masculinity in British metropolitan imagination.²⁶ Powell-Cotton’s expeditions shaped imperial knowledge and bolstered European domination in direct ways. In a debate in the House of Commons about the atrocities perpetrated against indigenous peoples in Congo, the Member of Parliament for South Monaghan, John McKean, quoted Powell-Cotton in order to whitewash the iniquities of imperialism. Stating that the “natives” spoke at length to him because he knew kis-

²⁴ Hubert C. Maydon, *Big Game Shooting in Africa* (London: Seeley, Service & Co., 1932), 7.

²⁵ Powell-Cotton, *In Unknown Africa*, v.

²⁶ For an overview on hunting, imperial knowledge and masculinity, see John MacKenzie, “The Nineteenth Century Hunting World,” in *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988); and Angela Thompsell, *Hunting Africa: British Sport, African Knowledge and the Nature of Empire* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

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wahli and “was an Englishman,” Powell-Cotton praised the zeal of colonial officials and denied the existence of any “serious misdeed.”²⁷

Apart from obscuring the brutalities of empire, Powell-Cotton’s hunting expeditions also contributed to the ‘othering’ of African peoples. The imperial knowledge materialised in his writings was constructed alongside dichotomic lines. It was forged through an encounter with different spaces, peoples, and animals than those existing in Europe, and Powell-Cotton and his fellow hunters often underlined and stressed that notion of difference. By looking at the subtitles of Powell-Cotton’s two books, it is clear that hunting was not only about animals, for he wished to analyse the “manner and customs of the natives” who formed “new tribes.” The attitudes to the indigenous populations took various forms. In some circumstances, there was outright vilification: the tribes living in the western part of Mount Elgon in East Africa were “of a treacherous character” and the “natives” of Kimana “intensely hostile.”²⁸ In other circumstances, African peoples were considered to be stuck in the past; when writing for *The Geographical Journal*, for example, Powell-Cotton described pygmies as “the most savage and primitive” of peoples, placing them below the Mogwana who still possessed “a certain amount of Moslem civilization,” but whose power had been crushed by Europeans with their “neat, well-ordered stations” and their progressive ideas about abolishing “the slave trade.”²⁹ These descriptions served as ‘tools of empire,’ insofar as they justified and legitimised European rule over African land. The press reflected Powell-Cotton’s assertions; *The Manchester Guardian*, for example, patronisingly highlighted

²⁷ *Hansard*, House of Commons Debate (1 August 1907), 4th series, vol. 179, cols. 1271-1272.

²⁸ Percy Powell-Cotton, “Notes on a Journey through East Africa and Northern Uganda,” *Journal of the Royal African Society* 3, no. 12 (1904), 320.

²⁹ Percy Powell-Cotton, “A Journey Through the Eastern Portion of the Congo State,” *The Geographical Journal* 30, no. 4 (1907), 376.

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the sense of surprise with which a group of pygmies – that Powell-Cotton called “dwarfs” – reacted to Powell-Cotton’s wife, wondering at her “long hair.”³⁰

Knowledge about the colonial ‘other’ was not only based on evaluative judgements about African peoples’ so-called characters. Powell-Cotton and his peers believed to be advancing the progress of ‘science’. Their ethnographic descriptions of indigenous populations were quite extensive, analysing every custom and reflecting on manifold details of African social structures.³¹ The photographs they took and the objects they collected and later displayed were seen to be constitutive elements of the ‘science’ of natural history. For Powell-Cotton, ‘science’ was a collaborative venture to be displayed to the public in a museum and communicated both through the press and learned societies, as the articles above illustrate. Communicative collaboration was the vehicle through which knowledge was to be transferred. In the appendices to *A Sporting Trip through Abyssinia*, Powell-Cotton communicated the practical details of his expedition so that other potential hunters could themselves explore these East African territories. In appendix V, Powell-Cotton provided some “hints to sportsmen” which included the list of firearms he had used, advice on tents, expenses, and taxidermy, and a comprehensive inventory of furniture, cooking utensils, and clothing. Going to such lengths as to tell his readers that he had taken two pairs of scissors, three small forks, and six pints of champagne to his expedition, Powell-Cotton nonetheless used very little space to describe the size of his caravan.³² Hunting expeditions employed a large number of African staff and relied heavily on local contacts. By obscuring this aspect of the expedition, Powell-Cotton was effectively depriving Africans of their agency and limiting the scope of the ‘scientific’ community for whom he was writing. Those who *did* the

³⁰ “In the Ituri Forest: Englishwoman among the Pygmies,” *The Manchester Guardian* (Manchester, UK), February 19, 1907.

³¹ See, for example, Powell-Cotton’s description of Pygmy society: Percy Powell-Cotton, “Notes on a Journey through the Great Ituri Forest,” *Journal of the Royal African Society* 7, no. 25 (1907), esp. 3-7.

³² Powell-Cotton, *A Sporting Trip through Abyssinia*, 491-507.

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hunting received no credit for it, whilst imperial glory would be showered upon the white male hunter. This was a way to assert colonial difference and to ‘other’ non-Europeans.

The process of ‘othering’ that stood at the root of knowledge about the empire had a spatial dimension. In hunters’ narratives, the idea of the ‘natural world’ epitomised by the African continent constituted a monolithic entity where the fauna and the flora, animals, and landscapes, were presented together as one. Whereas the apparent ‘savagery’ of indigenous populations pointed towards an evolutionary past that was an object of patronising curiosity, Western repulsion, and metropolitan fear, the seemingly untamed land occupied by non-human inhabitants generated a sense of fascination and romanticism. The idealisation of African nature where animals and spaces were somehow indistinguishable from one another emerged conspicuously in Rider Haggard’s widely-read novels. His textual *alter ego*, Allan Quatermain, typified the ideal white hunter; British boys and men alike aspired to reach the heights of his fictional colonial glory. In the novel which bore his name, Quatermain expressed his wish “to throw [himself] into the arms of Nature” but he went on to explain what he meant by ‘nature’: “Nature as she was in the age when creation was complete, undefiled as yet by any human sinks of sweltering humanity.” This ‘natural world’ was not merely an abstract construction; it was Africa that Quatermain was referring to when he said he “would go again where the wild game was, back to the land, whereof none know the history.”³³ As Said pointed out in *Orientalism*, romanticising the ‘other’ reinforced notions of colonial difference by making the ‘other’ an object of interest, in a process leading up to knowledge building and control. Descriptions of African landscape found in non-fictional hunting narratives did not differ greatly from that of Haggard. In the same lyrical vein, Abel Chapman depicted East Africa as a colony of “virgin hunting-grounds,” adorned “with all the glory of a pristine fauna” where animals are “wild and alert” but retain their “nobility and

³³ H. Rider Haggard, *Allan Quatermain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995 [1887]), 12-13.

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self-possession,” and where hunters respect and admire the “grace or beauty” of big game.³⁴ Powell-Cotton also glorified the vision of the “Dark Continent’s” depopulated hunting grounds where animals and spaces were conjoined, especially patent in his recurrent descriptions of the “stillness of the African night.”³⁵

In the distant lands of empire, Powell-Cotton started building his museum. The taxidermied animals displayed in the dioramas at Quex House spoke not of Kent or of the English countryside, but rather of India and Africa – where the task of collecting began in the hunting encounter. Books, articles and newspapers captured that first physical encounter between hunter and animal in a textual form endowed with multiple meanings. For Powell-Cotton, to write about hunting was to create knowledge about different lands, peoples, and animals. Both he and his fellow white male hunters sought to underline the ‘scientificity’ of such knowledge by placing themselves at the forefront of colonial exploration which necessarily led to the path of fame and distinction. But the travelogues coming out of Powell-Cotton’s pen pointed towards a different kind of knowledge – one that was based on notions of distinction. In fact, Powell-Cotton’s hunting expeditions contributed to the ‘othering’ of non-Western populations, spaces, and species – colonial difference was at the very centre of hunting narratives. Such process of ‘othering’ not only shaped imperial knowledge, but also served as the epistemological basis upon which imperial expansion was justified and legitimised. In the hunting site of animal annihilation, the voices of non-human species were often obscured and silenced; the following part shall focus on the production of animal bodies, charting the process through which they were silenced and ultimately ‘othered’.

Collecting the Animal Body: Taxidermy as ‘Scientific’ Drama

³⁴ Abel Chapman, *On Safari: Big Game Hunting in British East Africa* (London: Edward Arnold, 1908), v, 3-5.

³⁵ See, for example, Powell-Cotton, *A Sporting Trip through Abyssinia*, 40.

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The practice of taxidermy was crucial to Powell-Cotton’s museological project. Linking the sites of capture and display of animals, taxidermy constituted both a ‘science’ and an art, requiring detailed knowledge of zoological anatomy and physiology whilst obeying to certain aesthetic criteria. Transforming animal bodies and arranging their skin – for such is the etymological root of the word (which results from a combination of the Greek terms *taxis*, to move, and *derma*, skin) – had to be done in such a way that a certain degree of biotic realism was preserved. To this end, Powell-Cotton resorted to professional assistance in the form of the leading taxidermist James Rowland Ward. In the hunting site as well as in the taxidermist’s workshop, animals saw their biographies extended by becoming objects of display. Knowledge enabled taxidermy’s transformative character, for the whole process required ‘scientific’ precision to turn dead animal bodies into life-like objects. Taxidermy also established clear and material distinctions between humans and animals; indeed, given the sanctity attributed to the human body, stuffing human corpses was a rare and highly contentious practice. Through taxidermy, animals became an imperial ‘other’: analysed, stuffed, and ultimately objectified.³⁶

Figure 2 – Cataloguing note (29 March 1902). *Powell-Cotton Museum*. Author’s own photograph.

UGANDA		
Collection No. 42	Date 29.3.02	Sex ♀ Quex Mus. No. _____
Name ELEPHAS AFRICANUS KNOCHENHAUERI		ELEPHANT
Locality W. SIDE OF MT. KENYA. B. E. AFRICA		Altitude 44.0° 10' S. 37° E
Measurements. TRUNK TO LINE WITH TEETH 65" Head and Body 154" Tail 41" HAIR 6" Height Girth HORN TUSKS R L OUT OF CURVE 47 1/2" 47 1/2" Girth at Base 11 1/2" 11 1/2" Tip to Tip 5"		
Whole Skin.	Scalp.	Remarks. TUSKS LEFT ON GROUND.
Body Skin.	Skull.	
Lower Jaw.	Horns.	
Disposal TAIL - 2. UPSTAIRS		

³⁶ For a comprehensive history of taxidermy, see Patrick Morris, *A History of Taxidermy: art, science and bad taste* (Ascot: MPM, 2010).

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In the last chapter of *In Unknown Africa*, Powell-Cotton drew a sharp distinction between a hunter “who carefully preserves the entire skin and skull of nearly every animal he kills, and one who merely shoots for the sake of killing.”³⁷ Placing himself in the first category, Powell-Cotton rigorously measured and recorded all the specimens he had hunted. Describing his daily routine in *A Sporting Trip through Abyssinia*, he wrote “besides shooting for a few hours every day, I filled up my time looking after and labelling my trophies.”³⁸ Figure 2 – a cataloguing note referring to an elephant hunted in Uganda in 1902 – illustrates the forensic precision that permeated Powell-Cotton’s collecting endeavours. Taking note of the sex, name, and measurements of animals, as well as the date and precise location of their deaths, his personalised system of documenting paid heed to Rowland Ward, who advised that “the true sportsman-naturalist should esteem the record of an animal’s pose . . . as important as any other record.”³⁹ The principal purpose of such documentation was, of course, to ensure that taxidermic practice would later recreate the animal body as realistically as possible. But this form of ‘scientific’ classification also formed part of the way in which imperial knowledge was produced and gathered.⁴⁰ By classifying and documenting animals, and therefore colonialising their bodies, hunters transmitted a sense of control over the ‘natural world’.

Naming a specimen contributed to this sense of control over nature. By the end of his life, Powell-Cotton had managed to include his name – through the Latin term *cottoni* – into the classification of over fifty ‘wild’ animals.⁴¹ In appendix III of *In Unknown Africa*, Powell-Cotton transcribed a paper written by eminent naturalist Lydekker examining a giraffe shot by Powell-

³⁷ Powell-Cotton, *In Unknown Africa*, 535.

³⁸ Powell-Cotton, *A Sporting Trip through Abyssinia*, 245.

³⁹ James Rowland Ward, *The Sportsman’s Handbook to Practical Collecting, Preserving and Artistically Setting-Up of Trophies and Specimens*, 6th ed. (London: Rowland Ward, 1891), 88.

⁴⁰ See Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, 8. Post-colonial theory has illuminated the ways in which classification and ordering generated taxonomies of difference – what Cohn calls the ‘enumerative modality’.

⁴¹ Joynes, *Tracking the Major*, 71.

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Cotton in northern Uganda and later presented it to the British Museum. Lydekker proposed that said specimen “be appropriately named after its enterprising discoverer, *Giraffa camelopardalis cottoni*.”⁴² Making a given species one’s own by classifying it in such personal terms would have been considered an honour, placing the hunter at the forefront of ‘scientific’ discovery. Nonetheless, to exert control over the ‘natural world’ through ‘scientific’ knowledge did not manifest itself only in naming different species. Through the practice of taxidermy on the collecting site, Powell-Cotton exerted, to a substantial degree, a personal oversight over the process of preserving animal bodies. African staff apparently could not be trusted to skin dead animals, so Powell-Cotton decided to resort to “constant supervision to prevent the men shirking their work.”⁴³ In Powell-Cotton’s writings, the link between collecting animals, gathering knowledge about them, and exerting control over the taxidermic process was clear; in appendix V of *A Sporting Trip*, he advised hunters to “personally watch over [the skins of the game] from the moment the beast falls till they reach the hands of the taxidermist.”⁴⁴

The taxidermist in this case was James Rowland Ward, a fellow of the Zoological Society and himself the son of a taxidermist, whose business had started in 1872. Visited by famous personalities like Theodore Roosevelt in 1910, his shop in Piccadilly – also known as the ‘Jungle’ – was the centre of a thriving enterprise that counted a factory in London and a branch in East Africa.⁴⁵ From the mid-1890s onwards, Powell-Cotton started corresponding with Rowland Ward; for nearly five decades, the two men exchanged a total of about 600 private letters only related to animal specimens. Through this extensive correspondence, knowledge about hunting and animals was transferred back and forth in a circuit of ‘scientific’ communication intimately con-

⁴² Powell-Cotton, *In Unknown Africa*, 557.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 128.

⁴⁴ Powell-Cotton, *A Sporting Trip through Abyssinia*, 503.

⁴⁵ For an overview on Rowland Ward, see Eva Wirtén, “‘Telegraphic Address: ‘The Jungle,’ 166 Piccadilly’: Taxidermy and the Spectacle of the Public Sphere,” in *Terms of Use: Negotiating the Jungle of the Intellectual Commons* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

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nected with the practice of taxidermy. Patent in this correspondence was Powell-Cotton's desire for biotic realism and for control over animal bodies. In 1899, having received a taxidermied ibex with new horns which did not correspond to the original, Powell-Cotton sent a heated letter to Ward denouncing the situation. The response he received attested to the degree of intervention Powell-Cotton exerted in the taxidermic process; apart from apologising for the error, Ward wrote, "with such a mass of instructions given at different times we feel sure you will readily understand that it is quite possible for us to have been guilty of a mistake."⁴⁶ For Ward, the practice of taxidermy was as 'scientific' as artistic: "determined to study nature and adapt it," he desired to "make of taxidermy a new art."⁴⁷ The 'science' of natural history was therefore connected to the art of taxidermy, which – as shall be discussed in part III – reflected the dramaturgy of empire that 'othered' non-European animals and symbolised dominance over the 'natural world'.

In the highly choreographed practice of taxidermy, the principal actors – the animals – seemed to have been left behind. In both the correspondence and the writings about taxidermy, the 'wild' animal was deprived of its agency. It was merely an object to be transformed, transported, and subsequently displayed. The process of taxidermy was quite a gruesome one: so much so that Oliver Davie, an American taxidermist, listed one "good stomach and a clear head" as one of the essential tools of the taxidermist.⁴⁸ Yet British society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did not seem to consider taxidermy as a controversial practice; Rowland Ward, who died a wealthy man, leaving behind an estate worth £150,000, and whose workshop once received a total of sixty rhinos from one single expedition, attested to the relative popularity

⁴⁶ Powell-Cotton Museum, Papers of Percy Powell-Cotton, Box 1, 3.1..1/64-65: Powell-Cotton to Rowland Ward (6 October 1899), Rowland Ward to Powell-Cotton (7 October 1899).

⁴⁷ James Rowland Ward, *A Naturalist's Life Study of the Art of Taxidermy* (London: Rowland Ward, 1913), 32, 41.

⁴⁸ Oliver Davie, *Methods in the Art of Taxidermy* (Philadelphia, PA: David McKay, 1894), 16.

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of taxidermic practices.⁴⁹ Unlike humans, who were seen to possess a soul, animals were considered to be things before and after death. In fact, attempts to preserve human corpses, like that of Jeremy Bentham's Auto-Icon, were seen with repulsion and scorn. Fears that *post-mortem* violations of human corpses would cut the ties between the material and spiritual worlds, thereby threatening the possibility of resurrection, meant that only criminals' bodies would be used for medical investigation.⁵⁰ And even though some non-European individuals were, in fact, taxidermied and displayed, this practice was both rare and controversial.⁵¹ Taxidermy thus established a sharp frontier between the human and the animal, asserting and reinforcing the difference between species.

Collecting the animal body and transforming it through the practice of taxidermy was essential in building an imperial museum where the worlds of colonial hunting and metropolitan visions about the 'natural world' were conjoined. For Powell-Cotton, the ever-attentive hunter with a meticulous and systematic approach to inventory, taxidermy formed a central part of the 'science' of natural history. In a sense, taxidermy was a 'scientific' drama where colonial knowledge about African big game animals had to be choreographed so that museological displays became endowed with apparent biological realism. Yet, in this process of fabricating animal bodies, the notions of difference, which stood at the basis of imperial knowledge, seemed increasingly visible. Underplaying the work performed by his African staff, Powell-Cotton presented himself as the sole guarantor of animal preservation and the principal agent of museum-building. His classificatory obsession stressed the role of distinction in the structuring of knowledge and contributed to a sense of control over 'nature' shared by his fellow hunters and

⁴⁹ Morris, *A History of Taxidermy*, 295.

⁵⁰ See Sarah Amato, "Dead Things: The Afterlives of Animals," in *Beastly Possessions: Animals in Victorian Consumer Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015).

⁵¹ Morris, *A History of Taxidermy*, 88-98.

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Western ‘civilisation’ more generally. His desire for authority in the museum-building process was also expressed and manifested in the tone and content of his correspondence with Rowland Ward. In the figure of Ward, taxidermy came to be associated to an art – but one in which the participants were mainly wealthy, white, male Europeans, thereby silencing the voice of animal agency. Taxidermy effectively objectified animals and established the material distinction between species.

Displaying in the Museum: The Dramaturgy of Empire

Hunted in the distant lands of empire and brought to Rowland Ward’s workshop to be taxidermied, Powell-Cotton’s animals then made their way to Birchington, East Kent, where they would be displayed in Quex House. With its sixty-four hundred specimens, the Powell-Cotton Museum – as it came to be known – was a display of the power and prestige of empire. ‘Scientific’ knowledge about the ‘natural world,’ built upon rigorous classification and distinctions between the metropolitan and the colonial, could be apprehended and visualised in the ‘natural history’ dioramas where the bodies of dead animals were laid to rest.⁵² Placed in a ‘natural’ context and grouped together by habitat groups, these ‘wild’ animals spoke not of themselves but of the human contexts that produced them. They spoke of masculine prowess, imperial power and ‘scientific’ dominance. In their recreated skins, the histories of hunting and taxidermy, knowledge, empire, and museums came to be materialised. Preserved in a seemingly realistic manner, these specimens highlighted the ‘otherness’ of the colonial lands that Europeans came to conquer, possess, and control. Yet absent from the visual representations were the non-Europeans who hunted with Powell-Cotton and contributed to his imperial career. The three galleries of the Powell-

⁵² For an overview on the history of ‘natural history’ museums and dioramas, see Sue Tunnicliffe and Annette Scheersoi, eds., *Natural History Dioramas: History, Construction and Educational Role* (London: Springer, 2015).

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Cotton Museum illustrated the ways in which museological institutions effectively reified the expansive project of empire.

Once hunted and taxidermied, the bodies of Powell-Cotton's animals had to be transported from the taxidermist's workshop in London to the private museum in Kent. Perhaps paradoxically, the 'wild' specimens that once occupied 'pristine' landscapes made their journey via the imperial transport *par excellence* – the railway. In 1909, however, an accident happened which would lead Powell-Cotton to change the means through which his animals were transported. The rhino that came in the taxidermy train carriage had somehow evaded its trappings, causing the topi to lose its head hair. Powell-Cotton wrote to Rowland Ward mourning the fate of his topi that "was a particularly good skin." Ward promptly offered to restore the damaged good.⁵³ Powell-Cotton, "who carefully [preserved] the entire skin and skull of nearly every animal he [killed],"⁵⁴ was primarily concerned with the realism of his taxidermic exhibits. A story of damaged cargo constituted an important event for a hunter, explorer and naturalist whose perfectionism became apparent in all his activities. In building a museum, Powell-Cotton was not merely satisfying his collecting obsession; rather, he wished to advance the cause of 'scientific' progress. Displaying life-like animal-objects in a 'realistic' manner rendered his knowledge-gathering hunting expeditions credible and immersed his museum into the authoritative world of 'science' within and about imperial 'nature'.

Powell-Cotton began the construction of his museum's first gallery (now Gallery 2) in 1896 and finished in 1905.⁵⁵ Considered to be the oldest intact wildlife diorama of its type anywhere in the world, this gallery depicted a Himalayan landscape at dawn. The painted scenery

⁵³ Powell-Cotton Museum, Papers of Percy Powell-Cotton, Box 4, 3.1.1/568, 574, 577: Powell-Cotton to Rowland Ward (7 September 1909), Rowland Ward to Powell-Cotton (8 September 1909), Rowland Ward to Powell-Cotton (9 September 1909).

⁵⁴ Powell-Cotton, *In Unknown Africa*, 535.

⁵⁵ The description that follows is based on the *Powell-Cotton Museum Guide Book* and Joynes, *Tracking the Major*.

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which contextualised the display of the Indian animals represented the Baltoro Glacier, now located in Pakistan. In 1909, Powell-Cotton added a second gallery (now Gallery 3) to his museum. It focused on species from equatorial Africa, displaying a vast number of antelopes, a large bull elephant, a rare group of Northern White rhino, and a striking diorama of a lion and a buffalo locked in battle, which shall be subject of analysis below. The third gallery (now Gallery 1) took fifteen years to complete. It was finished in 1939, incorporating a modern steel frame and background sceneries painted by a professional artist. It showcased dioramas of primates from Madhya Pradesh, India, collected in 1896 and species from northern Nigeria and Chad collected in 1925, as well as habitats from South Africa, Ethiopia and the Sahara Desert. The taxidermied animals in the museum were not displayed in the taxonomic order of the Natural History Museum; rather, they were depicted in ecological contexts, adopting a multitude of positions – from pasturing to climbing trees or rocks. Powell-Cotton paid special attention to how individual specimens were seen to interact, by either grouping them together in family groups or presenting relations between predators and preys. The museum also included ethnographic collections and other visual representations of animals through film and photography.⁵⁶ These galleries gave witness to the knowledge-gathering endeavours with which Powell-Cotton's hunting expeditions were intimately connected.

⁵⁶ Photography linked the worlds of hunting and displaying in fundamental ways. See Finis Dunaway, "Hunting with the Camera: Nature Photography, Manliness, and Modern Memory, 1890-1930," *Journal of American Studies* 34, no. 2 (2000), 207-230; and James Ryan, "'Hunting with the camera': Photography, wildlife and colonialism in Africa," in *Animal Spaces, Beastly Spaces: New geographies of human-animal relations*, eds. Chris Philo and Chris Wilbert (London: Routledge, 2000), 203-221.

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Figure 3 – Lion and Buffalo locked in combat. *Powell-Cotton Museum*. Author's own photograph.



Figure 4 – *The Hungry Lion Throws Itself on the Antelope* (1905), Henri Rousseau.

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Of particular relevance to our study is the central diorama in Gallery 3 representing a lion and a buffalo locked in combat (see Figure 3). Endowed with special dramatic grandeur, the diorama presented the male lion in a dominating position, with its teeth firmly gripped on the buffalo's back. The display evoked an encounter that Powell-Cotton had had with a lion during his longest hunting expedition (1904-1907). In March 1907, he was attacked by the animal and, according to the press, was saved by a copy of *Punch*, a satirical magazine. The news of the encounter travelled across the empire, and even reached the United States. In a particularly gripping way, *The Atlanta Constitution* described the event as follows:

On the banks of the Sasa river near Lake Albert Edward, [Powell-Cotton] fought his thirteen lion. Early on the Friday morning he saw a large solitary male making its way back to the jungle. He fired at it and wounded it badly. But the beast managed to crawl off into the brushwood and remained undiscovered for another hour and a half. It appeared to be done when [Powell-Cotton] and some of his men came upon it. . . . the monarch of the jungle [w]ith a loud roar sprang to its feet and charged Major Powell-Cotton. . . . [Powell-Cotton's] arms and legs were badly mauled but the folded copy of "Punch" in the breast pocket of his coat, kept the claw of the beast from penetrating his flesh there.⁵⁷

The lion was eventually killed, and its body collected. By displaying it in his museum, Powell-Cotton claimed dominance over the animal, whilst asserting imperial superiority over the 'natural world'. Captured within the glasses of the diorama display, the taxidermied animal became an object of fascination and admiration. This romantic animal 'other' constituted fundamental proof of how museums served as 'tools of empire' – by showcasing the heroic character of the imperial hunter.

Moreover, the lion-buffalo diorama speaks of the gendered nature of imperial knowledge. Male lions do not hunt their preys; female lions do. But the diorama was a commemoration of the imperial masculine prowess that attested to hunters' heroism; for all his pursuit of biotic realism, Powell-Cotton's exhibit was nonetheless a symbol of the cultural codes of

⁵⁷ "Bride and Groom Spend Honeymoon Among Pygmies of Dark Continent," *The Atlanta Constitution* (Atlanta, GA), March 31, 1907.

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empire. The diorama bore particular resemblance to the painting *The Hungry Lion Throws Itself on the Antelope* by Henri Rousseau (see Figure 4). Painting around the time that Powell-Cotton was travelling through African territories, Rousseau – although never having visited the ‘distant’ lands of European empires – built upon the discourses of imperial encounter fabricated by hunters like Powell-Cotton. The painting was accompanied by the following caption: “The hungry lion throws itself upon the antelope, devours him; anxiously the panther awaits the moment that he too can claim his share. Birds of prey have torn a strip of flesh from the poor animal that is shedding a tear! The sun sets.”⁵⁸ Both the diorama and the painting, by representing spectacular scenes of the dangers of the ‘natural world,’ invoked the excitement and exoticism of colonial ‘otherness.’ In the imaginary of empire, the lion as an object epitomised the notions of savagery and majesty that supposedly characterised colonial spaces. The authenticity of the taxidermied animal placed in such a dramatic setting and captured in a display of struggle constituted an emotive spectacle, which reinforced the intimate connections between taxidermy, museums, and empire. Obscured from such representations were the African hunting staff, who actually killed the lion and upon whose local knowledge Powell-Cotton’s hunting expeditions were made possible.

The museum built by Powell-Cotton was opened to the public in the early 1920s and visits were possible on Thursday and Saturday afternoons in the summer and only on Thursdays during the other months. Rowland Ward visited it in 1911, and described the collection as “one of the largest and most complete in any sportsman’s hands in Europe” and, even though he left some criticisms and suggestions, he thought it to be “a creditable performance” on the whole.⁵⁹ The museum was mainly visited by holidaymakers in Margate for whom the taxidermic exhibits were the first contact they had with the ‘scientific’ world of imperial hunting. From 1927 to

⁵⁸ Quoted in Poliquin, *The Breathless Zoo*, 79.

⁵⁹ Powell-Cotton Museum, Papers of Percy Powell-Cotton, Box 4, 3.1.1/838: Museum suggestions and criticisms by Mr Rowland Ward (20 May 1911).

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1929, the museum received 2,221 adult visitors, 857 children and 1,140 group attendees. George Pinfold, the curator of the museum, remarked that the museum was “admired by all visitors” and that one of the specimens gave “immense satisfaction and . . . caused quite a sensation.”⁶⁰ The museum in Kent offered its visitors an initial encounter with the theatrics of empire, whereby the ‘scientific’ knowledge gathered by Powell-Cotton through the practices of hunting and taxidermy became communicable to a larger and wider audience. The exoticism on display at the Powell-Cotton Museum would reinforce notions of colonial ‘otherness’ – by showcasing the supposedly depopulated landscapes of India and Africa where ‘fascinating’ animals roamed the land.

The specimens displayed in the Powell-Cotton Museum formed part of a textual and material discourse of empire. Obsessed with preserving their bodies in the most realistic way possible, Powell-Cotton became concerned with the means of transportation that took the taxidermied animals from Rowland Ward’s workshop in London to his private museum near Birchington. The story of the damaged goods illustrated the ‘scientific’ precision of Powell-Cotton’s endeavours. The three galleries of his museum similarly displayed how important precise museum-building was for Powell-Cotton, who paid particular attention to the posture and pose of taxidermied animals. His confrontation against a lion in Africa led him to build a diorama where the ritual codes and the dramaturgy of empire could be visible and celebrated. Romanticising the lion, the symbol of colonial rawness, was in and of itself a process of ‘othering’ of both the animal and the geographies it represented. Such ‘othering’ was not merely a characteristic of Powell-Cotton’s exhibits – it was at the centre and root of imperial knowledge. By opening to the public, the museum built by Powell-Cotton widened its audience and propagated and communicated ‘scientific’ knowledge about the colonial ‘other’ in more effective ways.

⁶⁰ Powell-Cotton Museum, Papers of Percy Powell-Cotton, Box 9, 3.1.2/1, 4, 11, 24: Pinfold to Powell-Cotton (4 May 1921), (20 September 1921), (9 September 1925), (21 March 1929).

Conclusion: Imperial Objects, Science and Museums

British museums currently hold about 200 million objects; half of them are in ‘natural history’ collections.⁶¹ Their histories ought to be recovered and analysed to better understand what their legacy represents. By charting the history of the Powell-Cotton Museum through its multiple sites, this article hopefully sheds light on the history of the visual displays present in the museum at Kent. The taxidermied animals that still adorn the dioramas of Quex do not simply speak of their habitats or of the ‘science’ of natural history. Their history is built upon the ‘othering’ non-European peoples, spaces, and species, and museum visitors ought to receive a more critical take on how Powell-Cotton hunted, collected and displayed animal bodies. Their history is also inextricably linked with the history of empire, whose expansion was as epistemological as material. Objects are endowed with meaning, and the process by which they ended up being displayed and musealised is firmly rooted in history and inscribed in manifold cultural assumptions. Material history needs to proceed into further collaboration between academic historians and curators, whose actions can lead to a better understanding of the objects present in our museums.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Britain, the practice of museum-building and the fact of empire were intimately linked. The Powell-Cotton Museum illuminates the ways in which imperial knowledge, with its dichotomic and taxonomic structures, was produced and displayed. Attempting to assert their masculinity in the distant lands of empire, white, metropolitan hunters wrote about their ‘adventuring’ in ways that obscured indigenous agency. Hunting was not an isolated activity, but formed part of a process that led to the collecting of animal bodies and their display in the metropolitan indoors. This process often involved romanticising African landscapes as ‘untamed’ and unpopulated tracts of lands where ‘wild’ and ‘fasci-

⁶¹ Samuel Alberti, “Constructing nature behind glass,” *Museum and Society* 6, no. 2 (2008), 73.

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nating' animals lived. As Said and post-colonial theory argued, fascination and wonder were fundamental features of 'othering'.

This is not to say that the relation between some museums and empire was more complicated than a process of mutual reinforcement, as Sarah Longair argued. But Cohn's notion that imperial knowledge was built and asserted through a 'museological modality' still retains its explanatory power when applied to Powell-Cotton's case. His career in the 'wilderness' of empire, his travelogues, his photographs, and his taxidermic project all turned the museum-building process into an important 'tool of empire'.

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Challenging the Binary: Egyptian Nationalism and Non-Alignment in the Bandung Conference of 1955

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“For world peace is not merely the absence of war. It requires concerted endeavors to create conditions of political stability, economic development and social justice; all being essentials for the development of a healthy world society.”

Statement by the Egyptian Delegation at the opening session.
(Bandung, 18 April 1955)

Introduction

On April 18th 1955, there came a turning point in world history. Delegates from twenty-nine countries representing more than half the population of the world gathered in a conference organized at Bandung, Indonesia to discuss the pressing issue of how African and Asian nations would claim their place in a global system that had, for several centuries, been governed by the plague of Western imperialism and colonialism. Organized and lead by President Soekarno of Indonesia, the conference was attended by several new nation-states including Egypt, India, China and more. It was at this conference that President Abdel Gamel Nasser of Egypt began to lay the foundations for his new state’s foreign policy, to ensure Egypt’s place in the new world order by recognizing the need for a demonstration of a Pan-African/Asian solidarity in the age of de-colonization.

This study examines how non-alignment was integrated into Egyptian nationalist ideas at the Bandung Conference of 1955, and argues that this amalgamation took place via the construction of the Third World as a project of identity. This paper argues that the superpower insistence on painting the postcolonial world in black and white swathes of communism and capitalism not only misrepresented the complexities of postcolonial state ideologies, but also gave rise to the

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Third World project which allowed for the unification of non-alignment rhetoric with Egyptian nationalism.

The statesmen of Bandung faced several challenges, ranging from decolonization, apartheid and disarmament to more abstract questions of identity and power projection, the latter of which was thrust into the spotlight at the conference against the looming backdrop of an ideological Cold War. By 1955 it had become more than clear, at least to non-European nations, that the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union was in no way restricted to the physical bounds of Europe and held consequences for all post-colonial nations. As the ideological binary of the Cold War became normalized and the superpowers began to set out the borders of their respective spheres of influence, the post-colonial world dedicated itself to the creation of the “Third World.”

The categorization “Third World” has morphed in meaning over the course of the 20th century but traces its origins to the context of the Cold War. First coined by French demographer Alfred Sauvy in a 1952 article entitled “Trois mondes, une planete” (Three worlds, one planet), the phrase refers to the swathe of nations within which most of the world’s population resided at the time.¹ Sauvy categorized the nation-state system into three groups: the United States and its capitalist ally states, the Soviet Union and its satellite states, and finally all those who were yet to be arranged into this bipolar paradigm. Thus, it is clear that Sauvy’s organizing logic in creating this system of categorization was ideology. The “Third World” project, from the origins of its terminology, was linked to the concept of non-alignment, an idea that would evolve into a movement established in 1961 at Belgrade and today forms a bloc of 120 countries including

¹ Alfred Sauvy, “TROIS MONDES, UNE PLANETE,” *L'Observateur* 14, no 118 (1952): 14, accessed December 10, 2017, <http://www.homme-moderne.org/societe/demo/sauvy/3mondes.html>.

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Egypt. The integration of non-alignment into the rhetoric of the Third World project points to a specific effort of national identity formation reacting against Western influence.

Sauvy's categorization, while rooted in the Cold War context, nevertheless masks several lines along which this tripartite divide was recognized. The distinguishing factor between the "Third World" and the superpowers was not merely ideological, but was also political and socio-cultural. While Third World nations differed in ideology, they shared a common legacy: they had all at one time or the other been subjected to Western rule and dominance, and several African nations were still buckling under the yoke of colonialist oppression, including North African countries like Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia. It was along this thread of common experience that the twenty-nine nations of Bandung were drawn together to discuss the implications of a super-power dominated world system in the vacuum left behind by declining Western European power.

Bandung itself formed a crucial nexus for the Cold War as far as the post-colonial nations of Asia and Africa were concerned, and this raises the question of whether the Cold War was ever anything but a global phenomenon, with non-alignment severely complicating the new world order envisioned by the two superpowers. While from the superpower perspective the Cold War was a question of national security, this study aims to situate the Cold War within an ideological argument as a battleground of ideas for the construction of post-colonial life, as reflected in the political narrative of postcolonial leaders such as Egypt's Nasser.

In terms of historical method, this paper favors the post-revisionist approach of constructivist emphasis on identity and rhetoric to explore the impact of the Cold War and non-alignment on the project of national identity formation for a country like Egypt that had just undergone a nationalist revolution after being under de-facto British control since the late 19th century. In order to construct an argument rooted in theories of identity, this study will place postcolonial

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identity formation in conversation with the rhetoric used at Bandung in 1955 with a focus on Nasser's specific conception of Pan-Arab nationalism and Egyptian neutrality. Additionally, it will explore US government archival material on Bandung and its significance to superpower policymakers in forming their understandings of global containment, thus linking the bipolar Cold War paradigm to the reactionary creation of Third World nationalism.

Ultimately, an analysis of primary material as well as historiographical trends surrounding Bandung indicates the significance of this episode in the larger narrative of the Cold War. Another crucial reason to study this question is the traditional gap in Cold War historiography, which often either glosses over, or ignores, this tripartite relationship of nationalism, non-alignment, and the Cold War through the Third World project.

Historiographical Review

The Bandung Conference of 1955 was a platform that brought together representatives of over half the world's population to discuss a shared goal of non-alignment with the bipolar distribution of superpower influence during the Cold War. At the same time, Bandung can be contextualized in the swathe of rising nationalism across Asia and Africa, even as many of these newfound states became theatres of Cold War tensions. In terms of the historiographical trends characterizing studies of the Cold War, the Hegelian model of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis does not function to describe how Bandung has been represented in Cold War history. This is due to a lack of focus on Bandung as a crucial episode in early Cold War historiography. There is also a visible shortage of historiographical analysis in a non-US context. This changed somewhat in the late 20th century with the rise of the revisionist school of thought, the decline of the Soviet Union and the rise of cultural history in the 80s. The US fiasco in Vietnam pushed histori-

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ans such as William Appleman Williams to reevaluate the role played by containment in the postcolonial world. Another defining lens through which Bandung has been studied since the 60s has been through the framework of international relations. While constructivist theorists have been specifically interested in the emergence of Third World nationalisms, realist theorists focus on the change in the world balance of power with the rise of China. Postcolonial historians have also copiously studied Bandung as a formative moment in the narrative of Cold War, with a specific focus on the dynamics of identity formation and nationalism.

The earliest dominant mode of thought amongst historians of the Cold War in the United States is the Orthodox school. The orthodox tendency is to locate the driving force behind the Cold War in Soviet expansionism, particularly in Europe. Orthodox historians such as Herbert Feis focused largely on the European theater of Cold War tensions due to the chronological position of orthodox historiography as one of the earlier historiographical schools. However, in a piece for *Foreign Affairs* on the Suez Crisis of 1956, Feis revealed the traditional orthodox tendency to understand postcolonial nationalism as a direct consequence of Communist allegiance, and therefore a direct threat to US security.² Feis' characterization of Abdel Gamel Nasser as a force of chaos via "frenzied and vulgar" speeches fed into his analysis of the Suez crisis as Communist aggression, and not as an expression of postcolonial state building. Nasser is instead portrayed as a fanatic to the Soviet cause, obsessed with "slanderous bluster to get all the Arab nations and tribes from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf to follow his call." While British, French, and American domestic politics are analyzed in depth as a contextual foundation of Suez, there is

² Herbert Feis, "Suez Scenario: a Lamentable Tale," *Foreign Affairs* 38, no. 4 (1960): 598-612, 11 Oct. 2011, www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-kingdom/1960-07-01/suez-scenario-lamentable-tale.

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little emphasis placed by many orthodox historians on Egyptian domestic politics or ideologies outside the scope of the Cold War binary.

The Bandung Conference more specifically came into the spotlight for historians of the Cold War with the rise of revisionism in the mid-20th century, accelerated specifically by increasing critiques of US intervention in Latin America, Southeast Asia and the Middle East. Revisionism aligned itself in opposition to Orthodoxy in that it put the onus of the Cold War on the American drive for creating free markets. Therefore, this school of historiography began to consider these global theatres of tension as more central to analyzing the Cold War than scholarship before it had. Additionally, there was a radical identification of the US as an imperialist power by historians such as William Appleman Williams and Odd Arne Westad. Westad's recognition of Bandung as a formative episode in not just Cold War history, but in the larger question of anticolonial state formation is clear as he explicates that "Part of the importance of the Bandung conference was its timing: coming right after French withdrawal from Indochina and at a time when several African countries seemed headed for independence, the conference caught the moment of greatest hope and expectation in the anticolonial struggle."³ However, Westad's approach tends to focus on the significance of Bandung in the sense of disrupting the polarity of global politics at this time rather than as a platform for identity formation. Eminent post revisionist historian John Lewis Gaddis also approaches Bandung by examining how it was interpreted by the United States and the Soviet Union, resulting in the undermining of non-alignment with the Egypt-Soviet arms deal and the Suez crisis.⁴ More recent historiography has shown a tendency to move away from understanding Bandung through the Communism-Capitalism ideological dichotomy. An emphasis on national identity formation and the rise of the Third World was tak-

³ Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 99.

⁴ John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 170.

en up by several cultural historians in the 1980's and beyond, especially within the school of postcolonial theory.

Historian Vijay Prashad takes up this approach to Bandung and postcolonial nationalism in his book *Darker Nations*. With the proclamation “The Third World was not a place. It was a project,” Prashad lays out his argument that Bandung was a formative platform for the crystallization of this project, in terms of ideology and self-conception, which Prashad argues was specifically facilitated by the framework of international legality and the United Nations.⁵ According to Prashad, Bandung was born out of postcolonial nationalism and allowed these leaders to come together around the belief that “two thirds of the world’s people had the right to return to their own burned cities, cherish them and rebuild them in their own image.”⁶

This study largely focuses upon the arguments of postcolonial historians and constructivists, examining specifically the relationship between nationalist rhetoric and that of non-alignment expressed at Bandung. Superpower political signaling was another focal point for the post-revisionists, which organized the world into nations that were in one camp or the other, and therefore built into the creation of the Third world project.

The Mobius Strip of Egyptian Nationalism and Non-Alignment

Taking the stage at Bandung in 1955, General Abdel Gamel Nasser was arguably one of the most important figures at the conference, as he took his place as one of the leaders of Non-Alignment alongside Jawaharlal Nehru of India. Having come to power a mere two years before the Bandung Conference, it was clear upon his arrival at Indonesia that Egypt was to become a hegemonic force in the region, as it was ready to take its place on the world stage following the

⁵ Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A Biography of the Short-Lived Third World* (New Delhi: LeftWord, 2007), 1.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 32.

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overthrow of the monarchy and British colonialism. When interviewed by a journalist after the conference, Nasser could not have been more emphatic about the importance of Bandung, and by extension non-alignment to Egypt, comparing the global significance of the summit as second only to the discovery of the atom.⁷ Setting aside the performativity of such a lofty claim, Nasser's statement reveals an inextricable link between the rhetoric of non-alignment and Egyptian conceptions of national identity on a global stage in 1955.

One can trace back this relationship of non-alignment and Egyptian nationalism to the anti-colonial movement, whose roots both predate, and sometimes lay outside, the context of the Cold War, as they were directed against older European empires—namely the British and the French. Emerging from the late 19th century episode are two distinct features of modern Egyptian nationalism: it was both clearly Arab in that it was aligned against the Ottomans and it was also distinctly anti-British. These two features can be traced through the various manifestations of Egyptian nationalism under British dominance over the first half of the 20th century, which took on an anti-imperialist leaning, as the erstwhile monarchy under King Farouk was associated with British control and a lack of Egyptian sovereignty. It is clear that the fear of foreign intervention that formed the basis of non-alignment had a strong influence on the Egyptian nationalist movement. Historian Don Peretz traces Egyptian non-alignment back to the “revolutionary” nature of how modern Arab states were formed in direct opposition to European colonialism.⁸ This explanation is certainly plausible, considering the monumental role played by the 1952 revolution and the rise of General Abdel Gamel Nasser to the evolution of a reactionary anti-West Egyptian foreign policy.

⁷ Khoon Choy Lee, *Diplomacy of a Tiny State*, (Singapore: World Scientific, 1993), 76.

⁸ Don Peretz, “Nonalignment in the Arab World,” *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 362, no. 1 (1965): 37. doi:10.1177/000271626536200105.

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The significance of the 1952 Free Officers revolution in the Egyptian construction of national pride cannot be overstated, and its influence extended far beyond Egypt to “set the standard and provide a model for other states in the region.”⁹ After Egypt’s loss in the 1948 war, in which Nasser himself was wounded, the Free Officers movement accelerated their efforts to free Egypt of the corruption of the ‘old regime,’ ultimately culminating in a coup on July 23rd 1952.

Peretz goes as far as to claim that

...the impact of the revolution throughout the Middle East has been much like that of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era on Western Europe. Because Egypt was the first Arab nation to overthrow its old regime and to adopt a radical and an independent foreign policy, all Arab nationalists have been subjected to its influences.¹⁰

In 1953, Egypt was established as a Republic with President Muhammad Naguib at its head, whose short-lived regime was brought to an end by Nasser’s consolidation of power by 1954 and the creation of a single party state headed by Nasser himself. It cannot be denied that Nasser derived his charismatic appeal from a carefully constructed nationalist image, as the first “native” Egyptian to truly rule Egypt in several centuries, with ardent supporter and future secretary general of the Nasserite party in Egypt Diaa al-Din Dawoud describing Nasser as “an ordinary man of the people, not a man of the upper classes, he came from the working classes, the father was a simple employee, his allegiance was always to the people.”¹¹

While Nasser’s charisma was certainly one of the factors contributing to his prominence at Bandung, the foundational ideology of Nasserism was anti-colonialism, and by extension, Pan-Arab solidarity on a global level. In his manifesto *Philosophy of Revolution*, Nasser expresses the inseparable nature of Pan-Arab solidarity and Egyptian postcolonial nationalism: “there is an Arab circle surrounding us and this circle is as much a part of us as we are a part of it, that our

⁹ James L. Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East: A History*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 278.

¹⁰ Peretz, “Nonalignment in the Arab World,” 38.

¹¹ “Arab Unity: Nasser's Revolution.” Egypt News, *Al Jazeera* (Doha, Qatar), June 20, 2008, <http://www.aljazeera.com/focus/arabunity/2008/02/200852517252821627.html>.

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history is mixed up with it and its interests are linked with ours. These are facts, not mere words.”¹² While Arab identity is Nasser’s primary concern in this book, he extends the limits of regional solidarity to Africa, thus positioning him to play an influential role at the first large-scale political expression of colonized solidarity at Bandung in 1955. Between the revolution of 1952 and the Bandung conference of 1955, there was a series of attempts by the new Egyptian state to put this newfound anti-colonial nationalism into practice, all of which was serviced by, and contributed to, Egyptian non-alignment as the Cold War rivalry deepened between the superpowers.

The most tangible of these attempts was the goal of development. Nasser was determined to modernize Egyptian industry, and therefore allowed Egypt to negotiate its place in the global market and break away from its past as a puppet in the hands of the British due to the place it held in the colonial cotton sector. In the shadow of its colonial past, Egypt embarked on a series of state-led economic initiatives to try and reduce Egypt’s dependency on imported goods. In terms of “non-alignment,” Nasser envisioned a buildup of trade with Asia and the Soviets to balance out cotton links with the West.¹³ Under the new regime, there was an effort to address the question of land reform, with the state seizing land from the former aristocratic classes and redistributing this land. The centralized nature of the Nasserite regime’s economic reform fueled assumptions that the Egyptian leader was primed to align with the Communist USSR. However, this directly contradicts the reality of how Nasser’s regime ruthlessly persecuted the Egyptian communists, driving their leadership into exile.

In addition to land and industrial reform, Nasser embarked upon a mission to harness the hydroelectric power of the Nile with the Aswan High Dam Project, which would function both as

¹² Gamal Abdel Naseer, *The Philosophy of the Revolution*, (Cairo: Dar-al Maaref, 1956), 54.

¹³ Peretz, "Nonalignment in the Arab World," 40.

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a way to diversify the energy sector and as a symbol of modern Egyptian nationhood and independence from colonial rule. The irony of the latter is that in order to undertake such a massive project, Egypt was obliged to seek foreign aid, which built into Nasser's decision to remain non-aligned in the Cold War: he needed funds and he would take them from either superpower. Historian Reem Abou el Fadl highlights the relationship of this ideological conundrum with Nasser's position at Bandung: "positive neutralism evolved out of the Free Officers' negotiations of the contradictory requirements of these two: foreign policies aspiring to autonomy on the one hand, and nation-building projects requiring foreign aid on the other."¹⁴

It soon became clear that within the Egyptian context, non-alignment was more an effort to prevent foreign intervention in Egyptian affairs than anything else—a stance that was hardened by Nasser's rejection of the Baghdad Pact of 1955. A defense treaty supported by the US and Britain, comprising of Turkey, Iraq, Great Britain, Pakistan and Iran, was the antithesis of Egypt's vision for the Middle East, a vision that did not in any way include Britain, their colonial oppressors. This opposition to Western mediated treaty organizations as neo-colonialist schemes of control was echoed at Bandung by the non-aligned bloc led by Egypt and India. Nasser's rejection of the Baghdad pact, as well as offers to join an American led Middle East Defense Organization (MEDO) coalition, ultimately led to the souring of US-Egypt relations, which had been frayed further by the Israeli raid of Gaza in 1955. The Egyptian and Pan-Arab mistrust of the US as the primary supporter of Israel, in conjunction with the association of the US with the old colonial powers only pushed Nasser towards envisioning Egypt as non-aligned, and especially distanced from the West, which was perceived as a threat.

¹⁴ Reem Abou-El-Fadl, "Neutralism Made Positive: Egyptian Anti-colonialism on the Road to Bandung," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 42, no. 2 (2014): Pg. 220. doi:10.1080/13530194.2013.878526.

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While Egyptian non-alignment was specifically opposed to the United States, it did not perceive the USSR as a threat to its sovereignty, and was therefore more than willing to sign the Czechoslovakian arms deal in 1955, which led to the cancellation of US loans for the Aswan Dam, which in turn led to the nationalization of the Suez Canal by 1956. These were bold actions on the part of a nation that had been completely under the political and economic control of the British less than a decade before, and can be traced to a clear nationalist vision of Egypt's hegemonic importance in the region as an autonomous anti-colonial power not beholden to the First or Second Worlds, but to a Third World. It was at Bandung that these ideas were crystallized on the world stage, allowing Nasser to manipulate the new Cold War world order to suit Egyptian interests.

Bandung and Third World Solidarity

In April 1955, Abdul Gamel Nasser and the Egyptian delegation joined 28 other Asian and African nations for the Bandung Conference to discuss and formulate a new era of Pan-Asian and African solidarity. The nations that assembled at Bandung differed widely in terms of ideology, state structure, economic policy, and foreign policy objectives. However, as historian Vijay Prashad aptly put it, “if you fought against colonialism and stood against imperialism, you were a part of the Third World.”¹⁵ While the nations of Bandung were unlikely to unite entirely in terms of their position on the Cold War binary, they were ultimately drawn together into a united front advocating for decolonization, a process that was still underway across Africa. This precarious solidarity was under heavy scrutiny by the colonial powers of Western Europe, as seen in this analysis from the French newspaper *Le Figaro*: “The issues to be dealt with in Bandung will, at all events, have to be tackled in general terms if the organizers want to keep up ap-

¹⁵ Prashad, *Darker Nations*, 49.

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pearances and give the impression that a certain degree of solidarity and agreement has been achieved.”¹⁶ However, by focusing on anticolonial fervor, the leaders at Bandung were successful in crafting the “Bandung spirit” of solidarity that was reflected in the Asian-African bloc at the UN. The enthusiasm at Bandung was palpable, as noted by the Soviet publication *Pravda*, “The delegates to the conference unanimously approved the Joint Communiqué to rapturous applause and cheers.”¹⁷

At the conference itself, Egypt found itself closely associated with India in terms of positive neutralism and a rejection of “pacts and allegiances that divided the world into the toxic Cold War.”¹⁸ Nasser’s commitment to non-alignment as a formal foreign policy stance developed over the course of the conference in collaboration with Prime Minister Nehru of India, heightened by the perceived pressure from the West to join a defense pact. However, another reason for Bandung’s significance to Egypt was that it provided Nasser’s regime with a world stage upon which to test and display its new conception of Egyptian Pan-Arab post-colonial nationalism, and garner support for Egypt’s movement towards hegemonic dominance within the Arab bloc. In a powerful opening speech, the Egyptian delegation declared:

We have been witnessing for some years the rising tide of nationalism not only in our part of the world but also in various parts of Asia and Africa. Our own experience shows us that nationalism when thwarted creates difficult problems; but if it is dealt with wisely and realistically, it responds with friendship and generosity.¹⁹

Throughout the conference, Nasser’s delegation pushed a platform addressing anti-colonial solidarity with Algeria and against the Apartheid regime, and focused particularly on rallying support for the Palestinian cause, pointing out the hypocrisy of western powers and the

¹⁶ Roger Massip, “Les délégués de 29 pays d’Afrique et d’Asie réunis à Bandoeng,” *Le Figaro* (Paris, France), April 18, 1955, <https://www.cvce.eu/s/94>.

¹⁷ *Pravda*. 25.04.1955. Moskva. "Konferentsiia stran Azii i Afriki zakonchila svoiu rabotu". Copyright: (c) Translation CVCE.EU by UNILU

¹⁸ Prashad, *Darker Nations*, 39.

¹⁹ “Statement by the Egyptian Delegation at the Opening Session,” in *Asia-Africa Speak from Bandung*, (Jakarta, Indonesia: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1955), 69, <https://www.cvce.eu/s/8u>.

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UN in propagating Israeli “violation of human principles.”²⁰ By thus aligning Egypt’s interests directly against Israel, the Pan-Arab conception of nationalism was further strengthened at Bandung much to the consternation of Israel and the United States. The direct impact of Bandung on reinforcing Nasser’s decision to nationalize the Suez Canal in 1956 and challenging Israel, and by extension the European powers and the United States, is clear upon an examination of his rhetoric in the buildup to the Suez Canal Crisis. In a statement issued with the nationalization order, Nasser proclaimed “Egypt's politics come from the very heart of Egypt and not from London or Washington.”²¹ Most striking however, is his reference to the Bandung Conference as an expression of nationalism that was perceived as a threat by Great Britain: “We asked for weapons from Britain. We were told: we give you weapons to two conditions. First that Gamal Abdel Nasser who goes to Bandoeng does not open his mouth and the second condition is to stop our attacks against the policy of alliances and covenants.”²² Proudly refusing to bend to the demands of their colonial oppressors, Nasser brushes aside accusations of Soviet alignment stoked by the Czech arms deal with an abrupt defense, “Are there any communist and non-communist weapons? Weapons, as soon as they arrive in Egypt, they are called Egyptian weapons.”²³

Both at Bandung and upon his return to Cairo, Nasser made his understanding of non-alignment or neutralism extremely clear: Egypt’s foreign policy would work to protect the new state from any level of foreign interference. The monumentality of this decision is seen in the

²⁰ “Statement by the Egyptian Delegation at the Opening Session,” 68.

²¹ Gamal Abdel Naseer, “Discours de Gamal Abdel Nasser sur la nationalisation de la Compagnie du canal de Suez” (1956), in *Notes et études documentaires: Écrits et Discours du colonel Nasser*, (Paris, France: 1956), 17. <https://www.cvce.eu/s/3a>.

²² Gamal Abdel Naseer, “Discours de Gamal Abdel Nasser sur la nationalisation de la Compagnie du canal de Suez” (1956), in *Notes et études documentaires: Écrits et Discours du colonel Nasser*, (Paris, France: 1956), 19. <https://www.cvce.eu/s/3a>

²³ Gamal Abdel Naseer, “Discours de Gamal Abdel Nasser sur la nationalisation de la Compagnie du canal de Suez” (1956), in *Notes et études documentaires: Écrits et Discours du colonel Nasser*, (Paris, France: 1956), 21. <https://www.cvce.eu/s/3a>

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implications it had for other Arab states, including Syria and later Jordan, Iran and Iraq. As far as Egypt was concerned, it would accept resources from any external power who respected its sovereignty, as proven by Nasser's acceptance of weapons from the Soviet bloc and rejection of the Baghdad Pact and MEDO. However, this conception of "neutralism" was formed within the context of superpower politics and the Cold War, and Nasser would be forced to recognize this in order for Egypt to take its place on the world stage.

Superpower responses to Non-Alignment

Muhammad Hafiz Isma'il, Egyptian diplomat and Adviser on National Security to Anwar Sadat in the 70's, retrospectively commented on the Egyptian vision of neutralism:

...we wanted the level of Soviet assistance to Egypt to reach that of the West to Israel, and the achievement of this became the real measure of Soviet aid for us over the next two decades... Egyptian-Soviet relations never passed a certain level, and never reached that between Israel and the Western powers. The ideological dimension of Egyptian-Soviet relations was absent, and this was a vital factor.²⁴

The flexible Soviet treatment of the burgeoning non-alignment movement at Bandung was markedly different from the rigid US response, which ultimately benefited the Soviets in their standing with the Third World.

The Soviets were not amongst the nations invited to the Bandung conference in 1955, simply because, as French politician Arthur Conte noted in an interview, "it was considered too European...for the first time, we see a big world congress without that no white man, nor American, nor Russian, nor English, nor French."²⁵ While the Soviets were certainly wary of the presence of China, a rivaling Communist power with a growing influence, at Bandung the Soviet

²⁴ Abou-El-Fadl, "Neutralism Made Positive: Egyptian Anti-colonialism on the Road to Bandung," 239.

²⁵ Original Arthur Conte. Int. Sur la conférence de Bandoung. / Arthur Conte.- Perpignan: RTL [Prod.], 16.04.1965. RTL, Paris. - SON (00:12:38, Montage, Son original). Algérie: les accords d'Evian / Euloge Boissonade, Jean-Pierre Farkas.- Oran et Alger: RTL [Prod.], 20 mars 1962. RTL, Paris. - (07:03, Montage, Son original). Copyright: Transcription CVCE.EU by UNI.LU.

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strategy towards non-alignment was extremely strategic. In 1956 at the 20th congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the USSR “rejected its earlier two camp theory of the world”²⁶ in favor of a new world view—one with a zone of peace for dialogue between the Second and Third Worlds, excluding the First World. The thaw in Soviet positions on the global system binary began after Stalin’s death in 1953 and manifested in the lack of Soviet attempts to use their resources as a bargaining tool to integrate Egypt into their sphere of influence. Soviet arms and assistance in construction of the High Nile Dam continued even after Nasser’s ruthless crackdown on Egyptian Communists. As long as Nasser never felt as though Egypt’s sovereignty was being encroached upon, Soviet assistance served as a clever strategy to stymie containment in the Middle East. By setting themselves up in opposition to the US and its colonialist allies, the Soviets could exploit the ill-fated tripartite invasion of Egypt in 1956 as a propagandistic opportunity against the “West,” as reflected in Khrushchev’s memoirs: “The prestige of the Soviet Union was enhanced not only by Egyptians, but also to all the peoples who had recently freed themselves from colonial slavery and still struggling for their independence.”²⁷

Juxtaposed against the Soviet leniency towards non-alignment and the Third World challenge to the Cold War binary, US policymakers viewed the Bandung Conference and all it represented with a great deal of suspicion. This was not because the US aimed to maintain colonial rule in any of the Third World nations, but rather because of a deep suspicion of Communist ideology penetrating the newfound states of the Third World, and a subsequent “demonization” of the US. This approach led US policymakers under Eisenhower to label Nasser as a Soviet sympathizer after his refusal to join the US led MEDO treaty and his choice to accept the Czech arms

²⁶ Prashad, *Darker Nations*, 46.

²⁷ Khrushchev, Nikita S. *Souvenirs*. MICHEL, Jacques (sous la dir.). Paris: Robert Laffont, 1971. 589 p. p. 413-415. Copyright: Édition originale parue sous le titre : KHRUSHCHEV REMEMBERS (c) (1990, Little, Brown and Company Inc) Traduction du russe (c) J.L. Shecter.

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deal, instead of recognizing these acts as a bid for Egyptian autonomy. An analysis of declassified records from the Department of State reveals a growing trepidation towards the prospect of Bandung. In a meeting in Secretary Dulles' Office on January 18, 1955, it was discussed that "any resolution adopted at Bandung unanimously, that is in concert with Communist nations, would have a very bad effect in the United States, particularly in Congress."²⁸ Robert Murphy responds to the question of how to best understand the threat of the Bandung Conference, and suggests "that the Bandung Conference was dangerous to us, not only because of the resolutions that would be adopted, but also because of the personal associations between Communist and Non-Communist leaders which would be formed there."²⁶ The record of this meeting indicates discussions of how best to influence the outcome of Bandung without allowing the US hand to show, which would further alienate the Third World from US Cold War security interests. In a follow-up conversation on February 1, 1955 in the US Department of State, "the Department was engaged in studying what influence we could exert in appropriate manners in connection with the Conference,"²⁹ with an understanding that "if the non-communist invitees were represented by capable delegates, and the delegates cooperated, they should be able to block communist maneuvers and perhaps introduce constructive resolutions."²⁷ In conjunction with attempts to gain some control over the proceedings at Bandung, US tried to directly reach out to Nasser after the conference. In a draft letter from Eisenhower's office to Nasser dated May 24, 1955, the US aimed to salvage an increasingly strained relationship with Egypt, and encouraged mediation with Israel in return for "added impetus to social and economic programs which, as your Government has correctly diagnosed, are indispensable to progress and security. Countries of the Western world, including the United States, would find it easier to extend appropriate assistance which might be

²⁸ *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955–1957, Volume XIX, Part 1, East Asia Security, Cambodia, Laos, Volume XXI, Document 6.*

²⁹ *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955–1957, Volume XVIII, Africa, Document 1.*

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requested.”³⁰ This subtle ultimatum was not lost on Nasser, who refused to negotiate with the United States considering US pressure on Egypt to accept a compromise with Israel in exchange for developmental loans. Ultimately, the Eisenhower administration withdrew the \$70 million aid for the Aswan Dam in 1956, leading to the nationalization of the Suez Canal. In response to this move, the US with its allies, including an incensed Britain, condemned Egypt for

...the arbitrary and unilateral seizure by one nation of an international agency which has the responsibility to maintain and to operate the Suez Canal so that all the signatories to, and beneficiaries of, the Treaty of 1888 can effectively enjoy the use of an international waterway upon which the economy, commerce, and security of much of the world depends.³¹

By 1956, US policymakers were fixed in their disdain for the neutralism advocated by Nasser at Bandung, discarding it as a façade put up by a Soviet-sympathizing Arab state. On the other hand, the 1956 war served to reaffirm the necessity of the “Bandung Spirit” to the Third World, as both the Soviets and Americans condemned the British-French-Israeli attack on Egyptian soil.

Conclusion: Bandung’s Legacy of Non-Alignment

To conclude, the Bandung Conference of 1955 was the launching point for ideas of post-colonial state identity and achieving equality on a global stage. By bringing together leaders with sometimes opposing ideological views, the conference formed the perfect platform for Abdel Gamel Nasser to debut his conceptions of Pan-Arab nationalism to the world, as a transnational identity would be well received at a conference for transnational solidarity. An analysis of the specificities of Egyptian nationalism after the Revolution of 1952 set Nasser’s ideas in continuity with what scholars have labeled the “Bandung Spirit,” which refers to a united Third World im-

³⁰ Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955–1957, Volume XIV, Arab-Israeli Dispute, Document 107.

³¹ Foreign Relations of the United States, 1955–1957, Suez Crisis, July 26–December 31, 1956, Volume XVI, Document 53.

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penetrable to foreign powers and a complete rejection of the old colonial system and its residual effects on global politics.

Bandung can be understood as the testing ground for Nasser's ideas on a global platform, and the support he received served to reinforce his resolve in initiating the nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956 after signing the Czech arms deal of 1955. While Western powers considered these moves to be an aggressive expression of Soviet alignment, it is clear that rather than Soviet alignment, Nasser's Egypt was aligned in opposition to the First World bloc. Ultimately, the invasion of Egypt by their colonial oppressors simply served to prove the need for the "Bandung Spirit" in Egypt's security outlook, leading to an escalation of Nasser's involvement in the newly founded Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) at large, as demonstrated by his proceeding to actively facilitate the admittance of several Bandung bloc nations into the United Nations, and his participation in the Belgrade Summit of 1961. The locus of global non-alignment could have arguable been Cairo, which played host to a 1957 African-Asian solidarity conference, the preparatory summit to Belgrade, as well as a non-aligned conference in October 1964. As Egypt made its way into the era of the 'Arab Cold War' against Saudi Arabia in a clash for regional hegemony over the Arab Middle East, it was clear that Bandung was the crossroads at which point Egyptian postcolonial identity was crystallized.

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The Missing Rebellion: 1692-1730 Ireland

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After the Glorious Revolution of 1688, Ireland was in a precarious position. Power was placed in the hands of a minority, known as the Anglo-Irish Protestant Ascendancy. This Protestant minority was in the constant midst of a majority comprised of Catholics. The few, determined to maintain their power over the many, enacted Penal Laws that restricted the political and religious freedoms of the Catholics; yet Ireland was forced to submit to England (Britain after 1707). The Protestants, who depended on the power of England for their stranglehold over the Catholics, had to accept their position of dependency. In this way then, the power of the Anglo-Irish Protestants was constantly at issue: the established church's position was a balancing act, weighing the necessity to voluntarily submit to a greater power on whom their own power depended against forcibly submitting the majority of its own nation to maintain its Ascendancy.

Viewing the long decades between 1692 and 1730, the question of how Ireland managed to remain tranquil — or, at least tranquil relative to England and Scotland — remains unanswered. How can it be that this tiny minority traversed the rocky waters of its delicate power without fail? Why did the Catholics, who remained the majority throughout the period, not take up arms?

These questions are particularly pertinent when viewed through the lens of crisis. Between 1692 and 1730, the three Kingdoms seemed on the constant brink of eruption. Fear of Catholic sedition and rebellion was pervasive. This sentiment manifested in a plethora of ways, including through several of the Penal Laws. “The Act for Banishing all Papists Exercising any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and all Regulars of the *Popish Clergy* out of this Kingdom” demon-

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strated the Ascendency's fear of the Catholics who "not only endeavor to withdraw his Majesty's Subjects from their Obedience, but do daily stir up, and move Sedition; and Rebellion to the great hazard of the Ruine and Destruction of this Kingdom."¹ The variegated crises only magnified the heightened tension, yet Ireland remained peaceful. In the years after the Limerick treaty of 1691, the promises of the document were violated, yet Ireland remained peaceful. In Queen Anne's reign, the Penal Laws reached their climax, yet Ireland remained peaceful. In 1714, the question of the Protestant succession brought the Kingdoms into crisis mode, yet Ireland remained peaceful. The following year was marked by the Jacobite Rebellion in England and Scotland, yet Ireland remained peaceful. And, in the 1720s, the Declaratory Act, the failed Irish Bank Proposal, Wood's Half-Pence, and the South Sea Bubble shook the bedrock of the nation, yet Ireland remained peaceful.

Section One

Previous scholars who have addressed this question have only done so partially or tangentially. Some authors have taken up the first years of the period, neglecting the latter. More have posited theories in passing as they sought answers to their own, different questions. Others have analyzed points which should be seen as necessary for understanding this paper's driving question but which, on their own, serve as insufficient answers. Moreover, the previous authors' disparate threads have never been and are in need of being weaved together into a coherent whole. Furthermore, there are several aspects of Ireland's tranquility that remain in the dark, waiting to be illuminated. More specifically and most importantly, scholars have missed three things. First, the period surrounding the Jacobite rebellion served as the fulcrum about which the

¹ Ireland, ed., *An Act for Banishing All Papists Exercising Any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and All Regulars of the Popish Clergy out of This Kingdom* (Dublin: Printed by Andrew Crook, printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, on Cork-Hill, near Copper Alley, 1697),3.

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pendulum of Irish history swung, bringing in a new phase. Second, the crucial moment of the Irish history swing was not the Jacobite rebellion of 1715, but rather the Protestant Succession of a year prior. And lastly, 1719 served as a test and confirmation of the changes that had begun in 1714-5.

To address this overarching question and its multifaceted answer, this paper will begin by charting the course of its historiography, augmenting previous authors' assertions and adding entirely new ones while weaving the points together. Since the many disparate factors mentioned in the historiography of the question serve as a sufficient answer to the lack of a rebellion prior to 1714 by themselves and when augmented with new additions, the first section will chart the historiography and answer part of the question. In the paper's second section, the years of the Protestant Succession and the Jacobite Rebellion will be analyzed in detail, as well as the years in the wake of those momentous moments in Irish history — primarily 1719. In the third section, the change in the relationship between the Anglo-Irish and the Dissenters and Catholics — enabled by 1714-5 — will be analyzed. In the years following the 1715 rebellion, the fear of the Catholics abated, something only rendered possible by the successful Succession. This paper will attempt to prove this point.

The first notable author who addresses this essay's question is William Edward Hartpole Lecky. Lecky's greatest success is in comprehending and clearly articulating the precarious position of the Anglo-Irish. Lecky's comments on the period begin with the assertion that the Irish government:

Had no power of resisting any conditions that were imposed on them... The ruling class were thinly scattered among a hostile population. Though all active resistance had ceased, the passions and memories of a succession of ferocious civil wars still burnt fiercely beneath the surface of Irish society. The position of the new dynasty was exceedingly precarious, and its downfall would be inevitably followed by a new revolution of property in Ireland. The Irish Protestants from their position were almost wholly depended for their

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safety on English support, and they had no power of resisting any conditions that were imposed on them.²

For Lecky, the breadth and reach of the Penal codes completely subjugated the Catholic Majority, thereby eliminating the chance of a rebellion. However, in his chapter on the Ascendancy, Lecky contradicts his own assertion. After claiming that the virulence of the penal laws inhibited any Catholic action, he goes on to assert that because of the Penal Laws, “the masses of the people gradually acquired the vices of slaves. They were educated through long generations of oppression into an inveterate hostility to the law and were taught to look for redress in illegal violence or secret combinations.”³ Once more and even more profoundly, Lecky argues — seemingly against himself — “under the long discipline of the penal laws, the Irish Catholics learnt the lesson which, beyond all others, ruler should dread to teach, they became consummate adepts in the arts of conspiracy and of disguise.”⁴ If the penal laws were fashioning in the majority an impassioned hatred of law and forging criminals adept in conspiracy, then one cannot attribute the lack of rebellion to the laws’ enforcement.

More recently, however, scholars have differed from Lecky. Historians have noted that the Protestants, rather than enforcing all aspects of the laws and subjugating the Catholics entirely, implemented the most important measures and largely left the rest fallow. The arguments imply that because Catholics were largely allowed to remain Catholics they found no need to rebel. Maureen Walls argues in “The Age of Penal Laws” that “ostensibly the aim of the anti-Catholic laws was to eradicate the Catholic religion in Ireland, but in fact, apart from sporadic outbursts of persecution, the penal laws against religious worship were largely allowed to fall into desuetude from about 1716. Indeed, in the conditions prevailing in the eighteenth century

² William Edward Hartpole Lecky, *A History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* vol. I (London, England: Longmans, Green and co., 1892),136.

³ Lecky, *A History of Ireland*, 148.

⁴ Lecky, *A History of Ireland*, 167.

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their general enforcement would have proved an impossible task.”⁵ Patrick James O’Farrell concurs:

Even if the wish and will to enforce them had been present, the machinery to do so was absent. The only consistent enforcement was on matters of property and politics, matters which touched Protestant preserves, and there the laws were efficient enough, ensuring conformity and destroying the remnants of the Catholic landed class. As for the mass of the population, lacking property or any basis for political power, they were not normally prosecuted.⁶

This contention is backed up by sources from the period as well. Archbishop William King wrote to Bishop Gilbert Burnet in 1699, “if one should measure our temper by our laws, I think we are little short of the Inquisition; but if by the execution of them I doubt we shall seem as indifferent in matters of religion as our neighbours in Holland.”⁷ This assertion certainly plays a role in the lack of rebellion. However, it is not a sufficient answer. It does not address the fact that in many instances — such as the Sacramental Tests — laws were enforced strictly. And it is also not necessarily a logical consequence that because one is allowed to practice his own religion he would not rebel. For many, to be barred from holding office, voting, etc. would be reason enough to rebel.

Other scholars have argued that a rebellion did not occur because the Dissenters would back the Anglo-Irish against the Catholics, if the necessity arose. In *The Making of Modern Ireland, 1603-1923*, J. C. Beckett points out that during the Jacobite risings of 1715, “the dissenters, laying aside their grievances, stood solidly behind the Protestant cause; despite the risk of incurring the penalties attached to the Sacramental Test, they readily accepted commissions in the

⁵ Maureen Walls, “The age of Penal Laws” in *The Course of Irish History*, ed. by T.W. Moody and F.X. Martin (Cork, Ireland: Published in association with Radio Telefís Éireann by the Mercier Press, 1994), 218.

⁶ Patrick James O’Farrell, *Ireland’s English Question: Anglo-Irish Relations, 1534-1970* (London, England: Pavilion Books, 1971), 47.

⁷ Sir Charles Simeon King, ed. *William King, A Great Archbishop of Dublin, William King, D. D., 1650-1729. His Autobiography, Family, and a Selection from His Correspondence* (London, New York, Bombay and Calcutta, Longmans, Green, And Co, 1908), 90.

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militia, and prepared to join in defending the country against invasion or rebellion.”⁸ Beckett is the closest to recognizing that the events of 1714, 1715, and their test in 1719 marked a crucial turning point. He notes in passing that the Ascendency felt more secure after the rebellion, but fails to provide any evidence to his point in either the body of his work or footnotes. He also fails to mention the importance of 1714 and 1719 and the role of the Dissenters therein. Moreover, Beckett mistakenly places the entire agency of this moment in the hands of the Dissenters; he does not recognize that the members of the Established Church sought the help of the Dissenters. He also misses that in 1719, Parliament resolved itself to incorporating the Dissenters in a common front. Other authors have made similar mistakes as Beckett. These authors, likewise, have left out the causes, the decisive actors, or the moment in time. Oliver Watkins Ferguson asserts in *Jonathan Swift and Ireland* that “in the oppression of the Catholics, the members of the established church and the Protestant dissenters were in full agreement, but in all else they were divided,” without regard for any of the aforementioned factors.⁹

Yet, the Protestant union argument only addresses why a rebellion would have failed, and does not address why one never occurred. However, when coupled with the notion of intelligently enforced penal laws, something of a reason for the lack of rebellion prior to 1714 begins to take shape.

A third factor historians have noted is that Irish Jacobites fled during the years following the Treaty of Limerick. Lecky once again plays an important role. He asserts that “about 14,000 Irish soldiers had at once passed into French service, and a steady stream of emigration carried off all the Catholic energy from the country. Deprived of their natural leaders, sunk for the most

⁸ J. C. Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland, 1603-1923* (London, England; Boston, U.S.: Faber and Faber Press, 1981), 161-2.

⁹ Oliver Watkins Ferguson, *Jonathan Swift and Ireland* (Urbana, IL.: University of Illinois Press, 1962), 17.

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part in the most brutal ignorance in the most abject poverty, the Irish Catholics at home remained perfectly passive, while both England and Scotland were convulsed by Jacobinism.”¹⁰ There are, however, flaws in this assertion. Firstly, according to recent scholarship, “the figure of 14,000 previously agreed among scholars has been revised to that of 19,000.”¹¹ Secondly, as this essay has already argued, the Penal laws did not force the Catholics wholesale into ‘brutal ignorance’ and ‘abject poverty’. Lastly, Lecky’s second assertion on the poverty of the Catholics (according to subsequent authors) is false. Beckett argues that in this period there was a “growing class of wealthy Roman Catholics...who controlled a great part of the trade” in the nation.¹² With that said, Lecky’s point on a lack of Irish Jacobite leaders does require further analysis.

To gain a full view of the Jacobites of the time, one must first look at the nature of their exile court in France. Of the total exile population, about 60 percent were Irish; and of this whole, “About 40 per cent of the exiles were of noble birth: a considerable number, when in France aristocrats accounted for only 1 percent of the total population and, in England, even less.”¹³ Moreover, the Irish “wild geese” had possessed 72 percent of the land confiscated after Limerick. Thus, the Irish exiles were a disproportionately high percentage of nobility and held an even more disproportionately high percentage of land. Nevertheless, the Irish exiles remained on the outskirts of political power in the French Court of the Pretender. It may be argued that this could be attributed to a lack of leadership, “For the Irish, the deaths first of Tyrconnell and then, at the battle of Nerwinden, of Patrick Sarsfield deprived them of any prominent patron at court.”¹⁴ Thus, Ireland’s Catholic population lost its most wealthy and powerful; yet this group

¹⁰ Lecky, *A History of Ireland*, 141-2.

¹¹ Nathalie Genet Rouffiac “The Irish Jacobite Exile in France 1692-1715” in *The Dukes of Ormond, 1610-1745*, ed. Toby Bernard and Jane Fenlon (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2000), 195-6.

¹² Beckett, *The Making of Modern Ireland*, 170-1.

¹³ Genet Rouffiac, “The Irish Jacobite Exile in France 1692-1715,” 197.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 199.

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lost its influence after it fled Ireland. Therefore, in the years following Limerick, the population at home lost its leaders and those abroad could no longer be looked to for guidance either.

The lack of leadership was not just a feature of the years immediately following Limerick or of the Pretender's court in France. The suppression of the rebellion of 1715 culminated in the trial and conviction of its leaders. The leaders were the following: James Earl of Derwentwater, William Lord Widdrington, William Earl of Nithisdale, George Earl of Wintoun, Robert Early of Carnwath, William Viscount Kenmure, and William Lord Nairn. Of all these men, none were Irish. On the surface, one may presume that the Duke of Ormond serves as an obvious counterpoint to this position. After all, he was a great and renown magnate who had previously held the positions of Lord Lieutenant and Captain-General of the Army. How can it be that there were no Irish Jacobite leaders if he were involved? As D. W. Hayton has shown, upon closer examination, the Duke's affairs were not as they appeared. In truth, his finances were in disrepair. He was constantly borrowing to continue living his lavish lifestyle. "Retrenchment was out of the question. Instead, Ormond continued to borrow, and to mortgage and remortgage his assets: land, office, pensions, such privileges as the right to collect the presage on wines."¹⁵ He hired a plethora of men to oversee his estate to no avail. The best of these representatives made little to no difference as his debt continued to rise, and the worst profited from their fruitless management both financially and politically. As money became a mounting issue, his second term as lieutenant ended; as such, he lost his source of patronage too. This meant that his political following dwindled in chorus. Towards the end of his time in Ireland, his influence transformed into that of a party figurehead for the Tories. But, even in this, he could hardly endure: "Indeed, his quondam

¹⁵ D.W Hayton, "Dependence, Clientage and Affinity: The Political Following of the Second Duke of Ormond" also in "The Dukes of Ormonde, 1610-1745," 2000, 215.

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followers did not all stand by their party: one disgruntled Tory reported that ‘...several of the duke of Ormond's pretended friends’ voted with the whig opposition.’¹⁶

Most pertinent, however, is what happened when he took flight to France. One would have assumed that men would have followed the former General into battle. In fact, Parliamentary Debates note that upon his impeachment, crowds gathered to chant “Church, Ormond and Oxford for ever.”¹⁷ Yet, like many of his political followers who abandoned him when the moment of truth arose in Parliament, so too did his followers when the moment was ready for flight into exile. In a letter, Lord Bolingbroke summed it up perfectly:

We had sounded the duke's high name. His reputation and the opinion of his power were great. The French began to believe that he was able to form and head a party; that the troops would join him; that the nation would follow the signal whenever he drew his sword...But when, in the midst of all these bright ideas, they saw him arrive, almost literally alone, when, to excuse his coming, I was obliged to tell them that he could not stay, they sunk at one from their hopes.¹⁸

Thus, the Irish Jacobites neither had a political leader after Limerick, nor at the time of the Jacobite rebellion; the Duke of Ormond could no longer muster the support in Parliament or in arms that he once might have. Instead, there was nobody to whom Irish Catholics and disaffected Protestants could rally.

Another position authors have taken is that many of the most powerful landowning Catholics converted to the Church of Ireland to escape persecution. In *Neither Kingdom Nor Nation*, Neil Longley York asserts that “Catholics no doubt harbored resentment, but they did not always define political issues in religious terms. Some joined the established church and thereby escaped

¹⁶ Hayton, "Aristocratic Decline: The Fall of the House of Ormond, in *The Anglo-Irish Experience, 1680-1730 : Religion, Identity and Patriotism*, ed. Hayton (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2012), 73.

¹⁷ William Cobbett and Great Britain, eds., *Cobbett's Parliamentary History of England: From the Norman Conquest, in 1066, to the Year, 1803* (London: Published by R. Bagshaw, 1806), 106.

¹⁸ “A Letter to Sir William Windham,” in *The Works of...Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke* 8 vols. (London, England: 1809). Originally found in Hayton, “The Anglo-Irish Experience, 1680-1730,” 74.

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repressive legislation.”¹⁹ Walls mirrors this argument: “for one reason or another, most of the catholic landlords...had gone over to the established church.”²⁰ Lastly, J. G. Simms concludes his analysis in “The Making of a Penal Law, 1703-4” with the statement that “from the 1709 penal period began in earnest and there was a steady increase in the number of heirs to landed estates who decided that conforming to the established church was the lesser evil.”²¹ This then might also explain why there never emerged a Catholic leader. If the landed elites who did remain in Ireland converted to Protestantism to retain their rights, then another potential source for leadership was expended.

Finally, some argue that Britain’s standing army stationed in Ireland ensured the passivity of the Catholics. Walls makes this point by stating that the Anglo-Irish were “dependent on the military strength of the mother country for protection against invasion by a foreign foe, or rebellion by the catholic majority in which they could lose everything.”²² This notion is confirmed in several pamphlets of the time.²³

Decisively saying why something such as a rebellion might not have occurred is an impossible task. Yet these many factors may form a cogent basis for a final conclusion. Allowed enough limited rights where the penal laws were not enforced with leaders who fled or converted from the outset or whose influence waned, stacked up against a standing army and a united Protestant front, the Catholics had no recourse to take up arms prior to 1714.

Section Two

¹⁹ Neil Longley York, *Neither Kingdom nor Nation: The Irish Quest for Constitutional Rights, 1698-1800* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1994), 40.

²⁰ Walls, “The Age of Penal Laws,” 220.

²¹ J. G. Simms, “The Making of a Penal Law, 1703-4,” *Irish Historical Studies* 12, no. 46 (1960), 118.

²² Walls, “The Age of Penal Laws,” 217-8.

²³ Anonymous, *A Letter to a Member of Parliament Concerning the Four Regiments Commonly Called Mariners* (London: Printed for A. Baldwin, 1699), 7.

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As summer turned to fall in 1715, things were just beginning to heat up in Great Britain. Scotland was up in arms as the Jacobite Rebellion raged on; but across the sea, Ireland remained peaceful. On the surface, the premise that Scotland (dominated by Presbyterians in union with England) would be the nation up in arms against its government rather than Ireland (dominated by Catholics and largely subjugated to England) seems paradoxical. Previous historians have illuminated the causes of the Scottish rebellion of 1715 and, as this essay has demonstrated, there are a multitude of interwoven explanations for Ireland's tranquility prior to 1714. However, the previous authors' answers — even when woven together and supplemented — remain insufficient for answering why there was once again no rebellion during 1715 and the fifteen years that followed.

Fundamentally, the aforementioned answers are only applicable prior to the Jacobite rebellion. This section will address the key turning point in this narrative. It will cover the years 1714-1719, yet treat 1714, 1715, and 1719 as they ought to be assessed: as decisive moments defined by their respective crises. 1714 was the watershed moment that manifested the forces which the previous section highlighted and enabled Ireland to remain peaceful in 1715. In the years following the rebellion, fear of Catholics abated, something only rendered possible by the successful Succession. In 1719 the new tranquility was tested, and the failed rebellion (which again never touched Ireland) both exhibited and increased the Anglo-Irish's true sense of self-security.

What Ireland Did. At the time of the Succession, rumors ran wild of the hidden plots of secret Jacobites. The rampant whispers coupled with minor instances of truth led those in power in Dublin and the rest of Ireland's cities to move swiftly. Many of the successful factors that had already combined to ensure that Ireland remained at peace were rendered overtly intelligible by

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the crises that Queen Anne's death spelled for the Protestants in Ireland. Whalley's News-Letter indicated "pursuant to the Proclamation mentioned in [Whalley's] of Monday last, the Justices of this City, Yesterday Seiz'd the Arms and Serviceable Horses of Several of the Papists that had not made Returns as requir'd."²⁴ The 12,000 men stationed in Ireland were augmented by the following Proclamation: "The Lord justices &c order's that all Persons having Military Employments in Ireland, forwith to repair to their respective Employments without loss of time, as they would answer the contrary at their Peril."²⁵ But these actions cannot be viewed in a vacuum. Rather, the seizing of arms and horses and stationing of regiments ought to be seen as the culmination of more than 20 years of various measures enacted — in the form of the Penal Laws — to subjugate and control the Catholics. In this way, 1714 ought to be viewed (to a certain extent) as the climax of the period between 1692 and 1730 in Irish history, as it was the moment in which the measures of the decades prior were truly tested. Together, these actions ensured that those rumors came to no avail; the succession remained peaceful in Ireland.

The influence of 1714 in Ireland on the rebellion of the following year is encapsulated in the Lord Justices of Britain's address to the House of Commons in Ireland in the midst of the Rebellion of 1715: "It is with no small satisfaction that we observe the calm, which this Kingdome, heretofore the scene of so many rebellions, at present enjoys, whilst the traitorous enemies to the King and to our happy Establishment, *discouraged by your early an steady zeal for the protestant succession*, have thought fit to change the place of action, and attempt elsewhere to disturb his Majesty's Government."²⁶ In this way, the Justices' proclamation highlighted the pertinence of 1714 in determining 1715.

²⁴ John Whalley, *Whalley's News-Letter, Containing a Full and Particular Account of Foreign and Domestick News*, August 13, 1714.

²⁵ Whalley, *Whalley's News-Letter*, August 12, 1714.

²⁶ Ireland., "Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland.," 1761, 23 v.

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Britain as Contrast. In Britain, the opposite was true. But first, we must begin with a similarity: in Britain, as well as in Ireland, the Protestant Succession played a prominent role in the origins of 1715. In the proceedings of British Parliament against those accused of high treason for the rebellion of 1715 — the same trials that this paper has already analyzed for its lack of Irish leaders — the importance of the Protestant Succession was paramount in the prosecution’s opening. Attorney General Nicholas Lechmere delivered the monologue. He argued that through overt and subversive measures, Jacobites had brought into question the validity of the Hanoverian settlement, espousing instead the hereditary right to the throne. He argued that this laid the groundwork for the present rebellion. “I look upon these things to be the foundation of the scheme that is now, by this rebellion, carrying on into execution,” Lechmere declared. “And I own that in this respect the authors of it were wise in their generation, for by these arts the very principle on which the Protestant Succession is founded was shaken.”²⁷ Thus, Lechmere blamed 1714 for the rebellion of 1715.

The reader must be forewarned and bear in mind that this was not a normal proceeding; that the stakes were extremely high and tensions ran higher; that the footnote in Cobbett’s *State Trial’s* indicates that “it does not appear that the Commons had before them any papers or evidence of the facts; or any other ground for their proceeding than common fame.”²⁸ Lechmere also named the Duke of Ormond as a source of dissention — who produced little value for the Jacobite rebels. Nevertheless, many pamphlets, declarations, and the feeling of his contemporaries corroborated Lechmere’s assertion of the Succession’s role in the subsequent year.

²⁷ T.B. Howell, ed., “A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and Other Crimes and Misdemeanors : With Notes and Other Illustrations” (London, UK: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, 2000), 763.

²⁸ *Idem.*, 764.

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In an unnamed address to the people of Britain during the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715, the author began his speech with the following: "I will shew you plainly to whom all these Evils are to be imputed...one of the first Steps they have taken herein, has been by a silly, senseless, erroneous Notion, to poison your Principles and ensnare your Consciences; I mean that of a *Divine Indefeasible Hereditary Right*."²⁹ In this way, it becomes clear that, in 1715, this same notion that the Jacobites had been subversively espousing the Hereditary right was a common theme amongst those reeling from the present rebellion.

Yet these notions were not just anachronistic attempts to discern the causes of 1715 after the fact. In 1714, the King's coronation was marred by riots in Britain. In a pamphlet sometimes attributed to Daniel Defoe, the author listed each of the coronation riots of October 20, 1714. It contained letters as well as newspapers' and various other accounts of the protestations in Bristol, Chippenham in Wiltshire, Norwich, Monmouthshire, Birmingham, Nuneaton in Warwickshire, Bedford, Axminster in Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Taunton.³⁰ Moreover, the King's proclamation of November 2nd 1714 — *for the Suppressing of Riots* — confirms that there were riots that needed suppression, and that measures appear to have been taken in reaction to, rather than in the prevention of, the riots.

Just as those in 1715 argued that the Jacobite rebellion derived from actions taken leading up to 1714 and during the Protestant Succession, contemporary accounts of the Coronation Riots also argued that they were a manifestation of the discord disseminated leading up to the present Succession. The rebels in Bristol "have taken the Preaching up *Hereditary, Indefeasible,*

²⁹ Anonymous, *An Address to the People of England: Shewing the Unworthiness of Their Behaviour to King George*, (The Rose in St. Paul's Church-Yard, London, England: J. Wyatt, 1715), 4.

³⁰ Daniel Defoe, ed., *An Account of the Riots, Tumults, and Other Treasonable Practices; since His Majesty's Accession to the Throne*, (London, England: printed for J. Baker, 1715), 4-14.

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Unaliance Right to be the High Road to Preferment,” a pamphlet argued. It conceded that many in Bristol had been zealous in proclaiming Protestant Succession in the wake of the Queen’s death. Yet “how comes it then, you’ll say, that Eleven Weeks after, this Insurrection should be made here by *Jacobites*?” the author asks rhetorically. “On that happy day, the King’s *Coronation*, which was to put an end to [this faction’s] hopes for ever, the latent Seeds of Sedition planted by the means before mention’d broke out here and elsewhere.”³¹ It is therefore clear that in Britain, contemporaries saw the mismanagement of 1714 as the basis for 1715.

This point is to demonstrate that in England, during the wake of the rebellion of 1715, the British pointed to failure to safely securing the Protestant Succession in their own Kingdom as the wellspring from which 1715 sprouted. Marred by both sedition in subversive pamphlets and sermons and overt coronation riots, the seeds of England’s chaos had been sowed by its own citizens. And, in the aftermath of the seed’s failure to germinate, contemporaries aptly named the seeds’ origins. By contrast, the English pointed to the successful measures in Ireland to ensure a peaceful Succession as the driving force behind the nation’s tranquility in 1715. In this way, Britain serves as a counterpoint, demonstrating by the negative that 1714 was vital to understanding 1715.

Ireland and the Dissenters. The reader can also see the importance of this period in another monumental shift. In the wake of the peaceful Protestant Succession, the Anglo-Irish began to see the Dissenters as a potential ally. The fact that the Ascendency was comfortable courting the Dissenters demonstrates that, at least in part, they were no longer quite as paranoid about whom they deemed a threat. The unity some began to seek would have seemed impossible heretofore. But, after the Dissenters were prepared to pick up their arms in defense of the Protestant

³¹ Oldmixon and Daniel Defoe, *The Bristol Riot: Containing, I. A Full and Particular Account of the Riot in General*, (London: printed for J. Roberts, 1714), 14.

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cause in 1714, the members of the Established Church appear to have come around to the idea that unity might ensure total security. This was even before the rebellion of 1715 broke out.

For example, in a message to the reader, inserted before a printed sermon from March 1715, the publisher stated, “the Protestant Dissenters (as the reader may find by this sermon) so unfeignedly bless the most High GOD for his Majesty’s peaceable Accession to the Throne. Had his Succession been contested, they express’d an early Zeal to appear in the Defence of it, tho in doing so they had run a considerable Risque.”³² Another contemporary, Nicholas Forster, Lord Bishop of Killakoe, went further in the same month. He urged the value of “promoting Peace and Unity amongst Protestants; but especially amongst the Membres of the Establish’d Church; and by breaking those Breaches which have too long divided us.”³³ In doing so, he assessed, they might continue peacefully. Therefore, 1714 served to alter the opinion of some in the Established church regarding the Dissenters, which in turn enabled them to believe that perpetual tranquility might be attainable. As this essay will argue, the potential for tranquility is what enabled the Anglo-Irish to shift their focus from the Catholics in their own land to Parliament across the sea.

During the rebellion of 1715, this feeling of a potential for tranquility was augmented. Even those who fervently resented the Catholics, such as Richard A.M. Davies, who after the Succession believed that, “THERE is not a Nation upon Earth without some turbulent and seditions Subjects, whose unquiet Spirits incline them always... bent upon Mischief,” thought that if all Protestants forged an alliance, peace might be ensured.³⁴ One sermon went so far as to declare

³² J. Boyse, *A Sermon Preach’d on the First of March, 1714/15*, (Dublin: P. Campbell at the Bible on the Blind-key, 1715), 3.

³³ Forster, *A sermon preach’d before the lords justices of Ireland, at Christ-Church, Dublin* (Belfast, 1715), 12.

³⁴ Richard Davies, A.M., *Loyalty to King George. In a Sermon Preach’d on the Three and Twentieth Day of October, 1715*. (Dublin, 1715).

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that Ireland stood, for the first time, at the precipice of achieving a truly and indefinitely "*happy State and Condition*."³⁵

As a result, for some, the Catholics began to seem like less of a direct threat as well, and Catholic agitation seemed like a relic of the past. In a sermon Timothy Goodwin, Lord Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, ended his speech, "Particularly, and to conclude, Let us of this Nation give Thanks to Almighty God, who has been graciously pleas'd to preserve us in perfect peace and tranquility, who are so encompass'd with great numbers of such as are declared Enemies to our religious as well as Civil Rights; and who in former Times used to feel the most dismal Effect of all Civil Commotions."³⁶ Even as the rebellion raged on across the sea, many seemed not to fear for themselves, but for their neighboring nations. "But the present Age is even yet a stronger instance of the Weakness and Depravity of Mans Nature, wherein we have seen, notwithstanding that *our Soul had escaped as a Bird of out the Snare*, the same or not very different Artifices again prevail... into an open Rebellion against the Established Government upon which the Security of both so entirely depends," Theo Bolton, Chancellor of St. Patrick's Church, proclaimed.³⁷

Ireland's Regiments. Furthermore, the peace that Ireland felt in the midst of this rebellion was demonstrated by the fact that the Kingdom felt secure enough to send over troops to safeguard Scotland. In addressing Ireland, the Lord Justices of Britain claimed that they observed the calmness of Ireland with such pleasure, "yet your conduct will not be agreeable to your ac-

³⁵ Edward, Lord Bishop of Rapho, *The Happiness of a Nation, or People. In a Sermon Preached at Christ's-Church, Dublin, before the Government and House of Lords, May 29th. 1716. Being the Anniversary Thanksgiving for the Restoration of King Charles the Second, and the Royal Family.* (Dublin, 1716).

³⁶ Timothy Goodwin, *A Sermon Preach'd before Their Excellencies the Lords Justices of Ireland, at Christ's Church, Dublin, on Sunday February the 26th, 1715/16.* (Dublin, 1716), 28.

³⁷ Theo Bolton, *A Sermon Preach'd in Christ-Church, Dublin, upon the Thirtieth of January, 1716/17. Before His Excellency Henry Earl of Galway, Being the Day of Martyrdom of King Chales I.* (Dublin, 1717),.

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customed prudence, if you neglect to put yourselves in the best posture of defence upon this occasion,” they contended. “For which purpose his Majesty has caused arms to be delivered out of his stores to the militia, and has ordered an addition to made to each company remaining in this Kingdom, till such time as he can replace those regiments, which the necessity of his affairs has obliged him at present to draw from hence, to suppress the rebels in *Great-Britain*, wherein your safety is equally concerned with that of his other Subjects.”³⁸ To which decree the Commons of Ireland “cheerfully” acceded.³⁹ It hardly need be elaborated that, if Ireland felt secure enough to send off its regiments while a rebellion raged only a few hundred miles away, the Anglo-Irish felt comfortable in their position.

In these many ways, Ireland’s actions in 1714 ensured that the Kingdom remained at peace through the Succession and the Jacobite Rebellion. The Dissenters, who demonstrated their willingness to defend the Protestants’ cause, were then seen as a potential ally; and together, a unity of Protestants might be able to fight off an unlikely rebellion should one arise. That confidence was exemplified by the cheerful willingness with which Ireland shipped off its regiments to fight in Scotland during the rebellion. And again in 1719, these changes were on display, thereby enabling the Anglo-Irish to focus on England in the immediate aftermath of the crises that followed the failed rebellion.

1719, Exhibiting the Change. In 1719, there was a third Jacobite attempt — one that was drastically unsuccessful even in the places in which it took place. The futility of the invasion, which never even touched Irish shores, tendered to the Ascendency an even greater security.

³⁸ Ireland., “Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland,”12.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 13.

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1719 also demonstrated the Anglo-Irish confidence built in 1715 as a result of what began in 1714.

In the midst of the failed attempt of 1719, the Lord Justices declared that they again sought Ireland's help, "by providing such remedies, and raising such supplies as may enable his Majesty to repel or suppress any attempts, that may be made to involve this Kingdom in the calamities of an intestine rebellion, or a foreign invasion."⁴⁰ This time, Parliament not only agreed, but as a culmination of the movement which began in 1714-5, called for the incorporation of the Dissenters who had, as this essay has argued, taken the crucial step of preparing to aid in case of disaster during the Protestant Succession:

We beg leave to assure your Grace, that as it shall be our principal care to support and maintain the Church as by law established, so we cannot be unmindful of the good affections, which the protestant dissenters have always shewn to his Majesty and the Succession in his royal House, and therefore shall consider if any method can be found, whereby such reasonable ease and security of our present happy Constitution in Church and State, and render them more useful and capable of supporting the protestant interest of this Kingdom.⁴¹

Before this essay proceeds, one point must be brought to light: this turning point neither marked a moment when the Established Church no longer believed that the Catholics might riot or rebel, nor a point in which the Ascendency sought to unite with the Catholics. It was rather that, beginning in 1714 and hardening in 1719, the Anglo-Irish came to believe that with the aid of the Dissenters they were secure even if a rebellion took place. William King had written to Jonathan Swift in January of 1714 that if one were to "remove the fear of the Pretender, and you may lead [the Catholics] like a dog in a string."⁴² In the wake of the failed 1715 rebellion, the fear of the Pretender was shockingly diminished; a fact that was later to be demonstrated and

⁴⁰ Ibid., 491.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Harold Williams, ed. *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift* (Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon Press, 1963) vol. 2, 3.

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augmented in 1719. Thus, by 1718, King felt confident enough to write in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Tenison, “I do not fear any Disturbance in Ireland if you be quiet in great Britain.”⁴³ And by 1722, with the failed attempt of 1719 come and gone, King wrote to Secretary of State James Stanhope, encapsulating the irony on which this essay has focused:

We are sending off six Regiments to assist you, one would think considering the number of Papists we have here, that our Gentry are for the most part in England & all our Money goes there that we should rather expect help from you in ant Distress than send you Forces to protect you. Yet this is the third time we have done so since his Majesties Accession to the Throne, & withal perserv'd the Kingdom from any Insurrection or Rebellion which is more than can be said for England and Scotland.⁴⁴

In turn, this security allowed the Anglo-Irish to take a breath, as it were, for the first time and switch the direction of their focus. No longer constantly focused on submitting the Catholics, the Anglo-Irish were able to turn their attention to their own submission to England. A series of crises beginning in late 1719 brought Ireland's subjugation to the forefront of everyone's mind. The third section will analyze this shift in focus, honing in on the crises that begot it.

Section Three

In 1724, Hugh Boulter began his tenure as Lord Primate of Ireland. At the very outset of his term, he was thrust into the fire. All of Ireland was up in arms, reacting fervently — and together — against William Wood's Half Pence. As the crisis spilled over into 1725, Boulter wrote in January to Thomas Pelham-Holles, The Duke of Newcastle:

I find by my own enquiries, that the people of every religion, country, and party here, are alike set against Wood's halfpence, and that their agreement in this has had a very unhappy influence on the state of this nation, by bringing on intimacies, between Papists and Jacobites, and the Whigs, who before had no correspondence with them...It is like-

⁴³ King, *A Great Archbishop of Dublin*, 210.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 235.

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wise certain, that some foolish and other ill-meaning people, have taken this opportunity of propagating a notion of the independency of this kingdom on that of England...⁴⁵

Such a statement would have been unfathomable only years before. It would have seemed impossible for the Catholics and Protestants to join together in chorus, just as it would have seemed unlikely that the Irish would openly have demanded independence from England. This quote then documents the shift that occurred as a result of 1714-5. The newfound sense of security carried a twofold change: one, at various times, the Anglo-Irish began to see and treat the Catholics differently than in the years before; and two, that they began to resent their dependency more openly and avowedly than ever before. These two factors were not separate, however. They are distinguishable elements of the same phenomenon — a result of 1714-15. In both cases, they were exacerbated by the crises that struck Ireland in the 1720s. Most importantly, this shift in focus ensured that the Catholics had no reason to rebel during this period as well.

Before this section proceeds, it is important to note that this was neither a smooth nor linear change. Again, it is not the case that the Protestants of the land sought immediately to grant the Catholic full rights or incorporate them into the body politic; but, as this section will demonstrate, the very fact alone that men were treating with their former enemies, addressing them with reasonable logic, appealing to their sound thinking, and sometimes even working with them demonstrates a turning of the page. This shift lightened the burden on the Catholics, ensuring there would not be a rebellion. Unlike the Dissenters, who by 1720 had their rights restored, there was very little decisive legislation on the Catholics. In fact, the clearest decision on the Catholics was the bill to formally strip them of the right to vote in 1728. Thus, it seems fit to address this major caveat first; to answer how this paper can argue that the 1720's marked a shift in policy — in which the Anglo-Irish either acted more leniently or neglected the Catholics — if

⁴⁵ Kenneth Milne and Paddy McNally, *The Boulter Letters* (Great Britain: Four Courts Press), 105.

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the Catholics lost their right to vote for the first time officially in 1728. As J. G. Simms shows, the bill was passed so secretly that Catholics did not have a moment to protest. Moreover, it was passed in the aftermath of the death of King George as the first Parliament of his son was called.⁴⁶ It also appears that it was the work of Boulter, an Englishman focused on the English interest. In many ways then, the bill appears like a deft and strategic move to ensure that the right men were elected to Parliament, rather than a bill to enact a punishment. Further research will have to be done on this specifically.

Yet maybe more important, as previously stated, the change this paper is assessing was not smooth. The shift in how Catholics were treated sometimes varied moment to moment and from person to person. Even taking into account the Act of 1728, it is impossible to miss that the trend was overwhelmingly positive. This point is encapsulated by what Archbishop King, ever the astute observer, wrote to Thomas Southwell in April of the same year as that legislation. He remarked that he “cannot remember something of Ireland for sixty years, but cannot call to mind that the Papists seemed to be so much indulged & favoured as at present, excepting at K. James’s time.”⁴⁷ This section will argue that these changes were, despite the law to repeal the Catholic right to vote, the result of a shift in focus from subjugating the Catholics to Ireland’s submission to England, and the resulting leniency toward the Dissenters and Catholics thereof. This leniency then ensured that the Catholics would not rebel. The changes of the 1720s, rendered possible by the tranquility of 1714-5, were instigated by a series of crises in Ireland.

The first crisis occurred in late 1719: The Declaratory Act, or “An Act for the Better Securing the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland on the Crown of Great Britain.” The Act, for all intents and purposes, stripped Ireland of any right to legislate for itself. That is to say, it

⁴⁶ Simms, “The Making of a Penal Law.”

⁴⁷ King, *A Great Archbishop* of Dublin, 309.

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stripped Ireland entirely of its legislative autonomy. Prior to 1715, this might have been less of a problem. After all, William King had written to Jonathan Swift in July of 1711 that:

To show our ill-will when we can do no more seems to be no good policy in a dependent people & that can have no other effect than to provoke revenge without the prospect of redress; of which we have too fatal instances. I reckon that every chief governor who is sent here comes with a design to serve first those who sent him; & that our good only must be so far considered as it is subservient to the main design.⁴⁸

But at that point in 1711, the Irish still trembled in the face of the majority Catholic population, as they needed the protection of the Mother Kingdom. But after 1715, the Bishop's thinking changed. In fact, in a letter to Sir Robert Walpole in 1723, the Duke of Grafton wrote that King had "some wild notions which sometimes make him impracticable in business and he is, to a ridiculous extent, national. Upon some points [of which the jurisdiction of the House of Lords is one] he loses both his temper & his reason..."⁴⁹ King's change in attitude was indicative of many in Ireland: no longer worried about the Catholics, King was able to focus his attention and frustration on Ireland's subjugation instead.

In nearly the same breath as the Declaratory Act, the next crisis struck: the South Sea Bubble Collapse. In this way, another crisis ensured that the attention of the Anglo-Irish continued to be focused on its own subjugation. The South Sea bubble destroyed the estates of a great number of the wealthy. As Bishop Henry Downes put it, in a letter to William Nicolson in November of 1720, "his Grace takes notice of the confusion into which all people are thrown by the sinking of the South Sea Stock."⁵⁰ It is a natural consequence that people in dire situations are more likely to have an exacerbated feeling of oppression. This case is no different. The events happened in such rapid succession that Jonathan Swift wrote in successive sentences: "I cannot

⁴⁸ Jonathan Swift, *The Works of Jonathan Swift...Containing Additional Letters, Tracts, and Poems, Not Hitherto Published; with Notes, and a Life of the Author, by Walter Scott, Esq* (Archibald Constable and Company, 1814), 424.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 275-6.

⁵⁰ John Nichols, *Letters on Various Subjects, Literary, Political, and Ecclesiastical, to and from William Nicolson, D.D.* Printed from the Originals. (London:, 1809), 531.

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understand the South-Sea Mystery, perhaps the Frolick may go round, and every Nation (except this which is no Nation) have its Mississippi. I believe my self not guilt of too much veneration for the Irish House of Lords, but I differ in Politicks from you, the Question is whether People out to be Slaves or no.”⁵¹ The calm secured by the tranquility of 1719 enabled the Anglo-Irish to neglect the Catholics in 1720 when their legislative autonomy and then their fortunes came crumbling down.

But in certain cases, it was not just that the fear of the Catholics was overlooked, but that the Protestants and Catholics worked together. As the aforementioned quote from Boulter demonstrated, all of Ireland — Protestants and Dissenters as well as Catholics — unanimously rejected Wood’s Half Pence, an assessment that is corroborated by contemporaries. Marmaduke Coghill, in writing to Edward Southwell in August of 1724, marked the same distinction: “On Thursday night the Packetts brought us those accounts, that *gave every body here great uneasiness and discontent*, first the proceedings of the council about Wood’s halfpence, by which we apprehend it is intended they shou’d be forced upon us, and what the consequence of that will be, God Knows, for there *is so general an aversion to them thro the whole Kingdom*.” The veiled consequence to which Coghill is referring is, of course, rebellion. To avoid such a result, Wood’s patent was eventually dropped. And as the Boulter quote demonstrated the Anglo-Irish, in unison with the Catholics, had been prepared to demand different terms of their relationship with England — possibly even independence. In this way, the quotes also perfectly encapsulate this section of the paper’s main point: the Anglo-Irish’s focus on England went hand in hand with its different outlook on Catholics, which in turn was only rendered possible by 1714-5.

It could be argued, however, that this event was happenstance; that only by chance all of Ireland came together. Yet in some cases, the Anglo-Irish did not just neglect the Catholics, nor

⁵¹ Williams, *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, 342.

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find themselves in agreement with them, but actually made overtures to them. In reacting to the success of rejecting Wood's Half-Pence, a pamphlet, though it insulted Catholicism, argued "it is in our mutual Interest to be unanimous in Discouraging an attempt of this Nature." And further complimented the Catholics, who "cannot not be sufficiently Commended and Valued by us for the hearty Zeal and ready concurrence you have shewn on this Occasion, in keeping out this Ruin of *Wood's Halfpence*."⁵²

Moreover, these overtures continued beyond the tale of Wood's Half-Pence. October 23 was the anniversary of the Irish rebellion of 1641. In 1725, the anniversary was particularly noteworthy. Typically, it was "customary for preachers to recycle the atrocities memorialized in Sir John Temple's *Irish rebellion*."⁵³ Yet 1725 was different. Edward Synge delivered the sermon entitled *The Case of Toleration Considered, with Respect to Religion and Civil Government*. Synge began by pronouncing that the penal laws are justified in some respects. Stating that because there is a history of treachery, the Penal Laws were a fair consequence in governance. But, as the Difference between Catholics and Protestants:

Being a *Difference in their Principles of Religion*, arising from their different Notions of the Christian Law, 'tis impossible to frame any Laws for the publick Security, without *forcing Mens Consciences* and invading that Liberty which all Persons ought to be allow'd of following *their Dictates*, in order to their own Eternal Salvation. And since it is certain this this ought in no Case be done, it follows on this Supposition, that all Laws of this Sort however necessary or useful they may be thought to the Weal-publick, are in themselves unjust and unreasonable and therefore ought not to be made or continu'd.⁵⁴

Thus, in 1725, some prominent Protestants were preaching tolerance.

In another example of the overtures made to Catholics, Francis Hutchinson, Bishop of

Down and Connor, wrote a pamphlet entitled *Advices concerning the Manner of Receiving Pop-*

⁵² Anonymous, *Advice to the Roman Catholicks of Ireland: Concerning wood's halfpence*. (Dublin, 1724), 4.

⁵³ Ian McBride, *Eighteenth Century Ireland* (Dublin, Ireland: Gill & Macmillan), 207-8.

⁵⁴ Edward Synge, *The Case of Toleration Considered, with Respect to Religion and Civil Government: In a Sermon Preached in St. Andrew's, Dublin, before the Honourable House of Commons; on Saturday the 23d of October, 1725. Being the Anniversary of the Irish Rebellion. With a Vindication, in Answer to the Rev. Mr. Radcliffe's Letter*, (Dublin: Printed for William Williamson, Meeñas's Head in Bride-street, 1756), 2.

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ish Converts, and encouraging both Priests and Others to live in Unity with the Church of Ireland. In it he spoke of a Christian communion. He beseeched his fellow ministers to treat with, indulge freely, and accept Catholics. He also subversively implied that the conversion need only be nominal, so “they can be freed from some Disadvantages, which the Government hath found necessary to leave them under while *Papists*.”⁵⁵ Hutchinson even thought it fit for the government to receive Catholic priests as converts. Most notably, however, he makes the following remark toward the end of this piece: “yet we must not carry our ill Opinion, ev’n of Popery, so far as to despise all *Papists* as ignorant and unlearned in Comparison of our selves; but rather take it for granted that there must be something amongst them very plausible and right, or otherwise there would not be so many learned and brave Nations adhere to them and be fond of them.”⁵⁶ A far more lenient treatment from the Anglo-Irish was enough to ensure that the Catholics did not rebel.

In all these examples, it is not necessarily clear that this new stance on Catholicism was a direct result of 1714-5. Yet Jonathan Swift, the foremost pamphleteer, and a man to whom all of Ireland dedicated ballads for his patriotism, succinctly provided the necessary evidence.⁵⁷ Swift in several ways embodied the argument that this paper has made. He left England because of the political turmoil in the wake of Queen Anne’s death and the Protestant Succession in 1714. He remained largely in silence until 1720. And he only spoke up when he believed that the subjugation to which England was subjecting Ireland was too much to remain quiet. In this way, his story from 1714 to the start of the 1720’s follows the one this essay is charting. It was he to whom

⁵⁵ Francis Hutchinson, *Advices Concerning the Manner of Receiving Popish Converts, and Encouraging Both Priests and Others to Live in Unity with the Church of Ireland, as by Law Established: In a Letter to a Reverend Clergy-Man of the Diocese of Down and Connor* (Dublin: Printed by A. Rhames, opposite the Py’d-Horse in Capel-street, 1729), 2.

⁵⁶Hutchinson, *Advices*, 1.

⁵⁷ *An Excellent New Ballad against Wood’s Half-Pence, &c: To the Tune Of, Lillipolero, &c* (Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth’s Court, 1724), for instance.

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William King wrote the aforementioned letter stating that, should the Pretender be removed from the equation, the Catholics would pose no threat. And it was Swift who wrote the *Drapier's Letters*, which were, in large part, responsible for uniting Ireland against William Wood's Halfpence. And in a letter from *M.B. Drapier* titled An Humble Address to both Houses of Parliament, Swift claimed the following: "For as to the *Pretender*, his Cause is both *desperate* and *obsolete*."⁵⁸ And, in 1733, he elaborated further. In *Reasons for Repealing the Sacramental Test* Swift wrote that Catholics had "an entire loyalty to the royal house of Hanover in the person and posterity of George II. against the Pretender and all his adherents."⁵⁹ Thus, as William King predicted, Jonathan Swift wrote that the tranquility which 1714-5 rendered possible ensured that the Catholics no longer appeared a threat; instead, the Anglo-Irish pamphleteer could focus on England. This relaxation of the treatment of the Catholics ensured that there was no rebellion.

Conclusion

In the many ways this essay has shown that the period between 1692 and 1720 cannot be understood unless viewed holistically. Prior to 1714, many factors worked together to ensure that the Catholics could not rebel. In 1714, Ireland's swift movement to ensure the peace — many of which were already a part of the Penal Laws — rendered possible the tranquility of 1715. In 1719, that tranquility was put to the test without fail and officially, the Irish government resolved itself to incorporate the Dissenters. A series of crises immediately followed. The tranquility the Anglo-Irish felt in 1719 freed them to focus on what they deemed as mistreatment from England. As a result of 1714-5, the Anglo-Irish sometimes neglected, joined together, or treated with the

⁵⁸ Herbert Davis, ed. *The Drapier's Letters to the People of Ireland against Receiving Wood's Halfpence by Jonathan Swift* (Oxford, Great Britain: Clarendon Press, 1935), 161.

⁵⁹ As quoted in *Ibid.*, 318-9.

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Catholics whom previously they feared so much. This change ensured that throughout the 1720s Ireland remained at peace.

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A “Women’s Interpretation of Zionism:” American Hadassah Women Finding Agency at the Confluence of Maternalism and Colonialism

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“We have not taken anything from the men’s organization. Adam’s lost rib leaves no gap, and in its place there was found a full grown woman and helpmate.”¹ So proclaimed the leaders of the Hadassah Women’s Zionist Organization of America (“Hadassah”) in 1917. The indomitable Henrietta Szold took to the pages of the Zionist Organization of America’s (ZOA) publication, the *Maccabean*, to defend the organization she helped found in 1912. Dissatisfied with the limited roles available to women in the ZOA, Szold and others created Hadassah to work for the same goal as the ZOA — a Jewish state in Palestine — through distinctly feminine methods. Its calling cards were scientific public health initiatives on behalf of Jewish women and children in Palestine; Youth Aliyah, an effort to evacuate Jewish children from Nazi-occupied Europe and resettle them in Palestine; and educating American women in Zionism. These efforts were seen as essentially feminine in nature and separate ventures from those of the ZOA.² Although Hadassah thought of itself as a women’s organization performing specifically feminine tasks, Hadassah women used this traditional gendered division of labor to enter the public sphere of the Zionist enterprise in new ways. Their activities were perceived, by men and sometimes by

¹ Joyce Antler, “Zion In Our Hearts: Henrietta Szold and the American Jewish Women’s Movement,” in *American Jewish Women’s History: A Reader*, ed. Pamela S. Nadell (New York, NY: New York UP, 2003). 136, fn 27.

² Emphasized across primary and secondary literature. Some examples are: Antler, “Zion In Our Hearts,” 137-37; Mary McCune, “Formulating the ‘Women’s Interpretation of Zionism’: Hadassah Recruitment of Non-Zionist American Women, 1914-1930,” in *American Jewish Women and the Zionist Enterprise*, ed. Shulamit Reinharz and Mark A. Raider, (Waltham, MA: UP of New England, 2005), 89-111; and Marvin Lowenthal, *Henrietta Szold: Life and Letters*, (New York, NY: Viking, 1942), 53, 81. The two pages in Lowenthal’s *Life and Letters* refer to an 1896 lecture by Szold in Baltimore and an Oct. 10, 1913 letter from Szold to friend and fellow Hadassah executive Alice Seligsburg.

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Hadassah women themselves, as not explicitly challenging male hegemony of the public political arena, but Hadassah nevertheless greatly expanded women’s roles within Zionism.

The *Maccabean* editorial was correct in that Hadassah was soon “full grown.” The organization experienced its first big success in Palestine in 1918, when its medical unit was established in Jerusalem’s Rothschild Hospital and its nursing unit put down roots in the same city. Hadassah sent American Jewish nurses to work in Palestine distributing milk to children, providing child health services, and reducing incidences of the endemic eye disease trachoma to great acclaim from Americans, British Mandate officials, and Zionists all over the world.³ During the interwar years in America, Hadassah’s membership soared during a period of contraction for other Jewish and Zionist groups. Hadassah saw its rolls increase from 2,710 in 1917 to 44,000 in 1931, while the ZOA’s membership in 1931 had fallen to one-tenth (13,500) of its wartime high (200,000), and the National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW) fell well short of its recruitment efforts.⁴ Furthermore, an increasing number of NCJW women became Hadassah members. By 1933, over one-fifth of NCJW members also belonged to Hadassah, up from just eight percent soon after Hadassah’s inception at the end of 1913.⁵

The NCJW is an excellent example of a Jewish women’s organization that espoused a gendered division of labor and a heavy emphasis on maternity. The organization was founded in 1893 as a religious group with a focus on immigrant services and child welfare programs in America — crucially, it had no official position on Zionism.⁶ Faith Rogow argued that NCJW

³ McCune, "Formulating the ‘Women's Interpretation of Zionism,’” 92-4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 90-91, 96-7.

⁵ Faith Rogow, *Gone To Another Meeting: The National Council of Jewish Women, 1893-1993*, (Judaic Studies Series. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1993), 176.

⁶ Hannah G. Solomon, "Report of the National Council of Jewish Women," *The American Jewess*, 1, no. 1 (April 1895): 27-31, reproduced in Joyce Antler, Nina Schwartz, and Claire Uziel. *How did the first Jewish women's movement's roots in both progressive women's activism and Jewish tradition shape its activism, 1893-1936?*, (Binghamton, NY: State University of New York, 2005), referred to hereafter as “*Jewish women’s movement*.” For excerpts of founding NCJW documents with commentary see also: Rogow, *Gone To Another Meeting*, 23-4, 31-3.

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women were able to enter the public sphere because the NCJW located itself in both the Jewish sphere and the American female social reform sphere by exalting motherhood. Per Rogow, the organization “steadfastly clung to the primacy of motherhood as woman’s divinely assigned role” and used discourses of maternity to bring Jewish women into the public sphere in apolitical roles, such as social reformers. As such, NCJW women could, and did, agitate local government officials, organize medical and social care for immigrants, and augment immigrant children’s educational options, in both Jewish and secular schools.⁷ They were noted practitioners of the study group method, later adopted by Hadassah, whereby groups of women congregated and educated themselves on Jewish history and Judaism.⁸ The NCJW’s educational methods worked to embolden and empower its members; many of the women who made speeches at the NCJW’s inaugural meeting had never before spoken in public.⁹

However, NCJW women’s activity in society at large did not challenge male hegemony of the political sphere.¹⁰ In fact, NCJW women described themselves as surrogate mothers to immigrant families as they sought the “elevation of motherhood to a holy pursuit.”¹¹ As for study groups, a Chicago branch proudly announced that they were meant not for “the mere pursuit of intellectual culture, but to promote the higher ends of a purer social state and the true enlightenment of mankind.”¹² Education was perceived as a valuable attribute for wives and mothers — an educated woman could raise educated children. Furthermore, when women did voice their ideas publicly, they often emphasized women’s essential differences from men.¹³ An influential

For detailed treatment of NCJW’s immigrant aid work see Rogow, 130-66. For NCJW’s neutrality toward Zionism, see Rogow, 176.

⁷ Rogow, 33-35, 134-46.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 68-70.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 12.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2-6.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 54, 134.

¹² *Ibid.*, 69.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 134, 56.

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early member, Ray Frank, summed up NCJW women’s attitudes perfectly in her commentary on female rabbis:

Innovation is not progress, and to be identical with man is not the ideal of womanhood. Some things and privileges belong to him by nature; to these true woman does not aspire; but every woman should aspire to make of her home a temple, of herself a high priestess, of her children disciples, then she will best occupy the pulpit, and her work will run parallel with man’s.¹⁴

The NCJW embraced gendered division of labor (with markedly religious overtones) and emphasized that philanthropy was “an expression of American and Jewish womanhood,” with the result that members’ new activities in the public realm of society occurred in limited roles “parallel” to those of men.¹⁵

This partial progress laid the groundwork for Hadassah to recruit NCJW women with shared, ostensibly apolitical language, and with American social reform discourse. Mary McCune argued that this was precisely what spurred Hadassah’s relative success in the interwar period. Hadassah, which championed what Henrietta Szold called the “women’s interpretation of Zionism” was uniquely well positioned to utilize this rhetoric.¹⁶ Its successes in ventures such as malaria eradication, trachoma treatment, and child welfare spoke for themselves — and Hadassah leadership, as well as male and female non-Zionists, perceived these efforts as innately feminine, particularly in the context of American social reform movements of the era. The settlement house model, and in particular Lillian Wald and her Henry Street establishment, directly influenced Hadassah’s early efforts and subsequent marketing, drawing on a consensus that women were innately predisposed toward community health work, nursing, and practical medical services for children.¹⁷ On this, the younger Hadassah and the older NCJW agreed. Leaders of both

¹⁴ Ibid., 74-75.

¹⁵ Rogow, 157.

¹⁶ McCune, “Formulating the ‘Women’s Interpretation of Zionism,’” 90-91, 94, 106.

¹⁷ Antler, “Zion In Our Hearts,” 134-37.

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organizations believed that by concentrating on community building and separate fields of action from men, “the principles of womanliness [could be] translated into public service”, as Szold put it in another 1917 *Maccabaeian* editorial.¹⁸ Non-Zionist Jewish women of the NCJW were markedly receptive to appeals to “principles of womanliness,” and Hadassah experienced great success in enrolling NCJW women. During ostensibly apolitical sewing circles, Zionist women could chat amiably about the virtues of a Jewish state in Palestine to their unconvinced NCJW peers, many of whom had eagerly joined these circles to send much-needed baby clothes to Palestine. Hadassah recruited individual women, and also pressured the national NCJW leadership to bow to the rising tide of pro-Zionist sentiment in its chapters.¹⁹ Such was the power of benevolent, “apolitical” femininity.

Hadassah’s robust educational department mobilized maternalist ideology to oversee study groups that provided members a thorough and necessary grounding in politics, Zionism, and working in a large organization. Admitting that, “it is no secret that women, in general, are far from mature politically,” noted leader Rose Jacobs nevertheless emphasized the transformation that Henrietta Szold (a “teacher par excellence”) in particular had wrought in Hadassah’s members. Hadassah’s study groups offered their attendees an education in foreign affairs and a richer understanding of their Jewish heritage.²⁰ Furthermore, in proclaiming National Hadassah Education Day (set to be February 14, 1940), the *Newsletter* exhorted Hadassah women to “Make Knowledge Your Stronghold.”²¹ In her article on women and education, Jacobs added that through these study groups women also gained “almost professional preparation” as writers,

¹⁸ Ibid., 137, fn 34.

¹⁹ McCune, “Formulating the ‘Women’s Interpretation of Zionism,’” 98-101.

²⁰ Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, *Hadassah Newsletter*, March 1941 issue, 16.

²¹ This quote and following draws from *Newsletter*, February 1940 issue, 7.

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organizers, teachers, and “scientific campaigners for funds.”²² It is important to emphasize that the study groups did not actually provide women with paid jobs in schools. Hadassah was seen as a traditional women’s volunteer association. Hadassah women were allowed, and even encouraged to lead study groups, but men designed every study course mentioned in the *Newsletter*.²³ Nevertheless, it is crucial not to discount the importance of this “almost professional preparation.” Founding member Lotta Levensohn recalled, “Women accustomed to nothing more than simple housekeeping accounts became expert in financial affairs... a great number of housewives expanded their sympathies and their activities beyond their own homes and their local charities.”²⁴ Just like the women at the inaugural NCJW meeting who had never before spoken in public, Hadassah’s women were learning to navigate life in the public sphere.²⁵

As Hadassah moved more into public politics, the organization had to decide how to approach individual women with burgeoning public lives. Prior to the 1930s, a small minority of Hadassah’s members was already acculturated to this atmosphere. Henrietta Szold herself had worked as an executive secretary for the Jewish Publication Society for many years until she received a stipend from an American judge that allowed her to devote herself fulltime to unpaid work for Hadassah (hers was her household’s sole income).²⁶ Participation of women who

²² *Ibid.*, March 1941 issue, 16.

²³ *Ibid.*, November 1941 issue, 26, 28. Hadassah’s main Education Advisory Committee was composed of Dr. I. B. Berkson, Dr. Oscar Janowsky, and Rabbi Milton Steinberg (*Newsletter*, November 1941 issue, 28). See also *Ibid.*, November 1940 issue, 25; November 1938 issue, 48.

²⁴ Erica B. Simmons. *Hadassah and the Zionist Project*, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006), 195, endnote 2 (199).

²⁵ A small minority of Hadassah women, the women of the Business and Professional Women’s Divisions (BPWD) were already accustomed to public life. BPWD women were rare (Hadassah’s meetings were held during the working day).

See also November 1939 issue, 53; March 1939 issue, 125, 138. The history and future of the BPWD sections is a mystery: other than the March and November issues in 1939, the *Newsletter* does not mention them again, and the secondary literature on Hadassah replicates this silence.

Note also that Henrietta Szold herself had worked as an executive secretary for the Jewish Publication Society for many years until she received a stipend from an American judge that allowed her to devote herself fulltime to unpaid work for Hadassah (hers was her household’s sole income). Lowenthal, *Life and Letters*, 89.

²⁶ Lowenthal, *Life and Letters*, 89.

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worked for pay outside the home was rare, but the crowd at the inaugural Eastern Conference of the Business and Professional Women’s Divisions (BPWD) of Hadassah was “unexpectedly large,” according to the ecstatic March 1939 issue of the *Newsletter*.²⁷ The very existence of a specially titled division of Hadassah correctly suggests that the vast majority of Hadassah members did not work for pay outside the home; Hadassah meetings were held in the afternoon, when only women who worked in the home could attend.²⁸

An article in the March 1939 issue reinforced the novelty of BPWD women. “Who Is She?” opened with, “The most typical thing about her [the average BPWD woman] is that she is *not* typical” (italics original).²⁹ BPWD women held a wide variety of jobs — they were secretaries, professors, car sellers, labor organizers, and more.³⁰ The *Newsletter* noted, with a rare use of the passive voice and a whiff of skepticism, “novel fundraising methods were used” by BPWD women who arranged group outings to baseball games and the theater.³¹ BPWD women also had “particular interest” in educational programming, an unexplained detail that likely referred to their intellectual training.³²

Hadassah’s leaders, more than anything, wished to convey that despite BPWD women’s careers and newfangled fundraisers, they would fit in to Hadassah’s ideals and activities.³³ Not once does any article mention specific abilities that professionally trained women might possess

²⁷ *Newsletter*, March 1939 issue, 125.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, March 1939 issue, 124. Also note that Hadassah’s leaders, including Szold, had little professional training to prepare them to lead such a massive group, but managed incredible feats of fundraising and organization.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, March 1939 issue, 124.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, November 1939 issue, 53; March 1939 issue, 138. These statistics do not mention BPWD women’s wealth relative to mainstream Hadassah women, but it stands to reason that a married lawyer, rather than an unmarried secretary, could move in similar socioeconomic circles as most Hadassah leaders. Also note that no demographic statistics were available for non-BPWD Hadassah women in either the *Newsletter* or any secondary work consulted for this investigation.

³¹ *Ibid.*, November 1939 issue, 53.

³² *Ibid.*, March 1939 issue, 138.

³³ *Ibid.*, March 1939 issue, 124.

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beyond vague “vitality and potentialities.”³⁴ In fact, the most celebrated characteristic of the ideal BPWD woman was that, “She knows all about working in a man’s world. But she also knows how to remain preeminently feminine in the midst of a stringent business routine.”³⁵ Brownstone did not define what it meant to be “preeminently feminine,” but evidently she wished to assure her audience that these professional women would mesh well with the volunteer clubwomen who led the organization and reinforced its ethos of gendered division of labor. Hadassah operated in male circles, but its members still performed what they believed to be women’s work.

Hadassah’s drive to include professional women evidently fizzled out rather quickly; the *Newsletter* never mentioned BPWD women again.³⁶ Either BPWD women left the organization in droves, and all seventy BPWD chapters folded in less than a year, or the professional women’s chapters were indistinguishable from mainstream Hadassah chapters and not seen as meriting precious column space. Secondary sources on Hadassah recreate the silence of the primary material.³⁷ It is difficult to extrapolate conclusions as to what the roles of working women were in Hadassah’s gendered vision of colonial labor. Either professional women were incompatible with the volunteer-based ethos of the organization, or they were so well suited to the mission that their activities, after some initial excitement, were not seen as noteworthy.

Hadassah’s leaders believed that its members, professional or not, were poised to enter the new Jewish century with a bang.³⁸ Though previously “untaught for the creation of historic moments,” these freshly educated women were ready to do great things. Reflecting on the past

³⁴ *Ibid.*, November 1939 issue, 53.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, March 1939 issue, 124.

³⁶ No mentions of BPWD activity through the December 1941-January 1942 issue, the end of this investigation. The omission is especially startling since this issue commemorated the twenty-first anniversary of Junior Hadassah, with whom BPWD women had worked closely.

³⁷ See, e.g., Mira Katzburg-Yungman. *Hadassah: American Women Zionists and the Rebirth of Israel*, trans. Tammy Berkowitz, (Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2012); McCune, “Formulating the ‘Women’s Interpretation of Zionism;’” Simmons, *Hadassah and the Zionist Project*.

³⁸ *Newsletter*, March 1940 issue, 8. Entering Jewish year 5700.

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decades of progress for women in America, Rose Jacobs offered her musings on the evolution of women’s organizations like Hadassah. About the members of these organizations, Jacobs wrote, “It was only natural that as their horizons broadened, women gradually made the transition from the old-fashioned charity society...to the scientific organization of community service. Thus they went beyond charity to search for ways of eliminating the need for charity.³⁹ Hadassah members and leaders certainly did conceive of one of their biggest projects — public health work— as beyond mere charity. As part of their “scientific organization of community service,” Hadassah’s previous settlement house model — the previous generation’s step beyond “old-fashioned charity” — fell by the wayside. Hadassah had debuted its first settlement house in Jerusalem in 1913, but a generation later the organization wanted to move toward newer, systematic, preventive care models.⁴⁰ Times were changing, and Hadassah was determined to stay at the vanguard.

While Hadassah’s members did move far beyond “old-fashioned” charitable ventures, they maintained their gendered sphere of activity: women and children. The April 1939 issue of the *Newsletter* featured spreads by American male Jewish doctors praising the new Rothschild-Hadassah-University Hospital (RHUH) in Jerusalem, Henrietta Szold’s brainchild. Its “modern methods” included departments of surgery, gynecology, pediatrics, neurology, oncology, plus research and teaching facilities in bacteriology, chemistry, and pathology.⁴¹ A year later, images of nurses posing in front of the brand-new x-ray lab are juxtaposed with statistics shouting the RHUH’s record-low mortality rate of three percent to the rooftops.⁴² Despite the overwhelming amount of new medical machinery, Hadassah and its “women’s interpretation of Zionism” had not been swallowed by modern science, but rather harnessed new technologies to benefit women

³⁹ *Ibid.*, March 1941 issue, 16.

⁴⁰ Jane Addams, the American settlement house pioneer, visited the Hadassah clinic soon after its establishment.

⁴¹ *Newsletter*, April 1939 issue, 145

⁴² *Ibid.*, November 1940 issue, 10.

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and children. One of Hadassah’s most successful projects was the fight against trachoma, an endemic disease of the eye. At the end of the First World War, two-thirds of Jewish children had trachoma — as did countless numbers of Arab children whose health was not monitored with the same zeal. But after Hadassah sponsored semi-yearly eye exams for all Jewish schoolchildren and instituted sanitation measures in schools, the incidence of trachoma fell to under five percent.⁴³ Hadassah was enormously proud of its anti-trachoma efforts, and encouraging statistics and pictures of smiling, healthy children dotted the pages of the *Newsletter*.⁴⁴ Hadassah women succeeded in taking the lead on a region-wide public health venture and greatly expanding the portfolio of Zionist women.

Hadassah’s focus on women and children was not limited to medical work, and its overarching emphasis on youth is an instructive example of how Hadassah used the gendered division of labor to expand the scope of women’s responsibilities. The organization furnished rural schools with trained cooks to provide free nutritious lunches, set up dozens of “infant welfare stations” across the region to educate mothers on the latest scientific developments in infant care,⁴⁵ and sent nurses to conduct follow-up visits for discharged trachoma patients, a practice widely accepted as preventing further health problems.⁴⁶ These nurses also supervised families’ cooking habits and suggested nutritional improvements.⁴⁷ These friendly medical consultations were not without clear colonial overtones. Hadassah women were appalled by childcare practices in Palestine, describing them as, “on a level one can find only in backward oriental communities.”⁴⁸ Hadassah had to teach mothers what they considered “the simplest rudiments” of infant

⁴³ *Ibid.*, April 1939 issue, 146.

⁴⁴ Two examples beyond the previously cited April 1939 issue in *Ibid.* are: November 1940 issue, 14-15; November 1941 issue, 11.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, April 1940 issue, 7.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, April 1940 issue, 6-8.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, November 1941 issue, 10.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, April 1940 issue, 7.

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care. This condescension was particularly acute when directed toward Jews arriving in Palestine from elsewhere in the Arab world. Hadassah considered Mizrahi Jews, as they would later be known, to be in particular need of scientific remediation, coming as they did from “backward oriental” countries.⁴⁹ Yemeni Jews, in particular, were seen as in dire need of remedial nutritional instruction.⁵⁰ Their paternalistic comments reveal that Hadassah women were involved in the Zionist colonial project in Palestine, not just materially, but ideologically as well.

Another example of how Hadassah repurposed maternalist ideology for Zionist goals was its funding of playgrounds for Jewish youth. Florence Liebowitz, the head of the National Child Welfare Committee, commented in the November 1939 issue of the *Newsletter*, “Time was when the Palestine child had no toys, had never seen one... Time was when the Palestine child did not know how to play.”⁵¹ It is facile to suggest that children did not know how to play. Liebowitz meant that the children did not previously play in a way that would build the foundation for a Zionist state. Hadassah taught children “friendly physical contact” and “the lessons of sportsmanship, of cooperation for common goals, of group purposefulness.” While these practical measures — playgrounds, sponsored outing trips, infant welfare care tips — were traditionally “feminine” because of their focus on children, they were deeply political. Hadassah was helping to nurture a robust young generation of Jews in Palestine to form the backbone of the desired Jewish state, an integral part of the Zionist project. This indeed was women’s work.

Hadassah’s continued push into traditionally male spheres, like public health, manifested itself in its leaders’ attempts to assert the organization’s political muscle in its quests for fair representation at the World Zionist Association (WZO) Congresses. As the organization matured and grew more confident, its rhetoric shifted. In 1921 Hadassah had argued for representation on

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, November 1941 issue, 10.

⁵¹ Material on playgrounds here and below is from *Ibid.*, November 1939 issue, 27-28.

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the basis of the group’s value as a women’s organization representing what Mary McCune called the “feminine element” of Zionism.⁵² Hadassah members questioned why their hard-won fruits of tireless fundraising were diverted to the ZOA and WZO without representation in return. ZOA men accused Hadassah women of not being “real” Zionists.⁵³ They were mere philanthropists in paper-thin Zionist masks and therefore undeserving of membership in the ZOA, never mind the independent representation they would later obtain. Hadassah held firm to its defense of philanthropy and social reform as necessary, respectable — and gendered — pursuits in the face of withering criticism from male leaders of both organizations, and won limited representation. They attended the 1921 World Zionist Congress under the aegis of the ZOA, as a female subsidiary of male American Zionist efforts. But by the late 1930s, Hadassah wanted to stand on its own; Hadassah women were no longer philanthropists but social scientists and expert reformers. In the November 1938 convention issue of the *Newsletter*, Hadassah President Judith Epstein proclaimed that the “blindness” that Hadassah once wore had been removed.⁵⁴ No longer would Hadassah be content to “see only the specific needs of its undertakings in Palestine and to leave to others the direction of those larger policies which were to mould the Erez Yisrael of the future.”⁵⁵ Hadassah’s involvement in one of Schoolman’s “larger policies,” the Youth Aliyah, will be discussed at length below. More generally, Epstein proudly described Hadassah’s increasing involvement since 1937 in high-level discussions between Zionists groups on the movement’s direction. In the WZO Congress of that year, Hadassah arrived as an independent delegation for the first time.

⁵² McCune, “Formulating the ‘Women’s Interpretation of Zionism,’” 90.

⁵³ Mary McCune, *The Whole Wide World, Without Limits: International Relief, Gender Politics, and American Jewish Women, 1893-1930*, (Detroit, MI: Wayne State Univ. Press, 2005), 100-104.

⁵⁴ *Newsletter*, November 1938 issue, 25.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

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However, the fight for fair representation was still a difficult one. In the next year’s convention issue (November 1939), Bertha Schoolman reported that Hadassah’s push was less successful. She noted that while Hadassah sent more delegates to the WZO Congress in 1938 than in 1937 (twenty-nine, up from eighteen), this number was far too low, since Hadassah was responsible for thirty-seven percent of all American contributions to the WZO. However, owing to the “difficult world situation” (referring to Nazism; specifically, the Kristallnacht pogrom was November 9-10, 1938) Hadassah agreed to settle.⁵⁶ Hadassah’s national leaders defended their capitulation in the May 1939 *Newsletter* issue. They acknowledged that they had made “a very real sacrifice” in light of their increased financial clout and “these last two years of sustained political interest and education” among Hadassah members. However, they stressed the importance of “matters of political emergency” over internal issues of representation.⁵⁷ Hadassah’s members, they were sure, understood “the efficacy of wise, sincere, honest, and selfless political action.”⁵⁸ That is not to say, however, that Epstein and other leaders did not resent the fact that it was Hadassah, the women’s organization, that had had to make concessions for the sake of Zionist unity. “Hadassah,” they reminded their readers, “is today politically awake and deeply aware of its strength.”⁵⁹ They took the unprecedented step of declaring that, “to be adequately represented in the World Zionist Congress...is the right, duty and privilege of every Hadassah member.”⁶⁰ Hadassah women never explicitly accused WZO of unfair treatment on the basis of gender, but it is easy to see that male Zionist leaders were reluctant to accord Hadassah, taken to be the representative of Zionist women, commensurate representation. Nevertheless, as the repeated use of

⁵⁶ Ibid., November 1939 issue, 44-46.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 46.

⁵⁸ Ibid., May 1939 issue, 176.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 180.

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the word “political” in Epstein’s pronouncements demonstrates, Hadassah was beginning to move beyond conceptions of women’s involvement in Zionism as purely social.

Hadassah did find success in manipulating the traditional ideology of gendered spheres of labor to command one of what Schoolman identified as, “those larger policies which were to mould the Erez Yisrael of the future”: Youth Aliyah.⁶¹ Youth Aliyah was a project begun by a German woman named Recha Freier (unaffiliated with Hadassah) to extricate Jewish children from Nazi-occupied Europe and resettle them in Palestine. Hadassah, over all the men’s organizations, became the American point of contact for Youth Aliyah, and the project proved to be one of Hadassah’s most enduring achievements.⁶² Throughout their efforts, Hadassah women eagerly embraced the pronouncement of Alice Seligsburg, a future Hadassah president, that “women care more for the preservation of the individual than men do. [They] reach the mind and heart and soul of child and adult first caring for the body.”⁶³ When the *Newsletter* proclaimed that Youth Aliyah children “must be physically and spiritually bathed and nourished,”⁶⁴ this was an explicit appeal to Hadassah’s women. Hadassah eagerly embraced the traditional idea that women, even in their capacities in the public sphere, were responsible for caring for children. As such, the pages of the *Newsletter* were jammed with highly gendered appeals to women for support. The July-August 1940 issue of the *Newsletter* featured a rich two-page spread meant to stir sympathy for the young refugees. On one page was a picture of two young, somber boys whose caption reads, “Sad-Eyed Children Whom Youth Aliyah Will Make Happy,” (picture attached in Appendix) and on the other was an article detailing newly resettled children who “quite literally

⁶¹ Ibid., November 1938 issue, 25.

⁶² Many male Zionist leaders were apoplectic, fearing Hadassah’s growing influence would come at their expense. Katzburg-Yungman, *Hadassah: American Women Zionists*, 35.

⁶³ Alice Seligsberg, “The Woman’s Way,” in *The New Palestine* (23 June 1922): 431-32. Reproduced in Antler, Schwartz, Uziel, *Jewish women’s movement*, 431.

⁶⁴ *Newsletter*, January 1939 issue, 83.

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have come to regard themselves as Hadassah’s children.”⁶⁵ The *Newsletter* was not subtle. Even in the context of a political effort to resettle Jews in the location of the dreamed-of Zionist state, Hadassah women were encouraged to see their role as explicitly maternal.

Even though Youth Aliyah was seen as “women’s work” and therefore apolitical, the Hadassah women who worked on the project found themselves working on a deeply political venture and leaving a mark on Zionism. They accomplished this in two ways; firstly, the agricultural training they provided to resettled children was instrumental in achieving the Zionist goal of building a body politic of farming Jews for the future state. Many Youth Aliyah children were placed in kibbutzim (cooperative agricultural settlements) or sent to special agronomy school in one of nearly eighty sites across Palestine. They learned to grow wheat, nourish poultry, and aspire to expanding onto greater swaths of Arab land.⁶⁶ In November 1939, that year’s 1,638 “graduates” of agricultural Zionist boot camp assumed their “rightful place” as workers — specifically, Hadassah boasted that seventy-six percent became farmers to serve the needs of their community and hoped-for state.⁶⁷ These skilled agricultural laborers were also ideologically committed to the Zionist project; after Nazi persecution, the intimate kibbutzim and the Zionist community felt like “one family” to residents.⁶⁸ Secondly, Youth Aliyah helped Hadassah influence Zionism by redefining accepted women’s roles within Zionist organizations. Since Youth Aliyah was seen as an explicitly and exclusively female venture, it was considered appropriate for Hadassah women to take the lead. Therefore, Hadassah women were able to manipulate the ideologies that told them to stay out of global politics in order to do the opposite — enter international Zionist political work in an impactful way. They did not necessarily set out to “deceive”

⁶⁵ Ibid., July-August 1940 issue, 8-9. See fig. A.1.

⁶⁶ Ibid., July-August 1940 issue, 9-10, 25.

⁶⁷ Ibid., November 1939 issue, 40.

⁶⁸ Ibid., March 1940 issue, 19.

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men, or to consciously manipulate traditional gender norms. But the results spoke for themselves; a focus on women and children provided an entrée into international refugee issues, the struggle against Nazism, and the construction of a future Zionist state.

As the years wore on, Hadassah made ever more inroads into the male hegemony of Zionism. Though, as discussed above, the Nazi threat quelled internal Zionist dissent that might have benefitted Hadassah, it also had an invigorating effect on Hadassah’s American operations. The consensus was that amid such a catastrophe the Zionist cause needed as much help as it could get — from men or women.⁶⁹ Hadassah accelerated its hospital development efforts to prepare for war, participated in protests with men’s organizations against disliked British policies that limited Jewish immigration to Palestine, and emphasized the newly pressing importance of its longstanding efforts with Youth Aliyah.⁷⁰ Its membership skyrocketed, and the organization boasted that, “thousands who saw for the first time that the ubiquitous Jewish problem could not be met unless the Jewish people had a home of its own” signed on right away.⁷¹ After Israeli independence in 1948, Hadassah continued to blossom, in contrast to the ZOA, which had lost its *raison d’être*, as its diplomatic efforts on behalf of the pre-state became irrelevant since the state of Israel now had official diplomats. Hadassah, due to its longstanding involvement in medical and public health ventures, child welfare, and Youth Aliyah, maintained critical connections to Israeli social and political reform ventures.⁷² Through Hadassah, American woman have stayed active in Israel to this day, raising money for Israeli medical facilities and providing training for Jews in America and abroad⁷³ — reaping the benefits of Hadassah’s initial strategy of a gendered division of labor. By emphasizing the feminine nature of public health, infant welfare, and child

⁶⁹ Katzburg-Yungman, *Hadassah: American Women Zionists*, 39.

⁷⁰ *Newsletter*, November 1939 issue, 25.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Katzburg-Yungman, “Hadassah in Erez Israel,” 173.

⁷³ Simmons, *Hadassah and the Zionist Project*, 201.

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resettlement through Youth Aliyah, Hadassah's women gained a permanent foothold in American Zionist efforts and greatly eroded male hegemony.

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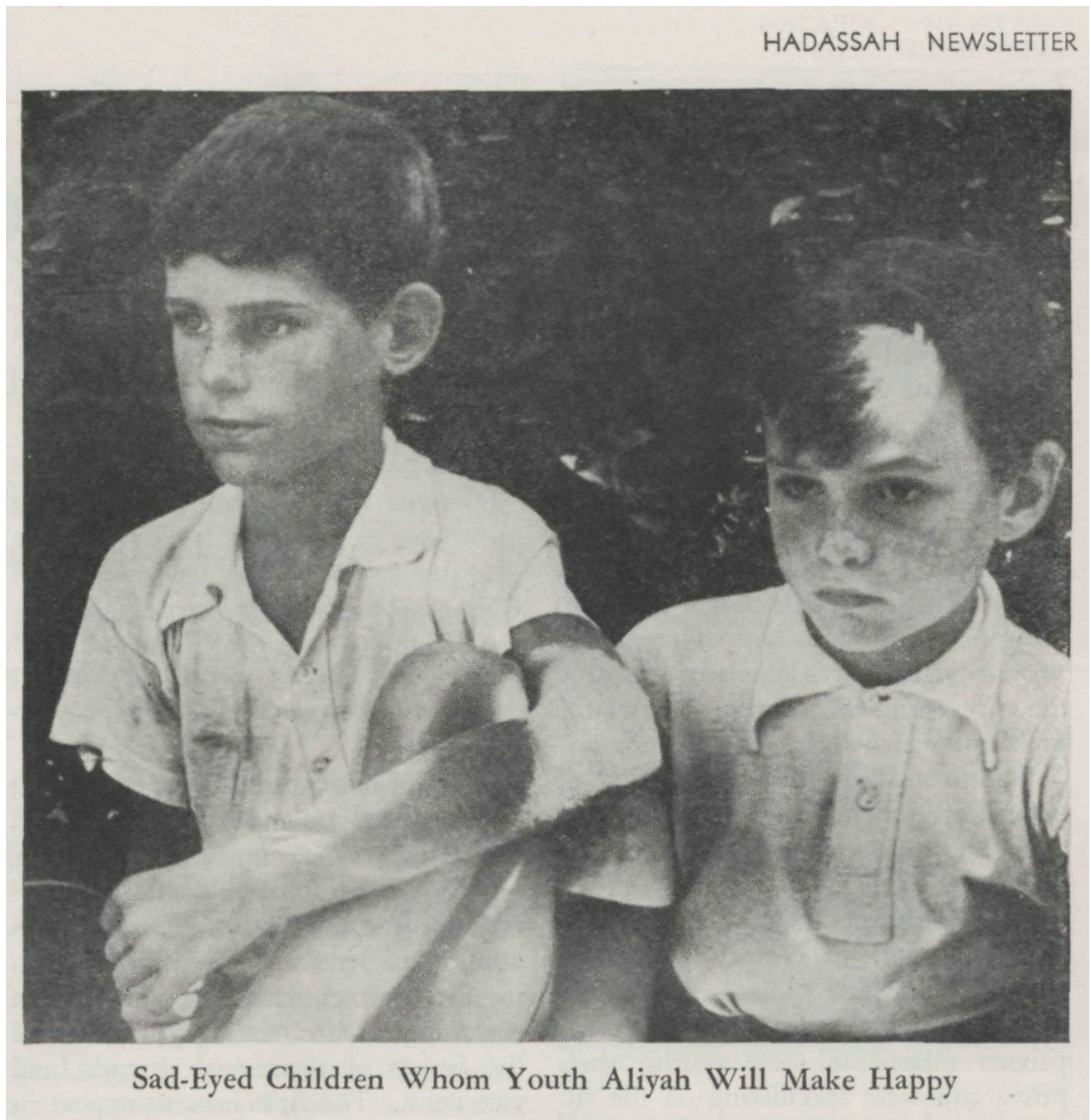
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Appendix A

Figure A.1



Newsletter, July-August 1940, 8.

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Figure A.2 (not cited in text)



Newsletter, November 1939 issue, cover. Depicting scenes of the Rothschild-Hadassah University Hospital, Hadassah nurses caring for children, Jewish children playing and working, books on Jewish history, and centering on a Hadassah woman holding a baby.

Evocation of the Illegitimate: The Crossroad of Language and Nationalism in Algeria (1920s-1990s)

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Language is intimately connected to identity and the process of construction of the nation-state because a shared language represents a shared means of communication amongst individuals, the social bond that binds them together, and the marker of membership to the community.¹ More importantly a language reinforces a community's world view, defining its self-awareness and its perception of the 'Other(s).' The adoption of a national language by the state legitimizes the creation of the political community whose existence has been denied by colonialism, hence reinforcing national cohesion and identity. If Benedict Anderson specified that the nation is an imagined community, limited and sovereign, then the national language demarcates the criteria for political participation and the sense of belonging to the polity, hence the everlasting question: "Who belongs to the nation?"²

Moreover, it is also a powerful unit of measurement to define the boundaries of national identity and citizenship. It sketches the domain of national, historical, and political imaginations and representations of the community due to the multiplicity of actors and evolving circumstances, under and after colonial rule, that gives shape and meaning to the existence of the political community of the nation. However, language is a double-edged sword that binds individuals speaking the same tongue together whilst excluding those who do not carry this shared marker of identity. It is, paradoxically, a vehicle of domination which constitutes ideological hegemony.

Should language policies, serving as an instrument of national integration in

¹ Malika Rebai Maamri, *The State of Algeria: The Politics of a Post-colonial Legacy* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2016), 188-189.

² Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York: Verso, 2006), 5-6.

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postcolonial societies, take aim at the intellectual nationalization and emancipation from previous imperial configurations, they generate contradictions and spark responses from groups whose interests are largely ignored by language politics promulgated by the postcolonial state. Official nationalism unitarily enforces a language-of-state to cultivate citizens' allegiance to the new nation-state, to consolidate a unique national identity, and to craft a hierarchy of modes of expression performing as legitimate representations of the nation.³ The case of Algeria is particularly mesmerizing to look at because language played a crucial role in the definition and constant re-definition of identities and in the perpetual transformation of the country's social and political landscape.

Building this analysis upon Benedict Anderson's theoretical framework on nationalism and language, and Partha Chatterjee's rich elaboration on the cultural dimension of nationalism, particularly the "spiritual sphere," the content of my essay will orbit around a key question: to what extent did the Algerian anti-colonial discourse and postcolonial state succeed in emancipating themselves from the entrenched imperial epistemological configurations, previously imposed by French modernity, specifically in the domain of language? I shall also focus on the parallels between nationalism and colonialism, and whether the nationalist project in Algeria fundamentally severed itself from the French colonial project, for certain Orientalist epistemological layouts are retained by both the postcolonial state and agents pushing for mobilization from below against homogenizing national language policies.

In the first part of my paper, I will examine the formation of the anti-colonial discourse in the Algerian spiritual sphere by religious actors and how it strived to re-conceptualize and preserve a distinct indigenous identity separate from the identity of coloniers. I will also shed light in the second part on the contest for ideological dominance

³ Ibid., 84.

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within this spiritual sphere, concurrent with the representation of the Algerian nation pushed forth by secular nationalists, although both clerics and secular nationalists grounded their claims to nationhood in Islam and Arabic, with varying degrees of commitment. The project of state formation and re-imagination of the Algerian nation thus paralleled the redefinition of the boundaries of identity and citizenship, the intersection of the “spiritual” and “material” spheres, and paved the way for the politics of recognition from groups whose existence had been repeatedly denied by the postcolonial state.

Evoking the Illegitimate: The Quest for Ideological Hegemony within the Spiritual Sphere (1920s-1950s)

Religion played a crucial role in the formation of the anti-colonial discourse within the spiritual sphere in Algeria by instrumentalizing and transforming language into a domain of cultural authenticity. To evoke the illegitimate was to defy colonialism which had politicized knowledge into coercive measures to rule over Algeria and deny the country of its distinct identity and right to self-determination. However, this articulation of anti-imperial ideas was not without the quest for ideological dominance. Different forces within this sphere, despite their common source of legitimacy, contested and challenged the colonial state and one another, showcasing a hegemony-oriented tendency to dominate the spiritual sphere.

During the first half of the twentieth century, the anti-colonial movement in Algeria consisted of a wide range of groups with divergent ideological tendencies and socio-economic statuses. Whether it be secular, bourgeois, or Islamists, each group drew inspiration from Islam in order to legitimize their quest for dominance and appeal to the masses,

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specifically the peasantry, whose attachment to Islam remained unwithered.⁴ Since 1830, Algeria had been annexed into France as an overseas department, and seen as a natural extension of the *Métropole*. The existence of the Algerian nation was thus deemed as “illegitimate” in the eyes of French imperialists, with the *francization* of a linguistically diverse area and the imposition of modern secular education to uproot and eradicate local customs and values. French imperial policy in 1938 classified Arabic as a foreign language and prohibited its use in official documents, thus accelerating the pace of the French civilizing mission in Algeria.⁵ The death of Arabic, the truth language intimately tied to the Islamic religion, was meticulously conceived by the violent installment of secular colonial modernity with the rise of French as the official print language which was widely used in coercive state apparatuses, administration, and the media.⁶

One of the groups that was at the forefront of the anti-colonial movement was the Association of the Ulama. Founded in 1931 as an apolitical circle and led by Sheikh Abdel Hamid Ben Badis, the Association of the Ulama cultivated intellectual and cultural works to carve the shape and meaning of the Algerian nationalist project. The Association endeavored to crystallize cultural foundations for the “imagination” of the Algerian nation by acting as a social critic of the imperial order. “Essential marks of identity,” such as the Islamic religion and the Arabic language, should be preserved and sovereignty declared over the spiritual sphere by indigenous cultural awakeners even under the oppressive imperial state in order to bring about change via the transformation of the social and political order.⁷ On account of the Association’s financial independence its newspapers, such as *Al-Muntaqid*, *Al-Shihab*, and

⁴ Ricardo René Laremont, *Islam and the Politics of Resistance in Algeria, 1783-1992* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2000), 58.

⁵ Hafid Gafaïti, “The Monotheism of The Other: Language and De/Construction of National Identity in Postcolonial Algeria,” in *Algeria in Others’ Language*, ed. Anne-Emmanuelle Berger (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), 23.

⁶ Djamila Saadi-Mokrane, “The Algerian Linguicide,” translated by Whitney Sanford, in *Algeria in Others’ Language*, ed. Anne-Emmanuelle Berger, 45.

⁷ Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 6-7.

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Al-Nahda, created a unified field of exchange for Algerian nationalists in a shared language outside of the material sphere of modern statecraft, thus overcoming the constraints of colonial violence, including censorship and repression.

The printed press portrayed a symbolic site of contestation and contributed to the production and dissemination of nationalist ideas. It promoted the resurrection of classical Arabic and the study of Islamic theology, in combination with the teaching of modern science and technology, in order to battle *jahiliyya*, or ignorance, and restore the cultural roots of the Algerian nation.⁸ Furthermore, the establishment of educational networks to extend the scope of the cultural foundations of the nationalist project was as influential as the printed press in the revival of cultural nationalism.⁹ Schools were institutions of the spiritual sphere where language was standardized and normalized, and where the Ulama transmitted revivalist ideas and sculpted the “new Algerians” via the teaching of history. Literacy in Arabic and the encouragement of the writing of national foundational myths in indigenous accounts were the necessary weapons for Algerians to intellectually and ontologically emancipate themselves not only from ignorance, but also from the colonial framework which denied them their authentic national identity. Additionally, the recovery of the past to mold the future nation had to commence with historical record-keeping within a messianic time frame. This was the reason why the cleric-historian Mubarak al-Mali’s (1889 – 1945) two volumes of the first national history in Arabic, *History of Algeria in Antiquity and in Modern Times*, were published between 1928 and 1932 to counter the centenary of the colonization of Algeria and kick-start the project of “decolonizing” national history.¹⁰ Not only did the dynamics of decolonization involve violent struggles for independence and the eventual “transfer of power,” but they also entailed the articulation of a community’s aspirations, its cultural roots,

⁸ Laremont, *Islam and Politics*, 82.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 82.

¹⁰ John Ruedy, *Modern Algeria: The Origins and Development of a Nation* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2005), 134-135.

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and the production of its own historical narrative in its own language.¹¹

Likewise, one of the *Al-Shihab* members and founders of the Association, Ahmad Tawfiq al-Madani (1899 – 1983), penned the phrase “Islam is my religion, Arabic is my language, Algeria is my fatherland” in his 1932 *Book of Algeria*, to separate Algerian history from a drawer of the French colonial archives.¹² Therefore, the intellectual rediscovery and awakening amongst Algerians and the purification of the spiritual sphere from colonial penetration eventually nurtured the long-term nationalist project. The skeleton of the Algerian nation came into existence, thanks to the power of the verb to evoke its essence in its absence. The Association of the Ulama successfully enunciated a discursive, moral, and intellectual representation of the “Algerian people” and of the language and religion of the Algerian nation in order to proclaim an indigenous ownership of the means of the production of the nation and its boundaries.

The Association’s revivalist tendency was not, however, without precedent. It was largely influenced by the 19th-century *Islah* reform movement in Egypt, which projected a return to the purity of the earliest Islamic traditions of the 7th century pious ancestors in order to fight the dilution of Islamic values in a modern context.¹³ While displaying a general acceptance of scientific and technological advancements, *Islah* reformers wished to shape a new version of modernity, in which a social and religious agenda was reconciled and made compatible with the claims of science and technology, thus illustrating the existence of multiple models of modernity. Despite French colonialism’s capacity to generate power structures based on knowledge collected and institutionalized by Orientalism, which conceptualized the Orient as an imagined entity from a Eurocentric perspective, not only did the revival of Arabic and Islam not only corresponded to the resistance to Western

¹¹ Todd Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization: The Algerian War and the Remaking of France* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2006), 3-4.

¹² Ruedy, *Modern Algeria*, 135.

¹³ McDougall, *History and Culture*, 12-14.

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universalist values, but was also the product of global transformations and interactions amongst societies and cultures.¹⁴

At the end of the 19th century, the colonial state accelerated the destruction of Islamic educational structures. The 1905 Ferry law on *école laïque* applied to the totality of French territory and resulted in the closing down of Qur'anic schools and the imposition of colonial education to nurture allegiant bilingual elites exposed to Enlightenment values.¹⁵ The uniformization of education officialized French as the “print language” and forced an assimilationist doctrine upon the diverse Algerian population. In addition to the special *lycées* and *collèges* destined for families of colonists, the bicultural *écoles arabes-françaises* were also established to cater to an Algerian clientele who believed in the possibility of upward mobility within the colonial order for their children.¹⁶

In his 1903 visit to Algeria, Muhammad ‘Abduh, the Mufti of Egypt and one of the master architects of the *Islah* movement, was outraged by the regressive nature of Algerian Islam and blind acceptance of Westernization. His visit triggered a campaign for the revivification of faith in the country and the rediscovery of the true spirit of the Word of God. Liberalism, scientific enlightenment, and tolerance were Western values which ‘Abduh deemed compatible with Islam, eventually giving birth to the Association of the Ulama and its consolidation.¹⁷ The anti-colonial cause pushed forth by clerics in Algeria was, thus, not the antithesis of modernity. It aimed at the elimination of ignorance, the contestation of imperial knowledge, the transformation of thought and reality to define what it meant to be Algerian, and the invention of a new model of modernity intrinsic to Algeria. Since modernity concerned the progress towards universal enlightenment and freedom, the reform-

¹⁴ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 3.

¹⁵ Ruedy, *Modern Algeria*, 102-103.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 104.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 102.

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minded Algerian Ulama accepted independence and scientific enlightenment.¹⁸

Nonetheless, the Association of the Ulama was not the sole actor which made claims to a form of independence of the Algerian nation. Although it succeeded in shaping the intellectual and cultural significance of Algerian nationalism, the Association also challenged and faced contestation from secular groups, all striving for the status of hegemonic ideas and the leading locomotive of the anti-colonial struggle. The concept of “hegemony,” in the Gramscian sense, pierces the veil into the formation of a common moral language and its formalization into prevailing norms via numerous institutions of civil society.¹⁹ The spiritual sphere houses internal struggles amongst groups to define the internal Other and advance their own definition of “authenticity” and political claims to eventually lead the political battle against imperialism. The nation, consequently, solely exists in the competition over the representation of its essence because this contest over its definition, boundaries, and identity represents a claim to domination and hegemony.²⁰

The printed press became an arena of confrontation between the Francophile, secular bourgeois Young Algerians and the Association of the Ulama because it generated a sense of simultaneity and made different actors aware of one another’s opinion.²¹ This field of discursive contention catalyzed a change in the experience of time and a sense of simultaneity that transcended physical constraints by aiding the travel of ideas through time and space and by presenting different conceptions of the Algerian nation.²² Created before the breakout of World War I, the Young Algerians advocated for the assimilation of Algerian society into the French colonial order and imperial modernity.²³ Their most prominent publication, *L’Islam*, despite grounding its legitimacy in the Islamic religion, operated

¹⁸ McDougall, *History and Culture*, 7-8.

¹⁹ Joseph V. Femia, *Gramsci’s Political Thought: Hegemony, Consciousness, and the Revolutionary Process* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 24-25.

²⁰ McDougall, *History and Culture*, 9-10.

²¹ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 37.

²² *Ibid.*, 24-25.

²³ McDougall, *History and Culture*, 74-75.

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entirely in French because it endeavored to touch the minds and hearts of the Parisian press and French metropolitan audience.²⁴

Ferhat Abbas, one of the Young Algerian leaders, intended to fashion the future Algerian state in the image of French modernity and the Enlightenment ideals of fraternity, equality, and democracy, whilst purging the adverse and violent facets of colonialism. Although the transformative power of colonialism had generated unequal power relations between “modern” France and “uncivilized” Algeria, based on generalizing Orientalist statements and the special place of the Orient in Western European subjective experience, he fancied French and Algerians as brothers in the same fraternity of equals, and Algeria as an integral part of the *Métropole*.²⁵ In his 1936 article “La France, c’est moi!” Abbas affirmed that Islam was the source of ignorance and the oxymoron of progress. Political and economic emancipation, for Abbas, could not be seen via a religious lens through which only the fanatics and the ignorant view the world. Emancipation must rely on deep-rooted elements of colonial modernity, such as modernization, industrialization, and the defense of universal human rights.²⁶

Similarly, another renowned member of the Young Algerians, Rabah Zenati, also the editor of *La Voix Indigène*, defied the Association of the Ulama’s entrenched clericalism which for him was the main trait of Algerian inferiority and backwardness.²⁷ Progress, for the secular bourgeois, was unidimensional and moved along a linear succession of events. It signified the internalization of contemporary French values and the rejection of religious rejuvenation, merely deep-seated in the past, in order to build up a future Algerian nation-state. This secular, rational vision of progress made knowledge into a form of emancipation, for the Young Algerians embraced Western imperial knowledge to liberate their consciences

²⁴ Ruedy, *Modern Algeria*, 107.

²⁵ McDougall, *History and Culture*, 76.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 84-85.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 82.

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from religious dogma and obscurantism. They voluntarily became consumers of imperial modernity, transformed into a commodity, through the institutionalization of francophone education and the linguicide of Arabic and Tamazight.

On the other hand, in response to the secular assimilationist view, the Association of the Ulama reasserted in their newspaper *Al-Shihab* the religious and linguistic uniformity of Algeria, founded upon Islam and Arabic, and the existence of a separate Algerian nation possessing its inherent symbolic and physical boundaries.²⁸ Paradoxically, the Young Algerians wished to transcend the violent French colonial ego in order to achieve a purer, hubristic *alter ego*, free from any moral and political corruption. This was akin to the Ulama's religious and moral resuscitation of Algerian society, yet their conception of Algerian nationalism remained confined within a colonial subconscious which glorified the repercussions of violent, imperial modernity. Oddly enough, both groups played upon the ignorant-enlightened binary opposition, which was a reflection of the colonial power relations between France and Algeria and of the creation of the internal Other. This narrative of Us versus Them simply reinforced one's own sense of identity and constructed one group's distinctiveness based on misidentification with the Other.

The success of the Young Algerians and the Association lay in the closeness between the leaders of the spiritual sphere and the masses. Due to the masses' attachment to indigenous customs, French imperialist and universalist intervention altered the social, economic, political realities of Algeria. Thus only a small portion of Western values had a meaningful impact on the masses, and the urban middle and upper middle classes in particular. Forces within the spiritual sphere contested one another in the struggle over authoritative representation of national history. In order to produce a hegemonic conception of the messianic social reality, they restored Algerian history in indigenous terms,

²⁸ Ibid., 85.

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intellectually and culturally awakening the audience to whom the nationalist project was addressed, and concretizing the eventual political struggle for independence.²⁹

History is a socially institutionalized form of knowledge. It is a cultural artifact to be strategically retrieved, written, and systematized in the language that belongs to its native speakers. It compiles, as McDougall finds, symbolic structures and metaphors to sketch a sense of familiarity for the audience to whom it is destined. The order of historical narratives must be articulated, selected, and crafted in a meaningful, yet distinguishable way from colonial accounts, in order to justify the legitimacy of national liberation and to imagine the nation and its truth.³⁰ Through its history, a community imagines and presents its identity, togetherness, achievements, struggles, and accounts of its distinctiveness from other groups. Moreover, Lyotard states that history is also split into multiple and conflicting interpretations, or histories, because the desires and needs of groups striving for ideological hegemony cannot be easily reconciled in a universal system of grand narrative.³¹ Nationalism is, thus, an ideology that entails domination, whilst eliciting the necessary conditions for social, political, cultural, economic, and epistemological emancipation from imperialism.

Arabization and the Politics of Recognition (1960s-1990s)

The issue of national identity has been at the forefront of the nation-building project in Algeria since the 1960s. Although the violent struggle of decolonization between 1954 and 1962 succeeded in physically liberating Algeria from the French imperial order, the postcolonial state's mission remained problematic. The adoption of a unifying symbol of identity ought to have cemented its political agenda and legitimized its regime. As paradoxical as the imposition of shared markers of identity upon a heterogeneous population

²⁹ Ibid., 5.

³⁰ Ibid., 4.

³¹ Jean-François Lyotard, *La Condition Postmoderne: Rapport sur Le Savoir* (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1979), 7-8.

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by the postcolonial state, such as Islam and Arabic, were the replication of the colonial framework of “Arabs versus Berbers” and the perpetual contestation over the meaning of what it means to be “Algerian” in both the domains of the state and of civil society. Knowledge generated and institutionalized by imperialism, as well as by groups with conflicting convictions, produced lasting legacies on Algerian national identity, sub-national identities, and ethno-religious consciousness. Although the *Front de Libération Nationale* claimed that the Arabization campaign launched in the 1960s represented an inclusive process of cultural decolonization and intellectual nationalization, language remained entrenched in the realm of national imagination and integration. As a mechanism of domination to define the boundaries of citizenship and rights it triggered the politics of recognition from groups whose interests had largely been ignored by the state.

The Arabization of the newly independent Algeria was a key element of the state’s agenda, because citizenship rights depended upon one’s ability to speak Arabic and remain faithful to the Islamic religion. The 1962 Tripoli program designed the foundational objectives of the Algerian revolution as a nationalist commitment to the battle against Western values, usually associated with the French language, and the determination to reinstate Arabic, knotted with Islam, as the official language of the postcolonial state.³² In 1963, the new Constitution declared Arabic as the official language of Algeria and Islam its official religion.³³ Not only did the Constitution have a foundational status as the master institution providing guidelines for political behaviors and setting up the postcolonial state’s agenda, it also reflected the values of the political community, more precisely those of the Arab elites from which it manifested. The assertion of the Arab-Islamic heritage of the newly independent state highlighted its effort for the purification from the imperial framework and the institutional and systematic reconstruction following the war of independence.

³² Saadi-Mokrane, “The Algerian Linguicide,” 47.

³³ Ruedy, *Modern Algeria*, 200.

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Interestingly the motto “Islam is my religion, Arabic is my language, Algeria is my fatherland,” previously formulated within the spiritual sphere by Ahmad Tawfiq al-Madani, was now assimilated as a myth of the new nation-state into the material sphere of modern, centralized statecraft.³⁴

Furthermore, truisms of official nationalism imposed by the state were deep-rooted in the 1964 Algiers Charter, which stressed the urge to accelerate Arabization at school and expand the scope of education to other Arab countries in accordance to the spirit of Pan-Arabism and anti-imperialism.³⁵ Realizing the crucial role of schools in shaping national consciousness and the “new Algerians” in the second half of the 1960s, the state enacted the first massive Arabization program in high schools, with an identical plan for higher education in 1974.³⁶ By augmenting literacy rates in a common language, the postcolonial state nourished and transmitted a unified national consciousness to pupils, who eventually acted as agents of Arabization to correct their families’ dialects.³⁷ Textbooks and teachers codified what was grammatically correct and incorrect, thus perpetuating linguistic censorship.³⁸ Instead of promoting the Algerian dialect, a vernacular that fails to attain the status of ‘print language’ to emphasize a feature of national distinctiveness and regionalism, or Classical Arabic which was intimately attached to the sacred language of God, the state stimulated the extensive use of Modern Standard Arabic. This diffusion of Modern Standard Arabic furnished the horizontality of Arabic that expanded to transnational affiliation amidst the context of the Cold War and the emergence of Third World ideology, and expressed the ideological continuity of the FLN’s anti-colonial discourse.³⁹ For this reason, Ahmad Tawfiq al-Madani introduced the first Algerian Arabization program in 1962 to the headquarters of

³⁴ Ibid., 135.

³⁵ Ibid., 204-205.

³⁶ Laremont, *Islam and Politics*, 171.

³⁷ Berger, “The Impossible Wedding,” 70.

³⁸ Saadi-Mokrane, “The Algerian Linguicide,” 46.

³⁹ Berger, “The Impossible Wedding,” 45.

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the Arab League in Cairo in the spirit of fervent Pan-Arab solidarity.⁴⁰

Moreover, the postcolonial state deepened the cultivation of citizen allegiance to it through the creation of the Supreme Council of the Arabic Language in 1996 to monopolize linguistic expression and further institutionalize Arabization.⁴¹ Its authoritarian tendency also accelerated the erasure of sub-national identities by decreeing in 1968 the officialization of Arabic in all civil service positions.⁴² It also unilaterally proclaimed in 1988 the status of Modern Standard Arabic as the language in official documents, commercial venues, and the media, whilst prohibiting the use of Algerian Arabic, French, and Tamazight in the public sphere.⁴³ The Arab elites instrumentalized the postcolonial state to recover a long-forgotten image of the Orient, and Arab-Islamic heritage in particular, lost to the violent modernity of French colonialism. The sanctification from the imperial configurations was not without limitations. By edifying upon the remnants of imperial identities, for instance “Oriental” and “Occidental” or “Arabs” and “Berbers,” the danger of self-Orientalization was, paradoxically, a mirror of the colonial framework.⁴⁴ If the colonial era defined the Algerian society through the Arab-Berber dichotomy to construct mythical images of the “bad Arab” and “good Berber,” the postcolonial state revived ethno-linguistic discourse and replicated these imperial categories to define the boundaries of citizenship.⁴⁵ The new Algerian nation state sets up its criteria for membership on the basis of language and religion, because the belonging to the nation defined one’s citizenship status and rights.⁴⁶

Additionally the answers to the question “Who belongs to the Nation?” were ceaselessly refreshed not only by state institutions, but also by civil society establishments

⁴⁰ McDougall, *History and Culture*, 205.

⁴¹ Gafaïti, “The Monotheism of The Other,” 28.

⁴² Maamri, *The State of Algeria*, 55.

⁴³ Gafaïti, “The Monotheism of The Other,” 19.

⁴⁴ Saadi-Mokrane, “The Algerian Linguicide,” 47.

⁴⁵ Patricia M.E. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 1995), 2-3.

⁴⁶ Maamri, *The State of Algeria*, 167.

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and the mass media, such as the printed press or electronic media. These all converged towards unidirectional nationalism founded upon the Arabic language. The state took advantage of technological development such as radio broadcasts to determine what should be the linguistic norms and what should be proscribed in daily conversations for the public to internalize, hence eradicating regional dialects.⁴⁷ Official nationalism extended the scope of acculturation, based on the imperial framework designed by France. Not only did the coercive state apparatuses and its media contribute to the decline of the ‘truth language’ of Qur’anic Arabic, but they also triggered a linguistic predicament with an intrinsically political nature.⁴⁸ State-owned media overvalued Arabic literature, whilst making Amazigh works invisible, fabricating a hierarchy of public opinion and expression and perpetuating the binary opposition between “Arabophones” and “Berberophones.”⁴⁹ The rapid Arabization represented an absence of acknowledgement of ethno-linguistic diversity in Algeria and the resuscitation of imperial identities by the postcolonial state, previously invented and institutionalized by the French colonial order.

How, then, “postcolonial” is the postcolonial state if the legacies of colonialism, specifically the imperial, Orientalist epistemological configurations of identity have produced lasting repercussions on the ways in which inhabitants of Algeria view themselves? Language possesses a hegemonic function; the production of hegemony by the Arab elites rests upon the intellectual loan from the spiritual sphere, elaborated by the Association of the Ulama.⁵⁰ By utilizing “linguistic hegemony” as the anchoring ideal for its political platform, the state mobilized support from within its apparatuses and the mass media, because state institutions such as the bureaucracy and civil society institutions, namely schools and the

⁴⁷ Saadi-Mokrane, “The Algerian Linguicide,” 46.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 56-58.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 51-52.

⁵⁰ Femia, *Gramsci’s Political Thought*, 44.

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printed press, were controlled by ruling groups.⁵¹ They served as mechanisms for ideological domination, and operated within a legal framework of the state. This hegemonic tendency resulted in an increased state intervention into the spiritual realm, especially in the domain of language.⁵² With the establishment of institutions to monopolize cultural and linguistic expression, the state legitimized multiple forms of expression. Yet it also fabricated a hierarchy of public opinion and determined what was the normative type of expression and what should be valued in the nationalist project. “Tacit consent” enabled hegemonic rule for the postcolonial state, since tacit consensus over linguistic norms required the dominance of one group in the areas of symbolic communication, values, beliefs, and institutions – proponents of Arabization, in this case.⁵³

Consequently, the claims of national identity, political autonomy, and cultural authenticity generated contradictions; the imposition of linguistic unity by the Algerian postcolonial state was similar to the colonial imposition of French and linguisticicide of Arabic. Notwithstanding, domination from above also fueled responses from below under the form of the politics of recognition, since language politics simultaneously mobilized and polarized public opinion. The most vocal and prominent opposition to Arabization policies came from the *Imazighen* and most notably the Kabyles. Due to the strictly oral tradition of the Tamazight language and the artificial hierarchy of public opinion and expression, meticulously crafted by the Algerian postcolonial state, Amazigh literature and artworks often went unnoticed in state-owned mass media, a practice that was reminiscent of colonial censorship.⁵⁴

To refute the multilingual character of Algeria, the Arab Algerian elites employed repression, censorship, and erasure of Amazigh cultural specificities by instrumentalising and

⁵¹ Ibid., 50-52.

⁵² Ibid., 27-28.

⁵³ Ibid., 35.

⁵⁴ Saadi-Mokrane, “The Algerian Linguicide,” 57.

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inventing state and civil society institutions to exert its hegemonic rule over groups deemed as “minorities.” One instance of violence occurred in 1963 in the Kabylie and ended with the 1965 government crackdown on Kabyle activists, the eradication of Kabyle claims to linguistic authenticity and distinct identity, and the eventual prohibition of Tamazight language and symbols.⁵⁵ Facing coercive official nationalism, the Kabyles persistently politicized their identity by restoring the 7th century notion of “native Berbers” and “imperialist Arabs,” the colonial distinction of “Arabs versus Berbers,” and the “Kabyle Myth” which linked Berber primordial attributes with European origins and superiority to Arabs. The reconstruction of the myth of “originary identity” of Algeria countered the claims of Arab-Islamic nationalism enforced from above. It also incited an ethnocentric discourse as part of the Kabyle struggle for recognition as a community, with its own authentic characteristics of language, religion, and history incessantly denied by the Arab nationalists and the postcolonial state.⁵⁶ Occurring alongside language politics at its zenith in the 1980s was namely the 1980 “Berber Spring,” which was the foundation of the *Mouvement Culturel Berbère* to promote the Tamazight language and the Amazigh culture. It was the pinnacle of ethnic discourse, opposing “despotic Arabs” and “democratic Kabyles.”⁵⁷ This ethnocentric trope illustrated the impact and legacies of Orientalist knowledge, begotten and disseminated by colonialism and its repressive institutions on the conceptions of group identities in postcolonial Algeria.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the 1980 “Berber Spring” in Tizi-Ouzou succeeded in pressuring the state to authorize the teaching of Tamazight in elementary schools in 1995.⁵⁹

Berberist political demands were also formalized and structured into political parties,

⁵⁵ Ibid., 49.

⁵⁶ McDougall, *History and Culture*, 212.

⁵⁷ Maamri, *The State of Algeria*, 186.

⁵⁸ Ramzi Rouighi, “Why Are There No Middle Easterners in the Maghrib?” in *Is There a Middle East?: The Evolution of a Political Concept*, eds. Michael Ezkiel Gasper, Abbas Amanat, and Michael E. Bonine (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 105.

⁵⁹ Saadi-Mokrane, “The Algerian Linguicide,” 49.

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such as the Rally for Culture and Democracy, founded in 1989.⁶⁰ Other Berberists thrived in France and struggled for the Algerian Berberist cause from abroad, thus transcending the physical borders of the Algerian nation. By allowing Berberist activism to blossom in its territory, France solidified a political and intellectual platform for Amazigh associations, radio, and television stations, most notably the *Académie Berbère* in Paris, to express its marks of authenticity, such as language and artistic representations.⁶¹ Therefore, it was not solely the question of official nationalism prompting political and cultural mobilization from marginalized groups; it also entailed the debates over the legitimate, hegemonic representations of the Algerian nation through the processes of unceasing historical imagination of self-identity and of evolving perception of the “Other.”⁶² If the questions surrounding the boundaries of the nation and citizenship rights remained in the realm of constant imagination and re-imagination, then what were the “real” criteria to concretize the existence of the Algerian nation?

Conclusion

The demarcation of a distinct Algerian identity, ingrained in Islam and Arabic, preserved the purity of the Arab-Islamic heritage of the nation-in-the-making even under colonial rule in order to escape the violent imposition of the imperial framework emanating from the enterprise of Orientalism. This process of definition and preservation was not without competition amongst a myriad of agents, namely the Ulama and urban bourgeois, which held conflicting depictions of the Algerian nation. Contestation within the spiritual sphere manifested the most in the domain of language, and specifically in the arena of the printed press. There each group strived to exert the hegemonic function of language by

⁶⁰ Azzedine Layachi, “The Berbers in Algeria: Politicized Ethnicity and Ethnicized Politics,” in *Studies in Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict: Nationalism and Minority Identities in Islamic Societies*, ed. Maya Shatzmiller (Montréal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2005), 205.

⁶¹ Layachi, “The Berbers in Algeria,” 208.

⁶² McDougall, *History and Culture*, 214-215.

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endeavoring to appeal to the masses and to communicate their own social, historical, and political imagination of the nation.

If French imperialists assimilated Algeria into a fragment of the French nation and the torrents of Westernization, then the Arab Algerian elites, initially the clerics and then the Young Algerians, conceptualized a version of nationalism that was founded upon the so-called Arab-Islamic heritage of Algeria. Under the postcolonial order, the nationalist elite instrumentalized language and religion via massive Arabization programs embedded in foundational texts of the newly independent polity. However, unitary linguistic policies legislated from above also triggered mobilization from below such as Amazigh political claims to battle exclusionary nationalism and the struggle for recognition of Amazigh distinctiveness. Although the 2002 constitutional amendment enabled the legal cognizance of Tamazight as one of the national languages of Algeria, Arabic remains the sole official language of the land.⁶³

If colonialism threatened to erase Algerian cultural authenticity rooted in Arabic and Islam then the new nationalist project under colonialism and following independence, pushed forth by the Arab elite, subsequently jeopardized sub-national identities and the Amazigh identity in particular. Thus, the nationalist project in Algeria had not fundamentally been sundered from previous colonial configurations, specifically the Orientalist epistemological framework and modes of domination, via the means of education, language, and physical violence. The Arab elites' vehicle of domination, based on the oxymoronic civilizational discourse of "Arabs" versus "Berbers," mirrored the colonial civilizing mission that once opposed and was also reminiscent of imperial identities of "Muslims" versus "Europeans." Political claims, values, and symbols may be fluid and flexible yet debates surrounding language politics in Algeria will leave repercussions in future contexts. They have shed light

⁶³ Maamri, *The State of Algeria*, 196-197.

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on the dynamics of national imagination and re-imagination, a perpetual transformation of reality.

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The Empire Bites Back: The Representation of Postcolonial India in *Mrs. Balbir Singh's Indian Cookery*

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As Susan Zlotnick has observed in her article “Domesticating Imperialism” (1996), cookbooks during the Victorian era often included recipes for Indian dishes, allowing middle-class British women to become 'agents of cultural exchange' who spurred on the assimilation of curry into the British national diet.¹ By adapting Indian cuisine to the British palate and to the ingredients available within Britain, these women helped to 'incorporat[e] India into the British Empire,' as the act of eating Indian-style food symbolized the incorporation of the foreign into the body politic.² In the Victorian era, then, food represented a critical means through which India was constructed and inscribed within the British cultural consciousness.

After the fall of the British Raj in 1947, food reemerged as a site of discourse through which the British understanding of and relation to India could be reconfigured. On one level, mainstream British disgust towards Indian food signified anti-Asian xenophobia and racism. For example, after the large-scale migration of South Asians to Britain that occurred in this era, many landlords refused to rent to South Asians due to the view that they and their surroundings 'stank of curry,' according to Elizabeth Buettner's chapter “Going for an Indian” (2008). Ahmed Tarique Afras, a South Asian immigrant who moved to London in 1963, recalled, 'Anywhere you went they would ask you, ‘Are you going to cook?’ ‘Yes.’ ‘Oh no, garlic smells, we are not going to give you the room.’³ Meanwhile, Indian food also enabled Britons to express their nostalgia for the imperial past. The end of the Empire, for many former British officers in the Raj, also meant the end of their 'halcyon time' abroad in India, to

¹ Zlotnick, 'Domesticating Imperialism,' 52.

² Ibid, 55.

³ Hardyment, *Slice of Life*, 133.

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borrow a phrase from Buettner's 2004 *Empire Families*. The return of these former Raj officers gave rise to an imperialist nostalgia within Britain, which often manifested itself in food choices. Indian restaurants in the 1950s and 60s were mainly frequented by British civil servants. This nostalgia was embedded in the very fabric of the restaurant itself. As Christina Hardyment has observed in *Slice of Life* (1995), Indian restaurants in this era tended to perpetuate a 'tradition of nostalgia for the Raj by offering flock-wallpapered high-Victorian crimson plush interiors. Staff [was] expected to deliver the same subservient service that they had offered their former rulers back home.' Indian food thus provided the means through which Britons could espouse both racist and pseudo-imperialistic understandings of India in the post-imperial era.

One critical means by which South Asians — particularly women — could intervene in these discourses surrounding food was by writing Indian cookbooks for a British audience. In the 1950s, Elizabeth David, deemed Britain's 'First Lady of Food' by *The Guardian*, popularized the need for authenticity in cooking as she decried the 'sham Grand Cuisine of the International Palace Hotel,' referring to the hotels and restaurants which allowed people to experience 'change and novelty only from a strong base of familiarity.' Instead, David wanted her recipes to reflect what people actually ate. This focus on 'authenticity' and place-based experience opened space for South Asian women living in Britain to write their own cookbooks, creating an opportunity for them to redefine India in the British imagination.⁴ However, these cookbooks have been neglected as a potential source in the scholarship on the post-imperial British conception of India, which tends to focus on South Asian restaurants as the only food-based informant.⁵ These cookbooks thus represent a novel and untapped archive

⁴ For some more examples of these post-imperial Indian cookbooks, see Savitri Chowdhary's *Indian Cooking* (1954) and Attia Hossain's *Cooking the Indian Way* (1962), among many others.

⁵ This is most prominently seen in Elizabeth Buettner's article 'Going for an Indian' (2012) which traces the changing conception of curry from the moment of Indian independence to the present to argue that curry has been made to represent the benign face of multiculturalism. Other book sections similarly focus on restaurants as a dialectical site between South Asians and Britons, such as the chapter 'Curry and Chips' in Lizzie Col-

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through which we can explore the changing British understanding of India after decolonization.

In order to intervene in this historical conversation surrounding the changing British conception of independent India, here I will examine one particular post-imperial Indian cookbook: *Mrs. Balbir Singh's Indian Cookery*. While a much more extensive survey of post-imperial cookbooks is needed, Mrs. Singh's book represents a potent place to begin this examination due to its influence on the British culinary scene. Published in 1961 by a Punjabi woman who had moved to London with her family in 1952, *Mrs. Balbir Singh's Indian Cookery* attempted to appeal to 'the tastes of readers in any part of the globe,' while still presenting authentic preparations of dishes that were 'really Indian in origin,' according to its introduction. This endeavor proved popular with chefs in Britain and beyond. Referred to in newspapers as 'Delhi's original Julia Child,' Mrs. Singh and her recipes for Indian dishes are often cited by famous British chefs such as Elizabeth David and Food Network personality Simon Majumdar. Some sources even claim Mrs. Singh invented a prototype for the dish Chicken Tikka Masala, designated by British Labour politician Robin Cook as the 'true British National Dish.' These laudatory references point to the significance of Mrs. Singh's contributions to the reconception of Indian cuisine within Britain. Despite this influence, very few scholarly sources have adequately treated Mrs. Singh's book. She is mentioned in passing in works on British cuisine, but her important contribution to the British conception of Indian cuisine necessitates a much more extensive interrogation.⁶ In this paper I examine how Mrs. Singh portrays Indian cooking -- and, by extension, India -- to her British readers. I argue that while at first Mrs. Singh appears to merely recapitulate imperial discourses surrounding India to draw in her British reader, her insistence on cultural authenticity allows her

lingham's *Curry* (2005), as well as the chapter 'From Curry to Coriander' in Christina Hardyment's *Slice of Life* (1995).

⁶ Scholarly works that mention Mrs. Singh include Lizzie Collingham's *Curry*, Colleen Taylor Sen's *Food Culture in India*, and Panikos Panayi's *Spicing Up Britain*.

to invert such orientalist tropes in order to establish Indian cultural superiority over and independence from Britain.

Imperial Language in Mrs. Singh's Post-Imperial Cookbook

Edward Said, in his seminal work *Orientalism* (1978), defines the titular term as 'a distribution of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philological texts.' With this awareness, Said demonstrates how the Orient was 'almost a European invention,' constructed since antiquity as 'a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memory, and landscapes, remarkable experience.' While Said did not take the British Raj as his object of study in *Orientalism*, according to scholar Edmund Burke in his book *Genealogies of Orientalism*, 'many of the most influential studies of orientalism published after Said have taken the British Raj as their subject.' Indeed, much of the literature published during the Raj constructs India using these orientalist discourses. A prominent example of this is Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*, a consummate fictional representation of the British Empire. As critics have noted, *Kim* describes India as 'an enchantingly colourful, rather magical place with plenty of remarkable scenery.' India is portrayed as a 'wonderful spectacle, 'full of 'hot and crowded bazars blaz[ing] with lights' and 'mysterious land[s].' For Said, Kipling's presentation of India as exotic, colorful, and mysterious represents a 'major contribution to this orientalized India of the imagination', according to his introduction of the work. Through this critique of *Kim*, then, we see an archetypal example of how orientalist discourses during the imperial era situated India as part of the exotic Orient.

Mrs. Singh draws upon this conception of the Orient to demonstrate the appeal of Indian cuisine to the British reader. She begins the first section of her book by exclaiming, 'Curry! This is a beautiful and exotic dish and is perhaps the most famous preparation of the mysterious East!' By opening the discussion of curry with a one-word exclamation, she pre-

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sents curry as evocative and pulsating with energy, not requiring any explanation. She positions this appeal of curry as an inherent part of India itself. While curry is here described as 'beautiful,' earlier in the cookbook, Mrs. Singh claims that 'Indian cookery, unlike the Western, does not lay so great an emphasis on the decorative aspects.' It seems here that this beauty, then, is not tied to curry's aesthetic appearance but rather to the fact that it is situated within the 'mysterious East.' Mrs. Singh thus constructs curry as an appealing dish to British readers through its relationship to the exotic Orient. This point is bolstered through her essentialist use of the word 'exotic.' As Graham Huggan has noted in his book *The Postcolonial Exotic* (2001), the word exotic 'is not, as is often supposed, an inherent *quality* to be found 'in' certain people, distinctive objects, or specific places; exoticism describes, rather, a particular mode of aesthetic *perception*.' By not including a referential point as to whom the curry would seem exotic, Mrs. Singh presents the aesthetic perception of Indian food as natural or essential to the dish, made to be consumed in this manner. Indian food — and, by extension, India itself — is thus shown to be intrinsically meant for outside consumption due to its exotic energy.

This explicit placement of Indian cuisine within the exotic Orient continues through the book, as the food is charged with the exoticism of India's geography. For example, when describing the dish 'Kashmir Roghan Josh,' she writes: 'Kashmir -- God's own Land! This is an exclamation which will burst forth from the lips of most people who visit that remarkable place. For Kashmir is a place where one sees nature at its height, soul-stirring spectacle which will linger in one's mind forever.'⁷ The lack of control implied by the phrase 'burst forth' suggests Kashmir as entirely new to any such visitors, firmly situating it as within the exotic Other. This notion is furthered by the sensual diction of the piece. The word 'lips,' 'soul-stirring,' and 'linger' imbue Kashmir with an erotic energy, reflecting Said's observation

⁷ Ibid, 45.

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of the 'almost uniform association between the Orient and sex.'⁸ Mrs. Singh moves from discussing Kashmir to the cuisine through the segue, 'Everything in Kashmir is beautiful -- the land is beautiful, the people are beautiful, the crafts are beautiful and last but not least the culinary art is beautiful.'⁹ By moving from the land to the culinary art on this list, the beauty of the cuisine is shown to be implicitly tied to the beauty of the land itself, thus physically situating the food within the exotic Orient. Furthermore, the intense repetition of beautiful transmutes the land, the body, crafts, and culinary art as potential sites of exoticized aesthetic appreciation, thus marked as meant for consumption by the reader. As such, the attractive, even erotic energy Mrs. Singh imbues within the exotic Orient facilitates Indian food's consumption by the British eater.

Other recipes more explicitly draw on imperialist tropes to situate the food within the exotic Orient by harkening back to the British Raj. When describing the dish Navrattan Pullao, Mrs. Singh writes: 'The pullao is a pullao amongst pullaos and a jewel amongst jewels. A heritage from the Moghuls, it has been passed from generation to generation and is successfully reproduced.'¹⁰ By comparing the pullao to a jewel which is quite literally mined from the ground, pullao becomes physically situated within the Orient. The notion of mining a jewel implies that Indian food is similarly a commodity made for extraction, implicitly permitting British consumption of it. Furthermore, the metaphor of the jewel recalls the colonial British conception of India as the 'Jewel in the Crown' of Empire, thus tangibly drawing on the discourses of the British Raj to affect an imperial nostalgia within her readers. Through these discourses, Mrs. Singh thus physically positions Indian cuisine within the Orient as constructed during the imperial era in order to imbue it with a stirring exoticism which would attract her British readers to the cuisine.

⁸ Said, *Orientalism*, 188.

⁹ Mrs. Balbir Singh's *Indian Cookery*, 45.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 85.

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The inherent domesticity of food allows Britain to experience these characteristics of the Orient within a household setting. Mrs. Singh introduces Indian Rice Pullao by saying it 'is an object of exquisite beauty. It is the main attraction on the table, spreading its fragrance all over the dining room.'¹¹ The proprietary 'Indian' that precedes the words 'Rice Pullao' in the dish's name effectively marks the food's 'exquisite beauty' as stemming from its location within India. However, Mrs. Singh here doubles the site of the Rice Pullao. While it is inherently tied to India through its title, she quite explicitly places it on the 'dining room table' where it can spread 'its fragrance all over.' This multiplying of the pullao's placement — between the foreign India and the domestic dining room table — effectively advertises the pullao as allowing Britons to experience the exotic Orient from within the comfort of their own homes. Later, she describes the dish Shahjehani Pillau as 'remind[ing] one of the splendour and might of the famous Moghul Empire.'¹² This reference to the Moghul Empire, the era of Indian rule which preceded English colonization, suggests that Indian cuisine can transport the reader to a detemporalized Orient. This detemporalization gestures towards the timeless and natural nature of the exotic Orient, thus enabling Britons to continue consumption of the exotic Orient from within their own domestic confines even after the British Raj has fallen.

The Inversion of Orientalist Discourses Through Authenticity

However, Mrs. Singh ultimately inverts this imperial nostalgia by presenting the authentic India as unavailable to Britons. Throughout the book, Mrs. Singh both explicitly and implicitly castigates British understandings of India as inauthentic. While defining her project in the opening of the book, she writes, 'A large number of books on the culinary art in India already exist, and it might seem that to add another to the series would be monotonous and

¹¹ Ibid, 78.

¹² Ibid, 92.

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burdensome to the reader.¹³ However, these books, as she lays out, fall in two different camps: either they are 'obviously written with a view to acquainting the European sojourners in India with the methods of adapting Western ways of cooking to the articles of food available in India' or they are written by Indians who have immigrated to England, which 'provide information regarding Indian cooking to the large number of Indians who have permanently settled abroad and for the benefit of the nationals of these countries who had been to India for some time.'¹⁴ Both of these attempts, in her view, are a 'hotch-potch' version of Indian dishes and 'the result was that quite a number of the preparations described by some of them were not really Indian in origin and the names given to such dishes were imaginary.'¹⁵ This discussion of the inauthentic cuisine previously published in Indian cookbooks not only frames the importance of the publication of Mrs. Singh's book, but also characterizes her book as a more authentic portrait of Indian cuisine, not concerned with adapting the culinary styles to British methods.

Throughout the cookbook, Mrs. Singh continues to separate Indian cuisine from the inauthentic westernized portrayal. In discussing curry, she writes, 'The curry known abroad is however but a mere shadow of the genuine stuff; it is usually made from curry powders, and as has already been stated, this is not a very successful practice.'¹⁶ Here, she typifies her own recipes as 'genuine,' as opposed to those typically peddled in England. Even the dishes tasted by Europeans in India are not authentic representations of Indian cuisine as,

[a]nother great drawback to the popularity of Indian cookery is a result of the hundreds of years of foreign rule which India has undergone. This has made the well-to-do Indian westernised in his habits and actions. He takes great pride in taking or serving European food. Consequently any European visiting India rarely tastes real Indian food.¹⁷

¹³ Ibid, v.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid, 44.

¹⁷ Ibid, 16.

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Mrs. Singh thus distinguishes ‘authentic’ Indian food from those typically promoted by Europeans, suggesting that genuine examples of Indian cuisine have largely remained inaccessible to even the most worldly British eater.

In contrast to these 'hotch-potch' portrayals of Indian food, Mrs. Singh marks her own depiction of Indian food as authentic and replete with local knowledge.¹⁸ This authenticity is embedded within the text through the use of Indian nomenclature. Mrs. Singh gives the Indian names for ingredients first, and then follows with the English translations cordoned off in parentheses. For example, when introducing certain ingredients, she writes:

In fact some of the basic ingredients which are largely responsible for the delicious and exotic Indian cookery preparations are completely unknown beyond the shores of India. Panir (Indian cream cheese) and khoa (dried fresh whole milk) which form the foundation of the Indian Sweets, and ghee (clarified butter), the base of all Indian cookery, are typical examples.¹⁹

The use of these Indian names distinguishes these ingredients, and, by extension, Mrs. Singh’s book as a whole, as authentically Indian. Rather than creating a book solely for British eaters, as she notes most other Indian cookbooks have done, the English names are auxiliary to the Indian. This naming system continues throughout the book, most prominently in a nine page chart in the opening chapter which lists the 'Hindustani equivalents' for the English names (see fig. 1). Devoting such a large portion of the book to the proper translations of names which would be unfamiliar to a British reader grants Mrs. Singh an inside knowledge of Indian cuisine, marking her book as an authentic source of Indian cuisine.

This authenticity is further embedded within the book by regionalizing the cuisine. Rather than discussing Indian cuisine as a homogenous entity, she notes the regional differences through geographically situating each dish within its specific origin point. For example, instead of discussing ‘curry powder’ or ‘curry spices’ as a uniform entity, she gives recipes

¹⁸ Ibid, v.

¹⁹ Ibid, 21.

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for different formulations of the spices, writing that Garam Masala is used by Kashmiri chefs, and that Sambhar Masala predominates in Madras.²⁰ This regional specificity undermines the European notion of a homogenous and abstract Orient; rather, it places it within a particular local site. This differentiation continues throughout. For example, the dish Kamargah, or mutton chops, is introduced by saying it 'originates in the land of Kashmir.'²¹ Pork Vindaloo is introduced as a 'South Indian delicacy,' and Tandoori Machchi, or fish baked in a clay oven or grilled in an electric oven, is described as a 'popular delicacy which is a specialty of the cook who migrated from Peshawar to India.'²² This regional differentiation suggests an authentic 'local flavor' to the text which recognizes the nuances and subtleties of the cuisine unlike external projections of the Orient.

This claim to an authentic understanding of Indian food and India itself allows Mrs. Singh to transmute the orientalist language of her cookbook into a means to claim Indian superiority over British food. In the opening section of her book, she attempts to renarrativize India's colonial history, writing:

It is the spices, whose use dates to the pre-Aryan period, which are responsible for these superb preparations. It was in fact the lure of these spices which first brought the British and the French, the Dutch and the Portuguese to the Indian coast, and the very spices which were the pride of India were responsible for its subjugation.²³

The intense temptation that these spices represented is explicitly described here as the main reason for the colonization of India. Thus, the notion of the authentic exotic, here manifested in India's spices, allows Mrs. Singh to invert the colonial hierarchy, presenting India not as a meek and subjugated country but as a place so full of beauty that the Europeans could not

²⁰ Ibid, 24.

²¹ Ibid, 68.

²² Ibid, 71; 74.

²³ Ibid, 15.

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help but invade. In this sense, Mrs. Singh presents India's power — as opposed to its downfall — as stemming from its exotic beauty.

This exotic beauty of India is marked as unavailable or inaccessible to Europeans, showing the limits to their potential consumption of India. Mrs. Singh writes, 'Indian sweetmeats like Indian meat dishes are in a class by themselves. There is no parallel to them in English cookery.'²⁴ This trope appears throughout the text. When discussing Indian breads, she writes, 'Indian breads are unique in themselves. They have no counterpart in English or continental cookery.'²⁵ Indian chefs, 'unlike their Western counterparts, have mastered the art of vegetarian cooking.'²⁶ Rice in England 'is of a comparatively poor standard. It is perhaps one of the eccentricities of the British people for which they are so well known. Rice served in British restaurants is a mere apology for a pullao.'²⁷ This fixation of Mrs. Singh on India's authenticity, which is unavailable to the West, grants India a cultural superiority of Britain: no matter how hard Britain may try to cook food to the same standard, Indian food remains inaccessible and inimitable.

Mrs. Singh reinforces this superiority of Indian cuisine through the use of hyperbolic language. The text introduces Indian food by claiming it 'really needs no introduction': 'It is famous the world over and enjoys a reputation matched only by the French and the Chinese. Indian food has an uncanny charm and those who once taste Indian food find that all other food is insipid and tasteless in comparison.'²⁸ This opening, despite not encapsulating the British belief of the time which deemed Indian food as 'smelly' and 'disagreeable,' effectively reframes Indian food so that its cultural superiority is unquestionably established from the very outset. That she would position it against 'tasteless' food implicitly establishes the inferi-

²⁴ Ibid, 143.

²⁵ Ibid, 132.

²⁶ Ibid, 98.

²⁷ Ibid, 78.

²⁸ Ibid, 15.

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ority of British food, often stereotyped by its 'poor quality and its blandness.'²⁹ The definitive tone Mrs. Singh here employs, whether true or not, thereby reframes Indian cuisine as inherently superior to that of the British, thus reinforcing her inversion of the colonial hierarchy. This tone continues throughout the text. For example, when discussing Tandhoori Murgha (Tandhoori Chicken), she writes,

This is absolutely the last word in cookery. It is the show piece of the Indian culinary art, and is a true demonstration of the height of perfection to which an art can be raised. Superlatives can be used in describing its taste. It is marvellous and is perhaps one of the world's most delicious preparations. A visit to India can never be considered complete without the sampling of this great dish....The method of preparation is perhaps as ancient as civilisation itself.³⁰

Tandhoori Murgha is characterized as one of the 'world's most delicious preparations'; and yet, it is only able to be known in India, as a 'visit to India can never be considered complete' without it. The 'most delicious' dish of the world is thus presented not as a commodity for export — as India was understood in the colonial era — but rather as wholly situated within India and requiring others to travel to India for a taste. In this sense, the logic of colonialism is undermined, demonstrating India's independence from Britain. Furthermore, this claim of authenticity allows Mrs. Singh to reinforce the superiority of India when she compares the temporal origin of this dish to 'civilisation itself.' This comparison marks India as the seat of civilization, thus flipping the colonial construct which claims the Europeans brought civilization to the colonial periphery. The hyperbole thus fortifies Mrs. Singh's earlier claims about Indian superiority over the West, allowing for a reclamation of orientalist discourses that depict Britain's own shortcomings rather than India's irrationality or need for order.

Through this analysis, we see how *Mrs. Balbir Singh's Indian Cookery* at first glance appears to recapitulate orientalist discourses but actually, through a lens of authenticity, inverts such discourses to suggest Indian cultural superiority over Britain. This argumentative

²⁹ Panayi, *Spicing Up Britain*, 12.

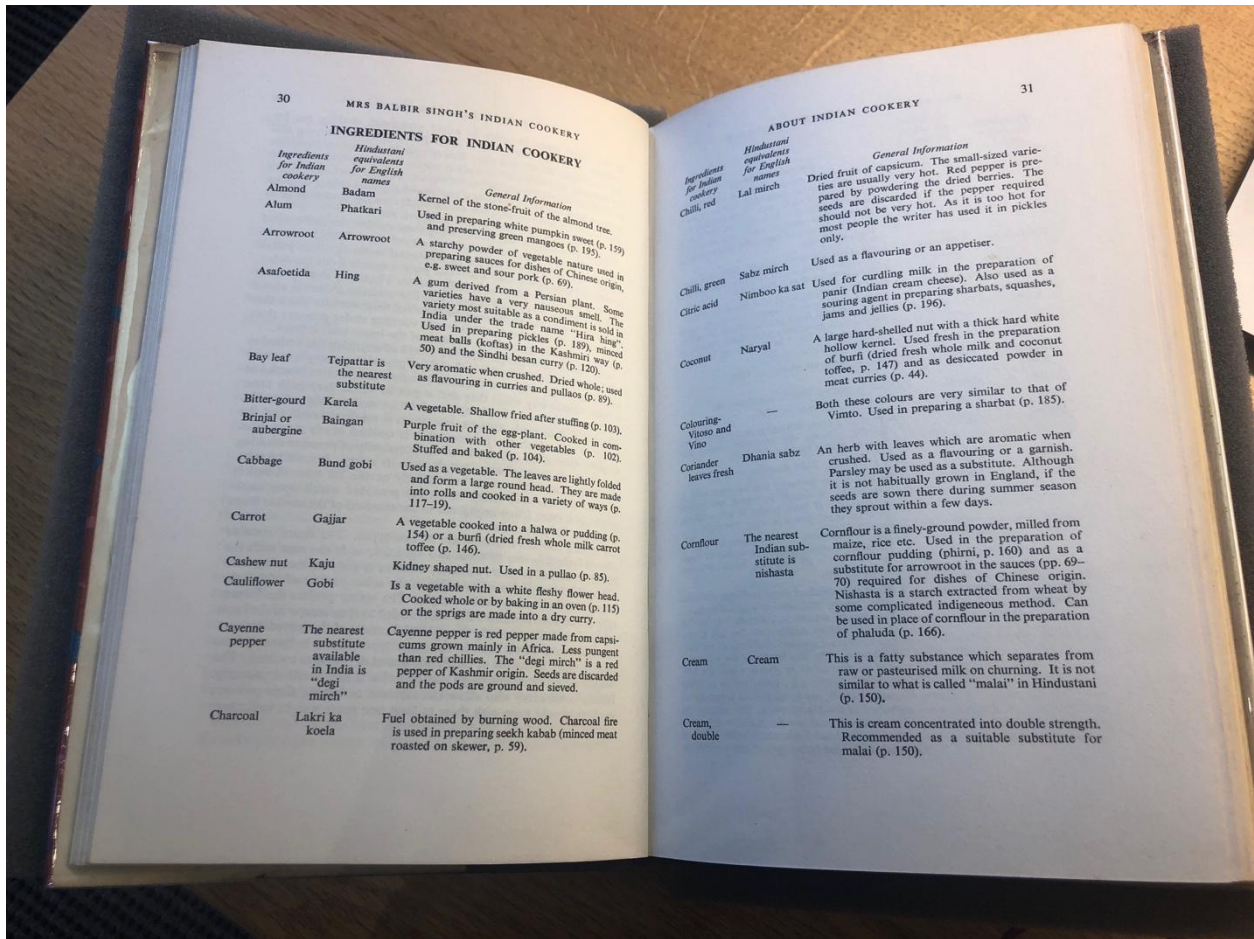
³⁰ *Ibid*, 54.

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move effectively undercuts both the racist ideas surrounding Indian cuisine as well as its association with imperial nostalgia, instead fortifying Indian independence from Britain. Mrs. Singh's book thus served not to domesticate imperialism and assimilate India into Britain, as Zlotnick observed of Victorian Era cookbooks; in the post-imperial era, Mrs. Singh's cookbook represented a critical way to redefine India to Britain after the fall of the Empire, inverting the imperial hierarchy by characterizing India as a hotbed for culture and civilization. Although just one cookbook of many, *Mrs. Balbir Singh's Indian Cookery* suggests that these post-imperial cookbooks represented a capacious space for South Asian women to participate — and perhaps even effect change — in British discourses surrounding independent India.

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Figure 1:



The first two pages of a nine page chart included in the beginning of *Mrs. Balbir Singh's Indian Cookery*. The first column details the 'Ingredients for Indian cookery,' the second the 'Hindustani equivalents for English names,' and the third, 'General Information' which often says the geographical origin of the spice. For example, for black and white mushrooms, the 'Hindustani equivalent' is 'Guchian' and 'Dhingri' and the General Information reads: 'The black mushrooms marketed in India are obtained from Kashmir and Afghanistan. Earthly matter sticking to their surface should be removed by cleaning them thoroughly under running water. They are cooked as a curry' (33).

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"Two Great Parties": Martin Van Buren's Developing Views on the Two-Party System from 1800-1862

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When Martin Van Buren first entered politics in the late 1700s, American citizens feared political parties. Demonized as dangerous to the safety of the republic, parties existed but were not embraced. Despite this widespread belief, Van Buren devoted much of his career to the construction of party organizations, helping to establish both the Albany Regency in New York and the national Democratic Party.¹ He not only built parties; he believed deeply in their benefits and developed one of America's first justifications of a two-party system.² By the time of Van Buren's death in 1862, political parties had become an accepted aspect of American politics.

While many scholars argue that Van Buren believed a two-party system was necessary, they disagree as to when his ideology developed. Understanding how Van Buren's views evolved is important because of the longevity and productivity of his political career. Specifically, the two parties he helped build were developed at different times; the Albany Regency was fully established before the Democratic Party was even created.

In order to determine Van Buren's views on parties during the development of the Albany Regency specifically, I have analyzed his papers during the period from 1801 to 1821. November 1821 was chosen as the ending point because it marks both the firm establishment of the Albany Regency and Van Buren's elevation to the national stage as a United

¹ Robert V. Remini, *Martin Van Buren and the Making of the Democratic Party* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 7-11; *Ibid.*, 196.

² Richard Hofstadter, *The Idea of a Party System: The Rise of Legitimate Opposition in the United States, 1780-1840* 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California, 1970), 213; Max M. Mintz, "The Political Ideas of Martin Van Buren," *New York History* 30, no. 4 (1949): 430. Proquest, <http://search.proquest.com.proxy.lib.umich.edu/docview/1297249989?OpenUrlRefId=info:xri/sid:summon> (accessed November 3, 2014).

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States Senator and the shifting of his focus towards national parties.³ To complete this analysis, I used the Library of Congress’ compilation of his papers, available on microfilm at the University of Michigan’s Hatcher Library.⁴ While Van Buren’s papers are incomplete, what has been preserved includes correspondence, Van Buren’s notes on various subjects, official party and government documents that he helped write, and other documents that he did not create, such as newspaper clippings.

I also analyzed Van Buren’s *Inquiry into the Origin and Course of Political Parties in the United States* to examine his views on parties at the end of his career. His attempt to formally articulate his ideas on political parties, the manuscript was written between the time of his retirement from politics in 1851 and his death in 1864 but was not published until 1867. Van Buren had decided not to publish his writings during his lifetime so that he would not feel pressured to take time away from other pursuits; thus, he had only produced a draft at the time of his death.⁵ The introduction to the book states that while Van Buren’s sons edited the manuscript before publication, their only changes were organizational.⁶ The manuscript is an overview of the history of American political parties from the colonial era to the conflict between Jefferson and Hamilton, which is the point to which Van Buren dates the political parties he argues currently exist. He ventures past this time period only briefly; the main exception is an essay on the Supreme Court’s decision in the Dred Scott case that his sons mistakenly included in the book.⁷

³ Remini, *Martin Van Buren*, 3.

⁴ There is a more complete compilation of Van Buren’s papers published by Chadwyck-Healey that the University of Michigan does not own. According to that compilation’s guide, it has a little over one reel more of documents for this period.

⁵ John Niven, *The Romantic Age of American Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 599; Joel H. Silbey, *Martin Van Buren and the Emergence of American Popular Politics* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 213-213; Martin Van Buren, *Inquiry Into the Origin and Course of Political Parties in the United States*, ed. Abraham, John, and Smith Van Buren (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1867), iii-vi, Project Gutenberg, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/35932/35932-h/35932-h.htm> (accessed November 3, 2014).

⁶ Van Buren, *Origin and Course*, viii-ix.

⁷ Niven, *Martin Van Buren*, 607-608.

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By reexamining Van Buren’s early papers and his later explanation of his views on political parties, I hope to determine how Van Buren’s views developed over the course of his career, particularly during the period when he was establishing the Albany Regency. In this paper, I examine scholars’ arguments about Van Buren’s views on political parties and the development of those views, analyze Van Buren’s early papers and his *Inquiry into the Origin and Course of Political Parties in the United States*, and then discuss the development indicated by those sources and its implications for scholars’ views.

Scholars on Van Buren’s Views of Political Parties

The Founding Fathers desired a united, harmonious political system. Believing that political parties furthered personal interest at the expense of the public good, they saw them as incompatible with this goal.⁸ Even when they did form the Federalist and Democratic-Republican parties, they were adamant that their parties were only temporary and would be laid aside as soon as they destroyed their opponents.⁹

Scholars argue that Van Buren departed from these views, developing an ideology that defended a two-party system as beneficial. Rejecting the Founding Father’s hope for political cohesion, Van Buren instead argued that disorder was inevitable.¹⁰ He felt that American politics was eternally divided between centralists and states’ rights supporters.¹¹ While the name of the party representing each viewpoint might change, the viewpoint would remain. The two groups could never be fully reconciled because their differences stemmed from fundamental beliefs about a government’s powers rather than temporary issues.¹² Ac-

⁸ Donald B. Cole, *Martin Van Buren and the American Political System* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 95.

⁹ Hofstadter, *Party System*, viii-x.

¹⁰ Cole, *Martin Van Buren*, 95-96; Hofstadter, *Party System*, 223-6; Silbey, *Martin Van Buren*, 12-13.

¹¹ While Van Buren did defect from the Democratic Party in 1848 to run as the Free Soil Party’s presidential conflict, Silbey argues that this was because Van Buren believed that the Democratic Party leadership no longer reflected Democratic ideology.

¹² Niven, *Martin Van Buren*, 205; Mintz, *Political Ideas*, 430-432.

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cepting the impossibility of unity, Van Buren saw a two-party system based on this ideological divide as the best way to maintain order.¹³

Inherent in the concept of a two-party system was acceptance of a legitimate opposition. Van Buren believed that each political party sincerely sought to serve their own interpretation of the public good. While he believed that his opponents were mistaken in their views, he did not believe that they sought to destroy the republic.¹⁴ Furthermore, he saw the existence of an opposition as essential to his own party's survival. Without a strong opponent, the remaining party would become undisciplined, and its ideological purity would be compromised by the incorporation of former opposition members into its ranks.¹⁵

Van Buren also disliked this amalgamation of parties because he genuinely feared what would occur in the absence of strong party demarcations. He believed that without parties, politics would devolve into a battle between factions motivated solely by personal interest.¹⁶ The two political parties that Van Buren envisioned were driven by principle in lieu of the baser motivations that defined factions. They organized political divisions around fundamental ideological differences, deemphasizing personal and sectional biases.¹⁷ By causing individuals to place the party will before their own desires, parties could focus politics on the pursuit of the public good.¹⁸

Scholars thus depict Van Buren as favoring a two-party system due to his belief in continual political conflict. By separating politics into opposing sides divided by irreconcilable ideological disagreements, a two-party system elevated politics beyond the baser personal interests pursued by factions. The existence of an opposition also served to better organize each side and help them maintain ideological purity.

¹³ Silbey, *Martin Van Buren*, 12-13.

¹⁴ Hofstadter, *Party System*, 241-252.

¹⁵ Cole, *Martin Van Buren*, 127; Hofstadter, *Party System*, 226-231; Remini, *Martin Van Buren*, 24.

¹⁶ Cole, *Martin Van Buren*, 37; Niven, *Martin Van Buren*, 176.

¹⁷ Cole, *Martin Van Buren*, 127; Niven, *Martin Van Buren*, 357; Remini, *Martin Van Buren*, 28-29.

¹⁸ Silbey, *Martin Van Buren*, 23.

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The scholars surveyed largely agree on their interpretations of Van Buren’s views of political parties. While their arguments are not identical, they are not conflicting; they simply emphasize different aspects of Van Buren’s ideology. They differ much more on the question of when that ideology developed. Also, with the exception of Silbey and Hofstadter, they do not discuss development extensively.¹⁹ When scholars do address it, they utilize two main approaches. Some differentiate Van Buren’s general support for political parties from his articulation of a rationale for that support, while others simply discuss the development of his ideology as a whole. Cole and Silbey put forth opposing interpretations of when Van Buren came to favor strong, united political parties. Cole claims that this occurred from 1798-1807, when Van Buren was first exposed to factional infighting in New York, while Silbey argues that Van Buren’s support of party regularity did not begin to coalesce until he was elected to the state legislature in 1812.²⁰

There is more accord on when Van Buren’s justification for political parties was fully developed; Silbey, Hofstadter, and Niven all concur that this did not occur until the later part of Van Buren’s tenure in the United Senate from 1821 to 1828.²¹ However, each identifies a different starting point for this development. Silbey argues that the process began in the 1810s, while Hofstadter more specifically dates it to when the Albany Regency began a period of conflict against DeWitt Clinton in 1817. Differing from both of these views, Niven depicts Van Buren as not beginning to articulate his views until after his election to the United States Senate.²² The conflict between these interpretations demonstrates the need to reexamine Van Buren’s beliefs on political parties during the period before he entered the Senate.

Views on Political Parties in Van Buren’s Papers from 1800-1821

¹⁹ Remini and Mintz do not discuss development at all, though that is understandable given the limited scope of their respective works.

²⁰ Cole, *Martin Van Buren*, 19-20; Silbey, *Martin Van Buren*, 22.

²¹ Silbey, *Martin Van Buren*, 23; Niven, *Martin Van Buren*, 357; Hofstadter, *Party System*, 223-226.

²² Silbey, *Martin Van Buren*, 23; Niven, *Martin Van Buren*, 205; Hofstadter, *Party System*, 223-226.

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The aspect of Van Buren’s views on political parties most immediately evident in his early papers is his embrace of the political party. His desire to maintain a strong party is particularly clear from the beginning of his career. A letter written to him in 1803 quotes him as saying, regarding his support of a certain politician, that he was concerned “that by amputating one of its limbs the vital parts might be destroyed.”²³ His chief concern was not whether the politician was still worthy of support, but the negative impact that not supporting him would have on the party as a whole. He placed the strength of the party above other priorities.

The importance Van Buren placed on the wellbeing of his party is also clear in a 1817 letter allowing him to use the name of a prominent figure in a campaign, which states that if the use of the name will add “to the integrity and harmony of the party, his devotion to the good old cause will induce him to yield himself most cheerfully to any arrangement they may think proper to make.”²⁴ The letter’s tone suggests that the writer, Robert Swartwout, believed that Van Buren also viewed “the integrity and harmony of the party” as worthy goals. Van Buren himself demonstrates his desire to maintain a strong party in a public notification alerting Daniel D. Tompkins to his nomination for governor of New York in 1820. In the letter, Van Buren states that Tompkins “would be as likely to preserve the Republican party” as any other choice.²⁵ This demonstrates that Van Buren viewed an ability to shore up the party as a positive attribute, one worthy enough to mention in a letter meant to promote Tompkins. Van Buren also valued party unity. In a letter written to him in 1812, George Broom describes how the local party organization prepared for an upcoming senatorial race and remarks that “In our five Southern (republican) towns we look for more ardor and unity

²³ John C. Hogeboom to Martin Van Buren, Albany, March 14, 1803, in *The Papers of Martin Van Buren*, (Washington: Library of Congress, 1960), Reel 4. I have tried to maintain the original spelling and grammar in all quotes from primary sources.

²⁴ Robert Swartwout to Martin Van Buren, Washington, February 26, 1817, in *The Papers of Martin Van Buren*, (Washington: Library of Congress, 1960), Reel 5.

²⁵ Martin Van Buren to Daniel D. Tompkins, Albany, January 17, 1820, in *The Papers of Martin Van Buren*, (Washington: Library of Congress, 1960), Reel 5. The use of the name “Republican” is here referring to the Democratic-Republican Party.

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of action.”²⁶ Broom wanted his local party members to follow one course of action and clearly expected Van Buren to share his desire for unity.

Another call for coherent action is found in a letter from Charles Holt to Van Buren in 1813. Holt asks for political news so that he can follow the will of the Republican Party, saying that “... I am determined to stick by our old rallying point, the great body of county republicans, and be governed as much as possible by their decisions in my public conduct. To do this, I must have some guide, and understand what course is to be pursued by our leaders.”²⁷ Holt defined being a good Republican not as following his own understanding of Republican values but as adhering to the party’s interpretation. As the intention of the letter is to convince Van Buren to send political news to Holt, Holt clearly felt that Van Buren would agree with this rationale.

Indeed, Van Buren himself explained the importance of following the party’s will in an 1818 missive he wrote with other Republican members of the New York legislature, chastising a district for selecting different Republican nominees than those of the state party. The letter states that

...for many years past & indeed through the whole period of the ascendancy of the Republican party the course of most uniformity pursued on singular occasions has been for the Republican members of the Legislature [to pick the nominees together and for the local party members to then follow those choices]... to that fidelity we are in a great degree indebted for the Harmony & consequent success of the party.²⁸

Van Buren and his peers stressed the importance of acting together, attributing their party’s electoral success to that uniformity. Van Buren’s desire for a strong and united party demonstrates that he accepted the use of political parties. As an essential aspect of party unity

²⁶ George Broom to Martin Van Buren, Poughkeepsie, April 17, 1812, in *The Papers of Martin Van Buren*, (Washington: Library of Congress, 1960), Reel 4.

²⁷ Charles Holt to Martin Van Buren, Albany, January 20, 1813, in *The Papers of Martin Van Buren*, (Washington: Library of Congress, 1960), Reel 4.

²⁸ Martin Van Buren and others to Ambrose Latting Jordan, Albany, March 1818, in *The Papers of Martin Van Buren*. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1960), Reel 5. The misspelling of indebted was in the original.

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is following the views of the party even when it conflicts with one’s own opinions, his interest in unity points towards a belief that the will of the party is superior to personal interest.

Further evidence of a rudimentary form of that belief is Van Buren’s dislike of factions. An aversion to factions is first expressed in an 1810 letter from William Van Ness, in which Van Ness remarks that “the event which we have long worked for is approaching” and “we shall be called upon... to say what is the true republican party- to distinguish it from a spacious congregation of illegitimate pretenders.”²⁹ Van Ness’ statement that they have both been working towards a common purpose suggests that Van Buren concurred with this goal. The common purpose was presumably distinguishing the legitimate Republican Party from other groups that do not truly share its principles. Van Ness believed that there were factions that were not guided by a true interpretation of Republican ideology, and he saw them as inferior to his own party for that reason.

Van Buren made a similar reference to an opponent’s illegitimacy in an 1820 letter to a friend where he light-heartedly remarks that he had been busy ridding the state of a junta.³⁰ Referring to his opponent in such a manner suggests that he did not believe that they are a legitimate party. He also displays a dislike of factions in an 1821 letter to a land company in which he writes that the Republicans had worked to protect the company “nonwithstanding the dangers of faction,” demonstrating a belief that factions distracted the Republican Party from its work.³¹

While he sometimes spoke of his opponents as dangerous, Van Buren frequently stressed that he bore no personal ill will towards his political opponents. In 1804, when he writes to William Van Ness that though he disliked Van Ness’ chosen candidate, he feels “a

²⁹ William Van Ness to Martin Van Buren, New York, January 18, 1810, in *The Papers of Martin Van Buren*, (Washington: Library of Congress, 1960), Reel 4.

³⁰ Martin Van Buren to Gorham A. Worth, Albany, August 27, 1820, in *The Papers of Martin Van Buren*, (Washington: Library of Congress, 1960), Reel 5.

³¹ Martin Van Buren and others to Busti, Albany, March 12, 1821, in *The Papers of Martin Van Buren*, (Washington: Library of Congress, 1960), Reel 5.

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pure and disinterested affection for some of [the candidate’s] most intimate friends, amongst whom it is with pleasure that I name you as first in my esteem” and that he “flatter[s] myself that a difference of opinion on the subject will not at all affect the friendly relation which have heretofore existed between us.”³² Van Buren wanted to keep his personal relationships separate from his political affiliations and was willing to overlook political differences to do so.

He laid claim to this ability again in an 1820 newspaper article draft in which he disparages “those who are incapable of separating political opposition from personal hostility.”³³ He believed that he could attack someone’s political views without necessarily denigrating their character. He demonstrated his belief in this separation again in an 1821 letter to a friend who he had a political disagreement with, stating that “... I will not lightly abandon the hope that our friendship will be as durable as I know it desire to be.”³⁴

However, while Van Buren may have stated that he separates the personal from the political, he did not always follow that standard. In an 1819 letter to a friend, he includes a long passage about how DeWitt Clinton, one of his major political adversaries, is not as exceptional as that friend claimed that he is.³⁵ In an 1820 letter to that same friend, he says that he has no objections to his friend’s support of Clinton, but also mockingly refers to Clinton as “the Great Clinton.”³⁶ While explicitly stating that he did not begrudge his friend’s differing political opinions, he still disparaged the politician that his friend supports. This suggests that his desire to separate the personal and the political is more accurately a value that Van Buren aspired to follow than a behavior he practiced. This value indicates that Van Buren was be-

³² Martin Van Buren to William Van Ness, Kinderhook, March 13, 1804, in *The Papers of Martin Van Buren*, (Washington: Library of Congress, 1960), Reel 4.

³³ Leonidas (Martin Van Buren), “Leonidas on the subject of the note from Chief Justice Spencer,” (Draft, Jan 25 1820), in *The Papers of Martin Van Buren*, (Washington: Library of Congress, 1960), Reel 5.

³⁴ Martin Van Buren to Rufus King, Albany, January 14, 1821, in *The Papers of Martin Van Buren*, (Washington: Library of Congress, 1960), Reel 5.

³⁵ Martin Van Buren to Gorham A. Worth, Albany, November 29, 1819, in *The Papers of Martin Van Buren*, (Washington: Library of Congress, 1960), Reel 5.

³⁶ Martin Van Buren to Gorham A. Worth, Albany, August 27, 1820, in *The Papers of Martin Van Buren*, (Washington: Library of Congress, 1960), Reel 5.

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ginning to accept that his opponents could have good intentions, an essential aspect of the concept of a legitimate opposition.

A statement that appears to be more explicitly in support of a legitimate opposition can be found in resolutions approved at an 1814 “War Meeting” of Republicans. The resolutions, which Van Buren either wrote or helped to draft, state:

...that on the various operations of government with which the public warfare are connected an honest difference of opinion may exist- that when those differences are discussed, and the principles of contending parties are supported with candor, fairness and moderation, the very discord thus produced, may in a government like ours, be conducive to the public good.³⁷

This expresses the belief that parties can work together productively to improve the public good, and moreover that their very competition can be beneficial to that good. It tacitly accepts that multiple parties can exist, each of which is capable of serving the public good.

A later portion of the resolutions qualifies this statement however, saying of the Federalists that:

...all their clamors are the result of predetermined and immutable hostility that, as between their own government and the open enemies of the land, they dare, as circumstances may require, unblushingly justify excuse or palliate the conduct of the latter and falsify, calumniate and condemn that of the former... that at such a time it is the duty of every sound patriot, to do his utmost to arrest their career...³⁸

While the Republicans before stated that two parties can coexist theoretically, they are now asserting that their opposition is deliberately working to harm the country. This demonstrates an incomplete acceptance of the concept of a legitimate opposition; while they can conceive of a system in which two parties could work together for a moment, they cannot yet accept the idea of permanent coexistence with their particular opponent.

³⁷ War Meeting at the Capitol at Albany, April 14, 1814, in *The Papers of Martin Van Buren*, (Washington: Library of Congress, 1960), Reel 5.

³⁸ Ibid.

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Beyond the idea of accepting legitimate opposition, Van Buren also stressed the importance of maintaining party divisions. In an 1820 letter to a Federalist convert to the Republican Party who had suggested adding stipulations to the party’s Council appointments in order to broaden their support, Van Buren writes that the “idea of making any stipulations to secure the support of Federalists is wholly inadmissible” and that “if you do not think we are honorable men you ought not to join us. If you do, you should not think of stipulations.”³⁹ Van Buren vehemently opposes any dilution of his party’s beliefs in order to attract members of the opposition. His argument against such action is not that it is politically unadvisable but that it is dishonorable, suggesting that he believed in maintaining his party’s ideological purity.

He elaborates on this theme of maintaining divisions in an 1820 draft of a newspaper article. The article is a defense against purported remarks by the Chief Justice of the New York Supreme Court, the substance of which, Van Buren says, “. . . is that the old lines of party demarcation were to be disregarded & the antiquated appellates of Republican and Federalist laid aside & that henceforth our . . . political denominations would be the opposers & supporters of Mr. Clinton’s administration.”⁴⁰ According to Van Buren, the Chief Justice thought that the political groups in the state were now organized around their support or opposition to Governor DeWitt Clinton rather than the traditional division between the Republican and Federalist parties. As he wrote an entire article refuting it, this belief clearly angered Van Buren. His emphasis on “Republican” and “Federalist” suggests that he objected to the idea that these party boundaries no longer existed. He wanted to emphasize that his party is based on traditional divisions of ideology rather than an opposition to a single political leader.

³⁹ Martin Van Buren to George Tibbitts, Albany, October, 1820, in *The Papers of Martin Van Buren*, (Washington: Library of Congress, 1960), Reel 5. The duplication of honorable is in the original.

⁴⁰ Leonidas (Martin Van Buren), “Leonidas on the subject of the note from Chief Justice Spencer,” (Draft, Jan 25 1820), in *The Papers of Martin Van Buren*, (Washington: Library of Congress, 1960), Reel 5. The underlining is Van Buren’s. In the original, “Republican” and “Federalist” were underlined twice.

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When he was elected to the Senate in 1821, Van Buren firmly believed in the use of the political party and had demonstrated a dislike of factions and a desire for party unity. Furthermore, he had begun to support a legitimate opposition and a two-party system divided between Federalists and Republicans.

Van Buren’s Views on Parties in *Inquiry into the Origin and Course of Political Parties in the United States*

Over thirty years after becoming a Senator, Van Buren did explain his conception of a two-party system in *Inquiry into the Origin and Course of Political Parties in the United States*. Scholars describe the work as focusing on divide between Federalists and Republicans and as being biased towards the Republican Party.⁴¹ This is certainly true; Van Buren devotes a great deal of space to comparisons of the two parties and often praises Jefferson and Madison while simultaneously bemoaning Hamilton’s misguided views.⁴² However, despite its partisan elements, the manuscript is a thorough explanation of Van Buren’s views on political parties.

Van Buren argues that the United States’ political parties are caused by divergent views on government. In the following passage, he says that enduring party divisions occur when:

...men are brought under one government who differ radically in opinion as to its proper form, as to the uses for which governments should be established, as to the spirit in which they should be administered, as to the best way in which the happiness of those who are subject to them can be promoted, no less than in regard to the capacity of the people for self-government⁴³

According to Van Buren, party divisions stem from disagreements over the form, purpose, and proper uses of government. Those disagreements are too fundamental to ever reconcile. Van Buren depicts them as stemming not from temporary misunderstandings but

⁴¹ Silbey, *Martin Van Buren*, 212-213; Niven, *Martin Van Buren*, 607-608.

⁴² Van Buren, *Inquiry into Origin and Course of Political Parties*, 2-3.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

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from “simple but potent causes of universal operation, such as diversities in social condition, in education, in the influence and tendencies of previous pursuits, and in individual character and temperament, producing diversities of views on such occasions.”⁴⁴ He links a person’s ideology to their experiences and even their personality. Given the inherent differences between individuals, it is thus impossible for all citizens to ever share the same political views. While the depth of natural variation between individuals makes it impossible for all citizens to ever share the same political views, the magnitude of the political differences themselves precludes political unity. Van Buren uses Washington’s administration as an example of this, describing how Jefferson and Hamilton held views too divergent for them to work together productively.⁴⁵

Van Buren divides different positions on government into two main camps: that of the Federalists and that of the Democrats. Despite name changes, he argues that each party has always attracted the same constituency and that each party’s ideology coalesced during the conflict between Hamilton and Jefferson.⁴⁶ He describes the Federalists as developing from the moneyed interest and then developing into the Whigs. Van Buren says that the goal of the Federalists is “To combat *the democratic spirit* of the country,” or support a more centralized government.⁴⁷ The Democrats are described as having developed from the Anti-Federalists, with the caveat that the Democrats have forsworn Anti-Federalists’ dislike of the Constitution. Democrats are those who support states’ rights; they work “to maintain the sanctity of the Constitution, and to uphold ‘that equality of political rights.’”⁴⁸ Van Buren thus depicts a two-party system divided between supporters of a centralized government and supporters of states’ rights.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 28.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 71.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 271.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 423-4.

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Van Buren argues that without these parties, political decisions would be based on personal preferences. Describing a period without parties, he writes that:

In the place of two great parties arrayed against each other in a fair and open contest for the establishment of principles in the administration of Government which they respectively believed most conducive to the public interest, the country was overrun with personal factions. These having few higher motives for the selection of their candidates or stronger incentives to action than individual preferences or antipathies, moved the bitter waters of political agitation to their lowest depths.⁴⁹

When parties are not present, factions dominate and political decisions are governed by personal opinions rather than deeper principles.

The presence of parties serves to reduce the influence of this personal bias. Van Buren states that:

...neither the influences of marriage connections, nor of sectarian prejudices, nor any of the strong motives which often determine the ordinary actions of men, have, with limited exceptions, been sufficient to override the bias of party organization and sympathy, devotion to which has, on both sides, as a rule, been a master-passion of their members.⁵⁰

Party principle substitutes for other factors that might guide men such as familial and religious commitments. From his tone it is clear that Van Buren believes devotion to the party to be superior to other possible guides. Van Buren describes political parties as emerging from two opposing traditions as to the uses and purpose of government, which he terms the Federalist and Democratic Parties. The differences between these viewpoints are too fundamental to ever be overcome, but Van Buren views the resulting two-party system as beneficial, arguing that the will of parties reduces the influence of baser motivations.

Conclusion

During the period that he was building the Albany Regency, Van Buren supported the use of political parties. However, he did not fully develop the other elements of his ideology

⁴⁹ Ibid., 4-5.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 7.

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that would later serve to justify this support. He did begin to support a legitimate opposition and a two-party system with strong ideological demarcations. He also displayed a dislike of factions, a desire for party unity, and a desire to separate his political and personal lives — traits that were necessary for the development of beliefs in a legitimate opposition and in the ability of parties to serve the public good more adequately than factions. In *Inquiry into the Origin and Course of Political Parties in the United States*, Van Buren articulates the justification for the two-party system that he had lacked in 1821, uniting the disparate aspects of his views into a coherent whole.

By 1812, Van Buren had expressed a desire for his own party to be both strong and united, indicating that he had come to support the use of political parties. This supports Silbey's theory that Van Buren had begun to support political parties after 1812, but not Cole's contention that the belief had been fully developed earlier. Also, Van Buren demonstrated some acceptance of the idea of a legitimate opposition in 1814 and of maintaining traditional party demarcations in 1820, supporting Silbey and Hofstadter's arguments that Van Buren's overall ideology of political parties had begun developing in the 1810s. Niven's assertion that the ideology did not begin developing until after 1812 is not supported. However, Van Buren's ability to articulate his views in *Inquiry into the Origin and Course of Political Parties in the United States* supports the view of Niven, Hofstadter, and Silbey that Van Buren's views did not coalesce until after the establishment of the Albany Regency. Overall, my analysis is closest to Silbey's interpretation of development, though my findings support Hofstadter's views and aspects of Niven's as well.

Due to the gaps in Van Buren's papers, they cannot be used to conclusively demonstrate what beliefs he did not develop. Thus, a suggestion for further research would be to undertake a more comprehensive survey of documents relating to Van Buren's early career, such as the more complete edition of his papers.

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During his creation of the Democratic Party, it appears that Martin Van Buren possessed a thorough articulation of his views on the two-party system and its benefits. However, while he was building the Albany Regency, his beliefs were in flux. As he constructed that party, he was also constructing the building blocks of his own ideology.

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The Rise of Bohemia: The Beatnik Influence on Civil Rights and Anti-Conformists in America, 1944 – 1966

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On July 7th, 1966, William Burroughs, accompanied by attorney Edward de Grazia, appeared in front of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts for obscenity charges filed against Burroughs due to his book, *Naked Lunch*. The book in question had already appeared in front of the Superior Court of Boston and had been deemed obscene on the basis that it may have appealed to the interest of deviants, or those curious about deviants. The book was to be removed from the shelves of stores and libraries across the nation. Allen Ginsberg, along with novelist Norman Mailer and poet John Ciardi, testified on behalf of *Naked Lunch* at the Boston trial, claiming that the book had literary significance since it displayed the hallucinations of a drug addict in writing. They believed *Naked Lunch* opened a window into the mind of someone under the influence of hallucinogens, and that it was something that has never been seen in literature, so it should not be taken off shelves. Even with these accomplished authors and poets speaking in favor of the significance of the book, the Superior Court of Boston still deemed it obscene. The Supreme Court of Massachusetts however, had a different verdict on the case.¹

The 1950s, or Eisenhower Era, were believed to be so strongly influenced by social and intellectual conformity that superstition and ignorance became the norm. Common sense was perceived as accepting what your neighbors and friends believed, leading to a lack of original ideas and thoughts within an atmosphere that rejected ideas that were perceived as radical or taboo. The wants of the majority prevailed over the needs of the minority while encouraging agreement on supposedly self-evident values and sweeping defects in society, like inequalities of race, class, and gender, under the rug. Urban developers and real-estate

¹ William Burroughs, *Naked Lunch* (New York: Grove Press, 1992), p. X.

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agents in this decade promoted neat suburban homes as nestling places for right-thinking families who knew the societal rules and subscribed to a Puritan way of thinking in a culture which began to require conformity and consumerism. As soldiers returned from Europe and America began life post-WWII, the nation had been experiencing an economic upturn. However, the psychological and spiritual health of the everyday citizen was waning as the monotony and social restriction of everyday life sunk in. Terms like “rat race,” “lonely crowd,” and “organization man” started to become more frequent, coupling with the nagging discomfort of the side effect of the post-war economic boom.²

Conformity in the 1950s is an interesting topic for historians because of how easily people succumbed to it. Craig Loftin, author of *Issues of Identity and Gender*, comes at this topic from the position of homosexuals and the difference between masculine homosexuals and feminine homosexuals. Loftin talks about “swishers,” feminine gay men, and how they fit into larger cultural norms of the era. Loftin says that gay men on the masculine side of the spectrum held the same anxieties about gender in America as swishers and resented them for their feminine mannerisms. Further, he argues that gay men were trying to prove that masculinity and homosexuality were compatible. A broad generalization of Loftin’s views would state that gay men used gender conformity to hide their sexual non-conformity and resented swishers for their unwillingness to also do so.³ Andrew Isenberg, author of *The Code of the West: Sexuality, Homosociality, and Wyatt Earp*, approaches this topic through the lens of media. Isenberg talks about how television icons, such as the character Wyatt Earp, refrained from embracing female companionship, but rather kept close male associates in order to keep a hyper masculine appearance.

Masculinity in the fifties had also been measured through a man’s willingness to reject communism in America. Like communism, marriage and domesticity represented a con-

² David Sterritt, *The Beats: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013).

³ Craig M. Loftin, “Unacceptable Mannerisms: Gender Anxieties, Homosexual Activism, and swish in the United States, 1945-1965”, *Journal of Social History*, 40 [3] (Spring, 2007), 577-596

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formist threat to male masculinity. Wyatt Earp's norms were prostitutes and close male friends, something valued in the 1950s because of the idea that marriage was a type of conformity.⁴ On the other hand, Jessamyn Neuhaus, author of *The Way to a Man's Heart: Gender Roles, Domestic Ideology, and Cookbooks in the 1950s*, tackles the widely-accepted theory that cookbooks were tools used to enforce gender norms in the fifties. Neuhaus believed that cookbooks were not a medium used to enforce gender ideology and conformity. Instead, Neuhaus contended that gender ideology and masculinity were too complex to solve with a black and white answer. While she doesn't discredit the idea of the fifties being a repressive time for all women, Neuhaus suggests that gender roles were riddled with anxieties and uncertainties.⁵ Sociologist Irene Thomson challenges that the conformity and rebellion in the fifties had not been anything out of the ordinary for American culture. Thomson argues that American history is marked by cycles of individualist periods and conformist periods.⁶ Robby Cohen brings to light how college students attending University of California Berkeley fought the college for a right to table for civil rights on their campus. The students were attempting to raise campus support for the Civil Rights of 1965 as it worked to end racial discrimination and segregation in the U.S. They were met with opposition from the president of the university as well as various deans, who stated that it was against a previous campus rule that prohibited campus political advocacy, raising funds, and distributing literature. The students organized in October, 1964 to fight the restrictions and gain free speech on campus.⁷

The purpose of this paper is to explore the conformist society of post-war American and its connection to the rise of the Beat writers by examining works of literature composed

⁴ Andrew C. Isenberg, "The Code of the West: Sexuality, Homosexuality, and Wyatt Earp", *Western Historical Quarterly*, 40 [2] (Summer, 2009): 139-157

⁵ Jessamyn Neuhaus, "The Way to a Man's Heart: Gender Roles, Domestic Ideology, and Cookbooks in the 1950s", *Journal of Social History*, 32 [3] (Spring, 1999): 529-555

⁶ Irene Thomson Taviss, "Individualism and Conformity in the 1950s vs. the 1980s". *Sociological Forum*, 7 [3] (September, 1992): 497-516

⁷ Robby Cohen, "Berkeley Free Speech Movement: Paving the Way for Campus Activism", *OAH Magazine of History*, 1 [1] (April, 1985): 16-18.

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by prominent Beat authors and the societal reactions to these works, as well as how the lives lead by the Beat authors contributed to their movement. The Beats had a larger influence on the anti-conformists than thought by most historians, who largely think that the overall feeling of anti-conformism sparked the Beat movement. This paper will argue that it was the Beat movement that sparked the unrest in American youth. Beat influence also helped to blur the lines between strict feminine and masculine behavior as well as spark the homosexual civil rights movement.

The beats had been a predominantly white, male group. This is probably because of the stigmas attached to women and people of color during the 1950s. The ability to choose whether or not to conform could be seen as a privilege afforded only to white men, because women and people of color did not have the ability to conform to mainstream society as it was. Given that there had been Beats who were women and who were people of color, such as Diane Di Prima and Amiri Baraka, one could wonder if the white Beats merely joined an existing movement and gave face to a movement otherwise ignored.

At the core of the Beat movement was a mutual belief in a free society. An example of this idea of wanting to escape from a heavily conformist society can be seen in this excerpt from Allen Ginsberg's poem "Howl":

What sphinx of cement and aluminum bashed open their skulls and ate up their brains and imaginations? Moloch! Solitude! Filth! Ugliness! Ashcans and unobtainable dollars! Children screaming under the stairways! Boys sobbing in armies! Old men weeping in the parks!... Moloch the incomprehensible prison! Moloch the cross bone soulless jailhouse and congress of sorrows! Moloch whose buildings are judgement! Moloch the vast stone of war! Moloch the stunned governments!... Moloch whose love is endless oil and stone! Moloch who soul is electricity and banks! Moloch whose poverty is the specter of genius! Moloch whose fate is a cloud of sexless hydrogen! Moloch whose name is the mind!!!⁸

Moloch was a Canaanite god to whom parents sacrificed their children. "Howl" criticized a culture consumed by wealth and blind to beauty, a society that condemned emotions. Part two of "Howl," from which the excerpt above is taken, is a direct attack on the commodity-

⁸ Allen Ginsberg, *Howl, and other poems* (San Francisco: City of Lights Books, 1959), p. 17.

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obsessed society willing to sacrifice its children for profit. Beat writers had the greatest influence in breaking the conformist mold of the fifties and helped liberate youth from a society that could never offer them the creative outlet that civilization needs to be able to thrive.

To understand why the Beats had such an influence on anti-conformism, you first must understand them. Herbert Gold explained the definition of a Beatnik, a label given to Beat writers, by the media's standards:

Exactly what is a Beatnik, who is it? The Beatnik is the hipster squeezed into shape by the popular media. Seen as through a gloss darkly by radio, television, films, and magazines. But he is not mere fantasy, either. He exists in too, too solid flesh in the persons of those lads who wander about Greenwich Village, North Beach in San Francisco, the Near North side in Chicago, and other selected drill fields, wearing turtleneck sweaters beneath the free-form silver crucifix pendant [that hang] from ribbons around their necks their neck, dark glasses, and a world – historical pout on the face; or the girls in jeans and waxy eye makeup; or the crowds at bongo and poetry conferences.⁹

In reality, the Beatniks were average twenty-somethings who had a passion for writing and a general dislike for an American society that rejected creativity and embraced conformity. The “Beat Movement” was nothing more than your average right time, right place scenario, and instead of rejecting its existence, the Beat writers took what the media gave them and used it to begin a “cultural revolution.”

The Beatnik way of thinking is thought to be heavily influenced by its consideration of eastern religion, mainly Buddhism. The embrace of alternate ways of thinking could provide a possible explanation as to why their views on the world and individuals were so open, and why they believed life should be lived as one seeks to live it. The most well-known of the Beatniks were Jack Kerouac, Allen Ginsberg, and William Burroughs. The writings of these Beats, as well as other less prominent Beats, stretched from Greenwich Village and San Francisco to Mexico, Western Europe, and North Africa. Again, this contributed to the worldly way the Beats viewed society. As mentioned before, the Beats were a predominantly

⁹ Fred McDarrah, *Kerouac and Friends: A Beat Generation Album* (New York City: William Morrow and Company, 1985).

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male group. Still, women writers like Diane Di Prima and Anne Waldman, as well as African American writers like Amiri Baraka, also contributed to the literary movement.¹⁰

The women of the Beat movement had to work to fight against social stigmas, as well as stigmas placed on them by their male counterparts. According to one historian, male writers of the group would belittle the works of the female writers, dismissing them as “uppity,”¹¹ While the literary works of the women of the Beat movement, such as *Dinners and Nightmares* by Prima, did not become as popular as some of the works by male Beat writers, this does not mean that they were less significant. The female writers were trying to enter into a dominantly male literary scene. They, most likely, would have had extreme criticism in any venue.

Women’s role in the society of the fifties had fallen back into that of a domestic housewife. Because of this, many of the female writers’ topics challenged gender norms, which led to attacks not only from mainstream society, but also from some of the male writers.¹² The male writers challenged this because they believed that the focus was more on them being “lady writers.” Since they were looked down on, many of the female writers had to find ways to survive in the literary world themselves. This can be seen in Anne Waldman’s poem “The Little Red Hen”:

I am the little red hen. I work my ass off for all the poets. And what do I get? A pat on the butt when the sun goes down. Who will help me put out this magazine? “I won’t,” says Ted Bear. “Not I,” says Ron Giraffe. “Who me?” says Mike The Whale. “Fat Chance,” says Jim The Lion. “Very well then, I shall do it myself,” Says the little red hen. And she does.¹³

Here, Waldman expressed the struggle female writers had to endure to earn their place as recognized Beat writers. The female writers of the Beat movement presented women of this era with proof that they didn’t need a man to achieve their goals. One example of this had

¹⁰ Sterrit, *The Beats*, p. 1-2

¹¹ Friedman, Amy L., “Being here as hard as I could: The Beat Generation Women Writers, *Wayne State University Press*, 20 [1/2] (Winter and Spring, 1998): 234.

¹² Friedman, “Being here as hard as I could,” p. 235

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 229

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been Di Prima, who taught poetry at prisons and reform schools, and co-founded the Kerouac School and the Masters Program in Poetics at the New College of California. Another example was Anne Waldman, who became the director of the St. Mark's Poetry Project in New York City and co-founded the Kerouac school of Disembodied Poetics with Di Prima.¹⁴

Amiri Baraka, also known as LeRoi Jones, made a brief appearance in the Beat scene after arriving in New York City's Greenwich Village and befriending prominent Beat writers such as Gregory Corso, Ginsberg, and Kerouac. Baraka stayed with the Beats for a few years, enjoying time in an interracial environment that created a bubble independent of the outside world, where racial discrimination still ran rampant through the streets of America. The breaking point for Baraka came with the assassinations of both John F. Kennedy and the black civil rights activist Medgar Evers. To Baraka, these assassinations proved the white hostility toward an integrated society. As white society became more corrupt, Baraka felt the need to shed his self-given identity as "die schwartze Bohemien" (the black Bohemian) because he believed the title gave him a dependence on white audiences and estranged him from the black community.¹⁵ After the assassination of Malcolm X in February of 1965, Baraka left the Beats to dedicate himself to the Black Power movement and the artistic liberation of black people, as well as the separation of races.

The Beat writers' main goal was to change the social norms of their time. They believed that modern society was saturated by insidious networks of malignant forces designed to cage, manipulate, and smother otherwise free spirits. Burroughs referred to this modern society as the "machine."¹⁶ The machine was defined as police or education, or essentially anything used by a group to remain in power and enhance their ability to exert power. Burroughs believes that the machine produced lower levels of consciousness, not the raised con-

¹⁴ Ibid, p. 241

¹⁵ Matlin, Daniel, "Lift up Yr Self! Reinterpreting Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones), Black Power, and the Uplift Tradition," *Journal of American History*, 93 [1] (June, 2006): 95.

¹⁶ Sterrit, *The Beats*, p. 24

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sciousness that would improve human condition. The very existence of the Beatniks was focused on bringing down the machine and enlightening society. The idea of the Machine resembled what could possibly be a factory setting, getting at the notion that capitalism fed the Machine and helped create this numbing of society. This is reflected in this poem by Ginsberg entitled “A Meaningless Institution”:

I was given my bedding and a bunk in an enormous ward surrounded by hundreds of weeping, decaying men and women. I sat on my bunk, three tiers up next to the ceiling, looking down the grey aisles. Old, crippled, dumb people were bent over sewing. A heavy girl in a dirty dress stared at me. I waited for an official guide to come and give me instructions. After a while, I wandered off down empty corridors in search of a toilet.¹⁷

The ward in this poem is perceived to be what Ginsberg thought of when he talked about the machine. Those who fell victim to the influence of the machine were thought of as lifeless husks who did not have the ability to think for themselves. Ginsberg’s “wandering off” is a symbol for how Beat writers refused to become subject to the mind and soul numbing ways of the machine.

The machine can be described as a combination of the different major stereotypes of the era. Perceived popular stereotypes in the 1950s included images of sexual repression. Popular television shows like *I Love Lucy* could not use the word “pregnant.” Movies and other television shows had married couples sleeping in separate beds. Filmmaker Otto Preminger faced censorship concerns when a character in *The Moon Is Blue* said the word “virgin,” and again when a character was perceived to have used heroin in *The Man with the Golden Arm*. Yet another example of this stereotype was when the producers of *The Ed Sullivan Show* were instructed to only show Elvis Presley from the waist up because of protests of his “gyrating hips.”¹⁸ As aforementioned, the writers of the Beat movement also clashed with the censorship policies of the era. Burroughs’ book *Naked Lunch* helped to pave the way for the artistic freedom the Beats exercised when writing. According to the Supreme Court of the

¹⁷ Allen Ginsberg, *Empty Mirror*, (San Francisco: City Lights Publishing, 1961), p. 13.

¹⁸ Sterrit, *The Beats*, p. 13.

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United States, there are three elements that would deem a book obscene. These elements include: a dominant theme with a prurient interest in sex; the material being offensive because it affronts contemporary community standards; and the material being without redeeming social value.¹⁹ *Naked Lunch* depicted the use of drugs as well as depictions of characters engaging in homosexual acts. Both were deemed obscene at this period in time. Looking back on the record of the Boston case, the Supreme Court of Massachusetts found many reviews and articles seriously discussing this controversial book. This included substantial groups who found the book to be of intellectual significance. The court, having taken this into consideration, decided that you cannot say that *Naked Lunch* has no social importance. The record also did not show that the book has been exploited for the sake of appeal, to the exclusion of other values. Therefore, there was no question as to whether the book had redeeming social importance. With everything taken into consideration, the Supreme Court of Massachusetts decided to overturn the prior ruling by the Superior Court of Boston.²⁰

Here as elsewhere, legal opinion was in advance of popular ideology. The court system found the book not in violation of censorship laws, but this did not stop the public from hanging on to their norms of sexual repression and Christian teachings. Many thought that those who failed to promote accepted ways of life would raise juvenile delinquents who would flunk out of school, rub God the wrong way, and vote for an “unpatriotic party.” Sexuality was also a topic not often discussed by the general public. Everyone’s individual sexuality was regulated by both law and society, which in turn bred homophobia like wildfire among the masses.²¹ It is worth noting that at this time homophobia was a product of actual fear, not hatred. This fear came from the long repression of taboo sexual preferences. The Beats, however, embraced sexual freedom and would pour their sex-related longings, fantasies, and adventures into their poems, novels, and stories. It is an almost impossible task to

¹⁹ Burroughs, *Naked Lunch*, p. X

²⁰ Burroughs, *Naked Lunch*, pp. X-Xi.

²¹ Sterritt, *The Beats*, p. 8.

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pin down a specific Beat sexuality, which is believed to have contributed to the Beat Generation's tolerance for every sexuality, including a lack of one. The Beats embrace of sex and sexuality helped to normalize the idea that sex was not as taboo as it was believed to be, and the idea that there is more to natural human sexuality than heterosexuality in mainstream media. An example of this would be Hugh Hefner publishing the first issue of "Play Boy Magazine" in 1953, showcasing Marilyn Monroe.²² The Beats also had taken part in heavy drug experimentation. Their reason for this was because it was another way of challenging the norms of society and their "kill joy" values, while being able to get high at the same time. The most popular drugs among the Beat writers were heroin, morphine, and Benzedrine, Benzedrine being the easiest to come by. Out of all the Beat writers, Burroughs had had the worst addiction, which included morphine, heroin, and yagé (a powerful hallucinogen that gave users "telepathic" powers).²³

The Beatniks' use of what many critics considered foul language, their heavy drug use, and their legacy in normalizing a discourse over sexuality is what set them on the path of become a form of social reform movement. The issues that the Beats based their writing around were subjects rarely spoken of behind closed doors, let alone brought into the public spotlight. Their "taboo" lifestyle is what many believe caused the media to frenzy around what they labelled the "Beat Generation." The publicity, in turn, gave Beatniks the power to accomplish what they had sought out to do in the beginning - change the society to make it a more accepting and welcoming community. "New vision" was the term used by Beats to describe their method of seeing society in a way that differed greatly from the common perception.²⁴ The new vision, as described by the Beats, was a fresh way of seeing. There were three ways of achieving new vision: travel, allowing sensory inputs to function and communicate in unusual and exciting ways (often with drug use), and creating revolutionary art-

²² Ibid.,14-16

²³ Sterrit, *The Beats*. 16-17

²⁴ Ibid., p. 22

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works. These artworks are the poems and novels that the Beat writers produced as a way to combat conformist society.

Author Christopher Gair states that “In its published form, [“Howl”] opens with probably the best-known counterculture assault on the stultifying destruction of the individual by authoritarian surveillance and control.”²⁵ According to Ginsberg, the best minds of his generation had been destroyed by the conformist, psychoanalyzing society. In this age, psychoanalysis was often used to “fix” an individual, such as someone identifying as homosexual, and adjust them so that they were prepared to return to “normal” life. In Burroughs’ novel, *Queer* he refers to analysis and conformity as “junk,” and discusses how it effects the main character in the novel, Lee, by stating “the difference of course is simple: Lee on junk is covered, protected and also severely limited. Not only does junk short circuit the sex drive, but also blunts emotional reactions to the vanishing point, depending on the dosage.”²⁶ Junk is common Beat slang for the drugs that they would use. In this statement Burroughs is saying conformity and analysis are drugs given to the masses to stomp out individuality and creativity.

Burroughs’ poem also stated that “Billie Holiday said she knew she was off junk when she stopped watching T.V.”²⁷ Television was seen as a popular way to spread conformity among the masses without anyone seeming to notice. Everyone watched the same shows and discussed the same things. The shows they watched were heavily influenced by the government’s view of what was appropriate and what was not, which in turn was internalized by the public.

With the influence the media had given the Beats, some, like Ginsberg, brought politics into their work. Burroughs and Ginsberg both shared a more open-minded approach re-

²⁵ Christopher Gair, *The Beat Generation* (England: One World Publication, 2008) p. 71

²⁶ William Burroughs, *queer* (New York: Penguin Books, 1987) p. Xii

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. Xii

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garding politics and social issues whereas Kerouac had been very pro-American.²⁸ Kerouac represented the conservative ideology of the Beat writers. He was known to be less accepting of homosexuality and other taboo behaviors of some members of the group. This is the reason Kerouac's work is so widely accepted. His ideology was close enough to the norm for mainstream society to be accepted. For Beat writers like Kerouac, revolution from within was the only kind of revolution that would do anyone any good.

Burroughs had been living outside of the U.S. for years and advocated for the complete destruction of the state and its powers. Ginsberg, however, used his writing to address topics like homosexuality and the Cold War in a manner that subtly showed his advocacy for social change. Ginsberg became a traveling evangelist, not just for the Beats, but also for homosexual law reform, liberalization of drug laws, and antiwar rationalism. Ginsberg became the most politically active Beat, later teaming up with Bob Dylan and other artists to create anti-establishment rhetoric. An example of Ginsberg's shift to political activism would be this poem, entitled "America", in which Ginsberg addresses his thoughts on the Cold War:

America you don't really want to go to war. America it's them bad Russians. The Russians and them Chinamen. An them Russians. The Russians want to eat us alive. The Russia's power mad. She wants to take out cars from out our garages. Her wants to grab Chicago. Her needs a Red Reader's Digest. Her wants our auto plants in Siberia. Him big bureaucracy running our filling stations. That no good. Ugh. Him make Indians learn to read. Him need big black niggers. Hah. Her make us all work sixteen hour day. Help. America this is quite serious. America this is the impression I get from looking in the television set. America is this correct?²⁹

This poem starts out by first speaking of Russia, but then switches to address the flaws of America, as well. It ends by pleading America for clarification, seeing as how the narrator has come to discover that American society isn't any better than that of the society that they are trying to protect themselves from. Poems from "Howl," along with novels such as *Naked*

²⁸ Mike Evans, *The Beats: From Kerouac to Kesey, an Illustrated Journey Through The Beat Generation* (Philadelphia: Running Press Books, 2007), p. 52.

²⁹ Ginsberg, *Howl*, pp. 33-34.

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Lunch and *On the Road*, are thought to respond directly to socio-political conditions and indicated methods of escape.³⁰

Even with their difference in political views, Burroughs, Ginsberg, and Kerouac were closely allied at the beginning of their careers and shared a vision of America that was all inclusive and promoted individuality and social freedom. The Beats wrote in reaction to the materialistic, conformist America they saw developing in the 1940s. Beat America was just one response to an era of war and depression, in addition to a repressive political state. Beatniks had very little trust for authority figures. In Burroughs' book, *Naked Lunch*, the character William Lee, a streetwise addict, said "Like I say it couldn't last. I knew they were out there powwowing and making their evil fuzz magic, putting dolls of me in Leavenworth." Leavenworth was one of the largest all male state penitentiaries at the time, housing over 24,000 inmates.³¹ The Beatniks' taboo lifestyle had caused them to have to deal with law enforcement on a regular basis because of their belief that laws were a way to control the masses and dull their creative minds to keep them passive and obedient.

What made writings like Ginsberg's *America* powerful and influential was something Beat writers called "the method."³² The method was a way of writing that involved being able to immerse oneself so deeply in their writing that the reader would believe that they had actually been in that moment. The method was a powerful tool in what made Beat literature so influential. Being able to take the reader into a situation and make them feel some kind of emotion was a way the Beat writers were able to begin slowly chipping at the mold society had placed on American culture, this in turn allowed other movements to slowly emerge from the cracks.

³⁰ Edward Foster, *Understanding the Beats* (South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1992), p. Xiii.

³¹ "Federal Bureau of Prisons." USP Leavenworth. Accessed April 26, 2016.

<https://www.bop.gov/locations/institutions/lvn/>.

³² Mike Evans, *The Beats: From Kerouac to Kesey*, p. 76.

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One of the movements the Beats are thought to have helped bring around is the gay rights movement, although, in true Beat fashion, there was believed to be some selfish motive behind this. As previously stated, the Beats welcomed a variety of sexualities, though this is probably because many of the original writers had a range of sexualities. Ginsberg and Burroughs had come to be the most open about their sexualities. At one point they had a relationship with each other. But as young men both were very uneasy about their sexualities. Both tried to be “cured” more than once of their homosexuality through conversion therapy, something that was a normal occurrence in the fifties.³³ After coming to accept their identities, Burroughs and Ginsberg incorporated their sexuality in their works. For Burroughs, the result was *Naked Lunch* and *Queer*. For Ginsberg, the results included poems such as “In Society:”

I walked into the cocktail party room and found three or four queers talking queer talk. I tried to be friendly but heard myself talking to on in hip talk. “I’m glad to see you,” he said, and looked away. “Hmn,” I mused. The room was small and had a double decker bed in it, and cooking apparatus: icebox, cabinet, toasters, stove; the hosts seemed to live with room enough only for cooking and sleeping. My remark on this score was understood by not appreciated. I was offered refreshments which I accepted. I ate a sandwich of pure meat an enormous sandwich of human flesh, I noticed while I was chewing on it, it also included a dirty asshole. More company came, including a fluffy female who looked like a princess. She glared at me and said immediately: “I don’t like you”, turned her head away and refused to be introduced. I said “why you shit-faced fool!” this got everyone’s attention. “Why you narcissistic bitch! How can you decide when you don’t even know me, I continued in a violent voice, inspired at last, dominating the whole room.³⁴

This poem demonstrates how Ginsberg came to terms with his sexuality, and then broadcasted it for the entire world to hear, no matter what kind of condemnation he would receive.

Ginsberg went on to fight for homosexual rights, turning this taboo lifestyle into something prominent in mainstream media and in a number of his works.

The Beats shed light on a world that was shrouded in the darkness of conformity. They provided the tools for the rest of the American youth to break away from the conformity of the era. Their writings brought to light subjects that were not spoken of and gave room

³³ Sterrit, *The Beats*, p. 14.

³⁴ Ginsberg, *Empty Mirror*, p. 14.

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to start new discourses and new civil rights movements. As one of the later Beats wrote in his poem “No Title,” “All theories like clichés shot to hell, all these small faces looking up beautiful and believing; I wish to weep but sorrow is stupid. I wish to believe but belief is a graveyard. We have narrowed it down to the butcher knife and the mockingbird. Wish us luck.”³⁵ The Beats had given the rest of America a voice, it was their turn to use it.

³⁵ Charles Bukowski, *What Matters Most is How Well You Walk Through the Fire* (New York: Harpercollins, 1999), p. 65.

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The Victims and Perpetrators History Has Forgotten: Concentration Camp Brothels Under National Socialism

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It almost seems like a given, a near historical certainty, that with any war or invasion comes the rape of many women from the invaded population. Particular instances of this have become contentious aspects of historical memory, for example by Japanese soldiers during World War II or in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Bosnian war. The program of sexual slavery carried out by the Japanese Imperial Army upon Korean and other Asian women, and the ongoing controversy of “comfort women” that has remained a source of political division between Japan and Korea to this day, demonstrates how such events linger in the national consciousness. Although this particular case is widely known by Koreans and followed internationally by the media, there are also occurrences of sexual violence in times of war that have not received the same amount of attention.

Now largely overlooked both in popular memory and academia (in the United States at least) are the brothels staffed by forced laborers in concentration camps established by the leaders of National Socialism during World War II. Despite the apparent strangeness of this institution, especially because they were for laborers and not soldiers as common conventions would dictate, there is little written about them in the English language. A longer history of this institution illuminates its relationship to perceptions towards sexuality and prostitution that can be traced back to the early 20th century, and whose legacy carries on until the present day. A closer examination of the case/documents demonstrates a multitude of contradictions in Nazi policies and ideology. The acts of violence, committed not only by the Nazis in this story, but by camp inmates themselves, recounts a complicated narrative where lines between perpetrator, victim, accessory, and tool are blurred.

Towards New Regulations: Prostitution Before World War II

One of the features of reform during the Weimar Republic in Germany from 1919-1933 were policies towards sexuality and prostitution. Following the passage of women's suffrage in 1919, a rise of secularism, and shifting political affiliations, social reforms became more viable.¹ Despite the emerging feminist movement and social reforms, sex was still regulated and policed by various laws.² The 1927 Law for Combating Venereal Diseases demonstrates one of the Weimar era laws that had a profound impact on prostitution and sexuality. The code abolished the regulation and confinement of prostitutes by the police and established "welfare for the morally endangered" through new welfare and health offices.³ Although this was not an end to the regulation of prostitution entirely, it signified a loosening of controls and persecution. It is also important to qualify reforms of this period, as there existed significant stigma against prostitution in the early 20th century. This mix of a rising socially liberal tide, combined with opposition from certain segments of society, set the stage for reforms and reactions that followed in later years of the republic.

This shift was celebrated by some prostitutes and reformists for abolishing what was perceived as an invasive and discriminatory policy of the past.⁴ Despite support from certain groups, it received significant backlash. Conservative and religious leaders argued that the law was contributing to decline in "public morality," and the police were opposed to the loss of control that came with it.⁵ Early on in their movement to consolidate power, the Nazis

¹ In 1919 a voting system that apportioned representation according to class (determined by taxes) was abolished and replaced with universal suffrage for men and women. See, Laurie Marhoefer, "Degeneration, Sexual Freedom, and the Politics of the Weimar Republic, 1918-1933," *German Studies Review* 34, no. 3 (2011): p. 3. Changes such as reorganization of political parties, shifting public domains, and cultural polarization. For more on the shifts in the nature of political culture, democracy, and voting patterns during Weimar see books such as Detlev J.K. Peukert, *The Weimar Republic. The Crisis of Classical Modernity*.

² Dagmar Herzog, *Sexuality in Europe: A Twentieth-Century History*, New Approaches to European History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p. 3-4.

³ Marhoefer, "Degeneration, Sexual Freedom... 1918-1933," p. 533.

⁴ Julia Roos, "Backlash against Prostitutes' Rights: Origins and Dynamics of Nazi Prostitution Policies," *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 2002, p. 74.

⁵ Atina Grossmann, *Reforming Sex: The German Movement for Birth Control And Abortion Reform, 1920-1950* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 11. And Roos, "Backlash against Prostitutes' Rights," p. 69.

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used backlash against Weimar reforms for their own benefit. By coopting language that criticized liberal Weimar policies, they were able to win the support of various groups in German society that harbored dissatisfaction with the social changes of previous years. Around the same time as the successful passage of the Enabling Act (which gave Hitler the power to enact laws unilaterally) a campaign to arrest prostitutes around Germany began.⁶ This wave of repression did not apply to just female prostitutes, but many homosexual and disabled people were also murdered and sterilized.⁷ The way in which discomfort with legal codes, such as the venereal disease law, solidified and was deployed by the Nazis reveals an underlying belief about how women ought to behave. Nazi legal codes, such as the venereal disease law, reveals an underlying belief about how women ought to behave.

Nazi ideology towards prostitution represented a backlash against reforms of the previous period, as well as a new redirection of German sexuality. Nazi officials reoriented the purpose of sex by couching ideas about sexuality not in religious language, but towards aspirations to advance the racially defined state they sought to create.⁸ In contrast to Nazi policies of repressing forms of sexuality they opposed, i.e. street prostitution and homosexuality, they encouraged heterosexual and racially “pure” sexual unions.⁹ Later in the 1930s and 1940s, this was expressed through propaganda and direct financial incentives for couples to have more children.¹⁰ They reoriented sex and procreation away from being a personal act, toward one that was meant to promote the cause of the state. The serious control they sought over the reproductive lives of citizens is evidenced by their restriction of abortions and birth control for women they believed should be producing children for the population.¹¹ In the years leading up to the war, the Nazis simultaneously encouraged and repressed sexual acts according

⁶ Marhoefer, “Degeneration, Sexual Freedom... 1918-1933,” p. 175.

⁷ Ibid., p. 175.

⁸ Herzog, *Sexuality in Europe*, p. 71.

⁹ Ibid., p. 72.

¹⁰ For example, marriage loans.

¹¹ Records of abortions being denied to young women who were of “proper German stock,” see, Heineman, “Sexuality and Nazism,” p. 49.

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to who committed them. The determining factor in who would be impacted by these prerogatives was dependent on specific views of who belonged in the Nazi state and who did not.

The responses to these policies, and success of this ideology as a political campaign, demonstrates how it ignited formerly held beliefs in the German populace. German Nazi campaigns for the repression of prostitutes were celebrated by religious figures and conservatives.¹² Many religious leaders saw the Nazis as saving Germany from the “moral decay” of Weimar reforms.¹³ The outpouring of support for these tactics reveals how widely held the stigma against prostitutes was. Approval was discussed in terms of morality, which implies that it was not that people viewed the tactics just as a health issue, but one of a fundamental belief about how women should behave. Although conservative members of society hailed these changes at first, as Nazi policies towards sexuality began to shift in the later years of the 1930s, this support would not stay constant.

Once the political expediency of repressive actions towards prostitutes ran out, Nazi policy began to shift dramatically. One of the key reasons why the NSDAP employed language and practices that aligned with views of socially conservative Germans was to win over members of government, in particular the Center Party that was largely Catholic.¹⁴ They needed this electoral support in order to pass laws to solidify their power, such as the Enabling Act.¹⁵ However in the early 1930s, once they had established a stronger control over the government, they began to alter these policies. In 1933 the Nazis and the German military began establishing a regimented prostitution system in the form of brothels throughout the Reich.¹⁶ This structure differed from that of Weimar in how they allowed brothels, but severely prosecuted street walking prostitutes.¹⁷ Part of this new system went so far as to

¹² Marhoefer, “Degeneration, Sexual Freedom... 1918-1933,” p. 176.

¹³ Roos, “Backlash against Prostitutes’ Rights,” p. 83.

¹⁴ Roos, p. 69.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Heineman, “Sexuality and Nazism,” p. 52–53.

¹⁷ Roos, “Backlash against Prostitutes’ Rights,” p. 92.

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require the creation of brothels in cities.¹⁸ The shift in character of prostitution codes in the early 1930s did not go unnoticed by the public. Religious personalities strongly protested this change, which some saw as harkening back to the Weimar system.¹⁹ Despite these programs coming from the Nazis, not all members of the party agreed on the same principles. Some figures, such as Reich Minister of the Interior Wilhelm Frick, opposed this change. Despite pushback from conservative groups and some Nazi leaders, the repression of Catholics combined with the strength of the Nazi party meant that their complaints did not go anywhere.²⁰ This turn in the nature of their approaches underlines an internal contradiction in their language that decried “degeneracy.” One of the ways to understand this conflict in ideology is to emphasize which particular forms of sexuality they repressed (street walking prostitutes and homosexuals) and those they uplifted (brothels and Aryan couples). It may have also been the case, as it was for later camp brothels, that different leaders gave competing interpretations. The change from repression to a new form of state centered prostitution reveals the underlying ideology and utilization of sexuality that they sought to encourage.

The policies regarding prostitution and the establishment of brothels in the late 1930s by the Nazis is an essential precursor to the narrative of concentration camp brothels. Included in the decrees to establish brothels in 1939 was increased regulation and monitoring of prostitutes, for example confining them to state-run brothels.²¹ In the language used to justify the establishment of these houses of prostitution was the goal to “maintain the physical fitness and morale of Aryan men.”²² In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler decried the “prostitution of love” and moral degeneracy that he viewed as causes of Germany’s decline.²³ The connection between “degenerate” sexual behavior and race also extended to other populations deemed

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 93.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 86.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., p. 88.

²² Ibid., p. 93.

²³ Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001), 246.

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inferior by the Nazis. Certain beliefs and imagery portrayed Polish people as primitive, Belgians as “immoral,” and the French as sexually promiscuous, for example.²⁴ Ideas about the hierarchy of different European peoples would come to play a role in the later determinations of who was able to visit the brothels in the camps, as well as who was drawn into them as providers of sexual services.

The Institution Itself: The Concentration Camp Brothel

In order to justly portray the story of those who were forced into sexual slavery, accounts and experiences of the women involved must be considered. Unfortunately, sources directly from those who lived in the concentration camp brothels are extremely limited. It is also important to note the limitations of many of the sources that come from male prisoner accounts. To give a thorough picture of the institution itself, it is necessary to examine sources from camp inmates involved and those who established and carried out the daily administration of the camps. Documents from Nazi leaders involved in running the brothels demonstrate their stated intent of using them to increase labor productivity, but additional elements imply specific views about women and sexuality that were also at work.

During the summer of 1941, chief of the SS Heinrich Himmler made a visit to the Mauthausen concentration camp, and in the following October ordered the construction of a brothel in the camp.²⁵ Following the installation of the first brothel in 1943 in Mauthausen Gusen, the brothel system would be replicated throughout the camp structure, and in total ten of the camps had such “special buildings.”²⁶ The brothels in Auschwitz and Buchenwald were completed in 1943. In 1944 they were constructed in Flossenbürg, Neuengamme, Da-

²⁴ Emmanuel Debruyne and Maren Roeger, “From Control to Terror: German Prostitution Policies in Eastern and Western European Territories during Both World Wars,” *Gender and History*, Vol. 28-3, 687-708, p. 694.

²⁵ Herzog, *Brutality and Desire*, p. 168.

²⁶ Mirela Delić and Sanja Tolj, “Sex-Forced Laborers In The Camp Brothel Of The Dachau Concentration Camp” München Leersteller.

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chau, and Sachsenhausen.²⁷ Himmler was also involved in the establishment of brothels in the other camps. In a letter from 1943 addressed to Oswald Pohl, he requests the building of a brothel and addition to the rewards system, directly citing incentives in the Russian gulags as inspiration.²⁸ He notes that this brothel system is “not ... beautiful, but it is natural” and that following this natural order, the productivity of prisoners would increase.²⁹ It seems that Himmler saw sexuality as an inherent aspect of male nature that needed satisfaction and had profound control over the actions of men. Not only would this thought process come to justify terrible acts of violence, it advanced a view of male nature that elevated sex and sexuality as a primary male objective. The brothels also existed within the mechanisms of productivity that were in the camps. They were an addition to the existing system of “special permissions” and incentives meant to improve the labor performance of prisoners.³⁰ The different aspects of decision-making present in this practice reveals the ideological basis on which it was founded.

Directives to establish brothels in the various concentration camps came from different Nazi leaders and were directed at specific groups within the camps. The brothels were intended even for those who did not fit within preferred Nazi racial classifications; Ukrainians, for example, are mentioned in a camp inspector’s order to establish brothels.³¹ However, Jewish inmates were not allowed to staff or visit the brothels.³² It would seem as if Nazi ideology that referred to particular races as inferior did not have a complete hold over this particular institution. Although the common justification discussed in secondary literature revol-

²⁷ Eschebach, Insa, Sigrid Jacobeit, and Silke Wenk. “Gedächtnis Und Geschlecht : Deutungsmuster in Darstellungen Des Nationalsozialistischen Genozids,” (New York: Campus, 2002) p. 44.

²⁸ Helmut Heiber and Heinrich Himmler, *Reichsführer!* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1968), p. 195-196.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

³⁰ Robert Sommer, *Das KZ-Bordell: Sexuelle Zwangsarbeit in Nationalsozialistischen Konzentrationslagern* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2009), 85. Christa Paul, *Zwangsprostitution: Staatlich Errichtete Bordelle Im Nationalsozialismus*, 1. Aufl, Reihe Deutsche Vergangenheit, (Berlin: Hentrich, 1994), p. 25.

³¹ Richard Gluecks, “Instructions to Concentration Camp Commandants Concerning the Brothels Provided for Gaurds [Bordelle Fuer Ukrainische Wachmaenner]” (Harvard Law School Library - Nuremberg Trial Project, December 15, 1943), NO-1545.

³² Sommer, *KZ-Bordell*, p. 282-285.

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ves around how leaders like Himmler believed the brothels would increase productivity, individuals involved in concentration camp administration gave other explanations. For example, the former commander of Mauthausen said the brothel was established to “prevent the prisoners from having intercourse with each other.”³³ Additional accounts attribute it to efforts to prevent homosexual behavior.³⁴ Despite statements like these, the prevailing justification was about increasing worker productivity. The language used in establishing documents also provides insight into Nazi motivations.

The diction used by Nazis to describe women who were forced into sexual slavery in the brothels displays their complicated ideas about sexuality and prostitution. In a single document administrators would use different words that had vastly different connotations to describe the women. In one order for instance, women are referred to as prostitutes in one place and as “dirne,” which can colloquially be translated as “whore,” in another paragraph.³⁵ The term prostitute is repeated throughout many of the documents, despite the obvious coercive nature of their position.³⁶ Other records from important figures such as Heinrich Himmler also categorized the women as a “type” and as separate from other German women.³⁷ This description was not actually accurate, as the women were already prisoners in the camps before they entered the brothels.³⁸ Appearance also seemed to be of relevance when selecting women. One camp administrator said that they chose women who were pretty and had good teeth.³⁹ Language used to describe the brothels themselves was also peculiar. The buildings

³³ “Examination Document from Commander of Mauthausen,” USHMM, May 24, 1945, RG-09 .018*01.

³⁴ Sommer, *KZ-Bordell*.

³⁵ Richard Gluecks, “Instructions to Concentration Camp Commandants Concerning the Brothels Provided for Guards [Bordelle Fuer Ukrainische Wachmaenner].” (Harvard Law School Library - Nuremberg Trial Project, December 15, 1943), NO-1545.

³⁶ “Examination Document from Commander of Mauthausen.” USHMM.

³⁷ Heinrich Himmler to Oswald Pohl, letter reproduced in Paul, *Zwangsprostitution*, p. 32.

³⁸ “Themenmappe: ‘sechs Monate und dann frei. Kann sich eine Frau schol überlegen..’ Die Zwangsprostitution des KZ Neuengamme aus der Sicht ihrer männlichen Mitgefangenen” (KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, n.d.), J4.000 III Doc.6.

³⁹ Nuremberg Testimony by Gerhard Schiedlausky, in “Arbeitsgruppe: Lagerbordelle (Untersuchung Der Geschlechterspezifischen Sicht Auf Lagerbordelle)” (KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, n.d.), J4.000 III Doc.8.

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and areas of the camps where these events took place were called “special barracks” or “special buildings” [*Sonderbau* or *Sonderbarracke*].⁴⁰ The use of the word “special,” as if the brothels were any more strange or unusual than the mechanized system of murder taking place in the camps, can be interpreted both as a euphemism and as implying the strange importance of these centers.

Contrary to language used by Nazi officials, women in the brothels were not just prostitutes, but prisoners who were interned in the camps for a variety of reasons. Although it is true that some of the women were prostitutes before entering the camps, to say that they consented to also being prostitutes inside the camps would not be true because these women were there against their will.⁴¹ They were also robbed of any choice to leave the brothel, both for other kinds of work or interaction with other inmates. Of these already imprisoned women who ended up in brothels, most of them came from the Ravensbrück camp. When offered the chance to provide sexual services instead of struggle to survive in the horrendous conditions in Ravensbrück, many did so in order to escape and for the hope of better chances of survival.⁴² According to orders and accounts, women were often promised release after a period ranging from around six months to a year in the brothels, but like many others made by the Nazis, this was a false agreement.⁴³ The possibility of wages was an additional draw to participate in the brothels.⁴⁴ Especially in camps such as Auschwitz, the offer of easier labor could be very appealing when contrasted with the death and suffering experienced by most prisoners. Some female survivors of the brothels have described their thinking behind joining as

⁴⁰ “Lagerbordelle - Buchenwald Memorial Site” (Buchenwald & Mittelbau-Dora Memorial), accessed October 26, 2017.

⁴¹ Victoria Harris, “The Role of the Concentration Camps in the Nazi Repression of Prostitutes, 1933-9.” *Journal of Contemporary History*, p. 684.

⁴² Jessica Hughes, *Forced Prostitution: The Competing and Contested Uses of the Concentration Camp Brothel*, Dissertation, (Rutgers: 2011), p. 111-123.

⁴³ “Stiftung Brandenburgische Gedenkstätten,” International Tracing Service, Archive Ravensbrück. And Christa Schikorra, “Prostitution Weiblicher KZ-Häftlinge Als Zwangsarbeit,” *Zur Situation „asozialer“ Häftlinge Im Frauen-KZ Ravensbrück*, H5.105, International Tracing Service, p. 112–14.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

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one stemming from a drive for survival, not one of desire.⁴⁵ Some accounts from survivors state that an even greater degree of force was used later on during the war, and women would be chosen by the SS upon entering the camp. When offered the chance to become “volunteers” in the brothels, the women did possess the agency to turn down the offer in some instances, but when this choice is contextualized in the situation of the camps, the element of choice or consent all but disappears.

The selection of women to work as “prostitutes” in the brothels exhibits different beliefs the Nazis held towards specific groups. Surprisingly, many of the women in the camp brothels were of German nationality.⁴⁶ Even within Poland, such as the Auschwitz camp, a majority of the women were German.⁴⁷ The use of these women to serve men in the camps contradicts Nazi propaganda about the importance of protecting and supporting German women to aid in the promotion of the Aryan race. Even though many were German, there were also occurrences that contradicted this circumstance. To illustrate, there is one account from when the camp doctor found out about a woman of “good Nordic stock” who had been placed in the brothel.⁴⁸ Upon learning this information he ordered her removal from the brothel.⁴⁹ This contradiction would imply that at least one camp official was opposed to Aryan women engaging in brothel work, but this racial standard did not appear to apply to all German women. The contradictory nature of how racial policies within the camp were carried out illustrates the convoluted nature of Nazi treatment of German women. If the entire basis of camp brothels were centered on race ideology, it would not make sense for the brothels to be so widely populated by German women. This discontinuity illustrates how no-

⁴⁵ KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, ‘sechs Monate und dann frei. Kann sich eine Frau schol überlegen..’

⁴⁶ Sommer, *KZ-Bordell*, p. 282-285.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

⁴⁸ Sommer, *Bordell*.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

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tions referring to women's behavior were more powerful in determining what kinds of women ended up in brothels.

In addition to what the number of German women in brothels says about underlying Nazi principles, it is also important to note other nationalities that were present. After Germans, Polish women were most common.⁵⁰ Although the role of Jewish women is somewhat contested, most researchers agree that while they often experienced rape in the camps, they were not recruited for the brothels. According to Nazi racial laws, relations with Jewish women were forbidden. Thus it followed that they would also be barred from working as prostitutes. Despite orders that excluded Jewish women from the brothels, some authors have interpreted the reissuing of these commands as a sign that this rule had been broken and Jewish women were in fact forced into sexual slavery.⁵¹ While there were procedures meant to keep relations in the brothel between the same races, it is unlikely that this was followed in practice. For example, one directive for the establishment of brothels for Ukrainian guards specifies that they should have access to "Polish prostitutes."⁵² Some instructions state that inmates of a particular race should only visit women of the same group as them, but there are a multitude of sources that demonstrate that this was rarely followed.⁵³ Even though mixing between Aryans and non-Aryans was forbidden according to Nazi laws, the lack of enforcement within brothels implies that it was permissible for those of other races to mix under certain circumstances. In addition to their nationality, other dimensions of background demonstrate how the Nazis viewed women from certain segments of society.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 281–85.

⁵¹ Argued by Rochelle G. Saidel and Sonja M. Hedgepeth, eds., *Sexual Violence against Jewish Women during the Holocaust*, HBI Series on Jewish Women (Waltham, Mass.: 2010), p. 116. However, there is not any other concrete evidence to support this claim.

⁵² Richard Gluecks, "Instructions to Concentration Camp Commandants Concerning the Brothels Provided for Guards [Bordelle Fuer Ukrainische Wachmaenner]."

⁵³ Sommer, *Das KZ-Bordell*.

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One of the defining features of many women in the brothels was their status as “asocial.”⁵⁴ In most of the camps a majority of the women were classified as “asocial” prisoners, with political prisoners being the second most common.⁵⁵ This term was used by the Nazis to classify behaviors such as “weakness of character,” “loose morals,” and “lack of restraint.”⁵⁶ Women could receive this label by taking part in non-marital sex, prostitution, relationships with Jews, alcoholism, behaviors signifying “feeble mindedness,” and many other actions that were often arbitrarily determined.⁵⁷ The singling out of “asocial” women as prime subjects for the brothels shows how strongly the Nazis felt that these women’s behavior was unacceptable for members of their new German society. While it might be easy to assume that this classification came from how many “asocial” women were previously prostitutes, this is not entirely the case. Some of the women who fell into the category of “asocial” were prostitutes before entering the camps, but this was not the only former occupation of all women in the brothels. For example, in the brothel in Mauthausen and Gusen, there were women who had backgrounds as domestic workers, typists, and shop assistants.⁵⁸ This variance in the history of the women brings up the question of what determining factor can be identified as most fundamental in explaining why certain women ended up in the brothels. The data collected about them contradicts what would become the common notion held by Nazis, as well as other prisoners, that most of the women were already prostitutes. This distinction is critical to emphasize the coercion and lack of choice involved in these institutions. While some women did say that the brothel was better than being worked to death, to what degree participation was determined by choice or their own past actions is less clear than many primary documents made it out to be.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 281–85.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Pine, Lisa, "Hashude: An experiment in Nazi 'asocial' policy," (1995.) p. 37.

⁵⁷ Elizabeth D. Heineman, “Sexuality and Nazism: The Doubly Unspeakable?,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, 2002, p. 49. And 1.1.0.2 Reichsicherheitshauptamt, International Tracing Service.

⁵⁸ Sommer, *Das KZ-Bordell*, p. 281.

Day- to-Day Experience: Life within the Brothels

Women in the brothels were not just forced to have sex with male inmates on an occasional basis, but were sometimes required to have intercourse with over thirty men a day and sometimes ten men over the span of one hour.⁵⁹ In addition to being subjected to continual sexual abuse, there was a heightened level of surveillance in the brothels to the point where there were peepholes into the room where the men (mostly SS) could watch the proceedings.⁶⁰ This voyeurism was also related to the mandate that the prisoners had to exclusively use the missionary position.⁶¹ Even though inmates were required to pay to access the brothels, almost none of this money went to women themselves.⁶² In contrast to nights of sexual violence, these women's days were spent cleaning, sewing, and on the weekends sometimes attending musical performances.⁶³ The experience of suffering through repeated rape was exacerbated by the constant fear of death.⁶⁴ Women who survived described themselves as becoming numb and apathetic towards their surroundings. One woman who was interned in the Mittelbau-Dora camp described herself as "so deadened by the whole thing and everything." This numbness and distancing is common throughout the few first-hand accounts from the women involved that exist. These reactions to their suffering means that we do not have many overly colorful or descriptive accounts of their reactions to their misery, but at the core of this experience their silence demonstrates the impossibility of recounting such dehumanizing violence.

⁵⁹ "Beulig Investigation," USHMM, July 29, 1947, RG-06.005.05M Reel 1.

⁶⁰ Hughes, Jessica. "Forced Prostitution: The Competing and Contested Uses of the Concentration Camp Brothel." Dissertation. (Rutgers: 2011), p. 88.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² "Beulig Investigation," USHMM.

⁶³ "Themenmappe: 'Geld Haben Wir Nie Gesehen..'" (KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, n.d.), J4.000 III Doc.5.

⁶⁴ Saidel and Hedgepeth, *Sexual Violence against Jewish Women during the Holocaust*, p. 50.

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Figure 1, Robert Sommer
Das KZ-Bordell

Although the brothels were clearly a system of sexual violence and exploitation, on the surface the Nazis seemed to attempt to take measures to increase the quality of life for those who lived in them. Figures 1 and 2 display rooms in the Buchenwald brothel, with flowers and plants that starkly contrast with the atmosphere of suffering in the camps.⁶⁵ Other photos of the brothels that were kept and circulated by the Nazis also display the brothels as quite nice, compared with the imagery of death and decay generally associated with the camps. Multiple documents detailing their establishment include notes about how the brothels should be “well furnished” and kept.⁶⁶ Whether these conditions were for the benefit of the women, or part of the Nazis intended aesthetic for the brothel is unclear. Regardless of their intention, the decoration did little to lessen the suffering the women experienced.

In addition to the most obvious point about their position as forced sex workers, there were other dimensions to how these women were treated differently from other prisoners. For instance, they were allowed to wear civilian clothing.⁶⁷ They were also given luxuries such as coffee, meat, butter, fruit, and chocolate, according to the account of one camp commander and some of the surviving women.⁶⁸ During the day they were required to clean their quarters and complete other tasks like cleaning clothes.⁶⁹ Unlike other prisoners, they were not subjected to back-breaking labor. On the surface, these creature comforts



Figure 2, Robert Sommer Das KZ-Bordell

⁶⁵ Sommer, *Das KZ-Bordell*, bildung.

⁶⁶ Richard Gluecks, “Instructions to Concentration Camp Commandants Concerning the Brothels Provided for Gaurds [Bordelle Fuer Ukrainische Wachmaenner].” Letter from Oswald Pohl, reproduced in Paul, *Zwangsprostitution*, p. 25. “Collection of Various Decrees of the Reichsführer SS & WVHA” (Bundesarchiv Koblenz, December 1943), International Tracing Service.

⁶⁷ “Beulig Investigation.”

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

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may seem like an improvement to their overall experience, but in contrast to their constant experiences of sexual violence, these perks lose their value. This special treatment also served to further differentiate and alienate the women from the other prisoners, making their lives even more lonely than they already were. Their isolation from other prisoners meant their sources of human contact were limited to the administrators and men they were forced to have sex with.⁷⁰ Unfortunately, there are few sources from the women themselves addressing what they thought about these conditions, but when describing why they chose the brothels, women often said it was better than work in the camp itself.⁷¹

Although many of the women who were forced into the brothels did survive the camps, this was not true of all these women. When they became pregnant or contracted diseases (which seemed to be quite common, as there is no evidence of contraception being used), they would often be sent out of the camp for extermination.⁷² They were also used as subjects for various medical experiments that often ended in their death.⁷³ Although the claim that many authors make about how the brothels increased chances of survival was true in many cases, it is important to point out the risk of death and other bodily harm that was present. Despite their special position, these women were still subject to the murder and abuse that other inmates encountered.

When Victims Become Perpetrators: Male Inmates and the Brothels

On the other side of these experiences are those that visited the brothels. In contrast to most cases of wartime prostitution that were for the benefit of soldiers, Nazis explicitly crea-

⁷⁰ Alakus, Baris e.d. "Sex-Zwangsarbeit in NS-Konzentrationslagern : Katalog zur Ausstellung / Die Aussteller," Verein zur Förderung von historischen und kunsthistorischen Ausstellungen, p. 58.

⁷¹ Paul, *Zwangsprostitution*, Introduction.

⁷² Christa Schikorra. "Prostitution Weiblicher KZ-Häftlinge Als Zwangsarbeit." Zur Situation „asozialer“ Häftlinge Im Frauen-KZ Ravensbrück, H5.105, p. 118-119.

⁷³ Ibid.

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ted the system of camp brothels to be used by other forced laborers.⁷⁴ Through statements from concentration camp administrators after the war and survivor accounts, it is possible to piece together a rough profile of the men who visited the brothels. However, it is also important to acknowledge the problem of bias within sources available from survivors. It is unlikely that most people would admit to visiting the brothels, in light of the stigma that would come from admitting to being part of the sexual violence inherent in them. Because of this, opposition displayed by survivors may not reflect what they actually thought at the time. When the interviews were given many decades after the events themselves, survivors may have had time to think about and process the events, which inevitably impacts how they remembered their experiences. While still acknowledging the issues with these sources, it is possible to understand to a qualified degree the perspectives and experiences of these male prisoners, who were also a part of this system.

Although there are differing interpretations of which kinds of prisoners visited the brothels, data and accounts after the fact imply that it was a small minority of prisoners who did take advantage of this system. They were not open to all prisoners, however, because Jewish and Russian inmates were not allowed to visit. The fact that some enemies of the Nazi state were allowed to frequent the brothels, while others were not, demonstrates a contradiction as to whom exactly these policies were directed and their intention. When one commander of Mauthausen was discussing who patronized the brothels, he said that it was mostly the same prisoners, despite the size of the camp, and that “many did not have the money or did not want to go.”⁷⁵ The system operated by way of payments to the women from the prisoners who earned specific privileges and money to use the brothels. Because there was an arrangement of payments in the brothels, there was also a hierarchy of which prisoners had such funds, which determined who went. In the earlier days of the camps, detainees were able to

⁷⁴ Sommer, *Das KZ-Bordell*.

⁷⁵ “Beulig Investigation,” p. 6.

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obtain money that was sent to them through their families, though this was a small minority, and only about one in three received such money.⁷⁶ In 1943, the SS began distributing scrip money only usable in the camps, and given as “bonuses for special effort.”⁷⁷ According to survivor reports, these bonus cards were also part of the camp black market exchange and could have very high value.⁷⁸ Despite the Nazis’ intent, this was largely ineffective, and it is not believed to have actually increased productivity.⁷⁹ This lack of output could imply that not many of the inmates received this special money, and therefore very few were actually able to visit the brothels. An interview with a former guard of Auschwitz corroborated this determiner of who visited the brothels when he said how it was used by “privileged prisoners.”⁸⁰ Accounts from the men themselves further supports the failure of this system to achieve its stated goal.

Contrary to the perception held by Nazis that the brothels would be seen as desirable to prisoners, they seem to not have been an appealing prospect. Although explanations from survivors demonstrate the ineffectiveness of the aims of the Nazis to increase productivity through the availability of prostitutes, camp administrators did make statements that the brothels increased worker productivity.⁸¹ One survivor described the “cold, hunger, work, and exhaustion” as eliminating any thoughts about sex.⁸² The same former prisoner also said that other inmates protested the brothels on “moral and religious” grounds.⁸³ Some survivors report that they made pacts with other inmates to agree not to visit the brothels out of sympa-

⁷⁶ Eugen Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell: The German Concentration Camps and the System Behind Them* (Macmillan, 2006), p. 120.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Eschebach, Insa, Sigrid Jacobeit, and Silke Wenk. “Gedächtnis Und Geschlecht : Deutungsmuster in Darstellungen Des Nationalsozialistischen Genozids,” (New York: Campus, 2002), p. 45.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Pery Broad, USHMM, Oral History Interview, Accession Number: 1996.166, RG Number: RG-60.5053

⁸¹ “Prisoners Infirmary Doctors,” International Tracing Service, 1.1.5.0 General Information on Buchenwald Concentration Camp, Staatsarchiv Nürnberg.

⁸² P. Matussek, *Internment in Concentration Camps and Its Consequences* (Springer Science & Business Media, 2012), p. 30.

⁸³ Matussek, p. 30.

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thy for the women.⁸⁴ In the Neuengamme camp, when prisoners found out a brothel was going to be constructed, they put on a play with comedic and political undertones meant to communicate their distaste for the institution.⁸⁵ Another prisoner from the same camp recounted a story about how someone wrote a song protesting the brothel that became popular among the other men.⁸⁶ Despite this opposition, there were still those who did take advantage of the brothel.

Although evidence is limited, it is possible to describe what kinds of prisoners visited the brothels. One survivor said that most of the inmates who went as being “older” and “intellectuals.”⁸⁷ The process of obtaining permission to go was often one that had to be made publically, which likely deterred prisoners.⁸⁸ According to details from former inmates who referred to as “pimp inmates,” it would also seem that prisoners were involved in the administration of the brothels.⁸⁹ It is also feasible to understand the frequency of visits through information about the brothel users. According to numbers collected by Robert Sommer, only 7% of the prisoners in the Mauthausen brothel were frequent visitors of the brothel and 44% went sporadically.⁹⁰ According to statistics from the same camp, 63% of the brothel visitors were career criminals, with “asocial” prisoners being the second most common “clients.”⁹¹ The data from this camp aligns with the assertions made by multiple authors that, compared with the overall population, few camp inmates ever visited the brothel, as well as the fact that

⁸⁴ “Themenmappe: ‘sechs Monate und dann frei. Kann sich eine Frau schol überlegen..’ Die Zwangsprostitution des KZ Neuengamme aus der Sicht ihrer männlichen Mitgefangenen” (KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme, n.d.), J4.000 III Doc.6.

⁸⁵ “Arbeitsgruppe: Lagerbordelle (Untersuchung Der Geschlechterspezifischen Sicht Auf Lagerbordelle),” KZ-Gedenkstätte Neuengamme.

⁸⁶ Interview with Mięcisław Krause, Neuengamme Memorial, NG 2.8, B. 511, Pg. 14, recreated in “Themenmappe: ‘sechs Monate und dann frei. Kann sich eine Frau schol überlegen..’ Die Zwangsprostitution des KZ Neuengamme aus der Sicht ihrer männlichen Mitgefangenen.”

⁸⁷ Matussek, *Internment in Concentration Camps and Its Consequences*, p. 30.

⁸⁸ One inmate said he secretly wanted to visit the brothel, but did not want to announce this in front of the other inmates during roll call. Matussek, p. 30.

⁸⁹ “KL Mauthausen, Report by Mr Kanthack, Former Prisoner,” International Tracing Service, 1.1.26.0 General Information on Mathausen Camp.

⁹⁰ Sommer, *Das KZ-Bordell*, p. 289.

⁹¹ Sommer, p. 289.

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only a few types of people participated. Just as there was divergence in which prisoners went to the brothels, they also differed in what they thought about those who partook in the brothels.

It is challenging to make absolute statements about what inmates thought about those who used the brothels, but it would seem that many looked down on those who did visit them. Similar to other aspects of inmate presence in brothels, this analysis mostly comes from interviews given many years afterwards, which confronts problems of memory and altered perceptions as compared to the survivors' original positions. Some survivors believed that those who visited brothels were those who were able to maintain their sexuality because they were not completely deprived of sustenance and received better treatment, for example the camp block leaders.⁹² This observation from former inmates displays an interesting dimension of power and privilege at work in the brothels. It would seem that those with the most capacity were able to become perpetrators themselves. One survivor stated that kapos visited the brothels and in turn could be "more aggressive" and harm prisoners more.⁹³ While there was a divide between prisoners who did and did not use the brothel, both groups shared certain views and language used to describe the women involved.

Even though women in the brothels were internees much like most others in the camps, many inmates felt jealousy, resentment, and disgust towards them. Even prisoners who knew that they had been transferred from other camps and were originally prisoners, referred to the women as "whores."⁹⁴ Inmates also resented their perceived freedom and lack of hard labor.⁹⁵ Many survivors also mention how the women received warm running water,

⁹² Matussek, *Internment in Concentration Camps and Its Consequences*, p. 30.

⁹³ Oral history interview with Antonin Hlaváček, USHMM

⁹⁴ "KL Mauthausen, Report by Mr Kanthack, Former Prisoner." International Tracing Service 82116141.

⁹⁵ "KL Mauthausen, Report by Mr Kanthack, Former Prisoner." International Tracing Service. 82116142.

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furniture, and wash facilities, unlike other inmates.⁹⁶ The falsehood perpetuated by the Nazis that the women were primarily prostitutes was still supported by inmates after the fact, for example one interview of a Jewish survivor stated that they brought “German and Polish prostitutes” to work in the brothels.⁹⁷ Even those who expressed sympathy for the plight of the women had testimonies tinged with cynicism and jealousy. Perhaps their own suffering robbed them of sympathy, or possibly deeper preconceived notions were at work. As said by Robert Sommer, author of the seminal work on concentration camp brothels *Das KZ-Bordell*, in the camp brothels “prisoners were turned into perpetrators and yet remained victims themselves.”⁹⁸

Forgotten History: Memory of the Brothels

The falsehood perpetuated by the Nazis that women in the camp brothels were prostitutes was only the beginning of the historical process of this narrative being discounted and overlooked. The actions of Allied post-war investigators relating to the camps reveals the lack of concern or action taken in response to the horrors of the brothels. One example of the difference in the importance placed on accounts of abuse in the brothels, as compared to other atrocities, comes from an interview of a commander of the Mauthausen concentration camp. In the extensive interview, one of the topics covered at length is the brothel, but only the sections about the other abuses in the camps are translated into English in the document. The document does not note why it was selectively translated. In another document from camp liberation investigations, in a sentence about “more humane methods” in contrast to the

⁹⁶ Interview with Herbert Schemmel, Neuengamme Memorial Archive, NG 2.8, B.923, pg. 1, reproduced in, “Themenmappe: ‘sechs Monate und dann frei. Kann sich eine Frau schol überlegen..’ Die Zwangsprostitution des KZ Neuengamme aus der Sicht ihrer männlichen Mitgefangenen.”

⁹⁷ Oral history interview with Norbert Wollheim, USHMM, 1991, RG-50.030*0257.

⁹⁸ Dagmar Herzog, ed., *Brutality and Desire: War and Sexuality in Europe’s Twentieth Century*, Genders and Sexualities in History (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 188.

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horrors of the camp, the author mentions the cinema and brothel.⁹⁹ The fact that they perceived any kind of similarity between films and the institutionalized sexual slavery in the camps is indicative of how they viewed the suffering of the women involved. The minimization of this event was just the beginning of the process to remove this event from World War II history.

Media reports towards the end of the war and after its conclusion demonstrate how the Nazi myth of the brothels being occupied by prostitutes in the consensual sense was perpetuated outside of Germany. One article from *The Washington Post* in 1945 discussed the death of a princess in the Buchenwald brothel, and calls the forced sex workers “women of the bordello.”¹⁰⁰ There is no mention in the article of how these women were in fact prisoners coerced into working in the brothel. While this ignorance was not necessarily maintained in all publications, that such an omission was likely read by many Americans demonstrates how the misconceptions about the brothel can also be traced to the media. It is also indicative of how little attention the media paid to brothels, despite their shocking nature. Another instance of how a lack of awareness was maintained in later years comes from a film made in 1985 by *PBS* about the camps. The documentary briefly mentions that there was a brothel, but does not go into any kind of discussion or detailed description of it.¹⁰¹ This lack of regard was also mirrored in other post-war developments.

The course of the postwar trials, particularly the Nuremberg Trials, illustrates the inadequate level of acknowledgement and concern for the experiences of the women forced into brothels. Documents discussing the brothels was presented as evidence at the Nuremberg Trials, and constituted multiple pieces of clear testimony and discoveries by troops of the

⁹⁹ "Witness Reports," International Tracing Service, USHMM, 1.1.5.0 General Information on Buchenwald Concentration Camp.

¹⁰⁰ "Princess' Death In Buchenwald Brothel Reported," *The Washington Post* (1923-1954); Washington, D.C., April 24, 1945.

¹⁰¹ PBS. *Memory of the Camps*. Documentary, 1985.

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Allied powers.¹⁰² Despite this proof, and the existence of statutes that could be applied to the sexual violence that occurred in the brothels, it was not deemed serious enough to be prosecuted and did not even appear in the final trial judgement.¹⁰³ It was also not brought up as a crime in any of the later trials and to this day has not been prosecuted, even though there are now even more international laws defining sexual violence and slavery as crimes. The fact that these heinous acts were not seen as being enough to warrant prosecution illustrates how unimportant the Allied powers viewed these crimes. The women also did not receive any reparations, mostly on the basis that “asocial” prisoners did not count among those who were entitled to restitution. The lack of legal or financial recognition of the women forced into the brothels further marginalized their experiences.

World War II is a subject that has been covered at great length, with many works describing the multitude of topics that arise from this event. Despite this extensive analysis, there is not a single book published on the concentration camp brothels in English. There is some more recent literature on the concentration camps, for example Nikolaus Wachsmann’s *KL*, that mention the brothels, but this aspect of the camps is omitted from many popular books on the subject. With the rise in popularity of women’s history, it is shocking that so little is written on this subject. This lack of exploration, at least in English language academia, raises the question of why this is the case. The development in historical memory surrounding this institution may imply an answer to why this event has been forgotten by history. An additional element of how this topic disrupts the traditional World War II canon is how it contradicts particular theses within the subject.

Historical memory as a subject is one with complex roots in psychoanalysis, politics, and history. Memory relating to the Holocaust in particular has been widely explored in order to understand how this narrative has been passed on and changed. However, few of these

¹⁰² Nicola Henry, *War and Rape: Law, Memory, and Justice* (Routledge, 2011), p. 30.

¹⁰³ Henry, p. 31–35.

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works have made determinations about divergence in Holocaust memory according to gender.¹⁰⁴ Scholars such as Janet Jacobs have used memorials to explore gendered perspectives of the Holocaust, and her work demonstrates how narratives of victimhood and identity have been constructed through different developments of historical memory.¹⁰⁵ Similar to the innovative work of Jacobs, only recently has more been written on the experiences of women during the Holocaust.¹⁰⁶ That these came so late seems to point out the lack of extensive coverage of women's experiences during World War II until more recent decades. This subject is also closely connected to the concerns with Holocaust literature over how to properly recount and commemorate the events without further exposing or sensationalizing the experiences of those in the camps.¹⁰⁷ This consideration is particularly relevant to this highly taboo and uncomfortable subject, and has a close relationships to the various controversial developments in Holocaust literature.

Over the course of the later 20th century, the argument that Nazism was sexually repressive (and some authors who went so far as to claim that sexual repression caused fascism) became quite popular.¹⁰⁸ Historians referred to the Nazi crackdown on prostitution and jailing of prostitutes as evidence of their attempts to curtail sexuality generally. By the 1970s this was a nearly universally held view according to writers such as Dagmar Herzog.¹⁰⁹ Although authors such as Herzog have begun to disprove of this argument by pointing out contradictory Nazi policies and ideologies, it is still present in other works. The subject of

¹⁰⁴ Marianne Hirsch and Valerie Smith, "Feminism and Cultural Memory: An Introduction," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 28, no. 1 (September 1, 2002): p. 1–19.

¹⁰⁵ Janet Liebman Jacobs, *Memorializing the Holocaust: Gender, Genocide and Collective Memory* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). For more works on women's history relating to Germany, World War II and the Holocaust see; Koonz, Claudia. *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family, and Nazi Politics*, Bridenthal, Renate, Atina Grossmann, and Marion A. Kaplan. *When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany*, or Ute Frevert, *Women in German History: from bourgeois emancipation to sexual liberation*.

¹⁰⁶ For example of one of the first works devoted to Jewish women during the Holocaust, see Sidel and Hedgpeeth, *Sexual Violence against Jewish Women during the Holocaust*.

¹⁰⁷ Friedman, Jonathan C. *Speaking the Unspeakable: Essays on Sexuality, Gender, and Holocaust Survivor Memory*. Introduction.

¹⁰⁸ Dagmar Herzog, "Sexuality, Memory, Morality," *History and Memory* 17, no. 1–2 (2005): p. 262.

¹⁰⁹ Herzog, "Sexuality, Memory, Morality."

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concentration camp brothels adds to this effort to disprove the argument that the Nazis were singularly repressive towards sex and sexuality. If the Nazis truly believed sex should be curtailed, it does not follow that they would carry out the institutionalization of sexuality for both their own troops and forced laborers. Similar to how the truth about Nazism and sexuality was repressed in 20th century literature, so has the story of the concentration camp brothels been buried.

An additional literary parallel that demonstrates how, and perhaps why, the brothels have been overlooked is the coverage of the rape of German women by Red Army troops following their invasion of Germany. It is estimated that about one out of every three, of the 1.5 million, women in Berlin were sexually assaulted at the end of the war.¹¹⁰ This event has been widely covered and acknowledged, with famous works such as *A Woman in Berlin* reaching a fairly wide audience. Although the sexual assaults of women in Berlin was not institutionalized like the brothels, the reporting of these events begs the question of what was different in this case that it became such a widely known event of mass rape? One possible distinction between the rape committed by the Red Army and what occurred in the brothels were the differences in how victims and perpetrators were defined in each case. For women raped by the Red Army, they were average German women who had not already received the classification as a “prostitute” or “asocial” like the women in the brothels. In comparison to the women in the brothels, the free German women more closely fit a simple ideal of the innocent victim (in the eyes of an unknowing observer). This divergence, even though the actual violence committed was of a similar nature, points to the underlying perceptions that have influenced how both events have been remembered.

Despite how documents and other evidence of the concentration camp brothels has existed for decades, until the 2000s, they received little attention. The change in popular co-

¹¹⁰ Grossmann, Atina. "A Question of Silence: The Rape of German Women by Occupation Soldiers." *October* 72 (1995): p. 46.

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verage of the topic can be attributed to Robert Sommer's book, *Das KZ-Bordell*, that built upon earlier investigations such as Christa Paul's *Zwangsprostitution*. This work garnered significant attention in the media, even in the United States. Around the time of its release in the late 2000s, there was an increase in the number of English language news pieces discussing and mentioning the topic.¹¹¹ For example, the book was covered by *Reuters*, *Der Spiegel English*, and *The New York Times*. It seems strange that it took such a long time for there to be any attention to this striking topic. In order to better understand this development, it is crucial to acknowledge public opinion towards prostitution. According to polls, even today there is very little consensus in America on the subject of legalizing prostitution, and some research even reveals that many people would like the names of those found guilty of solicitation to be published.¹¹² In the United States, prostitution is illegal in every state except Nevada. Although ideas about prostitution have varied over time and place, examining different cases may uncover helpful comparisons. If we look to similar policies in Germany, where there has been greater coverage of the subject, there are also laws limiting legal prostitution. Much like the pre-Weimar practices of regulation and inspection, according to a recent law, German prostitutes are required to register and undergo health checks.¹¹³ This legalization was also met with mixed approval and significant opposition.¹¹⁴ If the general public is not ready to accept prostitution as a legitimate profession, how could they also accept the stories of pain and suffering of those they view as occupying this illegitimate space?

The mixed levels of commemoration of the brothels in concentration camp memorials provides a further display of how they have been under-covered in many different settings.

While some memorial sites have more recently featured exhibits about the brothels, the mu-

¹¹¹ Eric Lichtblau, "Opinion | The Holocaust Just Got More Shocking," *The New York Times*, March 1, 2013. Mareike Fallet and Simone Kaiser, "Concentration Camp Bordellos: 'The Main Thing Was to Survive at All,'" *Spiegel Online*, June 25, 2009.

¹¹² "Prostitution Control in America: Rethinking Public Policy," Springer.

¹¹³ Deutsche Welle, "Germany Introduces Unpopular Prostitution Law 02.07.2017," DW.COM, accessed November 7, 2017.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

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seum at Ravensbrück for example, this is not the case for all Holocaust museums.¹¹⁵ Auschwitz, one of the most well known death camps, has never had any kind of posting or exhibition about the brothel despite the fact that one was in the camp.¹¹⁶ This lack of coverage at the Auschwitz memorial, as well as other museums, is a testament to how little work there has been done to make sure these events are remembered. In 1950, a director of the Buchenwald camp memorial went so far as to order employees not to mention the brothel in order to “avoid possible misunderstandings.”¹¹⁷ Additionally, while there are monuments to homosexual and Sinti and Romani populations killed during the Holocaust, there are no such commemorations of women who were forced to endure sexual violence in the camps. The selective inclusion and exclusion present in this narrative within concentration camp memorials is just one of the many sources that reinforces the lack of acknowledgement of this topic. Why this development has been the case presents a more difficult question.

In the case of the concentration camp brothels, the line between victim and perpetrator has been blurred, which has also impacted how it has been remembered and commemorated. The idea transmitted by the Nazis that the women involved were willing, previously employed prostitutes held views that prostitutes were corrupting and marginal. Vilified by society, prostitutes were robbed of their victimhood because of the way they were perceived both before and after the war. When these individuals became part of the brothels, in the eyes of the Nazis and some prisoners, they were more than just regular prisoners. The illusion of choice that brought them to such a position was crucial in constructing the concentration camp “prostitute” as someone who had not suffered the same tragedy as other survivors. Their confusing identity not only led to a lack of reparative compensation, but also recognition.

¹¹⁵ Nicole Bogue. “The Concentration Camps in Memory.”

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Eschebach, Insa, Sigrid Jacobeit, and Silke Wenk. “Gedächtnis Und Geschlecht : Deutungsmuster in Darstellungen Des Nationalsozialistischen Genozids,” (New York: Campus, 2002), p. 55.

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The other side of this equation that has led to the subject being so widely taboo and under-examined is the complicated role of the male inmates. Stories of the men participating in the brothels could imply that they were rapists and complicit in a system of sexual violence. For some, telling this story might tarnish the memories of and perceptions towards men who were victims of the Nazi regime. To illuminate this gray area could destabilize the efforts to portray those interned in the camps as purely victims. The mechanism of clarity versus ambiguity present in this case that has guided how concentration camp brothels are remembered demonstrates a crucial aspect of historical memory. In many instances, history finds and elevates the stories of those who clearly fit our mold of what we think it means to be a victim, at the expense of advancing narratives that more completely portray what has transpired. When this occurs, not only do we risk not fully capturing history, but also further reinforcing the prejudices and marginalization that led to violence and forgetting in the first place.

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Human Rights and the Liberalization of Abortion and Contraception in Western Europe

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The abortion question in Europe was popularized during a unique historical moment in the 1960s and 1970s when human rights became the foundation on which social movements were both founded and justified. A revitalization of the feminist movement at this time led to an intersectional perspective that analyzed how social issues related to what was considered women's issues. They found that women, like lower economic classes and minorities, were oppressed because of reproductive restrictions. This is seen through their use of language that regularly alluded to other social issues and popular movements invested in human rights issues. It is within this context that birth control was seen as a potential solution to alleviate inequality between men and women. The most effective arguments for birth control focused on the idea that women's inability to control their own reproductive process led to the violation of their rights to work, self-determination, and standard of living outlined by the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) and its Covenants. The emphasis on the necessity of contraception and access to abortion in order to realize these rights made it an international human rights issue, rather than merely an issue of gender. This is shown through the commensuration of birth control to other human rights issues, such as the utilization of this rhetoric by activists, and the use of human rights doctrine to justify the legalization of abortion throughout Europe. By defining reproductive rights as human rights, they became irrefutable, leading to the liberalization of abortion and contraception laws in Western Europe. While this paper focuses primarily on the feminist movement in France, I utilize examples from other countries including Italy, Ireland and the UK in order to emphasize the transnational quality of the women's liberation movement and the universality of human rights.

Human Rights

In 1947, the United Nations founded the Commission on the Status of Women, entitling women's rights to discussion on an international level. After the atrocities of World War II, international reconstruction emphasized human rights by focusing on restricting the power of governments and preventing the abuses that had occurred before and during the war. Additionally, the Commission on the Status of Women influenced the forming of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* to ensure that it applied to women. Rights to women were guaranteed through Article 2 of the declaration, "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as...sex."¹ Although not seen as radical, it was somewhat revolutionary. To put this in perspective, women's suffrage would not become universal in Europe until 1984 when Liechtenstein granted women the right to vote.²

The rise of social movements in the 1960s and 1970s represented the break through of human rights through grassroots activism. The focus on human rights in the new international agenda became the stage on which social movements could justify their reasoning in the following decades. As Western leftists became aware of human rights violations in the Soviet Union, grassroots movements became the means by which they could affect change and refocus the agenda on individual rights at the moment. Labor, anti-war, de-colonization, and socialist movements all appealed to the "right to work,"³ "right to self determination,"⁴ protection against torture, and right to adequate standard of living.⁵ While many historians tend to argue that feminism as a popular movement slowed down in the 1950s and into the 1960s, I

¹ UN General Assembly "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights," 1948. <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>

² "Around the World: Liechtenstein Women Win Right to Vote," *The New York Times*, 2 Jul 1984.

³ UN General Assembly "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights," 1948. Accessed September 14, 2017, <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>

⁴ UN General Assembly "International Covenant on Political Rights," 1966. Accessed September 14, 2017, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CCPR.aspx>

⁵ UN General Assembly "International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights," 1966. Accessed September 14, 2017, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CCPR.aspx>

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argue that female involvement in these other movements shaped how feminist social activists viewed and expressed their support for birth control.

Feminist activist and author of *The Second Sex* (1949), Simone de Beauvoir, described the impact of the changing political environment on the feminist movement in a 1972 interview. In explaining why she became an active member of the Women's Liberation Movement (MLF) in France she stated, "The new feminism, is on the contrary, radical, it reiterated the 1968 slogan: Change life this very day. Don't count on the future, but act immediately."⁶ This was a battle cry for second wave feminism, calling upon the legacy of 1968—popular activism—to support feminist activism. Feminist activists were able to capitalize on the development of social movements by utilizing many of the same ideas within the feminist movement, specifically in regards to abortion and contraception as they became topics of contention. This was significant because it placed reproductive rights in discussion with social issues that engaged human rights values. While abortion and contraception were not outlined as human rights in international and national legal doctrine specifically, the ideals emphasized in grassroots movements were expanded upon in court and through public policy that liberalized birth control.

Labor Rights & Reproductive Rights

At this time, a declining economy marked by inflation, unemployment and low wages throughout Europe led to tension over labor rights.⁷ Backed by Article 23 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, which established the leftist ideology that everyone had the right to work and "just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an

⁶ Simone de Beauvoir, "The Rebellious Woman- An Interview with Alice Schwarzer." in *Feminist Writings.*, eds. Margaret A. Simons, Marybeth Timmermann. (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1972), 193.

⁷Mark Mazower. *Dark continent Europe's Twentieth Century.* (New York, New York: Vintage Books, 2009).

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existence worthy of human dignity,”⁸ women were able to argue that the lack of access to birth control violated this right through an inability to find employment or provide for themselves and their families. Between 7.5 and 9 million French workers went on strike in May of 1968, protesting authoritarian structures within industry, demanding greater say in company decisions, and arguing for higher wages.⁹ Feminists were left comparing the same issues they faced—unemployment and low wages—but analyzed them in terms gender. As a result, they realized that women’s reproductive burden forced them to constantly face the same issues in the work place that the workers on strike were protesting against. This was not the first time that women assessed their circumstances and reproductive lives by relating them to labor, but this moment was significant because of the 1968 legacy of engagement in civics and the development of a global feminist movement within that legacy.

In 1961, Simone de Beauvoir made the claim that, “autonomy is very costly... in order to smoothly reconcile her occupation with motherhood, she must, thanks to birth control methods, be able to decide when to procreate....”¹⁰ In this, de Beauvoir advocated for birth control because of the necessity for women to control their own reproduction in order to maintain their jobs. In 1966, she explained the contention between women and the workplace, which necessitated birth control, at the University of Keio in Japan. In her speech, *The Situation of Women Today*, she focused on the divide between men and women in the work force, explaining why women are harder to employ than men. She described the struggles a female chemist faces while trying to get hired; she is turned down because, “What do you expect, Miss? ... You might get married and give up your job.”¹¹ As a result, unemployment among women in the workforce was often higher. For example, in 1975, the year that abor-

⁸ UN General Assembly “The Universal Declaration of Human Rights,” 1948. <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>

⁹ Martin Klimke, “1968: Europe in Technicolour,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Postwar European History*, 254.

¹⁰ Simone de Beauvoir, “The Condition of Women.” in *Feminist Writings.*, eds. Margaret A. Simons, Marybeth Timmermann. (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1961).

¹¹ Simone de Beauvoir. “The Situation of Women Today” In *Feminist writings.*, eds. Margaret A. Simons, Marybeth Timmermann, 88. (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1961). 137.

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tion was liberalized in France, the unemployment rate of the female workforce was 6.08 percent,¹² while the unemployment rate for the country as a whole was only 4.08 percent.¹³ This meant that women were not protected from unemployment outlined in Article 23, section 1 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. The creation of the *Mouvement de libération des femmes* (MLF) in 1968 marked the emergence of a distinct women's movement ready to take action, while placing feminism on the same platform with similar inspirations as emerging 'popular' movements.

Additionally, de Beauvoir addressed the wage gap, "...for the same work, the same number of hours, and the same results women were paid two-thirds of what men were paid."¹⁴ Section 3 of Article 23 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* protects equal pay as a human right, yet while the trade unions of France were arguing for higher wages through a general strike, women in the workforce were earning even less. This also contributed to the inequality behind a woman's role in the home because of unpaid housework in comparison to a man's role as a worker.¹⁵ The primary difference between men and women, de Beauvoir and her colleagues argued, is the potential of pregnancy. Therefore the root cause of the preference of men over women in the workplace is the possibility of pregnancy. If motherhood makes the woman unemployable, women must be able to control their reproductive process so that they can realize the right to work and equal pay. This highlights the connection between Article 23 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and the reality of women's employment. The injustices that de Beauvoir specifies emphasize the same issues highlighted by labor rights movements. While de Beauvoir does not go so far to say that this

¹²The World Bank, "Unemployment, female (% of female labor force) (national estimate)" *International Labor Organization, Key Indicators of the Labor Market Database*. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SL.UEM.TOTL.FE.NE.ZS?locations=FR&view=chart>

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴ Simone de Beauvoir. "The Situation of Women Today" In *Feminist writings.*, eds. Margaret A. Simons, Marybeth Timmermann, 88. (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1961). 138.

¹⁵ Ibid, 139

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justifies why abortion is necessary to protect the rights of women in this particular speech, it is the premise by which she and other feminists make their assertions later.

In 1974, four years before the liberalization of abortion in Italy, Mariosa Dalla Costa, co-founder of *Lotta Femminista* (Feminist Struggle), gave a speech addressing the intersectionality between women's labor, childcare, and the question of abortion through the promotion of Wages for Housework.¹⁶ She argued that because women are not paid for housework, they must take underpaid jobs, are overworked, and settle for unsafe state nurseries. Therefore women often turn towards abortion, "This weakness forces us to pay half a million lire (\$750) for an abortion...and on top of that we risk death and imprisonment."¹⁷ People are supposed to have the right to work, but women have fewer opportunities than men because of the burden that child-rearing imposes upon workers and their employers, making them unemployed. When women cannot work they cannot possess their own capital, which is necessary for people to be able to support themselves, house themselves, and feed themselves. Therefore, it is Costa's argument that control over their own reproductive process through abortion and contraception is necessary for women to realize these rights.

Bulgarian-French philosopher, Julia Kristeva, discussed the relationship between reproductive rights and economic and political rights for women in *Women's Time* (1979):

...in Eastern Europe, various blunders and vacillations have not prevented three of the most important demands of the early feminist movement from being answered to: the demands of economic, political and professional equality. The fourth demand, sexual equality, which would require permissiveness in sexual relationships as well as abortion and contraceptive rights, remains inhibited by certain Marxist ethics...¹⁸

So while Marxism theoretically promoted the economic, political and professional equality of all, in reality, the restriction of abortion and contraception made the right to economic and

¹⁶ Simone de Beauvoir, "A general strike", in *Feminist Writings*, eds. Margaret A. Simons, Marybeth Timmermann. (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2000).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Julia Kristeva, "Womens Time," in *French Feminism Reader*, 237. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 1987), 188.

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political equality impossible for women. Rather than providing a commentary on the politics of Eastern Europe, Kristeva was analyzing the response of Western leftists to the failure of the Soviet Union to guarantee human rights. Instead of focusing on Marxism itself, she focused on the idea of equality economically and professionally, which is a right. Additionally, in this article, Kristeva described the shift in feminism originating in 1968, claiming that a “pronounced mistrust for political life,” led to the globalization and universalization of feminist problems.¹⁹ This described the reaction of Western leftists to their disillusionment from the failures of socialism in protecting human rights. The result was the integration of female personal experiences, their involvement in labor movements, and their resulting presumption of the right to work into the feminist space.

The blatant disregard for referencing the *Universal Declaration of Rights* by de Beauvoir, Dalla Costa and Kristeva does not prove that they did not think of reproductive rights as human rights. Rather, that it was an idea that was beginning to develop in the context of larger social movements. By putting reproductive justice in the context of grassroots movements through their human rights arguments and establishing these connections, feminists broadened the definition of rights. This set a precedent for reproductive control to be looked at in this light when they were addressed in courts in 1972 (France) and 1978 (Italy).

The connection between birth control and the right to work was addressed in 1972 when the law against abortion in France was challenged in court. Known as the Bobigny Affair, an underage girl and her mother were both arrested when the girl had an abortion after being raped. The defense was represented by Gisele Halimi, a de-colonization, anti-war, feminist activist who had signed the *Manifesto of the 343 Sluts* the year before in 1971. The *Manifesto* was the confession of 343 women who had had an abortion, which had been published in order to advocate for reproductive rights. Additionally, Halimi founded the group *Choisir*,

¹⁹ Ibid, 186-187.

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to protect the women who had admitted to having an abortion. In the trial, she called upon Simone de Beauvoir, who had also signed the *Manifesto of the 343 Sluts* to explain why safe access to abortion should be necessary. During the trial, de Beauvoir discussed the patriarchal trap of unpaid housework and described the women of all working classes who came to her door seeking help for an abortion. Like her previous work and speeches in 1961 and 1966, this emphasized the link between control over reproduction through birth control (in this case, abortion) and the right to work. However, in this moment, her argument was more significant because of the setting. The legalization of abortion was on trial. Her arguments, like the rest of the case, would influence the decision of the court and therefore the liberalization of abortion directly. The influence of this case can be seen through the change in French popular opinion: in 1970 only 22 percent of French people favored ending abortion restrictions, but just one year later, in 1971, support increased to 55 percent.²⁰

Later, de Beauvoir analyzed the Bobigny case in *Abortion and the Poor*. She described the mother in the case as an “exemplary woman.” As a single mother and a subway employee who only earned 1500 francs a month, she represented the link between abortion and the right to work perfectly. According to de Beauvoir’s account of the case, the mother explained why she helped her daughter seek abortion procedures, “I did not want my daughter to relive my calvary.”²¹ The mother demonstrated de Beauvoir’s argument that reproduction and work were unequivocally linked. While the mother struggled to provide for her family and worked in a low paying job, the unspoken question remained: what would have happened if she had not gotten pregnant? She recapitulates this question by supporting her daughter’s decision to have an abortion. What do accidental pregnancies cost women? Their rights? To de Beauvoir and the court of France, this was a case study that emphasized why

²⁰ Marybeth Timmermann, and Margaret A. Simons. *Feminist Writings*. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 2015), 186.

²¹ Simone de Beauvoir. “Abortion and the Poor” in *Feminist writings*., eds. Margaret A. Simons, Marybeth Timmermann, p. 88. (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1961).

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women needed access to safe abortion. By putting the case in terms of the ability to work, they were addressing Article 23 of *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. This becomes clearer with the passing of the Veil Law in 1975, which temporarily liberalized abortion by legalizing it for 12 weeks after conception until it was ratified in 1979.

Self-Determination & Reproductive Rights

The Bobigny Affair also brought up issues of birth control under the conditions of recognizing the right to self-determination. In the context of abortion and contraception, self-determination emphasized the mother's right to choose whether or not to have children. De Beauvoir stressed this in her deposition at the trial in which she explained how society trapped women into housework, "maternity must be imposed upon women, and imposed against their will."²² Her word choice was purposeful, repeating "imposed" to emphasize the restrictive nature of motherhood and "against their will" to show the lack of choice women have on the matter without access to contraception and abortion. It was this specific lack of choice that brought up the relationship between reproductive rights and self-determination. In arguing for reproductive control, feminist activists repeatedly use words like "choose," "freedom," and "self-determination," to focus on how the restrictions on abortion and contraception violated this right. The distinction of this language is also reflected in the slogan still used today, "pro-choice."

Self-determination is protected by Article 1 of the *International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights* (1966), "All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."²³ While self-determination often refers to a national

²² Simone de Beauvoir. "Bobigny Deposition" in *Feminist writings.*, eds. Margaret A. Simons, Marybeth Timmermann, p. 88. (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1961).

²³ UN General Assembly "International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights," 1966. Accessed September 14, 2017, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CCPR.aspx>

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consciousness and the collective people's right to determine their own government, in this circumstance, the emphasis on economic, social and cultural rights as well broadens the definition so that it encompasses reproductive rights. The accentuation on individual rights following the Holocaust provided an explanation for the shift in defining self-determination. de Beauvoir indicated this shift by comparing modern rights violations in Algeria to that of the Holocaust. She wrote, "Either- despite your willing and facile grief over such past horrors as the Warsaw ghetto or the death of Anne Frank- you align yourselves with our contemporary butchers rather than their victims..."²⁴ Mass genocide forced a shift in ideology that emphasized protecting individual human rights rather than the collective. As a result of the emphasis on individual rights, definitions of rights like self-determination shifted to encompass freedom of choice in one's personal life as well. Additionally, the process of de-colonization created an upsurge of freedom to self-determination rhetoric. Like other grassroots activisms, the feminist movement drew upon these ideals of freedom and incorporated them into their arguments.

Global decolonization raised these questions of right to self-determination in the political sphere. For example, the Algerian Revolution against France encouraged the discussion of human rights violations in a colonial context, both in freedom to take part in one's government and in issues like torture. In 1954, the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) released a proclamation declaring independence from France,²⁵ and a bloody war ensued until the signing of the Evian Accords in 1962.²⁶ The Evian Accords emphasized the right to self-determination by repeating it 22 times throughout the text, and committing to the *Universal*

²⁴ Gisele Halimi, Simone de Beauvoir. *Djamila Boupacha: the story of the torture of a young Algerian girl which shocked liberal French opinion*, ed. Gisèle Halimi. (Paris: Paris Gallimard. 1962), p. 20.

²⁵ "Proclamation of the Algerian National Front, Libération [sic] Front, (FLN), November 1954," <http://historicaltextarchive.com/print.php?action=section&artid=10#>, 1-2. Bb.

²⁶ "Algeria: France-Algeria Independence Agreements (Evian Agreements)." *International Legal Materials* 1, no. 2 (1962): p. 214-30. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20689578>.

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Declaration of Human Rights in Chapter 2, section A.²⁷ During the War, French anti-colonial activists protested the abuses committed by the French government and soldiers. Additionally, mass emigration from Algeria following the revolution led to an increase in the number of immigrant workers in France. Between 1968 and 1975 the number grew from 881,000 to 1,140,000, increasing from 14.9 percent to 19.06 percent of the workforce.²⁸ This led to an increased interaction between French anti-colonial activists, Algerian revolutionaries, and Colons.

Among the French activists was Gisele Halimi, future defense lawyer in the Bobigny Trial, signer of *The Manifesto of the 343 Sluts*, and also defender an FLN liaison agent, Djamilia Boupacha. In 1962, Halimi and de Beauvoir released a book describing Halimi's encounters with Boupacha while illuminating the human rights violations in her case and the widespread use of torture in Algeria—*Djamila Boupacha: The story of a young Algerian Girl which shocked liberal French opinion*. Additionally, Halimi and de Beauvoir founded the Djamilia Boupacha Committee to increase public awareness of the rights violations in Algeria by publishing articles on the case in *Le Monde* by printing pamphlets, and addressing Daniel Mayer (the President of the League of Human Rights).²⁹ They were supported by well-known activists like Françoise Sagan, Jean-Paul Sartre, Jean Amrouche, Aime Cesaire, and Hélène Parmelin.³⁰ The case itself brought up the protection from rape and torture as a human right.³¹ Some feminists, like the Italian feminist collective *Rivolta Femminile* and de Beauvoir later argued that forced pregnancy itself was a form of torture and rape.³² However, this historical moment was also significant because it linked the self-determination values from

²⁷ Ibid

²⁸ Mann, Keith, Artières, Phillipe Zancarini-Fournel, Michelle, and Xavier Vigna. "A Revival of Labor and Social Protest Research in France: Recent Scholarship on may 1968." *International Labor and Working Class History* 80, no. 1 (Fall, 2011): p. 203-214.

²⁹ Halimi, Gisele and Simone de Beauvoir. *Djamila Boupacha: the story of the torture of a young Algerian girl which shocked liberal French opinion*, ed. Gisèle Halimi. (Paris: Paris Gallimard. 1962), p. 63-66.

³⁰ Ibid, p. 70.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Rivolta Femminile, "Female Sexuality and Abortion" (1971), in Paola Bono and Sandra Kemp, eds., *Italian Feminist Thought: A Reader* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), p. 214-218.

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Algerian revolutionaries with popular French activists in the 1950s and 1960s. As a result, ideas based on self-determination made their way into the French feminist dialogue through the routes of de-colonization and pro-Algerian supporters like de Beauvoir and Halimi.

The *Manifesto of the 343 Sluts*, signed by Halimi, de Beauvoir, and Françoise Sagan (all involved in anti-war protest), emphasized the importance of reproductive control to rights of self-determination by using a vocabulary that emphasized the individual right to autonomy. The signees justified abortion: “It goes without saying that we do not have the right to choose what we want to do with our bodies, as other human beings do...”³³ The word “choose,” portrays self-determination through invoking the idea that women should have autonomy over themselves and have the right to make decisions. The authors of this document also defined choice as a right in this statement alone. Theoretically, “rights” should carry universality. Yet, this segment points out the hypocrisy by comparing women to other people in society when it came to decisions about their own body. The lack of choice meant that self-determination was not universal. Rather, in a society that eliminated access to contraception and abortion, women were denied a right to choose (when and if they would have children). This was a theme of de Beauvoir’s, which she repeatedly emphasized. In 1961 she wrote, “First in the immense majority of cases, women do not have a choice.”³⁴ Again, she did not reference any human rights documents, but by including “choice,” she recognized it as a value.

The *Manifesto of the 343 Sluts* went on to assert that, “...I will have a child if I want one, and no moral pressure, institution or economic imperative will compel me to do so. This is my political power.”³⁵ In this she also recognized that other factors came in to play when

³³ Simone de. Beauvoir, “Manifesto of the 343 Sluts.” *Le Nouvel Observateur*. April, 1971.

³⁴ Simone de. Beauvoir, “The Condition of Women”. in *Feminist Writings.*, eds. Margaret A. Simons, Marybeth Timmermann, p. 88. (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1961).

³⁵ Simone de. Beauvoir, “Manifesto of the 343 Sluts.” *Le Nouvel Observateur*. April, 1971.

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considering reproduction or abortion. If contraceptives and abortion were unaffordable (economic pressure), women would turn to alternative means, such as illegal and unsafe abortions. Others who contested the right to birth control and instead prioritized societal institutions, like marriage and family, over reproductive rights would not always prevent this decision either. Finally, the idea that women morally must carry a pregnancy to term did not always sway women's choices either. Instead, the decision to have a child was a holistic choice in which all consequences needed to be considered. The inclusion of "this is my political power," recognizes that only by gaining control of their reproductive process through "choice," would women gain political equality. Therefore, they thought that women were being denied the right to self-determination because they were denied the choice to reproduce. The founding of *Choisir*, meaning, "to choose," in 1971 reinforced this theme of self-determination. Gisele Halimi, and president Simone de Beauvoir created this association.

The ideas of autonomy and self-determination were widespread and not always linked specifically to the Algerian-French relationship. In fact, the later half of the twentieth century could be defined by the accentuation of self-determination and choice due to the fall of colonial empires and the emergence of individual rights movements as a global phenomenon. This can be seen through the adoption of self-determination rhetoric in abortion and contraceptive arguments throughout Europe. In 1967, feminist activists in the United Kingdom began using the slogan "A woman's right to choose" to support the Abortion Act, which legalized abortions performed by medical practitioners before the twenty-fourth week.³⁶ Again, this was a moment in which choice and self-determination were considered rights.

Catholic Ireland, while somewhat more passive in the reproductive rights movement because of the Pope's denunciation of birth control and abortion, focused on a similar de-

³⁶ Bridgeman J. A Woman's Right to Choose?.in: Lee E. (eds) *Abortion Law and Politics Today*.(London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998)

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bate.³⁷ The Troubles in Northern Ireland also lead to an increased examination of self-determination after protests in Derry against gerrymandering and discrimination led to violence. While Irish feminists focused on first legalizing contraception, discussions over abortion still arose. Nell Mccafferty voiced the anger women felt by having this decision taken away from them in a 1983 article: “our wombs have been kicked right out of us. No woman can be trusted with a womb of her own.”³⁸ The repression of self-determination was further emphasized by an article she wrote a year later in which she pointed out that in southern Ireland there were only fourteen female elected politicians versus two hundred men in the National Government. Of the women in government, none of them had made a stance for or against abortion.³⁹ Because men were creating the laws that restricted access to contraception and outlawed abortion, women had little to no say in the laws that governed their own bodies. Irish historian and feminist Jenny Beale explained the power that women received by being sanctioned to make this choice, “By using contraception, a woman is claiming some degree of control over her own body. She is making a decision to have sex without wanting to get pregnant and is therefore making a decision about her own life.”⁴⁰ She argued that men subconsciously sought to control the reproductive process by restricting birth control because it reconfirmed male virility and because granting women this choice would reduce the power of the church. The conscious action of deciding to reproduce (or not to, or when to) confirmed the right to self-determination. The value placed on self determination was so widespread throughout Europe that even one Irish woman, who did not believe in the right to abortion, was quoted in Beale’s book, saying that she would not argue with one who was pro-choice,

³⁷ Jenny Beale, *Women in Ireland: Voices of change*. (Bloomington, Ind. Indiana University Press. 1987).

³⁸ Nell Mccafferty quoted in Jenny Beale, *Women in Ireland: Voices of change*. (Bloomington, Ind: Indiana University Press. 1987), p. 117.

³⁹ Nell Mccafferty, “IRELAND(S): Coping with the womb and the border.” in *Sisterhood is global: The International Women's Movement Anthology*. 1st Edition ed., (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday. 1984), p. 347.

⁴⁰ Jenny Beale, *Women in Ireland: Voices of change*. (Bloomington, Ind: Indiana University Press. 1987), p. 111.

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since, “I believe in a society where everyone has free choice.”⁴¹ This marked the relevance of self-determination in the 1970s and 1980s in Ireland.

In 1971, German feminist Alice Schwarzer, who interviewed Simone de Beauvoir after the publication of the *Manifesto of the 343 Sluts*, led a German reproductive rights movement through the publication of their own manifesto, demanding a change to the anti-abortion law, Article 218, in Germany as well.⁴² A decade later, an anonymous writer reflected on the moment in *How it all Began: I have had an Abortion*, claiming that what was “...really revolutionary was the demand to abolish 218 via the demand attached to it that the women determine their own destiny!”⁴³ The active verb “determine” again highlighted how women thought that they should be able to make their own decisions about their bodies and their future. Additionally, the value placed upon “destiny” recognized the future of individual women, and therefore the impact unwanted or unsafe pregnancy had upon women. At the time, women’s groups like Frauenkation had already marched through the streets under the slogan “My belly belongs to me,”⁴⁴ emphasizing self-determination through the control over their own bodies. This article and the use of self-determination rhetoric within it mobilized women and encouraged feminists to take action. One of the women who signed the document, Ute Geissler, commented on the activism that happened after the document was published and the shift in attitude, saying at first that she was afraid of what the police might do, but then it became clear that they would not be intimidated anymore.⁴⁵ Instead, a widespread public movement mounted across Europe in November 1971 promoting reproductive rights.⁴⁶

A part of the discussion on self-determination was the comparison of women’s roles (and their relationship to motherhood) to slavery, which was prohibited by Article 4 in the

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 118

⁴² Anonymous. *How it all Began: I have had an abortion*. In *Essential feminist reader*. 1st Edition ed., p. 355. New York, New York: Random House Publishing Group. 1981.355

⁴³ Ibid p. 357

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 357

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 358.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

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Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Independently, these rights emphasize both the cruelty, lack of choice, and lack of control over one's own body that transpired under enslavement and torture. While feminists did not define undesired motherhood as slavery or the denial of abortion as a form of torture, they did draw parallels in how they were both inhumane. Simone de Beauvoir created this connection in 1961 in *The Condition of Women*, claiming that women were tied to the house because of motherhood and expected to raise children. "She is indeed as indissolubly attached to the home as the serf was to the glebe in the days of old," and that unpaid housework was a form of "domestic slavery."⁴⁷ Her comparison between motherhood and serfdom and slavery emphasizes the lack of choice in labor if she becomes pregnant. In 1981, Luce Irigaray made a similar call to action, "It is crucial that we keep our bodies even as we bring them out of silence and out of servitude."⁴⁸ In this Irigaray discussed the changes that had happened throughout the 1970s as the second wave feminist movement began to make a greater impact in women's lives and as abortion and contraception were liberalized. Additionally, French feminist, Colette Guillaumin equated racism and sexism because of the similarities in the socioeconomic reality between black slavery and single motherhood.⁴⁹

Similarly, feminists also compared the lack of access to abortion, the necessity of abortion, and rape to torture, which was prohibited in Article 5 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. The rape and torture of Djamilia Boupacha during the Algerian revolution provided an example of how reproductive rights, torture, and the right to self-determination intersect. Feminists argued that rape took away a woman's control over her own body and therefore her self-determination to reproduce. Additionally, this was classified as torture in

⁴⁷ Simone de Beauvoir, "The Condition of Women." In *Feminist Writings*, eds. Margaret A. Simons, Marybeth Timmermann, (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1961).

⁴⁸ Irigaray, Luce. "Body against Body: In relation to the mother." in *French feminism reader*. (Lanham, Md.: Lanham, Md. : Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 2000).

⁴⁹ Monique Wittig, "One is not born a woman" in *French feminism reader*. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1981), p. 361.

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the Boupacha case. In 1978, public protest broke out in Italy after an abortionist raped a young woman who had come to him for help. The protestors' used slogans like, "Rape is only the most evident case of the violence that women experience; my uterus is mine and I'll control it; the Vatican can look after its anus."⁵⁰ Once again, they focused on women's right to control their own body and how rape violated that right. They also referenced the Vatican's assertion that abortion and contraception were un-Christian because feminists thought that even the Pope should not be able to force those decisions upon women through religious threat. Rather, they argued that self-determination would grant women the right to control their own reproductive process.

Health, Standard of Living Rights & Reproductive Rights

The protest march after the abortionist raped the young Italian girl also emphasized how a lack of reproductive control violated the rights to health and a standard of living. These rights were protected under Article 25 in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*: "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including... medical care and necessary social services..." necessitating the protection of women's health.⁵¹ Thus, reproductive choice needed to be protected because pregnancy could be life threatening while illegal abortions were unsafe, often leading to the death of the mother. Additionally, because child rearing required a certain standard of living and economic support, abortion and contraception became a health related issue that fell under these rights. Simone Veil, the Minister of Health in France in 1975 when abortion was liberalized, focused on these health risks to women who were not able to access contraception or safe abortions. In a 1997 article she reflected, "With no possibility of contracep-

⁵⁰ Noon, Ann and Lucy Quacinella. "Italy: Abortionist-Rapist Resisted." *Off our Backs* 8, no. 4 (Apr 30, 1978): p. 7. <https://proxy.wm.edu/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/197137794?accountid=15053>.

⁵¹ UN General Assembly "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights," 1948. <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>

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tion or legal abortion, they must often bear children before they are physically ready to do so. Some have recourse to illicit and secret abortions, a practice which causes the death of close to one million women each year.”⁵² By ignoring this healthcare crisis and the deaths of a million women a year, feminists argued that governments were ignoring the women’s right to life. If abortions were going to be done illegally, posing a threat to the healthcare of millions it became an issue in which the state had to address a right to life and a right to adequate healthcare.

Healthcare was a primary topic in the Irish case of *Mary McGee vs. The Attorney General* in 1973. McGee had ordered spermicidal jelly from England, despite it being outlawed in Ireland, after she had been told that having a fifth child could put her life in danger. However, the Irish government confiscated her order. An obvious solution would be contraception to prevent pregnancy, and perhaps save the life of the mother. If the mother did not have access to contraception, the resulting possible pregnancy could lead to her death. Therefore, by restricting access to contraception, they were infringing on her right to life and a standard of living. The plaintiff argued that government was interfering with family privacy and that inaccessibility to contraception threatened a woman’s right to life. Within the judgment panel, panel member Walsh J. commented that the prohibition of importing contraception failed the women of Ireland, “the Act of 1935 fails to (recognize) and give due weight to a private family decision of the plaintiff and her husband touching her life within the home and by attempting to frustrate that decision endangers the plaintiff’s life and refuses to allow her to live her life within her home as she and her husband think best in the interests of the family.”⁵³ His statement emphasized women’s right to a standard of health and a right to life, consequently arguing that women should be able to choose birth control in order to maintain

⁵²Simone Veil. "A Personal Perspective on Human Rights and Health." *Health and Human Rights* 2, no. 3 (1997): p. 91-94.

⁵³ *MARY McGEE, Plaintiff v THE ATTORNEY GENERAL and THE REVENUE COMMISSIONERS, Defendants (1971 no 2314 P) (SC) MARY McGEE, Plaintiff v THE ATTORNEY GENERAL and THE REVENUE COMMISSIONERS, Defendants (1971 no 2314 P) (SC) (1973)* (accessed September 27, 2017).

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that right. Furthermore, the secondary stance was that families should be able to make decisions that would protect their family, therefore supporting a right to self-determination within the family.

Additionally, illegal abortions created unsafe spaces where women could be assaulted or where the abortions could result in the death of the woman. In an American report on the Italian women's movement and abortion, *Off Our Backs* explained that for women seeking abortion, "Alone, afraid for their health and possible legal repercussions, women have very little with which to defend themselves. A small, dark office provides an "ideal" opportunity for extremes of degradation and blackmail."⁵⁴ This was the case for the Italian woman who was raped by her abortionist, and it explained why women could not and should not seek illegal abortions. Consequentially, this was why it needed to be liberalized, so that women would have access to a standard of health and be protected in a safe hospital or clinical environment.

Increased Mobilization of Feminist Activism

The increased discussion of these rights was distributed through the mobilization of women in the transnational women's movement. The Italian case when an abortionist raped his pregnant patient was important because of the feminist reaction. This case mobilized Italian women and made the women's movement more encompassing. Unlike previous movements, the resulting protests included a more economically diverse group of women: "10,000 women marched out to one of the working-class areas of Rome. This was one of the few times that a women's march did not limit its itinerary to the center of the city and government buildings."⁵⁵ The women's movement began to expand and include women from a variety of different backgrounds. In *A Womb of One's Own*, a journalist described the response of a doctor named Sylvie, who had been active in the illegal abortion movement in Paris. Sylvie

⁵⁴ Noon, Ann and Lucy Quacinella. "Italy: Abortionist-Rapist Resisted." *Off our Backs* 8, no. 4 (Apr 30, 1978): p. 7. <https://proxy.wm.edu/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/197137794?accountid=15053>.

⁵⁵ Ibid

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had attended the International Women's Health Conference in 1977, fearing that the conference would exclude immigrant and lower income women she worked with. However, the journalist reflected on how the doctor viewed the moment, "For her, it was the first time she had seen feminist make militant concrete demands for control of their own bodies, demands that she had sensed in her work in Paris, but that remained inarticulate until the conference."⁵⁶ This marked the mobilization of a feminist movement across class lines and the commitment to liberalizing abortion and contraception.

Albert Ellis, an American psychologist who wrote extensively on sexuality, argued that this reflected a change in social movements as well, "we are seeing the remaining sexual liberation of women as part of their general emancipation and their general emancipation as part of a larger trend toward social reconstruction."⁵⁷ The 1960s and 1970s was a moment when people began to reconstruct society so that human rights would be realized. The way that this happened was through social activism and the creation of awareness. Yet, the primary goal was to have these rights protected by law. Luce Irigaray demanded that "...once the rights of each gender have been written into legal documents representing society or culture, this will mean that natural law is no longer separate from civil law..."⁵⁸

Implementation of Pro-Choice Human Rights Policy

As a result of the mobilization of feminist activists, abortion became a topic that was addressed across Europe in politics, and human rights became the rhetoric in which abortion and contraception were liberalized. Jacques-Antoine Gau, who spoke on behalf of the socialists and radical left in 1975, discussed abortion and contraception in his campaign, "We all have to work together to find a solution that is as humane as possible... for women resigned

⁵⁶ "A Womb of One's Own." *Off our Backs* 7, no. 7 (Sep 30, 1977): p. 7.

⁵⁷ Albert Ellis. *The Journal of Sex Research* 1, no. 1 (1965): p. 65-66.

⁵⁸ Luce Irigaray. "Sexes and genealogies: Each sex must have its own rights." in *French Feminism Reader*, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 1987), p. 237.

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to this ultimate remedy, the moral, medical and material conditions, enabling them to interrupt their pregnancy without having to bear the consequences anymore.”⁵⁹ He focused on the medical right for women to seek help regarding unwanted pregnancy. Additionally, in 1979 the Veil Law was ratified and implemented permanently.

This development of an international feminist movement and issues over constitutionality across Europe established a need for human rights specifically for women to be addressed at an international political level. This culminated in 1979, with the United Nations General Assembly adopting the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), a treaty that has since been described as a bill of rights for women. While the treaty did not address abortion or contraception yet again, several articles addressed the same human rights issues that had become distinct within the women’s rights movement since 1968. Among them, Article 12 of CEDAW, “take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of health care in order to ensure...access to health care services, including those related to family planning,”⁶⁰ echoed the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and drew upon the ideal of a right to health and a standard of living. However, what made this distinct was that it provided a basis for policy implementation for reproductive freedom policies in the last two decades of the twentieth century.

The United Nations declared 1975 International Women’s Year in an attempt to promote human rights for women. The same year, the UN held its first World Conference on Women in Mexico City, focused solely on women’s issues. There would be three more conferences in 1980 and 1985. At the fourth, in Beijing in 1995, the First Lady of the United States Hillary

⁵⁹ De La Hougue, Claire. “The deconstruction of the veil law on abortion.” *European Centre for Law & Justice*. (2017). Accessed November 15, 2017. <https://eclj.org/la-dconstruction-de-la-loi-veil/french-institutions/la-dconstruction-de-la-loi-veil>

⁶⁰ UN Women, “Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women,” United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, 1979. accessed September 14, 2017, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/protocol/text.htm>.

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Rodham Clinton addressed rights to family planning, “It is a violation of human rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families.”⁶¹ On a world stage, her emphasis on family planning through reproductive rights mirrored the values of the transnational feminist movement. Recently in 2017, the United Nations Human Rights Committee ruled that Ireland’s abortion laws violate women’s human rights in the case *Whelan vs. Ireland*, claiming that Articles 2 (1), 3, 7, 17, 19, and 26 of the Covenant were violated by upholding the ban on abortion.⁶²

Human rights were a part of the discussion universally. Arguments against abortion and contraception also focused on human rights, focusing on the language pro-life, believing that every being has a right to life. The question became when does life start? At contraception? And if so, how are the rights of people prioritized? Do mothers have more of a claim to these rights or does a right to life outrank a right to work and self-determination? And so the discussion of these rights in the context of abortion and contraception continue today.

⁶¹ Clinton, Hillary Rodham. "Speech by US First Lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton." *WIN News* 21, no. 4 (Autumn, 1995): p. 6. <https://proxy.wm.edu/login?url=https://search.proquest.com/docview/231069311?accountid=15053>.

⁶² “U.N. Committee: Criminalization of Abortion in Ireland Violates Woman’s Human Rights,” *Center for Reproductive Rights*, June 13, 2017. <https://www.reproductiverights.org/press-room/un-committee-criminalization-of-abortion-in-ireland-violates-womans-human-rights-0>.
Whelan vs. Ireland, Whelan vVs. Ireland, (2017), http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/Treaties/CCPR/Shared%20Documents/IRL/CCPR_C_119_D_2425_2014_25970_E.pdf.

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Icepicks and Nobel Prizes: the Birth of the Lobotomy

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Howard Dully's Lobotomy, December 16, 1960.
Image Courtesy of the George Washington University Gelman Library.

On a chilly winter day in 1960, Howard Dully heard a van pull up to his house in Oakland, California.¹ Inside was Doctor Walter Freeman, a professor of Neurology at George Washington University. The van was called the “lobotomobile,” and Freeman was the owner and proprietor. Howard’s parents were tired of Howard’s “defiant and savage behavior,” and wanted it to stop.² For most of the twentieth century, the only way to alter behavior was psychosurgery, and by 1960, Freeman’s lobotomy had established a track record of results—60,000 lobotomies were performed between 1932 until the mid-sixties, and all but a few hundred patients were ambulatory within an hour of their procedure.³ The public knew him as a pioneering physician who traveled the country promising to “reli[ev]e the patient from doubts and fears, morbid thoughts, hallucinations and delusions.”⁴ His method was simple. Freeman

¹ Howard Dully and Charles Fleming, *My Lobotomy: A Memoir* (New York, NY: Crown Publishing, 2007), p. 96-97

² *Ibid.*

³ Mical Raz, *The Lobotomy Letters: the Making of American Psychosurgery* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2015), p. 7.

⁴ Walter Freeman and James W. Watts, *Psychosurgery: Intelligence, Emotion and Social Behavior Following Prefrontal Lobotomy for Mental Disorders* (Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 1942), p. vii.

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would insert a surgical tool, which resembled an icepick, seven-centimeters into the cavity just above the eye socket and would move it back and forth to sever the “medial fibers,” which “carr[ie]d impulses to and from the orbital surface.”⁵ He used “careful measurements and observa[tion]” to make sure that he destroyed just enough tissue.⁶ Then he would retract the tool, sew up the wounds, and go on to his next patient. The whole operation took ten minutes. Excited, Howard’s parents signed their son up for the operation.⁷

Despite recognition by doctors during its creation in the early 1930s, the lobotomy quickly fell out of style by 1965, and has become known as what Elliot S. Valenstein, a professor of neuroscience at the University of Michigan, calls “an evolutionary throwback, akin more to the early practice of trepanning the skull to allow the demons to escape than to modern medicine.”⁸ Yet Valenstein’s analysis mischaracterizes the true nature of the lobotomy, and ignores the larger history surrounding the procedure. The lobotomy does not represent a so-called “dark-side” to medicine, but rather grew out of the public health movement, and was a legitimate and well-regarded procedure. This paper will argue that the lobotomy was a part of modern medicine because it sought to solve a mental problem with a physical solution, address mainstream medical issues, and change the standards of medical care.⁹ To accomplish this, I will examine the origins of the lobotomy, its widespread acceptance, and ultimately, why the procedure was abandoned. To be clear, this is not an argument defending the lobotomy, but rather one revisiting its place in history.

⁵ John F. Fulton, *Functional Localization in Relation to Frontal Lobotomy* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1949), 85. and John F. Fulton, *Frontal Lobotomy and Affective Behavior: A Neurophysiological Analysis* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1951), p. 108.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁷ Dully and Fleming, *My Lobotomy*, p. 96.

⁸ Elliot S. Valenstein, *Great and Desperate Cures: the Rise and Decline of Psychosurgery and other Radical Treatments for Mental Illness* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1986), p. 3-4.

⁹ Jack El-Hai, *The Lobotomist: a Maverick Medical Genius and his Tragic Quest to rid the World of Mental Illness* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2007), p. 4.

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During the first half of the twentieth century, the public health movement's primary goal was to make sure that America had the "highest mass standard of living" in the world.¹⁰ Public health activists worked in various fields of medicine to ensure that Americans stayed healthy. But reformers also wanted to make sure that those who were already sick had the highest standards of care. These reformers were men and women, doctors and school teachers, rich and poor. Together they set out to increase the quality of care in any way that they could, including through surgery.

The lobotomy emerged from the larger public health movement's fascination with surgery as a corrective measure of physical, and mental illness. Until the 1930s, mental health patients were largely written off as "incurable," as medical science did not yet understand the chemical operations of the brain. But the lobotomy, pioneered during the 1920s and 1930s in Portugal by neurosurgeon Antonio Egas Moniz, was supposed to cure schizophrenia and other mental disorders with little risk. That a cure assumed the form of surgery was no surprise: the lobotomy was simply a manifestation of twentieth-century medical thinking that valued physical solutions to health issues. Throughout the early 20th century, physicians argued that before long, "all mental disorders would be found to have a physical basis."¹¹ To practitioners, the lobotomy was simply like removing "the teeth, the tonsils, the appendix, and the uterine": just another surgery that could fix a problem.¹² As James W. Watts, Freeman's one-time partner, himself notes, "other operations for the relief of disordered mental states...rang[ed] from castration to colectomy."¹³ The lobotomy, Watts argued, was just a progression of already existing surgeries that tried to resolve disease through physical solutions. Freeman captured this sentiment best when he said, "If the trouble's in the head, why work on the bel-

¹⁰ J.D. Marx, "American Social Policy in the 1960's and 1970's," Social Welfare History Project. <http://socialwelfare.library.vcu.edu/war-on-poverty/american-social-policy-in-the-60s-and-70s/>

¹¹ Valenstein, *Great and Desperate Cures*, p. 27.

¹² Freeman and Watts, *Intelligence, Emotion and Social Behavior Following Prefrontal Lobotomy for Mental Disorders*, p. 6.

¹³ Walter Freeman and James W. Watts: *Psychosurgery in the Treatment of Mental Disorders and Intractable Pain* (Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas, 1950), p. xv.

ly?”¹⁴ That was precisely the attitude. The lobotomy was a popular solution to mental problem, not a freak offshoot of accepted surgical procedures.

At first, the leaders of the public health movement felt like the procedure could solve hospital overcrowding, which was one of the biggest issues within medicine. During the 1930s and 1940s, reformers were concerned that hospitals were too full and that the influx of patients affected care. Even as late as the 1960s, the public health workers were still concerned with fighting “hospitalism,” which they defined as “the air of depression and apathy that often surrounds a group of seriously ill patients, especially if they are in an overcrowded ward.”¹⁵ Patients with mental disorders often lived in the dirtiest hospital wards, and were “disturbed” by their surroundings.¹⁶ Doctors did not always have precise terms for the various conditions, so they preferred to say that the mentally ill experienced “certain changes in behavior” as a result of the “emotional deprivation and absence of sensorial and social stimuli” found in a hospital setting.¹⁷ Nurses—unable to truly end overcrowding—needed a way to end patients’ anxiety so that “hospitalism” could be avoided.

Relief was hard to come by because early twentieth century hospitals simply lacked the infrastructure and funding necessary to expand or hire a great deal of staff. However, reformers could solve this issue by lobotomizing patients because the surgery only cost ten dollars.¹⁸ Moniz asserted that the inexpensive procedure allowed for a “considerable improvement in mental health” of patients, taking away their anxiety, and thus making them care less about poor hospital conditions.¹⁹ And though Moniz only based this conclusion on

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ *Mosby's Medical Dictionary, 8th edition*. S.v. “hospitalism.” Retrieved March 21 2017.

¹⁶ Many patients held in mental wards were “disturbed...and nervous on account of [the] experiences” that resulted from “being committed to the hospital.” In short, the hospital was seen as making patients get worse. See Stanley D. Porteus and Richard DeMonbrun Kepner, “Mental Changes After Bilateral Prefrontal Lobotomy,” *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, no. 29 (1944): p. 36-37.

¹⁷ Phillip E. Rothman, “A Note on Hospitalism,” *Pediatrics*, no. 6 (December 1962): <http://pediatrics.aappublications.org/content/30/6/995>.

¹⁸ Dully and Fleming, *My Lobotomy*, p. ix.

¹⁹ “Lobotomy.” *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology (1931-1951)* 38, no. 4 (1947): p. 392-93. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1138018>.

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the number of complaints he received from patients, the medical community assumed that the ten-minute operation was worth it. The patient's previous concerns, which the health officials saw as cause for alarm, "were no longer a source of worry and anxiety" post-operation.²⁰ The lobotomy numbed mental health patients from the depressive nature of their surroundings. Nurses also found that the procedure created a sense of "docility" in the patients, making them easy to care for.²¹ The lobotomy was thus a quick and cost-effective way of providing the high standard of care that reformers sought while alleviating stress.

Furthermore, according to scientific journals at the time, psychosurgery got results. The lobotomy transformed severely troubled people into functioning workers, and not only decreased "hospitalism," but increased the number of patients discharged.²² Reports claim that 30-50% of lobotomy patients were able to live outside the hospital on a "self-sustaining basis," meaning that they did not require any nursing care.²³ Since the lobotomy was used primarily to clear "schizophrenic" patients out of wards, allowing someone to live on their own was considered to be quite the success. Men and women got better, and overcrowding was less of an issue. People no longer had to spend their entire lives in institutions. Several clinical studies supported this assessment, and doctors concluded the procedure made sense. There were thousands of patients who had recovered well enough to live at home without supervision, including "a long standing schizophrenic" and a "recurrent manic-depressive."²⁴ The lobotomy, it seemed, was a cure-all for mental disease.

The lobotomy also solved problems within the day-to-day disciplinary practice of medicine. In fact, the surgery emerged due to the changing nature of academic medicine at

²⁰ "Lobotomy: Surgery for the Insane." *Stanford Law Review* 1, no. 3 (1949): 463-74. doi:10.2307/1226372.

²¹ Priscilla Booth Behnken, and Elizabeth Good Merrill. "Nursing Care Following Prefrontal Lobotomy." *The American Journal of Nursing* 49, no. 7 (1949): 431-34. doi:10.2307/3458259.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Charles C. Burlingame. "Psychosurgery--New Help for the Mentally Ill." *The Scientific Monthly* 68, no. 2 (1949): p. 140-44. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/19565>.

²⁴ A. Miller, "Illustrative Case Material," in Mackinnon Phillips, *Lobotomy: A Clinical Study*, "Monograph No. 1," Ontario Department of Health, 1954, p. 95-97.

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the turn of the twentieth century. Psychiatrists, those responsible for the clinical study of treatment of the abnormal personality, and neurologists, those who studied and treated the nervous system, were not sure what ailments corresponded to their disciplines. It was common at the time for a neurologist to have seventy percent of his patients suffer from purely psychiatric disorders, while psychiatrists, particularly those working in state-funded hospitals, confronted neurological disorders like syphilis and arteriosclerosis.²⁵ Despite the crossover, many psychiatrists and neurologists refused to refer patients to each other, fearing a loss of income.²⁶ This impasse caused a blockage of treatment, which was unacceptable to medical academics like the young Walter Freeman, just out of medical school. Freeman worked quietly to solve this problem; as contemporary journals indicate, he asserted that both disciplines needed to focus on mental illness detection and early treatment.²⁷ The treatment he recommended was surgery. The method was the lobotomy, in particular his own developments: the “prefrontal lobotomy” and the “transorbital lobotomy.” Both procedures were designed to destroy the connecting tissue between the prefrontal lobes, but accomplished it in different ways.²⁸ The first involved drilling into the top of the skull, and the second involved drilling into the front. While this practice seems arcane by today’s medical standards, the procedure defined several of the disciplines of medicine that exist today as staples of the field.

Aside from simply solving issues within the medical profession, the lobotomy changed the standard of care that was administered to patients. The procedure, though brief, required one to two days of rehabilitative care. Growing demand for the lobotomy began to revolutionize the way care was administered, because, for the first time, the medical community was forced to combine rehabilitative care and surgery. Doctors recognized that the lo-

²⁵ David Shutts, *Lobotomy: Resort to the Knife* (New York, NY: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1982), p. xi.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Charles C. Burlingame. "Psychosurgery--New Help for the Mentally Ill." *The Scientific Monthly* 68, no. 2 (1949): 140-44. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/19565>.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

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botomy was a “useful tool in the neuropsychiatric armamentarium,” meaning that the procedure worked well when combined with other “tools,” like post-operative care.²⁹ To help with this revolution in post-operative care, which had previously been non-existent for mental procedures, physicians combined the procedure with rigorous rehabilitation programs to ensure that patients could achieve a “maximum level of achievement.”³⁰ Freeman himself worked with Howard Dully for eight-months after the procedure, ensuring that he made a full recovery.³¹ Prior to the lobotomy, there was a “complete disregard” for post-operative care.³² Freeman helped change this, understanding that such care was important. He began to recommend it for all surgeries.³³ Though it seems antithetical to modern sensibilities, the lobotomy helped develop the palliative care of today.

Indeed, the lobotomy demanded the strictest standards of medical care at all facilities, demonstrating that it was a part of modern medicine. The lobotomy, just like other recently developed procedures, adhered to strict guidelines of post-operative care, requiring additional staffing and higher standards at all hospitals where it was performed. Lobotomy patients were nursed by “psychiatric aids, various specialized personnel of the physical medicine rehabilitation service,” as well as “social worker[s], librarian[s], chaplain[s], and volunteer workers.”³⁴ The procedures were traditionally done in well-staffed and well managed facilities, so-called “lobotomy units” that were comprised of neurosurgical and operating suites, along with rehabilitative divisions.³⁵ These facilities were located within major hospitals, and thus well-funded.

²⁹ Moiveline M. Morgan, and Mary F. Denney. "Retraining after a Prefrontal Lobotomy." *The American Journal of Nursing* 55, no. 1 (1955): 59-62. doi:10.2307/3469007.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Dully and Fleming, *My Lobotomy*, p. 111.

³² Raz, *The Lobotomy Letters: the Making of American Psychosurgery*, p. 124.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Pauline Landry Bombard, and Leonard F. Stevens. "A Prefrontal Lobotomy Program." *The American Journal of Nursing* 49, no. 12 (1949): p. 749-53. doi:10.2307/3467949.

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Moreover, the lobotomy was not only accepted by doctors, but it caused changes in the type of nursing care hospitals offered. Physicians encouraged nurses to take active roles in post-lobotomy care, and they did. Post-lobotomy care was higher quality, more involved, and more patient centered than traditional nursing care, which involved changing dressings and bringing food. After a lobotomy, nurses would provide “re-education and habit training” for all patients to help with the “reorientation of the patient to himself, his surroundings, and events of everyday living.”³⁶ The nurses realized that the procedure could advance their own profession, and took it upon themselves to maintain complex charts and keep up with patient generated data.³⁷ Nurses collected the data, and generated results. These findings were published in various journals, which announced that the lobotomies “enabl[ed] the [nurses] to investigate more completely the pattern of behavioral changes” during the postoperative period.³⁸ Not only were lobotomies commonly accepted by the nursing community, but they caused changes in the quality, type, and study of nursing care.

The lobotomy was lauded. Medical textbooks praised the procedure, saying that there were “possibilities inherent in [the] lobotomy for returning the mentally ill to a happier and more useful existence.”³⁹ Both Freeman and Dr. Watts were granted tenured professorships at George Washington University, one of the bastions of psychiatric care.⁴⁰ Moniz was even awarded the 1949 Nobel Prize, medicine’s highest honor, for inventing the procedure.

But perhaps the biggest reason to recognize that the lobotomy was part of general medical practice is the procedure’s fall from grace. Just like many mainstream surgical and health practices have been discarded as technology improves, the lobotomy is no different.

³⁶ Bombard and Stevens, “A Prefrontal Lobotomy Program.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ I.W. Scherer, J.F. Winne, D.D. Clancy, and R. W. Baker, “Psychological Changes During the First Year Following Prefrontal Lobotomy” *Psychological Monographs: General and Applied*, 67, No. 7 (1953): p. 1.

³⁹ Ibid, p. 129.

⁴⁰ The George Washington University, located in Washington, D.C., was considered to be one of the leading centers for neurosurgery and neurology in the world. See: Lewis P. Rowland, "Walter Freeman's Psychosurgery And Biological Psychiatry," *Neurology Today* 5, no. 4 (2005): doi:10.1097/00132985-200504000-00020.

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Specifically, the procedure became less popular as pharmaceutical companies began manufacturing drugs that ameliorated the effects of mental illness; physical solutions were no longer necessary to fix hormonal imbalances. Anti-schizophrenic drugs like chlorpromazine, popularly known as “Thorazine,” began to have a “very considerable ameliorative, if not curative, effect in the more serious mental disorders.”⁴¹ Thorazine would come to render lobotomy almost obsolete. The medical community did not publicly rebuke the lobotomy, but rather gradually moved on. Drugs simply provided a less permanent way of achieving the same results.

Even within psychosurgery, the lobotomy had fallen behind. By the late 1950s, neuroscientists began to amass evidence that an individual’s emotional response was not simply a product of communication between the thalamus and the prefrontal lobes, but rather involved the entire limbic system.⁴² This meant that the lobotomy’s severing of connective tissue might not be the answer. In response, doctors began to design surgeries that were more effective and less dangerous than the traditional lobotomy, including: “thermocoagulation of brain tissue, ultrasonic irradiation, implantation of radioactive particles, and gamma rays.”⁴³ The lobotomy was not rejected by contemporary physicians because it was a cruel evil, but rather because science had moved on and evolved. Just as man no longer administered inoculation with pus, psychosurgery was no longer to be conducted by a lone physician in a room with a sharp instrument.

Some argue, however, that Freeman’s particular version of the “icepick” lobotomy was horrific because it silenced its critics by destroying the minds of the patients. Some modern historians claim that cases like Howard Dully’s make the procedure an “egregious example of how science and medicine can go awry.”⁴⁴ The procedure was crude and dangerous.

⁴¹ Shutts, *Lobotomy: Resort to the Knife*, 217-218.

⁴² El-Hai, *The Lobotomist*, p. 290.

⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 291.

⁴⁴ Raz, *The Lobotomy Letters: the Making of American Psychosurgery*, p. 137.

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Dully, who was one of Freeman's last patients, did not even remember his operation until he accidentally found a file forty years later.⁴⁵ Since then, Dully and with several other survivors have written books telling their stories. They often cite the cases where "intellectual impairment" and other "severe-side effects" resulted from the procedure, saying that surgeons like Freeman did not understand what they were doing.⁴⁶ Freeman himself reflects on these potential consequences, as if he knew how controversial the procedure would be. In a recently-discovered unpublished introduction to *Psychosurgery*, he says that "operations on the brain are by no means to be applied indiscriminately in the treatment of functional mental disorders. In fact, in view of certain unfortunate results, the operation of prefrontal lobotomy is reserved for those patients whose outlook for recovery is poor."⁴⁷ It is true that the lobotomy posed risks to the patient—but that does not make it atrocious. A variety of medical procedures are risky, from open-heart surgery to chemotherapy. These solutions are still employed because though dangerous, they have a chance at making life better. The lobotomy was no different.

The lobotomy has captured the mind of the media over the past decade, but they have only told the story from the patient's perspective. They ignore the larger trends surrounding the lobotomy. Freeman said that "the prejudice against lobotomy seem[ed] to have increased rather than diminish[ed] with the passage of time."⁴⁸ This analysis largely accurate. But though the lobotomy was a rudimentary procedure with many risks, it was accepted, practiced, and performed by a large number of physicians. Psychosurgeons were awarded Nobel Prizes and wrote best sellers about it. Their lobotomy transformed lives, both for better and for worse. Kenneth Pitchford, a poet and lobotomy patient himself said, "but cannot now re-

⁴⁵ Dully and Fleming, *My Lobotomy*, p. 99.

⁴⁶ "Norway Compensates Lobotomy Victims." *BMJ: British Medical Journal* 313, no. 7059 (1996): p. 708. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29732895>.

⁴⁷ Walter F. Freeman, *Psychosurgery* Manuscript, Preface, 2, Yale Medical Historical Library, Yale University Library.

⁴⁸ Shutts, *Lobotomy: Resort to the Knife*, p. 233-239.

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store what I/one rebel cell disguised/sees lost: the waking truth/in dying eyes, like frost.”⁴⁹ Is the “truth” that the lobotomy was a poorly constructed, dangerous procedure? Yes, but the procedure was also a part of modern medicine. Though young Howard Dully did not realize it at the time, he received a surgery that not only changed his life, but also changed medicine. The lobotomy began with two icepicks inserted into his eyes, and ended with the development of psychiatric drugs. But along the way, it changed public health.

⁴⁹ Kenneth Pitchford. "Lobotomy." *Poetry* 82, no. 5 (1953): p. 266. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20585056>.

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The Right Man at the Right Time: Explaining the Rapid Rise of the Konbaung Dynasty

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The future king of the Konbaung Dynasty was born Aung Zeya in 1714, the son of a village headsman in a small Upper Burmese township called Moksobo. In the twilight years of the Restored Toungoo Dynasty, Aung Zeya's early life was marked by a total deterioration of central Ava's authority, which left his village and many others helpless to violence and raids from neighboring states. By 1752, the southern kingdom of Pegu and their European mercenaries had sacked Ava, formally defeating the Toungoo Dynasty and demanding submission to the Restored Hanthawaday Kingdom. Instead of bending to the superiorly equipped and victorious Pegu army, however, Aung Zeya proclaimed himself King Alaungpaya and persuaded 46 local villages to pledge resistance under a new Konbaung Dynasty. Out of this defiance, the Konbaung Dynasty would transform over the next quarter century from just another ragtag resistance force into the second-largest empire in Burmese history, not only beating back the Pegueans but reuniting all of Burma, capturing the Siamese capital, and successfully defending four determined invasions from Qing China.

How does one explain this rapid expansion and consolidation of power, a whirlwind of activity the likes of which was not seen since the days of Tabinshwehti? How does one explain the rise of an ignoble village headsman to one of the three greatest monarchs in Burmese history? And how does one explain the transformation from an under-gunned and under-supplied coalition of local villagers to a seemingly unbeatable military, which at its peak could dominate its Siamese neighbors while simultaneously defeating repeated invasions from the top military power of the continent? This paper will contend that much of Alaungpaya's ascent can be attributed to a combination of regional (and to a certain degree ethnic) insecurity and humiliation which united and inspired his followers, and his own par-

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ticular skill set and force of personality. In spite of his questionable bloodlines, Alaungpaya's legitimacy snowballed due to the Buddhist tradition of *kamma*, lending his charisma and battlefield heroics a cosmically powerful quality—boosted in no small part by the prophecies and legends that he helped attach to his name. Alaungpaya's singularly methodical organization, rigorous training, and ardent devotion brought rapid order to a chaotic power vacuum, laying the foundation for an expansive empire. Militarily, the Konbaung Dynasty was blessed with a number of confident and talented leaders whose experience, foresight, exploitation of resources, and competence in the field carried the Burmese to victory again and again after Alaungpaya's death.

The figureheads of this resistance-turned-dynasty came from an Upper Burman generation which sought to bring back honor to a region that had been disgraced, brutalized, and stripped of its former glories.¹ While their parents and grandparents lived in a time of economic prosperity and military power, Alaungpaya and his followers grew up in an era of utter helplessness and uncertainty. Taungoo military might had steadily lost all credibility, and Taungoo governors had been abusing their taxation powers for decades, leaving Upper Burmese villages defenseless against Manipuri raids, which torched their villages year after year.² The humiliation of Taungoo debility and the violence posed by foreign raiders instilled a great desire for commonality, a sense of belonging that could assuage anxieties and reunite local forces. Much of this commonality stemmed from regional loyalties, which had tied Moksobo and surrounding villages to the solar capital of Ava for centuries. In the Mu Valley where Alaungpaya grew up, the Manipuri raids had inflicted enough terror to unite the region. Yet the full force of Peguan incursions, which ravaged most all the lands south of Ava,

¹ Thant Myint-U, *The Making of Modern Burma* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2001).

² William J Koenig, *The Burmese Polity, 1752-1819: A Study of Kon Baung Politics, Administration, and Social Organization*, (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1990).

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was never felt.³ Political localism was therefore left largely intact. The people of the Mu Valley were determined and embittered but never devastated, ripe for revolt against an occupying force that severely underestimated their potential resistance. It just took the right man to lead them.

Exploitation of political ethnicity was another obvious tool in Alaungpaya's rise to glory. Resentment of Pegan rule often correlated with resentment of Mon rule, especially since Mon military leaders began to carry out purges against ethnic Burmese—massacring some 8,000 Burmese in 1740 alone. Only Alaungpaya truly capitalized on the strife; his appeals to ethnic Burmese undermined the rival Burmese leaders who cooperated with Mon forces. After Alaungpaya sacked Pagan, the traditionally Mon-dominated lowlands suffered the fate that they had feared for many generations: the steady domination of Lower Burma by northern armies and the cultural and popular displacement of the Mon people, a process which has been termed a rolling genocide. Successive Mon rebellions prompted harsh suppression, fresh waves of Upper Burman settlers, punitive imposition of Burmese cultural practices, and further Mon flight to Siam, until a combination of assimilation and resettlement reduced the Mons to a minority in the delta. The importance of heightened ethnic polarization, to the benefit of Alaungpaya's forces and to the ultimate loss of the Mon kingdom, cannot be denied.

However, it is also critical to remember the fundamental framework of Burmese society at the time, which inherently limited the scope of ethnic nationalism and makes it somewhat incomparable to Western preconceptions. In a deeply ingrained tradition of vertical power and hierarchical patron-client systems, Burmese society repelled the horizontal identities required not only for “liberty” and “equality,” but also for the uniform exclusivity of rigid nationalism. Ethnic loyalties were relatively flexible, and the post-war phenomenon of

³ Victor B. Lieberman. *Burmese Administrative Cycles: Anarchy and Conquest, C. 1580-1760*. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984).

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“Burmanization” was more of an organic process intended to consolidate Konbaung authority than anything approaching modern notions of ethnic genocide. Many Mons took it upon themselves to adapt to new dominion by adopting Burmese culture and language; Alaungpaya himself never demanded this cultural conversion from his Mon subjects, and the Konbaung administration and military retained the cosmopolitan and poly-ethnic nature of previous dynasties.⁴ Mon culture itself was targeted only sporadically in reaction to local uprisings, and the crackdowns never amounted to a sustained campaign. Alaungpaya certainly played on Burmese fear and resentment, just as southern Mon rulers exploited a resentment of Burmese influence flooding their historical homeland, but political ethnicity was only ever one of his many appeals for loyalty. Its prominent use in the period from 1740 to 1757, even after the bloody sack of Pegu in 1757, does not necessarily suggest that political ethnicity remained an essential element in the internal politics of the Konbaung Dynasty. Indeed, even in the years of Alaungpaya’s surge to power, at least two additional factors immediately stand out when attempting to explain his diehard following: pure force of talent and charisma, as well as celestial Buddhist legitimacy.

Just as the instability of the time allowed for an atypical attachment to horizontal identities like political ethnicity, the existing power vacuum made it possible for a self-made man like Alaungpaya, who came from no great royalty and was not even the senior member of his own family, to defy traditional hierarchies and rise to the top on the power of his own merit. His natural ability to lead gave him authority among his gentry peers since long before the southern kingdom arrived at the gates of Ava and, in the face of fluid and uncertain power transfers in the 1750s, Alaungpaya soon displayed the kind of traits which would prove essential in not only whipping a resistance into shape but also in sustaining a formidable military and political force. After slaying a maternal uncle in front of a local audience, his local

⁴ Lieberman, “Ethnic Politics in Eighteenth-Century Burma.” *Modern Asian Studies* vol. 12 no. 3 (1978): 455–482..

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authority was secure. A physically intimidating man, tall for the times at about 5'11, Alaungpaya was possessed with boundless energy and a severe, vengeful temperament.⁵ If his passion and toughness drew loyalty, his shrewd judgment and strategic reasoning worked to propagate the notion that Alaungpaya had “the smell of a king about him.”⁶ These exceptional qualities evoked a uniquely personal devotion from core followers, whom he trained and organized far beyond the local standards. His inner circle was made up of sixty-eight handpicked warriors known collectively as the *myin-yin-tet*, marked by their competence and trustworthiness.⁷ These warriors, who hailed from Alaungpaya’s Mu Valley homeland, gave him a critical edge over his fragmented rivals through their unwavering commitment and reliability, standing as a powerful testament to the strength of his character. But without the hereditary credentials of Toungoo royals, Alaungpaya needed an angle that could expand his authority past regional or even ethnic ties. He found one in the teachings of Theravada Buddhism.

In a further testament to his creative dynamism, much of Alaungpaya’s cosmic legitimacy came about through his own tireless self-promotion. From the beginning of his reign, he invented or absorbed a series of omens, proverbs, and self-aggrandizing titles. One of his earliest edicts spoke of ancient omens that predicted the collapse of the Restored Taungoo Dynasty and its replacement with a new king born on a Friday; he soon claimed that the Buddha himself had predicted his rise.⁸ Alaungpaya’s constant boasting was backed up by his prowess on the battlefield, and his claims to divinity were supported by a deeply Buddhist society that measured karmic power by the achievements and demonstrated abilities of this

⁵ G.E. Harvey, *History of Burma: From the Earliest times to 10 March, 1824, the Beginning of the English Conquest*, (London: Cass, 1967).

⁶ Lieberman, *Burmese Administrative Cycles: Anarchy and Conquest, C. 1580-1760*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984).

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

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world.⁹ Under popular Buddhist teaching, Alaungpaya's military success and furious energy were not just signs of a skilled leader, but proof of his divine *kamma* levels; conversely, the failures of old Toungoo leaders indicated an end to whatever *kamma* they might have possessed. Through a deliberate campaign of miraculous legends and prophecies, Alaungpaya was thusly able to outweigh his lack of noble authority with an undeniable Buddhist legitimacy. After asserting the universally recognized title of an Embryo Buddha, Alaungpaya took advantage of a virtuous circle wherein his divine status won him followers who helped him claim victories that further boosted his divine status and earned him even more support.

This mystical power was used not only in attracting devotees but also in strategic intimidation of those who defied him. Alaungpaya saved the most piercing and powerful tools in his belt of psychological warfare for the siege of Syriam, the toughest outpost of Mon rule and the last real barrier to Konbaung victory. Among the surrounding towns and villages, Alaungpaya disseminated a chain letter which claimed to give the word of Sakka, king of the second Buddhist Kingdom, warning that the Konbaung conqueror was indeed the Embryo Buddha of lore, here to inflict catastrophic wrath on those who challenged him. The only path to safety would be flight into the countryside. While the surrounding townspeople fled in fear, the defenders of Syriam were informed that Alaungpaya was an invincible *cakkavatti* in possession of the Golden Flying Lance.¹⁰ Konbaung subjects were required to swear allegiance before a literal golden lance, and the prophetic rhetoric was maintained long after Syriam and the southern kingdom were conquered.

Beyond the shrewd appeals to religious fervor, Alaungpaya's organizational savvy after victory and unification in 1757 was critical in rapidly consolidating power. His impact on the fundamental framework of Burmese administration was minimal and most institutions were rebuilt as an extension of his Restored Toungoo predecessors, but the speed and scale of

⁹ Courtin, Robina. "Karma." *BBC - Religion*. BBC, 17 Nov. 2009. Web. 9 Nov. 2016.

¹⁰ Lieberman, *Burmese Administrative Cycles: Anarchy and Conquest, C. 1580-1760*.

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this rebuilding process proved decisive.¹¹ Always a thorough and methodical leader, Alaungpaya restored order through a deliberate program of resettlement, strengthened authority over administrative elites, restructured *ahmu-dan* military service, and cracked down on the sort of financial corruption and debt slavery that plagued the late Toungoo Empire. Privy to the violent potential of ethnic politics, his post-war resettlement was strategically designed to minimize conflict. Colonies of northern Burmans were settled in traditionally Mon areas like Henzada, while ethnic Mons, many of whom were uprooted by the war, were resettled in the western delta.¹² Even in the eastern Shan highlands, he took pride in rescuing the communities from their strife and reorganizing them in a reasonable manner. Militarily, Alaungpaya retained the basic foundations of the Toungoo Empire, but greatly enlarged and expanded *ahmu-dan* power. At least seventeen new regiments were created during his reign, while additional pre-war *ahmu-dan* groups were painstakingly recovered and reorganized from the few records that survived the conflict.¹³ These regiments were formed not just from Upper Burmese, but Mons captured in the assault on Pegu and even Muslims and Frenchmen captured at Syriam. With regards to civil administration, Alaungpaya generally honored the authority of village headmen, who had all taken considerably more power in the dying stages of Toungoo rule (none more than Alaungpaya himself). However, the severity he showed in leading Konbaung forces to victory was just as pronounced in civil affairs; headmen who supported Pegu were promptly executed or exiled. Debt-slavers, tax abusers, and fraudulent officials were all punished harshly. In his campaign against the dishonest profiteers of Ava, the tight *myin-yin-tet* coalition of core devotees Alaungpaya formed in the beginning of his rise remained disproportionately influential in both military and non-military affairs, offering him a special cohesion and security.

¹¹ Koenig, *The Burmese Polity, 1752-1819: A Study of Kon Baung Politics, Administration, and Social Organization*.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Lieberman, "Ethnic Politics in Eighteenth-Century Burma."

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Such a post-victory reorganization of resources was in-keeping with the administrative precedent set by his Toungoo predecessors, but Alaungpaya brought a special brand of energy and foresight that would lay the foundation for a lasting empire, armed with a stable demographic base, orderly administration, and formidable military system. Time and time again, the new Konbaung monarch challenged greed and prioritized the interest of the kingdom above short-term personal gain. Due perhaps to his shining example and the solid structure he created, Alaungpaya's chief commanders and immediate successors maintained these values, to the great benefit of the Konbaung Dynasty.

In line with Alaungpaya's standard administrative philosophy, virtually all of his top military commanders came from the *myin-yin-tet* and many were either family or childhood friends, making for an effective combination of commitment and cohesion. Probably the strongest and most ambitious figure to emerge from this core was Alaungpaya's second son and successor, Hsinbyushin. Hsinbyushin had been given serious military duties since he was 17 when his forces recaptured Ava in 1754, and he fought as second-in-command to his father in the first invasion of Siam.¹⁴ When his older brother Naungdawgyi died suddenly in 1763, Hsinbyushin brought his potent military mind to the kingship. Furthermore, the *myin-yin-tet* tradition of his father provided Hsinbyushin with a host of exceptionally loyal and experienced field commanders who had fought alongside the royal family since the beginning. In the second Burmese march to Ayuthia, the capabilities of Neimyo Thiha Patei and Maha Nawrahta took much responsibility off the shoulders of Hsinbyushin, who only ever issued one directive to Thihapate, instructing him to complete his siege of the Siamese capital and return to Ava with the captured Thai king in preparation for war with China.¹⁵

¹⁴ Harvey, *History of Burma: From the Earliest times to 10 March, 1824, the Beginning of the English Conquest.*

¹⁵ Koenig, *The Burmese Polity, 1752-1819: A Study of Kon Baung Politics, Administration, and Social Organization.*

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To the good fortune of Hsinbyushin, his father's generation contained some truly gifted men whose strategic brilliance carried his martial ambitions to fruition, nowhere more critically than at the northern Chinese border. The most accomplished was Maha Thiha Thura, a well-respected man from Alaungpaya's home Moksobo district who rose to commander-in-chief of the Burmese army after a dozen years of distinguished service. When the Qing Dynasty doubled down on its first incursion into the borderlands with a major invasion of Upper Burma, Thiha Thura outmaneuvered and generally outfought the enemy, trapping and destroying the entire Chinese army.¹⁶ But it wasn't until the next two Chinese invasions, led by the elite Manchu Bannermen themselves, that Thiha Thura showcased his most remarkable qualities. In the first campaign of 1768, his forces encircled the Manchu army and annihilated them completely. The final invasion consisted of premium Qing commanders and 60,000 troops, but it was soon bogged down with disease and disarray.¹⁷ After chasing down and surrounding the Chinese army, Thiha Thura made a decision that epitomized his wisdom and dedication to the success of the dynasty beyond individual glory. With the enemy at his mercy, Thiha Thura opted to spare the Qing army and instead grant them a peace treaty, understanding that another slaughter would only lead to yet another Chinese invasion.¹⁸ He acted without the king's knowledge, taking full responsibility for the decision and accordingly exiled to the Shan states, but Thiha Thura's sacrifice spared the Konbaung dynasty conflict that would've drained its military capabilities considerably. Even though neither side honored the terms of the peace treaty, further large-scale wars were prevented through the rare bravery of Thiha Thura.

A standout exception to the *myin-yin-tet* dominance of the Konbaung military came not from Ava elites but an elite unit of French gunners led by Pierre de Milard, who were

¹⁶ Htin Aung, *A History of Burma* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967).

¹⁷ Myint-U, *The River of Lost Footsteps: Histories of Burma* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006). P

¹⁸ Aung, *A History of Burma*.

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absorbed into the Burmese army through a combination of good fortune and cleverness. On July 26th, 1756, during Alaungpaya's decisive Pegu campaign, the Konbaung army finally broke into the French fortified port of Syriam, three days before French reinforcements were to arrive.¹⁹ By forcing Sieur de Bruno to write a false letter to the two French relief ships, Alaungpaya was able to quickly seize them upon arrival; he captured thirty-five 24-pounder long guns, five field guns, thirteen hundred muskets, and considerable stocks of ammunition. For an army that had been denied material support from European powers and fought in perpetual need of serviceable artillery, this was no small blessing. Once the French captains had been killed and the approximately two hundred sailors were conscripted into the Konbaung forces, these new foreign fighters would prove just as useful in a force that lacked even moderately skilled gunners.

While these French troops would soon become an elite corps of gunners that played a key role in subsequent battles against the Mons, as well as the campaigns against the Siamese and the Chinese, perhaps the most important acquisition of the seizure was Pierre de Milard, a Navy Officer who was just twenty when forced into Konbaung service. The young Frenchman became a senior official in the Royal Burmese Armed Forces, proving himself invaluable in the efforts against Siam and Qing China. He was a particularly trusted friend of King Hsinbyushin, who nominated him as Captain of the Guard and even had him sleep in the same room to guard against potential assassination attempts.²⁰

The decorated service of Milard and his men demonstrates a general trend in successful Konbaung campaigns: effective exploitation of resources *en route* to victory. Along with the French corps of Syriam, the human resources of Chiengmai and Vientiane, the southeastern littoral, and the Thai provinces were all employed to great effect on the march to Ayuthia.

¹⁹ Myint-U, *The River of Lost Footsteps: Histories of Burma*.

²⁰ Keat Gin Ooi., *Southeast Asia: A Historical Encyclopedia, from Angkor Wat to East Timor*, (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2004).

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For the most part, top posts were still filled by *myin-yin-tet* faithful, but multi-ethnic, multi-regional regiments were essential for the viability of the invasion.²¹

Milard and his gunners aside, the Konbaungs did not possess any decisive material or technological advantage over their neighbors. In the military landscape of the time, the crucial difference between debility and dominance could come from a man who was forceful and clever enough to exploit his political, religious, and socio-cultural environment. In slightly different circumstances, the chaos of the early eighteenth-century could have taken any number of different directions, but it provided all the necessary ingredients for a personality like Alaungpaya to take advantage of. Under his charisma, craftiness, and cohesive circle of capable commanders, the Konbaung Dynasty established a power base that would last over one hundred thirty years.

²¹ Koenig, *The Burmese Polity, 1752-1819: A Study of Kon Baung Politics, Administration, and Social Organization*.

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Mass Medicine: Nationalism and Nursing in Wartime China

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Introduction

Upon arrival on the Chinese warfront against Japan in 1938, Freda Utley, an American journalist in China, and Dr. Robert Ko Sheng Lim, a prominent Chinese medical doctor, entered a few crumbling buildings that housed injured Chinese soldiers. As they walked through these buildings, their torches lit the motionless bodies of the bloody, wounded soldiers that covered the floors; a “medieval picture of hell.”¹ Yet, as gruesome as their injuries had been, Freda Utley noted the peculiar silence in the room. The silence occurred because the soldiers knew that help would never come. Any cry for help would be left unanswered. In fact, these conditions represented most medical facilities elsewhere as Freda Utley had noted from her extensive travel throughout China at the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945).² These medical stations were short-staffed and unprepared to handle the devastating toll a war can have on a country.

The nursing shortage stemmed from the origins of modern healthcare in China. Since the late-nineteenth century, much of China’s healthcare system relied heavily on foreigners and missionary hospitals. This dependence prevented the formation of an expansive healthcare system. At the start of the war, there were approximately five thousand nurses for the entirety of the four hundred fifty million people in China.³ As hostilities worsened with Japan, the war produced substantial casualties that required a better healthcare system and large number of healthcare workers. To alleviate this issue, several organizations attempted to increase the number of nurses, and subsequently managed to improve the status of, and

¹ Freda Utley, “If You Could See What I Have Seen,” July 1941, Box 2, Folder 5, United China Relief Records, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations (hereafter, UCR Records), 1.

² Freda Utley, *China At War*, “If You Could See What I Have Seen.” (London: Faber and Faber, 1939), 96-100.

³ “China’s Nurses Carry On,” *The American Journal of Nursing* 44, no. 7 (1944): 642.

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expand Chinese control over, nursing and healthcare. Though foreign entities played a massive role in the initial development of nursing and healthcare, China itself, acquired relatively greater control of their development. China expanded the role of native Chinese civilians in medical institutions, created schools aimed at quickly spreading medical knowledge, transformed nursing into a respectable occupation, and drew support from overseas Chinese communities. They successfully did so by drawing on nationalist ideals to unite the country with a sense of purpose.

The devastation brought on by the Second Sino-Japanese War between China and Japan strained China's healthcare system and forced the country to draw on the sense of a nation to alleviate the nursing shortage. Previous scholarship has studied the transition of Chinese nursing from prewar to wartime conditions. Sonya Grypma and Cheng Zhen argue the prewar social and religious limitations in the foundation of nursing that were caused by the notion of Chinese nursing care as a familial duty and the association of missionary nurses to Christianity.⁴ These conditions hindered nursing at the start Sino-Japanese War. However, as discussed by John Watt, the war led to the emergence of Chinese nursing as an act of nationalism that inspired many to join.⁵ Similarly, other countries often employed the use of nationalism to encourage the recruitment of nurses. In particular, Aya Takahashi examines the utilization of patriotism for Japanese nurses during the Sino-Japanese War, and their subsequent admiration and professionalism through their involvement with the Japanese Red Cross.⁶ Much like the wartime nurses in China, through the professionalization of nursing, the recruitment of nurses increased. Likewise, Susan Reverby makes note of the heightened position American nurses found themselves in throughout the twentieth century, as their roles

⁴ Sonya Grypma and Cheng Zhen, "The Development of Modern Nursing in China," *Medical Transitions in Twentieth-Century China*, ed. Bridie Andrews and Mary Brown Bullock (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014), 298-300.

⁵ John Watt, "Breaking into Public Service: The Development of Nursing in Modern China, 1870-1949," *Journal for the American Association for the History of Nursing* 12 (2004): 67-96.

⁶ Aya Takahashi, *The Development of the Japanese Nursing Profession: Adopting and Adapting Western Influences* (London: Routledge, 2011), 109.

in the public health sector expanded past the patient's bedside.⁷ As the Sino-Japanese war deteriorated conditions of living, it necessitated the increased role of nurses. Drawing on the work of these scholars, this paper will expand on the diminishing role of foreign states in the Chinese healthcare system and the expansion of the roles of Chinese nurses by utilizing various sources, including those from the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China (ABMAC) Records at the Columbia University Rare Book & Manuscript Library and the United China Relief (UCR) Records at the New York Public Library.⁸ The collection at the ABMAC Records provided primarily correspondence and print media that enabled for a closer analysis of the roles played by nurses. The collection at the UCR Records provided primarily newsletters that gave a mainly foreign perspective into the nursing situation in China.

By examining the role of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Peking Union Medical College in Chinese nursing, this paper will show the shortcomings of the initial foreign involvement in the establishment and support of nursing. With the emergence of world conflict, the shifting importance of nursing in wartime led to a transformation of the occupation. By examining the focus of training and the narratives of nurses' roles, this paper argues that wartime nurses assumed positions and roles that extended their prewar boundaries due to the increased need for support.

Foreign Involvement in the Foundations of Nursing

The foundation of the modern nursing system in China had been built with the help of foreign entities. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the healthcare system depended on medical missionaries and other foreigners. These foreigners were critical to

⁷ Susan Reverby, *Ordered to Care: the Dilemma of American Nursing, 1850 – 1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 195-198.

⁸ The American Bureau for Medical Aid to China (ABMAC) was an American organization, founded in 1937, that gave assistance to Chinese medical services by providing aid to Chinese medical organizations. The archives are kept at Columbia University in New York City. United China Relief was an American organization, founded in New York City in 1941, with the goal of raising funds to donate to Chinese relief efforts. The archives are kept at the New York Public Library and Princeton University.

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bringing the concept of modern nursing to China. In 1884, Elizabeth McKechnie, a medical missionary, had been the first medically trained nurse in China.⁹ The influence of foreign entities in the healthcare of China expanded once the Rockefeller Foundation was created in 1913. The Rockefeller Foundation sought to expand healthcare and medical research abroad through philanthropic efforts. To gain knowledge about the situation in China, in 1915, the foundation sent members of the Chinese Medical Commission to China. The state of nursing and medical education was found to be lacking. The Commission reported, “No one can visit hospitals in China without coming away profoundly impressed with the need for more foreign nurses.”¹⁰ To initiate the improvement of the healthcare in China, the Rockefeller Foundation invested forty-five million dollars into establishing the Peking Union Medical College (PUMC), which is roughly equivalent to half a billion United States dollars adjusted for inflation.¹¹ This contribution aimed to develop “medical education and a native body of doctors.”¹² The Rockefeller Foundation and the PUMC sought “the education, uplift, and salvation of the people of China.”¹³ The school wanted to produce healthcare workers that would later become leaders in China and lead the next generations of doctors and nurses.¹⁴ The foundation and the school embraced the goal of long-term growth, hoping that the education would trickle-down to the average healthcare worker.

⁹ Susan Reverby, *Ordered to Care: the Dilemma of American Nursing, 1850 – 1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 299.

¹⁰ Rockefeller Foundation, “Memorandum regarding the China Medical Board,” *100 Years: The Rockefeller Foundation*, Mar. 7, 1915, 2.

¹¹ Quisha Ma, “The Peking Union Medical College and the Rockefeller Foundation’s Medical Programs in China,” in *Rockefeller Philanthropy and Modern Biomedicine: International Initiatives from World War I to the Cold War*, edited by William H. Schneider (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2002), 159.

¹² John D. Rockefeller, “Letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr. to Harry Pratt Judson, 1914 January 31,” *100 Years: The Rockefeller Foundation*, January 31, 1914, 2.

¹³ Cecil Davenport, “Opening of the Peking Union Medical College,” *The Chinese Recorder (1912-1938)*, Nov 01, 1921, 771.

¹⁴ Roger S. Greene, “Survey of Medical Aid Given to China by American Organizations in the War Emergency,” June 1, 1942, Box 2, Folder 5, UCR Records, 3.

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To facilitate the improvement of healthcare education, the foundation promoted the translation of nursing textbooks and provided scholarships for students to study nursing.¹⁵ The conversion of these medical texts proved vital as there was a significant shortage of Chinese Western medical texts preventing the education of Western medicine. If the Rockefeller Foundation hoped to make a lasting impact in China, these texts would be vital as it would allow every Chinese citizen to have access to education. Through the newly translated Chinese versions, Western medicine could become seemingly more native and incorporated with less backlash. With the translation of these texts, medical knowledge could spread to the greater public. Many medical institutions also suffered from “intellectual starvation” as they lacked access to new medical texts and publications.¹⁶ In response, at the outbreak of the war, several foreign organizations began to collect medical texts to donate to Chinese medical institutions.¹⁷ In addition to these texts, the scholarships provided by the Rockefeller Foundation aimed to remove financial barriers to education. Through the nursing texts and scholarships, the strain to recruit nurses was eased.

The leadership of the Peking Union Medical College initially consisted mainly of foreigners due to the lack of experienced Chinese healthcare workers. This occurrence stemmed from the commencement of the Rockefeller Foundation’s role in China. Whereas the missionaries in China believed that growth would occur through the creation of strong Chinese leadership, the foundation emphasized growth through the spread of education.¹⁸ To them, the spread of education did not necessarily correlate with native leadership.¹⁹ The increase in Chinese leadership in the PUMC occurred as more Chinese civilians graduated from Western-based medical institutions. As the war progressed, the leadership consisted mainly of Chinese people. Beginning in 1942, meetings of the PUMC were soon held without any for-

¹⁵ Rockefeller Foundation, “Memorandum regarding the China Medical Board,” Mar. 7, 1915, 2.

¹⁶ P. Z. King, “China,” *Health Section News Letter* 3, no. 1: November 1940, Box 2, Folder 5, UCR Records, 2.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Ma, “The Peking Union Medical College,” 164.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

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eigners in attendance.²⁰ Eventually, the Rockefeller Foundation reduced its involvement with the PUMC and more native Chinese had influence within the institution.

However, the initial advancements achieved by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Peking Union Medical College were limited as the war continued. The Chinese Commission on Medical Education found an “almost incomprehensible” impact on healthcare as only five of the thirty-five medical, dental, and pharmacy colleges remained operational in 1938 due to the war.²¹ These closures were the result of the war as it forced many to relocate and flee from the Japanese-held areas. The Japanese advancement in China proved detrimental for the PUMC as it slowed its progress. Despite the issue of Japanese encroachment, the PUMC managed to sustain itself throughout the war and later reestablished its complete presence in Beijing by the end of the war.

In spite of the PUMC’s successful training of Chinese medical leaders, the involvement of Western education also proved adverse to those foreign-trained or PUMC-trained healthcare workers. The foreign nature of the PUMC led to its graduates becoming “too Americanized, over-isolated from social conditions, and unable to adapt to problem situations.”²² There was a sense of divide between the PUMC-trained medical professionals and the local Chinese populations. A PUMC School of Nursing graduate noted that when the school was reestablished in Chengtu, “[the applicants] were all from Peking, not one from Chengtu. Not one of the applicants came from Chengtu, the local place.”²³ In contrast to those PUMC graduates, health centers in Szechwan contained mainly local medical professionals, around 80-90%.²⁴ Though the high percentage of local workers might “sacrifice

²⁰ Stephen Chang, “Letter from Stephen Chang to Claude E. Forkner, 1943 July,” *100 Years: The Rockefeller Foundation*, July 1943, 6.

²¹ John B. Grant, “Memo from John B. Grant to Selskar M. Gunn regarding impact of war on medical education in China,” *100 Years: The Rockefeller Foundation*, Nov. 11, 1938.

²² Mary Brown Bullock, *An American Transplant: The Rockefeller Foundation and Peking Union Medical College* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 195.

²³ *Ibid.* 196.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 199.

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quality,” the centers showed “acceptance by local people.”²⁵ The local population accepted the health centers for having a higher number of locally trained individuals and these centers found greater success. The rejection of those heavily foreign medical centers signified the need for more native and local involvement in healthcare. The Chinese population preferred and desired a more native, Chinese healthcare system; a system without those healthcare workers who were heavily influenced by foreigners. China needed healthcare workers with both knowledge in medical expertise and the nature of the local populations.

The crucial issue of the nursing shortage had still not been resolved through the help of the Rockefeller Foundation as it focused on quality rather than quantity. Due to the high educational quality of the PUMC, the school produced a low number of graduates. After seventeen years of existence, the PUMC School of Nursing only graduated ninety-nine nurses by 1937.²⁶ Key issues of the PUMC were the high standards set for the school and the English instruction in classes, which prevented many from beginning nursing training.²⁷ Many could not be trained due to the language barrier. By setting high standards and producing excellent healthcare professionals, the PUMC limited those who could be trained. PUMC, and other nursing schools, could not keep up with the increasing demand for nurses and other healthcare workers. The country could not be sustained through this meticulous process. To alleviate this problem, China had to turn towards a method that would train significant amounts of nurses and other health professionals: mass-production healthcare training.

Emergence of the Wartime Nurse

The systematic training for healthcare workers that would help fill the gap of nursing in China was founded by an overseas Chinese, British-trained surgeon, Dr. Robert Ko Sheng

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Watt, "Breaking into Public Service," 76.

²⁷ Bullock, *An American Transplant: The Rockefeller Foundation and Peking Union Medical College* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 203.

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Lim. Dr. Lim was a prominent leader and advocate in Chinese healthcare as he often pushed for the modernization of China's antiquated healthcare system. Dr. Lim observed the situation of nursing at the onset of the war and realized that Chinese civilians and military personnel needed to be quickly trained in basic medical principles that were applicable to the war. The medical difficulties faced by China during the war would be alleviated with the widespread training. The basic medical principles spread quickly and educated the masses through the founding of the Emergency Medical Service Training Schools (EMSTS) in 1938. The shortcomings of the Chinese healthcare system became emphasized as the war imposed immense strain, leaving much of the Chinese military without adequate medical care. The EMSTS nursing schools served to bridge the gap in nursing in the military as it proved to be too detrimental. These training schools could educate many civilians and spread medical knowledge quickly as the training at the EMSTS generally lasted less than half of a year.

In order to ensure the alleviation of the shortage, Robert Lim focused the schools' education towards things "so simple that anybody with only a little knowledge [could] do them."²⁸ Examples of the range of topics covered by the EMSTS include "how to live in the jungle, how to set up a medical unit under present conditions, and how to function as a member of a team."²⁹ Due to the immediate need of healthcare professionals, the courses focused more on the practical aspect of medicine, meaning that students spent more time in the field rather than in a classroom.

In comparison to the PUMC, the EMSTS had been extremely successful in uniting China towards a common goal. Dr. Lim managed to energize the Chinese population to contribute to the war effort. In fact, the desire for this training had been so high that "many [stu-

²⁸ "General Lim Visits America," *ABMAC Bulletin* 6, no. 5-6: May-June 1944, Box 107, Folder 2, ABMAC Records, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University (hereafter: ABMAC Records), 3.

²⁹ "Officers Walk Hundreds of Miles for Advanced Medical Training," *ABMAC Bulletin* 7, no. 1-2: January-February 1945, Box 107, Folder 2, ABMAC Records, 4.

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dents] walked several hundred miles from their army posts to the school.”³⁰ Not only were people willing to go to great extent to attend an EMSTS school, but the graduates returned to their posts and worked “much more enthusiastically and persistently than they ever did before.”³¹ These schools succeeded in gathering students to spread medical knowledge and produced a noticeable difference on the battlefield. Later in 1942, the EMSTS and its branch schools would consolidate to form the Army Medical Field Service Schools (AMFSS).³² These schools would continue to spread information through the population and assist in relieving the nursing shortage. The use of nationalist ideals had contributed greatly to the success of these schools. Dr. Lim managed to strengthen the “spirit of unity and devotion” amongst the staff and students of the school.³³ By creating a more nationalist environment, the schools could create a sense of heightened solidarity in the time of war, thus empowering the average Chinese citizen to contribute to the war effort when it was greatly needed.

Moreover, the EMSTS taught nursing skills to doctors, who found themselves overseeing entire hospital wards due to the lack of administrative medical personnel. Nicknamed “*amphibians*,” these medical professionals were seen as a cross between a doctor and a nurse as they were required to have knowledge of both fields in the same sense that actual amphibians can live on land or in water.³⁴ The war had forced medical professionals to assume additional roles to compensate for the shortages. However, initially, most of their educational background was focused on their training as doctors. Many of them completely lacked nursing knowledge, such as how to properly perform enemas and how often to change bed linens.³⁵ In this case, the EMSTS served to quickly instruct them with basic nursing knowledge

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² "EMSTS Changes Name and Set-Up," *ABMAC Bulletin* 7, no. 5-6: May-June 1945, Box 107, Folder 2, ABMAC Records, 3.

³³ *Lin Yutang Honored at Dinner*, April 4, 1944, Box 2, Folder 11, ABMAC Records.

³⁴ Robert Lim, "General Lim's Address to ABMAC Nursing Committee," Speech, May 2, 1944, Box 7, Folder 7, ABMAC Records, 4.

³⁵ Ibid.

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to allow them function properly as the knowledge of a doctor was not sufficient alone. Accordingly, nursing became appreciated when doctors had to “struggle along without it.”³⁶ Without the EMSTS and the accelerated nursing education, these doctors would have collapsed under the pressures of war.

Much like the EMSTS, the other nursing schools aimed to mold nurses for China’s needs during the war. Dr. Lim noted that wartime China needed “public health nurses.”³⁷ The war worsened the burden on the already poor Chinese healthcare system and forced longstanding public health issues to be addressed. Chinese nurses had to undertake various public health issues, such as sanitation and diet. By undertaking these issues, nurses expanded their roles in healthcare. Nurses worked alongside sanitation engineers to solve problems, such as “keeping hospitals clean and disposing of waste water.”³⁸ In addition, nurses created special diets for soldiers suffering from nutritional conditions, such as anemia and beriberi.³⁹ Nurses also worked to solve many medical supplying issues faced by the military.⁴⁰ The “Friends of Wounded Soldiers,” a Chinese women’s nursing unit, undertook the role of “[supervising] soldiers’ food and hygiene, [directing] mosquito and vermin control, and even [treating] skin disease.”⁴¹ These roles showcased the ability of wartime nurses to work outside the hospital and the versatile potential of the wartime nurses that addressed not only the wartime needs, but also the persistent public health needs.

Similarly, the new nurses needed to be mobile and to be ready to move at any moment due the volatile warfront. Involving frequent movement, “nursing in transit” became the technique required by wartime nurses.⁴² In the transport of wounded soldiers, nurses focused

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Robert Lim, "General Lim's Address to ABMAC Nursing Committee," Speech, May 2, 1944, Box 7, Folder 7, ABMAC Records, 3.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ "China's Women Aid Soldiers in Field," *New York Times* (New York), May 18, 1941, Box 1, Folder 7, UCR Records.

⁴² "General Lim's Address to ABMAC Nursing Committee," 3.

on the patients' cleanliness, hunger, and comfort as the trip to the hospital often took many days.⁴³ Nurses could not rely on the safety of the warfront as the medical facilities were often "special targets for Japanese planes."⁴⁴ This scenario differed greatly from the scenario involving the typical image of the nurse working in a sturdy, safe hospital building. These nurses dealt with hardships that no one would want to face and ultimately overcame this adversity.

Incorporation of Nationalism into Nursing

As highlighted by the recruiting tactics of Dr. Lim, the stalled development of medicine in China occurred because of a "lack of a national conscience" amongst the entirety of the country.⁴⁵ The presence of national pride and identity is a fundamental characteristic needed for healthcare modernization.⁴⁶ Initially, the Chinese found the greatest sense of unity among the family. However, as the war progressed, this unity evolved to center around a Chinese identity and nation. As Chinese civilians embraced this newfound nationalism, the nursing profession transformed. This weakened the stigma surrounding nursing. Previously, nursing had been viewed as "servants' work" and as an occupation with little merit.⁴⁷ In fact, there had not been a Chinese word for the term "nursing."⁴⁸ there was little respect in being a nurse. However, due to the war, nursing became a civil duty, a way to serve to one's country. Becoming a nurse meant joining in on the fight against Japan. This transformation proved vital to the war effort as it motivated and encouraged more civilians to begin training. Nie Yuchan, a prominent Chinese nurse, had been at the University of Michigan studying for a

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Utley, *China at War*, 97.

⁴⁵ Willie P. Harris, *A Brief History of Nursing in China*, Master's thesis Boston University School of Nursing, 1954, 44.

⁴⁶ C. K. Chu, "Nationalization of Medicine in China," Box 2, Folder 12, UCR Records, 1.

⁴⁷ Hu Tun-Wu, "My Experiences as a Nurse in China," *The China Weekly Review (1923-1950)*, Oct 20, 1928, 252.

⁴⁸ Grypma and Zhen, "The Development of Modern Nursing in China," 298.

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Master of Science in public health nursing when she decided to halt her studies and come back to China in 1937. She noted “[her] duty to come back as a nurse” fulfilled her desire to “join the war and do something.”⁴⁹ She could not idly stand by and watch the war occur without her involvement. Her choice to aid in the war effort came from her sense of nationalism and desire to serve, much like many others at that time; the occupation of nursing became a way to express Chinese national pride.

Due to the association of nursing and national pride, nurses received increased recognition and appreciation by the greater public and government. Due to the great contribution of nurses in the effort, in 1944, the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China acquired a “quantity of watches to send to the Army Nursing School” to help in the daily tasks of nurses.⁵⁰ The nurses’ war effort received international recognition. Furthermore, one of the leading nurses during the war, Chou Mei-Yu held the rank of colonel and several other positions of leadership. Namely, as the nursing director of medical aid for the Chinese Red Cross, Chou was responsible for training personnel for the medical aid corps and the military hospitals.⁵¹ The initiation of the enlistment and ranking of nurses stemmed from situations when nurses were forced to take medical orders from untrained medical officers or when nurses were forced to assume those leadership roles themselves.⁵² Neither one of those scenarios boded well with nurses as it was not for their best interests on the warfront. Therefore, nursing leadership pushed the need for the ranking of nurses as it would lead to greater support. In addition to the ranking of nurses, compensation for work had been increased and regulated. Because of these changes, nursing became a sought-after field.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 304.

⁵⁰ “Chinese Nurses Aid War Effort,” *ABMAC Bulletin* 6, no. 5-6: May-June 1944, Box 107, Folder 2, ABMAC Records, 5.

⁵¹ Lo Chiu-Jung, *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women: The Twentieth Century 1912-2000*, translated by Barbara Law, edited by Lily Xiao Hong Lee. 14th ed. Vol. 2, s.v. “Chou Mei-yu (University of Hong Kong Libraries Publications, 2003), 113-15.

⁵² *Ibid.*

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To attract more nursing students, schools and the media tried to encourage the Chinese people to register for classes and trainings. Newspapers in China and Hong Kong helped convey the transformation of nursing into a reputable occupation. The *South China Morning Post*, the *China Weekly Review*, and the *China Press*, as well as many others, emphasized the patriotic duty of nursing. The newspapers managed to express the urgency of the shortage. Filled with desperate pleas for civilians to join the war effort, the newspaper headlines were packed with statements such as “Qualified Trainees are in Demand in China,” “6,000 Now Working in Military Hospitals Meritorious Service,” and “Chinese Nurses Perform Heroic Deeds.”⁵³ The newspapers managed to highlight the emerging nursing occupation and to envelope it with a sense of purpose. These headlines sought to energize the population into uniting for the war effort playing on nationalist sentiment. Personnel for nursing schools also began to post advertisements outside of high schools to recruit students for their nursing programs.⁵⁴ These nursing schools sought to train the motivated younger generation of Chinese civilians into the next generation of nurses. Also, the nursing education system was altered to ease the transition for younger students. Schools began to divide nursing education into separate stages. These stages taught students different subjects ranging from the basic introductory material to the more advanced hospital internships.⁵⁵ This stage system encouraged students to enter at a younger age, junior middle school as opposed to senior middle school.⁵⁶ Also, this system permitted students to stop training and to leave with a concrete level of medical knowledge. If any obstacle arose, a student could halt schooling

⁵³ “Chinese Train as Nurses,” *The China Press (1925-1938)*, Jul 09, 1937, 4, “Chinese Nurses,” *South China Morning Post (1903-1941)*, Apr 12, 1938, A. Sharpe, “Chinese Nurses Perform Heroic Deeds,” *The China Weekly Review (1923-1950)*, Dec 25, 1937.

⁵⁴ “Nursing School Uses ABMAC Grant to Improve Teaching Facilities,” *ABMAC Bulletin* 7, no. 3-4: March-April 1945, Box 107, Folder 2, ABMAC Records, 3.

⁵⁵ *Report of the Army Medical Field Services School for 1945*, Report (Kweiyang, 1946), Box 2, Folder 3, ABMAC Records, 40.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

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and join the work force. Furthermore, the ability to receive nursing education in stages increased the mobility of women.

The nationalism and patriotism that emerged to encourage involvement in nursing had similar global implications with the Overseas Chinese. Many people of Chinese descent abroad were “united in doing their share towards the nation’s resistance against Japanese aggression.”⁵⁷ The nationalist sentiment that united China against the war succeeded in creating a “national conscience” across the world. A key form of overseas involvement was the Bowl of Rice Parties that aimed to raise funds for the war effort in China. These dinners would be hosted to “attract large numbers of those who [enjoyed] eating delicious Chinese food and hearing up-to-the-minute news on China.”⁵⁸ Funds would be raised through a general appropriation of Chinese culture. Also, many Chinese medical professionals abroad were invigorated to come back to serve their country in one of its greatest times of need. In fact, one of the most notable overseas Chinese medical professional had been Dr. Lim, who expressed his love for Chinese nationalism. These people contributed greatly to the healthcare system as they brought Western medical education with them in a more native form.

Through this infusion of nationalism, Chinese women became empowered and found themselves in better social standing. The schools and organizations sought women to fill the gap left by the men fighting in the warfront. Newspapers targeted the women in other occupations to begin nurses training because the “demand for nurses [was] considerably greater” than other office jobs.⁵⁹ As seen in the “public health” nurses, the expansion of nursing roles allowed these women to acquire significantly more authority and leadership. The process of women playing a larger role in the war effort resembles that of women in the United States

⁵⁷ C. B. H., "What Returned Students Are Doing," *The China Weekly Review (1923-1950)*, Dec 04, 1937, A22.

⁵⁸ "Goodwill Dinner Honors Mary Chu," *ABMAC Bulletin* 7, no. 1-2: January-February 1945, Box 107, Folder 2, ABMAC Records, 2.

⁵⁹ "300 Jobless Girls Register with Y.W.C.A. in Shanghai," *The China Press (1925-1938)*, May 27, 1938, 3.

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during World War II. Due to a need in the war effort, women expanded their roles in society and had a means to better their situations. Likewise, this lure of empowerment was coupled with a sense of national pride that attracted a significant number of women. These nurses received praise from many doctors who found them to be “more courageous than the doctors.”⁶⁰ These women were held in high regards as their involvement represented an act of Chinese nationalism by answering the desperate call for aid.

Limitations of Nursing Education

In conjunction with the association of nurses with nationalism, the nursing shortage had been temporarily resolved through the education of the schools that stressed the mass education of nurses. The significant number of civilians trained with medical knowledge relieved the pressures of the war. However, the key downfall of these schools was the lack of a long-lasting effect. These students could only go so far with the education received in a few weeks or months. Dr. Lim saw the potential to extend this training to allow for the formation of a more enduring nursing force. In fact, he proposed the transition of the schools' status from a “Training Station” (*Shun Lien Suo*) to a “School of university grade” (*Hsueh Hsiao*) as it would have a significant role in the status and recognition of the students.⁶¹ Through his attempts at extending the length of these schools and creating a more complete educational system, Dr. Lim showed his realization of the need for something permanent rather than a temporary fix. In a time of war, China found itself united. “The air raids have united the government and the people as nothing else could have united them.”⁶² Dr. Lim sought to harness this fervor.

⁶⁰ “Women in China War,” *South China Morning Post (1903-1941)*, Sep 27, 1941, 5.

⁶¹ Robert Lim to Dr. Van Slyke and Dr. Cotui, November 10, 1942, Box 9, Folder 1, ABMAC Records, 2.

⁶² Lin Yutang, “People Not Frightened,” *ABMAC Bulletin* 2, no. 7: September 1940, Box 107, Folder 1, ABMAC Records, 3.

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However, Dr. Lim's removal as the head of the EMSTS in 1943 signaled that many did not hope to permanently improve Chinese nursing; they solely focused on the short-term solutions to the shortage. The EMSTS had been geared towards rapid training and deployment to the war. Though the training focused heavily on the practical side of medicine, the length of it could not feasibly produce individuals who could be depended on to lead China to the modernization of its healthcare system. The EMSTS received significant criticism over the notion of the schools "[equipping] high school boys to undertake the diagnosis and treatment of disease."⁶³ Dr. Lim agreed with this statement and noted that the short period of training "would not produce doctors."⁶⁴ China could use these health workers as a crutch to sustain itself through the war. China, however, could not expect to form a strong basis for a suitable healthcare system with training that lasted only for four months. An American surgeon in China, Colonel Lyle S. Powell, noted that most of the nurses at the hospitals he visited were still staffed by foreigners.⁶⁵ The Chinese still could not sustain their own hospitals without the aid of foreign healthcare workers. Though the graduates of the EMSTS were not guaranteed to become world-renowned medical professionals, the schools successfully served the purpose that they sought out to achieve: the rapid, basic medical training of large amounts of Chinese civilians. However, the schools, in that state, could not form the next generation of well-established medical professionals in China. Robert Lim sought to direct these schools towards more permanent, extensive training, but ultimately failed to do so, signaling the focus on a quick fix.

Conclusions

The state of nursing in China had been limited at the start of the war with Japan; the healthcare system in place could not handle the pressure. However, through the aid of for-

⁶³ "General Lim Visits America," 3.

⁶⁴ Robert Lim to Dr. Van Slyke and Dr. Cotui, 2.

⁶⁵ Lyle Stephenson Powell, *A Surgeon in Wartime China*. (Lawrence.: University of Kansas Press, 1946), 162.

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eigners and various organizations, China found temporary solutions to their issue. The Peking Union Medical College School of Nursing, the Emergency Medical Services Training Schools, and other nursing schools helped train a significant number of nurses. The incorporation of nationalism into the medical field helped recruit and galvanize the Chinese population. This fusion of nationalism and rapid training succeeded. However, the nursing crisis had been merely bandaged and not fixed permanently. Most medical reforms were short-sighted - only seeing through from the initial situation to the end of the war. Only little concern could be seen in the long-term implications of these policies. China did successfully find ways to alleviate the nursing shortage. In fact, China managed to train a significant number of civilians in basic medical principles. The nature of these nurses was adapted to the specific circumstances brought on by the war.

The nurses educated were specifically molded to fit wartime necessities. In contrast to the pre-wartime Chinese nurses, these wartime nurses specialized in mobility and flexibility in settings of extreme hardship. The state of the wartime medicine hindered the traditional role of nurses, which called for them to remain in the hospital. These nurses extended their roles past these boundaries and maintained significant impact in areas not traditionally controlled by nurses. As a result, Chinese nurses received greater recognition. Yet, medical leaders had not been formed. The next generation of medical leaders had not been produced through Chinese institutions. Most of the leading Chinese medical doctors came from the foreign Peking Medical Union College or other foreign medical institutions, which could only educate so many.

In a description of the warfront, an article noted that “resistance without reconstruction would be meaningless.”⁶⁶ The notion of resistance and reconstruction directly comes from the title of a book by Chiang Kai-Shek, the Chinese Nationalist Party Leader who en-

⁶⁶ “Camera Record of Lim’s Inspection Tour of Fronts a Vivid Commentary on Medical Needs,” *ABMAC Bulletin* 2, no. 7: September 1940, Box 107, Folder 1, ABMAC Records, 5.

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couraged the unity against all adversity that China faced and the creation of eternal strength. Instead of embracing this two-pronged ideology, China focused mainly on the resistance aspect and neglected the reconstruction of the nursing system. Resistance was not entirely meaningless as the means through which China overcame the nursing shortage achieved great success. Yet, in hindsight, perhaps more could have been done to establish a more permanent, everlasting healthcare system that would, in time, depend on native Chinese medical professionals.

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Violence and Belonging in Jacksonian America

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“There is, even now, and ill-omen amongst us”

In January 1838, a young Abraham Lincoln addressed a Springfield crowd, saying “I hope I am over-wary, but if I am not, there is, even now, an ill-omen amongst us. I mean the increasing disregard for law which pervades the country.”¹ Lincoln’s warning was in response to a specific St. Louis lynch mob representative of the lawless tenor of the Jacksonian Era. The 1838 mob falls squarely into a period characterized by violence and disorder preceding the Civil War. This turbulence, a benchmark of the period, exists concurrently with another oft-noted quality-- the increasing involvement of ordinary folks in politics. The contemporary monikers, “The Age of the Common Man” and “The Rise of Democracy”, acknowledge the remarkable presence of violence and its coincidence with the growth of the electorate and formation of the second-party system independently of one another. A comprehensive study of Jacksonian violence, in combination with the political landscape, provides a more complete image of the Antebellum Period’s political discourse and particularly of how violence defined and limited American membership.

After Andrew Jackson defeated John Quincy Adams in the election of 1828, the Democratic Party formed around him, espousing individual and state rights, protection of property, and minimal federal interference. Farmers and Southern slave owners typically made up the Democratic Party, adding a regional dimension to partisan divisions. Jackson, the first “common” president (hailing from Tennessee), was the ideal figurehead for a party claiming to facilitate elevation of common men. The Whig Party rose to meet the challenge of the Democrats, primarily composed of reformers, and skilled urban workers. The 2nd par-

¹T. Harry Williams, ed., *Abraham Lincoln: Selected Speeches, Messages, and Letters*. (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1958), 6.

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ty system, born out of the formation of these two opposing parties provided the common man with a mechanism to organize and exert their assumed power. The parties of Jackson's Age also determined which issues would characterize the violence of the time, by emphasizing class, regional, and economic disparities even as they were articulated solely by the dominating voice of the white, male electorate.

The actors in the violence ranged from wealthy frontiersmen to urban immigrants and to slaves. Frequently, the victims of the violence were critics, resisters, and instigators. The violence took place on plantations, in Florida swamps, in populous cities, and around Western settlements. The diversity of the actors, issues, and settings that produced violence suggests that discrete analysis of any one group or place is insufficient, and that violence functioned as political discourse, elevating and subjugating its perpetrators and victims, in turn. Violence in this time is most suitably divided into the actions of the franchised versus the disfranchised, because the rationale by which white men justified their violence often stands in direct opposition to the resistance rationale of the violence of slaves, perceived criminals, and other excluded groups.

The scholarship of the Jacksonian Era has two major deficiencies in its treatment of group violence and has greater strength in specificity than in scope. Historians have produced extensive accounts of the era documenting the political change, the polarization of the second-party system, voting politics, and social movements. In the generalized histories of the period, violence plays an insignificant role, often depicted as a purely social movement and symptom of rampant individualism.² Each instance of violence is treated as the product

² Two of the foremost accounts of the Jacksonian Era treat violence situationally, categorizing violence topically. This is visible in Sean Wilentz's *The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln*, where Wilentz discusses Indian Removal, nativist mobs, slave revolts, pro-slavery mobs, and vigilante violence distinctly from one another in analyzing the rise of popular involvement in government. Daniel Walker Howe's, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*, discusses Jacksonian violence similarly, through the lenses of innovation, society, and culture. Neither massive account of the age discusses violence comprehensively, despite the scope of each work. Arthur M. Schlesinger's prize-winning tome, *The Age of Jackson*, is primarily political history, rarely engaging the era's violence. Works that focus on specific Jacksonian violence include Richard Maxwell Brown's, *Strain of Violence: Historical Studies of American Violence and Vigilantism*

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of growing tension in a discrete moment. This method's focus on the content of Jacksonian violence does more to illuminate the issues of the era and the movement of society than to make any substantial claims about group violence. In accounts of the era, violence is frequently treated as random disorder, characteristic of a turbulent time – an accident of individualism.

The second major deficiency of the scholarship is its tendency to treat each category of violence as completely distinct from the other violence in the era. This is most frequently seen with Indian Removal, but is also found in accounts of urban disorder and frontier violence. Most riots are grouped topically and never discussed in relationship with one another. The literature on mob violence is robust, but lacks helpful contextual evidence of other violence. Similarly, accounts are generally limited by the dominant voices of the era. Vigilantes and the violence of frontier lawlessness are told through the lens of the vigilante groups, just as Indian Removal accounts focus on the voice of policy and the government. The era's pervasive violence is often limited to the most visible and raucous violence, rather than considering the general scope and execution of the violence.

The histories surrounding relationships between politics and group violence are generally too separatist to add much flesh to either topic. There is a prevailing tendency to treat political discourse as the movements of voters and legislators, but in the increasingly democratic early 19th century, limiting political interaction to suffrage and policy is wholly insufficient. The Age of Jackson is an age with countless divisions exacerbated forcefully. Analyzing violent moments for their substance is necessary to understand isolated issues, but to understand Jacksonian citizenship and violence comprehensively, it is necessary to analyze violent moments in their larger context.

Franchised Violence

In the 1828 election, the proportion of voting white males was more than double that four years previous, when John Quincy Adams was elected.³ Drawing support from Southern states, Andrew Jackson won overwhelmingly, beginning what many historians call "the rise of the common man," which referred to the new level of political involvement that the average white man achieved through the vote. Historian Sean Wilentz points to the Age of Jackson as the time when the Republic became democratic. Commerce was growing, cities were expanding rapidly and individual interests were central to Jackson's political ideology and popularity.

While the right to vote united many, it also clarified exactly who did not belong. With the formation of the Democratic Party and the advent of the 2nd party system, social, regional, and religious differences became politically important. The rise of parties deepened distinctions even as they allowed white men without property a ballot and means of political expression. The election of the "people's president," together with increased suffrage, added to the motivation of the common man to continue grasping for rights while protecting his long-awaited privileges.

On Wednesday, March 4th, Jackson took the stage to deliver his first inaugural address before a crowd of thousands.⁴ He only briefly mentioned Indian affairs stating, "It will be my sincere and constant desire to observe toward the Indian tribes within our limits a just and liberal policy, and to give that humane and considerate attention to their rights and their wants which is consistent with the habits of our Government and the feelings of our people."⁵ Andrew Jackson prioritized Indian Removal in his first term as president, moving the legislation

³ Joel H. Sibley, *Political Ideology and Voting Behavior in the Age of Jackson* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1973), 118.

⁴ Sean Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy: From Jefferson to Lincoln* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2005), 312.

⁵ Andrew Jackson, *First Inaugural Address* (March 4, 1829) The Avalon Project. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/jackson1.asp (Accessed April 7, 2017).

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swiftly through the Senate and the House in the spring of 1830, anticipating the voiding of the constitution and laws of the Cherokee nation.⁶ In the Act, signed into law in May by President Jackson, the careful wording promised protection and land to the Indians in the trade, without enumerating protections explicitly.⁷ Following the passage of the Indian Removal Act in 1830, Jackson triumphantly addressed Congress, extolling the act. He specifically pointed out how removal would:

free [the Natives] from the power of the states; enable them to pursue happiness in their own way, and under their own rude institutions; will retard the progress of decay; and perhaps cause them gradually, under the protection of the Government to cast off their savage habits and become an interesting, civilized, and Christian community.⁸

The force with which the government enacted Removal sent a clearly exclusionary message to native tribes. When tribes, often cajoled and coerced into signing removal treaties, refused to vacate the land, violence erupted in a series of conflicts. In 1838, Cherokees in Georgia, even after winning the right to remain on their land in the Supreme Court, refused to remove, prompting a response from the state militia who proceeded to imprison over 17,000 men, women, and children. The Cherokees were crowded into camps and sent off in railcars across the Mississippi.⁹ Earlier in the decade, the government forced the Choctaws to vacate their gradually diminishing ancestral lands in Alabama. In his farewell address to the American people, Choctaw chief George Harkins mourned their treatment by former allies. "We regret that [Removal] should proceed from the mouth of our professed friend, for whom

⁶ Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy*, 322.; Robert V. Remini, *The Age of Jackson* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1972), 33.

⁷ *A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates 1775-1875*, (Library of Congress), 412. <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=004/llsl004.db&recNum=459> (Accessed April 8, 2017).

⁸ *A Century of Lawmaking for a New Nation: U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates 1775-1875*, (Library of Congress), 414. <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=004/llsl004.db&recNum=459> (Accessed April 8, 2017).

⁹ Remini, *The Revolutionary Age of Jackson*, 115.

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our blood was co-mingled with that of his bravest warriors, on the field of danger and death."¹⁰

The doctrine of Indian Removal clearly barred indigenous peoples from American membership, first by refusing to allow natives any legal recourse, then by deploying physical force as the chosen means of political interaction. This use of force communicated the vast divisions in social and political status between the governing and the governed. In his letter, Harkins implores Americans to treat his people "as children," rather than "beasts, which are benefitted by a change of pasture."¹¹ Beyond the exclusionary nature of forceful removal, Harkins also identifies its oppressive nature. Even many of the executors of removal policy agreed that the government forced the Indians into removal against their will and with no other recourse. By using force as the primary method of political discourse with the Indians, Jackson's administration created a dichotomy between those allowed to do violence and those to whom violence could be done.

The forceful removal of Indians from land east of the Mississippi early in Jackson's presidency set a precedent for subjugation and political interaction through force by those who perceived Native tribes as non-members. The violence of the era that follows Indian Removal and the subsequent Indian Wars is not in opposition with national policy, but is consistent with the rhetoric of Indian Removal. Mob violence and frontier violence appear significantly less accidental because they follow legalized violence while making strikingly similar claims about membership using violence. When the national response to perceived outsiders is swift and brutal force, mob violence and vigilantism simply need a comparable rhetoric to be politically legitimized.

¹⁰ George W. Harkins, *George W. Harkins to the American People*, (1832) <http://www.ushistory.org/documents/harkins.htm> (Accessed April 15, 2017).

¹¹ Harkins, *Letter to the American People*.

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Historian Richard Maxwell Brown counts at least 35 major riots, often the best-known extralegal violence of the era, in major cities from 1830 to 1860. Jacksonian rioting was not limited to issues or to a particular group of opponents, but was united in the ideology that spurred white men to mobs. Protests against abolition, Catholicism, immigration, and the English tended to erupt into violent conflicts with startling frequency. Despite their occurrences up and down the urbanized coast and the scope of their content, riots often formed under the same vocabulary of rights, and their perpetrators all claimed a right to violence to preserve those rights.

In May 1838, construction finished on Pennsylvania Hall, a magnificent structure built to be a hall for "free expression," as Samuel Webb writes in his account of the structure.¹² On May 17th, four days after opening, a raucous mob burned the building to the ground during a meeting between William Lloyd Garrison, Lucretia Mott, and other prominent abolitionists.¹³ The mob formed in response to a placard posted throughout Philadelphia reading:

Whereas a convention, for the avowed purpose of effecting the immediate emancipation of slaves throughout the United States, is at this time holding its session in Philadelphia, it behooves the citizens who entertain a proper respect for the right of property, and the preservation of the constitution of the Union, to interfere, forcibly *if they must*, to prevent the violation of those pledges heretofore held sacred, and it is proposed that they assemble at the Pennsylvania Hall to-morrow morning.¹⁴

In this placard, the instigators used violent group expression as a preferred, and even necessary, tool to protect private interests, rather than a last resort. By politicizing ownership of slaves, describing slavery as a right to property, the mob also claimed political membership, and equated their force with defense of the Union.

Anti-abolition riots in Cincinnati, Boston, and New York also indicate the common practice of violence as a response to the abolition movement. In addition to functioning as a

¹² Samuel Webb, *History of Pennsylvania Hall which was Destroyed by a Mob on the 17th of May, 1838* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Hall Association, 1838), 4.

¹³ Webb, *History of Pennsylvania Hall*, 145.

¹⁴ Webb, *History of Pennsylvania Hall*, 138.

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mode of protection for personal rights and interests, violence was used as a means of subjugating slaves and the proponents of abolition. With their violence, rioters made clear distinctions between the people who had membership in the United States and those for whom the Constitution did not work. Historian Daniel Aaron, cites the relatively elevated position of black residents of Cincinnati as a direct cause of a series of 1836 riots.¹⁵ The Ohio Anti-Slavery Society published a subsequent account of the violence, enumerating the personal interests, both economic and social, that lead to the riots.¹⁶ Economic, social, and political interests catalyze to mob violence, but only political motives give sufficient credence to the drastic actions of the mobs.

Abolition was not the sole motivation for the urban mobs of the early 19th century. Nativism, a political movement popular in the era, was characterized by its violent anti-Catholic and anti-immigration protests.¹⁷ Historian David Bennett characterizes the nativist movement as a group "dedicated to preserving the ascendancy of certain subgroups so they might protect their own positions in a competitive culture."¹⁸ Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, all harbor cities, were at the front lines of nativist battles, and frequently, the backlash of antagonized communities.¹⁹

Lewis C. Levin, a Jewish politician and South Carolina native, was an outspoken opponent of liquor and Catholicism in Philadelphia, writing ceaselessly of the evils of one or both pestilences.²⁰ On May 6, 1844, Levin was speaking to a group of Native Americans, as they referred to themselves, when sudden rain led the group to take cover in the Nanny Goat

¹⁵ Daniel Aaron, *Cincinnati: Queen City of the West* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), 301.

¹⁶ James Birney, *Narrative of the Late Riotous Proceedings Against the Liberty of the Press* (Cincinnati: The Ohio Anti-Slavery Society, 1836), 10.

¹⁷ David H. Bennett, *The Party of Fear: From Nativist Movements to the New Right in American History*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 3; Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 227.

¹⁸ Bennett, *The Party of Fear*, 12.

¹⁹ Feldman, *The Turbulent Era*, 5.

²⁰ John A. Forman, *Lewis Chares Levin: Portrait of an American Demagogue* (American Jewish Archives, 1960), 150–194.

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Market.²¹ The Irish market did not take kindly to the anti-Irish and anti-Catholic crowd and promptly began pelting the assembly with stones, resulting in the death of a nativist. Over the course of the next month, the nativists rioted regularly, burning churches and terrorizing Catholics.²² Similarly to the anti-abolition riots, the inciters printed a call to assemble and arm in their paper, *The Native American*, crying, "Now we call on our fellow-citizens, who regard free institutions, whether they be native or adopted to arm. Our liberties are to be fought for- let us not be slack in preparation."²³

The nativists condensed social and cultural differences under the umbrella of political partisanship. Uniting against a perceived violation of liberty and freedom enabled the group to arm themselves against their political opponents. In reality, the primary distinction between the Native Americans and their opponents was religion, but the constructed dichotomy between papal loyalty and civil liberty created a space for political discourse resulting in the bloody clashes of the age. In 1844, Philadelphia hosted a slew of riots, resulting in thousands of dollars' worth of damage and several deaths.²⁴ A decade earlier, an angry nativist mob burned a Massachusetts convent to the ground.²⁵ New York City hosted one of the bloodiest riots of the era when a nativist mob turned out in force to protest an English actor and rampaged through the city.²⁶ These instances provide dramatic examples of the nativist movement, and the political façade that mechanized violence as a tool for subjugation as well as expression in cities. A different setting, the American borderlands, hosted dissimilar violence, though it too was the primary articulator of societal membership.

In the unincorporated West, vigilante groups formed as a safeguard against lawlessness and unfamiliarity. The resolution of the Northern Indiana Vigilantes claimed that the

²¹ Feldberg, *The Turbulent Era*, 19.

²² Forman, *Lewis Charles Levin*, 13.

²³ Quoted by Feldberg, *The Turbulent Era*, 21.

²⁴ Feldberg, *The Turbulent Era*, 24.

²⁵ Bennett, *The Party of Fear*, 27.

²⁶ Nigel Cliff, *The Shakespeare Riots: Revenge Drama and Death in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Random House, 2007), 145.

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group was made up of "believers in the doctrine of popular sovereignty," and that "it is the right of the people to take the protection of their property into their own hands."²⁷ By claiming the authority to protect their own property and mete out justice, the vigilantes determined exactly which people had the right to protect property or be protected. In this way, the vigilantes exerted power over the meaning of citizenship.

Brown, as well as historian Lisa Arellano, draw a genealogy from the Regulator Movements of the Revolutionary War to the vigilante movements popular in the first half of the 19th century.²⁸ Thomas Josiah Dimsdale's well-known account of vigilantism provides an exemplary portrayal of the uniqueness of vigilantism as a political movement, as well as its striking similarities to other categories of group violence. Dimsdale describes the territories as "wild saturnalia,"²⁹ necessitating groups who were willing to take the law into their own hands. In his account, Dimsdale details an unprovoked massacre of a nearby Indian encampment and the subsequent trial. The actors of the massacre defended themselves with only the claim that "the d-d sons of b-s had no business there."³⁰ All of the men involved were acquitted or banished from the territory conditionally. The sentences were perceived as stiff, proceeding from the jury's distrust of the defendants.³¹

Another account of vigilantism of the era, anonymously authored, details the work of desperadoes and vigilantes through the Rockies and Idaho, describing a series of typically Western tales.³² As in many vigilante accounts, a desperado, depicted in flowery language, ruthlessly killed his victims, only to be stopped by the good and noble vigilantes. This creates the illusion that the only extralegal violence proceeds from desperadoes, Indians and

²⁷ Brown, *Strains of Violence*, 93, 95.

²⁸ Lisa Arellano, *Vigilantes and Lynch Mobs: Narratives of Community and Nation* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2012), 21. <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.stthomas.edu/stable/j.ctt14bsxf0>; Brown, *Strains of Violence*, 98.

²⁹ Thomas J. Dimsdale, *The Vigilantes of Montana* (Helena, MT: State Publishing Co., 1915), 10. https://archive.org/stream/vigilantesofmont01dime/vigilantesofmont01dime_djvu.txt (Accessed April 10, 2017).

³⁰ Dimsdale, *The Vigilantes of Montana*, 30.

³¹ Dimsdale, *The Vigilantes of Montana*, 32.

³² *The Banditti of the Rocky Mountains and Vigilance Committee of Idaho* (New York: Wilson & Company, 1865) <https://archive.org/details/banditti> (Accessed April 7, 2017).

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outlaws, stealing property and terrorizing settlements. In reality however, vigilantes also operated outside of the law, relying on their numbers and financial prosperity to legitimize violence.³³

As in the urban riots, vigilantes' arbitrary understanding and articulations of personal rights justified the subjects and objects of violence. Vigilante mobs most often formed in response to an offense against an influential member of the community or the vigilante committee itself. When vigilante groups found themselves in opposition, skirmishes erupted between different factions, resulting in "executions," rather than casualties.³⁴ The San Francisco vigilante committee mobilized against Irish Catholic lawbreakers specifically, often ignoring court decisions in order to conduct mass hangings. In this instance, as in others, the vigilante committee masqueraded as law enforcement to pursue personal interests.³⁵

One important distinction between the popular disorder of urban Eastern America and the organized violence of the Western frontier lands was the nuanced acceptability of vigilantism. Urban unrest was characterized as a "disgraceful occurrence," by the papers of the times.³⁶ One Louisiana paper proclaimed that when mobs form "the life and liberty of the best citizen is placed on the equality with the common ruffian."³⁷ Prominent voices of the time condemned mob violence as an offense against liberty.³⁸ In contrast, vigilante groups of the West and rural United States were often heralded as peacekeeping groups. One account of a vigilante victory over a troupe of Louisiana outlaws, notes "the news of this affair caused the greatest pleasure among all the honest and decent inhabitants of the parish where it oc-

³³ Brown, *Strains of Violence*, 93.

³⁴ Arellano, *Vigilantes and Lynch Mobs*, 26.

³⁵ Brown, *Strain of Violence*, 139.

³⁶ *Jeffersonian Republican*. (Stroudsburg, Pa.), May 17, 1849. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86053954/1849-05-17/ed-1/seq-2/> (Accessed April 10, 2017).

³⁷ *The Weekly Comet*. (Baton Rouge, La.), September 03 1854. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn86053662/1854-09-03/ed-1/seq-1/> (Accessed April 9, 2017).

³⁸ Nina Tiffany Moore, *Samuel E. Sewall: A Memoir* (Houghton Mifflin, 1898) 64.

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curred.³⁹ Still another paper warily noted the extralegal nature of vigilance committees, claiming a position of objectivity, but went on to applaud the imminent "reign of peace and order."⁴⁰

Even outside of cities, emphasis on personal rights was valued over clarification of the rights themselves. When a person or group's actions - or even existence - threatened a citizen's perceived rights, group violence was the most common response. The formation of the Democratic Party, and subsequently the Whigs, sprang from the belief that individual voices could only be heard through group action.⁴¹ Frontier vigilante groups were vehicles of political expression and more importantly, functioning as arbitrators of citizenship, correcting wrongs, protecting the chosen, and punishing offenders - deserving or not. In this way too, vigilance groups extended their action beyond the geographical reach that urban mobs were capable of, while maintaining the same function.

Resistance and Rebellion Violence

While the best documented violence of the thirty years preceding the Civil War is the violence of the government, the franchised, and the wealthy, it was not the only violence of the era. The objects of mob violence, Indian Removal, and vigilantes as well as immigrants and slaves made up a more significant portion of the population, and demonstrated violently with an opposing rhetoric. The rhetoric of violence enacted by those without a voice in political discourse necessarily opposes the rhetoric of violence as a right of the belonging. In addition to this, it reveals a perception of citizenship and the franchise that is distinct from the perception of Jacksonian white men, even while it challenges their power. The relationship

³⁹ *The New York Herald*. (New York [N.Y.]), Sept. 16, 1859. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030313/1859-09-16/ed-1/seq-5/> (Accessed April 8, 2017).

⁴⁰ *White Cloud Kansas chief*. (White Cloud, Kan.), 18 Aug. 1859. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82015486/1859-08-18/ed-1/seq-2/> (Accessed April 11, 2017).

⁴¹ Remini, *The Revolutionary Age of Jackson*, 36.

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between violence and political membership permeates both points of view, even though they are in tension with one another.

Indian Removal in Florida was met with swift indigenous resistance. The Seminole Wars proved to be hugely expensive and lengthy for the federal government as well as the auxiliary militias seeking to eradicate the tribes. Chief Osceola of the Seminoles responded defiantly to attempts to remove his people saying, “The white man shall not make me black. I will make the white man red with blood; and then blacken him in the sun and rain ... and the buzzard live upon his flesh.”⁴² Proponents of Indian Removal attributed the violent resistance of the remaining five tribes of Indians to “the murderous maraudings of bloodthirsty savages,” but Osceola perceived that the violence of Indian Removal was a tool to subjugate the Seminoles, and even enslave them.⁴³ In addition to this, Osceola articulates violence as a means of liberation and enfranchisement. Osceola demonstrates an understanding of citizenship as a product of violence, born out of his people’s experience, making violence acceptable.

Similar sentiments are found in slave revolts and urban violence, and reflect an understanding of violence as a tool that is significantly more characteristic of the era than violence as disordered expression. In the most famous slave rebellion of the time, Nat Turner led a cohort of slaves against the white slave owners of Southampton, Virginia.⁴⁴ In Turner's confessions, he cites a message from God as the catalyst for the bloodiest slave rebellion in American history, saying that he received a sign from God to “slay [his] enemies with their own weapons.”⁴⁵ Here, as with Chief Osceola, Turner cannot help but understand that he has

⁴² Missall, John and Mary Lou Missall. *Seminole Wars: America's Longest Indian Conflict*. (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 2004).

⁴³ *The North-Carolinian*. volume (Fayetteville [N.C.]), 28 Sept. 1839. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*. Lib. of Congress. <<http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84020750/1839-09-28/ed-1/seq-3/>> (Accessed April 12, 2017).

⁴⁴ Brown, *Strains of Violence*, 197.

⁴⁵ T.R. Gray, *Confessions of Nat Turner: The Leader of the Late Insurrection in Southampton, VA*, (Baltimore, 1831). Retrieved from DocSouth, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/turner/menu.html>. (Accessed April 7, 2017).

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no voice in Jacksonian America, let alone a means of action. However, Turner clearly perceives the discursive nature of violence in the political culture and attempts to use it to gain his own membership in the polity. This is only coherent because of the widespread use of violence by citizens, a phenomenon that Turner could not be ignorant of in such a turbulent era.

Several other resistance riots carry the thread of violence as liberation consistently through the era. During the summer of 1836, a pair of young freed women prematurely broke out of a Boston courtroom before a decision for their freedom could be made.⁴⁶ Even though the verdict at hand was almost certainly favorable, the group, primarily composed of black women, resorted immediately to group force to protect their freedom. In Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1847, another, similar riot occurred. A group of slaves, being tried as runaways, began a courtroom melee, attempting escape and defending themselves all at once.⁴⁷

The rhetoric of resistance, especially of the most ostracized and oppressed groups, offers a compelling contrast to the prevailing ideology of the time and the way in which it was expressed. Nativists justified their violence as a defense of their natural rights. In a time when rights were heavily emphasized within political parties to grow suffrage, nativism found a solid base for violence as political discourse over the gravest matters.⁴⁸ In other words, most of the rioters against abolition, Catholicism, and immigration, believed that their perceived rights warranted protection at any cost, including violence. Conversely, the resistance, recent immigrants, slaves, and freed men and women, believed that violence warranted rights.

Frontier violence too, was met with opposition, primarily heard from the critics of vigilantism. One critic of vigilantism warned against the arbitrary nature of the committees,

⁴⁶ Nina Tiffany Moore, *Samuel E. Sewall: A Memoir*, (Houghton Mifflin, 1898), 63.

⁴⁷ Martha C Slotten, "The McClintock Slave Riot of 1847", *Dickinson College Journal* 17, no. 1 (2000): (Accessed April 9, 2017).

⁴⁸ Robert V. Remini, *The Revolutionary Age of Jackson*, (New York, Harper & Row, 1976), 15.

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saying, "better to endure the escape of criminals than to inaugurate a reign of terror which today may punish one guilty head, and tomorrow wreak its mistaken vengeance on many innocent lives."⁴⁹ Another critic claimed that the movement deprived citizens of popular sovereignty by chasing elected officials out of office and rejecting legal procedures.⁵⁰ In the absence of clarity over individual rights, the American frontier was fraught with opposing concepts of deserts. Vigilantism evolved in response to this and, in keeping with the prevailing ideology of the time, identified whatever rights seen fit, as worthy of violent defense and ambiguous definition.

Jacksonian Indian Removal, urban violence, and vigilantism are often made the defining issues of the era separately, and indeed, each one contributes to the tone of political discourse through the age. The calculated use of force against a group perceived as inferior, presented as a battle over rights, transcends the substance of each issue to create a common thread across regional boundaries and, more importantly, across topical divisions. Each conflict has the side of subjugation, where the antagonist eliminated a peaceful or systematic means of resolution by exerting force. In response to force, the opposing side, both excluded and diminished, utilizes violence in order to achieve the elevated status of their oppressors. The often-ignored violence of the multitude of subjugated groups is even more indicative of political interaction and how membership is formed than the violence of dominant groups. Comparing both sides reveals Jacksonian violence's complexity and purpose in political discourse, and enables a more accurate conceptualization of democracy as it rose in the Antebellum Period.

By many accounts, the three decades preceding the Civil War were, indeed, the age of the common man. Finally, the rights won in the Revolution were being made available to a wider socioeconomic pool of men. Rather than uniting Americans, the prospect of personal

⁴⁹ Brown, *Strains of Violence*, 131.

⁵⁰ Brown, *Strains of Violence*, 132.

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rights incited the newly franchised to stake a claim of superiority over the excluded parties with extreme force. The excluded parties invariably believed that the right to liberty and voice ought to extend to all Americans, and reacted with equal fervor and force. In the most prominent categories of violence there is a party that defines a threat to personal liberty as the actions of their opponents. Naturally, their opponents profess to be claiming their own rights.

In Jacksonian democracy, the inherent contradictions of the “True American” ideology are brought to light. The sweeping rhetoric of Jackson's campaign for the common man is tested time and again as progressively more residents of Jackson's America are silenced by vocal partisans. The 2nd party system provided a legitimizing vehicle and a means for organization, however chaotic the organization was. While never normalized, violence is certainly made acceptable, particularly as a safeguard against threats to the idol of liberty, embodied in foreigners, abolitionists, indigenous people, and arbitrarily chosen offenders. Under the lens of politics, Jacksonian violence is not anomalous or unexplainable, but almost necessary to the conflicts created by a hierarchical era of equality. The contradictions in Jackson's own actions, limiting power by the often-questionable exercise of his executive arm, parallel the ground level political violence.

The turbulence of the era, while widespread, was never commonplace. Perhaps Lincoln's concern about an “ill-omen” proceeded from a premonition of the Civil War - the ultimate conflict over American belonging. In their basic structure, the smattering of violent engagements across the continent all form microcosms of the ultimate question of slavery. Every altercation assumes two different understandings of belonging and citizenship. The one doing violence on behalf of the law assumes superiority and that his victim does not, in fact, belong. The one resisting, believes violence can create his or her belonging.

Discussing violence comprehensively across the Age of Jackson does not adequately confront the complexities of nativism, Indian Removal, abolition, or frontier politics, but

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simply articulates a relationship that is characteristic of the era across regions and issues.

Underestimating the connectedness of the violence and its very real function yields a stunted understanding of the advent of democracy and antebellum politics. Acknowledging the work of violence in democratic development, and particularly in defining citizenship, provides a significantly more complete understanding of American political discourse and democracy than a narrative that claims independence from the bloodiness of the era. It is essential to acknowledge that among the "common men" of Jackson's presidency violence decided the boundaries of political membership, distinguishing citizens from non-citizens where the government did not.

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Who's Laughing Now: The Clowns and the Black Baseball Press

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From grass skirts to clown paint to shadow ball to acrobatics, the Clowns entertained audiences across the country for decades. Whether based in Miami, Cincinnati, or Indianapolis, Syd Pollock's famous team traveled constantly, putting on shows each night which combined baseball and comedy. At their height, the Clowns were the most well-known black baseball team in the country. Any such profile invites controversy and the Clowns were immersed in it. For some in the black community, the Clowns' antics reeked of racist minstrel shows, created by a white owner for the enjoyment of a white audience, damaging the image of respectability that the black entrepreneurs who created the Negro Leagues valued so dearly.

In the minds of others, the Clowns deserved praise for creating a genuinely entertaining show, for preserving the tradition of black baseball, and for providing a path for young black men to make it to the major leagues. These different perspectives, which varied over time, can most easily be traced by examining the works of prominent black sportswriters. This paper will explore the history of the Clowns and evolution of their comedic style while attempting to understand black perceptions of the team by analyzing the responses of black sportswriters. There were times over the course of the Clowns' history when black sportswriters disagreed on how to interpret the team, suggesting a complex relationship between the Clowns and black baseball as well as a broad spectrum of beliefs about baseball and propriety.

Part I: Precursors

Who's Laughing Now

Malcolm Poindexter, a columnist for the *Philadelphia Tribune*, erroneously attributed the entire concept of clowning baseball to Syd Pollock, suggesting that he “came up with the idea of baseball tempered with a sideshow [that] revolutionized the game.”¹ As Michael E. Lomax notes in *Black Baseball Entrepreneurs, 1860-1901: Operating by Any Means Necessary*, clubs that combined ball playing and showmanship first emerged in the 1880s.² Lomax suggests that the beginning of this trend came in a game between the Cuban Giants and the New York Giants in 1887, when Cuban players presented New York player Mike Tiernan with flowers and a silk umbrella during his trips to the plate.³ Influenced by vaudeville clubs and by the former acting career of manager and co-owner SK Govern, the Cuban Giants began comedy routines to keep the crowd entertained if the game became one-sided.⁴

Playing on the success of the Cuban Giants, other showboating teams would emerge in the 19th century. The Page Fence Giants, a traveling team designed to promote fencing and bicycles, barnstormed across the country in the 1890s.⁵ The brainchild of Bud Fowler, the Giants entertained crowds with pregame bicycle exhibitions as well as midgame showmanship and comical coaching.⁶

The Cuban Giants, Page Fence Giants, and the other barnstorming clubs of the late 19th century had several similarities. They were guided by entrepreneurial black owners, managers, and/or players who were cognizant of the economic opportunities available for black baseball teams. In order to take advantage of these opportunities, they built a market for their services by appealing to white audiences and by creating innovative promotional strategies.⁷ They were unable to regularly schedule games with top level white teams and thus of-

¹ Malcolm Poindexter, “sports-I-view,” *Philadelphia Tribune*, June 10, 1958.

² Michael E. Lomax, *Black Baseball Entrepreneurs, 1860-1901: Operating by Any Means Necessary*, (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 71.

³ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 137.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 138.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 177.

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ten played far inferior clubs, forcing them to use vaudevillian comedy to keep the crowds engaged.⁸ Lastly, they had to compromise race respectability in order to ensure profits, though their antics were received relatively favorably by the black press.⁹

As Raymond A. Mohl writes in “Clowning Around: The Miami Ethiopian Clowns and Cultural Conflict in Black Baseball,” organized black baseball leagues emerged in the 1920s and pushed back on the tradition of vaudevillian comedy.¹⁰ At this time, clowning teams were pushed to the fringes of the sport and relied on small-scale barnstorming.¹¹ In *Invisible Men: Life in Baseball's Negro Leagues*, Donn Rogosin attributes this to the Negro Leagues’ “Cult of Professionalism.”¹² While every black team relied on some comedic elements to defuse tensions when dominating inferior white teams, they “insisted on the primacy of their professional baseball.”¹³ A new generation of independent clowning teams emerged in the 1920s and 30s, many owned by white businessmen and nearly all of them playing on racial stereotypes of the time.¹⁴ In this context, the Ethiopian Clowns (formerly Miami Giants) emerged under the oversight of booking agent and later owner Syd Pollock.¹⁵

Part II: The Independent Clowns

Born into a family of actors in North Tarrytown, New York, in 1901, Syd Pollock learned theatrical and promotional skills from a young age.¹⁶ According to his son, Alan Pollock, Syd Pollock’s baseball management career began with the Winchester Blue Sox in

⁸ Ibid., 177.

⁹ Ibid., 78.

¹⁰ Raymond A. Mohl, “Clowning Around: The Miami Ethiopian Clowns and Cultural Conflict in Black Baseball,” *Tequesta* LXII (2002): 46, http://digitalcollections.fiu.edu/tequesta/files/2002/02_1.pdf.

¹¹ Ibid., 46.

¹² Donn Rogosin, *Invisible Men: Life in Baseball's Negro Leagues*, (New York: Kodansha International, 1983), 91.

¹³ Ibid., 141.

¹⁴ Mohl, “Clowning Around,” 46.

¹⁵ Ibid., 47.

¹⁶ Ibid., 47.

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1920.¹⁷ He expanded his career as the booking manager of the Havana Red Sox in the late 1920s, eventually buying the team and beginning to experiment with baseball comedy.¹⁸ The Red Sox became the Cuban House of David in 1931 and the Cuban Stars in 1932.¹⁹ Pollock was involved with several other teams, notably the Miami Giants, which became the Miami Ethiopian Clowns in the 1935-36 off-season.²⁰ The name change coincided with the invasion of Ethiopia by Italian forces in October of 1935.

The Ethiopian Clowns began play in 1936, undertaking a tour of the north during which they reportedly won 108 games, lost 19, and tied 6.²¹ Their success continued through 1938 when Pollock proclaimed the Clowns world champions on the notion that they had defeated every black team they played during the past two years and that they won games against major semi-pro white teams.²² Even at this early stage, Pollock's knack for promotion shined in his press releases and in his outstanding challenge to play against the Negro Leagues champion for a "Colored World Series."²³ The team's first years also reveal the earliest iterations of the clowning that Pollock would develop. The team's first promotional photo is titled "It's the War Influence on Baseball" and features the players wearing clown outfits, wigs, and makeup, posing behind two pictures of Zulu warriors and a sign proclaiming them the "Ethiopian Clowns Baseball Tribe."²⁴ The caption below the photo lists the "names" of the players, including "Selassie."²⁵ Early reporting on the Clowns also reveals the club's first comedic antics: with an 8-0 lead against the St. Louis Colored Giants, the Clowns' baserunners scattered across the diamond, causing chaos and confusing the opponents to the

¹⁷ Alan Pollock, *Barnstorming to Heaven: Syd Pollock and His Great Black Teams*, (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006), 71.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 73; "An Open Letter to Mr. Keenan," *New York Amsterdam News*, August 29, 1928.

¹⁹ "Cuban House of David Nine to Play in U. S. A.," *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, January 10, 1931; "Cuban Stars Open Season," *Chicago Defender*, May 14, 1932.

²⁰ Pollock, *Barnstorming to Heaven*, 84.

²¹ "Clowns Baseball Team Back Home," *Chicago Defender*, October 31, 1936.

²² "Ethiopian Clowns Claim Negro Baseball Title," *New York Amsterdam News*, August 13, 1938.

²³ "Clowns Beat Atlanta and Jacksonville," *Chicago Defender*, September 24, 1938.

²⁴ "It's the War Influence on Baseball," *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 16, 1936. See Appendix A.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

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delight of the crowd.²⁶ As a further indication of Pollock's fascination with entertainment, he entered into an arrangement with track star Jesse Owens to tour with the Clowns in the late '30s and early '40s.²⁷

Pollock's relationship with the Negro Leagues became turbulent during the early 1940s. On August 10, 1940, Chicago American Giants pitcher Randolph Bowe "jumped" his contract and joined the Clowns.²⁸ This led to complaints by the black press and an agreement between the two leagues to blacklist the Clowns for 1941 should they continue to use league players in their lineup.²⁹ The Kansas City Monarchs of the Negro American League, however, had a pre-existing agreement with the Clowns and ended up playing a previously-scheduled April series.³⁰ This breach of the 1940 accord led to tension between the two leagues as Homestead Greys owner Cum Posey blamed the issue on the Chicago American Giants, the Kansas City Monarchs, and famed booking agent Abe Saperstein.³¹ On January 3rd, 1942, the Negro American League accepted a new National League resolution to ban the Clowns, this time not because of the poaching of players but rather because the owners viewed the Clowns' style of play as detrimental to the advancement of black baseball.³²

Perhaps buoyed by the club's recent win in the 1941 Denver Post semi-pro tournament, Clowns part-owner Hunter Campbell issued a defiant statement on February 7, 1942, exclaiming: "Even if I wanted to take a rest, I couldn't. These bids for games from all sections of the country and even several foreign lands, including Canada, Mexico, Cuba, South America and Puerto Rico, have been coming in steadily. Everyone wants the Ethiopian Clowns for 1942. We've got enough bids now to fill out a grand schedule of games several

²⁶ "Hoy! Hoy! Now it's the Corrigan Double Play," *Philadelphia Tribune*, Sep 15, 1938.

²⁷ "Diamond Classic for Louisville," *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 24, 1939; "Nyasses Steals Spotlight as Clowns, Giants Split," *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*,

²⁸ Frank A. Young, "Lefty Bowe Joins Clowns—East-West Game Meant No Money to Him," *Chicago Defender*, August 10, 1940.

²⁹ *Ibid.*; "Newark Still League Club," *New York Amsterdam News*, March 8, 1941.

³⁰ "Clowns Try Kansas City Clan in Miami," *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, April 12, 1941.

³¹ Cum Posey, "Posey Points," *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 5, 1941.

³² "12 League Clubs to Bar Clowns and 'Cuban' Teams," *Baltimore Afro-American*, January 3, 1942.

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times over.”³³ The veracity of these claims would go untested, however, as the formation of a new Negro Major Baseball League of America was announced in late March of that same year.³⁴ In conjunction with joining the new league, the Clowns announced a move from Miami to Cincinnati, directly challenging the newly established Cincinnati Buckeyes of the Negro American League.³⁵ The creators of the new league asserted that they were motivated by self-protection as the established Negro Leagues were not allowing expansion and attempting to restrict the use of white ballparks by independent black teams.³⁶ Cum Posey, on the other hand, placed all the blame on Abe Saperstein, saying that the new league was an attempt to maintain his hold over bookings in the Midwest and to deliver a personal threat to his former associates in the NAL.³⁷

By many accounts, the Clowns year in this new baseball league was quite successful. A hyperbolic article in the *Norfolk New Journal and Guide* went as far as to say that “the 1942 campaign will go down as the greatest ever experienced by the sensational Clowns. They’ve more than established themselves as America’s greatest entertaining nine.”³⁸ A better indicator, perhaps, of the season’s success was the announcement in June of 1942 that the NAL owners had once again rescinded their agreement to blacklist the Clowns because they wanted a piece of Pollock’s substantial gate profits.³⁹ Pollock’s positive relationship with the American League during the 1942 season would foreshadow the big news of January 1943 when it was announced that the Clowns would be joining the Negro Leagues on the condition that they remove ‘Ethiopian’ from their name and stop their face painting and comedic routines entirely.⁴⁰

³³ “Clowns Plan Free Games for Soldiers,” *Chicago Defender*, February 7, 1942.

³⁴ “Major Jackson Heads New Baseball League,” *Chicago Defender*, March 28, 1942.

³⁵ Ibid.; Fay Young, “Through the Years: Past Present Future,” *Chicago Defender*, March 28, 1942.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Cum Posey, “Posey’s Points,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 4, 1942.

³⁸ “Clowns Close Out Successful Baseball Season,” *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, October 3, 1942.

³⁹ Lem Graves Jr., “From the Press Box,” *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, June 27, 1942.

⁴⁰ “Streamlined Program for A.L. in 1943,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 9, 1943.

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Syd Pollock and his Clowns teams had a difficult relationship with the black press during their initial stint as an independent baseball team. Black columnists wrote about the Clowns frequently during this time, likely in part because of their regular conflict with the Negro Leagues. The most prominent black sportswriters who commented on the clowns were Frank (Fay) Young of the *Chicago Defender*, Lem Graves Jr. of the *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, Cum Posey of the *Pittsburgh Courier* (and also owner of the Homestead Grays), and Wendell Smith, also of the *Courier*. Each of these men criticized Pollock and the Clowns during their days as an independent club but each also had different reasons for their critique.

Fay Young was the most moderate of the quartet in his criticisms, objecting primarily to the Clowns as competitors for the Negro Leagues teams. Young was associated with the *Chicago Defender* for over 50 years and served as the Secretary of the Negro American League for several years.⁴¹ As a columnist, he objected early on to Pollock's promotional techniques writing that "the Ethiopian Clowns are being billed as 'colored world champions.' They are not because the Memphis Red Sox are American League champions and the Clowns, not even an associate member of either league, have not engaged in a series for any official world championship."⁴² Young would continue to write about this misrepresentation over the next two years, arguing that "false publicity injures any game."⁴³ Young's other significant objection was to the Clowns' early practice of poaching players from Negro Leagues teams. He reported the jumping of Randolph Bowe in 1940 and argued that the Clowns should not be able to play against league teams as long as they kept raiding league rosters.⁴⁴ It seems that these two issues were the only serious complaints that Young had about Pollock and the Clowns. Pollock assented to Young's demands, calling his club "Colored Independ-

⁴¹ Russ J. Cowans, "Frank 'Fay' Young Dies at 73," *Chicago Defender*, October 28, 1957.

⁴² Fay Young, "The Stuff is Here.: Past—Present—Future," *Chicago Defender*, April 8, 1939.

⁴³ *Ibid.*; Fay Young, "The Stuff is Here: Past—Present—Future," *Chicago Defender*, April 27, 1940; Fay Young, "The Stuff is Here: Past—Present—Future," *Chicago Defender*, March 29, 1941.

⁴⁴ Frank A. Young, "Lefty Bowe Joins Clowns—East-West Game Meant No Money to Him," *Chicago Defender*, August 10, 1940.

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ent World Champions” and agreeing to not tamper with any League players.⁴⁵ Following these two changes, Young’s tone changed entirely and he became rather supportive of the club, acknowledging both its comedic merits and its baseball abilities while dismissing complaints about the propriety of their antics.⁴⁶ It is possible that some of Young’s goodwill towards the Clowns was a result of his involvement with the NAL and that League’s generally positive relationship with Pollock’s club.

Unlike Fay Young, Lem Graves Jr.’s problems with the Clowns stemmed from their comedic routines. His concerns emerge upon the announcement of the Clowns’ membership in the new Negro Major Leagues in 1942.⁴⁷ Graves expressed his fears that the Clowns’ comedy routines would delegitimize white perceptions of black baseball and delay the integration of the majors.⁴⁸ Graves also voiced his objections to the Clowns’ use of face paint during games, suggesting that it presents “a hideous picture on the diamond.”⁴⁹ These, however, were the limitations of Graves’ complaints and in all other instances, he was very supportive of the team. Graves thought that the Clowns were legitimately funny while still playing competitively.⁵⁰ While he disliked them as a professional team, he supported them as a barn-storming club: “But for what they have been—a barn-storming, independent team of superb artists who clowned for pay (and got lots of it)—we must admit the Clowns were great.”⁵¹

Hardliners Cum Posey and Wendell Smith mitigated moderates Young and Graves. Posey, owner of the NNL’s Homestead Grays, was one of the most vocal advocates for the ban on the Ethiopian Giants in 1941 and 1942. In his column, Posey main objections were to the club’s penchant for face-painting and the reference to Ethiopia in its name.⁵² In a particu-

⁴⁵ Fay Young, “The Stuff is Here: Past—Present—Future,” *Chicago Defender*, October 25, 1941; Fay Young, “The Stuff is Here: Past—Present—Future,” *Chicago Defender*, June 14, 1941.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Lem Graves Jr., “From the Press Box,” *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, March 28, 1942.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Lem Graves Jr., “From the Press Box,” *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, May 23, 1942.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*; Lem Graves Jr., “From the Press Box,” *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, March 28, 1942.

⁵¹ Lem Graves Jr., “From the Press Box,” *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, May 23, 1942.

⁵² Cum Posey, “Posey’s Points,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 5, 1941.

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larly condemning column on April 4, 1942, Posey wrote: “We will always feel disgusted at ‘Syd’ for using the name Ethiopian Clowns and capitalizing on the rape of Ethiopia when that country was in distress. Perhaps ‘Syd’ not being of the same race to which we belong can not [sic] understand this feeling.”⁵³ It is worth noting, however, that the tension between Pollock and Posey goes back at least to the late 1920s when Pollock wrote a letter published in the *Pittsburgh Courier* accusing Posey of refusing to play against his Havana Red Sox and of stealing one of his players.⁵⁴

Of all four of these writers, Wendell Smith was the most unequivocally critical of the Clowns. While much of his writing about the team would come after they were established in the Negro Leagues, he did write one particularly damning column after the Clowns’ move to Cincinnati and entrance into the Negro Major Leagues.⁵⁵ Smith described the Clowns as “awful” and suggested that they put on “minstrel shows,” “capitalizing on slap-stick comedy and the kind of nonsense that many white people believe is typical and characteristic of Negroes.”⁵⁶ He threw his support behind the rival Cincinnati Buckeyes as a “dignified business owned and operated by Negroes.”⁵⁷

Part III: The Clowns in the Negro Leagues

The Cincinnati Clowns (later Indianapolis Clowns) played in the Negro Leagues for twelve years, from 1943 to 1955. They entered at a time of success, prior to the integration of Major League Baseball. The team was moderately successful in baseball competitions and evolved its comedic side-show over the course of its tenure. By the late 1940s, the Negro Leagues had fallen from their World War II peak and Syd Pollock shifted his focus from serious competition to money-making comedy.

⁵³ Cum Posey, “Posey’s Points,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 4, 1942.

⁵⁴ Syd Pollock, “Syd Pollock Speaks,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 13, 1929.

⁵⁵ Wendell Smith, “Smitty’s Sports-Spurts,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 16, 1942.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

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The Clowns' acceptance into the Negro American League in January 1943 caused strife between the NAL and the NNL. Despite the financial well-being of the Negro Leagues organizations, the two leagues clashed over the second breach of the agreement to blacklist the Clowns as well as several cases of "stolen players."⁵⁸ The Clowns faced some challenges in their first year: the roster was depleted due to injuries and the draft and the war prevented them from traveling in busses, making an ambitious schedule even more difficult for the players.⁵⁹

At the beginning of the 1944 season, the Clowns announced a move from Cincinnati to Indianapolis.⁶⁰ During this year, the team would have its most successful campaign until 1950, finishing second in the NAL in each half of the season.⁶¹ The success on the field was marred by one notable controversy: in late June, during a game in Memphis, the Clowns walked off the field in protest of an umpire's decision.⁶² This move drew backlash from owners and sportswriters, especially Wendell Smith, eventually resulting in the Clowns receiving a \$250 fine.⁶³ The next several years were relatively uneventful for the Club in terms of competition within the league. When Jackie Robinson broke the color barrier in 1947, the fortunes of the Negro Leagues began to gradually decrease.

The Clowns' early years in the NAL featured the rapid evolution of a new style of comedy. Gone were the grass skirts, face paint, and assumed names, partially at the request of Pollock's new colleagues in the American League.⁶⁴ The Clowns did not, however, "dispense entirely with their...comedy showmanship" as they had promised to do as a condition for

⁵⁸ "No Joint Agreement Between Leagues—Posey," *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 8, 1943.

⁵⁹ "Ethiopian Clowns in Cincinnati," *New York Amsterdam News*, June 19, 1943.

⁶⁰ "Indianapolis New Home of Clowns," *Chicago Defender*, March 11, 1944.

⁶¹ "Cincy Clowns' 1945 Prospects Looking Bright," *Philadelphia Tribune*, February 24, 1945; "1950 in the Negro Leagues," Baseball Reference, last modified July 31, 2008, https://www.baseball-reference.com/bullpen/1950_in_the_Negro_Leagues.

⁶² Wendell Smith, "Smitty's Sports-Spurts," *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 1, 1944.

⁶³ Wendell Smith, "Smitty's Sports-Spurts," *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 15, 1944.

⁶⁴ "Streamlined Program for A.L. in 1943," *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 9, 1943; Fay Young, "Through the Years," *Chicago Defender*, July 22, 1944.

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admittance in the league.⁶⁵ If anything, the mid 1940s featured a new age of Clowns comedy. In 1942, Reece “Goose” Tatum joined the Clowns, splitting his time between the ball club and the Harlem Globetrotters.⁶⁶ In 1943, Tatum was joined by comedian Richard King Tut, completing the Clowns’ first comedic duo.⁶⁷ From the very beginning of the 1943 season, Goose Tatum and King Tut would engage in comedic routines including pepper ball and shadow ball.⁶⁸ While King Tut was brought on to be a sideline comedian, Tatum was a real baseball player.⁶⁹ The importance the Clowns leadership placed on entertainment and commercial success became evident in August of 1943, when Pollock and Saperstein decided to move Goose Tatum from the outfield to first base, replacing a much better player.⁷⁰ This was done with the intention of putting Tatum in a more visible position to carry out his antics, allowing him to build crossover appeal as both a Clown and a Globetrotter.⁷¹

The Clowns won the Negro League Championship in 1950.⁷² By this time, the NNL had folded and the future of black baseball did not look promising.⁷³ With black major league players more common, the appeal of black baseball teams began to wane.⁷⁴ Every team was facing financial difficulty and those that managed to stay above water did so by selling players to major league clubs.⁷⁵ Despite robust attendance numbers better than the other clubs, the

⁶⁵ “Streamlined Program for A.L. in 1943,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 9, 1943.

⁶⁶ “Roosevelt Davis Signs Up with Clowns,” *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, March 6, 1943.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ “Clowns Put on Favorite Stunts for Fans,” *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, May 1, 1943; Fay Young, “Through the Years,” *Chicago Defender*, July 22, 1944. See Appendix 2. For video footage of the King Tut and Goose Tatum, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PunxRJZzn6A>. Note: Pepper ball is a warmup routine involving improvisational juggling (ball as a hot pepper), shadow ball is a pantomime routine where the players pretend to play baseball without a ball.

⁶⁹ “Clowns Discover New Batting Star,” *Philadelphia Tribune*, September 27, 1949.

⁷⁰ Lem Graves Jr., “From the Press Box,” *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, August 21, 1943.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² https://www.baseball-reference.com/bullpen/1950_in_the_Negro_Leagues.

⁷³ Luix Overbea, “Negro Baseball on the Ropes, Needs Support of Fans to Survive,” *Philadelphia Tribune*, September 9, 1950.

⁷⁴ Wendell Smith, “Wendell Smith’s Sports Beat,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 16, 1950.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

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Clowns had their own set of difficulties, becoming a travel team in 1950 when they could not secure a favorable stadium deal in Indianapolis.⁷⁶

With the decline in professional black baseball, the Clowns turned their focus back towards barnstorming and entertainment, gradually moving towards a three-pronged strategy for continued financial success. First, they focused on developing their non-playing fun department. In 1949, they added the diminutive Spec Be-Bop who would form a comedic duo with King Tut for many years.⁷⁷ Other additions would include Juggling Joe Taylor, Sammy Snead, Freddie Farrington (King Tut Jr.), and one-man band Paul Blackman (Boogie Woogie Paul).⁷⁸ Second, they began to sign unusual players in the hope to create a novelty effect to boost attendance. The first of these was Sammy Workman, signed in 1946, who had no hands or feet.⁷⁹ The most notable of these signings, however, was a 22-year-old woman named Toni Stone. Signed in 1953, Stone became an instant sensation, drawing big crowds who wanted to see the first woman in professional baseball.⁸⁰ Stone was sold to the Kansas City Monarchs before the beginning of the 1954 season but promptly replaced by two more female players.⁸¹

The third strategy the Clowns employed was to groom and sell prospects to the major league clubs. This became a regular part of Pollock's financial plan and he would frequently talk up some of his younger players in the hope of attracting major league scouts. In 1951, Pollock reported that nine of his starters from the previous seasons were now members of major league clubs.⁸² Of course, the most famous Clown to go onto the majors was Hank Aaron. Aaron was picked up by the Clowns in April of 1952 and sold to the Boston Braves

⁷⁶ Ibid.; "Clowns' Antics Paying Off in Big Boxoffice," *Chicago Defender*, August 26, 1950.

⁷⁷ "Indianapolis Clowns Add to Fun Department," *Philadelphia Tribune*, April 2, 1949.

⁷⁸ Ibid.; "Clowns Add New Players to Fold," *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, March 17, 1951; "Three Vets, Pantomime Comedian Join Clowns," *Philadelphia Tribune*, March 29, 1952; "Musical Note Addition to Fun-makers," *Philadelphia Tribune*, June 24, 1952.

⁷⁹ "Handless and Footless Chap is Baseball Star," *Philadelphia Tribune*, June 11, 1946

⁸⁰ Sam Lacy, "First Woman in Pro Baseball," *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 2, 1953; "10,000 See Clowns Nip Barons, 5-4," *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, July 25, 1953.

⁸¹ "Clowns Sell Toni Stone to KC Nine," *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 13, 1954

⁸² It isn't Funny Anymore: Clowns Lose 9 Top Stars to Big Show," *Baltimore Afro-American*, March 15, 1952.

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on May 29 of that same year for \$10,000.⁸³ Aaron would go on to have an incredible career which would see him set the MLB career home run record and join the Hall of Fame.⁸⁴

In January of 1955, the Clowns announced that they were leaving the NAL after regaining the championship the previous year.⁸⁵ Pollock cited the desire to give young players more opportunities to reach the majors and to expand the entertainment side of the team.⁸⁶ The decision to leave the sinking NAL is what allowed the Clowns to commit fully to the Harlem Globetrotters model.

While the Clowns were in the Negro Leagues, they had a complex relationship with the black press. The general sentiment, however, was trending in a positive direction and by the time the Clowns became independent once again, there were few detractors. The black sportswriters who covered the Clowns between 1943 and 1956 included Fay Young (*Chicago Defender*), Dan Burley (*New York Amsterdam News*), Luix Overbea (*Philadelphia Tribune*), Wendell Smith (*Pittsburgh Courier*), Cal Jacox (*Norfolk New Journal and Guide*), and Joe Bostic (*New York Amsterdam News*).

The trio of Young, Burley, and Overbea provided mostly positive writing when it came to the Clowns. As discussed earlier, Young had backed off from his criticism once Pollock consented to several limitations on the Clowns antics. By 1944, Young was fully on board with the new Clowns and wrote a very positive column on July 22nd in which he acknowledged the past problems but claimed that now, “the fans find no fault.”⁸⁷ In his columns, Dan Burley did not even address prior problems, instead providing unequivocal support. He praised their showmanship and their baseball prowess, writing: “Clean fun plus ma-

⁸³ “Aaron Sold by Clowns,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 14, 1952; Mal Poindexter, “Proving Ground for Prospects: Clowns Nine Top Supplier of Talent to Major Leagues,” *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, May 10, 1958.

⁸⁴ <https://www.baseball-reference.com/players/a/aaronha01.shtml>.

⁸⁵ “Clowns Dropping NAL Franchise: Indianapolis 9 to Play Independent Ball in '55,” *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, January 29, 1955.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Fay Young, “Through the Years,” *Chicago Defender*, July 22, 1944.

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major league baseball is a formula that gets the fans, wherever they are.”⁸⁸ Luix Overbea had no qualms in supporting the Clowns’ showmanship, writing: “The Indianapolis Clowns are the best drawing card in organized Negro baseball because they make the fans laugh. As long as people are human beings, you must remember they want to be entertained—even when they are getting quality.”⁸⁹ Overbea’s one complaint about the Clowns was their decision to sign Toni Stone, recommending instead that they work to form professional women’s teams.⁹⁰

Cal Jacox and Joe Bostic both concerned themselves over the propriety of the Clowns’ new antics. Jacox wrote a column on the Clowns in response to their signing of Spec Be-Bop in 1949, hoping that the Clowns would confine the showmanship to the sidelines.⁹¹ Perhaps overly hopeful, Jacox predicted a renaissance in black fans’ interest, driven by the opportunity to see the development of future black major leaguers.⁹² Joe Bostic was generally dismissive of the Clowns in his columns. He expressed doubt that the Globetrotters’ success could translate to the baseball diamond and when he did get to see the Clowns’ act, he found that a more sophisticated New York audience had no interest in the antics.⁹³ Bostic did not make any more statements on the issue except when prompted by a reader question, when he stated: “Sure the Globetrotters and Cincinnati Clowns make a pot full of money for their operators but I submit the damage they do to our struggle is almost irreparable.”⁹⁴

Wendell Smith has the distinction of being the Clowns’ most vocal detractor. Over the course of many years, Smith penned numerous colorful rants attacking Pollock and his team. Smith’s preoccupation, it appears, was always with the offensive nature of the Clowns’ humor as he would tie every issue back to that. In a 1943 column, Smith accused the Clowns

⁸⁸ Dan Burley, “Dan Burley’s ‘Confidentially Yours,’” *New York Amsterdam News*, September 23, 1944; Dan Burley, “Dan Burley’s ‘Confidentially Yours,’” *New York Amsterdam News*, August 17, 1946.

⁸⁹ Luix Overbea, “Beating the Gun,” *Philadelphia Tribune*, May 8, 1954.

⁹⁰ Luix Overbea, “Beating the Gun,” *Philadelphia Tribune*, March 27, 1954.

⁹¹ Cal Jacox, “From the Press Box,” *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, April 9, 1949.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Joe Bostic, “The Scoreboard,” *New York Amsterdam News*, January 20, 1951; Joe Bostic, “The Scoreboard,” *New York Amsterdam News*, August 2, 1952.

⁹⁴ Joe Bostic, “The Scoreboard,” *New York Amsterdam News*, December 18, 1954.

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of putting on a “fourth-rate ‘Uncle Tom’ minstrel show.”⁹⁵ Smith suggested that Pollock’s issue was not simply racism but that he was more interested in theater than baseball.⁹⁶

Smith’s most scathing attack come in 1944 when he wrote: “If there were such a thing as a baseball fascist, we’d expect to find Syd Pollock on the list, because he did more than any other person in the sports world to belittle the plight of Ethiopia while it was being raped by Italy.”⁹⁷

Part IV: The Clowns Independent Again

Following their departure from the NAL, the Clowns returned to their old barnstorming ways but with new and more elaborate acts. They pressed forward with the three-pronged strategy: build a core of funny men, sign novelty players, and develop young talent to be sold to major league clubs. It is not clear when the clowns stopped existing, it appears rather that they simply faded away into obscurity by the late 1970s.

After their secession in 1955, the Clowns very quickly adopted a style of play that modern readers would recognize from the Harlem Globetrotters. They went on extended barnstorming tours with the same opponents and played fixed games.⁹⁸ Their performance antics evolved far behind the pepper ball and shadow ball of their Negro League days, including “making hot dogs come out of a machine into which a live pedigreed mascot pup has been placed” and performing with a robot called “Iron Lizzy.”⁹⁹

Toward the first part of their strategy, the Clowns expanded their fun department. In 1955, the Clowns brought on Jim (Natureboy) Williams who would replace the now departed Goose Tatum at first base and become a mainstay in the comedy routines for many years,

⁹⁵ Wendell Smith, “Smitty’s Sports-Spurts,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, January 23, 1943.

⁹⁶ Wendell Smith, “Smitty’s Sports-Spurts,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 1, 1944.

⁹⁷ Wendell Smith, “Smitty’s Sports-Spurts,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 14, 1944.

⁹⁸ Cal Jacox, “From the Press Box,” *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, July 7, 1956.

⁹⁹ “Clowns Baseball Fun Show Proving Most Spectacular of All Time,” *Philadelphia Tribune*, June 21, 1955; Malcolm Poindexter, “sports-I-view,” *Philadelphia Tribune*, March 25, 1958.

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known for running around the bases with no shoes on.¹⁰⁰ Later that year, the comedic crew was joined by Englishman Prince Jo Henry.¹⁰¹ Other comics that would join the Clowns included Bobo Nickerson, dancer Russell 'Crazy Legs' Patterson, bat boy Tiny Kim, and the Great Yogi, a contortionist.¹⁰² For the 1961 season, Pollock also brought on the Flying Nesbits, a family of acrobats.¹⁰³ In 1962, the Clowns brought on Birmingham Sam, a successor to King Tut.¹⁰⁴

In furtherance of the second part of their strategy, the Clowns debuted a several novelty players including ambidextrous pitcher Ulysses Grant Greene.¹⁰⁵ Greene supposedly drew some interest from major league scouts but Pollock preferred to hold onto him for his promotional value.¹⁰⁶ Greene would also become a part of the club's comedy routine, leading a dance.¹⁰⁷ In 1960, the Clowns touring partner New York Royals signed a one-armed outfielder named Alfonso Walker in a move designed to increase interest in the barnstorming series.¹⁰⁸

As for prospect development, the Clowns made significant efforts to recruit and market prospects to major league clubs. There were frequent press reports about Clowns who had major league potential and Pollock claimed a focus of his organization was youth development.¹⁰⁹ At the start of spring training in 1963, there were ten former Clowns in major league camps.¹¹⁰ It is unclear how much money the Clowns made from selling their players to the majors; numbers were not reported for every transaction. It is clear, however, that Pollock

¹⁰⁰ "New 'Comedy Find' Proves he Can Hit for Clowns," *Baltimore Afro-American*, April 30, 1955.

¹⁰¹ "Clowns Baseball Fun Show Proving Most Spectacular of All Time," *Philadelphia Tribune*, June 21, 1955.

¹⁰² "100 Report to Clowns," *Philadelphia Tribune*, March 28, 1959; "Clowns Add 'Crazy Legs' to Staff," *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 16, 1960; "Clowns Ready for 32nd Year," *Chicago Defender*, April 15, 1961.

¹⁰³ "Clowns Ready for 32nd Year," *Chicago Defender*, April 15, 1961.

¹⁰⁴ "Clowns Find Another King Tut!" *Chicago Defender*, May 24, 1962.

¹⁰⁵ "Clowns Come Up with Ambidextrous Hurler," *Chicago Defender*, June 30, 1958.

¹⁰⁶ "Major League Scouts Eye Clowns in Eastern Finale," *Baltimore Afro-American*, September 12, 1959.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ "New York Royals Ink One-Armed Outfielder," *Philadelphia Tribune*, June 7, 1960.

¹⁰⁹ "Says Interest Still Alive in Negro Baseball," *Chicago Defender*, April 11, 1960.

¹¹⁰ "Ten Clowns' Graduates in Major Camps," *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, March 23, 1963.

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emphasized this aspect of his club and took pride in finding and developing major league talent.

The Clowns had success in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Newspaper reports suggest that in 1959 and 1961, as many as 100 players would come to try out for the Clowns.¹¹¹ In 1961, Pollock even suggested that more than 500 players would get a chance to try out for the team over the course of an entire season.¹¹² In 1960, the *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, reported recent crowds as large as 31,000 in St. Louis and 26,000 in Detroit.¹¹³

Two events spelled the end of the Clowns as the country had known them. The first was the retirement of Syd Pollock in 1965 and his subsequent sale of the team to partner and former clown Ed Hamman.¹¹⁴ This marked the end of Pollock's long tenure with the team and though he had given up some responsibilities to Hamman in recent years, his departure promised to affect the club. The second event which ushered in the end of the organization was Satchel Paige's stint with the Clowns. Following Pollock's retirement, Satchel Paige joined the Clowns on barnstorming tours. Initially, he pitched against the team but in 1966, he joined them for the remainder of the season.¹¹⁵ This relationship proved fruitful for a couple years as the Clowns routinely turned out crowds larger than 15,000.¹¹⁶ In 1967, however, the relationship soured and Paige publicly complained about the club.¹¹⁷ After that point, the Clowns faded away from the news, sinking into anonymity. By 1972, the Clowns were left playing small events with a depleted roster and ragtag uniforms.¹¹⁸ Gone were the barnstorming days with set opponents and large productions; this iteration of the team played anyone

¹¹¹ "100 Report to Clowns," *Philadelphia Tribune*, March 28, 1959; "100 Players Seek Berths with Clowns," *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, March 11, 1961.

¹¹² "100 Players Seek Berths with Clowns," *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, March 11, 1961.

¹¹³ "1960 Clowns Seen as Best Team in Years," *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, September 24, 1960.

¹¹⁴ "Syd Pollock Retires: Ed Hamman New Owner of Indianapolis Clowns," *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, April 24, 1965.

¹¹⁵ "21,168 Watch Paige Pitch Against Clowns," *Chicago Tribune*, July 3, 1965; "Philly Debut Scheduled: OI Satch Joins Clowns for Remainder of Season," *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, August 13, 1966.

¹¹⁶ "Clowns Attract 16,599; Total Nears 100,000," *Chicago Defender*, June 27, 1967.

¹¹⁷ "Satchel Blasts Clowns, Calls it 'Crummy' Outfit," *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 8, 1967.

¹¹⁸ Mark Asher, "Laughs Come Harder for Clowns," *Washington Post*, June 19, 1972.

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they could and lost more than they won.¹¹⁹ It was a dramatic downturn for a team that was once a household name.

Following their departure from the NAL, the Clowns no longer captured the interest or emotions of prominent black sportswriters. Early in the Clown's new barnstorming set up, sportswriters like Malcolm Poindexter of the *Philadelphia Tribune* seemed to misinterpret the club. In 1956, Poindexter compared the Clowns to traditional Negro Leagues teams and lamented the degree to which the institution had fallen, criticizing the Clowns for rigged games and disinterest in playing competitive baseball.¹²⁰ By 1958, however, Poindexter had an altogether different perspective on the team, praising it for developing future black stars and describing Pollock as a "master-minding promoter of attractions."¹²¹ This positive sentiment was shared by Sam Lacy of the *Baltimore Afro-American*, who shot back at Paige's criticisms by praising the Clowns for giving young players an arena to promote themselves to major league clubs.¹²² After facing controversy since its inception, Syd Pollock's club faded into non-existence with the support or at least the ambivalence of black sportswriters.

Conclusion

The Clowns quietly faded out of the country's collective consciousness, leaving behind little more than a movie of questionable accuracy.¹²³ Their legacy is complex: on one hand, the team was genuinely entertaining, preserved black baseball after the dissolution of the Negro Leagues, and provided young black players with more opportunities to make it to the majors. On the other hand, the team was led by a tone-deaf owner who perpetuated a tradition of exploitative minstrel humor long past its expiration date. As for the perceptions of black sportswriters, the outrage which had filled the papers when the Clowns first clashed

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Malcolm Poindexter, "sports-I-view," *Philadelphia Tribune*, September 18, 1956.

¹²¹ Malcolm Poindexter, "sports-I-view," *Philadelphia Tribune*, June 7, 1958.

¹²² Sam Lacy, "To Satch: Don't Knock it, Quit it," *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 8, 1967.

¹²³ "You have to love this game," *Chicago Tribune*, April 25, 1976.

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with the Negro Leagues had dissolved into sentiments varying from semi-enthusiastic support to apathy by the mid-1960s. As the Clowns faded away, so did the anger which drove writers like Wendell Smith to vilify Syd Pollock. Of course, the story of black perceptions of the Clowns eschews an easy narrative as consensus among the sportswriters was nearly impossible to find. For every inflammatory column that Smith wrote, there was an equally conciliatory one by Fay Young. So what then to make of the history of the Clowns? More than anything, the Clowns reveal complex tensions which undergird American society: the tension between sports and entertainment; the tension between propriety and profitability; the tension between race and cultural ownership. Neither the Clowns nor Syd Pollock offer any ways to resolve these tensions but they do provide a valuable case study of race and cultural relations in the United States.

Appendix A

It's the War Influence on Baseball

Afro-American (1893-1988); May 16, 1936; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Baltimore Afro-American
pg. 23

It's the War Influence on Baseball



A group of professional baseball players, who have banded themselves under the name of the Ethiopian Clowns. They answer to the following names: Rear (left to right): Gorahai, Harar, Jibiga, Gerlogubi, Selassie, Ashangi, Alaji, Tana and Sardo. Front (left to right): Aussa, Macan, Askari, Eritrean, Ghetaccio, and Ziabat. After two months of training in Florida, the Clowns have headed North, where they will play daily during the summer.

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Appendix B

Clowns Put On Favorite Stunt For Fans

New Journal and Guide (1916-2003); May 1, 1943;
ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Norfolk Journal and Guide
pg. 15

Clowns Put On Favorite Stunt For Fans



The comedy exhibition known as "The Pepper Ball" portrayed by members of the Cincinnati Clowns Baseball Club.

Left to right are: King Tut, Goose Tatum, Sylvester Snead and Thadyus Christopher, shown doing this act for the edifica-

tion of the fans at Norfolk's Tar Park when they defeated the Baltimore Elite Giants recently.

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Wrinkles in a Clash of Civilizations: *Complications in the Conception of Russian Empire in the Caucasus*

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In the summer of 1993, Samuel Huntington laid out his vision of the post-Cold War world order in his article “The Clash of Civilizations.” In it, he describes his belief that “the fault lines between *civilizations* will be the battle lines of the future.” In his argument that “civilizational identity” would be the defining aspect of the new age, he explicitly states that “differences among civilizations are not only real, but [fundamental]” to people’s identities.¹ This model of the world, where civilizations “are shut-down, sealed off entities” with defined and distinct collective identities, is not only traceable throughout history, but also informs many ideologies and approaches to foreign affairs in the present. Huntington is particularly interested in the clash between the Islamic civilization and its incompatible enemy, the West.

One problem with this perspective on civilizations is outlined by academic Edward W. Said in his article “The Clash of Ignorance.” In Huntington’s conception of the world, culture-and the civilizations built around them- are stripped of their “internal dynamics and pluralities.”² To so starkly differentiate civilizations and draw fault lines of “clash” between them is to shear them of the many “currents and counter-currents” of cultural change and exchange present throughout history. Cultures, and cultural identities, are much more complicated and nuanced than the clean disparities Huntington sees. Nonetheless, the “clash of civilizations” model has been applied to a myriad of different conflicts and cultural relationships, and informs modern perspectives on intercultural interaction. The centuries-long conflict in the Caucasus between Russian imperial entities and indigenous tribes has most often been depicted as a ‘war of worlds’ (particularly since it is an example with a traditional Eu-

¹ Samuel P. Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations?” *Foreign Affairs* (Summer 1993): 23-25.

² Edward W. Said, “The Clash of Ignorance,” *The Nation* October 22, 2001 (2001):1-2.

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ropean power and a seemingly incompatible Islamic culture). Examining the wrinkles in this conception of the Caucasus grants us a powerful historical example of the complicated nature of civilizations and cultural confrontation.

The centuries of Russian encroachment and indigenous resistance in the Caucasus crystallized during the first half of the 19th century, when a series of religious leaders--the most successful being the Imam Shamil-- waged a mountain war against Imperial Russia and established a short-lived Islamic state. The indigenous leaders, Russian authorities, and intellectual observers tended to frame the insurgency and subsequent Russian-Muslim relations in Huntington's terms of civilizational clash. However, society, culture, and conflict in the Caucasus have always had much more complicated natures than the way they have been framed. The formal structural clash of Russian Empire and Muslim Resistance was striated with elements of exchange, commonality, and accommodation. Elites in the Caucasus, while nominally associated with either the Islamic State or Russian Empire, demonstrated fluid and intermeshed cultural identities. For non-elites, identities were even more ambiguous, as one might expect of the complicated, multi-ethnic, and culturally diverse Caucasus. The conflict was approached, discussed, and is today remembered as a cultural clash between a European imperial power and a deeply Islamic and militaristic indigenous culture. However, the everyday reality of life and identity for both Russians and indigenous tribes in the Caucasus was much more nuanced. The difference between this conception of civilizational clash and the reality of cultural interlacement is an important one to remember in the present day.

During the Imperial period, Russians approached their southern frontier in the Caucasus as if it were detached from "familiar European landscapes" and a part of "the mysterious world of Asia."³ This detachment led Russians to frame the exercise of their imperial ambitions in the Caucasus as a clash of different civilizations. By the 16th century, Russia had

³ Michael Khodarkovsky, *Bitter Choices: Loyalty and Betrayal in the Russian Conquest of the North Caucasus*. (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2011): 7.

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come to see itself as the Eastern bastion of Christianity “standing guard... against the world of Islam”.⁴ The Muslim tribes of the Caucasus were seen as part of the Islamic civilization with which Russia imagined itself in perpetual conflict. Religion was not the only point of contention and civilizational clash; Russian authorities conceived their society as structurally different from societies in the Caucasus. “The world of highly centralized empire-state” was incompatible with “indigenous, kinship-based societies with rudimentary political structures.”⁵ Tsar Nicholas I demanded the completion of the “glorious enterprise” of “permanent pacification of the mountain people and the annihilation of those who do not submit.”⁶ In the Russian authorities’ conception of the world, the Muslim Caucasus and lands further southward represented a divergent and foreign culture, antithetical and threatening to their own. The Muslim and tribal ‘world’ of the Caucasus, irreconcilable with the vision of Russia as a Christian Empire, presented the Tsars with a problem that demanded action.

Russia’s official policy of action in the Caucasus reflected their belief that the indigenous culture was incompatible with their own. Beginning in the 16th century, Russia forcibly resettled Russian Cossack communities into forts and villages throughout the Northern Caucasus to establish an imperial presence.⁷ Rather than focusing on cultural commonalities, integration, or accommodation, Russia consciously chose to imagine itself as a civilizing force: transforming the Caucasus through the displacement of people. Their so-called “peace plan” of ethnic Russian resettlement instigated massive indigenous emigration to Muslim-governed lands, particularly among the Circassian people of the Western Caucasus.⁸ This state-sponsored emigration was, in reality, a form of ethnic cleansing, as tens of thousands perished during the migration. By 1860, the north-west Caucasus “was essentially emptied of

⁴ Michael Khodarkovsky, *Russia’s Steppe Frontier: The Making of a Colonial Empire, 1500-1800*. (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2002): 2.

⁵ Khodarkovsky, *Bitter Choices*, 13.

⁶ Gary Hamburg, “War of Worlds” in *Russian-Muslim Confrontation in the Caucasus*. (London, Routledge Curzon Publishers, 2004): 176.

⁷ Khodarkovsky, *Bitter Choices*, 27.

⁸ Hamburg, “War of Worlds,” 187.

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its indigenous population,” because tribesmen had either died, emigrated, or “converted to Christianity” and had been resettled in Russian towns.⁹ The Imperial authorities felt that indigenous people embodied a civilization and a culture that would be incompatible with their vision of Russian Empire. The historical record is littered with examples of violent cultural clashes like these, as the state tried to draw civilizational fault lines between Russians and indigenous Caucasians.

Russians were not alone in their desire to frame conflicts in the Caucasus as clashes of civilizations. Beginning with Sheikh Mansur in 1780 and continuing with the three imams of the 19th century insurgency (1824-59), indigenous political and religious leaders placed their war firmly in the context of civilizational clashes between Islamic and European cultures. Islam, which had always been diluted in the Caucasus both in its vigor and its reach, became the firm rallying point of resistance. In *the Shining of Daghestani Swords in Certain Campaigns of Shamil*, written by Muhammad al-Qarakhi, a contemporary chronicler of the insurgent perspective, the Imams of the insurgency are said to be “sent by God” to revive extremist Islamic culture and save believers from the “infidels.”¹⁰ The idea of a cohesive indigenous culture—which in reality was not at all cohesive—was framed around the shared Islamic faith. The resistance to Russian imperialism was imagined as a fault line between their culture and the Christian invaders. It is no mistake that the insurgency was labeled a *ghazawat*, or holy war, by its leaders. It was firmly intended to be a clash of Islamic and Christian civilizations, not just a political or national movement.

One specific Daghestani cleric, Hadji Ismael, who had extensive ties to a regional Islamic power, Persia, was very influential in framing resistance around a Muslim desire to “throw off the yoke of the Unbelievers” (according to Baron August Hauxthausen, a respect-

⁹ Khodarkovsky, *Bitter Choices*, 11.

¹⁰ Muhammad al-Qarakhi, *The Shining of Daghestani Swords in Certain Campaigns of Shamil in Russian-Muslim Confrontation in the Caucasus* ed. by Hamburg et al. (London, Routledge Curzon Publishers, 2004): 12.

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ed contemporary observer and historian of both Russia and the Caucasus).¹¹ The Persians, enemies of the Russians and, at least nominally, the West, wanted to encourage both pro-Islamic and anti-Russian enthusiasm in the region. The deliberate framing of resistance as the inevitable outcome of the juxtaposition of *Sharia*-observing Muslim peoples and an incongruous anti-*Sharia* Christian Empire fueled the insurgency. Religious and political leaders on the indigenous side adopted the perspective and rhetoric of civilizational clash to promulgate the idea of an Islamic indigenous culture united in revolt.

Authorities on both sides of the Caucasian War imagined their conflict as a fault line between civilizations to justify and invigorate their position. But the characterization of the conflict as a total civilizational clash spread further than just the contemporary approach and rhetoric of the leaderships. Mikhail Lermontov, the Russian romantic dubbed ‘the Poet of the Caucasus,’ had this to say about the Chechens: “their god is freedom, their law is war.”¹² Though Lev Tolstoi’s *Hadji Murat* is sympathetic to the indigenous cause, his ultimate theme is personal guilt that his Christian “nation failed to...find a *modus vivendi* with the Muslim tribes.”¹³ Both Russian perspectives cast the indigenous Caucasian tribes as a divergent civilization, either (in the case of Lermontov) incompatible with Russia because of their independence and rebelliousness or (with Tolstoi) because of their religion. Many modern scholars, like Gary Hamburg and Michael Khodarkovsky (upon both of whom I draw heavily) conclude that “Islam is a fundamental and irreconcilable difference” between indigenous tribesmen and Russia.¹⁴ In the post-Soviet Caucasus, the name ‘Shamil’ symbolizes an identification with Islamic and anti-Russian politics.¹⁵ In Daghestan, a counter-Soviet history “is well underway,” where Shamil’s *ghazawat* against the Russian Empire is remembered as a

¹¹ Baron August Freiherr von Hauxthausen, *The Tribes of the Caucasus: With an Account of Shamyl and the Murids*. (London, Chapman and Hall 1855): 79.

¹² Sanders et al. *Russian-Muslim Confrontation in the Caucasus*, 75.

¹³ Hamburg, “War of Worlds,” 236.

¹⁴ Hamburg, “War of Worlds,” 236 and Khodarkovsky, *Bitter Choices*, 12-17.

¹⁵ Harsha Ram, “Prisoners of the Caucasus: Literary Myths and Media Representations of the Chechen Conflict,” *Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies Working Paper Series* (Summer 1999): 24.

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point of national and cultural pride.¹⁶ Today, ISIL portrays itself as the army of Islam in a civilizational clash with the West. Islamic State militants in the Caucasus place their fight in the historical context of Shamil's legacy, purportedly uniting all Muslims in a cultural insurgency against the Christian West (and its Russian manifestations in the Caucasus).

The political and religious entities on both sides of the Caucasian War framed their struggle as civilizational clash, and it was perceived that way by observers both contemporary and modern. The insurgency was ostensibly a fault line between civilizations of different structures and religions. But the reality on the ground usually offers us a much more nuanced and striated conception of cultural confrontation. Officially-mandated policies in the Caucasus were usually tempered by strong elements of accommodation, commonality, and cultural plurality. In fact, most Caucasians and Russians had fluid and flexible identities between the two extremes of Islamic *ghazawat* and Russian imperialism.

Though the official policy coming from the Imperial bureaucracy was immediate Russification (often through ethnic cleansing, as we have seen), and the rhetoric coming from the leaders of the insurgency was total resistance and return to a particular brand of extreme Islam, the reality in the Caucasus often veered towards accommodation. The Russian policy of attempting to “disarm [the tribesmen] always ended in bloodshed...” Indeed, the reinvigoration of Shamil's insurgency in 1840 was “directly due” to one of these attempts. Russian soldiers eventually learned “to shut their eyes to the fact that only old and worthless weapons were being handed in”.¹⁷ The instruments of Russian Imperial ambition, the army unit, was aware of the unexpected truth that disarmed Caucasians were much more dangerous and hostile than armed ones. Because of this, they were more than happy to pursue a *de facto* policy of accommodation. The reality of Russian accommodation also extended to religion. Though Russia ostensibly treated the War in the Caucasus as a religious clash between Islam

¹⁶ Susan Layton, *Russian Literature and Empire: Conquest of the Caucasus from Pushkin to Tolstoy*. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994): 293.

¹⁷ John F. Baddeley, *The Rugged Flanks of the Caucasus*. (London, Oxford University Press, 1940): 21, 78.

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and Christianity, on the ground “they distinguished ‘traditional Islam’ from fanatical *muridism*.” Russian officers often issued “statements promising respect for Islamic practices.” In fact, when Field Marshal Bariatinskii defeated Shamil, he “restored customary law” (which was Islamic, but not *Sharia*) to the Caucasus and only gradually introduced Russian civil law.¹⁸ Russians realized they were willing to accommodate Islamic traditions and laws, as long as these did not preclude civilizational clash with the Empire.

Accommodation was not a one-way street; the tribes of the Caucasus allowed the Russian cultural and imperial imprint into their ostensibly divergent ‘civilization.’ Indigenous traditions of violent plundering raids against each other for wealth and women clashed with peaceful Russian civil society. This nominal cultural clash was accommodated by the tribesmen who “made raiding a thing of the past” and instead made “bride-stealing...the outlet for the adventurous passions of their race.”¹⁹ This more peaceful practice—for imperial authorities, if not for the brides—defused cultural clash and accommodated both indigenous traditions and Russian desires.

Nor was accommodation the only wrinkle in the model and perception of civilizational clash. Russians, particularly serf and Cossack soldiers, discovered a surprising degree of commonality with the indigenous tribes. Cossacks and “their non-Christian neighbors...shared the same values: freedom and martial pride.” Most “had friends in Chechen villages...and some married Chechen women.”²⁰ Lev Tolstoi, who had experienced the war in the Caucasus first-hand, emphasized the surprising commonalities and shared experiences between conscripted soldiers and Caucasian fighters (in *Hadji Murat*, the Russian conscript Avdeev said “they’re just like us!”).²¹ An early 20th century traveler of the Caucasus, John F. Baddeley, noted how indigenous men gathered for the Islamic prayers (*muezzin*) and for tea

¹⁸ Hamburg, “War of Worlds,” 182, 184, 197.

¹⁹ Baddeley, *Rugged Flanks*, 88.

²⁰ Khodarkovsky, *Bitter Choices* 64-65.

²¹ Lev Tolstoi, *Hadji Murat*, in *Russian-Muslim Confrontation in the Caucasus* ed. By Hamburg et al. (London, Routledge Curzon Publishers, 2004): 86.

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around the traditional Russian samovar with equal enthusiasm.²² Commonalities between the people of the two supposedly “clashing” civilizations sometimes led to cultural meshing and exchange, rather than confrontation.

Commonality and accommodation are joined by another wrinkle in the conception of a “War of different worlds’ in the Caucasus. In fact, an important striation of the Caucasian War was the cultural plurality and flexible identity for individuals on both sides (but particularly the indigenous one). The Russians “seldom if ever lacked native aid” in their struggle against Shamil, mostly due to the incredible divergence in ethnic, religious, and tribal affiliations.²³ At the same time, thousands of Russians defected to the indigenous side over the course of the war. The two civilizations nominally at War in the Caucasus were more complex and plural than the unified cultures Shamil, Huntington, and the Russian Empire liked to imagine. Flexible identities, nuanced loyalties, and class divisions are all examples of the cultural plurality that challenge notions of civilizational clash.

Michael Khodarkovsky’s book *Bitter Choices* outlines how fluid frontier identities could exist in the conflict between nominally incongruous factions. Sēmen Atarshchikov, an indigenous figure who grew up in a Cossack village, fought for many years in the Tsar’s army. Then, disaffected with his standing and the course of the war, he proved “he was much less Russian than he seemed” when he defected to join the anti-Russian *ghazawat*. But his identification with the Islamic insurgency was apparently easily left behind only a short time later, when he was killed by his servant while attempting to re-defect to the Russians.²⁴ John Baddeley described how a feudal indigenous lord repeatedly switched between identifying with the *ghazawat* and the Russians, each time taking his vassals to war with him.²⁵ Hadji Murat, who twice crossed over to the Russian side despite nominal loyalties to Shamil’s civi-

²² Baddeley, *Rugged Flanks*, 20.

²³ Baddeley, *Rugged Flanks*, 79.

²⁴ Khodarkovsky, *Bitter Choices*, 138-144.

²⁵ Baddeley, *Rugged Flanks*, 9.

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lizational clash, further exemplifies this cultural fluidity. As much as indigenous and Russian leaders imagined their people as embodiments of one culture (or civilization), identities in the Caucasus were much more flexible.

When Shamil and other agitating leaders of the insurrection began to preach a reinvigoration of their brand of extreme *Sharia*-observant Islamic theology and the commencement of a *ghazawat*, they surely hoped that the many tribes and peoples of the Caucasus would coalesce around their shared-Islamic faith and anti-Russian sentiment. To some degree, that is what happened. However, loyalties in the ethnically diverse and religiously ambiguous Caucasus were more complicated than simple adherence to either Islamic or Christian civilization. In fact, all three imams of the mountain war spent most of their time fighting against fellow Caucasians. Ghazi Muhammad, the first imam, struggled against neighboring mountain tribes that either rejected his right to rule or disputed his religious teachings.²⁶ Several times throughout the insurgency, mountain peoples “invited Russians to build forts on their lands” because they disliked or disagreed with Shamil and his murids.²⁷ Tribal and family enmities also appeared to run much deeper than identification with Islamic indigenous culture; if one family joined the *ghazawat*, all their ancestral enemies felt compelled to fight on the other side.²⁸ Other times, Russian and indigenous leaders would forcibly or economically coerce people to fight for them.²⁹ Religious leaders who had “preached the uprising of the [indigenous] people like one man” soon had to confront a very different reality.³⁰ Many indigenous people identified much more with their tribe, their family, or their personal concern for survival than with a united Islamic or European civilization.

Another cultural plurality was the vastly different experiences of elites and non-elites in the purported civilizational clash in the Caucasus. Shamil’s *murids*, who spread the rheto-

²⁶ Hauxthausen, *Tribes of the Caucasus*, 93.

²⁷ Al-Qarakhi, *Shining of Daghestani Swords*, 12-15, 34.

²⁸ Baddeley, *Rugged Flanks*, 80.

²⁹ Hamburg, “War of Worlds,” 184; Hauxthausen, *Tribes of the Caucasus*, 92; Baddeley, *Rugged Flanks*, 39.

³⁰ Hauxthausen, *Tribes of the Caucasus*, 75.

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ric of the insurgency, were a sort of politico-religious party of elites “intent on restoring *Sharia* practices” in a society that largely adhered to customary laws and traditions. Many sources remember how *murids*, inspired by extremist theologies, went from village to village beating those who did not observe *sharia* law with specially-designed sticks. Baron Hauxthausen writes that while Caucasian elites had clear ideas about their religious identity—almost always Islamic—“the lower classes... are without definite belief.”³¹ This is not to say that non-elites were confused about their religious beliefs; rather than one united belief, Caucasian people subscribed to a wide variety of Islamic theology, Sufi philosophy, and traditional tribal religious customs.

Elites, (like Hadji Murat, Sēmen Atarshchikov, and hundreds of others like them on both sides of the conflict) outwardly declared their allegiance to one ‘civilization’. Changes in their loyalties publically manifested as changes in identity, from leadership positions in the Russian Empire to leadership in the Islamic holy war. The lower classes had a much more ambiguous civilizational identity. Sometimes their involvement in the war hinged on their village’s proximity to insurgent or Russian forts. Other times it depended on their tribal enmities or economic incentives. Sometimes they grew frustrated with the Russian or indigenous forces who were living off their land.³² On several occasions, villages became enraged that either Shamil or the Russians had dared to steal and eat their sheep.³³ The frame of civilizational clash that the Russian Empire and the insurgency applied to their conflict was, in reality, less forceful, if at all present, for non-elites in the Caucasus. In 1906, English traveler John F. Baddeley remarked upon this very fact, writing that if “these mountaineers had been united, fighting side by side for liberty” (as Shamil made them out to be), then Russia would have been defeated by the sheer life-force and determination of the Caucasus.³⁴

³¹ Hauxthausen, *Tribes of the Caucasus*, 69.

³² Hamburg, “War of Worlds,” 177.

³³ Baddeley, *Rugged Flanks*, 34.

³⁴ Baddeley, *Rugged Flanks*, 80.

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Samuel Huntington's 'clash of civilizations' is not a novel theory. The War in the Caucasus, where the Russian Empire successfully (though not without great expense) defeated an indigenous insurgency of Islamic tribes, was framed as a 'war of worlds'. The world of Islam had been confronted by Christian and European imperialism in the mountains of the Caucasus. Russian Imperial authorities approached it in this manner, refusing to establish official accommodation or recognition of commonalities. The indigenous Islamic insurgency that rose in resistance, first under Ghazi Muhammad and later under Shamil, framed its struggle around the divergence of their civilization from repressive and incompatible Russian rule. To some degree, Russian-Muslim confrontation *was* the clash of civilizations it was imagined to be—this essay presents a bevy of examples of cultural divergence and incongruity. But conflict in the Caucasus was shaded with wrinkles of cultural plurality, accommodation, and commonality. These complicate simple notions of civilizational clash.

The Caucasus was, in fact, an example of one of Huntington's fault lines between civilizations: the world of Islam and the world of imperial Europe. That fault line of structures and cultures, however, was not definite. It was constantly crisscrossed, intermeshed, even melded, by the people living in the Caucasus. Civilizations, and their clashes, are more complex than the way they are laid out by Huntington and those who have adopted his worldview today. In the modern world, where civilizational, cultural, and religious differences are often conceived of as seismic rifts of incompatibility, the example of the Caucasus should be remembered. Sometimes, even with a nominal clash of grappling civilizations raging all around, people are just worried about who is stealing their sheep.

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Behind the Purdah: The Historiography of the First Ottoman Queen

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The differing interpretations of Hürrem Sultan, also known as Roxelana, come from historians blurring the roles of the *haseki* and the *valide*, where the *haseki* occupied the sexual role as the imperial concubine and the *valide* held the post-sexual role as the Queen Mother. The absence of sufficient sources plays a major factor in this. There are virtually no Turkish sources from Hürrem's time that mention her. Yet, this absence may be a form of respect as seclusion in Ottoman society at the time was integral to the preservation of honor and purity of the women of the harem.¹ However, due to the unavailability of these sources, much of the historiography of Hürrem Sultan has been based on accounts written by Western European diplomats, who in their writing reflected their own inherent insecurities of female authority and autonomy. As a result of this bias in the historiographical record, the true nature of Hürrem Sultan has now been lost to the pages of history, and instead she has become a symbol for female autonomy and authority, modernity, the Orientalist appropriation of the Turkish harem, and post-colonial reconciliation of the Ukrainian people.

Traditions and Value Systems of the Ottoman Empire

The Harem Life. The word "harem"² denotes a "sanctuary or a sacred precinct...space to which general access is forbidden or controlled in which the presence of certain individuals or certain modes of behavior are forbidden."³ It is gender-specific in the sense that it only pertains to the women of the family, constructing a private sanctuary for them. This can be traced back to the Islamic practice of restricting access to the women in

¹ Leslie Peirce, *Empress of the East: How a European Slave Girl became the Queen of the Ottoman Empire*, (Basic Books: New York, 2017) 123.

² The Ottoman "harem" is derived from the Arabic root *h-r-m*.

³ Leslie Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) 4.

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order to maintain their purity and honor.⁴ As a result of this, few sources about the Ottoman harem and its inhabitants exist, the earliest being from the time of Osman (1299-1324).⁵

Leslie Peirce describes the harem as a “separate, protected part of the household where women, children, widowed relatives, and female servants lived in seclusion and privacy, ... From all but the master of the house... guarded by eunuch slaves.”⁶ It was an international and multi-ethnic institution within which women came from all over Asia, Africa and occasionally Europe. Thus, there existed an inherent racial hierarchy within the harem where women with darker skin were more likely to be servants, while women of lighter skin were elevated, given more opportunities.⁷ Among these, Slavic women were particularly held in high regard, which might explain Hürrem’s unprecedented rise within the hierarchy of the harem.

The Italian traveler Gio Maria Angiolleo (1451-1525), in his *Historia Turchesca*, expressed that the harem functioned similarly to a Christian nunnery and finishing school where the girls taught “writing and religion, and trained in skills like sewing, embroidery, playing musical instruments, and singing.”⁸ Out of these, twelve of the most attractive and gifted women were chosen to be the Sultan’s attendants (*gediki*),⁹ from which he chose his concubines (*kandin*). When a concubine gave birth to a prince, she became the *Haseki*, and left to accompany her son on his governorship when he came of age. Thus, the *hasekis* would only return to Istanbul in the capacity of the *valide*—the mother of the Sultan.¹⁰ The

⁴ Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*, 113.

⁵ Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*, 30. The Ottoman tradition of the harem can be traced back to Islamic customs of concubinage that can be traced back to the Abbasid Caliphate (750-1258).

⁶ Alev Lytle Croutier, *Harem: The World behind the Veil*, (New York, NY, Abbeville Press; Reprint Edition, 1991), 17.

⁷ Croutier, 30. Croutier notes that lighter-skinned women were given more opportunities in terms of the duties of the harem. Darker-skinned women usually were given the hardest labor, while lighter-skinned women were given largely administrative duties and responsibilities. Lighter-skinned women also had greater prospects of visibility outside the walls of the imperial harem.

⁸ Croutier, 30.

⁹ Croutier, 32.

¹⁰ Croutier, 28.

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remaining women either became servants or administrators (*kalfa*), often earning low wages and sharing their quarters with other slave women and eunuchs.¹¹

Upon entering the imperial harem, the slave women were examined for physical imperfections, after which they were provided with an Islamic name that suited their qualities.¹² This new name marked the end of the slave girl's previous life and signaled the acquisition of a new identity – a woman of the imperial harem. This was how Hürrem received her name.¹³

Historiographical Perspectives on the Harem. The harem's seclusion rendered it a place of both curiosity and controversy, mostly because the European conception of the public/private dichotomy was very different from the Ottoman conception of the two spheres.¹⁴ From the sixteenth century (on?), the harem had been an object of great fascination for Western audiences. In the letters of correspondence between Lady Mary Wortley Montague and her sister, Lady Mar (1717-1718),¹⁵ the harem was described to be an "egalitarian female domain."¹⁶ However, this view of the harem soon changed as Montesquieu in his *De l'esprit des lois* (1784) believed that "women... were themselves an object of luxury, kept under surveillance in the harem to ascertain their availability for the master."¹⁷ As a result of this, the harem was either seen as a cruel, oppressive institution that was used to condition women into submission, or it was considered to be a sinful

¹¹ Ottavio Bon. *The Sultan's Seraglio: An Intimate Portrait of Life at the Ottoman Court*, edited and translated by Goodwin, Godfrey, (London: Saqi Books, 1996), 49.

¹² These women were mainly Christian for it was against Islamic practice for a Muslim to enslave another of his faith.

¹³ Galina Yermolenko, "Introduction." In *Roxelana in European Literature, History and Culture*, 1–22. (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010.) 2.

¹⁴ Andreas Koller, "The Public Sphere and Comparative Historical Research: An Introduction", *Social Science History*, Vol. 34, No. 3, (Fall 2010), 263. In 16th century Istanbul, Habermas' public/private dichotomy is inapplicable as the Ottoman public sphere was not based on a male/female dichotomy, like the Western public spheres were.

¹⁵ Christopher Pick, ed. *Embassy to Constantinople: The Travels of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*. (London: Century, 1988,) 111. Lady Montagu was particularly struck by the liberty of the Turkish women as compared to that of English women.

¹⁶ Inge Boer. "Despotism from Under the Veil: Masculine and Feminine Readings of the Despot and the Harem." *Cultural Critique*, (1995), 57.

¹⁷ Boer, 50.

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environment of lust and unchecked sexual desires. This historiographical shift occurred because the Western audiences lacked a fundamental understanding of Ottoman customs and traditions, allowing popular Orientalist stereotypes to undergird their perception of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁸

The Imperial Concubine and Her Life. The values of Polygamy and institutionalized concubinage were foundational to the Ottoman Empire. Since Sultan Bayezid I's (1360-1403) marriage to Olivera Despina,¹⁹ marriages of the Sultans had been discouraged to emphasize the absolute nature of the Sultan's authority. Should he be married, an office of the Ottoman Sultana would have to be created.²⁰ Doing so would infringe upon the public sphere of political authority, which had long been rendered a man's world. This was reflected in the structure of the Grand Seraglio, which placed the harem the furthest away from the Sultan's *Arz Odası* (Throne Room).²¹ Perhaps this was why Hürrem's marriage to Sultan Suleyman I and her subsequent move to the *Tokapi* (New Palace) from the *Eskiserai* (Old Palace) was so controversial.

The *haseki's* authority was second only to the *valide*. In order to prevent any succession wars, each *kandin* was allowed to bear only one son, though she could bear any number of daughters. Furthermore, upon the coronation of a new Sultan, all his brothers

¹⁸ Edward W. Seid. "Introduction," *Orientalism*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1998.) 11. Seid describes Orientalism "Western style for dominating restructuring, and having authority over the Orient." Although the Ottoman Empire was on the European continent, as an Islamic empire, it was still excluded from the Christian world. Thus, to Christian Europe, the Ottoman Empire was its Orient.

¹⁹ Ottoman traditions generally discouraged the marriage of the Sultan following the fate of Sultan Bayezid I and his wife, Olivera Despina. Following his defeat by the warlord Timur in 1400, Sultan Bayezid was captured along with his wife Olivera. Though she was released from captivity following his death in 1403, her capture was regarded as a shameful experience for the Ottomans, who were outraged that their Sultana was held in captivity. Should such a thing ever happen again, a slave concubine was far more expandable than the wife of their reigning Sultan.

²⁰ Bon, *The Sultan's Seraglio: An Intimate Portrait of Life at the Ottoman Court*, 51.

²¹ John Rocque, *The Seraglio & Gardens of the Grand Seigneur*. / Serrail & Jardins du Grand Seigneur, Map, London, 1752. <https://www.vintage-maps.com/en/antique-maps/europe/turkey/rocque-turkey-istanbul-topkapi-palace-1752::943>

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would be killed.²² However, Hürrem broke this law by giving birth to four sons and a daughter, none of whom were killed upon Selim's succession to the throne.²³

Hidden behind the veil of the harem, the political authority of an imperial concubine was defined by the male members of her life – the Sultan and her son. As a result of this, winning both their favors was supreme to a concubine. As a mother, the concubine was the primary advisor to her son and upon his death was sent to the *Eskiserai*, removed from the political sphere forevermore, bearing the burden of a deceased son alone. Thus, Leslie Peirce believed that it was for this reason that such a harsh lifestyle could only be borne by a woman of slave origins.²⁴

Royal Women, Concubines and the Exertion of Power. A common Orientalist misconception was that the women of the harem were entirely powerless and isolated from society – they were not. Their exertion of power, though limited and concealed, took place from behind the walls of the harem, using a system of trusted networks and a careful manipulation of the public sphere. For these women, the public baths (*hamams*) functioned similarly to 19th century coffee houses where gossip and information was shared. Moreover, these women also manipulated the legal codes of the Ottoman Empire to their advantage and engaged in trade through needlework, trading with Jewish women in particular.²⁵

In addition to this, women of the Ottoman Courts also used their religious devotion to further expand their personal agency and autonomy. The *valide* in particular embraced the

²² The Ottomans did not follow the concept of primogeniture, and so the role of the Sultan would be inherited by the one most qualified for it, not by the oldest, spurring fierce competition among the sons of the Sultan and their concubine mothers who devoted their entire lives to the welfare of their sons.

²³ Upon Selim's succession to the throne, all his brothers were already dead and thus, fratricide was not committed.

²⁴ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 7. Women from royal backgrounds could never be subjected to such a fate due to the influence of their social status as royal women. However, slave women could. Owned by the Sultan, the slave women had no male members to rely on for protection and thus, the harsh life of an imperial concubine could be imposed upon them.

²⁵ Boer, 44.

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Islamic concept of *zakat*, giving alms to the poor.²⁶ The concept of *zakat* is considered to be one of the foundational principles of the religion of Islam and its tradition dates back to the Abbasids. Under the Ottomans, religious endowment (*waquif*) was a “one-time gift whose beneficiaries continued for generations.”²⁷ *Waquifs* included huge beneficent complexes that “comprised some combination of separate units: mosque, college, sufi residence, public kitchen, caravansary, library, market, bath, and others. They were microeconomics in themselves... took over large blocks of urban space, harnesses extensive amounts of rural and urban economies to support their purposes, and affected a large number of people both directly and indirectly.”²⁸ Thus, these philanthropic acts ensured a “living legacy”²⁹ of the beneficiary—a concept off of which Hürrem Sultan based her extensive *waquifs*, earning Hürrem the title of the “Zubaida of her times.”³⁰ Already controversial, Hürrem sought to rehabilitate her image among the Ottoman public through her *waquifs*.

Hürrem Sultan

Around 1515-1520, Hürrem was sold to the Ottomans and entered the Imperial harem. In the ambassadorial reports of the Venetian ambassador Pietro Bragadin, she was described to have been from “di nazon russa”³¹ -- of Russian origin, where the word “rus” denoted Ruthenia. At the time, Ruthenia was a part of the Kingdom of Poland and is today known as Ukraine. As a result of this, the Western empires came to know her as “Roxelana, the maiden from Ruthenia”³² -- a title that emphasized her Ruthenian roots. She was believed

²⁶ Amy Singer. *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002.) 16.

²⁷ Singer, 6.

²⁸ Singer, 5.

²⁹ Singer, 6. *Waquifs* influenced the local politics, economy, society and culture in the region of its inception.

³⁰ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 194. Zubaida was the wife of the Abbasid Caliph Harun al-Rashid and was recalled as a legendary philanthropist in Islamic history.

³¹ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 15.

³² From C. T. Forster and F. H. B. Daniel, eds., *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, vol. I (London: Kegan Paul, 1881).

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to have been born in the city of Rohatyn under the name of Alexandra Lisowska in 1503 to an Orthodox Christian priest.³³ Yet, her previous origins were entirely irrelevant to the Ottoman Turks, who upon her entrance to the Imperial harem, renamed her Hürrem, a Persian name translating to the “joyful” or “laughing one” to denote her cheerful demeanor.

Within the course of a few short years, Hürrem became one of Suleyman’s favourite concubines. Her unprecedented rise within the hierarchy of the harem however attracted the attention of several foreign envoys who considered the harem to be a vital object of diplomatic intelligence. Bernardo Navagero, a Venetian ambassador in Istanbul in 1546 recalled the simmering tensions between the two leading concubines, Hürrem and the then *Haseki*, Mahidevran, resulting in a physical dispute in the *Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti*: “She [Mahidevran] believed that women should yield to her and recognize her as mistress since she had been in the service of his majesty first. These words inflamed the sultan even more, for the reason he no longer wanted her, and gave his love to this other [Hürrem].”³⁴ Leslie Peirce considered this to be one of Hürrem’s most strategic maneuvers as Peirce believed that Hürrem allowed Mahidevran to attack her in order to earn Suleyman’s attention and favor -- Mahidevran officially lost her favor with Suleyman after this event. However, Mahidevran’s words also illustrate how fiercely competitive the world of the harem was.

Upon the birth of her first son in 1521, Hürrem experienced a legal shift in her status—she was now a *haseki* herself, the mother of a prince. As a concubine mother, no longer would she be bound to the conventional ideas of slavery and would devote herself entirely to the upbringing of her child. As a result, she was given slaves of her own to serve her, and was granted an increased salary.³⁵ This was a marked separation from the other

³³ Yermolenko, Introduction, 2.

³⁴ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 97.

³⁵ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 55.

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women of the harem. This separation was reinforced further in Suleyman's treatment of Hürrem after Mehmed's birth -- he continued to visit her. Unlike the other concubines, Hürrem was never relegated to the post-sexual role of the mother. Instead, Suleyman continued to visit her, leading to the birth of their daughter Mihrimah, and four other sons, openly defying the strict Ottoman principle of "one concubine mother, one son."³⁶

The second break from Ottoman tradition and practices came with Hürrem's marriage to Suleyman in 1534, only two months after the death of Suleyman's mother, Hasfa Sultan, marking "the end of the old regime."³⁷ "Could Suleyman's subjects learn to accept an Ottoman Queen?" Peirce asked, to which the answer was a negative one.³⁸ If their marriage was not a scandalous break from tradition enough, the physical movement of Hürrem from the *Eskiserai*, to the *Tokapi* was.³⁹ The *Tokapi* served as the nucleus of all political power for the empire and thus, a female presence was explicitly forbidden.⁴⁰ Despite this, Hürrem moved to the *Tokapi* along with her slaves and in the absence of Suleyman, began to act as "the Sultan's eyes and ears," quickly becoming one of his most trusted confidants, rivaling only the authority of *Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha*.⁴¹ She was able to achieve this through using a trusted network of eunuchs and *Strongila*, who had previously been Hafsa Sultan's *kira*.⁴²

As Suleyman's absences from Istanbul became increasingly frequent, Hürrem began to act in the capacity of a political advisor both to her son and her husband.⁴³ This role

³⁶Yermolenko, "Introduction," 3.

³⁷Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 114.

³⁸ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 100.

³⁹Yermolenko, "Introduction," 7.

⁴⁰Ottavio Bon, *The Sultan's Seraglio: An Intimate Portrait of Life at the Ottoman Court*, 117. (see Appendix B)

⁴¹ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 117. A Pasha was a rank given to the Ottoman ministers.

⁴²A "Kira" was a Jewish woman traditionally employed as an intermediary by harem women to get the latest news on troop movements from the Venetian ambassadors. Hasfa used the Kira Strongila to keep track of Suleyman's movements in the Hungarian campaign of 1526.

⁴³ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 209.

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became increasingly ascribed to her following the execution of *Grand Vizier*⁴⁴ Ibrahim Pasha in 1536, after which Hürrem was able to successfully monopolize all access to the Sultan and, as a result, further advanced her own agency in the public sphere of Ottoman politics.⁴⁵ In Ibrahim's absence, Suleyman began to depend a great deal more on Hürrem, allowing her to solidify her status as the Ottoman Queen by conducting what Peirce calls "soft diplomacy." While Suleyman expanded the Ottoman territories through military campaigns across Europe, Hürrem cultivated and maintained alliances based on trust and mutual understanding. This was seen particularly with Hürrem's interactions with the Polish and Safavid royal women, starting with Hürrem's intervention on the behalf of Isabela, the widowed Queen of John Zápolya of Hungary, and the oldest daughter of King Sigismund "the Old" of Poland: "I am the person most close to the emperor [Suleyman], and you are the true queen of the Kingdom of Hungary,"⁴⁶ Hürrem wrote to Isabela in 1540. In this letter, Hürrem asserted her influence over Suleyman due to her proximity to him and used that to assert her own political agency, allowing her to support Isabela's claims to the throne of Hungary as John Zápolya's wife.

Additionally, Hürrem also supported Isabela's mother, Bona Sforza and her strong opposition to a Hapsburg alliance between the Polish prince and Elizabeth.⁴⁷ This political maneuver would later become the basis of a lifelong Ottoman-Polish alliance that sustained through a series of friendly correspondence between Hürrem and the newly appointed King Sigismund Augustus.⁴⁸ Hürrem sent him "two pairs of drawers, a shirt, and a waistband, and six handkerchiefs, and a had-and-face towel... most likely embroidered and perhaps even sewed all the gifts, wrapping included, herself."⁴⁹ This intimate relationship with both the

⁴⁴ The Grand Vizier was a title equivalent of the Ottoman Prime Minister.

⁴⁵ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 165.

⁴⁶ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 223.

⁴⁷ Elizabeth was the daughter of Ferdinand I, the Holy Roman Emperor and his wife Anna of Bohemia and Hungary. Hürrem recognized that a marriage Sigmund between Sigismund and Elizabeth would only serve to strengthen the Holy Roman Empire- one of Suleyman's key rivals in Central Europe.

⁴⁸ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 225.

⁴⁹ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 252.

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siblings, Sigismund Augustus and Isabela was key to maintaining the Ottoman-Polish alliance, and resulted in the Polish Kings being one of the “Ottomans’ staunchest allies...one of the four powers with whom Suleyman was on good terms.”⁵⁰

Hürrem’s diplomatic skills became a foundational aspect for the Ottoman women who succeeded her, such as her daughter Miramah, encouraging them to cultivate relationships with other leading European queens like Catherine d’Medici of France and Elizabeth I of England.⁵¹ Hürrem’s legacy therefore extended far beyond the foundation and preservation of the Ottoman-Polish alliance but resulted in a fundamental change in Ottoman foreign policy.⁵²

Hürrem also used the *waquifs* to actively strengthen her public image.⁵³ She subverted the Ottoman system of strict segregation and hierarchy through numerous building projects, seeing it as “the most effective means of legitimating her extraordinary elevation to queenhood.”⁵⁴ These buildings included a mosque, *imaret*, an elementary school, a hospital, a fountain,⁵⁵ a royal madrasa, waterworks, dervish lodges, and hostels for the pilgrims.⁵⁶

Unlike the other women of the Ottoman Empire, only Hürrem was allowed to endow religious and charitable buildings within the capital city of Istanbul, once again indicating to the enormous influence she wielded during her lifetime.⁵⁷ Furthermore, she also endowed various mosques and charitable foundations in other important cities of the Ottoman empire such as Adrianopol, Ankara, Edirne, Karapinar, Jerusalem, Mecca and Medina. However, this too was a breach of Ottoman protocol as philanthropic acts were “a privilege of a mature

⁵⁰ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 253.

⁵¹ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 251.

⁵² Previously, the Ottomans were isolated in the European mainland as the sole Islamic power in Christian Europe. However, Hürrem’s diplomatic skills earned them the alliance of the Polish Kings, making the Ottomans less isolated and in turn less vulnerable on the plains of Central Europe against their traditional enemies- the Holy Roman Empire.

⁵³ Yermolenko, “Introduction,” 11.

⁵⁴ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 171.

⁵⁵ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 170.

⁵⁶ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 191.

⁵⁷ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 171.

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political motherhood,⁵⁸ -- the privilege of the *valide*, as religious endowments were a mark of a mature woman. However, Hürrem was still a *haseki*, once again suggesting the fact that Hürrem had merged the clearly defined roles of the *valide* and the *haseki*, in order to create the office of the Ottoman queen. Thus, Hürrem's philanthropic work allowed her to exert much influence in the Ottoman public sphere.⁵⁹

By 1542, Hürrem had already laid solid foundations for her role as the Ottoman Queen. When her oldest sons, Mehmed and Selim left the capital, Hürrem did not accompany them as the traditional mother-concubine was expected to do. Instead, she remained at the *Tokapi*, with her youngest son Cihangir, choosing to stay close to Suleyman instead.⁶⁰ The following year, her oldest son Mehmed died of what was thought to be the plague,⁶¹ destroying Suleyman and Hürrem's delicate nuclear family construct.⁶² In Mehmed's wake, Suleyman's oldest son by Mahidevran, Mustafa became a popular choice for the role of Suleyman's heir, supported by members of the imperial court and the *Janissaries*.⁶³ His rising popularity threatened Hürrem's position in the imperial court and when Mustafa was executed in 1554, Hürrem was quickly incriminated for her supposed role in it by both Western and Turkish audiences, leading to the creation of the master narrative of Hürrem leading to the downfall of the Ottoman Empire -- a narrative that was reproduced over centuries, across various Kingdoms and empires, and continues to be reproduced until today.⁶⁴

⁵⁸ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 172.

⁵⁹ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 191.

⁶⁰ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 217.

⁶¹ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 233.

⁶² Mehmed, Suleyman and Hürrem's oldest son was, at the time considered to be the Suleyman's favoured choice as a successor and in the light of his death.

⁶³ The janissaries were a group of elite soldiers enlisted to protect the Ottoman Sultans. They were present within the palace and thus, functioned similarly to modern day bodyguards.

⁶⁴ Yermolenko, "Introduction," 13. Mustafa's execution sent shockwaves across the Ottoman and Western world. In the Ottoman court, the janissaries and the army rebelled, and were only appeased by lavish bribes. Furthermore, Rustem Pasha was dismissed as the *Grand Vizier*, reinstated only a year later in 1555.

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The narrative was based on the idea that Hürrem manipulated Suleyman to execute Mustafa in order to place one of her own sons on the throne, motivated by the desire to protect her own position in the court. After Mehmed's death, Mustafa was considered to be "smarter and better qualified" to succeed Suleyman as the next Sultan as compared to his other sons. As a result of this, both the Western and Turkish audiences were similarly shocked by the horrific event, leading to rather dark depictions of Hürrem as the audiences attempted to rationalize the event. In the reports of the Italian diplomat Luigi Bassano⁶⁵ and the Austrian ambassador Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq's *Turkish Letters (1554)*, Hürrem was called a witch (*ziadi*), and was suspected to have held Suleyman captive under her charms and spells.⁶⁶

Hürrem Sultan finally died in 1558,⁶⁷ after which the dynastic tensions between her remaining two sons, Selim and Bayazid grew only more prominent. Suleyman lived for another miserable 8 years, during which he executed his son Bayazid in 1561 in Tabriz. In the wake of her death, Hürrem's family disintegrated. Selim was ultimately chosen to succeed his father, but as compared to Suleyman, he was a sore disappointment. Where in his death Suleyman was recalled as one of the greatest monarchs of human history, Selim was a "drunkard and a weak, ineffectual ruler."⁶⁸ As a result, the balance of power within the Ottoman seraglio shifted, allowing for a pattern of strong concubines and sultanas to assert their dominance due to weak, and inefficient sultans. This pattern would continue into the

⁶⁵ Alan W. Fisher. "The Life and Family of Süleymân I." *Süleymân the Second and his Time*. Eds Halil İnalçık and Cemal Kafadar, Istanbul: Isis Press, 1993. https://archive.org/stream/SULEYMAN2/SULEYMAN-THE-SECOND-AND-HIS-TIME_djvu.txt

⁶⁶ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 148.

⁶⁷ Hürrem was buried in the *Suleymaniye Mosque*, which would later be chosen as Suleyman's own burial place.

⁶⁸ Yermolenko, "Introduction," 15.

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mid-seventeenth century and would be known as the “Sultanate of Women,” (*Kadinlar Sultanati*) a system that allowed for the rule of the favourite.⁶⁹

Roxelana in Western Europe

To Western audiences, Hürrem’s legacy still remains a topic of dispute. One of the main reasons for this comes from the fact that historians have blurred the roles of the *haseki* and the *valide*, where the *haseki* occupied the sexual role as the imperial concubine and the *valide* held the post-sexual role as the Queen mother. Galina Yermolenko expresses that the “Western image [of Roxelana] largely follows the development of Europe’s relations with the Turkish ‘Other’ throughout the ages, as the very concept of “Europeanness” was evolving against the image of the ‘Turk.’”⁷⁰ Thus, as the power of the Ottomans declined, the image of Roxelana softened in the West. This statement also indicates that the Western perception of both Roxelana and the harem as an institution was largely imagined, allowing the West to imprint their values of primogeniture and monogamy. As a result, their views of Roxelana changed with each coming century, influenced by events like the Enlightenment and the growing trend of Orientalism which resulted in overtly sexualized fantasies being imposed on the imperial harem.

This is reflected in Titian’s *La Sultana Rossa*⁷¹ -- Titian never actually met Roxelana, and thus his portrait of her was based on his imagined rendition of the Turkish Sultana. While his painting is simply a portrait of her, other European writers began to attribute their own values and characteristics on Roxelana. This was primarily because the Western interactions

⁶⁹ Yermolenko, “Introduction,” 16. In the harems of the Sultans predeceasing Suleyman, the Sultan did not show favoritism towards a particular concubine or a pasha. All were treated as his servants in order to maintain the balance of power that reinforced the Sultan as the ultimate voice of authority within the Ottoman Empire. However, Suleyman broke this tradition by showing open favoritism not only towards Hürrem but also towards his childhood friend, Ibrahim Pasha, who served as the Grand Vizir of the empire until 1536. By openly favoring Hürrem and Ibrahim, Suleyman awarded them enormous personal agency, allowing them to subvert the strict hierarchy of the Ottoman empire

⁷⁰ Yermolenko, “Introduction,” 16.

⁷¹ Titian. *La Sultana Rossa*. Oil on canvas, 1550s. The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art. The State Art Museum of Florida. (see Appendix A)

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with Roxelana were through the works of Nicholas de Moffan and Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq -- both of whose works were instrumental in creating the negative image of the Ottoman Sultana in the West as they wrote of Roxelana after the execution of Mustafa and by doing so, reproduced the insecurity of the Istanbulites towards Roxelana. Both Moffan and Busbecq questioned her philanthropic motives and accused her of using the *waqifs* as a means of “profitable [profit] for her salvation.”⁷² Thus, this constituted an attack not only on her devotion to Islam, but also her loyalty to Suleyman.

Roxelana was almost consistently considered a female threat to the patriarchal establishment. In her, “Europeans saw a warning against a powerful woman whose malintentions could subvert the system.” This was particularly evident with British portrayal of her from the 16th century. Fulke Greville in his *Life of Sidney* depicted Roxelana to be the personification of “internalized danger of femininity, the disruptive force within,”⁷³ a reflection to of the political climate of the England that was still reeling from the execution of Anne Boleyn, experiencing a trend of “Queen-blaming.”⁷⁴ However, European attitudes towards Roxelana became more positive with the end of Ottoman isolationist policies and its decline in power after the Spanish victory in the Battle of Lepanto in 1571.⁷⁵ As a result, Roxelana’s character was humanized as her role as a mother was emphasized—her involvement in Mustafa’s execution was no longer seen to be a ploy for power but was an act of motherly love, in order to protect her sons from the true villain of the narrative- the Ottoman legal institutions. This is reflected in Elkanah Settle’s *ibrahim the Illustrious Bassa*

⁷² Galina Yermolenko, “Roxelana in Europe.” *In Roxelana in European Literature, History and Culture*, 23–55. (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010) 24.

⁷³ Yermolenko, *Roxelana in Europe*, 32.

⁷⁴ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 40.

⁷⁵ Lope de Vega, “The Holy League,” *Obras Completas, Comedias*, ed. Manuel Arroyo Stephans, 15 vols (Madrid: Turner, 1994). 10: 565-75, trans. Ana Pinto. The Holy League by Lope de Vega (1562-1635) was first published in 1603 during the Spanish Golden Century and recreates both the splendor of the Ottoman Empire as well as its defeat at the Battle of Lepanto against the Christian Alliance (The Holy League) made of predominantly Venetian and Spanish forces.

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(1677),⁷⁶ where the true culprit was the barbaric practices of the Ottoman Empire: polygamy, concubinage and fratricide.⁷⁷

At the same time, cultural portrayals of Roxelana also began to reveal a dual character. Roger Boyle's Earl of Orrery, *Tragedy of Mustapha* (1668) depicts her to be a powerful Queen⁷⁸ and commends her for surviving and succeeding under the oppressive conditions of the Turkish harem by emphasizing her "outrageously free-spirited and clever" character.⁷⁹ Yet, the implicit insinuation was that Roxelana had thrived in the repressive structure of the harem because of her European origins. On the other hand, Hürrem embodied all the attributes of the exotic Asian Queen—exoticism, mystique, and cruelty. Thus, the European Roxelana triumphed over the Turkish Hürrem. This was a product of European Orientalism according to which, the Ottoman Empire was seen to be a "brooding, non-Western despotism, incapable of progress."⁸⁰

As a result, the Ottoman Sultana still enjoys a disputed legacy across Western Europe. She was generally blamed for the decline of the Ottoman Empire due to the disparity between the reign of Suleyman, "the Magnificent"⁸¹ and her son Selim, "the Sot."⁸² Hürrem was seen to be a sexually immoral figure who had corrupted Suleyman's religiosity and had manipulated him into marrying her, breaking all Ottoman traditions and customs of institutionalized concubinage and fratricide. Yet, they also viewed her as a powerful woman who subverted the strict hierarchy of the harem and used it to her advantage. Thus, Hürrem

⁷⁶ Elkanah Settle (1648-1724) was an English poet and playwright.

⁷⁷ Yermolenko, *Roxelana in Europe*, 34.

⁷⁸ Orrery, Roger Boyle, Earl of. *The tragedy of Mustapha, the son of Solyman the Magnificent*, London: Printed for H. Herringman ..., 1668, Early English Books, University of Michigan.

<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A53477.0001.001?view=toc>

⁷⁹ Yermolenko, *Roxelana in Europe*, 43.

⁸⁰ Ussama Makdisi, "Ottoman Orientalism," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 107, No. 3, 2002.

⁸¹ Suleyman was given the epithet of "the Magnificent" by Western historians in recognition of the socio-political and cultural achievements of his reign. But, to his Turkish subjects, he was known as "*Kannuni*, translating to the Lawgiver due to the fact that his reign saw increased centralization and the codification of Ottoman law. However, during his time, Suleyman I would have been referred to by his rank, *Padishah*.

⁸² Debra Barrett-Graves, "Hürrem Sultan," *Extraordinary Women of the Medieval and Renaissance World: A Biographical Dictionary*. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000) 129.

reflected the worst fears of female autonomy and authority for the empires of Christian Europe.

Roxelana in Eastern Europe

In Eastern Europe, the image of Roxelana was used as a tool of ethnic consolidation—to create an independent Ukrainian state.⁸³ This was because “the development of the Roxolana image took a different shape... due to their different historical fates and geographical locales.”⁸⁴ Oleksander Halenko states, “For them [the Ukrainians], she [Roxelana] is first and foremost a champion and protector of the Ukrainian people, an example of loyalty and self-sacrifice in the name of the nation and even the Orthodox creed.”⁸⁵ Therefore, this image became embedded in the Ukrainian national memory that had been framed by its own unique historical legacy of the Ukrainian-Tatar-Turkish slave trade, and its colonization by Poland and Russia that lasted until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.⁸⁶

In Eastern Europe, Roxelana’s image was based on the decline narrative that had been circulated across Western Europe through Busbecq’s *Turkish Letters*. Referred to as the “Polish Sultana” in Polish royal and diplomatic circles, Roxelana was appropriated as a martyr or guardian figure by the Ukrainians who believed that her supposed role in the corruption and eventual decline of the Ottoman Empire was revenge for her fate as a slave, transforming Roxelana into a symbol for the Polish-Turkish-Tartar slave trade. This is reflected in *Roksolana*, an anonymous that was painted sometime between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, when the country was overrun by Western Romantic trends.

⁸³ Galina, How a Turkish Empress became the Champion of Ukraine, 110.

⁸⁴ Yermolenko, Introduction, 17.

⁸⁵ Oleksander Halenko, “How a Turkish Empress Became a Champion of Ukraine.” *In Roxelana in European Literature, History and Culture*, edited by Galina Yermolenko, 109–24. (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010) 109.

⁸⁶ Yermolenko, Introduction, 46.

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The portrait depicts Roxelana holding a dagger and portrays her as an avenging figure for the Ukrainian people.⁸⁷

This idea was further exemplified by the fact that she maintained close connections with her the Polish state during her lifetime.⁸⁸ This patriotism stemmed primarily from her supposed Ruthenian roots and was then reinforced by the Polish-Ottoman alliance that was forged during her lifetime. Mikhalon Lituan,⁸⁹ in 1550, wrote “the beloved wife of the Turkish emperor, the mother of his eldest son and his heir, was kidnapped from our land.”⁹⁰

However, it was not until the late 18th and early 19th century when Roxelana was associated with the national identity of Poland and Ukraine. Under the influence of Western Romanticism, a heightened and highly romantic interest towards past history was observed, where the focus was particularly on the dramatic early modern period.” In Poland, the movement “brought about a renewed pride in the glory of the early modern Polish state... romantic interest in old Ukrainian folklore.”⁹¹ It was during this time that Roxelana became associated with Ukrainian folklore. She was associated with the epic poem, *Marusia Bohuslavka*, a popular Ukrainian poem (*duma*) that dealt with the challenges of the Turkish slavery. In the poem, Maurisa is the daughter of an Orthodox priest, who later becomes the concubine to a powerful Turk and enjoys all the pleasures of Turkish luxury. Despite this, Maurisa sets seven hundred Cossack slaves free from the captivity of her Turkish master’s dungeon. She refuses to return to Ukraine with them, having accepted her new life and identity as an Islamic woman in Turkey, but expresses longing for her family who still continue to live in the town of Bohuslav.

⁸⁷ Anonymous. *Roksolana*. Oil on canvas, Late 18/Early 19 Century. National Museum of Ukrainian Art, Lviv. (see Appendix A)

⁸⁸ Roxelana’s close ties with the Polish state alluded to her close diplomatic alliance with King Sigismund Augustus and his sister Isabella.

⁸⁹ Lituan was the the Lithuanian ambassador in Crimea.

⁹⁰ Yermolenko, Introduction, 46.

⁹¹ Yermolenko, Introduction, 46.

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Thus, Maursia is depicted as a woman of conflicting loyalties and quickly became associated with Roxelana who had lived a similar life. As a result, not only was Roxelana associated with Ukrainian patriotism but she also became associated with the Cossack movement, resulting in patriotic and heroic depictions of Roxelana.⁹² This was reflected in Roman Romanovych's sculpture with the inscription "Roxolana is Coming Home," displayed in the city of Rohatyn, her supposed town of origin. The sculpture commemorates Roxelana's symbolic return to Ukraine via the Black Sea, denoted by the wave-shaped foundation of the structure.⁹³ Its construction and subsequent display in 1999 reflected the transformation of Roxelana from "the Polish Sultana" into a pan-Ukrainian, national identity."⁹⁴

Hurrem Sultan in Turkey

Few sources of Hürrem Sultan from her time written by Turkish observers exist today. Leslie Peirce believed that this lack of record may be due to Islamic customs that forbade the representation of the imperial harem and its women. Yet, the legacy of Hürrem Sultan continues to thrive and remains highly disputed. In the absence of Turkish sources, the identity of Hürrem Sultan was constructed upon her representation in the foreign reports of diplomats and travelers like Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq. Writing mostly after the execution of Mustafa in 1553, Busbecq's representation of the Ottoman Sultana was exceedingly negative and reflected the conflicted popular opinion across the city of Istanbul that manifested itself in the form of salacious rumors. Busbecq refers to her as *ziadi*, accusing her of winning over Suleyman's love through witchcraft.⁹⁵

⁹² Halenko, How a Turkish Empress Became a Champion of Ukraine, 121.

⁹³ Roman Romanovych, *Roxolana is Coming Home*. Sculpture, 1999. Rohatyn, Ukraine. (see Appendix A)

⁹⁴ Yermolenko, Roxelana in Europe, 49.

⁹⁵ Özlem Ögüt Yazıcıoğlu, "Roxelana in Turkish Literature: The Re-Writing of the Ever Elusive Woman of Power and Desire." In *Roxelana in European Literature, History and Culture*, edited by Galina Yermolenko. (Burlington: Ashgate, 2010) 157.

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This indicates Hürrem's conflicted image among the imperial court and the public of Istanbul. In their eyes, Hürrem was an anomaly in every possible sense. In her, for the first time in Ottoman history, the sexual role of the *haseki* and the post-sexual role of the *Valide* had merged in a female, producing a mixed reaction among the subjects of the Sultan who had never experienced an Ottoman Queen. Not only had Hürrem become the mother of four princes, she had also moved into the *Tokapi* and had become one of Suleyman's most trusted advisors during the course of their marriage, transforming the harem into a powerful political institution. Furthermore, she did not leave to accompany her sons on their governorships, instead remaining at Suleyman's side in Istanbul. Additionally, Hürrem regularly involved herself in the world of the harem, arranging marriages between Turkish pashas and the women of the harem. She engaged in diplomatic relations with women of the Polish and Safavid empires and regularly bestowed religious endowments across the cities of the Ottoman Empire—all privileges of the *Valide* without ever achieving the status of one.⁹⁶ Thus, Hürrem's conflicted image was a result of the blurred roles of the *haseki* and the *valide*.

Relying on Western sources, Turkish historiography of Hürrem also incorporated the decline narrative where Hürrem was blamed for corrupting the piety Suleyman I and eventually leading to the decimation of the Ottoman Empire in 1922.⁹⁷ However, contemporary perceptions of Hürrem are rooted in representations of Hürrem as Roxelana in both Western and Eastern Europe. In the historical novels of Feridun Fazıl Tülbentçi (1960) and M. Turhan Tan (1937), Ohran Asena's *Kannuni Sultan Suleyman Teralogy* (1950), and Adnan Nur Bakyal's *Interview with Hurrem Sultan* (2004),⁹⁸ Hürrem is characterized as “overly ambitious, egotistical and manipulative woman- never satisfied with anything less

⁹⁶ Peirce, *Empress of the East*, 134.

⁹⁷ Elizabeth Abbott. “Eastern Concubines and Harems.” In *Mistresses: A History of Other Women*. (New York: The Overlook Pass, 2010) 59.

⁹⁸ Yazıcıoğlu, Roxelana in Turkish Literature: The Re-Writing of the Ever Elusive Woman of Power and Desire, 142.

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than the best for her interests and conspiring against her rivals and innocent alike.” Yet, she managed “to become an individual by rebelling with submission, loving with reason, and by reasserting her life with constant transformation.”⁹⁹ Therefore, her personal authority transcended the strict regulation and hierarchy of the imperial harem and that is exceptional enough.

Conclusion

Hürrem Sultan, or Roxelana, remains a controversial figure in the states of modern Europe. “Very little is known about the inner functioning of the harem and of relationships among its residents... Ottoman narrative sources are virtually silent with regard to life within the harem,” writes Leslie Peirce, who also extended the argument to the stark absence of Ottoman sources on Hürrem Sultan.¹⁰⁰ All the Western sources of Hürrem Sultan were written after the execution of Mustafa in 1553, an event that shocked both the European and Turkish audiences alike. As a result of this, the predominant view of Hürrem Sultan among the populace of Istanbul was negative—Western chroniclers like Busbecq and Luigi Bassano reflected this sentiment in their writing, which later cemented the foundation of the view of Hürrem Sultan as the corruptor and eventual cause of decline of the Ottoman Empire in 1922. This skewed view, based entirely on circumstantial evidence and speculation, generally overlooked her exemplary accomplishments in the creation of the first and only office of the Ottoman Queen.

⁹⁹ Yazıcıoğlu, *Roxelana in Turkish Literature: The Re-Writing of the Ever Elusive Woman of Power and Desire*, 164.

¹⁰⁰ Peirce, *The Imperial Harem*, 113.

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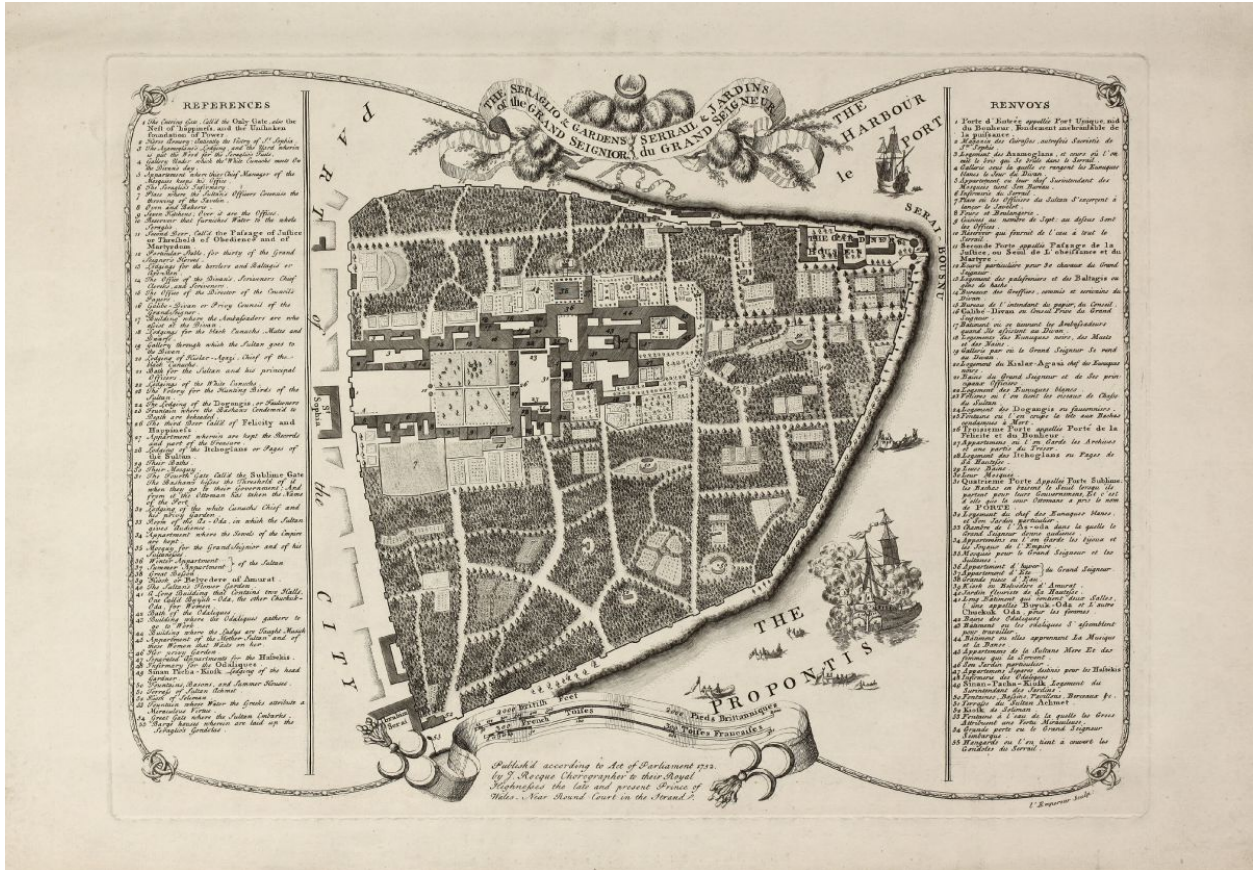
Appendix A.
Images



Titian. *La Sultana Rossa*. Oil on canvas, 1550s. The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art. The State Art Museum of Florida.

A portrait of Roxelana by the Italian Renaissance painter Titian. Titian, like most Europeans never actually met the Ottoman Sultana and therefore, his portrait of her is entirely imagined, based on the assumption of her Ruthenian identity.

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John Rocque, *The Seraglio & Gardens of the Grand Seignior. / Serrail & Jardins du Grand Seigneur*, Map, London, 1752.

Rare plan of the Topkapi Palace in Istanbul by the English engraver John Rocque (1709-1762).

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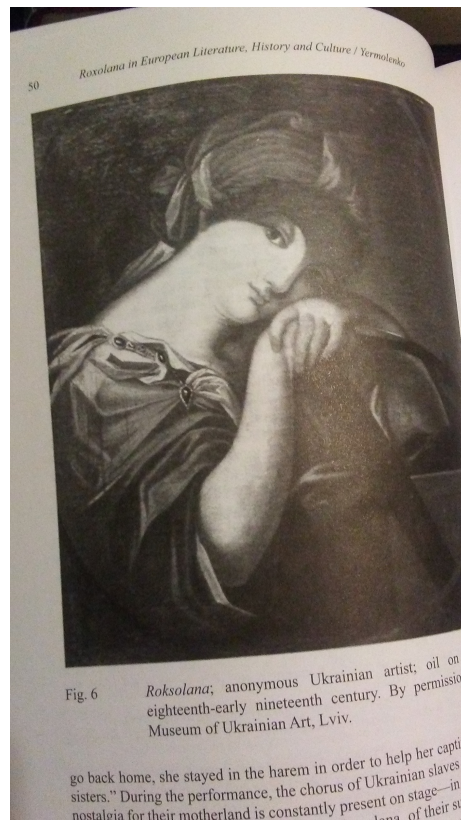


Fig. 6 *Roxolana*; anonymous Ukrainian artist; oil on canvas, late eighteenth-early nineteenth century. By permission of the National Museum of Ukrainian Art, Lviv.

go back home, she stayed in the harem in order to help her captive sisters." During the performance, the chorus of Ukrainian slaves expressed their nostalgia for their motherland is constantly present on stage—in the person of Roxolana, of their suffering.

Anonymous. *Roxolana*. Oil on canvas, Late 18/Early 19 Century. National Museum of Ukrainian Art, Lviv.

A portrait of Roxelana holding a dagger, assuming the role of the martyr for the Ukrainian people in avenging their suffering for the trauma of the Ukrainian-Turkish-Tartar slave trade of the fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. Here, Roxelana avenges the Ukrainian people by contributing to the demise of the Ottoman Empire by corrupting the religiosity of her husband, Sultan Suleyman I.

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Roxolana is Coming Home. Bronze monument in Roxolana's birthplace Rohatyn, Ukraine; sculpture by Roman Romanovych, architectural design by O. Skop, 1999. Rohatyn, Ukraine.

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Appendix B English Translations of Turkish Terms/Words

Turkish Word	English Translation
Kannuni	“The Lawgiver,” Suleyman I’s reign was recalled in Turkish history for its increased centralization and the codification of Ottoman Law.
Padishah	To his Turkish subjects, Suleyman I was referred to by his title, <i>Padishah</i> which was the equivalent to “The Great King.”
Şehzade	Title equivalent to a Prince
Grand Vizier	Equivalent to the Ottoman Prime Minister
Paşa	Ottoman Ministers
Valide	Queen Mother
Haseki	An Imperial Concubine who is the mother of a prince.
Kandin	Imperial Concubine
Gedki	Sultan’s Attendants
Kafka	Administrators in the Imperial Harem
Hatun	A title similar to that of the European ‘Lady.’
Kira	A Jewish woman traditionally employed as an intermediary by harem women to get the latest news on troop movements from the Venetian ambassadors.
Zakat	The Islamic principle of charity
Waquif	Ottoman Beneficane, usually in the form of religious endowments
Ziadi	Witch
Tokapi	New Palace
Eskiserai	Old Palace, where the concubines of the previous Sultans and those concubines that have fallen out of favor with the current Sultan are sent to.
Janissaries	Household troops of the Ottoman Sultans. Similar to modern day bodyguards.
Hamam	Turkish Bathhouses exclusive for women

Behind the Purdah

Arz Odası

The Sultan's Throne Room

Kadınlar Sultanati

Sultanate of Women

Behind the Purdah

Appendix C Timeline of Events of Hürrem Sultan's life.

- ca. 1503 Hürrem Sultan is born as Alexandra Liswoska in Rohaytan, Ruthenia (Western Ukraine today) to an Orthodox Christian priest
- 1515 Şehzade Mustafa is born to Mahidevran
- 1520 Sultan Selim I dies and his son, Suleyman ascends the throne as the 10th Sultan of the Ottoman Empire
- ca.1515-1520 Hürrem is abducted from Rohaytan during a Tartar slave raid and sold to the Ottoman Empire, entering the Imperial Harem.
- 1521 Hürrem, having become one of the imperial concubines, gives birth to Şehzade Mehmed
- 1522 Hürrem gives birth to Mihrimah and Şehzade Abdullah
- 1523 Ibrahim Pasha, one of Suleyman's close childhood friends is appointed as Grand Vizir
- 1524 Hürrem gives birth to Şehzade Selim
- 1525 Hürrem gives birth to Şehzade Bayezid
- 1530 The circumcision of Şehzade Mehmed and Mustafa
- 1531 Hürrem gives birth to Şehzade Chihangir
- 1533 Suleyman's mother, Hafsa Sultan dies.
- 1534 Şehzade Mustafa is appointed governor of Manisa and leaves Istanbul with his mother, Mahidevran
Suleyman weds Hürrem in a legal ceremony
- 1536 Grand Vizir Ibrahim Pasha is executed
Hürrem moves from the *Eskiserai* to the *Tokapi*
- 1538 The construction of the Haseki Sultan Complex in Istanbul begins
- 1539 Hürrem arranges for her daughter, Mihrimah to marry Rustem Pasha.
- 1540 Hürrem writes to Isabela, supporting her claims to the Hungarian throne as the wife of John Zápolya
- 1543 Hürrem's oldest son and Suleyman's projected heir apparent, Şehzade Mehmed dies of an illness suspected to be the plague.
- 1544 Rustem Pasha is appointed Grand Vizir

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- 1547 Having been in contact with a few Safavid royal women, Hürrem sent lavish gifts and embroidery to Tahmasp I, the then Shah of Iran as an attempt to forge Ottoman-Safavid relations
- 1548-1549 Suleyman embarks on his second Safavid campaign.
- ca.1548-1549 Hürrem writes to King Sigismund II Augustus, congratulating him on his succession to the Polish throne and sends the gift of two pairs of linen shirts and pants, some belts, six handkerchiefs, and a hand-towel- all embroidered by Hürrem herself.
- 1550-1551 The construction of the Haseki Sultan Complex in Istanbul is completed. The complex had a mosque, madrasa, soup kitchen and a hospital. It was Hürrem's first imperial project.
- 1552 Hürrem endows the Haseki Sultan Imaret in Jerusalem. The soup kitchen fed approximately 500 people twice a day.
- 1554 Mahidevran's oldest son, Şehzade Mustafa is executed by Sultan Suleyman.
Grand Vizir Rustem Pasha is dismissed from his position
Popular with the janissaries and the army, Mustafa's execution led to wide scale discontent and eventual rebellion of the janissaries and the army.
This rebellion was only appeased by lavish bribes offered to the janissaries and army by Suleyman.
- 1555 Rustem Pasha is reinstated as Grand Vizir
- 1556 Haseki Hürrem Sultan Hamamı is constructed in Istanbul.
- 1558 Hürrem Sultan dies and is buried in the Süleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul
- 1561 Suleyman executes Şehzade Bayezid
- 1566 Sultan Suleyman dies and is buried in the Süleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul beside his wife, Hürrem Sultan.
Selim ascends the throne as the 11th Sultan of the Ottoman Empire.

“A Bloody and Perfidious People”: Irish Catholics, Transnational Alliances, and the Imperial-Religious Politics of the Seventeenth-Century English Caribbean

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In November 1656, William Metham, an English Catholic and erstwhile Jesuit, penned a letter from Genoa to English Secretary of State John Thurloe. On the authority of Oliver Cromwell, then ruling over England, Metham was traveling to Rome with his fellow countryman and coreligionist Thomas Bayly in an effort to gather intelligence and establish a rapport with the Pope. Though Cromwell was openly hostile to Catholicism, political realities on the continent motivated him to seek ties with the Vatican. While Metham’s mission ultimately failed, he made some illuminating remarks on West Indian imperial and religious rivalries in his correspondence with Thurloe. He warned the Secretary of the dangers of settling English colonies with Irishmen, imploring him to “send no Irish, for as I heare som of that nation’s priests do perswade their countrymen to Spain, and the Spanish plantations.” To reinforce his point that the Irish in both Europe and the West Indies were colluding with Spain against England, Metham recounted a particularly egregious story he had heard “of an Irish frier here” who made the overseas journey “to Jamaica with the English, so to get to the Spanish service thence.” He warned that the English possessions were not only difficult to defend—Jamaica especially “has to dareing a coast almost round about it” and was “so hard to be absolutely guarded”—but that the presence of the Irish, who “by stealth, yet com into it now and then,” presented a vexing problem for English interests.¹

Metham’s concerns touched upon one of the most salient issues bedeviling English West Indian policy: How could the state ensure the security of its possessions in such a polit-

¹ Metham to Thurloe, November 19, 1656, in *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Volume 5, May 1656-January 1657*, ed. Thomas Birch (London: Fletcher Gyles, 1742), 572-87, *British History Online*, accessed February 27, 2017, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/thurloe-papers/vol5/pp572-587>.

“A Bloody and Perfidious People”

ically volatile environment, plagued as they were by the constant threat of conflict with neighboring French and Spanish colonial possessions? According to Metham, one effective method entailed limiting the number of Irish who immigrated there, given their propensity for subversion and the sympathy they elicited from their coreligionists on neighboring islands. As Christopher Codrington, Captain-General of the Leeward Islands, would put it in the midst of pro-French Irish uprisings more than three decades later, “the Irish being Papists may be expected to welcome Papists, and particularly the French.”²

Behind this expectation lay a history of Franco- and Hispano-Irish collaboration in the Old World that was now also emerging in the mid-seventeenth-century Caribbean. Irish Catholics stoked planter fears by allying with the Spanish and French, capitalizing on their proximity to fellow Catholics to unsettle English planters and authorities. To Irish servants and freemen, the idea of collaborating with the French or Spanish raised hope for more favorable conditions. Though the Irish may have found themselves living in comparable hardship on the islands in possession of Spain and France, the Catholic heritage and history they shared with the two nations emboldened them. They recognized that, potential economic benefits aside, they could expect greater acceptance of their religious identities under the French and Spanish.

The Irish, however, were not the only Catholic agitators who plagued English colonial authorities. Itinerant priests traveling throughout the West Indies presented a particular cause for concern. Not only did decades of Protestant thought label priests as the witting promoters of a morally bankrupt antireligion, but priests represented a threat to the established colonial order. Their efforts to hold mass and cater to the spiritual welfare of Irish Catholics both on the English islands and on neighboring islands stoked officials’ concerns that their Irish subjects would become further disillusioned with English rule. That many of the priests who

² Codrington to the Governor of Montserrat, February 18, 1689-1690, in *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial* [hereafter CSPC], vol. 13, *1689-1692*, ed. J.W. Fortescue (London: Her Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1901), 235-36, no. 789, VIII.

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visited were either Frenchmen, with whom the Irish had a history of political cooperation, or fellow Irishmen only exacerbated their concerns. Historians have neglected the extent to which the Catholic Church itself played a role in sponsoring missions to relieve the spiritual poverty of the Irish in the English colonies, which in turn represented a New World variant on Irish-Vatican collaboration in Europe.

The history of Franco- and Hispano-Irish alliances in the Old World in particular provides a useful lens through which to consider Irish collaboration with France and Spain in the Caribbean. Rather than examining Irish alliance-making as an ahistorical phenomenon unique to the Caribbean, such international cooperation should be considered as a variant on preexisting relationships forged in Europe. In doing so, the rationale for Irish collaboration with the Spanish and French becomes more understandable. While scholars such as Donald Akenson are right that English officials did not fear the Irish solely “because these people were, in some unexplained way, predestined by their cultural background to be social trouble,”³ given the history of Irish ties to the European mainland, Protestant authorities in the West Indies were well aware of Irish participation in Spanish and French military campaigns and resented Ireland’s willingness to conspire with the continental monarchies. In this context, European rivalries did indeed contribute to an Irish motivation to revolt and an English fear of and reaction to such subversion in the West Indies.⁴ In the words of historian Robert Emmett Curran, anti-Catholicism “proved to be among the hardest cultural dispositions to be transplanted from Great Britain to America” because “[t]o be English was to be anti-Catholic, since Roman Catholicism stood in stark contrast to everything that being English connoted.”⁵

³ Donald Akenson, *If the Irish Ran the World: Montserrat, 1630-1730* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997), 57.

⁴ See Jenny Shaw, *Everyday Life in the Early English Caribbean: Irish, Africans, and the Construction of Difference* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013), 39-40; and Carl Bridenbaugh and Roberta Bridenbaugh, *No Peace Beyond the Line: The English in the Caribbean, 1624-1690* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 15, 174.

⁵ Robert Emmett Curran, *Papist Devils: Catholics in British America, 1574-1783* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2014), 201-02.

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The idea that Protestantism and the anti-Catholic prejudices that accompanied it acted as a unifying force in the creation of a distinctly British national identity has gained the most traction through the work of historian Linda Colley. Characterizing Britain in 1707 as “infinitely diverse in terms of the customs and cultures of its inhabitants,”⁶ she argues that the eighteenth century witnessed the development of a Protestant nationalism that generated powerful ties among and within England, Wales, and Scotland. This took place, she contends, through the widespread circulation of anti-Catholic literature, the reshaping of historical memory to celebrate past Protestant victories against Catholic forces, and the influence of pro-Protestant tracts, art, and songs that glorified martyrdom and portrayed Britain as the new Israel; the cumulative effect of such propaganda was to create “a vast superstructure of prejudice...a way of seeing (or rather mis-seeing) Catholics and Catholic states.”⁷

Though Colley treats this primarily as an eighteenth-century phenomenon, her argument also applies to the seventeenth-century construction of Anglo-Irish differences both in the British Archipelago and in the West Indies.⁸ English officials rarely if ever expressed concern with any potential rising of Protestant English or Scottish servants in favor of the French and Spanish on the English Caribbean islands, despite the severity of working conditions for all indentured servants, no matter their ethnicity. There is no evidence that suggests that these servants ever entertained the idea of such an alliance. Indeed, the English association of Irish Catholic identity with perfidy and recalcitrance, in addition to the popular belief that “the Irish threatened to bring disease to the body politic,” reinforced a narrative of difference and stood in stark contrast to English assessments of other constituent ethnic groups such as the Scottish, who they believed “contributed to the health of the English islands” as

⁶ Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 17.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 19-36.

⁸ Surprisingly, Colley glosses over Ireland in her analysis. An examination of the English treatment of Ireland as a colony in the seventeenth century and the transfer of Anglo-Irish animosities to the Caribbean, however, is useful in demonstrating the extent to which a coherent ideology of anti-Catholicism and Protestant nationalism developed much earlier.

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hardworking Protestants.⁹ Though the prevailing historiography, dominated by the work of scholars such as Hilary Beckles, privileges labor conditions, physical mistreatment, and class struggle as the primary determinants of Irish disaffection and English reactions to it in the tropics, religious and cultural motivations, more so than with any other ethnic group, best explain the Irish penchant for seeking alliances.¹⁰

A Microcosm of Europe in the Tropics

In much the same way that circumstances in Europe produced a fluid political landscape that generated a myriad of opportunities for international collaboration, the West Indies proved fertile ground for similar alliances. The inability of any one European power to establish dominance over the Caribbean as a whole in the early seventeenth century created a contentious political environment that magnified the threat of rebellion among subject peoples such as the Irish and encouraged chronic warfare. As a result, Europeans in the region jockeyed for control of strategically important islands throughout the century, rendering the West Indies a veritable “cockpit of imperial rivalry.”¹¹ Such political maneuvering offered disaffected groups opportunities to ally with foreign actors to ameliorate their conditions.

⁹ Natalie A. Zacek, *Settler Society in the English Leeward Islands, 1670-1776* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 71, 99-104; and Shaw, *Everyday Life*, 56-57.

¹⁰ Beckles emphasizes that the socioeconomic relationship between Irish laborers and the English planter class was fraught with mutual resentment. In doing so, he interprets the history of Irish animosity towards the planters and English colonial government through a Marxist lens and treats master-servant antagonism as a function of class struggle while minimizing ethno-religious factors in driving Irish resistance. For some representative work, see Hilary Beckles, *White Servitude and Black Slavery in Barbados, 1627-1715* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989); idem, “Rebels and Reactionaries: The Political Responses of White Labourers to Planter-Class Hegemony in Seventeenth-Century Barbados,” *Journal of Caribbean History* 15 (1981): 1-19; idem, “‘Black Men in White Skins’: The Formation of a White Proletariat in West Indian Slave Society,” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 15 (1986): 1-21; and idem, “A ‘riotous and unruly lot’: Irish Indentured Servants and Freemen in the English West Indies, 1644-1713,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 47 (1990): 503-22. Abbot Emerson Smith briefly addresses the idea that religion and ethnicity played an outsized role in prompting Irish defection in his claim that “nationality and religion were stronger forces than class” in Irish uprisings. He perhaps overreaches in minimizing economic considerations, however, when he claims that “Nothing indicates that in the many vicissitudes of the island wars servants as a class ever assisted the invader,” although his emphasis on religious considerations is well-taken. See Smith, *Colonists in Bondage: White Servitude and Convict Labor in America, 1607-1776* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947), 262.

¹¹ Philip D. Morgan and Andrew Jackson O’Shaughnessy, “Arming Slaves in the American Revolution,” in Christopher Leslie Brown and Morgan, eds., *Arming Slaves: From Classical Times to the Modern Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 184.

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The proximity of the English-controlled Leeward Islands—composed of Saint Christopher (present-day Saint Kitts), Nevis, Montserrat, and Antigua—and Barbados to Spanish possessions in the Caribbean facilitated alliance making between Irish Catholics under English jurisdiction and the Spanish. Immediately following the period of English settlement in the mid- to late 1620s, a number of territorial squabbles erupted between English and Spanish forces.¹² Such conflict came to a head in the mid-1650s, when Cromwell organized a military campaign, known as the “Western Design,” against Spain’s Caribbean possessions. Cromwell’s reasons for invading the Spanish West Indies were threefold: to disrupt Spanish trade, enhance republican England’s international prestige, and hasten the demise of global Catholicism.¹³ In his zealous worldview, Spain was the papacy’s co-conspirator in an international plot to eradicate Protestantism and employed Jesuits to foment hostility between England and fellow Protestant nations such as Holland. An apocalyptic political ideology aimed at destroying Spanish power, which in large part rested upon the wealth Spain had accumulated from its New World colonies, thus informed the decision of Cromwell and his ministers to send this military expedition to the West Indies.¹⁴ Economic and political considerations bolstered his religious justifications for the invasion. Cromwell cited Spain’s stranglehold on

¹² On the various Anglo-Spanish conflicts that plagued the region during the 1620s and 1630s, see Bridenbaugh and Bridenbaugh, *No Peace Beyond the Line*, 32, 108; Richard Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 7-8, 12, 18; and John C. Appleby, “English Settlement in the Lesser Antilles during War and Peace, 1603-1660,” in *The Lesser Antilles in the Age of European Expansion*, eds. Robert L. Paquette and Stanley L. Engerman (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 93. One notable incident involving collaboration between Irish Catholics and Spaniards occurred in 1635 when, four years after the English establishment of a base at Tortuga, fleeing residents of the island related to the Irish adventurer Bernard O’Brien that “the Spaniards, guided by an Irishman, had taken the island from them, killing some and capturing others.” See “Bernard O’Brien’s Account of His Adventures from the Time of His Surrender to the Portuguese in 1629 to His Arrival in Spain 1636,” in *English and Irish Settlement on the River Amazon, 1550-1646*, ed. Joyce Lorimer (London: Hakluyt Society, 1989), 419.

¹³ For an excellent overview of the historiography of Cromwell’s foreign policy that examines the debate among historians over whether its origins lay in religious, nationalistic, or commercial goals (or some combination of the three), see Timothy Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995), 5-12.

¹⁴ Steven C.A. Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650-1668* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 189-90; John Donoghue, *Fire under the Ashes: An Atlantic History of the English Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 229; Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy*, 74-77; and Karen Ordahl Kupperman, “Errand to the Indies: Puritan Colonization from Providence Island through the Western Design,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 45 (1988): 90-92.

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trade in the circum-Caribbean, its alleged moral injustices against natives and African slaves, and its assaults on English ships and lives in preceding years as a defense of the Design, which could moreover undercut Spain’s financial solvency by preventing its ships from transporting gold and silver from mainland mines back to the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁵

A combination of political and economic grievances within the broader context of European rivalries pitting Protestantism against Catholicism suffused the Western Design. Under the leadership of Admiral William Penn and General Robert Venables, the expedition sailed in December 1654 with approximately three thousand troops composed of individuals harboring diverse reasons for their enlistment. Whereas some participants were zealous Puritans and Royalists escaping Cromwell’s rule, a significant proportion were prisoners, impressed sailors, and vagrants, who according to Venables were “the most prophane debauch’d persons that we ever saw, scornors of Religion, and indeed men kept so loose as not to be kept under discipline.”¹⁶ Venables fumed about the presence of Catholics under his command, “in perticular Sixteen, and four of them Irish, and one a Priest,” all of whom “were put upon us out of the Tower Regiment.”¹⁷ The original objective of the expedition to capture Hispaniola quickly met with failure, owing to a shortage of supplies, infighting among the officers over tactical strategies, and the difficulty of traversing the tropical environment. After their defeat, Venables and Penn redirected their military resources to Jamaica, wresting the island from Spanish control in June 1655.¹⁸

¹⁵ Kupperman, “Errand to the Indies,” 93-94; 257; Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy*, 72-74; and Donoghue, *Fire under the Ashes*, 230.

¹⁶ Venables, “A Narrative by General Venables of His Expedition to the Island of Jamaica and the Conquest Thereof under the Protectorship of Oliver Cromwell,” in *The Narrative of General Venables with an Appendix of Papers Relating to the Expedition to the West Indies and the Conquest of Jamaica, 1654-1655*, ed. C.H. Firth (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1900), 30.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁸ For a detailed analysis of the logistics of recruitment in England and the brutal conditions soldiers faced in the Caribbean, see Donoghue, *Fire under the Ashes*, 233-37; Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy*, 81-82; S.A.G. Taylor, *The Western Design: An Account of Cromwell’s Expedition to the Caribbean* (London: Solstice Productions, 1969), 1-35; and Kristen Block, *Ordinary Lives in the Early Caribbean: Religion, Colonial Competition, and the Politics of Profit* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012), 110-11, 117-18. Carla Gardina Pestana offers the most comprehensive treatment of the Western Design within the broader context of England’s nascent

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While many of the soldiers were social undesirables and criminals, it is somewhat specious to suggest, as historian John Donoghue does, that the Western Design exhibited “the hypocrisy of a mercenary expedition so cloaked in the robes of Protestant piety.”¹⁹ Contrary to his assertion, sincere religious sentiments that echoed the providential worldview of Cromwell could very well have played a role in motivating the troops who participated in the Design. In a campaign that emanated in large part from a vision of Protestant supremacy, it seems unlikely that only the prospect of plunder and self-enrichment animated soldiers. Religious rivalry was not merely a convenient excuse for the English to disrupt Spanish power in the West Indies; rather, the expedition offered soldiers the opportunity to translate Anglo-Spanish religious and cultural antagonisms into concrete territorial gains for the English Protestant cause.

Though soldiers chafed under their commanders’ restrictions on plundering, their actions revealed the degree to which their anti-Catholic biases could combine with economic motives to mobilize them in combat.²⁰ One account related troops’ discovery of “a chappell furnished with good store of popish trumperie, which wee wasted,”²¹ a sentiment that Henry Whistler, another soldier, described in his own account of the army’s encounter “with a monestorie, but all the Ballpated friors were gone, But thay lef all thayer Imedges behind them, sum of our souldgers found plate hear.”²² Those who came across the chapel expressed their disdain for the Catholic veneration of such objects when they brought a statue of the Virgin Mary they had found to their fellow soldiers, who “did fall a flinging of orringes att

overseas empire in *The English Conquest of Jamaica: Oliver Cromwell’s Bid for Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2017). Many officials blamed the failure of the Design on a lack of godliness among the participating soldiers and the nation overall. See idem, “English Character and the Fiasco of the Western Design,” *Early American Studies* 3 (2005): 8-10.

¹⁹ Donoghue, *Fire under the Ashes*, 236.

²⁰ Block, *Ordinary Lives*, 119-22.

²¹ “Appendix D: Letters Concerning the English Expedition into the Spanish West Indies in 1655,” in *The Narrative of General Venables*, 128-29.

²² “Appendix E,” in *Ibid.*, 152.

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her, and did sodainelly deforme her.”²³ Their efforts to “deforme” the statue, in addition to their desecration of the Catholic house of worship they discovered, may very well have spoken to the expedition’s religiously charged atmosphere.²⁴ Notwithstanding the difficulties of determining each individual soldier’s exact motives, at the very least the notion that the Design was merely “cloaked in the robes of Protestant piety” appears questionable.

In a war whose ideological underpinnings placed religious difference at the forefront, the involvement of Irish Catholics fighting alongside the Spanish added a layer of urgency to the English cause. Narratives of the conflict made a point of the nefariousness of the Irish whom the English soldiers encountered in an effort to showcase their treachery. Whistler mentioned that during the army’s attempt to take Hispaniola, the soldiers in his regiment “tuck an Irrish man that did liue in the Cittie [Santo Domingo], and demanding of him whar there wose anie water, he tould them that he would bring them whar thar wose water,” at which point they “did follow this Irish man, and [were] marcing carlislie, they haueing a very strong pursumption in them that thayer innimie durst not face them.” However, they soon came to regret their decision to trust him, as their “pursumption was sodainelie turned into a great teror, for this Irish man insted of bring them whar water wose, broght them open with one of thayer fortes before thay did see it: this fort did fier verie fast vpone our Armie.”²⁵ Although his deceit “afterwards cost him his life,”²⁶ the Irishman evidently felt it worth the risk to assist his coreligionists in luring the English troops into a trap. In doing so, he confirmed English anxieties over Irish duplicitousness, an issue which arose again in the figure of Colonel Murfy, an Irish commander in the employ of the Spanish army. Given that he directly engaged in hostilities, Murfy was an even more threatening character than the un-

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ On iconoclasm in the Western Design, see Nicholas M. Beasley, “Wars of Religion in the Circum-Caribbean: English Iconoclasm in Spanish America, 1570-1702,” in *Saints and Their Cults in the Atlantic World*, ed. Margaret Cormack (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), 164-65.

²⁵ “Appendix E,” in *The Narrative of General Venables*, 154.

²⁶ “Appendix D,” in Ibid., 130.

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named Irishman. On the English soldiers’ march to Santo Domingo, they encountered Murphy, “an Irishman on horseback, being in the head of the Spaniards” at a fort, where “as soon as the enemies were in order, he brandished a broad fauchion, upon [which] the enemies fired 2 volleys on the Reformados without [their] returning an answer.”²⁷ Precisely because Murphy had ascended the ranks of the Spanish army and led a direct assault, he presented a particular problem for the English insofar as he was formally a subject of the English Crown. Like his fellow countrymen in Europe, he had allied himself with the Spanish to subvert English power in the West Indies.

Just as the prospect of Hispano-Irish collaboration threatened English security and political designs in the West Indies, so too did the threat of allegiance with France. Particularly in the latter half of the century, as events in Europe ushered in Spain’s political and economic decay,²⁸ French colonies in Guadeloupe, Martinique, Saint-Domingue, and Saint Christopher (divided in 1627 into English and French sectors) became the primary threat to English security in the Caribbean.²⁹ Intermittent quarrels in the early decades of settlement, involving ship seizures and boundary disputes,³⁰ served as preludes for full-fledged conflict in 1666, as war erupted between the English and French in the Lesser Antilles. In the period immediately prior to the war Francis Lord Willoughby, Governor of the Leeward Islands, expressed his concern over how Louis XIV “[h]ad more particularly Inter[e]ssed Himselfe, in severall of ye Cariby Islands” and how “[h]ee had Furnished Them with Large supplies of

²⁷ Ibid., 131. The “Reformados” were a company in the English forces.

²⁸ Spain’s inability to suppress Portuguese independence revolts, coupled with the 1659 Treaty of the Pyrenees which led to a major loss of Spanish territory to France, reversed Spanish political fortunes, and fostered an image of Spain as no longer a serious threat to England’s interests. See Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism*, 258-59.

²⁹ On French settlement of the Lesser Antilles, see Philip P. Boucher, *France and the American Tropics to 1700: Tropics of Discontent?* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 69-79. Dunn also treats this subject briefly in *Sugar and Slaves*, 19.

³⁰ Appleby, “English Settlement,” 94. One particularly noteworthy example of military conflict arose in 1635, when “French officers at Saint-Christophe led hundreds of armed slaves in a campaign to terrify their English neighbors.” See Boucher, *France and the American Tropics*, 70.

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Men, and Shipping to Attend Them.”³¹ In response, he ordered levies on sugar producers, storehouses, merchants, and liquor retailers in the name of “making and produceing good store of Gunn Powder” and other goods “in a short tyme.”³² The growing friction between the English and French on the island coincided with Louis’ declaration of war against England in January 1666. Two months later, fighting broke out in St. Christopher. French forces invaded and seized the English sectors of the island, plundering and burning plantations as they advanced. They later sailed on to Antigua and Montserrat, both of which met a similar fate as St. Christopher. The conflict ended over a year later in July 1667 when the two nations signed the Treaty of Breda, which restored to England all of its island possessions prior to the start of the hostilities.³³

Warfare in the Leeward Islands not only offered France an opportunity to strike a blow against its English enemies, but it created conditions for the Irish inhabitants of the islands under siege to retaliate against the English. One eyewitness detailed an incident during the French invasion of the English sectors in St. Christopher in which the English attempted to take “a well-fortified house,” but were met with stiff resistance from French soldiers while the “Irish in the rear, (always a bloody and perfidious people to the English Protestant interest) fired volleys into the front and killed more than the enemy of our own forces.”³⁴ Governor Willoughby similarly pointed to the alliance Irishmen had made with the French in the sack of Montserrat a year later, reporting Montserrat to be “in a most deplorable state partly by the French, and partly by the Irish, whose 2 chiefe commanders are already come in.” Though his forces had managed to capture these two Irish officers, there still remained “300

³¹ Willoughby to Charles II, March 1, 1663, in *Pages from the Early History of Barbados*, ed. N. Darnell Davis (Barbados: n.p., n.d.), 1.

³² “An Act for the Raising a Present Sume of Goods for the needfull Publique use of this Island,” March 24, 1665, in *Ibid.*

³³ For a detailed examination of the course of events during the war, see Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 124; Boucher, *France and the American Tropics*, 181-85; and Nellis M. Crouse, *The French Struggle for the West Indies, 1665-1713* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), chs. 2 and 3.

³⁴ Francis Sampson to John Sampson, June 6, 1666, in *CSPC*, vol. 5, 1661-1668, ed. W. Noel Sainsbury (London: Her Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1889), 386, no. 1212.

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men which lye in the woods” who “haue as yet refused to yeeld with the French lest to the English these Irish have insolently plundered and abused.”³⁵ Irish “treachery” also emerged as a prominent theme in Major John Scott’s relating of English efforts to recapture St. Christopher in June 1667. According to Scott, after the English force, which included a number of recruited Irishmen, came ashore, “there grew a dispute between the English and the Irish officers, and the Irish refused to follow the guide appointed by the Lt.-Genl., and attempted a gully, where after some slight wounds, they were taken, he will not say surrendered to the French, but their soldiers of the same nation by a general shout surrendered themselves to the enemy.”³⁶ After the war, colonial officials’ mistrust of Irish intentions intensified, a prejudice which Governor William Lord Willoughby captured in a 1668 letter when he identified Montserrat as “almost an Irish colony; they now swear to be true to his Majesty, ‘and I believe them till an enemy appear.’”³⁷

All these accounts characterized the Irish as treasonous, whether they were civilian inhabitants of colonies under siege or soldiers fighting under the English. Their portrayal of the Irish as inherently untrustworthy distinguished them from accounts discussing the French. Although French forces were overwhelmingly responsible for the destruction of English colonies, English accounts interpreted their actions as a devastating, yet accepted, episode in imperial warfare. They labeled the Irish, however, as outwardly disobedient and savage.

Just like the Irish soldiers fighting under Spain against Cromwell’s Western Design, Irish inhabitants living under English rule during this conflict tapped into preexisting traditions of Franco-Irish collaboration to subvert authorities. They recognized the benefits of allying themselves with their coreligionists, despite the improbability that their conditions would improve materially given the damage inflicted on the islands. It is telling that in the 1666 treaty by which English officials relinquished their control of territory in St. Christo-

³⁵ Willoughby to Captain John Berry, May 2, 1667, in *Pages*, 3.

³⁶ “Major Scott’s relation,” July 12, 1667, in *CSPC*, vol. 5, *1661-1668*, 480, no. 1524.

³⁷ William Lord Willoughby to Joseph Williamson, April 3, 1668, in *Ibid.*, 556, no. 1724.

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pher, French officials, cognizant of England’s history of anti-Catholic prejudice particularly against the Irish, felt it necessary to include a clause that prohibited any English remaining on the island from committing “any Act whereby y^e Catholique may be scandalized.”³⁸

The threat of conflict with the French plagued the Leeward Islands for the remainder of the century. A 1678 account captured English anxiety over the strength of the French on neighboring islands:

They will certainly in few yeares ruine the Spanish Countries and English too. For if they plunder Nevis, Montserrat, & Antego and S^t Christ and seize and plant S^t Domingo or Portorico as undoubtedly they will; It’s probable that in ten years of Peace, They may have 8000 People on either of their islands and such a number will spare men enough to take & plant any other Country they desire...It’s the great interest of England to make themselves Sole Masters of the West India Commerce, w^{ch} they may doe by taking their conjuncture to ruine the French Colonies before they are too strong.³⁹

To the chagrin of colonial officials, however, planters resisted the imposition of new taxes and levies in the 1680s which were intended to provide for the defense of the islands. The refusal of the planters to assent to increased fortification along the coasts and a buildup of colonial militias came back to haunt them in 1686, when the Catholic King James II appointed Sir Nathaniel Johnson governor of the Leeward Islands. Johnson, “the stoutest Jacobite [a supporter of the Catholic James II] in America,”⁴⁰ all but eliminated religious restrictions on Catholics and undertook measures to improve political relations with the nearby French. While his efforts emboldened Irish Catholics, they troubled the overwhelmingly Anglican planter class. According to Joseph Crispe, a planter in St. Christopher, Johnson was conspiring to “let the French or Irish in among us” and was “of mercenary and arbitrary principles.” Crispe was also wary of Johnson’s “Irish counsellor,” who he feared “will do all the ill he can” to compromise English Protestant interests on the island, and he lamented that some Irish Catholics “remain in command among us and openly exercise their religion; even our

³⁸ “The Articles betwixt ye English & ye ffrrench upon S^t Christophers upon ye Invasion of the French, & surrend^r of ye English,” April 1666, British Library [hereafter BL], Egerton MS 2395, fol. 278.

³⁹ “Considerations ab^t the Present Affaires of the West Indyas,” April 4, 1678, BL, Egerton MS 2395, fol. 64.

⁴⁰ Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 134.

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fort, our one safeguard, is often under command of an Irish lieutenant of the King’s companies, who may surrender it either to the French or to the Irish.”⁴¹ Crispe and other planters staged an uproar at Johnson’s refusal to accept the replacement of James by the Protestant William and Mary in the 1688 Glorious Revolution. They forced Johnson’s resignation, but not before news of war between England and France in Europe plunged the two countries’ colonies into open conflict in July 1689.⁴²

Sensing an opportunity to retaliate against the English, the Irish once again rose in rebellion throughout the islands beginning in mid-1689. The collaboration between Irish Jacobites and the French in Ireland earlier that year set a precedent for the pro-French uprisings of the Irish in the Caribbean. The Lieutenant-Governor of Barbados, Edwyn Stede, received word in April that William had “directed all necessary preparacōns to be made for a Speedy Warr with the French King” after becoming incensed “particularly by the Assistance that King has lately given and continues to give his enimyēs in Ireland.”⁴³ Overseas, such Franco-Irish collaboration manifested itself in a pro-French uprising by Irish Catholics in June 1689, in which “most of the papists on St. Christophers have run to the French,” while French forces refused “to deliver them up, as persons in sanctuary, upon score of religion.”⁴⁴ Another account made the point that such religious solidarity had frustrated English efforts to round up their Irish subjects. When English forces requested that the French surrender their Irish allies to face the consequences of their disloyalty to the English Crown, French commanders responded “that they only allow them to remain for protection in point of religion, as the English have heretofore received the French Protestants.”⁴⁵ The figure of King James II,

⁴¹ Joseph Crispe to Colonel Bayer, June 10, 1689, in *CSPC*, vol. 13, *1689-1692*, 66, no. 193.

⁴² Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 133-34. On popular resistance to James II’s relaxation of restrictions on Catholics in the wider English Atlantic world, see Pestana, *Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the British Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 143-50.

⁴³ Minutes of the Barbados Council, April 15, 1689, Lucas MSS, Barbados Public Library [hereafter BPL], Reel 2, fol. 548.

⁴⁴ Archibald Hutcheson to Lords of Trade and Plantations, June 27, 1689, in *CSPC*, vol. 13, *1689-1692*, 74, no. 215.

⁴⁵ Lieutenant Governor Stede to the Earl of Shrewsbury, July 16, 1689, in *Ibid.*, 95, no. 262.

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in addition to the imagery associated with his Catholic rule, featured prominently in English descriptions of the Irish rebellion. Stede recounted of the fighting, “[t]he bloody Papists and Irish assembled suddenly, and declaring themselves for King James, kill, burn, and destroy all that belongs to the Protestant interest.”⁴⁶ The Irish did more than just declare for King James, however; one eyewitness testified that “he saw the Irish flying colours, which they called King James’s colours, in St. Christophers, and saw a Frenchman at the head of the Irish.”⁴⁷

The initial uprising in St. Christopher soon became a region-wide phenomenon which English commentators described in language that, although it portrayed the French as the initial aggressors, saved the strongest invective for the Irish. Members of the Antigua Assembly, for example, attributed the beginning of conflict to the actions of the French in “openly entertaining of & mingling with & assisting the Irish rebels in St Christophers,”⁴⁸ thereby casting the French as enablers of an already-belligerent Irish population. John Netheway, Deputy Governor of Nevis, echoed this sentiment when he asserted the Irish of St. Christopher “have assembled in a rebellious and tumultuous manner, assisted by the French, seizing and taking prisoners several English on their way to the French quarters.”⁴⁹ On other islands as well, groups of Irish revolted—or, at the very least, made clear their intentions to assist the French—by taking advantage of open warfare to ally themselves with their coreligionists. One pamphlet reported that “the Irish Planters and Inhabitants of Montserat had declared for the late King, and appeared in a Body of Seven or Eight hundred Men for that Interest,” and that after their immediate surrender following an encounter with English troops, the latter “seized the chief of the Irish, [and] brought them up Prisoners to Antego.”⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Deposition of Darby Considine, July 9, 1689, in Ibid., 79, no. 237.

⁴⁸ Minutes of the Barbados Council, August 2, 1689, Lucas MSS, BPL, Reel 2, fol. 551.

⁴⁹ John Netheway to the King and Queen, July 9, 1689, in *CSPC*, vol. 13, 1689-1692, 79, no. 237.

⁵⁰ “A Full and True Account of the Beseiging and Taking of Carrickfergus by the Duke of Schomberg. As also a Relation of what has lately pass’d in the Islands of Antego, Mevis, and Montserrat in the West Indies where

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Even on the politically marginal island of Barbuda, the Irish “had shewn signs of imitating the example of St. Christophers,”⁵¹ forcing Captain-General of the Leeward Islands Christopher Codrington to disarm them pre-emptively in August 1689.

Increasingly distrustful, Codrington placed restrictions on Irish mobility. In Antigua, he and other officials “disarmed all our Irish Papists, about three hundred in all, and confined them to their respective plantations.” After the failed uprising in Montserrat, he disarmed the Irish on that island, giving further orders “to prevent them from assembling in any great numbers in the future.”⁵² Even in the seat of government in Nevis, where the threat of Irish subversion proved minimal, he felt it necessary to disarm the Irish residents, further deterring any potential rebellion by sending them to Jamaica.⁵³ Codrington and other English officials who penned reports to the Crown demonstrated a similar distrust of Irish intentions to that expressed over twenty years earlier, but in this case the magnitude of the conflict intensified their concerns. Indeed, amid the fighting, Edwyn Stede made a telling comparison between the French and Irish that encapsulated the acrimony of English attitudes towards the allegedly innate belligerence of the Irish as a group. Reporting that the Comte de Blénac, the French Governor of Martinique, had given “fair quarter” to the English population of St. Christopher after overtaking the English sector, Stede quipped that “the Irish would have put all to sword, but de Blenac would not have them harmed.”⁵⁴ In Stede’s assessment, the French were fundamentally a more civil people and thus a more acceptable adversary than the Irish.

“Deprived of all spiritual assistance”: Priests, the Vatican, and the Irish in the Caribbean

Periods of Anglo-French conflict were not the only times when Irish Catholics alarmed English officials; intermittently over the course of the century, Catholic priests—

their Majesties have been Solemnly Proclaim’d” (1689), in *The Early English Caribbean, 1570-1700*, vol. 3, eds. Pestana and Sharon V. Salinger (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014), vol. 2, 385.

⁵¹ Codrington to Lords of Trade and Plantations, August 15, 1689, in *CSPC*, vol. 13, 1689-1692, 121, no. 345.

⁵² Codrington to Lords of Trade and Plantations, July 31, 1689, in *Ibid.*, 112, no. 312.

⁵³ Codrington to Lords of Trade and Plantations, August 15, 1689, in *Ibid.*, 122-23, no. 345.

⁵⁴ Stede to the Earl of Shrewsbury, September 2, 1689, in *Ibid.*, 138, no. 397.

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whether at the behest of the Vatican or under the authority of a monarch—visited the English Caribbean to tend to the spiritual needs of Catholics. An examination of these priests during their visits reveals the threat that authorities perceived in them. Moreover, the accounts of these priests, though eager to portray the English as heretics and oppressors, elucidate the ways in which European religious antagonisms played out on islands in close proximity. In contrast to Akenson, who claims that “the Catholic church did not evince much concern with the faithful” in the Caribbean because “church authorities had a good deal more on their minds than a few Irish colonists on the far edge of the earth,”⁵⁵ extant letters and reports from Vatican officials indicate quite the opposite. Such documents reveal that they frequently discussed the logistics of sending clergymen to minister to their Irish coreligionists and in fact sponsored a handful of such missions to the Indies. That English officials by and large took action against these Catholic agents and their spiritual ministry tempers the typical argument that “[t]he outlook of the colonists was material and secular, and the nature of their failure to construct a valid society becomes evident when their inadequate institutions and way of life are examined.”⁵⁶ The evidence indicates that for English colonists and officials, religion comprised an essential element of their authority and legitimacy.

Authorities perceived Catholic priests as outside provocateurs likely to incite social unrest. In 1635, for example, the English governor of Tortuga, fearing potential cooperation between an Irish priest resident on the island and “the Spaniards, guided by an Irishman” with designs on seizing the colony, ordered his hanging “before the Spaniards arrived.”⁵⁷ In Barbados, tensions with priests came to the forefront in the 1650s as local officials met with a sudden influx of Irish Catholic deportees. In 1654 or 1655, Governor Searle and his council received complaints “that three Irish Priests were landed on this Island out of a ship that ar-

⁵⁵ Akenson, *If the Irish Ran the World*, 46.

⁵⁶ Bridenbaugh and Bridenbaugh, *No Peace Beyond the Line*, 377.

⁵⁷ “Bernard O’Brien’s Account of His Adventures from the Time of His Surrender to the Portuguese in 1629 to His Arrival in Spain 1636,” in Lorimer, *English and Irish Settlement*, 419-20.

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rived lately to Spikes Bay, notwithstanding the Governor’s order to Col. Yeamans to examine said persons, and an account thereof to be returned unto him.”⁵⁸ A 1656 proclamation gave four Irish priests, “Richard Shelton, James Tuite, Robert Eagan and Richmond Moore,” three days to notify the council “ye place of their abode” and ordered “that they have 15 days liberty to seeke passage for their departure from this Island to any place without ye Dominions of ye Commonwealth of England.”⁵⁹ Priests, especially Irish ones, found themselves subject to monitoring by English officials and, in some cases, lost their lives as a result of these suspicions. Such vigilance proved crucial in St. Christopher in particular, owing to its division into English and French sectors. In the latter, the Catholic Church was well-established, complete with a “Church built of Free-stone.”⁶⁰ Given the small size of the island and the proximity of the two sectors, the existence of these religious orders stoked English fears of potential collaboration.

What fostered fear in the minds of English officials gave hope to the Vatican, which resolved to send supplies, religious artifacts, and above all priests, especially after hearing of the lamentable state of Catholicism and the spiritual needs of the Irish in the West Indies. In fact, Papal authorities’ involvement in the religious politics of the Caribbean paralleled the connections they had forged with Irish Catholics in Europe itself. There they had met with success from the late sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries in educating Irish Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries in continental seminaries, reorganizing the Irish episcopacy, and pro-

⁵⁸ Extracts from the Minutes of Council of Barbados, January 2, 1654/5, in Aubrey Gwynn, “Documents Relating to the Irish in the West Indies,” *Analecta Hibernica* 4 (1932): 233.

⁵⁹ Extracts from the Minutes of Council of Barbados, May 21, 1656, in *Ibid.*, 235.

⁶⁰ Arnoldus Montanus and John Ogilby, “America: Being an Accurate Description of the New World Containing the Original of the Inhabitants; the Remarkable Voyages thither: The Conquest of the Vast Empires of Mexico and Peru, their Ancient and Later Wars. With their Several Plantations. Many, and Rich Islands; their Cities, Fortresses, Towns, Temples, Mountains, and Rivers: their Habits, Customs, Manners and Religions. Their Peculiar Plants, Beasts, Birds, and Serpents. Collected and Translated from Most Authentick Authors, and Augmented with Later Observations; Illustrated with Notes, and Adorn’d with Peculiar Maps, and Proper Sculptures. By John Ogilby Esq; Master of His Majesties Revels in the Kingdom of Ireland” (1670), in *The Early English Caribbean*, vol. 1, 294.

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moting Counter-Reformation reforms to strengthen Catholicism in Ireland.⁶¹ The papacy’s earliest efforts to assist the Irish in English Caribbean colonies came about in 1638 under the supervision of Malachy O’Queely, Archbishop of Tuam. O’Queely learned that the Irish Catholics inhabiting islands such as St. Christopher “have been deprived of all spiritual assistance and that they are vulnerable to the proximate threat of perversion due to the practices of heretical ministers.” To remedy this situation, he “sent two priests full of faith and zeal to go with a great number of Catholics to that place,” and even asked the cardinals of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith in Rome (the administrative arm of the Church responsible for coordinating global missionary activity) to “nominate either him or some other bishop in Ireland as the Prefect of this mission”⁶² and to permit him to grant “apostolic faculties to Irish secular and religious priests”⁶³ traveling to the Caribbean. His concern for the Irish proved twofold; not only did he bemoan the spiritual poverty they endured, but he also placed this missionary expedition in the broader context of the international struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism. He feared that if the Church failed to tend to the

⁶¹ The literature on the education of Irish priests in continental seminaries and their efforts alongside the Vatican to promote Counter-Reformation reforms and Catholic nationalism in Ireland is immense. For some useful studies on the subject, see Helga Hammerstein, “Aspects of the Continental Education of Irish Students in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I,” in *Historical Studies VIII: Papers Read before the Irish Conference of Historians, 27-30 May 1969*, ed. T.D. Williams (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1971), 137-53; Donal F. Cregan, “The Social and Cultural Background of a Counter-Reformation Episcopate, 1618-60,” in *Studies in Irish History Presented to R. Dudley Edwards*, eds. Art Cosgrove and Donal McCartney (Dublin: University College Dublin, 1979), 83-117; Samantha A. Meigs, *The Reformations in Ireland: Tradition and Confessionalism, 1400-1690* (London: Macmillan Press, 1997), esp. chs. 5-8; Corish, “The Origins of Catholic Nationalism,” in *A History of Irish Catholicism*, vol. 3, ed. idem (Dublin: M.H. Gill and Son Limited, 1968), 1-64; Nicholas Canny, “The Formation of the Irish Mind: Religion, Politics and Gaelic Irish Literature 1580-1750,” *Past and Present* 95 (1982): 91-116; Marc Caball, “Faith, Culture and Sovereignty: Irish Nationality and its Development, 1558-1625,” in *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533-1707*, eds. Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 112-39; Salvador Ryan, “‘New Wine in Old Bottles’: Implementing Trent in Early Modern Ireland,” in *Ireland in the Renaissance, c. 1540-1660*, eds. Thomas Herron and Michael Potterton (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), 122-37; and Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin, *Catholic Reformation in Ireland: The Mission of Rinuccini, 1645-1649* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

⁶² Archivio della Sacra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide. Scritture riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali. Vol. 399. (Memoriali del 1638). fol. 84, in Gwynn, “Documents,” 186-87. I thank Jason Pedicone for the translation of this and subsequent Latin documents.

⁶³ Scritture riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali. Vol. 399. (Memoriali del 1638). fol. 257, in *Ibid.*, 188.

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spiritual welfare of Irish Catholics, they could “become completely heretical due to English preachers in Virginia.”⁶⁴

O’Queely portrayed missionary expeditions as the only effective bulwarks against English “heretics.” He stressed that the priests he sent, Ferdinand Fareissy and David Onellus,⁶⁵ through their “diligence and zeal” had persuaded some of the “heretical English and Scots” in St. Christopher “to come over to the Catholic faith.”⁶⁶ According to the notes from the Sacred Congregation, Fareissy and Onellus not only converted some of the English and Scots, but they arrived on the island “to the great joy” of its Irish Catholic residents.⁶⁷

O’Queely’s vision for asserting papal authority in the New World was such that he viewed additional expeditions as a potential “means of bringing the entire region under obedience to the Apostolic See, which will otherwise become a Calvinist enclave.”⁶⁸

Although Fareissy and Onellus met their death in 1640, the Vatican continued its efforts to tend to the spiritual welfare of Irish Catholics in the West Indies and especially in St. Christopher, where the Irish, using Europe-bound French ships to send letters and petitions to Church officials in Europe, clamored for priests. In response to these petitions, Father Matthew O’Hartegan, an Irish Jesuit, volunteered his services to the Superior General of the Jesuits, Father P. Mutio Vitelleschi, to fulfill the appeal of “20,000 Irish on the island of St.

⁶⁴ (A tergo. fol. 257V.) Sacrae Congregationi Cardinalium de propaganda fide pro Archiepiscopo Tuamensi. (Manu Ingoli, Secretarii S. C. de Prop. Fide), in *Ibid.*, 189. Vatican officials often mistakenly referred to the English West Indian colonies as Virginia.

⁶⁵ Gwynn contends that “Fareissy” and “Onellus” are likely Latinized versions of the Irish names “McFarssey” and “O’Neill,” respectively. See his “The First Irish Priests in the New World,” *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review* 21 (1932): 22.

⁶⁶ Scritture riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali. Vol. 399. (Memoriali del 1638). fol. 257, in Gwynn, “Documents,” 188.

⁶⁷ Scritture riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali. Vol. 400. Fol. 185, in *Ibid.*, 190. O’Queely estimated that over 3,000 Irish Catholics inhabited the English islands, most likely an exaggeration.

⁶⁸ Scritture riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali. Vol. 399. (Memoriali del 1638). fol. 257, in *Ibid.*, 188-89. On the idea that the Church constituted a Catholic “*imperium*” in the New World working with secular European states, see Allan Greer and Kenneth Mills, “A Catholic Atlantic,” in *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500-2000*, eds. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Erik R. Seeman (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2007), 8-10. Luke Clossey examines early modern Jesuit missions in China, Mexico, and Germany as a way of demonstrating their missionary zeal within the framework of the Vatican’s vision for a global spiritual empire in his *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

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Christopher.”⁶⁹ In his 1643 letter to Vitelleschi, O’Hartegan described himself as having “an intense desire for souls, and a desire to serve in this mission or one similar to it,” priding himself on his “proficiency in French, English, and Irish.”⁷⁰ His aspirations, however, were thwarted when the Capuchin order, which headed the French mission in St. Christopher at the time, blocked Jesuits’ admission to the island.⁷¹

If the letters of O’Hartegan and O’Queely illustrate how the Church sought to improve the fortunes of Catholicism in the English West Indies, they do not speak to the challenging conditions in which missionaries like Fareissy and Onellus worked. Nor do they shed much light on the reactions of English officials to having Catholic priests in their midst, or on the activities of priests on the islands. Fortunately, extant reports from other missionaries who visited the islands in later decades give insight into the interactions priests had with their inhabitants while also illuminating their social and political environments.

In 1650, the Irish Jesuit Father John Stritch traveled to St. Christopher with the blessing of the Superior General Father Francis Piccolomini to relieve the Irish of their spiritual poverty. As recorded by Father Pierre Pelleprat, a French Jesuit, Stritch’s narrative recounted how satisfied Irish Catholics were upon realizing that a priest had arrived. Upon entering the French sector, Stritch immediately undertook to erect a chapel at *Pointe de Sables*, an area which “was close enough to the English territory where the best part of the Irish remained”⁷² to tend to them. According to the account, a feeling of elation overcame the nearby Irish Catholics, and their spotting of the missionary chapel “made them forget the danger to which they were exposed, for they went in crowds and without hiding to greet the Father, whom

⁶⁹ O’Hartegan’s claim that 20,000 Irish inhabited the island in 1643 is surely a wild exaggeration, given that no documentary evidence can corroborate it.

⁷⁰ O’Hartegan to Vitelleschi, March 30, 1643, in Gwynn, “Documents,” 193.

⁷¹ On the derailment of O’Hartegan’s mission, see Gwynn, “The First Irish Priests,” 226; and Geoffrey Baron to Luke Wadding, August 14, 1643, in *Report on Franciscan Manuscripts Preserved at the Convent, Merchants’ Quay, Dublin*, Historical Manuscripts Commission (Dublin: Printed for His Majesty’s Stationary Office by John Falconer, 1906), 243.

⁷² “assez proche du territoire anglais, où demeurait la meilleure partie des Irlandais.” The Mission of Father John Stritch, S.J., in Gwynn, “Documents,” 209. This and subsequent French translations are my own.

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they all regarded as a man whom God sent to their aid. Some took his hands to kiss them, others threw themselves at his feet to receive his blessing, and all including the Father were taken with a joy which would be difficult to express.”⁷³ For the following three months, Stritch found himself “always busy, from daybreak till one o'clock in the afternoon, with hearing confession and holding communion, baptizing their children or instructing them.”⁷⁴ Although Pelleprat’s narrative cannot be taken literally given the likelihood that he may have embellished the details of Irish responses to Stritch, there is little reason to doubt that they were indeed excited at the sight of a priest.

A similar encounter transpired during Stritch’s time in Montserrat, where he visited “[a]fter having provided for the most urgent necessities of the Irish of St. Christopher.”⁷⁵ Realizing that openly holding mass for Irish Catholics could endanger his life, Stritch “disguised himself as a merchant, and went there on the pretext of wanting to buy wood.”⁷⁶ Once there, however, “he made himself known to some Irishmen, and by these to all the others. A place was chosen in the woods, where the missionary went every day to say mass and to confer the sacraments. The whole morning was spent on the cultivation of souls.”⁷⁷ Because Montserrat, unlike St. Christopher, was under the complete control of England, Stritch found it necessary to don a disguise to safely carry out his priestly duties even though, as historian Shona Helen Johnston contends, “Stritch’s activities on the island appear to have been common knowledge.”⁷⁸

⁷³ “leur fit oublier le danger auquel ils s'exposaient, car ils allaient en foule et sans se cacher saluer le Pere, qu'ils regardaient tous comme un homme que Dieu envoyait a leur secours. Les uns lui prenaient les mains pour les baiser, les autres se jetaient a ses pieds pour recevoir sa benediction, et tous aussi bien que le Pere etaient transportés d'une joie qu'il serait difficile d'exprimer.” Ibid.

⁷⁴ “toujours occupé, depuis la pointe du jour jusqu'à une heure apres midi, à les confesser et les communier, à baptiser leurs enfants ou a les instruire.” Ibid.

⁷⁵ “Après avoir pourvu aux plus urgentes nécessités des Irlandais de Saint-Christophe.” Ibid.

⁷⁶ “se déguisa en marchand, et y alla sous prétexte de vouloir acheter du bois.” Ibid.

⁷⁷ “il se fit connaître à quelques Irlandais, et par ceux-ci à tous les autres. On choisit un lieu dans les bois, où le missionnaire se rendit tous les jours pour y dire la messe et pour y conférer les sacrements. Toute la matinée s'employait à la culture des âmes.” Ibid.

⁷⁸ Johnston discusses Stritch’s efforts on the islands in “Papists in A Protestant World: The Catholic Anglo-Atlantic in the Seventeenth Century” (PhD diss., Georgetown University, 2011), 98.

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At first glance, this would seem to confirm the prevailing interpretation that religious toleration operated as a guiding principle in the English Caribbean, with officials showing a lack of concern for the presence of priests. Johnston, however, perhaps takes the example of Stritch’s relative freedom too far in suggesting that this signaled laxity or indifference on the part of officials.⁷⁹ Indeed, she uses the eventual retaliation that authorities in St. Christopher brought to bear on the Irish who frequented Stritch’s chapel three years after his arrival as evidence that local authorities only concerned themselves with religious matters for the sake of appearances. But in 1653, officials in the English sector “who could not suffer that the Catholic religion had made so much progress there”⁸⁰ prohibited its Irish population from frequenting the chapel by strictly enforcing laws on participation in Anglican church services. To show how seriously they took the matter, they “abducted at night one hundred and twenty-five Irish Catholics”⁸¹ whom they deemed most objectionable and transported them to the Isle of Crabs.⁸²

This incident disheartened Stritch, who thereafter moved his missionary base to Gualdeloupe, although he continued to make periodic visits to St. Christopher and Montserrat until he returned to Ireland in 1660. Following his ministry, the last missionary the Vatican sponsored came in the figure of John Grace, an Irish Jesuit who left for St. Christopher in mid-1666. Similar to accounts of previous Vatican-funded missions overseas, Grace’s letters

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 102.

⁸⁰ “qui ne pouvait souffrir que la religion catholique y fit tant de progrès.” *The Mission of Father John Stritch, S.J.*, in Gwynn, “Documents,” 210.

⁸¹ “ils enlevement de nuit cent vinct-cinq Irlandais catholiques.” *Ibid.*, 210.

⁸² The “Isle of Crabs” is present-day Vieques, an island-municipality of Puerto Rico off of its eastern coast. Documents in Vatican archives also give accounts of the English deportation of these Irish Catholics, yet they differ slightly in their estimates of the numbers deported. The reports of officials like Father Quyn, Provincial Superior of the Jesuits and Superior of the Missions in the Kingdom of Ireland, only added to the confusion. Quyn reported in one letter that the authorities deported “300 of the more distinguished men,” all of whom died except for one, who “returned to the shore by swimming, and sadly reported the slaughter of the rest of them.” Another report by a different author claimed that “the heretics sent off 500 Catholics bound in chains to a solitary island nearby.” There is unfortunately no way to verify the actual number of Catholics who were shipped off to the Isle of Crabs. See *Afflictio Catholicorum Hiberniae scripta et missa a Provinciali Jesuitarum A.R.P. Quyn Superiore Missionum in Regno Hiberniae*, in Gwynn, “Documents,” 230; and *Status et Conditio Catholicorum Hiberniae ab anno 1652 ad annum 1656 scripta et transmissa per R. Patrem Thomam Quyn Societatis Jesu Superiorem Missionis*, in *Ibid.*, 231.

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indicated the Church's concern with the plight of Irish Catholics and pointed to its loftier objective of bringing the Caribbean back into the orbit of its religious authority. Notes from the archives of the Sacred Congregation questioned whether the geographic scope of missionaries like Grace "may also be extended to the islands of Guadalupe, Montferrat, Saint Patrick (Eustachio?), and other islands in the area called Bermuda and Barbados."⁸³ Grace did tend to Catholics on other islands, including Antigua and the French-owned Martinique, Guadeloupe, and St. Bartholomew. In accord with the Church's objective of rooting out Protestantism in the Caribbean, he even displayed a concern for the "uncertain number of Catholics mixed among the heretics" in the less-populated islands of "Tobago, Saint Martin, Saint Eustachio, Anguilla, Santa Cruz [St. Croix]."⁸⁴ Yet for all his zeal, he lamented the challenges he faced in his "taxing ministry." Advising his superiors, he made it clear that "one or two ministers are not sufficient for such a large Catholic population and the distance that separates them." Such were the obstacles he experienced in addressing the spiritual needs of Catholics that by 1669 he had decided "that it is best for me to withdraw for a while." He realized that with the English recolonization of St. Christopher after the devastating war of 1666-1667, it proved likely that "the English will recommence their persecution against the Irish Catholics and especially against me"⁸⁵ on the island, and so he returned emptyhanded to Ireland.

Although Grace's return to Ireland marked the Vatican's last proselytizing effort in the Caribbean, other priests sought to assist the Irish either independently or as subjects of secular rulers. In mid-1652, for example, Augustinian friar Antoine Biet set out with a French expeditionary group to Cayenne. After spending over a year there and in (Dutch) Surinam, he made his way to Barbados on an English merchant ship traveling to the island.

Biet recognized his vulnerability to persecution, and so he dressed himself "in the clothing of

⁸³ Archivio di Propaganda. Scritture riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali. vol. 257, fol. 96, in *Ibid.*, 253.

⁸⁴ *Relatio*, in *Ibid.*, 259.

⁸⁵ Letter of John Grace, in *Ibid.*, 258.

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a gentleman” to avoid detection.⁸⁶ In one incident on a plantation, he initially denied his identity as a priest when he came across an Irish Catholic who found him in a “secluded spot” which he had chosen to “say my prayers and to communicate with God.” The Irishman made himself known to Biet as a fellow Catholic by addressing him as ““*Seignor Padre*”” and informing him ““I am a servant of your Lady,”” attempting to allay the priest’s unease further by falling “to his knees in front of me, once again making the sign of the cross” and reciting “the Lord’s Prayer in Latin, the Hail Mary, the *Credo* and the *De Profundis* to certify that he believed in the prayer for the dead.” He informed Biet that “he was Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman, that I had nothing to fear” and that the priest’s arrival would relieve the other Catholics on the island, “who were in great distress without any spiritual comfort.”⁸⁷ Biet later found himself in similar positions. During Holy Week, he traveled to Bridgetown, where he entered “a large dwelling” in which a group of Catholics was surreptitiously observing Easter. When the worshipers noticed him, Biet described how “I saw about ten or twelve persons coming towards me...who kissed my hands and threw themselves at my feet crying with joy to find themselves so close to a priest.”⁸⁸ That Biet recorded these events suggested an unwillingness on the part of Barbadian authorities to tolerate Catholic worship openly as well as the spiritual deprivation of Irish Catholics, who capitalized on the opportunity to obtain religious succor.

Though he was able to tend to groups of Irish in secret, Biet nonetheless confided his trepidation in doing so. Immediately upon disembarking, he encountered a man who watched him carefully but did not speak with him. Biet could only imagine what the man was thinking: “He said to himself ‘Is this Monsieur Biet, or is it not? He is a priest, this man does not have the appearance of one...If it is he, what has he come to do here, priests are not welcome

⁸⁶ Jerome S. Handler, ed. and trans., “Father Antoine Biet’s Visit to Barbados in 1654,” *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* 32 (1967): 58.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 60-61.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 63.

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on this island. If they discover he is a priest, in case it is him, they will handle him pretty roughly.”⁸⁹ To his surprise, the man, who “was of the Irish nation,” actually embraced him and revealed himself as the nephew of one of Biet’s good friends Father John Ossay.⁹⁰ The young Ossay’s reaction to Biet’s landing contrasted sharply with that of one of Biet’s fellow passengers on the ship. According to Biet, this man was someone who “did not like me because I had always been critical of his dissolute life” and therefore “cried out against me: ‘A priest, a priest’, by his shouts wanting to excite the English, who abhor priests, into throwing me into the sea or harming me in some other way...I do not know what would have happened if most of the people on the roadstead had been able to understand French.”⁹¹ Johnston dismisses Biet’s close brushes with detection, pointing to his other comments on officials’ toleration of private religious diversity on the island to argue that “the authorities seemed little concerned with the presence of a French priest.”⁹² His commentary, however, likely speaks more to logistics than to a social attitude towards religion. Authorities understood the difficulty of ensuring residents’ compliance with the Anglican Church in the comfort of their own homes,⁹³ and therefore a *de facto* toleration took hold. This interpretation carries even greater weight in the context of the vital function that Anglicanism played as a marker of English identity in the Indies. Adherence to Protestant culture and social institutions helped define the islands throughout the century as recognizably English enclaves and provided a mechanism to combat external Catholic threats from the French and Spanish and internal threats from the Irish.⁹⁴

Conclusion

⁸⁹ Ibid., 58.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 58-59. “Ossay” is likely a transliteration of the Irish name “O’Shea.”

⁹¹ Ibid., 59.

⁹² Johnston, “Papists in a Protestant World,” 100-01. Johnston cites the remarks of both Biet and Stritch to suggest that authorities, at least up until the 1650s, did not take steps to ensure the dominance of Anglicanism at the expense of other denominations.

⁹³ Shaw rightly makes this distinction in “Island Purgatory: Irish Catholics and the Reconfiguring of the English Caribbean, 1650-1700” (PhD diss., New York University, 2009), 143-44, and *Everyday Life*, 122.

⁹⁴ Zacek, *Settler Society*, 122-32; and Larry Gragg, *Englishmen Transplanted: The English Colonization of Barbados, 1627-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 58-87, 152-57, 166-81.

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Irish servants and (later) free laborers used the relationships they had cultivated in Europe to their advantage in the Caribbean. Many found that the political and cultural capital they and their forebears had possessed in Europe took root in the West Indies, affording them an avenue for improvement. Whether they aligned themselves with their Spanish and French coreligionists or convened with their fellow Catholics at clandestine celebrations of mass with visiting priests, they found ways to undermine English rule. For their part, Protestant English planters and officials looked upon Irish alliance-making with disdain, considering it an illustrative example of Irish treachery and savagery. They were far from complacent about the practice of Catholicism on the islands; though they recognized the logistical issues in enforcing complete conformity, they nonetheless gave the Anglican Church priority of place in legislation and took measures to proscribe the open practice of Catholicism. Their efforts to defend the islands against foreign provocateurs indicate the significant role that institutional religion and Old World antagonisms played not only as a counterweight to local religious anxieties but more broadly as an integral part of islanders' identity as Protestant Englishmen. Both the Irish and English reproduced European political and religious circumstances in the tropics by bringing preexisting animosities and relationships to the forefront of their new surroundings.

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