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Letter from the Editors

We as the editors are honored to introduce this 26th edition of *Historia*. The volume before you required many months of hard work from our dedicated staff of graduate and undergraduate students. The process of selecting articles proved no easy task. Our small crew of seven carefully reviewed nearly 80 submissions. There were many worthy works, but in the end we could only choose so many. When it came time to select finalists, we had to contend with the papers we felt best represented the type of breadth and depth we wished to show here. After that, it seemed the work was only beginning with the editing, arranging, and publication of this quarter-century long tradition at our university. In the end, we put together a volume that speaks mightily to the diversity and quality of historical studies at Eastern Illinois University. Following recent trends, we included papers related to history, but written for other disciplines—again a reflection of the depth of intellectual query on our campus.

We would like to thank Dr. Edmund F. Wehrle who supervised this edition of *Historia*, serving as our guide throughout this sometimes-taxing process. Without his guidance and wisdom, this issue would not have been possible. We also thank Ms. Donna Nichols and Dr. Nora Pat Small who proved indispensable to our work here. The professors in the Eastern Illinois History Department were also vital. Without their mentorship, the fine papers in this volume would never have been produced. Finally, we would like to extend our thanks to the authors whose works make up this year's *Historia*.

-Nima Lane and Lanita Johnson, co-editors-in-chief, *Historia*

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Apollo-Soyuz Test Project: A Case Study in Cold War Détente

Sean Van Buskirk

Sean Van Buskirk holds a B.S. from Elmhurst College and is currently pursuing a M.A. in History at EIU. He wrote this paper for Dr. Edmund Wehrle's HIS 5320: Diplomatic History seminar. His master's thesis examines NASA's commitment to science following the first manned moon landing.

> Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars.[1]
>
> - President John F. Kennedy, 1961

At the peak of the Space Race, tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union reached an all-time high. America was embroiled in the Vietnam War and at every turn, the USSR and its leadership criticized the United States and its accomplishments in space (and on earth), while boasting about its own. Despite the Soviet Union's self-professed successes, it lost the race to land a man on the Moon. After 1969, the Soviet Union concentrated, not on a moon landing, but on launching and building space stations in low Earth orbit. Following the successful moon landing in 1969, NASA and the Soviet Academy of Science began to work on a joint mission that could, if done successfully, help ease tensions between the two super powers. The climate of intense tension between the two super powers had eased, primarily due to American exasperation over the continued war in Vietnam and disintegrating relations between the People's Republic of China and the USSR. The proposed space mission, which would become known as the Apollo-Soyuz Test Project (ASTP), was unprecedented. It was undertaken on opposite sides of the world, and both competing nations had to work together in space. It was also one of the first times the American people were given information about the Soviet Space Program, which had been shrouded in secrecy, even shielded from the USSR's own people. The ASTP is an example of how the USSR and the United States in the early 1970s attempted to achieve a policy of Détente, the relaxation of political tensions. This policy was born out of the two powers seeking global stability following decades of tensions and wars. Both sides wanted to show the world that they could work together in peace and become leaders without being enemies. The cooperation was short-lived, but it gave a glimpse of what could be possible for humanity moving into the final stages of the Cold War.[2]

Space cooperation has a long and complex history before the handshake in space between U.S. astronauts and Soviet cosmonauts. Following astronaut John Glenn's historic orbital launch in February 1962, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev sent a letter to President Kennedy congratulating him on putting the first American in orbit around the Earth. Kennedy saw an opportunity to propose cooperation between the only two countries attempting the exploration of space. In a letter back to Khrushchev, Kennedy made five proposals for space cooperation: a joint weather satellite system, joint tracking stations in each other's territories, joint effort to map the Earth's magnetic

[1] Matthew J. Von Bencke, *The Politics of Space: a History of U.S.-Soviet/Russian Competition and Cooperation in Space* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997), 48.

[2] On the impulses driving Détente see Jeremi Suri, *Power and Protest: Revolution and the Rise of Détente* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 2003), and Jussi Hanhimaki, *The Rise and Fall of Détente: American Foreign Policy and the Transformation of the Cold War* (Washington, D.C.: Potomac Books, 2013); also see Wilfried Loth, *Overcoming the Cold War: A History of Détente* (London: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2002), and Stephan Kieninger, *Dynamic Détente: The United States and Europe, 1964-1975* (Lanham, MD: Roman and Littlefield Press, 2016).

field; he asked the Soviets to join the American led satellite transmission system, and a general exchange of space knowledge.[3] Khrushchev responded positively to the letter, but nothing significant came of it until 1965, when an agreement was signed between the Americans and USSR to enact a joint review of the knowledge gained in space biology and medicine.[4] This agreement would be the first step to show NASA and the United States that cooperation with the Soviets in space ventures was possible. It would lay the groundwork for the Détente of the 1970s.

In 1967, the Joint Space Panel (JSP), a group put together by the White House to oversee and report on NASA operations, filed a report offering recommendations and noting benefits of space cooperation with the Soviet Union. In the report, the JSP stated that cooperative efforts between the US and USSR could lead to more efficiency in NASA's space program but could also generate support for future NASA initiatives.[5] The disaster of the Apollo 1 fire in 1967, in which 3 astronauts burned to death during a test on the launch pad, had shaken America's belief in the space program. The JSC felt that cooperation with the Soviet Union could gain back popular support. The JSC also recommended that NASA's own efforts toward international space programs should be expanded. However, NASA's measures to move past the Apollo 1 fire allowed it to continue its push to land on the Moon by 1969, and further space cooperation would have to wait until after it had won the Space Race.

After Nixon won the presidency of the United States in the 1968 election, he installed a Space Task Group (STG) that replaced the JSC. The STG was made up of Vice President Spiro Agnew, Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird, Presidential Science Advisor Lee Dubridge and NASA Administrator, Dr. Thomas O. Paine.[6] This group, like the JSC, would make recommendations to President Richard Nixon regarding the space program, its direction and goals. Following the 1969 Moon landing by Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin, Dr. Paine made a recommendation to the president on the subject of space cooperation. He and NASA had devised a plan to work with the Soviets to develop a compatible, universal docking technique in the event a need for a rescue mid-flight arose.[7] Nixon liked the political implications of the cooperative plan and told Paine to forward it to his Soviet counterpart, Mstislav Keldysh. However, Russians ignored the plan until 1970, apparently out of a sense of wounded national pride following the U.S. moon landing.

In the early months of 1970, NASA decided to begin looking at what it would do after the Apollo program was finished. It still planned for eight more moon landings to last through 1974. Yet, obstacles began to arise. On January 4, 1970, NASA cancelled Apollo 20 in order to use its Saturn V rocket as a workshop to launch the post-Apollo Skylab space station.[8] This announcement left Apollo 13 through 19 still in the cards. However, Congress decided to slash NASA's budget because it felt now that landing on the Moon was conquered, there was not much room for what many saw as frivolous NASA expenses, especially with a decline in the U.S. economy in the late 1960s and early 1970s. At the height of the Space Race in 1965, $5.2 billion was allocated to NASA. After the cuts began, money allocation for NASA dropped to $3.1 billion in 1971.[9] Due to these

[3] Ibid, 52.

[4] Walter Froehlich, *Apollo-Soyuz* (Washington, D.C.: NASA Office of Public Affairs, 1976), 30.

[5] Joint Space Panels. *The Space Program in the Post-Apollo Period: a Report of the President's Science Advisory Committee* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1967), 43.

[6] Cass Schichtle, *The National Space Program: From the Fifties to the Eighties* (Washington, D.C.: National Defense University Press, 1983), 72.

[7] Alan Shepard et al, *Moonshot: the Inside Story of America's Race to the Moon* (Atlanta: Turner Publishing, 1994), 326.

[8] National Aeronautics and Space Council, *Aeronautics and Space Report of the President, 1971* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1972), 1-2.

[9] Ibid, 114.

budget cuts, NASA announced on September 2, 1970, that it cancelled Apollo 18 and Apollo 19.[10] The final moon landing, Apollo 17, would take place in 1972.

With the end of the Moon landings in sight, pressure against U.S.-Soviet space cooperation diminished. In April 1970, the Soviet Academy of Sciences, the space agency of the USSR, proposed bilateral talks for future cooperation.[11] In May 1970, Dr. Phillip Hendler, the president of the National Academy of Sciences, brought Paine's docking system plan to Keldysh.[12] This time, instead of ignoring the proposal, Keldysh reacted positively and asked NASA representatives to attend a conference in Moscow with their ideas. During the Moscow technical conference in October 1970, the two space agencies decided that their efforts toward cooperation would be focused on the creation of universal docking equipment and systems.[13] They also agreed to an exchange of technical information regarding radio guidance and rendezvous systems, and the formation of three joint teams to assure system compatibilities. This would initiate the first joint mission between Americans and Soviets.

Both nations had complex reasons for supporting the joint mission. While America found success going to the moon, the USSR was successful at making stations in low Earth orbit and ferrying cosmonauts up and down to them at a regular pace. However, following the moon landings, NASA found itself with no planned missions until the space shuttle was to launch in 1981. This gap, along with the budget cuts, created a surplus of astronauts and hardware for the United States. On the other side, the Soviets needed a high profile mission following the Soyuz 11 accident in 1971.[14] After the reentry and landing of the Soyuz 11 capsule, the three cosmonauts inside were found dead. A leaky valve in their capsule caused the air to leak out and asphyxiated the cosmonauts.[15] This tragedy, along with economic woes in the Soviet Union caused its people to question their support for the Soviet space program in the 1970s. A February 1971 *Washington Post* story recounted a large shipment of rotten potatoes in the Soviet Union. An outraged Russian woman shouted "we have rockets, right? Of course, right. We have *Sputniks,* right? Of course, right. They fly beautifully in outer space. So, I say to you dear friends, why don't we just send these rotten potatoes into outer space too."[16] The Russian people were beginning to show irritation at the costly space program while many went hungry in the streets. Both sides had reasons why they needed this joint mission to work and look good.

On February 1972, in a meeting of the Senior Review Group, George Low, the Deputy Administrator of NASA, announced that the mission specifications had been ironed out between American and Soviet space agencies.[17] The proposed mission, to be launched in 1975, would involve rendezvous and docking of a leftover Apollo craft and a Salyut space station. Low asked Dr. Henry Kissinger, Nixon's national security advisor, to request presidential approval for the mission. Due to the budget problems, NASA worried Congress would not allocate funds necessary to accomplish the mission. Dr. Kissinger assured Low a presidential decision was "no problem," and that the president was anxious to see the mission go ahead on schedule. Later in February, the Soviets were concerned that they would not be able to outfit and launch a Salyut Station by 1975. Due to these concerns, the

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[10] Ibid, 1-2.

[11] Jack Manno, *Arming the Heavens: The Hidden Military Agenda for Space, 1945-1995* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1984), 132.

[12] Shepard, 327.

[13] William H. Schauer, *The Politics of Space: a Comparison of the Soviet and American Space Programs* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1976), 225-226.

[14] Tom D. Crouch, *Aiming for the Stars: the Dreamers and Doers of the Space Age* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1999), 77-78.

[15] Manno, 133.

[16] Asif A. Siddiqi, *The Soviet Space Race with Apollo* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2000), 794.

[17] "Minutes of Senior Group Meeting," February 11, 1972, in *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1969-1976, Volume XIV, Soviet Union, October 1971- May 1972, David C. Geyer, Nina D. Howland and Kent Sieg, eds., (Washington, D.C: United States Government Printing Office, 2006), 162-165.

two agencies decided to have the space linkup between an Apollo capsule and a Soyuz capsule using a docking module.[18] The plans were in place for the United States to construct and ferry the docking module into space due to a stringent weight restriction on the Soyuz launch vehicle. The docking module would be a box shaped tunnel, 3.15 meters long, 1.42 meters in diameter and weigh six thousand kilograms.

Now that the mission plans were agreed on by both sides and in motion, construction began in the United States and Soviet Union to accomplish it. The Chrysler corporation built the Apollo launch vehicle that would be used for ASTP in January 1976 and then, after testing, put the vehicle into storage until October 1972.[19] Due to the command and service module no longer being a moon mission vehicle, modifications were necessary. Modifications to the Apollo modules included: additional propellants for reaction control systems, heaters for thermal control, and outfitting the command module with instrumentation to display and control the new docking module.[20] The mission also planned for the extraction of the docking module out of the second stage rocket, much in the same way the command module extracted the lunar module from the Saturn rocket during missions to the Moon.

Although the technical side of the joint mission went smoothly by 1972, the political side of the picture stalled. In particular, there was still no official announcement to the public. Following President Nixon's trip to China in February 1972, plans were made for a summit in Moscow between Nixon and General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Leonid Brezhnev. The Soviets proposed that the two leaders sign a joint agreement on space cooperation at the Moscow summit to show commitment to the mission. In a memo, Dr. Kissinger told the president of the importance of the summit:

> We are currently engaged in a whole series of negotiations ranging from trade issues, to scientific and outer space cooperation. Both of us stand to gain. But we must be realistic: a lasting and productive set of relationships, with perhaps hundreds or thousands of our people working with each other and perhaps billions of dollars of business activity, can only be achieved in a healthy political environment.[21]

The summit needed to go well to show the world that the two superpowers were not at each other's throats and were willing to work with one another. The space cooperation agreement was a small part of Kissinger and Nixon's vision for improved relations between the two super powers. In May 1972, following his "secret" trip to Moscow in April, Kissinger reported to Nixon that the space agreement was ready to be signed during the summit. In the memo, Kissinger explained the wording of the agreement and the free hand given to the respective space agencies.

> NASA and Soviet Academy of Sciences will oversee implementation. The rendezvous and docking systems of the US and Soviet spacecraft will be made compatible as to provide for joint missions and rescue operations. The US and USSR agree to a joint, manned spaceflight in 1975 using Apollo-type and Soyuz-type spacecraft. The two

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[18] Crouch, 78.

[19] Roger E. Bilstein, *Stages to Saturn: a Technological History of the Apollo/Saturn Launch Vehicles* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2003), 385.

[20] National Aeronautics and Space Council, *Aeronautics and Space Report of the President, 1972 Activities* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1973), 8-9.

[21] "Memorandum from the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger) to President Nixon," April 19, 1972, in *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1969-1976, Volume XIV, 416-417.

spacecraft will rendezvous and dock in space and the astronauts and cosmonauts will visit the respective space craft.[22]

So, on May 24, 1972, President Nixon and Soviet Premier Kosygin signed the Agreement Concerning Cooperation in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space for Peaceful Purposes. This solidified the commitment by both nations to oversee the preparation and execution of the Apollo-Soyuz Test Project slated for launch in 1975.

Work was finishing up on the technical side of the agreement when a 1972 Moscow technical conference brought together the teams working on their respective space crafts. Both sides independently created 2/5 scale models of their respective craft on wheels. When the two craft were wheeled together; they interlocked perfectly.[23] This was a milestone for the teams who found that if construction between two nations thousands of miles apart could come together perfectly; the same should happen in space when two crafts are traveling at thousands of miles per second.

The final milestone before the mission could go ahead was the announcement of who would fly the crafts into orbit and perform the historic docking. On January 30, 1973, the United States announced the crew that would fly the Apollo side of the joint mission.[24] Tom Stafford was announced as Mission Commander, along with Donald "Deke" Slayton as Docking Module Pilot, and Vance D. Brand as Command Module Pilot. Stafford had much flight experience as commander of Gemini IX and Apollo 10, the latter being the dress rehearsal for Armstrong's moon landing. Stafford was also liked by the Russians because he served as a pallbearer at the state funeral for the Soyuz 11 crew.[25] Deke Slayton was an original Mercury astronaut who had been grounded due to heart fibrillations. He served NASA from Mercury to Apollo as its Lead Astronaut, meaning he created the crew rotations and decided who flew on what mission. In March 1972, Slayton, after a myriad of tests, was found to no longer suffer from heart problems and was put back onto active flight status.[26] Vance D. Brand was a rookie pilot and ASTP would be his first shot into space. The Soviets made their crew announcements during the 1973 Paris Air Show.[27] The commander of the Soyuz capsule would be Alexey Leonov, the first man to walk in space. Valeriy Nikolayevich Kubasov would serve as Leonov's flight engineer. These two men also had storied careers prior to ASTP. Kubasov flew on Soyuz 5 in October 1969, during which he conducted space welding, metal smelting and equipment teardown and repair experiments.[28] Both were in line for the first Salyut mission in June 1971, but Kubasov got sick.[29] Then in July 1971, Salyut 2 exploded during launch before reaching orbit. Despite the recent setbacks for the Soviet cosmonauts, both crews were the best their nations had to offer. The flight crews, scientific staff, technical people and support staff unknowingly were going to become diplomats due to the cooperation between the two nations in fulfilling the mission.

Due to the close proximity and working relationship between the two nations, interaction on the part of flight crews and space program members was inevitable. However, many of those who worked for NASA did not speak Russian, while many of those who worked for the Soviet Academy of Sciences did not speak English.[30] The first step of training for everyone was to break down the

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[22] "Memorandum from the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger) to President Nixon," May 15, 1972, in *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1969-1976, Volume XIV, 846-847.

[23] Froehlich, 36-37.

[24] Edward Clinton Ezell and Linda Newman Ezell. *The Partnership: a History of the Apollo-Soyuz Test Project* (Washington, D.C.: NASA Scientific and Technical Information Office, 1978), 247.

[25] Manno, 133.

[26] Shepard, 324.

[27] Ezell, 249.

[28] Shepard, 337.

[29] Siddiqi, 815.

[30] Shepard, 336.

language barrier. Language training for the astronauts alone added up to 1/3 of their training hours: between 600 and 1000 hours spent learning Russian.[31] To ease the language barrier, support staff created dictionaries of common terms for everyone involved; half of each page was in Russian and the other half was in English and contained a detailed flight plan in both languages.[32] When the American delegation went to Star City, Russia, to work on the flight, they found that the Soviets had built a private hotel for them.[33] The astronauts found that their rooms were bugged with listening devices.[34] However, instead of getting angry, they amused themselves by loudly asking for things. To their surprise, the things they asked for would be in their rooms waiting for them when they would return after working at the Russian space center. Due to the close working proximity, both sides began to find that they had more in common than not. Professor Konstantin D. Bushuyev, the Soviet Technical Director for ASTP, stated "in our joint work there had been only one contradiction: Dr. Lunney (Bushuyev's U.S. counterpart) drinks black coffee and I drink coffee with cream."[35] Charles W. Busch, Chief of Communications Operation Integration Plans, found that "both sides had sons that needed haircuts and kids who listened to too much loud music."[36] The cultural understanding and cooperation had given insights to both sides about the other. No longer did many of the personnel involved see the other as their enemy in the Cold War; they saw them as colleagues. This did more for the relaxation of relations than any agreement could have achieved.

By 1975, ASTP was ready to launch. Following the successful test flight of Soyuz 16, a dress rehearsal for ASTP, spirits were high, and many were ready for the launch in July 1975. On July 15, the Soyuz 19 rocket launched out of Baikonur Cosmodrome. This was the first Soviet flight broadcast on live television in the USSR and around the world.[37] Seven and a half hours later the Apollo Saturn 1B launched from Kennedy Space Center in Florida. After two days of maneuvers, the Apollo command module met up with the Soyuz capsule. The landmark linkup began with communications between US and Soviet craft for the first time:

> Slayton: Soyuz, Apollo. How do you read me?
> Kubasov: Very well. Hello everybody.
> Slayton: Hello, Valeriy. How are you? Good day, Valeriy.
> Kubasov: Excellent… I'm very happy. Good morning.
> Leonov: Apollo, Soyuz. How do you read me?
> Slayton: Alexey, I hear you excellently. How do you read me?
> Leonov: I read you loud and clear.
> Slayton: Good.[38]

Despite sounding like a high school language class, this was a profound moment in the history of space flight. Finally, on July 17, 1975, two crafts from two superpowers met up in space and docked for the first time. When the hatch was finally opened between the two space crafts, Tom Stafford shook the hand of Alexey Leonov. The two crews traded respective flags and commemorative plaques, then Leonov gave the Apollo astronauts sketches of them he drew during their joint training.[39] President Gerald Ford, over radio, congratulated both crews on their accomplishments,

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[31] Chester M. Lee and Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center, *Apollo-Soyuz Mission Report* (San Diego: American Astronautical Society, 1976), 102.
[32] Froehlich, 37.
[33] Shepard, 342.
[34] Crouch, 78.
[35] Froehlich, 57.
[36] Ibid, 57-58.
[37] Ibid, 18.
[38] Von Bencke, 81.
[39] Shepard, 355-356.

while Victor Balahov, a Soviet TV personality, read congratulations on behalf of General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev. Following the ceremonies, the crews enjoyed a joint meal.[40] On the Soyuz side of the docked craft, the Apollo astronauts enjoyed apple juice, reconstituted strawberries, Roquefort cheese, apples, plums, and tubes of borsht that the cosmonauts labeled "vodka." On the Apollo side, the cosmonauts were treated to potato soup, bread, strawberries and grilled steak. The day had been a culmination of work involving hundreds of thousands of people, but the mission was not over.

Over the next few days, the crews carried out experiments, both separately and together.[41] Apollo carried equipment for twenty-three science and technical experiments. Soyuz carried six experiments in astrophysics and biology. Five joint experiments were planned to be completed by both crews while docked and undocked. Following the completion of all experiments and mission objectives, the two craft undocked for a final time. The Soyuz capsule reentered the Earth's atmosphere on July 21, while Apollo stayed in space until the 24th to finish up its experiments. While the Soyuz capsule landed without incident, the Apollo crew suffered from complications during reentry. While they were descending under the power of parachutes, the crew noticed a yellow gas in their capsule.[42] The gas caused eye irritations and severe coughing in the crew. When their capsule hit the water, it rolled upside down but inflatable balloons righted it. Stafford was able to unbuckle his straps and get oxygen masks to the crew. Following their recovery from the ocean and return ceremony, the crew complained of discomfort and chest pain when they took deep breaths. The doctors diagnosed them with irritation of respiratory tract. An analysis of the capsule following recovery found that the Earth Landing System had not been activated by the astronauts. This caused one of the landing thrusters to be stuck open and allowed thruster propellant in the form of nitrogen tetroxide to enter the cabin. However, no complications arose and the astronauts were released from medical observation a few days later. This ended the voyage of the Apollo-Soyuz Test Project and was the final flight of the American space program until the launch of the space shuttle in April 1981.

Following the successful completion of the ASTP, NASA looked forward to further cooperation with the Soviets. In 1974, NASA proposed the shuttle would fly to a future Salyut station and dock with it in order to test the building of an international space station.[43] The Russians responded that they wanted to wait and see the outcome of ASTP first. In May 1975, George Low submitted an idea for an astronaut/cosmonaut swap and a space station linkup, but again the Russians wanted to wait until ASTP was completed. Nothing new occurred until 1977 when the two nations signed an agreement to propose future missions in space cooperation.

However, the change in political climate soon challenged all plans for future cooperation. President Jimmy Carter grew displeased with the Soviet suppression of the Polish Solidarity Movement.[44] Conflicts between the United States and USSR over Ethiopia, Angola, Shaba, Yemen, Cambodia and Cuba occurred throughout the late 1970s. The Soviets, worried about U.S. attempts to militarize space, demanded that NASA discontinue its development of the shuttle program if the 1977 agreement was to go ahead. This was seen as impossible for NASA and the government who saw the shuttle as the next step in the U.S. space program. Finally, the December 27, 1979, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan fatally doomed the agreements. The age of cooperation would be over. The Cold War would reignite once again.

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[40] Ibid.
[41] Froehlich, 72.
[42] Ibid, 98-106.
[43] Crouch, 80.
[44] Von Bencke, 87.

The Apollo-Soyuz Test Project occurred during a time in the Cold War when relations between the United States and Soviet Union were improving. The Space Race was over and the conflict in Vietnam was winding down by the early 1970s. Both space agencies saw this relaxing of relations as an opportunity to do something together in space. Space exploration was one of the cornerstones of each nation's political identity. By coming together and achieving a cooperative mission, Americans and Soviets showed the world that the two superpowers could coexist and do something for the betterment of humanity. Despite the breakdown of relations that occurred after ASTP, both space agencies learned they could work together. They both came out better on the scientific front. NASA and the Soviet Academy of Sciences personnel became diplomats and represented their countries well during their dealings with each other. Each side learned from the other and broke down barriers created by the Cold War. The Apollo-Soyuz Test Project was a testament to how, if the political atmosphere allowed it, great things could be accomplished with cooperation between the two great superpowers of the world.

Assessing Alexander

John P. Bays

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It cannot be denied that Alexander III of Macedon, more commonly referred to as Alexander the Great, is one of the most famous (and infamous) rulers of all time. His legendary campaign of conquest extended from the Greek peninsula to the edges of India, ultimately leading to the creation of one of history's largest empires. Even more incredible is the fact that he could achieve these feats before reaching his thirtieth birthday.[1] Therefore, it should come as no surprise that in death Alexander has, in the eyes of many throughout history, acquired the title of "the great." Although this titular honor is generally used as if it is an innate fact, it is worth questioning if the moniker is truly deserved. Was Alexander truly one of history's great military minds and ancient rulers? This paper postulates that although he is unquestionably one of the more famous rulers in ancient history, he does not deserve the title of "the great." This project cannot claim to be a complete damnation of Alexander. His achievements are truly incredible, and the fact that he accomplished them in a relatively brief reign is a testament to his being one of history's most significant and accomplished leaders. However, this paper seeks to "humanize" the legendary legacy of Alexander, and show that he does not truly deserve the moniker of "the great." This project analyses both the military career of Alexander and his conduct with his peers to advance the argument that we must humanize and contextualize the legend that is Alexander the Great.

The first issue to address is Alexander's military prowess. It cannot be doubted that a large part of the reason Alexander has been held to be "great" in the minds of many is his famous exploits in military tactics. However, upon analyzing Alexander's career, it becomes clear that although he was indeed a brilliant tactician, in many ways, he made several strategic blunders that significantly diminish his military record. In terms of battlefield tactics, this project will look specifically at two examples to show that Alexander was not the impeccably brilliant battlefield general that he is often portrayed. This first example will be Alexander's victory at the famous battle of Issus over Darius III (which this paper will argue was more based on luck then brilliant leadership on Alexander's part) and the second shall be his actions at the Persian gates (which, although ultimately ending in his victory, offers an example of Alexander's brash attitude causing him to suffer a defeat on the battlefield). However, even more important than these, this project will also analyze some of his larger strategic moves, among them his siege of the city of Tyre and his "pilgrimage" to the oracle at Siwah. These actions represent a clear-cut case of very poor strategic manner, allowing for Darius III to grow stronger and more formidable after placing him in a very desperate military situation following the battle of Issus. It can be argued that Alexander was in many ways a military mastermind. However, these examples show that his military profile is far from the lauded impeccable record that many claim. Primary sources shall be used to describe these events and provide some overall tactical analysis, while secondary sources shall be used heavily to provide scholarly opinion on the tactics and strategy of Alexander.

[1] Peter Green, *Alexander The Great* (London: Praeger Publishers, 1970), 13-16.

The second main point that will be used to reevaluate Alexander's moniker is his conduct during the "Philotas Affair," the pages conspiracy, and the death of Cleitus the Black. These three incidents undoubtedly cast a great shadow on Alexander's legacy, showing his true character as that of a jealous, paranoid, and drunkard ruler. Unlike the examination of Alexander's battlefield tactics, which will rely more on secondary sources than primary sources, these incidents will be examined largely through the primary sources to show that Alexander possessed a fierce dark side, one that in many aspects outshined his more benevolent traits. By using mostly primary sources (in conjunction with some secondary sources), this study establishes that in both the "Philotas affair" and the pages conspiracy, Alexander used false pretexts to have innocent men (Philotas, Parmenion, and Callisthenes) put to death for his own paranoid political ambitions. The infamous dinner party resulting in the death of Cleitus the Black manifests Alexander's paranoia; additionally it reveals a very dark narcissistic Alexander, so self-obsessed that he murdered the man who had saved his life at the battle of Granicus.[2] A detailed examination of these three events placing emphasis on the primary sources shows us that Alexander's personality was far from great. Instead, they reveal a paranoid, insecure, and downright cruel Alexander.

As stated previously, Alexander's military record is an important (if not the most important) reason for his perceived greatness, for Alexander is often lauded as one of history's greatest military masterminds. In fact, historian J.F.C. Fuller argues that as a tactical genius, Alexander belongs in the "common brotherhood" of the greatest generals in world history.[3] Similarly, Barry Straus argues that Alexander should go down as one of the most skilled generals in history, arguing that he was a brilliant tactician, and that "only a handful of generals in history…made conquests on the scale of Alexander."[4] The historian N.G.L. Hammond is even more direct than these previous scholars in his praise. In regard to Alexander's brilliance, Hammond marvels that "the range and quickness of his (Alexander's) intellect are remarkable, especially in his conduct at warfare."[5] Clearly, many scholars hold Alexander to be a truly legendary general and one of history's greatest commanders. However, does closer scrutiny of Alexander's battlefield tactics support such grandiose claims? Should the tactics of Alexander be so universally revered and proclaimed? A closer look at some specific examples shows that although Alexander was indeed one of history's better commanders; he was not infallible on the field of battle and made some tactical mistakes.

One major instance that shows that Alexander did indeed make some mistakes on the battlefield was Alexander's actions at the battle of Issus. Plutarch describes the events of the battle in his biography of Alexander. The early Greek biographer describes how Alexander took advantage of Darius' poor choice of troop deployment (deploying his troops on a narrow battlefield rather than a larger, more flat plain that would accentuate his numerical advantage) to outmaneuver and defeat the Persian emperor. Plutarch states "the result of this battle was a brilliant victory for Alexander" (Plut. *Alex*. 20). However, do the actual actions of Alexander at Issus show him acting as a "brilliant" tactician? The answer, for Plutarch, is no.

Alexander made two major tactical blunders at Issus. The first of these blunders was significant enough that if not for sheer luck, Alexander would have likely lost the battle itself. Alexander was so eager to engage Darius himself, that Alexander rushed his cavalry in ahead of the rest of the Macedonian force. This opened up a significant gap in his lines that Darius' mercenary troops were able to exploit. They charged the gap and attacked Alexander's Macedonian phalanx troops from the side of their formation. Anyone familiar with the basic premise of a Macedonian

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[2] Waldemar Heckel and J.C. Yardley, *Alexander the Great: Historical Texts in Translation* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 93.

[3] J.F.C. Fuller, *The Generalship of Alexander the Great* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1960), 281-282.

[4] Barry S. Strauss, "Alexander: The Military Campaign," in *Brill's Companion to Alexander the Great*, ed. Joseph Roisman (Boston: Brill, 2003), 134.

[5] N.G.L. Hammond, *The Genius of Alexander the Great* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 200.

phalanx realizes that this would be a potentially fatal attack, for the Macedonian phalanx was almost completely defenseless to attacks on its flanks due to its use of extremely long spears, which could not be easily turned and re-deployed to protect a flank. Therefore, Alexander's line actually was severely compromised due to Alexander's actions. The historian Ian Worthington rightly claims that if the Persians would have pressed their advantage, they likely would have broken Alexander's lines and forced Alexander to face a crushing defeat. However, Alexander got extremely lucky, and the Persian troops did not press their advantage.[6]

Clearly, we see that Alexander committed a serious, potentially disastrous tactical blunder at Issus, and if not for an incredible stroke of luck, his blunder would likely have led to his demise. Unfortunately for Alexander's legacy, Alexander's failure to accomplish his primary goal at the battle shows us another "blunder on Alexander's part."[7] It cannot be denied that capturing Darius was Alexander's main goal at the battle of Issus. Quintus Curtius Rufus' account says Alexander was above all else "seeking for himself the rich trophy of killing the king (Darius)" (Curt. 3.11.7). Similarly, Diodorus Siculus describes how at the beginning of the battle of Issus, Alexander "cast his glance in all directions in his anxiety to see Darius" and that Alexander wanted "not so much to defeat the Persians as to win the victory with his own hands" (Diod. 17.33.5). Clearly, Alexander's main goal was to capture Darius. We cannot question such a goal, for the capture of Darius would likely have crippled if not completely ended Persian resistance. Darius of course recognized that if Alexander was to achieve this goal, he would be defeated permanently. Therefore, when he felt the battle was lost he "took flight to avoid capture."[8]

However, the fact that Alexander utterly failed at this goal had serious repercussions for his campaign. His failure allowed Darius to "regroup his forces, bringing Alexander into a costly battle again two years later at Gaugamela." Simply put, if Alexander had accomplished his main strategic goal at Issus, he would almost certainly not have had to fight the battle of Gaugamela in the first place. Therefore, at Issus we clearly see two major tactical blunders/failures on Alexander's part. By charging ahead of his men, Alexander placed the core infantry of his army in an extremely vulnerable position which, if not for a stroke of extreme luck, would likely have caused Alexander to face defeat. Similarly, by failing to achieve his main goal of capturing Darius, Alexander's imperfect tactics set him up for a massive battle in the future that he likely could have completely avoided. As Peter Green says, "so long as Darius himself remained at large, there was no question of the war being over."[9]

Alexander's initial actions at the Persian Gates also reveal less-than-perfect battlefield tactics. In late 329 B.C.E. Alexander was making his way to the ancient Persian capital of Persepolis. To get there, he had to go through a mountain pass known as the "Persian gates."[10] According to second century AD historian Arrian, the Persian satrap of the region (Ariobarzanes) had already taken up fortified defensive positions to counter Alexander's potential assault. However, Alexander decided to attack the fortifications in a direct frontal assault. As Arrian explains, the attack "proved a hard task, as the enemy were in a commanding position," the Macedonians "suffered severely from missiles hurled or catapulted from above, and Alexander was compelled to make a temporary withdrawal to his original position" (Arr. 3.18). Simply put, Alexander charged recklessly into a frontal assault on a heavily fortified position. Alexander suffered decisive defeat in the attack, so much so that he was actually forced to leave his dead behind on the field of battle, a burden that was "an unthinkable situation for him and his army." Alexander would eventually lead a force around the

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[6] Ian Worthington, *Alexander The Great: Man and God* (London: Person Education Limited, 2004), 97-98.
[7] Ibid, 100.
[8] A.B. Bosworth, *Conquest and Empire: The reign of Alexander the Great* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 62.
[9] Green, 129.
[10] Worthington, 146.

Persian defenses at night and surround and defeat his enemy.[11] However, much like at Issus, although Alexander would ultimately win the battle, his actions in parts of the battle reveal a leader prone to serious tactical blunders. Alexander was capable of good strategic decisions, for it would be impossible for a commander to accomplish the feats he did on the field of battle purely on good fortune alone. However, these examples of poor decisions clearly show that Alexander was far from being completely impeccable and purely "great" on the battlefield. Instead, Alexander was capable of and did indeed commit several tactical blunders in his career, marring his seemingly impeccable military record as a battlefield commander.

We can clearly see that on the field of battle, Alexander committed several errors that call into question his reputation as "the great." However, what about Alexander's larger sense of strategy? Did Alexander always make the right strategic move in terms of the "bigger picture" in his campaigns? Looking at three specific examples, we can see that Alexander made several very crucial mistakes that hindered his campaign and call into question his commonly believed "master strategist" status. The first of these examples is Alexander's unsound besieging of the Phoenician city of Tyre. Following the battle of Issus, Alexander made his way down the Mediterranean coast, eventually coming to the Phoenician city of Tyre. At first, it seemed Alexander would win the Phoenicians over with simple diplomacy (a tactic he had used many times before, often with much success). Even Arrian states that "In general, they (the Phoenicians) were willing enough to accede to Alexander's wishes" (Arr. 2.17). Still, there was one demand that the city would not grant. Alexander had a strong desire to sacrifice at Tyre's temple to Melqart, whom he (and all Greeks/Macedonians) believed to be Heracles. However, due to the Tyrian's belief that such an act would be sacrilegious, the delegation they sent to Alexander refused this particular request, and instead proposed an alliance only on condition that he sacrifice at a different temple. Not surprisingly, Alexander found such an answer unsatisfactory. He then laid siege to the city, eventually conquering it after seven months of hard fighting (it would be the longest siege of Alexander's career).[12] Alexander displayed very capable and excellent skills in the art of siege craft in terms of taking the island city; such an assertion cannot be realistically challenged.

However, the very besieging of the city itself shows Alexander acting as a flawed military commander who failed to see the bigger strategic picture. The city had been willing to enter into an alliance with Alexander—but only on condition that he honor their religiously based request. Therefore, Alexander's taking of the city was not really a matter of strategic necessity, for he could have secured the city's allegiance by simply agreeing to sacrifice at a different temple. Instead, he decided to waste the men and money necessary for the siege by taking a city he could have simply won with words and a minor concession. Classics scholar A.B. Bosworth sums up the shortsightedness well simply saying, "Strategically, this [The Siege of Tyre] was unnecessary."[13] Furthermore, historian Ian Worthington adds, "for him [Alexander] the more important reason was personal."[14] Not only was this personal stubbornness damaging in terms of men and money lost, it was even more damaging in terms of time. This siege occurred shortly after Darius had lost to Alexander at Issus. During this time, Darius was regrouping and rebuilding his army to face Alexander again on the field of battle. As Green says, the prolonged siege at Tyre gave Darius seven months to "mobilize a new army."[15] A general who recognized the bigger strategic picture would likely have realized that spending six months besieging what was essentially an already subdued (or at least neutralized) city while their main enemy was rebuilding would be a fool's endeavor. However,

[11] Ibid, 146-147.
[12] Ibid, 105-106.
[13] Bosworth, 65.
[14] Worthington, 106.
[15] Green, 135.

Alexander clearly acted without taking the bigger strategic picture into account, instead acting for the sake of his pride and vanity, an action that can hardly be ascribed to one of histories supposed "great generals." Ian Worthington sums up Alexander's actions at Tyre well: "it would have been the mark of a wise and diplomatic king to retract his demand to sacrifice in the Tyrian temple, but reason gave way to emotion."[16]

Alexander's besieging the city of Tyre shows a critical failure on his part to act as the "master strategist" that is often attributed to him due to his moniker. Another such example, for nearly identical reasons, would be Alexander's sojourn deep into Egypt. Shortly after conquering Tyre, Alexander moved down the coast and eventually proceeded to Egypt, where he "liberated" the native Egyptians from Persian control. Then, he proceeded to the oracle of Siwah.[17] This oracle was a highly revered religious site for ancient Greeks, who believed that the "Libyan Ammon was a local manifestation of Zeus."[18]Alexander did not go to Siwah for any sort of strategic reason, rather, he went purely on his own desire to go there and speak to the oracle. Arrian describes how Alexander "suddenly found himself passionately eager to visit the shrine of Ammon in Libya." He also further describes how Alexander's main goal in going was to ask about his descent: if he was the son of the god himself (Arr. 3.3). Similarly, Curtius describes how Alexander was "dissatisfied with elevation on the mortal level" and desired to visit the oracle to firmly establish and legitimize his claims to divine ancestry (Curt. 4.7.8). It is clear that Alexander had no strategic reasoning for going to Siwah and did not attempt to disguise his ambitions in a "tactical guise." As Worthington concludes, "Alexander then, really longed to go to Siwah for his own reasons, not because the Macedonian army needed to go there."[19]

This action was clearly unsound in terms of the bigger strategic picture. This is not to say that the act of conquering Egypt itself was not necessary. As J.F.C. Fuller says, there can be no doubt that in order to challenge Darius, Alexander had to secure his rear and make certain that he would not face Persian resistance while he shifted his focus to defeating his main enemy.[20] However, having already secured Egypt, Alexander had no sound strategic reasons to go to Siwah, which required an extensive journey through difficult terrain. Instead, as established above, Alexander undertook his pilgrimage for completely personal reasons, simply ignoring the fact that this allowed for his main enemy Darius to grow stronger and gather more troops. Clearly, Alexander's personal quest to establish his own divinity hardly counts as an instance of "great" generalship. Again, much as in his besieging of the already subdued city of Tyre, we see Alexander acting not as a master strategist, but as a commander who either failed to see or simply ignored the far more sound strategic options available to him.

It has become clear up to this point that Alexander—in terms of both battlefield tactics and his overall command of the strategic "big picture"—was far from perfect. In fact, he made several battlefield blunders at Issus and the Persian Gates that, if not for great luck, would likely have cost Alexander his empire and his legacy. Furthermore, at both Tyre and Siwah, we see that Alexander often placed his own personal pride over far more sound strategic decisions, a mode of thinking that we would hardly attribute to a "great general."

These critiques cast a great shadow upon Alexander's often lauded military record, which is for many the main reason why he has earned the moniker in the first place. However, if we look outside of a purely military context, can we find more examples of Alexander acting in a "non-great" way? Specifically, did Alexander have a personality and personal ruling style that we would

[16] Worthington, 106-107.
[17] Ibid, 116.
[18] Bosworth, 71.
[19] Worthington, 117.
[20] Fuller, 107.

characterize as "great?" The answer is no. Several events and episodes show that he often proved to be a tyrannical, paranoid, and downright cruel ruler of men.

The first of these events which proves this point correct is the "Philotas affair." The basic narrative of the "Philotas affair" was as follows: After Alexander arrived at Phrada, some of his soldiers hatched a conspiracy to murder Alexander. The conspirators asked a certain Cebalinus to join, however, Cebalinus refused. Due to his low place in the Macedonian army's hierarchy, Cebalinus did not have access to Alexander directly, and asking for such access would likely have tipped off the conspirators to his plans to warn Alexander. Therefore, instead of seeking out Alexander directly, he decided to attempt to indirectly inform Alexander of the conspiracy through his general Philotas. However, upon hearing of this conspiracy, Philotas decided not to warn Alexander about it. Several days later, when Alexander was warned of the conspiracy directly by Cebalinus (who was smuggled into his chambers by a royal page) Alexander was furious at Philotas. He had him tried for treason before the assembly of Makedones, and subsequently executed (he also sent assassins to execute his father Parmenion, a traditional custom following ones conviction of treason in Macedonia). Upon a cursory explanation of the events, it may be one's gut instinct to declare that Philotas was indeed guilty of treason and part of the conspiracy (as Alexander claimed).[21] Certainly Arrian vehemently proclaims Philotas' guilt. Arrian describes how at the trial those who testified brought forward "irrefutable proofs of his own [Philotas'] guilt" (Arr. 3.26). However, Plutarch's account of the affair is much less incriminating of Philotas. Essentially, Plutarch contended that Philotas was not likely directly involved in the conspiracy. Instead, he was a victim of his own success and arrogance, for he "displayed an arrogance" that made him many enemies at Alexander's court. Plutarch holds that it was these courtier enemies who convinced Alexander that Philotas was a part of the conspiracy (even though they lacked direct evidence) and convinced him to execute him and his father (Plut. Alex. 49). With ancient sources divided on the subject of Philotas' guilt, how can one determine which side was correct?

Logic and reason would lead us to believe that although it is obviously impossible to prove for a fact, it is far more likely that Philotas was innocent of any direct involvement in the conspiracy (as Alexander claimed). If he had been involved, then why would he have allowed Cebalinus to live and keep trying to contact Alexander after revealing to him that he was trying to warn Alexander of the conspiracy? If he was directly involved, then such an action makes no sense, for Philotas must have known that upon discovery of the plot, Alexander would have had all of the conspirators executed. This simple conclusion makes it difficult to fathom that Philotas was guilty of direct involvement in the conspiracy, and it is far more likely that he did not bring news of the plot to Alexander because he did not deem the threat credible. Therefore, it is far more likely that Philotas was guilty of foolishness, rather than treachery and conspiracy. [22] Scholars Waldemar Heckel and J.C. Yardley make this argument when describing the odds of Philotas "actually conspiring against the king is unlikely, and the evidence shows only that he was guilty of negligence."[23]

With Philotas' highly probable innocence established, the question arises, why did Alexander act the way he did, and what are the takeaways in terms of better understanding Alexander's character? Alexander clearly used the conspiracy as a pretext to oust two members of his entourage who had criticized his policies. As Worthington concludes, Philotas had "expressed concern about Alexander's continued progress and non-Macedonian practices." His father Parmenion had also been a member of the "old guard" under Alexander's father, and he was also critical of Alexander's "oriental" changes.[24] Similarly, Green says that Philotas' "worst fault seems to have been his

[21] Worthington, *164-165*.
[22] Ibid, 166.
[23] Waldemar Heckel and J.C. Yardley, *Alexander the Great: Historical Texts in Translation* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 227.
[24] Worthington, 167.

outspoken bluntness" in regards to Alexander's policies.[25] Simply put, Alexander used a false pretext (the assassination conspiracy) to "legitimately" oust both Philotas and Parmenion in a single blow. Even Philotas' trial was "stage-managed" by Alexander, who filled the ranks of the troops at the trial (who acted as a de-facto jury) with phalanx soldiers, and made sure that cavalry soldiers (whom Philotas commanded) were an extreme minority.[26] In terms of how this "affair" reflects on Alexander's character, Worthington put it best: the event marks a "gross example of his [Alexander's] ruthless and growing paranoia."[27] Alexander executed Philotas and his father even though there existed no direct evidence of his involvement in the conspiracy, and as we have discussed (and as Alexander almost certainly must have known himself) even the indirect evidence would most certainly lead anyone to doubt his involvement in the conspiracy. Instead, Alexander acted not as a wise or great monarch, but rather as a paranoid and tyrannical ruler who used false pretexts to relieve himself of two officers who had been on occasion critical of some of his policies. As Peter Green says, Alexander had Philotas "liquidated on trumped-up evidence which, incidentally, also implicated Parmenion."[28] In conclusion, Worthington offers an appropriate coda: "Alexander must be condemned for how and why he acted against Parmenion and Philotas."[29]

Certainly, the "Philotas affair" allows us a clear straightforward example of Alexander acting as an immoral and tyrannical ruler. Another episode illustrating the ugly side of Alexander is the event known as the pages conspiracy. Essentially, while Alexander campaigned in Bactria, a conspiracy developed among his royal pages to murder Alexander after he punished one of the pages for killing a boar he desired for himself during a hunt. Due to the fact that the royal pages had a great deal of personal access to the monarch, the conspiracy was a serious threat. However, on the night of the planned assassination, Alexander stayed out at a drinking party rather then returning to his bed, thereby inadvertently foiling the plot. When Alexander discovered the plot, he immediately arrested the pages in question and had them executed. He also arrested the man who was responsible for the pages' education, the court historian Callisthenes, even though some of the sources state that the pages did not name him as the conspirator.[30] This begs the question, if he was not named as a conspirator or as the leader of the conspiracy, then why was he implicated and put to death?

The answer lies in his vocal opposition to Alexander, specifically regarding Alexander's attempt to enforce the process of *proskynesis* upon his Macedonian court. This practice (which essentially entailed bowing to a ruler) was a common habit in Persian custom and some of Alexander's Persian subjects already used this custom towards Alexander. However, in the belief system of Alexander's Macedonian and Greek subjects, such an action was to be reserved for the gods, and therefore performing this action toward a living ruler was considered sacrilegious. Alexander had to have been aware of this belief among his men, so his attempt to install this practice must clearly be seen as an attempt to be worshiped as a living god by his Macedonian and Greek subjects. It should come as no surprise that this move generated a great deal of opposition among his men. The most vehement and vocal opposition came from Alexander's court historian Callisthenes, and many of the ancient sources directly attribute Callisthenes' downfall to his opposition of Alexander's desire to be worshiped as a god.[31] As Plutarch concluded "he [Callisthenes] alone listed openly the objections secretly harbored by all the best and oldest of the

[25] Green, 187.
[26] Bosworth, 102-103.
[27] Worthington, 187.
[28] Green, 187-188.
[29] Worthington, 169.
[30] Ibid, 192-194.
[31] Heckel and Yardley, 178.

Macedonians" and that by opposing Alexander's *proskynesis* so vocally Callisthenes had "precipitated his own destruction" (Plut. Alex. 54). Similarly, Curtius determined in his account of the "proskynesis affair" that although the men heralded Callisthenes as the "champion of public freedom" Alexander was greatly angered by this opposition, and that his "resentment was more persistent" (Curt. 8.6.6). Not surprisingly, the ancient historian Justin agreed that Callisthenes was the "most outspoken of the objectors" to Alexander's proskynesis policy, and that his opposition directly resulted in his execution "ostensibly for treason" (Justin 12.7.1).

Clearly, Callisthenes was a vehement opponent of Alexander's policies regarding proskynesis. However, what is even more telling is that all of these ancient historians do not name the pages conspiracy as being the main cause of Callisthenes' downfall. Instead, they all point to Callisthenes vocal opposition as being the main factor that brought about Alexander's wrath. Therefore, it is safe to say that Alexander merely used the pages conspiracy as a pretext to attack Callisthenes, behavior that should not seem unfamiliar to us after reviewing how he used a similar tactic of false pretexts to remove Philotas and Parmenion. Worthington sums the affair up well: "Whether Callisthenes was implicated in the plot was immaterial. The moment he resisted the king's will he was a dead man."[32] A review of the primary sources confirms this quote to be true. Callisthenes opposed Alexander's policies, and, in the same fashion as the "Philotas affair," Alexander was willing to use false pretexts to remove an opposition figure. Again, we see in Alexander not a benevolent or wise kingship, but a paranoia and tyrannical streak that clearly puts a black stain on Alexander's personality. Alexander would not tolerate opposition, no matter how fair or peaceable it was, and he was willing to use any means necessary (including fabrication and false pretexts) to enforce his often tyrannical rule.

The "Philotas affair" and the pages conspiracy clearly show Alexander acting as a tyrant, crushing any sort of opposition from any one around him by any means necessary. Another famous example illustrates this even further, showing that Alexander could not bear criticism to any extent, even from a man who had saved his life. This brings us to the infamous dinner party which resulted in the death of Cleitus the Black. While Alexander was in the city of Maracanda he and his companions undertook a thanksgiving sacrifice which, like many sacrifices before it, turned into a drinking party. At some point, some began to praise Alexander at the expense of his father Philip, declaring Alexander's achievements to be far greater than those of his father.[33] As Arrian says, many courtiers began to say that in comparison to the deeds of Alexander, what Philip had done was simply "ordinary and commonplace." Cleitus, a member of the old guard who had served under Philip, did not take kindly to this, and he began to "magnify Philips achievements and belittle Alexander's" (Arr. 4.8). Needless to say, Alexander did not take kindly to this criticism of his achievements. Accounts differ on exactly how the next few moments played out. However, in all accounts, the argument escalated to the point where Alexander became blinded in drunken rage and, as Plutarch says "seized a spear from one of his guards, faced Cleitus as he was drawing aside the curtain of the doorway, and ran him through" (Plut. Alex. 51).

It would be unfair to Alexander to not mention that he was reportedly immediately remorseful for killing Cleitus. In fact, Plutarch stated that Alexander would have taken the spear he used on Cleitus and "plunged it into his own throat if the guards had not forestalled him" (Plut. Alex. 51). Alexander is said to have supposedly shut himself up in his private room for three days as a sign of his remorse. However, there are doubts as to how much of this was actually genuine sorrow. Green argues that although initially filled with sorrow, Alexander's grief "began to merge

[32] Worthington, 195-195.
[33] Ibid, 184.

into calculated play-acting."[34] Regardless, even if we are to disregard this potential "play-acting" and accept that Alexander was truly remorseful for his actions, Alexander's supposed remorse and subsequent grief cannot truly pardon him for the murder of an unarmed man who had not threatened him with physical violence, but rather voiced vocal (albeit very boisterous) opposition to Alexander's flatterers. Even the ancient historians who discuss the affair recognized this. Arrian wrote that the event showed Alexander as a "slave of anger and drunkenness" (Arr. 4.9). Similarly, Curtius described how Alexander had not only killed a man who had saved his life, but had "assumed the abominable role of executioner" (Curt. 8.2.2).

Obviously, Cleitus did indeed go too far in his confrontation with Alexander, and he should have known better than to be so vocal in his criticisms and directly challenge Alexander in the way he did. However, Alexander is obviously more at fault for his extreme response to this criticism. The only potential excuse one could claim for Alexander's actions is his drunkenness, however, most would hardly pardon a drunk man or woman for committing a murder, robbery, or arson. Alexander, as a monarch, failed to act as a much wiser king would have done. Instead of recognizing the situation and attempting to deflate it, Alexander responded with the most extreme form of violence. Again, we hardly see Alexander's personal behavior as being that of a "great" king. Instead, he appears a paranoid, drunken, tyrannical ruler, who could not handle criticism or nonviolent opposition—traits which appear in Alexander's life with such consistency that we must seriously call into question any claims to greatness made for Alexander's legacy in terms of his personality or kingship.

All in all, this project cannot claim to be a complete damnation of Alexander. His achievements are truly incredible, and the fact that he accomplished them in the brevity of a few years as king is a testament to one of history's most significant and accomplished monarchs. However, this paper seeks to "humanize" the legendary legacy of Alexander. By looking at some of his tactical decisions on the battlefield at Issus and the Persian Gates, we see that although he won many battles, he was not an infallible battlefield commander. If not for extreme luck, his career as a conqueror would likely have been cut short dramatically. Similarly, when looking at his overall awareness of "big picture strategy" (by analyzing his decision to besiege Tyre and travel to Siwah), we see that Alexander placed his pride and self-obsession over far more sound strategic decisions, allowing Darius to grow much stronger instead of pressing the advantage when he had it. Again, Alexander conquered such a vast amount of territory that to say he was not a good general would be ludicrous. However, Alexander clearly did make several mistakes in terms of both battlefield tactics and overall "big picture strategy." These mistakes make us question in part Alexander's overly lauded military record, and force us to recognize that he was not an infallible general, but rather a good general who was prone to make serious errors on occasion. Similarly, by analyzing Alexander's personality, we see that Alexander exhibited characteristics few would associate with a "great" king. By using false pretexts to remove Philotas and Parmenion during the "Philotas Affair" and Callisthenes during the Pages Conspiracy, we see Alexander acting as a tyrant willing to use false pretexts to remove those who had expressed vocal opposition to his policies. In his murder of Cleitus the Black, we see Alexander as a self-obsessed drunkard who could not handle criticism on any level. Certainly, these traits are not the mark of a "great" kingly personality, but rather someone who was all but human, with a tendency towards paranoia, self-obsession, and tyranny.

In conclusion, Alexander will remain one of history's most famous and influential leaders in perpetuity. However, Alexander is not deserving of the moniker "the great." Rather, he should be recognized for the ruler he truly was. A battlefield general who, albeit successful, was far from perfect and displayed a disturbing tendency to put his personal pride and goals over that of more

[34] Green, 199.

sound strategic decision. In terms of his personality, it is hard to argue that "the great" can be applied to Alexander here. He may not be one of history's most evil or psychotic rulers, but he was indeed paranoid and prone to treat those who opposed him with outright tyranny and oppression. Alexander deserves to be studied, analyzed, and discussed as one of history's more influential rulers. However, he does not deserve to be called "the great," for such a moniker distorts the truth surrounding the man himself.

Civil Liberties in a Time of Rebellion: Lincoln's Suspension of Habeas Corpus

Laura A. Seiler

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One of the fundamental rights guaranteed to citizens of the United States granted through the Sixth Amendment of the Constitution is the right to a fair trial by a jury of peers. The right to be free from arbitrary detention is necessarily connected to this fair trial right. Outlined in Article 1, Section 9, Clause 2 of the Constitution, habeas corpus protects citizens from being detained without charges through the powers of the legislative branch of the federal government. President Abraham Lincoln faced a series of daunting constitutional questions as president, his suspension of habeas corpus not the least among them. Historians have approached this topic from two different perspectives: whether Lincoln's actions were necessary given the crisis and whether they were constitutional. Often scholars emphasize either morality or legality and hence talk past each other. Approaching the debate from another angle might aid in understanding the fundamental questions about Lincoln's decision to suspend habeas corpus. This study considers both Lincoln's moral and legal justifications for his decision, weighing the constitutionality of and precedents for his actions, as well as political realities, in particular the opposition he faced from Congress and from groups like the Copperheads. In the end, this study concludes that while Lincoln was justified in his decision to suspend habeas corpus, some of the actions which followed were not.

Lincoln was a man of his times: he acted pragmatically according to the events around him and made decisions based on what was best for the nation in the long run. The suspension of habeas corpus resulted from Northern antiwar aggression and came in response to the situations in border states like Missouri and Maryland, where the tide could quickly turn out of favor for the North. In a time of war and rebellion, moral questions often become cloudy. In a time of war, every possible course of action must have an alternative option available, like a fork in the road. Lincoln's suspension of habeas corpus cannot be understood either legally or morally without understanding the times in which he lived.

When he took office in 1861, Lincoln was left without Congress to guide him as the nation moved towards rebellion and conflict following his election to the presidency. As the country descended into Civil War, Congress would not reconvene until July 1861, leaving the first months and the initial reactions to Southern secession solely in the hands of the president. The Constitution offered little guidance for many of the decisions Lincoln faced at this time, leaving the president to push against traditional limits on presidential powers. Scholar Brian Dirck states that "no American president prior to Abraham Lincoln really explored the various problems, difficulties, and blind spots contained in the Constitution's war making system."[1] The suspension of habeas corpus was a major issue throughout the war for many Northerners, but Lincoln's other stretches of presidential powers at the beginning of the war were more concerning: calling up the militia, his blockade proclamation, and his use of congressional powers were more immediate and therefore more

[1] Brian Dirck, "Lincoln as Commander-in-Chief," *Perspectives on Political Science* 39, no. 1 (January 2010): 20. Dirck is referencing Lincoln's actions calling the militia and his blockade proclamation, but Dirck intends this here as a general statement to Lincoln's exploration of presidential powers outlined in the Constitution.

prevalent concerns for American citizens. Although calling the militia had precedence in a 1795 law used by George Washington, Lincoln's blockade proclamation was technically an act of war, and his censorship of newspapers was an act of congressional authority.[2] Lincoln moved outside of the presidential powers outlined in the Constitution because many of these powers, especially war powers, were not clearly defined. The power to suspend habeas corpus was also loosely defined, and not attributed to any specific branch of government: "the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it."[3] The nation's founders had found habeas corpus to be an important aspect of civil liberties, and for many Americans in 1861, it remained a "symbol of individual freedom."[4] As a lawyer, Lincoln knew that he needed valid justification and precedent for his actions, and he would also need the support of Congress as the country prepared for war with the South.

Lincoln justified the suspension of habeas corpus on three grounds: national versus state authority, presidential versus congressional authority, and as a reaction to aggressors. Publicly, Lincoln stated that "these rebels are violating the Constitution to destroy the Union. I will violate the Constitution if necessary to save the Union," acknowledging his actions as dubious, but not immoral.[5] By interpreting the constitutional provision for the suspension of habeas corpus to mean that in times of rebellion, national power ruled, Lincoln's act could be justified as the national government stepping up to the requirements of war.[6] In making the decision to solve the crises of rebellion without congressional endorsement, Lincoln ignored the legislative side of the national government—understandable since Congress was not in session. Still, when congress returned on July 4, 1861, Lincoln took a pragmatic stance. He "admitted doubts as to the legality of some of his measures," recognizing the importance of congressional authority.[7] But, since he had already made the decision on habeas corpus and the South was in rebellion, Lincoln was prepared to bypass Congress if need be. He "neither indicated that he particularly cared about [congressional] ratification, nor that he felt it was relevant, nor that he would revoke any of his measures in case it was not forthcoming."[8] He was willing to comply with congressional authority to a certain extent, but would do what he intended with or without the backing of Congress. Lincoln may have acknowledged doubts about the legality and morality of his actions, but he did not acknowledge error in the suspension of habeas corpus, and he certainly did not give ground as far as its necessity.

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[2] Phillip Paludan, *The Presidency of Abraham Lincoln* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1994), 71-73. Paludan argues that in a time of civil war, questions about the extent of national power were not answerable from experience, and instead "answers came from the imagination." State and national authorities, courts and powers existed in a web of confused determination that *something* must be done, but no one was sure who should do it. To Paludan, Lincoln's decision to suspend habeas corpus without approval was the final word at the national level and set precedence for the rest of the war. Paludan's analysis of questions of national power at the start of the Civil War relies closely on statements from Lincoln himself, but also from Lincoln's Secretary of State, Seward, and from some individuals such as Chief Justice Taney who were in opposition to the Lincoln administration's handling of the writ. These sources are consistent in two areas: a) that there was general confusion over the extent of national power, and b) that Lincoln's actions, while sparking further debate, also settled it.

[3] Ibid, 71.

[4] Mark E. Neely, *The Fate of Liberty: Abraham Lincoln and Civil Liberties* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), xiv, xvi.

[5] Dietze Gottfried, *America's Political Dilemma: From Limited to Unlimited Democracy* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1968), 36, 42, 49. Gottfried argues that many of Lincoln's acts, including the suspension of habeas corpus, "were required to save the traditional constitutional order," and were therefore constitutional. Gottfried finds that this is the grounds on which Lincoln justified his actions. Gottfried goes on to argue that Lincoln's defense of his war measures "was always based on his desire to protect the Constitution." Gottfried's analysis of Lincoln's actions, like Paludan's, relies closely on Lincoln's public and personal statements regarding the suspension. While she questions the sentiment behind the statements, she also points out their consistency. It is the consistency of Lincoln's statements which lead Gottfried to argue that while the suspension of habeas corpus may not have been constitutionally justified, the basis of his actions—the preservation of the Constitution and the Union—was.

[6] Paludan, 73. "Lincoln spoke the final word: Civilian justice and due process had ended where the writ was suspended… national power ruled," writes historian Philip Paludan.

[7] Gottfried, 37.

[8] Ibid.

As a reaction to the nation entering the Civil War, Lincoln's haste in acting without the approval of Congress was logical. The suspension of habeas corpus was originally a reaction to the rebellion taking place in Baltimore, Maryland. Historian Mark Neely, Jr., states that "the purpose of the initial suspension of the writ of habeas corpus" was to "keep the military enforcement route to the nation's capital open."[9] That the suspension amounted to a war measure against rebellion helps explain some statements from Lincoln reported in the papers. For example, the Baltimore *American*, quoted Lincoln as saying that "public safety renders it necessary that the grounds of these arrests should at present be withheld."[10] In a time of war, reporting the charges of detainees could incur further rebellion.

Lincoln's first goal was the preservation of the Union, and if that was to be done, "all indispensable means must be employed."[11] The presidential powers stated in the Constitution gave Lincoln the means to do what he saw as fulfilling his oath of office: preserving the Union and the Constitution. Lincoln's argument for suspension of habeas corpus was summed up when he asked: "Are all the laws, *but one*, to go unexecuted, and the government itself go to pieces, lest that one be violated?"[12] The question that should follow this one is whether the writ of habeas corpus was such a central Constitutional right that its suspension would fundamentally change American politics, not preserving the Union, but destroying it.

Seeking validation, Lincoln asked of Congress whether it was plausible that "the Founders intended that he should stand by as danger ran its course, waiting for Congress to gather."[13] Like many of Lincoln's actions at the beginning of the war, this seems to have been a pragmatic acceptance of congressional authority rather than true acceptance of its constitutional power. In fact, Phillip Paludan views this "request for congressional endorsement" as an offer "to share authority, to involve both branches of government in meeting the crisis."[14] The national government, however, was established on checks and balances, and the offer to share authority would have been unnecessary without Lincoln's own actions, many of which slighted the authority of Congress and of the legislative branch. In spite of this, Congress moved quickly to ratify a "joint resolution that recited Lincoln's actions—calling the militia, blockading Southern ports, calling for volunteers, increasing the army and the navy, suspending the writ – and declared them lawful."[15] Congress's ratification helped to justify the suspension of habeas corpus since the majority had recognized that swift government action was necessary in war.

Opposition to this decision and to Lincoln's actions abounded, but for many Northerners it was not a major issue as the war progressed. Senator Lyman Trumbull (R-IL), however, asked the secretary of state "whether, in the loyal States of the Union, any person or persons have been arrested and imprisoned and are now held in confinement by orders from him or his Department; and, if so, under what law said arrests have been made."[16] Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Roger Taney also criticized Lincoln, claiming "that Lincoln violated his oath that 'the laws be faithfully executed' because he had stolen congressional authority over the writ," despite authority over the writ being undefined in the Constitution.[17] Lincoln responded that his action was taken as a war

[9] Neely, 9.
[10] Ibid, 18.
[11] Gottfried, 43.
[12] Ibid, 49.
[13] Paludan, 77.
[14] Ibid, 80-81.
[15] Ibid, 81. This decision was made on July 3, 1861.
[16] Neely, 189. Trumbull introduced this resolution to the Senate in December of 1861, which shows that there was growing concern either among Trumbull's constituents, or in the Senate, or both.
[17] Paludan, 77.

measure against Southern rebellion, insisting "the whole of the laws which are required to be faithfully executed were being resisted…in nearly one third of the states," and that Taney's criticism was unjustified in that it ignored Southern secession.[18] Responding to the criticism voiced by Washington politicians, Lincoln addressed some of the major concerns about his actions privately without having to make a public address.[19] This gave Lincoln a platform to state his justification for the suspension of habeas corpus without alienating segments of the American public.

A political organization formed in the North that was critical not only of Lincoln's actions at the start of the war, but of the war itself. With an ideology of strict constructionism, this opposition party took the name "Copperheads" and attracted people with Southern roots, German and Irish immigrants, and people on the Western frontier.[20] Historian Jennifer Weber sees the "opponents of the war," as suspicious "of centralized government and concentrated power…, standing armies, and most of all, threats to liberty."[21] Part of their opposition to the war stemmed from a belief that Southern states had the right to secede from the Union, and the sudden split of the Democratic Party added to this. Stephen A. Douglas's statement of support for Lincoln: "there can be but two parties, the party of patriots and the party of traitors. We [Northern Democrats] belong to the former," drew the lines between War and Peace Democrats.[22] Despite this abrupt split, many Democratic newspapers took an "agree-to-disagree" stance in criticizing the administration that Weber asserts was not shared by most Copperheads, although it may have been shared by the elites.[23] Copperheads talked their way around the issue. As one New Yorker wrote: "the sane portion of our [Northern] people…do not esteem cutting the throats of one's countrymen as proof of patriotism," and many believed that Confederate independence could be more beneficial to the Union than war.[24] Lincoln's response to Democratic criticisms centered on his continued goal of reuniting the Union: "I am yet unprepared to give up the Union for a peace which, so achieved, could not be of much duration," and reiterated that the Confederacy had begun the war in order to destroy the Union.[25] This justification of war on the grounds of saving the Union and reacting to Southern secession did not hold much sway with Peace Democrats.

For constitutionally conservative Democrats, Lincoln's 1861 actions, especially the suspension of habeas corpus, taken without consulting Congress were at the root of their opposition. Representative George H. Pendleton (D-OH), for example, argued that "you cannot make a nation jealous of its rights by teaching it that, in times of great public danger, the citizen has no rights."[26] Copperhead newspapers like *The Age* accused "Yankee civilians" of only being concerned with "how to profit from the war, how to prolong the fighting, how to dodge the draft, and how large a percentage of his earnings a man would have to spend to buy a substitute."[27] The conservative idea that a centralized government was fundamentally corrupt and could or would not serve the needs of its citizens appealed greatly to indigenous and immigrant Copperheads, who had long felt that they had been abandoned by their government. At a Copperhead rally, Fernado Wood spoke on the oppression of "an Administration which, in [his] judgement, [was] far beneath the

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[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid. Lincoln's response was in a private letter to Chief Justice Roger Taney, who "had claimed that Lincoln violated his oath."

[20] Jennifer L. Weber, *Copperheads: the Rise and Fall of Lincoln's Opponents in the North* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 17-18.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid, 15-16.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid, 21.

[25] Ibid, 173. Lincoln's response was "in a letter turning down an invitation to speak in Buffalo," New York, in 1864.

[26] Ibid, 31-32.

[27] Ibid, 159.

Administration of the Confederacy," and was met with "deafening and prolonged applause."[28] The strong arguments against Lincoln's actions and administration and for peace had a conservative constitutional component, but they also had a racist component which was infrequently addressed by Lincoln and Republican politicians.

Many Copperheads had white supremacist views and were suspicious that the Republican Party would move toward emancipation. Weber writes that "from the earliest days of the Republican Party," conservative Democrats believed "that abolitionists controlled it and that the party's main objective was to free the slaves;" an issue that united War and Peace Democrats, as "even War Democrats were wary of a hidden agenda to get rid of slavery."[29] Copperheads believed African Americans to be inferior to whites and that Republicans intended to oppress the white race. Connecticut Governor Thomas Seymour, a Democrat, wrote as much and more when he stated that "the policy of the Lincoln dynasty" seemed to be to "*free the blacks and enslave* the whites."[30] Copperheads went further, blaming "fanatical Abolitionism" for starting the war.[31] The racism of the Copperheads was not uncommon at the time, but as a political argument, it proved difficult to counter. Lincoln saw this and seized on it when he wrote that his administration should not "be weak enough to allow the enemy to distract us with an abstract question [of race] which he himself refuses to present as a practical one."[32]

While Copperheads wanted habeas corpus rewritten so it did not apply to slaves, they bristled at Lincoln's suspension as a draconian federal act aimed at stripping his opponents of a basic right. The racism of Copperheads was directly connected with their opposition to the suspension of habeas corpus, since abolitionists had long believed that the writ could be used to liberate the slaves. Despite the Compromise of 1850 and the subsequent court decision in 1859 that the "writ of habeas corpus [was] not the proper method of trying the right of a [slave] to Freedom," pro-slavery Democrats still felt that the writ of habeas corpus presented a substantial threat to slavery.[33] After the 1850 decision, abolitionists came to see slavery as an issue to be resolved by the military, while Copperheads still feared the power of the federal government to intervene in what they considered to be matters of state jurisdiction. As the war drew to a close, so did the heyday of the Copperheads, many of whom simply disappeared from politics.[34] Without the support of War Democrats, who did not want to "risk gaining an unpatriotic reputation," and with fleeting opposition to the suspension from Republicans, the Copperheads did not have enough Northern support to dismantle Lincoln's justifications for his actions.[35] With Congress and a majority in the North behind him, Lincoln was able to maintain support for his suspension of habeas corpus and other dubious war legislation.

One of the results of the suspension of the writ was government censorship of newspapers, something which Lincoln personally opposed but was unable to curb. Journalists, seemed at first glance, to support this violation of the Bill of Rights. As some newspapers argued, "*the constitution protects only those who acknowledge and support it*," and by that logic, did not protect secessionist

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[28] "Copperheads in Council: Resolutions Denunciatory of the Administration and its Policy. Speeches of Fernando Wood, Mr. Carlile, and Others. Wood's Principles and Plans, his Hopes and Fears, his Wrath and Impotence," *New York Times*, April 8, 1863, in *The New York Times on Critical Elections, 1854-2008*, ed. Gerald M. Pomper (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2010), 67.

[29] Weber, 22.

[30] Ibid, 23. Emphasis original to Thomas Seymour. Seymour's use of the word "dynasty" is significant here, as Confederates argued that secession was their equivalent to the American Revolution, when the United States threw off the yoke of royalty, and thus of a royal dynasty. Seymour is playing into this analogy.

[31] Ibid, 159-160. Written in the Copperhead newspaper *The Age* in 1864.

[32] Ibid, 162.

[33] Neely, xv, xiv.

[34] Weber, 205.

[35] Neely, 189.

newspapers.[36] Like the suspension of habeas corpus, censorship began in the border states where secessionist attitudes were strong.[37] As a war measure, the censorship of anti-Union newspapers was important as it discouraged support for secession, just as Lincoln had refused to release the charges of arrests after the suspension of habeas corpus. However, Lincoln's limited censorship policy was not reflected in the reality that many saw. After "Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri were secured for the Union," Lincoln was "not eager to suppress newspapers…but did not control all the authorities."[38] Many newspapers became extremely politicized and highly critical of the Democratic Party. In an article from November 6, 1860, for example, the *New York Times* wrote that "the leaders of the Democracy… charge it upon the Republicans that they, and only they, are to be held responsible for this fearful and imminent catastrophe [the dissolution of the Union]."[39] Despite his personal discomfort with government censorship of the press, Lincoln also understood censorship as a necessary war measure that would preserve the Union and uphold his oath of office.

In understanding the relatively limited criticism of the suspension of habeas corpus, it is important to understand the geographic extent of the suspension. Like the extent of censorship of the press, the intended reach of the suspension of habeas corpus was originally limited to the border states. Neely found that the border states "as a whole supplied 42.8 percent of [all political and war] prisoners," and he adds that Missouri was underrepresented because of clumsy bookkeeping in that state and in southern Illinois.[40] In terms of Northerners above the border states, Neely found that, if distributed evenly, "there would have been at a maximum seven Northerners arrested in each state."[41] Individual arrests of journalists were geographically widespread, but overall "most arrests had little or nothing to do with the issue of dissent or free speech." Most arrests were "of Confederate citizens and blockade runners"—not journalists.[42] Neely stated that "a tally of the number of civilians in Northern military prisons" does not represent the number of arbitrary arrests since "a large number of those civilians would doubtless have been in prison regardless" of the writ's suspension.[43] Lincoln brought the concept of "war powers" into fruition during the Civil War, but he also brought the concept of "arbitrary arrest," a term which was used infrequently before the writ's suspension.

The case of *Ex parte Milligan* was an arbitrary arrest case which came before the Supreme Court in 1866, although the arrest had occurred during the war. Milligan had been arrested for involvement with the Sons of Liberty, a rebel organization, and he was tried by an Indiana military commission.[44] The Supreme Court held that a civilian could not be tried in a military court and that Milligan should have been tried in a civil court instead.[45] Neely states that this decision "first had an

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[36] Mark E. Neely, *The Union Divided: Party Conflict in the Civil War North* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2002), 92. From the original quotation: "How long shall it be before all are made to heed the simple truth that *the constitution protects only those who acknowledge and support it*," written in August 1861 by the editor of the New York *Evening Post*.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid, 97. Neely found that while the modern view of press censorship by the national government is negative, and Lincoln himself "was not eager to suppress," the reactions of the press at the time towards censorship was not consistent and of the sources he examined, "all at some time or other endorsed suppression of the press by the government" (95). Neely argues that modern opinions on press censorship are not consistent with opinions of contemporaries of Lincoln's censorship of the press. The examination of articles and newspapers was central to Neely's analysis of press censorship during the Lincoln administration. Neely addressed the ever-present concerns about press censorship but noted the role of the press in accepting censorship during the Civil War: "the press explained. It did not complain" (92). Neely's analysis of press sources offers important insight into the issue of press censorship as it was viewed at the time.

[39] "Editorial: Democratic Dilemmas," *New York Times*, November 5, 1860, in *The New York Times on Critical Elections*, 53.

[40] Neely, *The Fate of Liberty*, 26.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid, 28.

[43] Ibid, 123.

[44] Ibid, 176.

[45] Ibid.

entirely partisan reputation," which was inaccurate given the makeup of the court: Lincoln had appointed five judges to the Supreme Court during the war, making the court, and its decision in *Milligan*, bipartisan.[46] This postwar decision marked a postwar interpretation of Lincoln's suspension of the writ – one that could ignore the suspension as a war measure and take into account its effect on civilian lives.

During the war, however, both Lincoln and Seward justified the suspension of habeas corpus based on its results in Maryland and Missouri. The suspension was first implemented as a result of conflict in Maryland, and after its application, Maryland returned to the Union. This is a weak justification at best, considering the variety of other factors that went into the situation in Maryland, but this connection "became almost a truism in Lincoln's day."[47] William H. Seward, Lincoln's Secretary of State, was responsible for the application of the suspension of the writ. When asked about citizens who were imprisoned without charge, Seward answered: "I don't care a d – n whether they are guilty or innocent. I saved Maryland by similar arrests, and so I mean to hold Kentucky."[48] Most at the time believed the so-called arbitrary arrests were effective in curbing the rebellion and reuniting the Union, regardless of whether or not that was true. In the state of Missouri, arbitrary arrests went a step farther. That state "saw the origins of trials by military commission," which would, after the war, lead to the *Ex parte Milligan* decision.[49] The high arrest records of civilians in Missouri were a result of the continuous waring in that state, and also perhaps of overreaction from federal authorities in an attempt to get Missouri to side with the Union. Whether it was the suspension of habeas corpus, hidden Unionist sentiment, continued military presence, or some combination of these and other factors which saved the border states for the Union, for Lincoln, Seward and many Northerners, the suspension of the writ was the deciding factor which forced secessionist sympathizers out of the public eye and allowed Unionist sentiment to prevail.

Lincoln's suspension of habeas corpus was justified; he was not hesitant to do what he needed to in a time of war, but he sought constitutional and congressional support and was troubled by the censorship of the press and other oversteps by subordinates. Lincoln knew he would need justification for his actions – as a lawyer, he was aware that precedent and tradition did not support his use of presidential powers and seizure of congressional powers. Using the war powers clause of the Constitution, the president justified the suspension of habeas corpus as a reaction to the rebellion. Without Congress to guide him until it reconvened in July 1861, Lincoln was left to handle the first months and the first reactions to Southern secession alone. Many of the decisions he faced were not clearly defined in the Constitution, leaving Lincoln to push against traditional uses of presidential powers. The suspension of habeas corpus was a major issue throughout the war for many Northerners, but Lincoln's other extensions of presidential powers at the beginning of the war were more concerning. Lincoln moved outside of the presidential powers outlined in the Constitution because many of the powers of the federal government were not clearly defined. The Constitution stated that "the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it," but the secession of Southern states was an act of rebellion.[50] In times of rebellion, swift government reaction was necessary. Lincoln upheld his oath of office in the best way he knew how: by preserving the Union and the Constitution through the suspension of habeas corpus.

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[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid, 29.
[48] Ibid, 30.
[49] Ibid, 49.
[50] Paludan, 71.

The Development of Modern Sonata Form through the Classical Era: A Survey of the Masterworks of Haydn and Beethoven

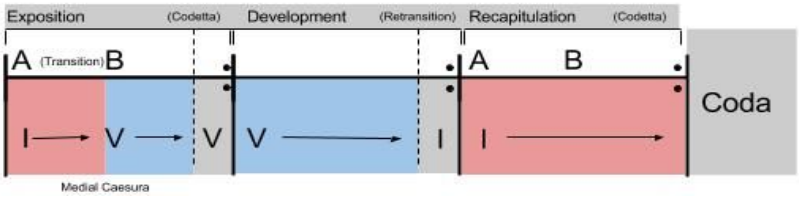
B. Michael Winslow

B. Michael Winslow is a senior music composition and theory major, originally from Georgetown, Illinois. His paper is a survey of the development of the modern sonata from its roots in the 18th century and was written for his Music History II class instructed by Dr. Kevin Mieschke.

In the early Classical era (1750-1820), many composers embraced new, diverse changes in the musical realm. The development of the early phrase model and a new focus on simplicity, philosophy, knowledge, and nature allowed composers to expand on several aspects of music. Sonata form is an instrumental form that developed from the continuous rounded binary form of the Baroque era.

The traditional sonata form presents the original melodic content in the section known as the exposition. In the second section, the melodic content is presented in a new key and breaks down those themes in that new key. The final section of the sonata is the recapitulation. It represents all the material in the tonic key and usually highlights the themes presented throughout the piece (Figure 1).

(Figure 1) Sonata Form



The objective of this paper is to analyze the sonata from its early beginnings in the Baroque era, through its further development throughout the Classical era, and finally its progression into the Romantic era. I will be considering the style of the Classical era and the compositional style of the composers featured in this analysis. At the end of this paper, I will survey the growth and development of the sonata form and compare its predecessor to a common modern contemporary of the Romantic era.

To begin, where did the sonata form come from? Why was it created, and what purpose did it serve? For that, let us consult the writings of Mark Evan Bonds in his textbook, *A History of Music in Western Culture*. The text places the early beginnings of the sonata in the late 1600's. "The term [s]onata was used quite broadly during the early Baroque era and did not acquire its modern, more specialized meaning until well into the 18th Century," writes Bonds. It "was something of a catchall for instrumental works of all kinds, including those for a large ensemble with more than one player to a part. In general, the Baroque sonata had no fixed number or order of movements."[1]

Specifically, this section indicates that most early instrumental music in the Baroque era was classified as a sonata. It was not until later in the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century that composers began narrowing a form down for this new genre of instrumental music. By the end of the seventeenth century, the Trio Sonata and its two progenies, the Sonata De Camera and the Sonata De Chiesa, emerged as a new genre with a distinctly fixed form.[2]

[1] Mark Evan Bonds, *A History of Music in Western Culture*, 1st ed. (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson Education, 2013), 264.
[2] Ibid.

The Sonata De Camera (Chamber Sonata), a late Baroque form, was a multi-movement work that usually consisted of a suite of dances. These dances were usually grouped in Fast-Slow-Fast form. This was one of the things that carried over from the Baroque Sonata to the Classical Sonata, as many sonatas are arranged as fast-slow-fast movements. The Sonata De Chiesa (or Church Sonata) takes this name because of its suitability for performance within the liturgy of the Catholic Church.[3]

In the Classical era of music, the Sonata form became increasingly popular for composers. The sonata had originally emerged as a misnomer for all instrumental music of the early Baroque and Classical eras, and later became a specific genre of music that would retain its significance well into the 20th century.

As described in the opening of this paper, the sonata has three main sections. First, there is the exposition, which presented the main themes in the tonic key and ending with a transition to the key of the developmental section, often in the dominant key. This progressed into the developmental section, where the themes are stated, broken down, and the whole section becomes harmonically unpredictable and unstable. The last section leads back to the tonic key where all of the melodic themes are restated. This section is known as the recapitulation.[4] (See Figure 1)

With this new genre of music developing, composers found new ways to expand their themes and harmonic phrases. Let us begin the survey, then, of this new form in the early classical era. While there were many active composers during the early Classical era, Haydn remains among the best known and respected.

Franz Joseph Haydn began as a freelance musician, teacher, and composer in Vienna around 1750. He was especially bright as a young musician. Despite his aptitude for music, however, his first break did not come until he was appointed as the court composer for the Esterhazy Court where he remained until the death of Prince Esterhazy in 1790. During this time, Haydn had nearly unlimited resources at his disposal. The court possessed enough wealth that he was able to compose with an experienced group of court musicians at his side at all times. During this period, he refined his skills and produced a large mass of music.

After his time in the Esterhazy Court, he left to compose in London where his works had already made him a huge sensation. While his fame in London could have led him to live a life of luxury, he decided to focus on his career.[5]

To establish a good base model for the early sonata, take a look at a few of Haydn's sonatas and observe the development of the sonata from the early Classical era and onward. For simplicity's sake, we will look at a keyboard sonata from his time in Vienna and from when he left for London after his time with the Esterhazy Court. Although the entire piece is considered a sonata, the only section that was in "sonata form" was the first section. Once again, to simplify the objective, we will only be looking at the first movements of these two sonata. Our first sonata is his Keyboard Sonata No. 10 in C Major (Figure 2).

The piece opens up with the "A Theme" being presented in measures 1-7, ending with a half cadence in C Major. The second theme in the same manner from measures 8-15 ending with a half cadence in C Major. The exposition closes with an authentic cadence in the dominant key in the codetta (m. 15-17).

The developmental section takes this simple theme and moves to the key of G minor and proceeds to restate the main themes while making them more unstable. In measure 18, we see the "A Theme" restated in the new key. Later in measure 30, we see Haydn further deconstructing the

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid, 306.

[5] James Webster and George Feder, "Haydn, Joseph," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, [accessed November 12, 2016] http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/44593pg5.

"A Theme" with descending sequence motion. This happens until measure 37, where the retransition to the tonic key begins and introduces us to the recapitulation in measure 39. The recapitulation reintroduces us to the melodic material of the piece in the tonic key. The movement concludes with an authentic cadence in the home key of C Major.[6] This piece displays the simplicity and elegance of Haydn's sonata writing. A simple, catchy theme that clearly develops throughout the piece. The piece follows the model for sonata form almost perfectly. An exposition showing two prominent themes, a development that, with careful precision, plays with those themes and creates a great deal of tension, and a recapitulation that reintroduced us to the melodic content of the exposition. This piece is an excellent observation of how composers used this new form.

Next, let us survey a later keyboard sonata of Haydn, his Keyboard Sonata No. 60, a piece written in London after his time with the Esterhazy court in 1794-95. We will begin with a more basic analysis of the piece (Figure 3). The exposition of this piece is noticeably longer than the previous. It spans from measures 1 to 53 and presents the thematic material of the piece. The development from measures 54 to 101 takes all of those materials and moves them into the minor mode. The pieces primary themes returned at measure 102.[7]

This piece has many unique differences compared to the Haydn Piano Sonata No. 10 we examined. First of all, the phrases in Sonata No. 60 compared to Sonata No. 10 were substantially longer. This expansion of the primary theme gave him plenty of material to work with in the developmental section of the piece. The developmental phrase was more diverse because of this large mass of material and that helped support the music overall.

Secondly, the piece was substantially thicker in terms of the overall texture. I hypothesize this has something to do with the invention of the Pianoforte in the Classical era. This new technology allowed Haydn and other composers the ability to compose with dynamics and made the keyboard a more diverse and virtuosic instrument. This also allowed composers to use pitches to their own desires, rather than being limited to the middle of the keyboard and only using the upper and lower sections for dynamic doubling and basso continuo.

Finally, the form of this piece had slight differences compared to the model of sonata previously observed (Figure 1). This was largely the result of his extended amount of material in the exposition, and I also believe that this is a result of Haydn maturing his compositional style throughout his life. This is an excellent example of a composer refining his/her sound and in addition to doing so, helping guide the direction of the sonata in the Classical era.

Moving into the late Classical era and into the earliest times of the Romantic era, composers like Beethoven sought new musical ideas and influences. One of the most substantial changes in between the Classical era and the Romantic era was the way composers treated the main melodic content and how they harmonized the content.[8]

Beethoven was a substantial figure in the development of the early Romantic style. He began composing in 1787 and was active until his death on March 26th of 1827. Among his most popular repertoire is his "Moonlight" Sonata No. 14 (1802), which is an excellent piece, allowing us to survey the late Classical era moving into the early Romantic style (See Figure 4).

This work opens with a four bar introduction that lead us right into the primary theme of the piece. The exposition develops its theme over an underlying triplet ostinato that drives the whole piece. The development from measure 24 to measure 42 makes great use of the triplet ostinato to drive the piece towards the end and helps support the breaking down of the melodic content. The

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[6] Franz Joseph Haydn, "XVI: 1 (No. 10) in C Major" on IMSLP, IMSLP [accessed November 11th, 2016] http://imslp.org/wiki/Template:Piano_Sonatas_(Haydn,_Joseph).

[7] Ibid.

[8] James Webster, "Sonata form," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, [accessed November 17, 2016] http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/26197.

recapitulation revisits these melodic devices in the tonic key, and the piece concludes with the triplet ostinato winding its way down to the final authentic cadence point at the end of the piece.[9]

This piece has many romantic influences, and many innovations in it. The piece's development for instance, rather than entirely improvising off the melodic themes from the exposition, makes full use of its content. The development is significantly less tense in its presentation of the primary themes. Tension is defused by the repeating triplet ostinato, while the themes just cascade and melt away throughout the duration of the development. It provides the listener something to expect and to rely on, and that, perhaps, offsets the unstable melodic content.

It is unusual looking back on the developments of the Haydn sonata, which stated the theme and then proceeded to create new material that strongly pointed towards the end of the piece. The development in the Beethoven sonata appears much less concerned with using the melodic and harmonic content to drive the piece to the recapitulation. It uses the triplet ostinato as a sort of slow moving conveyer driving us to the end of the piece. The end of the development lines up with the recapitulation a little too well. The cadence between the two sections is seamless and carries listeners back into the first tonal area of the piece.

Another substantial difference between the Haydn and the Beethoven sonatas was the way they treated the bass line. The bass line in the Beethoven sonata seemed much freer and more Fantasia-like. The bassline in the Haydn sonata acted more with the melodic line than as a harmonizing function with the piece. This was a popular way for late Classical composers and early Romantic composers to focus more on the themes they were writing, rather than letting the phrasing dictate how the piece was laid out.[10]

Altogether, both composers do well to represent the emerging genre of sonata from the rounded continuous binary form. Both present clean melodic content, develop it, and represent it in the tonic key—which is, at the heart of it, the entire point of the sonata form.

From the early sonata, the form grew significantly between the Baroque and early Romantic eras. The focus on short, concise phrases with clean and memorable melodies had passed. Composers now focused more on using their melodic material to create these massive sections of music from the variation and development of the main melodic ideas presented at the beginning of the piece. This spotlight on expanding the primary theme led many later Sonatas to have significant length and developmental differences from their early classical predecessors.

With the instrumental innovations of the Classical era, no longer were composers bound to the limitations of the instruments for which they were writing. The writing of later classical works included the use of dynamics and the freedom to compose across the keyboard without the fear of ringing overtones of the harpsichord. This addition gave composers a new way to write, and, in turn, let composers freely write creative bass lines without having to outline chords below the melody.

Together, composers and new musical technologies drove the development of the sonata that allowed music to be written differently. While Haydn and other Classical composers, such as Mozart and J.C. Bach, were able functionally to use these new components as the Classical era developed, it was not until composers like Beethoven and Schubert came along that these genres had substantial differences in their writing techniques.

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[9] Ludwig Von Beethoven, "Piano Sonata No. 14 "Moonlight" Op. 27 No. 2" on IMSLP, IMSLP, accessed November 11th, 2016, http://imslp.org/wiki/Piano_Sonata_No.14,_Op.27_No.2_(Beethoven,_Ludwig_van)

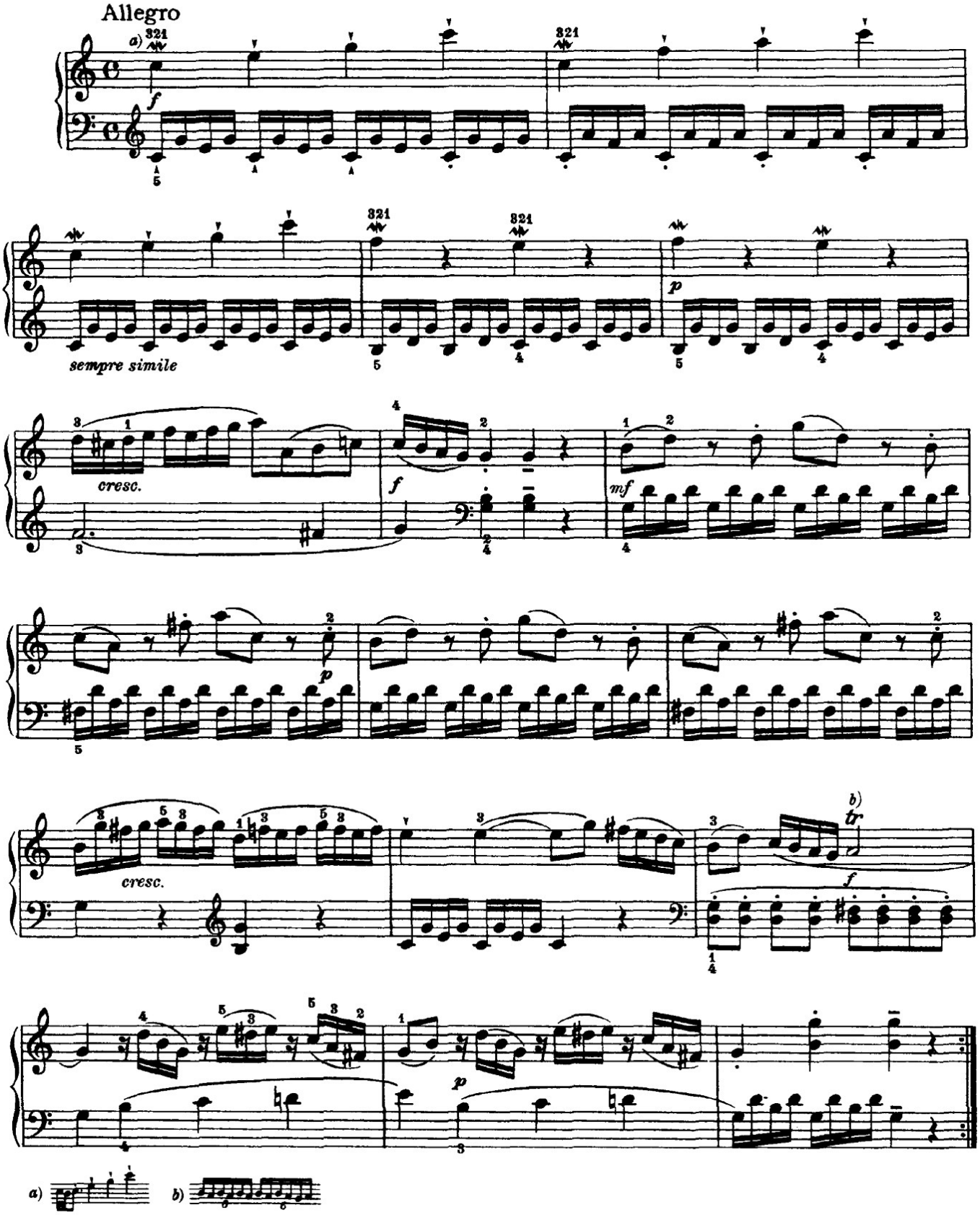
[10] James Webster, "Sonata form," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.*

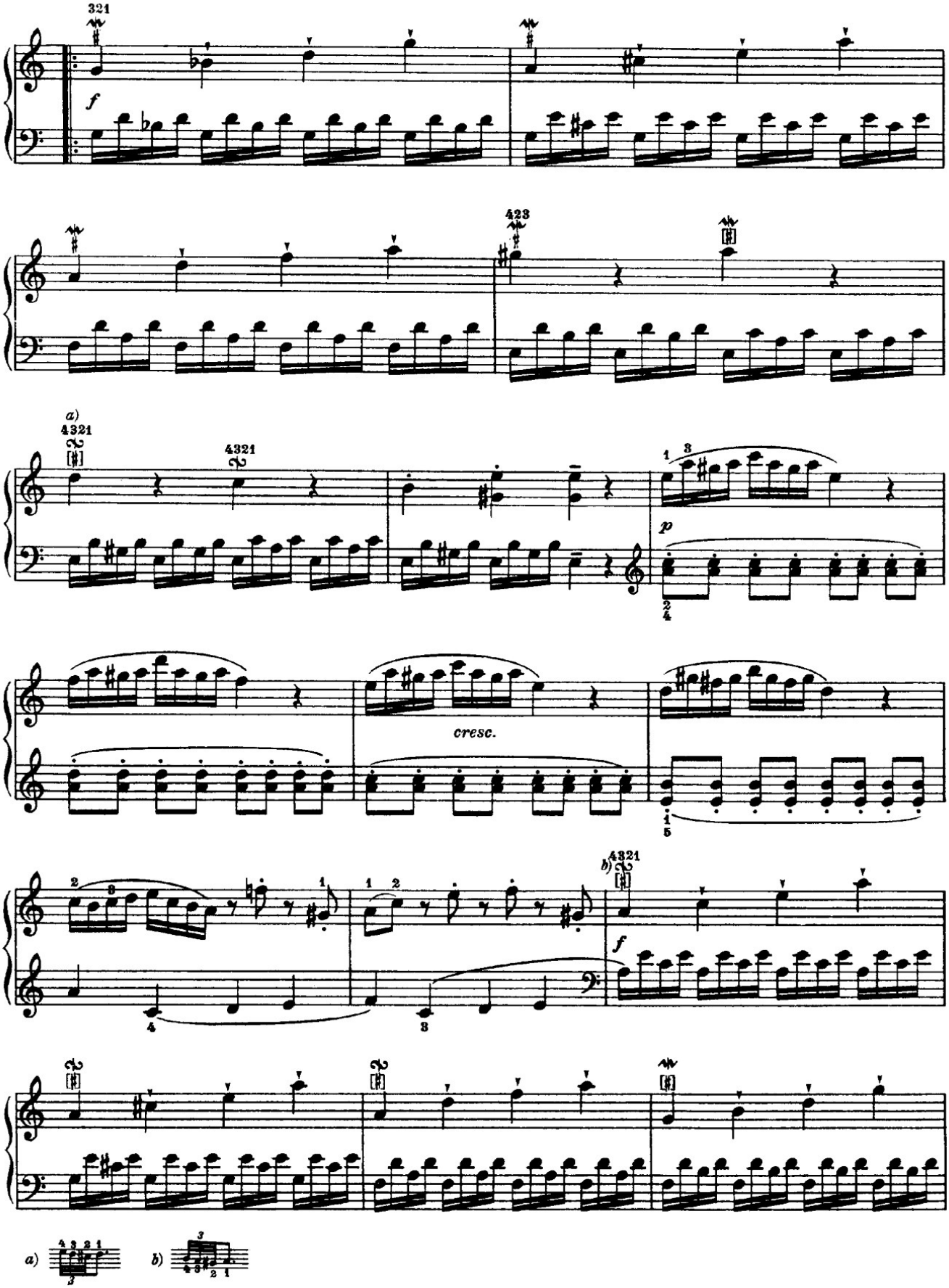
Figure 2: Hayden Keyboard Sonata, No. 10

Franz Joseph Haydn

Sonata in C Major

(Partita/Divertimento, 1750-55?)

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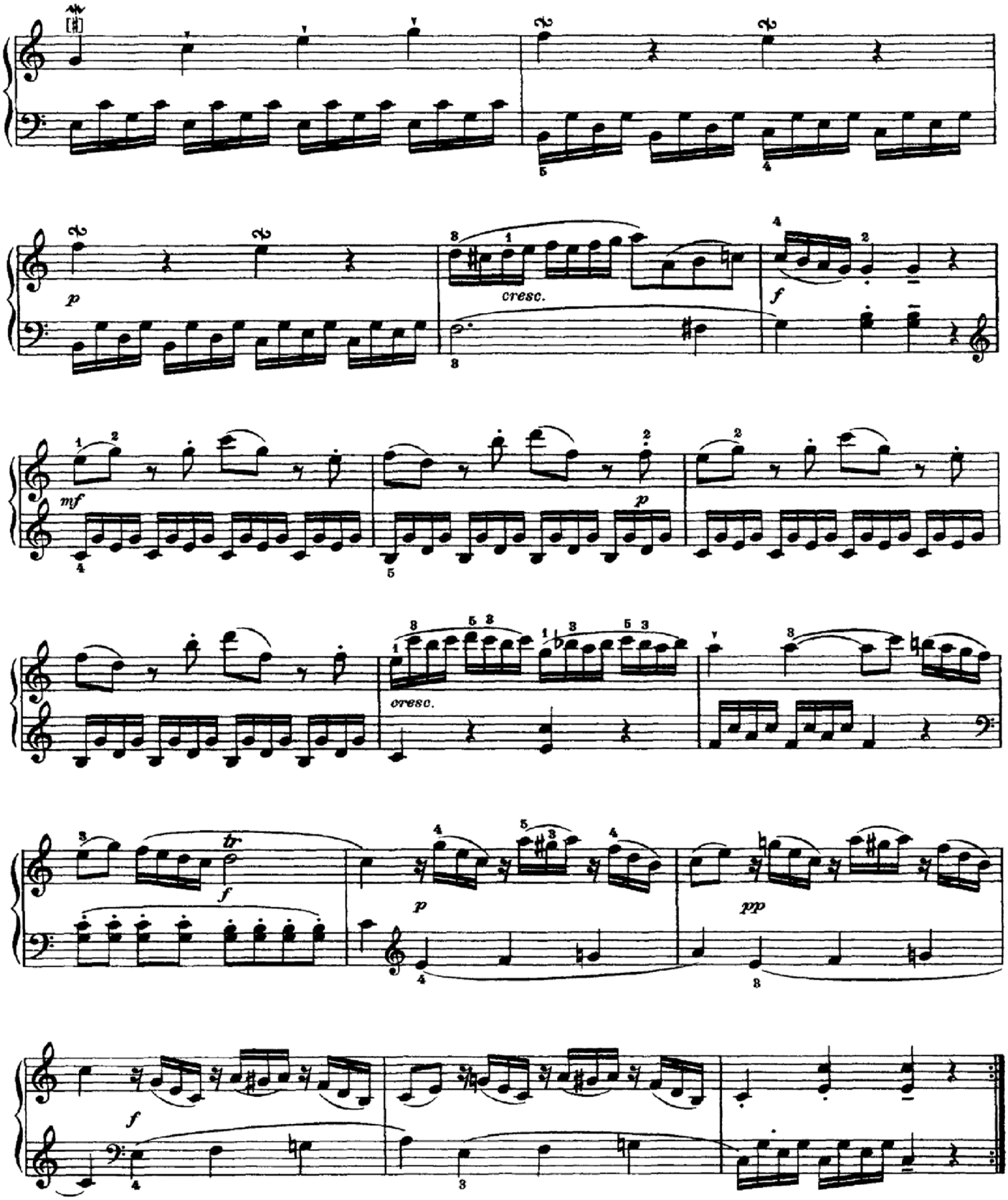
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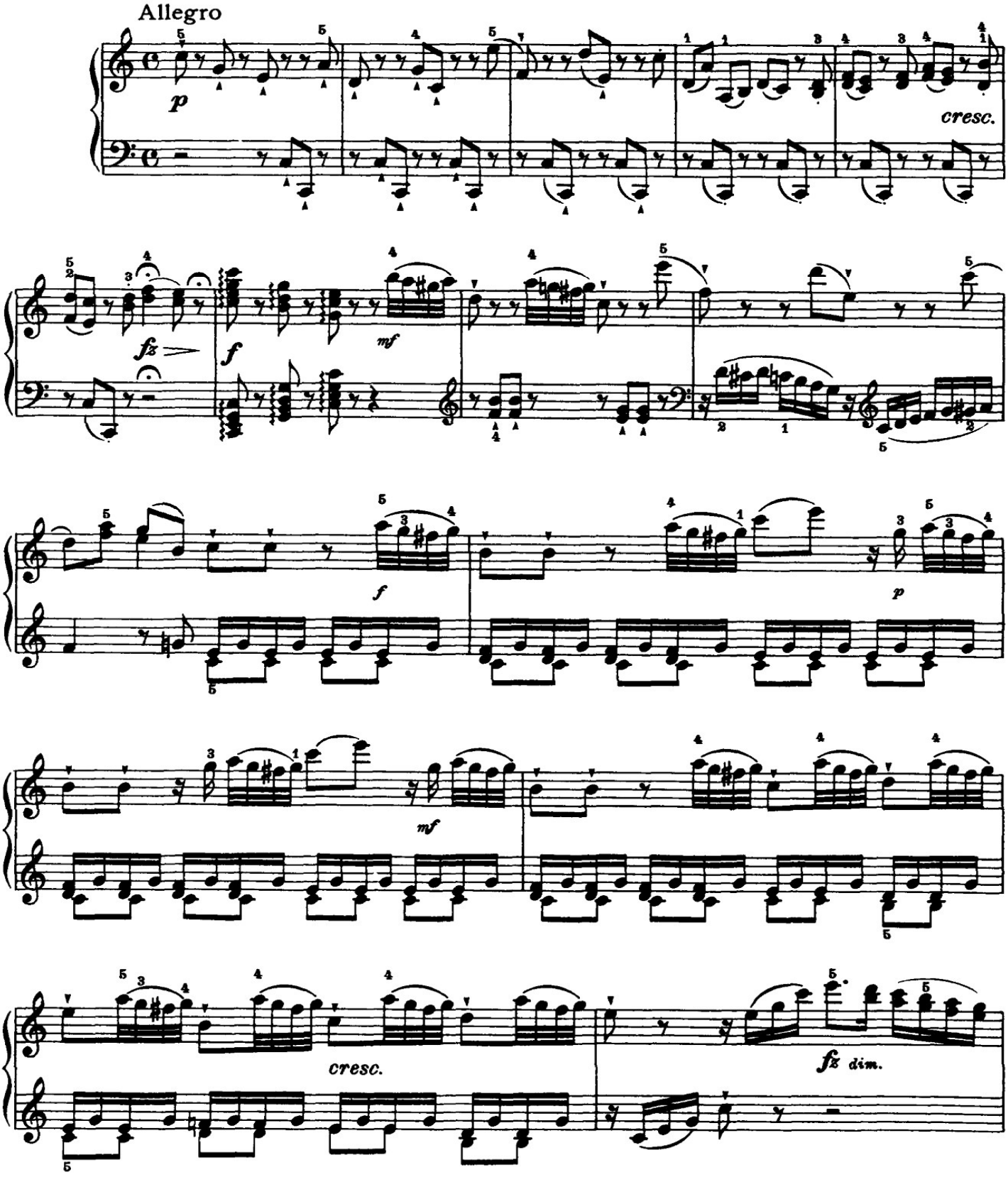
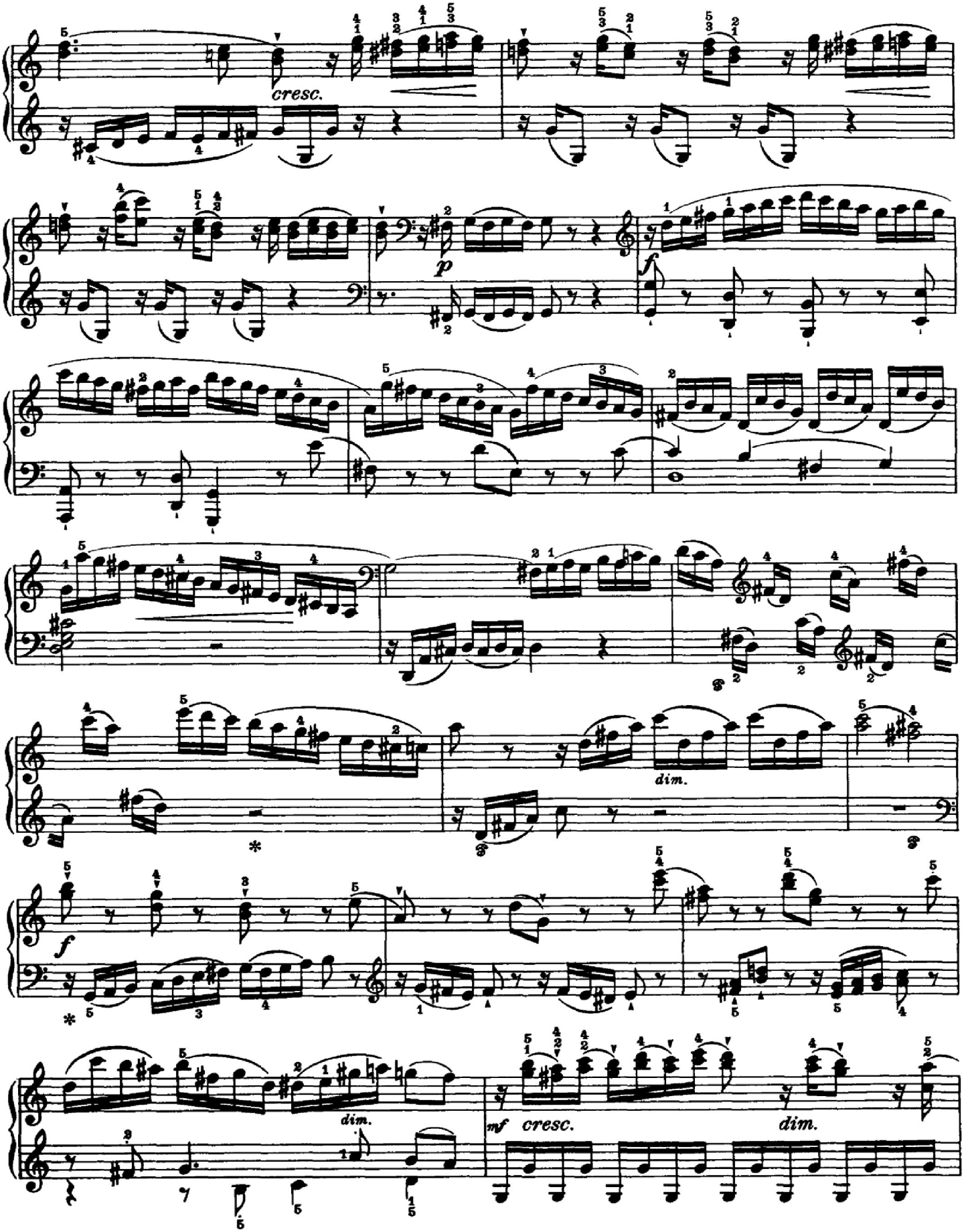
Figure 3: Haydn, Keyboard Sonata, No. 60

Franz Joseph Haydn

Sonata in C Major

(1794-5)

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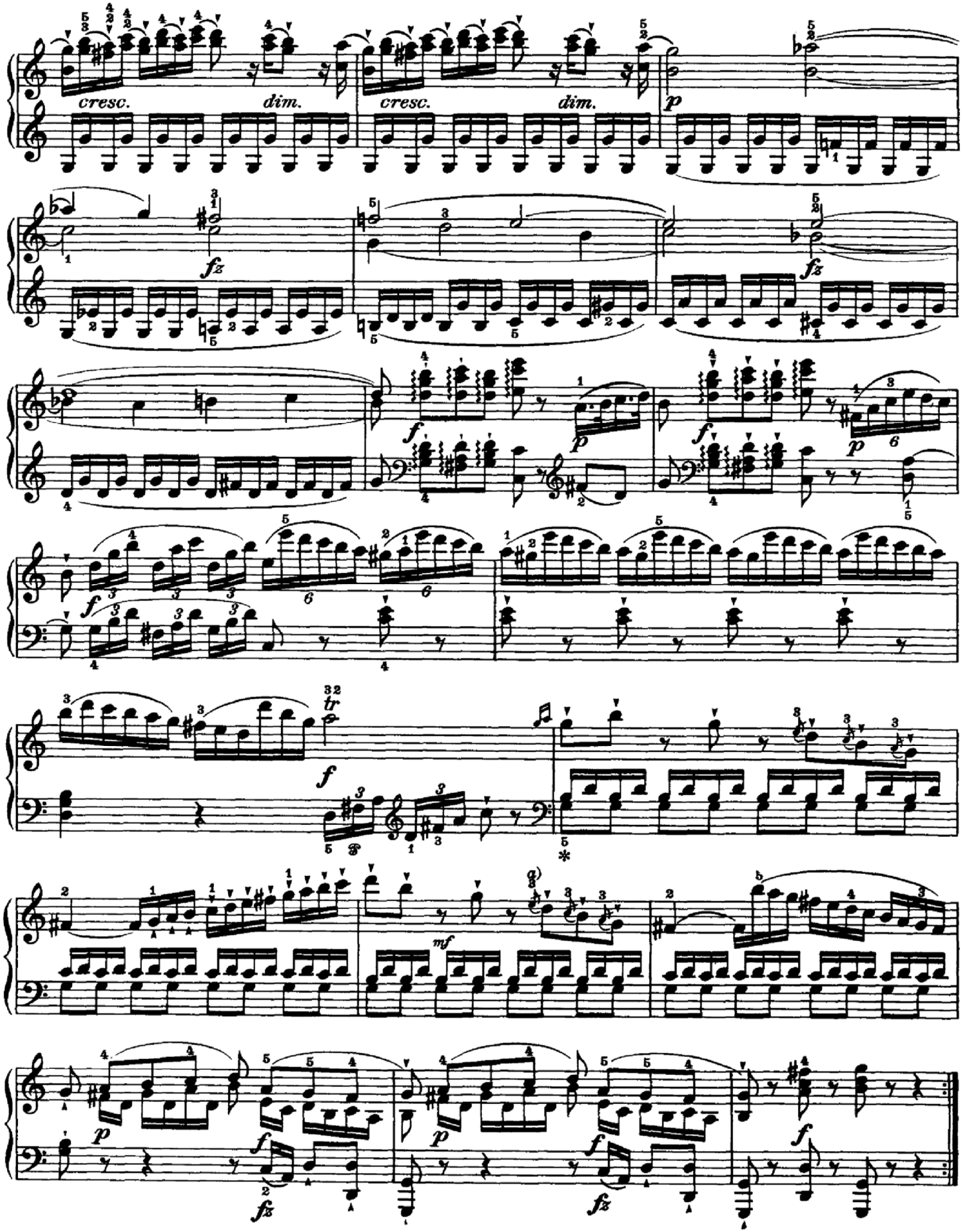
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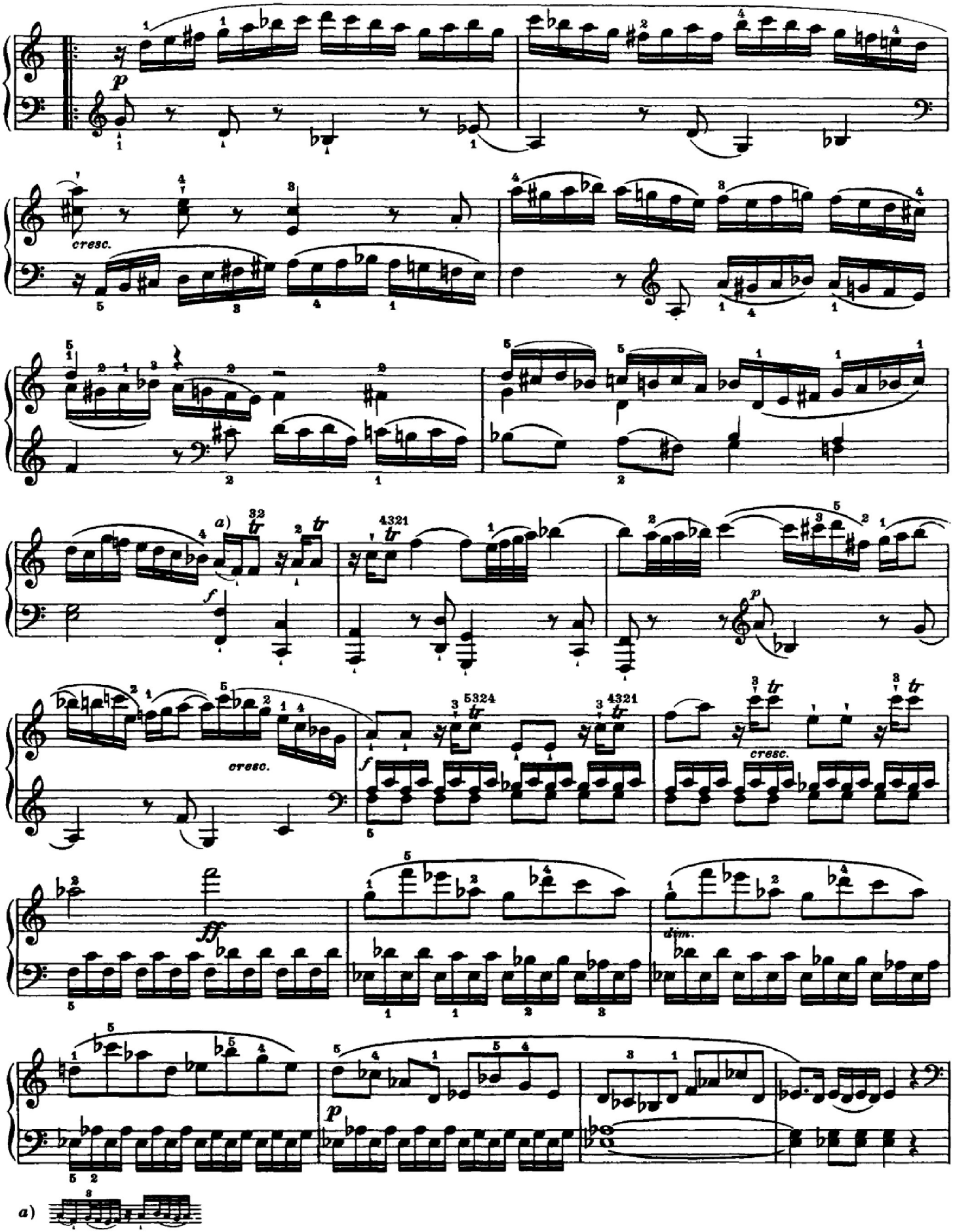
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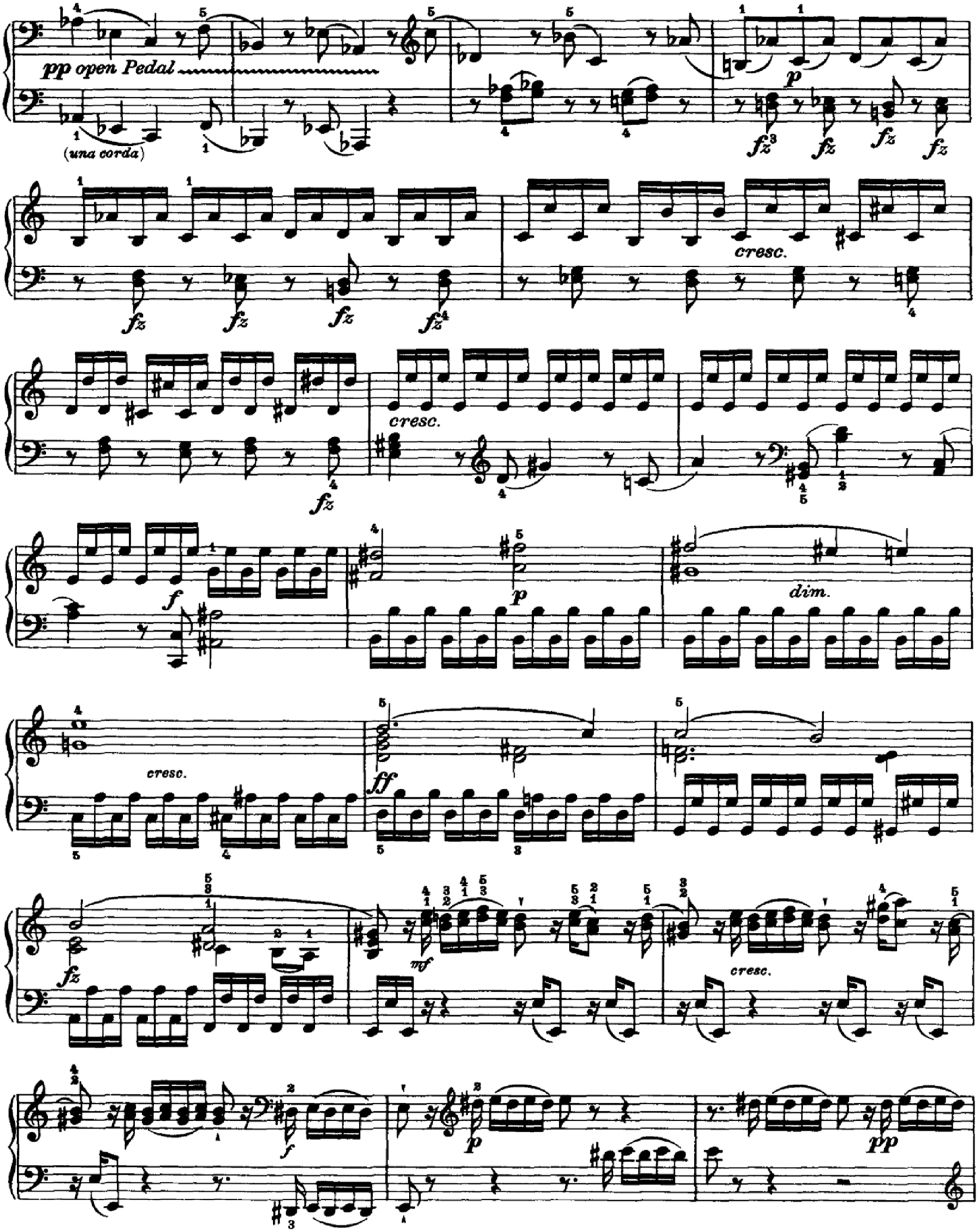
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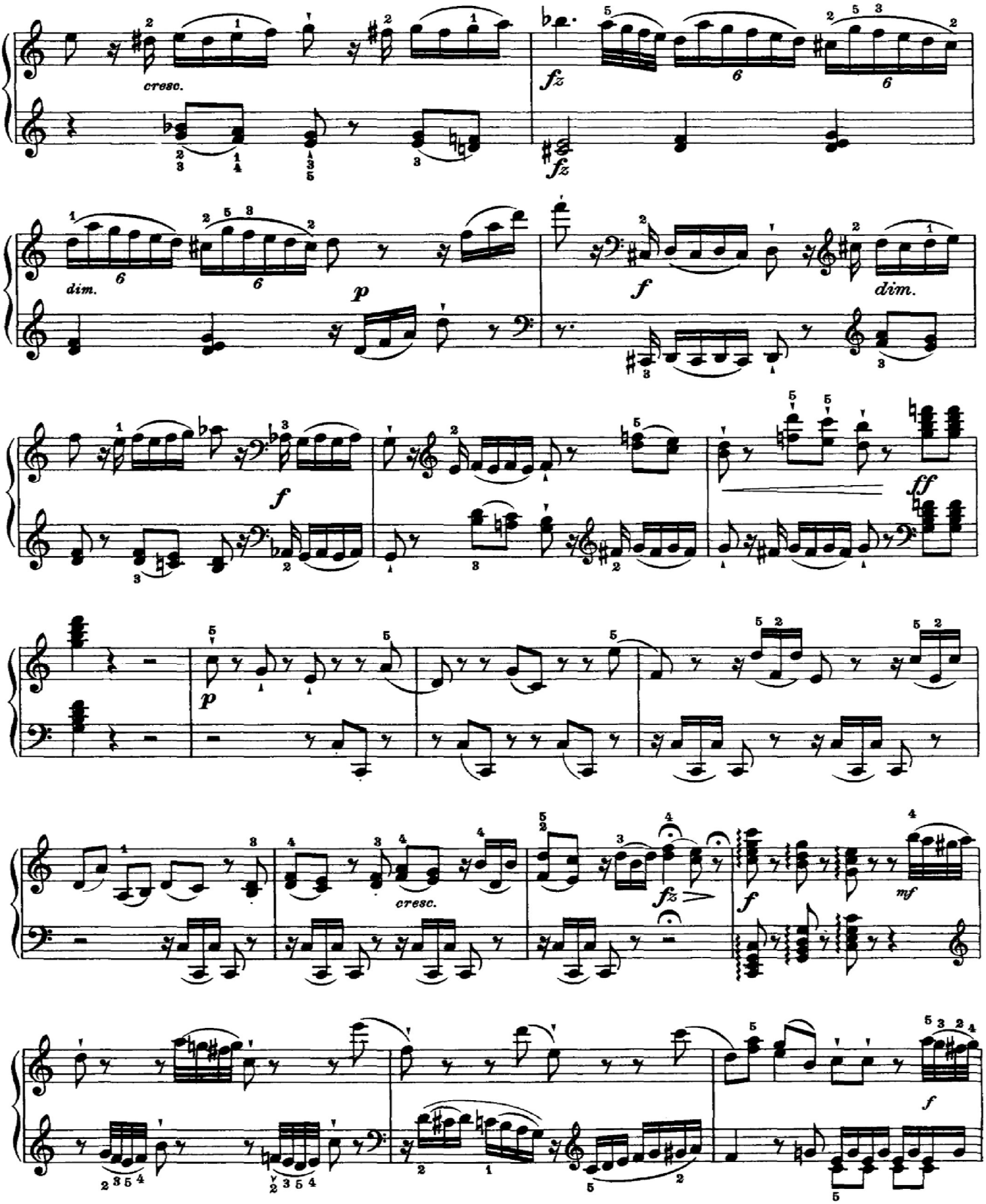
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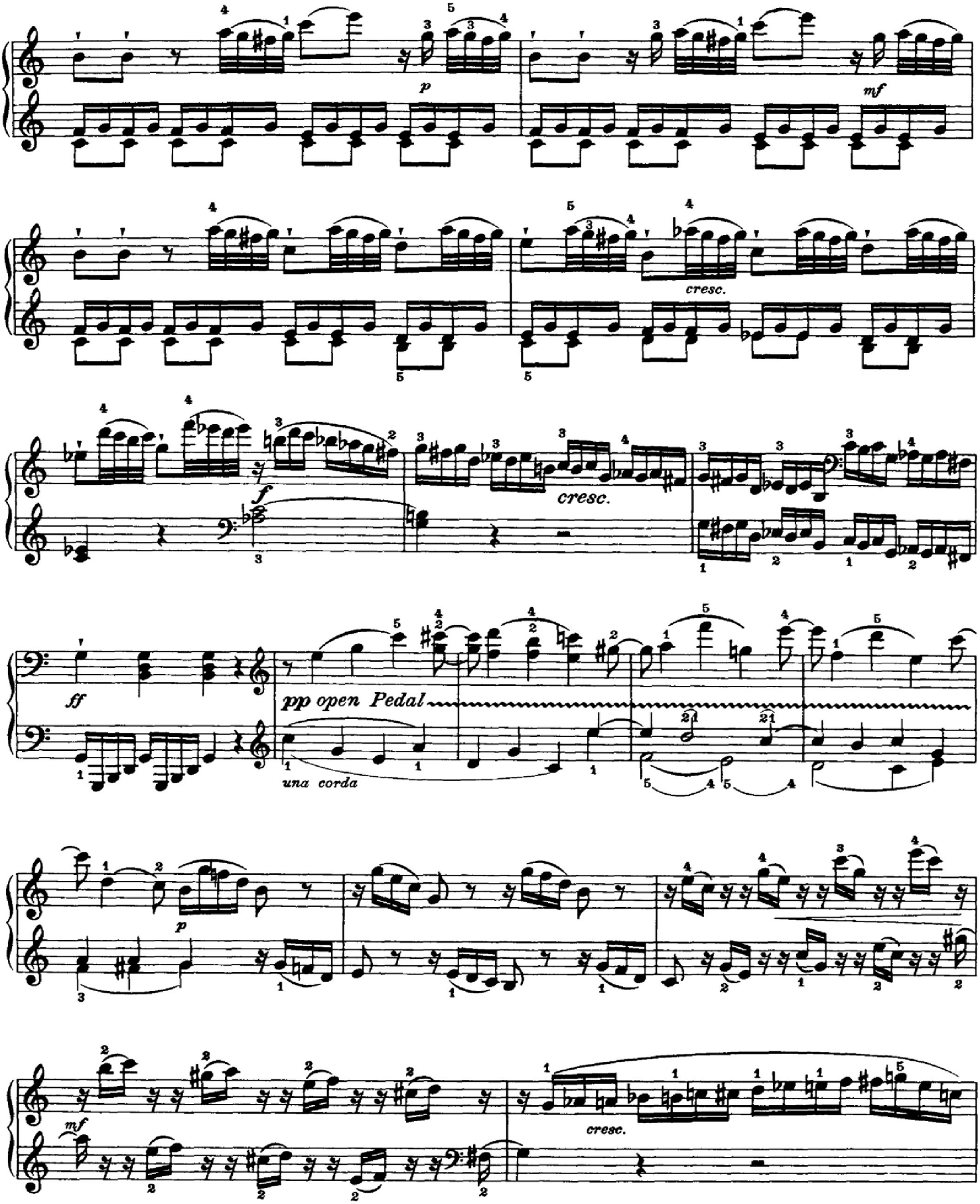
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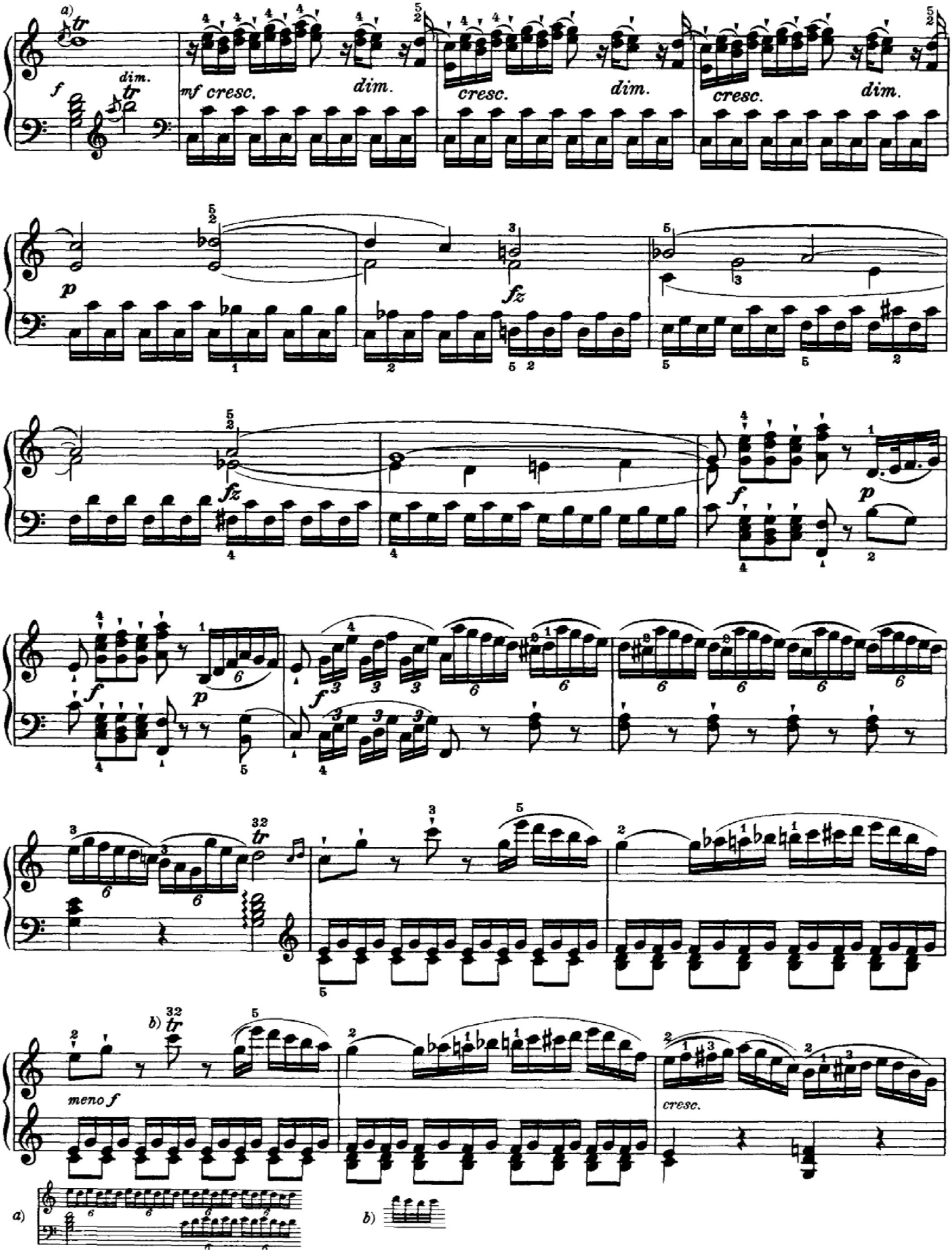
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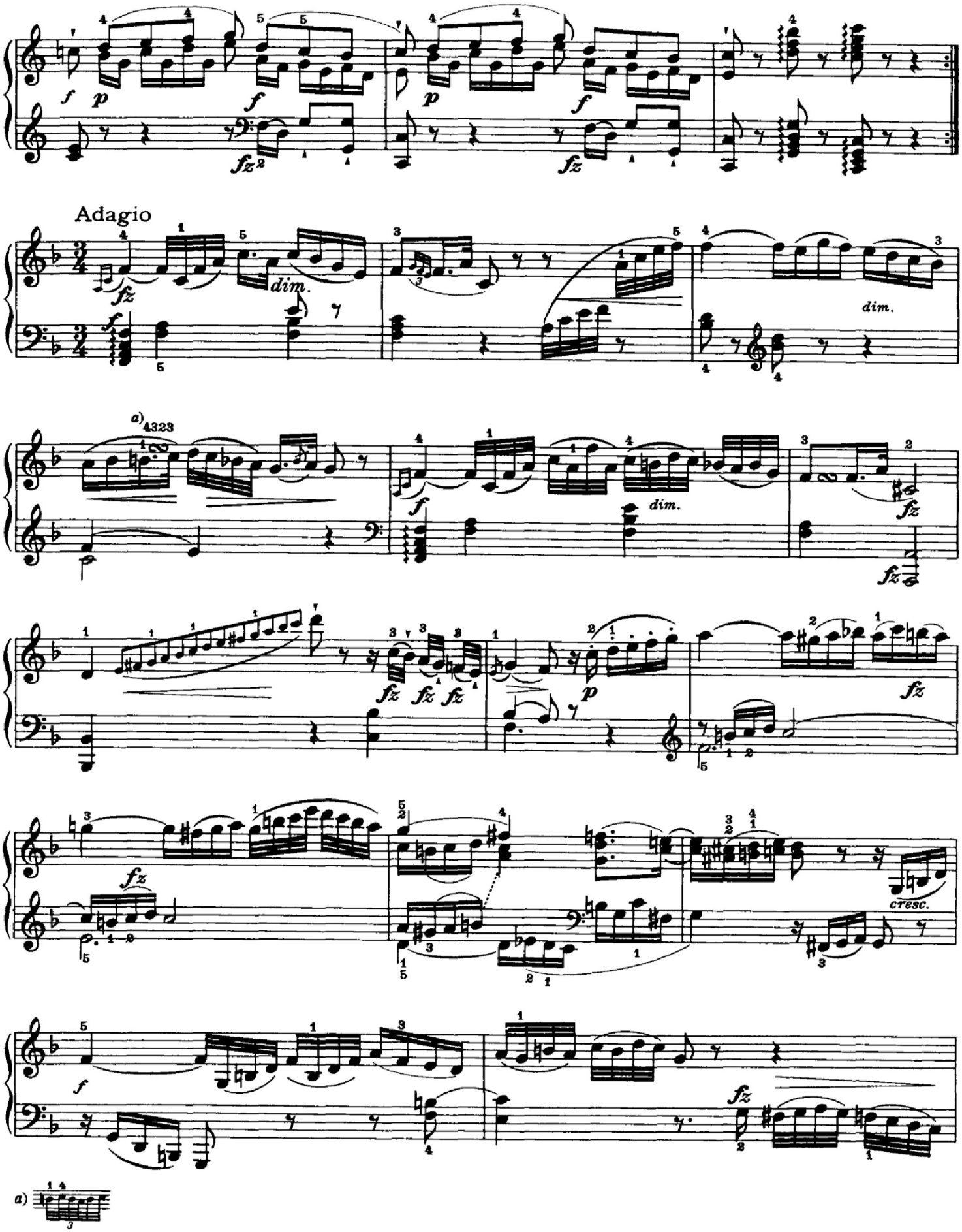
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Figure 4: Beethoven's Piano Sonata No. 14 "Moonlight"

SONATE

(SONATA QUASI UNA FANTASIA)
für das Pianoforte
von
L. VAN BEETHOVEN.

Beethovens Werke.

Serie 16. Nº 137.

Der Gräfin Julie Guicciardi gewidmet.

Op. 27. Nº 2.

Adagio sostenuto.

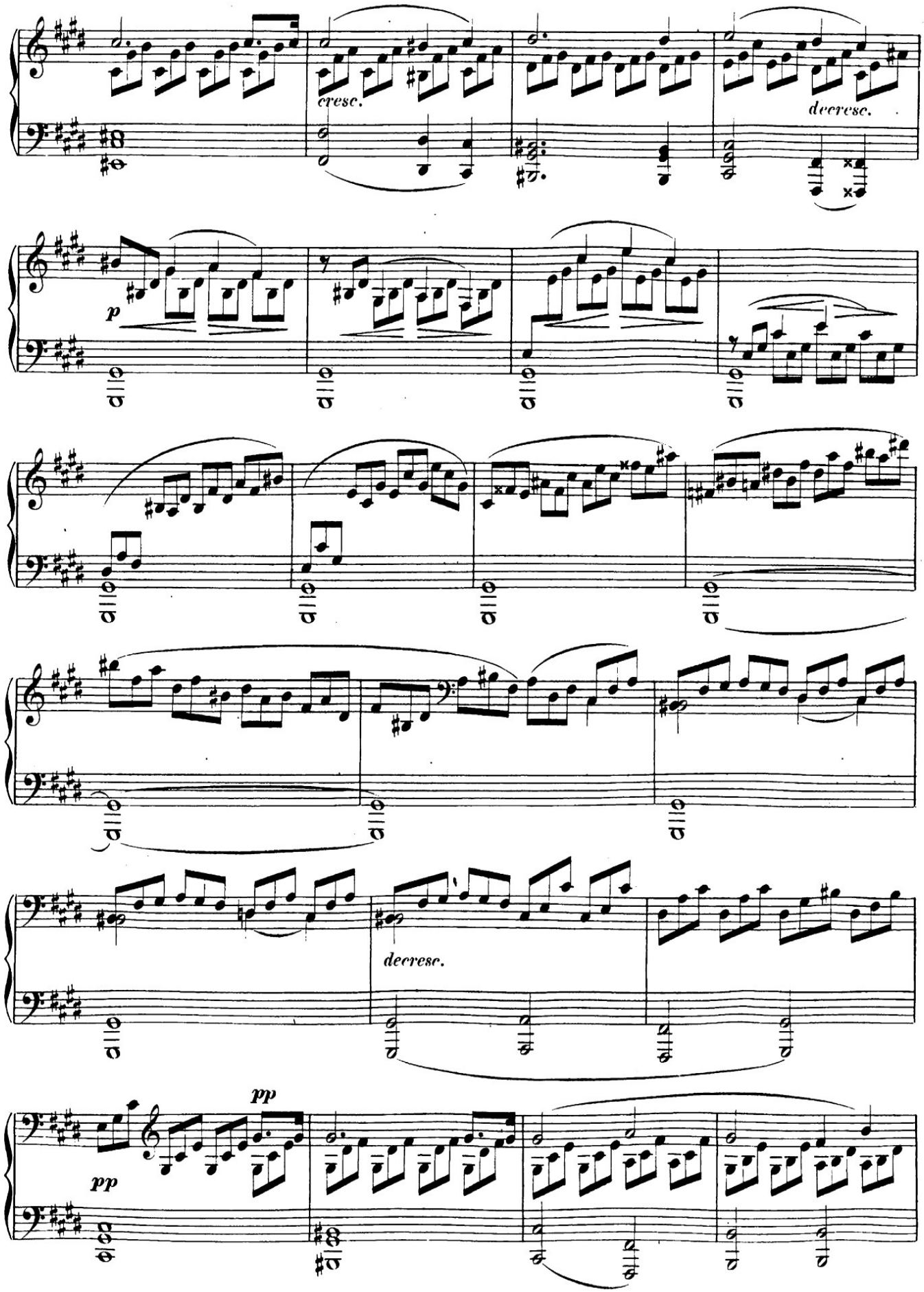
Si deve suonare tutto questo pezzo delicatissimamente e senza sordini.

Sonate Nº 14.

sempre pp e senza sordini.

pp

Original-Verleger: A. O. Witzendorf in Wien. B. 137. Stich und Druck von Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig.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A Bit of Brightness: Colored Glassware and the Experience of Women During the Great Depression

Claire J. Eagle

Claire Eagle is a graduate candidate in the Historical Administration Program from Jacksonville, Alabama. This paper was written for Dr. Debra Reid's class, Material Culture Life in America, 1600-Present. It was awarded the Spring 2017 EIU History Department's Hamand Graduate Writing Award.

October 29, 1929, otherwise known as Black Tuesday, marked the beginning of over ten years of economic depression in the United States. That day nearly all stocks collapsed, and major banks began calling in loans; by mid-November an estimated thirty billion dollars in stock value had disappeared.[1] Struggling to stay open, companies all over the United States searched for any way to continue. This included companies like Federal Glass Company, Jeanette Glass Company, Hazel-Atlas Glass Company, and Hocking Glass Company.

These companies produced what is now known as "depression glass"—patterned glassware, made during the Depression years, that was produced in hundreds of patterns and a variety of colors all over the spectrum, including blue, black, green, pink, yellow, red, white, amber, and crystal clear.[2] Depression glass was inexpensively made, manufactured in bulk, and sold for pennies, or simply given away. Yet, it was more than just cheap glass. As one writer put it, "this glassware offered a bit of brightness and hope for the future, to the average housewife."[3] It would be easy to say that Depression glass was made for struggling housewives. Yet one might want to know exactly how this colorful glassware related to the experience of women during the Great Depression. This question can be answered by examining a Hocking Glass Company Coronation bowl (Figure 1), purchased at an Illinois antique store.

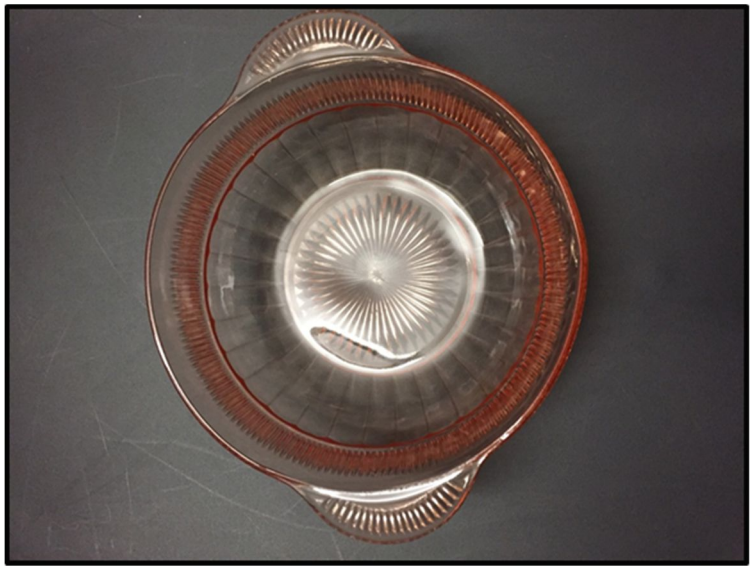

Figure 1. Picture taken by author.

Little scholarly work exists about Depression glass. Yet, today collectors across the country covet the glassware. In fact, The National Depression Glass Association formed in 1974 as an organization dedicated to the preservation of American-made glassware, including

[1] "Timeline of the Great Depression," Special Features, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/timeline/rails-timeline/ (accessed November 6, 2016).

[2] Gene Florence, *Collector's Encyclopedia of Depression Glass* (Paducah, KY: Collector Books, 2002), 5.

[3] Christine Nagy, "A Depression Glass Primer," *National Depression Glass Association.* http://www.ndga.net/articles/nagydgprimer.php (accessed November 6, 2016).

the history of the companies who made it, as well as the circulation of educational information regarding those topics.[4] However, neither scholars nor those that are a part of the National Depression Glass Association have written about what Depression glass and the companies that made the glassware, like Hocking Glass Company, might tell us about the experience of women during the Great Depression.

Hocking Glass Company

Hocking Glass Company was incorporated in 1905 by I.J. Collins and E.B. Good. Located in Lancaster, Ohio, the company was named for the nearby Hocking River. I.J Collins and E.B. Good worked to manufacture both plain and decorated glassworks including tableware, stemware, tumblers, and glass novelties.[5] The company thrived for almost twenty years before a fire destroyed the first Hocking Glass Company plant. Five years later, in 1929, the stock market crashed and the company struggled, while a main competitor, Anchor Cap and Closure Corporation, thrived and acquired five other companies that could not stay afloat during the crash.[6] Due to the fall of sales in crystal and quality colored glassware, companies had to be creative as "hard times curbed the purchase of luxury goods." [7] Sometime after 1927 Hocking developed a pressed glass machine. This allowed the company to produce cheap products, for instance a two tumbler set which sold for only 5 cents.[8]

The pressed glass machine kept Hocking open throughout the Great Depression allowing it to produce thousands of pieces of Depression glass. In 1937 Anchor Cap and Closure Corporation and Hocking Glass Company merged to become Anchor Hocking Glass Company. This company took the name Anchor Hocking Company after dropping the word "glass" from its title in 1969.[9] Anchor Hocking Company now makes common glassware that can be found in many kitchens today, just as its depression glass can be found in antique stores across the nation with very little effort. The Coronation bowl around which this study is built was found in Persimmon Lane, an antique store in downtown Charleston, Illinois.

Methodology

Studying this pressed piece of glass and the narrative it fits into, one can learn much about the Great Depression and a woman's experience during this time. Jules David Prown defines the study of material culture as "the study through artifacts of the beliefs, values, ideas, attitudes, and assumptions of a particular community or society at any given time." To Prown material culture "provides a scholarly approach to artifacts that can be utilized by investigators in a variety of fields."[10] In addition to Jules David Prown, other well-known methods for interpreting material culture have come from scholars including Thomas Schlereth, E. McClung Fleming, and Giorgio Riello. Understanding the methods proposed by these scholars helps us unlock valuable evidence from the material world.

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[4] National Depression Glass Association, "About Us," *National Depression Glass Association*. http://www.ndga.net/aboutus.php (accessed November 6, 2016).

[5] Anchor Hocking Company, "Heritage," *Anchor Hocking Company*. http://www.anchorhocking.com/heritage.html (accessed November 6, 2016).

[6] Ibid.

[7] Bradley P. Nutting P, "Selling Elegant Glassware during the Great Depression: A. H. Heisey & Company and the New Deal," *The Business History Review* 77, no. 3 (Autumn 2003): 448. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30041186 (accessed November 6, 2016).

[8] Phillip Hopper, *Anchor Hocking Commemorative Bottles and Other Collectibles* (Atglen, Pennsylvania: Schiffer Publishing, 2000), 9.

[9] Anchor Hocking Company, "Heritage."

[10] Jules David Prown, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method," *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 1. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1180761 (accessed November 6, 2016).

Thomas Schlereth defines three eras and nine approaches in his work "Material Culture Studies in America: 1876-1976." His three eras include the "age of collecting" from 1876-1948, the "age of description" from 1948-1965, and the "age of analysis" from 1965 onwards. We are currently in the age of analysis which leads to his nine approaches for analyzing material culture artifacts. Schlereth's approaches range from the "art history paradigm" to "the behavioristic concept" with a range in between.[11] In regard to a piece of depression era glass, Schlereth's best method of analysis would be the "social history paradigm." This method focuses on artifacts that have historically been ignored by museums due to their association with more marginalized groups such as labor, African-Americans, or women—and hence having relevance to labor history, black history, and women's history.[12]

E. McClung Fleming presents a slightly different model for artifact study. His method aims to identify many different approaches to analysis. In turn he provides a framework that relates each method together to "suggest the outlines of a program of collaborative research for all who are engaged in study of the artifact."[13] His model contains four steps which begin with the identification of the five basic properties of the artifact: history, material, construction, design, and function. The next operation is evaluation. Of the two forms of evaluation, the first centers around the judgement of the aesthetic quality of the artifact and is therefore very subjective. The second form of evaluation is based more in factual comparisons in quantifiable terms like cost, rarity, and size.[14] Next is the operation of cultural analysis, which establishes the artifact in relation to its own time and culture. Finally, there is interpretation. This operation in turn relates the artifact to our modern culture and its importance today.

Giorgio Riello states that "historians have survived, even thrived, during the last two centuries with little or no engagement with objects."[15] Yet we understand from earlier discussion that studying artifacts can provide new insight to history. Particularly the beliefs of any community at any given time.[16] Riello approaches material culture methodology with three categories in mind: history *from* things, history *of* things, and history *and* things. Each method focuses on the object a different way. In this instance, we have history "from things." Next, we would work to identify a narrative: The Great Depression and the experience of women. Then one introduces the artifact: a piece of Hocking Glass Company pressed glass. This method can unlock creative ideas about how to convey the past that are not dictated by professional historians.[17] Introducing the object separately can strengthen the narrative being told. These next sections will develop the narrative of women in the Great Depression completely separate from the object of this study. The Coronation bowl and the narrative come together in the conclusion.

Through these three methods of analysis, we form a plan to approach Depression glass. In studying a piece of Hocking Glass Company pressed glass, a combination of two approaches will work best. Using E. McClung Fleming's first step of his artifact study, identification, as well as the five basic properties he identifies, will produce a better understanding of the artifact. Riello's history *and* things will work to bring to light the narrative of the experience of women during the Great

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[11] Thomas J. Schlereth, "Material Culture Studies in America, 1876-1976," in *Material Culture Studies in America*, ed., Thomas J. Schlereth (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1982), 1-75.

[12] Ibid, 59.

[13] E. McClung Fleming, "An Artifact Study: A Proposed Model," *Winterthur Portfolio* 9 (1974): 154. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1180572 (accessed November 6, 2016).

[14] Ibid, 157.

[15] Giorgio Riello, "Things That Shape History: Material Culture and Historical Narratives," in *History and Material Culture: A Student's Guide to Approaching Alternative Sources*, ed., Karen Harvey (New York: Routledge Press, 2009), 25.

[16] Prown, 1.

[17] Riello, 26.

Depression. The combination will present an analysis that promises to expand our understanding of the relation of Depression glass to the experience of women during the Great Depression.

The first step of Fleming's artifact model, operation identification, is to outline the history of the object. However, to further our understanding, we will first identify the design of the artifact. Undertaking this step first helps immensely in the four remaining steps under the identification operation. Identifying the design shows the structure, style, form, and ornament of the object.[18] Due to the nature of Depression glass and the hundreds of patterns and colors produced, identifying the design of a piece can be tricky. Collectors of Depression glass have worked for years to produce comprehensive collector guides. Consulting these guides is the best way to identify the glassware. Through Gene Florence's *Collector's Encyclopedia of Depression Glass* this piece was visually identified as Hocking Glass Company's Coronation pattern using images shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2. "Collection of Coronation Pattern Glassware," in *Collector's Encyclopedia of Depression Glass,* by Gene Florence (Paducah, KY: Collector Books, 2002), 47.

This pink closed handled bowl measures four inches across the bottom whereas the outer top rim from edge of handle across measures at nine and three quarters of an inch. The bottom of the bowl shows a ray pattern radiating from the center point of the bowl. Upon the end of the rays a band of large and wide ribs circle the curve of the bowl. When those end, a final band of pointed and thin ribs encircle the top of the bowl. These ribs are also repeated on the handles. Florence identifies the top ribs as a crown pointing to the Coronation name.[19] Now that the design of this piece has been identified, the four other properties of Fleming's operation will be more easily identified.

[18] Fleming, 156.
[19] Ibid, 46.

The history of an artifact includes both when and where the artifact was made, as well as by whom and for whom it was made.[20] Otherwise known as provenance, this part of identification is important in any material culture study. We know through visual identification that this piece is a part of the Coronation pattern produced by Hocking Glass Company. This pattern was also known as Banded Rib and Saxon. Additionally, it was only produced from 1936-1940.[21] Although we know Hocking made it, there is no evidence of the exact plant and location where it was produced. Any conclusion is made more difficult by the fact that a year after the Coronation pattern was introduced, the Anchor Cap Corporation and the Hocking Glass Company merged, bringing the total number of manufacturing plants to more than ten.[22]

When it comes to the question of for whom the artifact was made, we are left with few answers. The broadest answer is that it was made for consumers. This helps little in identifying shops where the bowl was sold or any products it might have been given away with. Furthermore, there is no knowledge of how the product ended up at its previous location: the Persimmon Lane antique store. In a brief conversation, the owner of Persimmon Lane could not remember how the artifact came to be at her store. Her only comment was on the fact that she sells several pieces of Depression glass a month, and this one was in very good condition.[23]

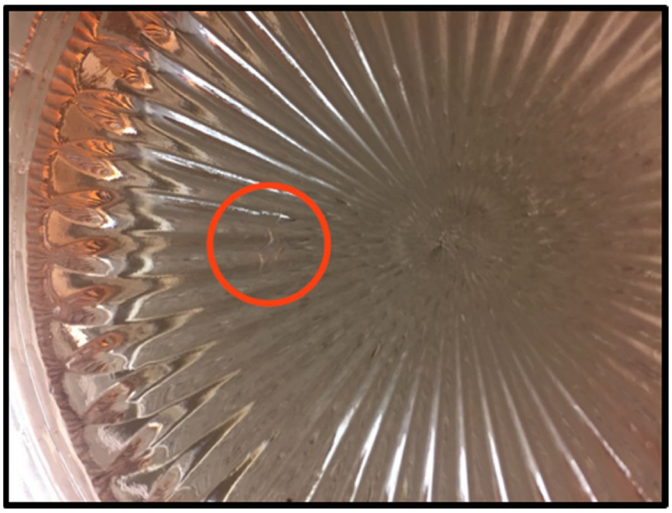


Figure 3. Picture taken by author.

Material, construction, and function round out Fleming's five properties. As Duska Cornwell, owner of Persimmon Lane stated, this piece is in relatively good condition considering its age. There are a few nicks on the outside of the bowl shown in Figures 3 and 4, but those are expected considering its material makeup, glass. The glass has been colored pink, done before construction. Construction would have taken place using a pressed glass machine. Molten pink colored glass would have been pressed into an engraved mold by a plunger to create the bowl. While it is widely

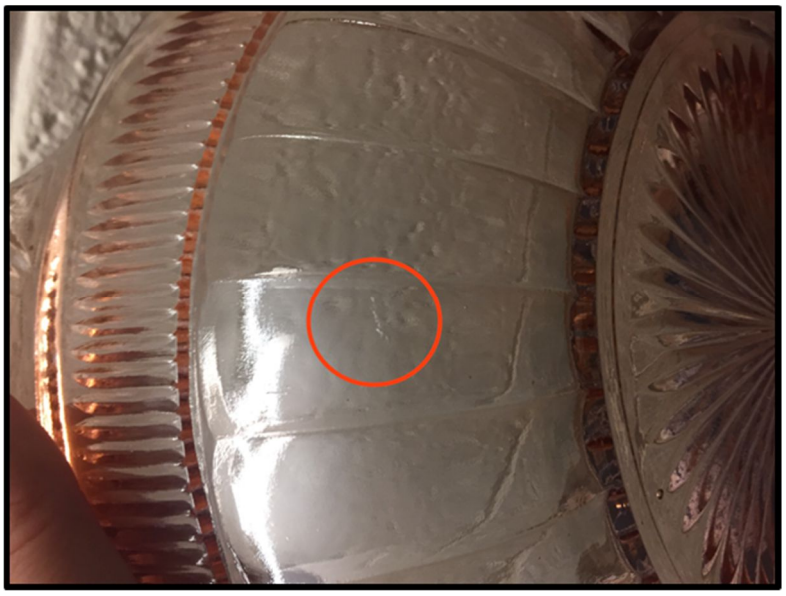


Figure 4. Picture taken by author.

[20] Fleming, 156.
[21] Florence, 46.
[22] Anchor Hocking Company, "Heritage."
[23] Duska Cornwell, telephone interview by author, September 28, 2017.

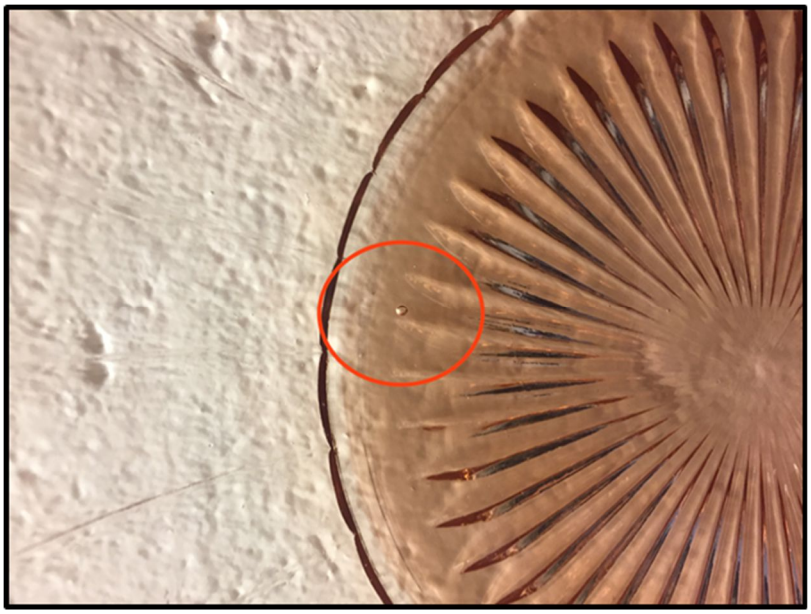
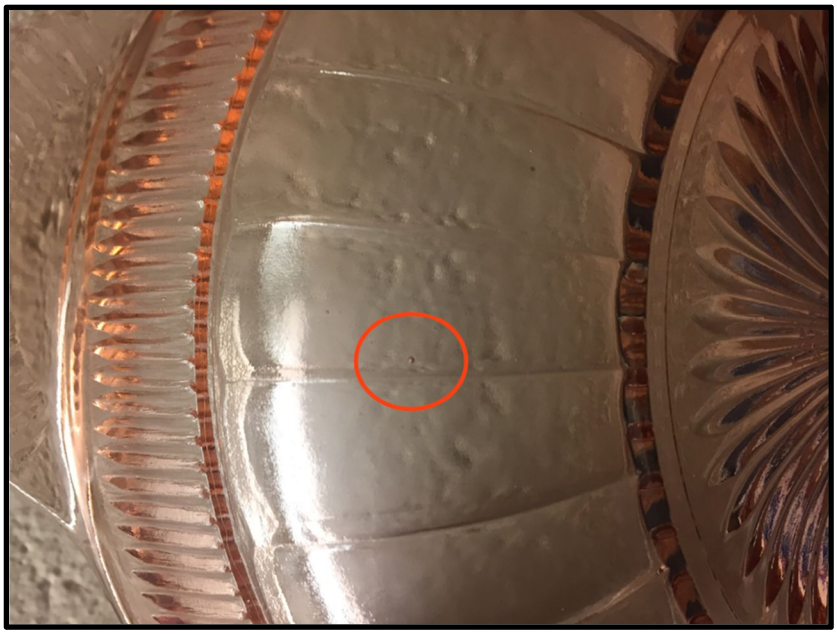


Figure 5, above. Figure 6, below. Both pictures taken by author.



known that this process is how Depression glass was made, other signs point to this method of construction. This includes the blunt edges on the ribs and the bubbles both inside the bottom of the bowl and on the outside curve (Figures 5 and 6). When it comes to the function of this piece, one can only conjecture. There is no evidence regarding exactly how this piece was used as there is no provenance. However, based on the common function of a bowl we can safely assume that this piece was used in serving or prepping food.

Women in the Great Depression

Having established basic information about the artifact including history, material, function, and design, the next step in our combined method is to focus on the narrative outside of the artifact. The Great Depression as well as the experience of women during this era should be at the center of the narrative.

Women are suspiciously missing from many stories told about the Great Depression. Movies like *Cinderella Man* (2005) and *O Brother Where Art Thou?* (2000) all focus on male characters. In literature, stories that do include women are about their family as a whole, the most popular being *The Grapes of Wrath*. Leading to the simple, and erroneous, conclusion, that the experience of women during the Great Depression is unimportant.

Greater understanding of the experience of women can come by first examining the period before the Great Depression. World War I was over and the United States had been transformed. The country was now a world power built on a consumer economy that relied on consumer spending to keep it going by borrowing more and more to buy more homes, automobiles, and other durable products. Finally, the 1920's conjure up images of women in flapper dresses and pin curls while doing the crazed Charleston.

Those images of women are both true and false. Gail Collins writes that the ethos of consumption ran supreme. This included everything deemed immoral, including drinking and sex.[24] These ideas were a part of the new form of feminism, but many women of the time denounced the word feminism claiming it was "opprobrium to the modern young women." Collins cites these words and more in an essay written by Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, a birth control activist and writer about women's rights. In 1927, when describing what feminism meant to the women of this time, Bromley wrote: "the word suggests either the old school of fighting feminist who wore flat heels and had very little feminine charm, or the current species who antagonize men with their constant clamor about maiden names, equal rights, woman's place in the world and many another cause."[25] These women were fighting for a different kind of liberation than those before World War I. Instead, these women just wanted the right to have the same lifestyles—including consumption—as their male counterparts.

Furthering the understanding of these women, Gail Collins writes:

> The underlying impulse was freedom- from the mores of the past that required women to keep themselves in check, physically and emotionally. The woman of the twenties was supposed to be a 'pal' to her male friends and later husband. She was not going to keep the hearth warm while her mate was out carousing. She was out there with him. She needed to be physically free to dance the wild, flapping dances of the moment, play golf, drive a car, and leap up and down at football games… It was intended, in part, to drive the older generation crazy, and it succeeded.[26]

On the other end of the spectrum, women were dealing with both the good and bad ramifications of the Nineteenth Amendment which extended the franchise to women. While the amendment had past, there was no time to rest. Questions still remained as to the effects of coverture on a married women's citizenship as well as how this affected poor women, African American women, and Latina women, all groups that were, typically, left out of the conversation. The National Women's Party emerged with a suffragist victory. This group—a small, well-educated group of white feminists—wanted to re-energize those that had fought for the right to vote and continued to campaign for an Equal Rights Amendment.[27] These women were a stark contrast to the unrestrained, energetic, daring, and self-absorbed flapper idea many associated with the word feminist in the 1920's. In addition, the expanded franchise in 1920 failed to meet the hopes of many activists. Women made up an estimated one third of all voters in the presidential election of 1920. They elected Warren Harding on the premise that he had promised equal pay for equal work, no more child labor, and more women in government.[28] None of these promises were fulfilled, and it seemed the suffragists had failed. Failure was not complete, however. These two strands of competing "feminist" women did accomplish several things together. Significant changes came in both the workforce and at home.

After the brief period of World War I, women found themselves barred again from the workforce. However, expanding political opportunities and the ever changing definition of the "new woman" brought new acceptance in the workforce. Statistics cited in *Through Women's Eyes* show how women's participation grew four percent, from twenty-one to twenty-five, by 1930. Additionally, the percentage of married women in the workforce rose over five percent as well.[29]

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[24] Gail Collins, *America's Women* (New York: Harper Collins Publisher Inc., 2003), 327-328.
[25] Ibid, 328.
[26] Ibid, 330.
[27] Anne M. Boylan, *Women's Rights in the United States: A History in Documents* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 159.
[28] Collins, 338.
[29] Ellen Carol Dubois and Lynn Dumenil, *Through Women's Eyes: An American History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2012), 530-531.

Briefly looking at these statistics it could be concluded that the role of a woman was changing. The entrance of more and more women in the workforce was what this era of feminists wanted. They sought in many cases to do the same things as men. Yet, in reality jobs for most women amounted to merely a "brief interlude between school and marriage."[30] Only ten percent of women in the workforce were actually married.[31] While numbers were rising, the fact of the matter is, with numbers so low in the first place, the number of both single and married women in the workforce looked far more impressive than they really were.

In the home, things were changing as well. Consumerism brought new appliances. Changing ideas about female sexuality brought new respect and availability of birth control. The 11.7 percent of married women in the workforce had new ways to be able to fulfil their duties at home while still working. Changes in both the political sphere and the workforce brought together a trifecta for the "new woman." This "new woman" did not achieve "full economic and political equality or personal autonomy, but new opportunities infused lives with a modern contour, putting in motion trends that would characterize women's lives for the rest of the twentieth century."[32] These women saw no reason why these trends would not continue in the decade to come. Many believed that even more progress would be made after the 1920's. Unfortunately, before the decade was over, it became apparent that the lives of both male and female Americans were going to change drastically—for the worse.

After the crash of 1929, life for nearly every American transformed. Economic devastation set in and began a series of events that effectively halted any progress that occurred during the 1920's. In just a year, the number of unemployed Americans more than doubled to 3.2 million.[33] Elite and middle class families experienced downward mobility as well as emotional and material hardship. Even worse fated were the middle-class and farm families. These people had fewer resources to draw on and a greater chance of losing their jobs or farms.[34] Men, women, and their families all suffered. Family suffering was made worse by the fact that the small population of women working outside the home were often the first to lose their jobs. A Gallup poll in 1936 found that eighty-two percent of people opposed married women working.[35]

This popular sentiment led to the introduction of legislation in a few states restricting the right of women to work. These included the simple act of refusal to hire married women, dismissal of women upon marriage, demotion, temporary or permanent dismissal when pregnant, and delay in promotion.[36] This state legislation was only the beginning. The National Economy Act (1933), applying to federal workers, led to the firing of thousands of women. It stated that when any workforce reduction was to take place those who already had a family member (male family member) working for the government would be the first to go.[37] Women were increasingly told to stay home, that their place was not at work, and they were the ones making the economy worse.

Many Americans still believed that a woman's place was only in the home; however, even those women at home were greatly affected by the Great Depression. Historians Ellen Dubois and Lynne Dumenil cite several issues women at home faced: "unemployment for men often strained marriages, especially ones that had been patriarchal. Desertion rates rose, but rates for divorce, an expensive proposition, did not."[38] Furthermore, the depression brought changes and challenges in

[30] Collins, 348.
[31] Dubois and Dumenil, 533.
[32] Ibid, 537.
[33] "Timeline of the Great Depression."
[34] Dubois and Dumenil, 538.
[35] Boylan, 185.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Dubois and Dumenil, 539.
[38] Ibid.

terms of raising children and fertility. The fertility rate dropped significantly in the three years after 1930. The trend of smaller families spread across the nation and social classes, as "fewer children became an economic necessity."[39] Women at home had just as much hardship as any man. In an effort to address the challenges facing women in their current plight, and make money in the process, companies began producing new products like the piece of Depression glass in this study.

The most well-known aid to a women's happiness were the soap operas. Perhaps it was the idea of escaping the turmoil of their own lives or the very important *free* aspect of the radio shows that garnered them so much popularity. No matter what it was, the soap operas aired during the daytime hours were devoted to women and they could not get enough. By 1936 over half of daytime programming at NBC was comprised of fifteen-minute serials focused on long running melodramas. The characters women grew to love wrestled with common domestic woes just like them, while occasionally promoting the sponsor of the show and their laundry detergent.[40] While these women listened to their soaps and perhaps dreaded their duties now that they were not in the workforce, companies had to find new ways to ensure that their products were still bought.

A Bit of Brightness

This context of economic desolation and the gender challenges posed by the upheaval establishes our central narrative. We can now return to our piece of Hocking Glass Company Depression glass. This piece will "provide a direct way for people to relate to the past."[41] No matter what was happening in the economy, food and food preparation were still a center of a woman's day all across the United States. Rebecca Sharpless writes about dining practices on the Blackland Prairie, a community is southwestern Texas. Here women waited for special occasions to showcase their most decadent food and their fanciest dishware to try to outdo one another.[42] Clearly these practices were tied closely to women's identities.

Figure 7. "Pink two-handled bowl-1939 Giveaway by Philips Milk of Magnesia Toothpaste", National Depression Glass Association collection. http://www.ndga.net/advertising/giveaway1.1939.jpg (accessed Nov. 24, 2016).

Providing some pleasure for a woman, who perhaps had to return home after a period of slight freedom, could dispel more unrest in an already uneasy time. Depression glass was that bit of "brightness and hope" that Christine Nagy describes, and it was marketed that way as well. Advertisements for Depression glass catered to women, especially those who no longer had access to the plethora of consumer good of the 1920's. Since most pieces were given away for next to nothing, it was used as a marketing tactic for other products like flour, toothpaste, and detergent. The ad shown in Figure 7 depicts a free hostess dish, with purchase of a

[39] Ibid.
[40] Collins, 350.
[41] Riello, 26.
[42] Rebecca Sharpless, *Fertile Ground, Narrow Choices: Women on Texas Cotton Farms, 1900-1940* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 151.

twenty-five cent tube of Philips' toothpaste. It promotes "101 Gay Uses!" including candy, relishes, and mayonnaise.[43] The free dish is advertised more than the toothpaste. Looking at the ad for more than a few seconds one can notice the small area of the lower right corner that actually advertises the brand of the toothpaste one would be purchasing. A page from a 1937 Sego Milk Coupon Book (Figure 8) lists pieces of "beautiful crystal clear dishes for baking." These would be yours for just a number of coupons.[44] These companies, both the glass companies like Hocking Glass Company and Philips alike, knew that appealing to women would not only keep their business afloat but keep women happy and continuing to buy their products.


REPRINTED FROM A 1937 SEGO MILK COUPON BOOK

18

GLASBAKE OVEN WARE

THESE beautiful crystal clear dishes are very popular for baking. With the California Poppy Wreath design and the addition of new attractive handles, they are now ideal for serving. The "heat-quick" bottom saves oven fuel and bakes evenly and quickly. (Tested and Approved by the Good Housekeeping Institute.)

Catalog No.	*Coupons
B15140—Utility Tray	150
B20150—Oval Platter	200
B13885—Oblong Baking Dish	135
B20890—Partition Vegetable Dish	200
B14925—Oval Baker 1½ Qt.	145
B16930—Round Baking Dish 2 Qt.	160
A5130—Custard Cups (Set of 6)	50
A20340—Casserole with Cover 1½ Qt. (Cover is a Pie Plate)	200
A14310—Round Baker 1½ Qt.	140
A8215—Pie Plate 9"	85

*Small coupons count one-half value.

Figure 8. "Glassbake Oven Ware-1937 Giveaway by Sego Milk Company via coupons," National Depression Glass Association collection. http://www.ndga.net/advertising/segomilk1.1937.jpg (accessed November 24, 2016).

Therefore, this piece of Hocking Glass Company, Coronation pattern, depressed glass absolutely relates to the experience of women during the Great Depression. Through first understanding the role and experience of

[43] This ad is a part of a collection by the National Depression Glass Association. Upon request they were not able to produce the exact source of the ad, only commenting that many members send them the ads already cut out from their original source.

[44] This ad was also a part of the National Depression Glass Association's collection. All that is known about this one is that it was reprinted from a 1937 Sego Milk coupon book.

women socially, politically, and in the workforce before the crash of 1929, we better understand just how much changed. Furthermore, we see how women at home coped with being there, as well as with other hardships caused by the depression. Whether Depression glass really "offered a bit of brightness and hope for the future, to the average housewife" or not, certainly it cannot be excluded from the narrative of women during the Great Depression.

Nanny of the Maroons

Lauren T. Eberle

Lauren Eberle is a junior sociology major from Crystal Lake, Illinois. She wrote this paper for Dr. Rosemary Onyango's AFR 1000G: Introduction to Africana Studies class.

Despite living in a patriarchal world, there have been women who challenge their assigned roles in order to better the societies in which they find themselves. In addition to experiencing discrimination based on gender, women of color also experience discrimination based on their race. As a result, there are more challenges that they have to overcome. Nanny of the Maroons was no exception to this. In the words of one historian, she was "the most notable rebel woman in Jamaica's history."[1] Her story is intriguing, yet shadowed in mystery. She was a powerful woman who transcended gender stereotypes in order to lead her people. However, very little is known about her, since neither she nor her people left a conventional written record. Instead, historians have relied on oral sources to piece together the life of this remarkable individual.[2] Nanny lived a full life, and she helped the people of the Maroons become and remain a powerful source of resistance against colonialism in Jamaica.

Before we can discuss Nanny in much detail, we must first understand the social setting in which she lived. The Maroons of Jamaica were communities of escaped slaves who lived in the more treacherous, mountainous areas of the island. According to historian Karla Gottlieb, there were two main groups: the Windward Maroons (inhabiting the eastern part of Jamaica) and the Leeward Maroons (from the western section of the island). The Spanish ruled in Jamaica for around 150 years, killing off the native population. African slaves were often sent into the mountains to herd cattle and hunt, so many became familiar with the terrain. When the British took control of Jamaica in 1655, the Spanish fled, but most of the slaves remained. They fled into the hills and formed their own community. This group was the foundation of what would become the Maroons. The people of the Maroons would raid plantations and steal guns, ammunition, food, and would free slaves to join them.[3]

The role of women in the Maroons was different than in other western countries. Women were respected, revered, and honored, as Gottlieb tells us in her book, *The Mother of Us All.* The community Nanny would come to call home held women in high regard, allowing them into roles as diverse as Queen, rebel, or spiritual leader. As Gottlieb points out, women were largely responsible for the agricultural success of the Maroons. Without the contributions of women, the Maroons would not have survived.[4]

Nanny was not born into the Maroons, rather she came from Ghana. She may have been a free woman who traveled to Jamaica with slaves of her own. Information about how Nanny

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[1] Diane Watt. "Traditional Religious Practices Amongst African-Caribbean Mothers and Community Othermothers," *Black Theology: An International Journal* 2, no. 2, (2004): 204.

[2] This paper is based on Jamaican oral tradition. For over 50 years historians have recognized oral tradition and folklores as important, valuable historical sources. Indiana University, for instance, began a degree-granting folklore program, the Folklore Institute, in 1963. For a methodological introduction see Regina F. Bendix, Galit Hasan-Rokem eds., *A Companion to Folklore* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2002). On Jamaican folklore see Olive Senior, *Encyclopedia of Jamaican Heritage* (Kingston: Twin Guiep, 2003), and William Clements and Thomas Green eds., *Greenwood Encyclopedia of World Folklore* 4 vols., (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006).

[3] Karla Gottlieb, *The Mother of Us All: A History of Queen Nanny, Leader of the Windward Jamaican Maroons* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2000), 3.

[4] Ibid, 11.

integrated herself into the Maroon communities is non-existent. She is only mentioned in text four times: all by British individuals who she encountered.[5] Despite there being little written information about her, Nanny is considered to be "the personified symbol of black resistance against white oppression by the Maroons and others."[6] According to Mozambican historian and novelist Mario Azevedo, Nanny was known by both her own people and the British as an incredible political and military leader.[7] Gottlieb tells us that Nanny served as Maroon strategist. She did not engage in the fighting herself, although she did kill and have put to death many British soldiers.[8] She is credited with teaching her soldiers, some 3,000 by one count, how to use a cow horn for long distance communication by blowing into it.[9] A British junior officer described her as "[having] a girdle around her waist, with nine or ten different knives hanging in sheaths to it, many of which I doubt not had been plunged into human flesh and blood."[10] Gottlieb estimates that throughout the fighting, only 100 Maroons were killed in comparison to the thousands of British. Nanny clearly was a formidable foe, but that was not all for which she was known.[11]

Nanny was also the spiritual leader of the Windward Maroons. Gottlieb explains that the Maroons preserved their African heritage, meaning that they believed that the influence of their ancestors could still be felt and that they were sentient beings. Additionally, they believed in an *obeah*, which Gottlieb defines as a "powerful religious figure with strong ties to African spirituality."[12] Scholar Diane Watt tells us that "Maroons required their leaders to possess a profound understanding of the supernatural," and we know that Nanny was the leader of the group, so it stands to reason that Nanny served as an *obeah*, or a woman perceived to have supernatural abilities.[13]

There are several myths about Nanny using her abilities to help bring about Maroon victories against the British. One was that she could "keep a large cauldron boiling with her supernatural gifts" and use it to "lure curious British troops to it, resulting in their demise." The most popular story of Nanny's gifts, however, was one that explains that she was able to "catch cannonballs between her buttocks and fart them back with deadly force."[14] Nanny supposedly used her powers to psychologically weaken the Maroons' enemies and to make her own warriors invincible. She was surrounded by these myths that were carried through the flow of time by oral tradition.

The fighting between the British and the Maroons came to an end in 1739 with the signing of a treaty between the two groups. However, Nanny was not the representative of the Maroons who signed the treaty. Gottlieb and Azevedo both present possible reasons for this. Gottlieb hypothesizes that perhaps because of her distrust of the British, Nanny did not want her name on a treaty that she did not think would be upheld. Instead, she had a lesser chief, Quao, sign it in case the British did not keep up their part of the deal.[15] Azevedo offers another theory. He claims that the British refused to acknowledge Nanny as the leader of the Maroons because she was a woman.[16] While either claim could be accurate, the fact that there are multiple claims is yet another example of how knowledge about Nanny is fractured with most information coming from oral tradition.

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[5] Ibid, 37, 23.
[6] Werner Zips, *Black Rebels: African Caribbean Freedom Fighters in Jamaica* (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1999), 154.
[7] Mario Azevedo, *Africana Studies: A Survey of Africa and the African Diaspora* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press), 470.
[8] Gottlieb, 43.
[9] Watt, 204.
[10] Azevedo, 469.
[11] Gottlieb, 48.
[12] Gottlieb, xiv.
[13] Watt, 204.
[14] Zips, 155-156.
[15] Gottlieb, 36.
[16] Azevedo, 470.

Dependence on oral tradition does make fact checking difficult—yet these oral sources are all we have. We know for sure that the reason Nanny did not sign the treaty was not because of her death: she did sign a land agreement in 1740. Whatever the case, Nanny was no longer active after 1740, or so we can assume, because oral history does not tell us any more about her after that year.

Nanny transcends gender stereotypes because of her powerful leadership. While she was married to a man named Adou, she did not have any children of her own, defying gender stereotypes of the time. In 1976, Nanny was named National Hero of Jamaica, and she is now on the Jamaican $500 bill. Women do not end up honored on currency often. The honor is thus significant. Nanny of the Maroons was a powerful, black, female historical figure. While she is left out of most history books, she is no less valuable. The people of the Maroons still honor her to this day, claiming her spirit lives on. Nanny's story is unique and deserves to be heard. To use Karla Gottlieb's words, "Nanny was the Queen mother of her people, the most brilliant strategist and general the British were ever going to encounter (either before or since), and a spiritual guide for her people."[17] Nanny was all this, and a woman, something that we do not see often in history. She was a woman and a spiritual leader, a woman and a politician, a woman and military strategist. She should not be forgotten.

[17] Gottlieb 38-39.

A Woman of Influence in 12th Century Christendom: the Case of St. Hildegard of Bingen

Rene N. Tovar

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> O you who are wretched earth and, as a woman, untaught in all learning of earthly teachers and unable to read literature with philosophical understanding, you are nonetheless touched by My light, which kindles in you an inner fire like a burning sun; cry out and relate and write these My mysteries that you see and hear in mystical visions.[1]

In a path breaking essay published in 1926, Eileen Powers argued that while males dominated voices of both the church and the aristocracy during the Middle Ages, and typically drowned out the voices, choices, and rights of most women, they could not wholly submerge all together the freedoms of women, especially for the few women with influence and power.[2] This is noticeably true during the High Middle Ages (the eleventh and twelfth centuries). However, there was still an obvious lack of freedoms for women at the time, even for those who wielded power. Social historian Georges Duby notes, "early medieval aristocratic families had been relatively egalitarian, but this changed from the eleventh century onwards, when women's options narrowed, thanks to the growing importance of patrimonial property, primogeniture, and public office."[3] Duby attributes this growth in patrimonial property rights and primogeniture to men fearing women, or more specifically, the evil nature of women. Women were compared to the Virgin Mary, someone who was dainty, pure, obedient, and a model women, or Eve, who was supposedly wretched, lustful, evil, weak, and snake-like. Men were convinced that most women shared the characteristics of Eve, and thus were deceitful and weak, and carried within them sin and death.[4] The church highly influenced this outlook, stifling the amount of power a woman could have by devaluing and stereotyping her as Eve-like, and as something lesser than men. However, as Powers noted, some women happened to stick out, and were not considered a part of the norm. In scholarly research, these women of power have often been labeled as rare, extraordinary, exceptional, or elite. Such terms refer to women who not only exercised a high amount of influence and power, but were also women who maintained their power using large and dominant social networks which supported them and their many visions and goals.[5] In this way, during such a time, "women began imperceptibly to extricate themselves from the heaviest of the shackles in which they were bound by masculine power."[6] A particular woman who showed such considerable traits and went against the

[1] Hildegard, *Scivias*, trans., Sister Columba Hart and Jane Bishop (New York: Paulist Press, 1990), 51.
[2] Eileen Powers, *Medieval People* (London: Methuen and Co., 1926), 1.
[3] Georges Duby, *Women of the Twelfth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 104.
[4] Ibid, 102.
[5] Judith M. Bennet and Ruth Mazo Karras, *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 2013), 68.
[6] Duby, 104.

male dominated norm was St. Hildegard of Bingen. However, her significance as a leading female figure in the twelfth century left her virtually alone among women of her time.

As someone who played various roles such as an abbess, scientist, poet, musician, healer, and theologian – seemingly, the quintessential Renaissance woman – Hildegard attracted much more attention than many women of power. Medievalist Maud Burnett McInerney remarks: "Hildegard of Bingen was aware of her social and political position in the world of the twelfth century but also knew how to manipulate her language and her self-representation to further her influence and thereby achieve her aims." McInerney further notes, "her understanding of her position in a male-dominated world is made manifest through her letters to other women [in which she is] not needing to resort to the mechanisms she adopts in dealing with men."[7] McInerney is one of many who has written on the power, influence, and life of Hildegard before and after her death. Medieval historian Sabina Flanagan is another, who published an authoritative biographical study on Hildegard in 1989, which was re-issued in 1998 and is essential reading on Hildegard. Despite this, scholarship on Hildegard's life, significance, and influence remains limited. This brief exploration offers: a summary of her life, and a discussion of her contributions and her growing influence over time as a religious—and female—figure of power.

The arrival of Hildegard into the world of religion during the Middle Ages strongly changed the direction of contemporary thought, not only about visionaries in general, but also about women visionaries and mystics who were involved in the Church. So, it is not surprising for one to find that over the last couple decades, there has been a multitude of published texts and articles which deal with Hildegard—her life and works fascinating historians and feminists alike. However, as noted, much of the scholarship done on Hildegard is not as in-depth as might be ideal considering the vast amount of research that has been done on her. Caroline Bynum Walker, an historian who is especially important in the study of gender in medieval Christianity, stated this:

> It is time for renewed scholarly attention to Hildegard of Bingen and the group of female visionaries of which she is the most complex and intelligent representative. Hildegard has fascinating things to say about many topics in which students of twelfth-century spirituality have recently been much interested: the nature of woman, the priesthood, Eucharistic devotion, the place of the laity in the church, virginity, etc. And the emergence in twelfth and thirteenth century Germany of a number of prophetic women, whose spirituality is rather different from that of French and Netherlandish nuns and beguines, is a phenomenon which has not yet been explored or explained. It is also hoped that this fine edition… will stimulate study of Hildegard from new perspectives.[8]

While Bynum made this argument over thirty years ago, her words still ring rather true, as much of the work on Hildegard still cries out for renewed scholarly attention and stimulation. There is never too much to learn, as Bynum suggests, and Hildegard is of no exception to this concept. To do so, let us finally begin to turn to the history of Hildegard and her mystical works.

Historians who have studied the High Middle Ages categorize it as a time of strong emotion, intense longing, fierce passion, and ardent desire. Hildegard is a prime example of such emotions and more. That said, she "would have been extraordinary in any age. But for a woman of the twelfth century, hedged by the constraints of a misogynist world, her achievements baffle thought, marking her as a figure so exceptional that posterity has found it hard to take her measure."[9] Born the

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[7] Maud Burnett McInerney, *Hildegard of Bingen: A Book of Essays* (New York: Garland Publications, 1998), 22.

[8] Caroline Walker Bynum, "Scivias. Hildegard, Adelgundis Führkötter, Angela Carlevaris," *Speculum* 55, no. 4 (1980): 794-95.

[9] Barbara Newman, ed., *Voice of the Living Light* (Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), 1.

youngest of ten children in 1098 to the noble Mechthilde and Hildebert von Bermesheim, Hildegard spent most of her life in the Rhineland area of Germany. She was a precocious child and allegedly began to see visions at a very young age. However, instead of being taken to a convent in which she would be brought up as a nun, Hildegard was taken to a much more enclosed and serious religious space—that of the home of the anchoress Jutta, which led to her being sent to the Benedictine monastery of St. Disibodenberg.[10] Once there, she took monastic vows and later was elected later abbess of a growing monastery. It was beginning to become more and more common to see noble families place their daughters in religious convents.

Information on Hildegard's adulthood can be found in her biographies, often penned by monks, who had been in daily contact with Hildegard while she resided within the monastery. Godfrey, who was a monk from Disibodenberg and who was one of Hildegard's many secretaries at the time, noted, "When Henry, fourth of that name, ruled the Holy Roman Empire, there lived in hither Gaul a virgin famed equally for the nobility of her birth and her sanctity. Her name was Hildegard. Her parents, Hildebert and Mechthilde, although wealthy and engaged in worldly affairs, were not unmindful of the fits of the Creator and dedicated their daughter to the service of God. For when she was yet a child she seemed far removed from worldly concerns, distanced by a precocious purity."[11] Such writings later became the subject of the first book on the life of Hildegard known as the *Vita Sanctae Hildegardis*, which secured her veneration as a saint and her later canonization by the Church. The text ascribed as many events in Hildegard's life as possible to supernatural rather than natural causes, and it emphasized her official validation as a prophet.[12] However, while useful, there is an obvious lack in specifics, such as dates, times or places. Such omissions arose, presumably, because many authors at the time and shortly after Hildegard's death were more interested in Hildegard's spiritual credentials rather than her secular ones. This is certainly supported by the increase of scholarship on such topics, and the lack of more in-depth histories. However, it does leave room for new scholarship on her literary output, which was both prolific and diverse.

After Hildegard's visionary gifts had been certified by churchmen as authentic and God-given, the path was cleared for many major literary undertakings that would not have been possible for even the most respected religious women at the time. The first was that of Hildegard's visionary theological trilogy, which began with *Scivias*, a work that was completed in 1151. The text took its title from the Latin exhortation, "Know the ways of the Lord."[13] Her second volume was entitled *The Book of Life's Merits* and focused on religious ethics, while her third text, *On the Activity of God*, was more scientific and focused on the development of an early theory of evolution.[14] Indeed, these three volumes of writing were considered important, as they were very diverse and indicative of an eloquent and educated woman. Hildegard did not stop there, though. She also wrote about nature in her text *A Study of Nature*. The text is composed of nine books in which Hildegard discusses the treatment of plants, trees, stones, animals and reptiles. While her writings were extensive and well-known, she also composed liturgical poetry and music for use in her monastery. These songs were later compiled under the title *Symphony of the Harmony of Celestial Revelations,*[15] and were included as part of her visionary writing. In such writings, she expressed her conviction that humans had the capacity to be more perfect, and she developed her belief that the soul has both male and female aspects, and that men and women, while possessing different characteristic from one another,

[10] Elizabeth Dreyer, *Passionate Spirituality* (London: Paulist Press, 2005), 77.
[11] Sabina Flanagan, *Hildegard of Bingen: A Visionary Life* (London: Routledge, 1989), 1.
[12] Newman, 3.
[13] Dreyer, 77.
[14] Jennifer Lawler, *Encyclopedia of Women in the Middle* Ages (Jefferson, NC: McFarland Publishing, 2007), 76.
[15] Dreyer, 78.

should attempt to develop the characteristics of the opposite gender.[16] She used Gen. 1:27-28 as a source for this concept: "God created man in his own image, male and female he created them."[17] Because her works were so revered, she was widely acknowledged in her own lifetime, receiving commendations and praise from Pope Eugene III and Bernard of Clairvaux, as well as a multitude of accolades from laity and clergy.[18] In fact, there have been so many that have celebrated and applauded her that over time, such communications have been collected and recorded to show just how significant and loved Hildegard was during her lifetime.

In *The Letters of Hildegard of Bingen* as translated by Joseph L. Baird and Radd K. Ehrman, an entire corpus of such laudatory correspondences was recorded, which allow historians an even clearer idea of how respected and treasured Hildegard was, even though she was a woman. One example of such a correspondence between a community of Cistercians and Hildegard is provided below:

> To Hildegard, worthy of all honor, lady to be embraced with the arms of sincere love, mistress of the sisters of St. Rupert in Bingen, N., prior, although unworthy, and the entire community of Cistercians, poor and humble, with their prayer that she, amid the chorus of virgins, may "follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth" Separated from you by a great distance and thus unable to enjoy your beloved presence in person, we rejoice to be able to greet you in a letter, for, in Christ, we venerate you as spiritually superior to us, and we hope that you will be our mediator with Christ like a beloved mother. Because we have heard of the good reputation of your holy calling and your faithful administration of your convent in God, we offer the obedience of prayer for your steadfastness and our service to God for your salvation.[19]

At that time, such a letter of praise was not something typically produced for a woman, especially one considered a part of the church. While the letter speaks for itself, the Cistercians blatantly viewed Hildegard superior to them—a woman who was superior to a group of men. It is important to look at such sources, as it helps to further develop scholarship on Hildegard and why she was so different than most women during her time. Yet another letter is provided below, from the priest Baldemar to Hildegard:

> To his most beloved and sorely missed lady and mother, Hildegard, Baldemar, a sinner, with his prayer that she will rejoice forever with Christ the Lord after this fragile and fallen state of life. I will count myself blessed if I deserve to be consoled by a letter from you, saintly lady. But because it is the duty of a wise doctor to visit a wounded man frequently and to cautiously and competently cut away any superfluous or putrefying fresh lest the infection become worse later, I beg you by the love of the blessed Redeemer to inspect my wound frequently so that, through the mercy of God, and your counsel, no vestige or corruption remains in them.[20]

In this next letter, this priest expressed an almost desperate desire to see Hildegard, or, at least, to receive a letter from her. While it is a bit different than the first letter considered, it provides a similar image. Few women mystics received such praise and attention. In fact, often they were

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[16] Lawler, 77.

[17] Lisa M. Bitel and Felice Lifshitz, *Gender and Christianity in Medieval* Europe (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 40.

[18] Jennifer Ward, *Women in Medieval Europe 1200 -1500* (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2002), 156.

[19] A Community of Cistercians to Hildegard, before 1153, in *The Letters of Hildegard of Bingen: Volume III* eds., Hildegard Bingen, Joseph Baird and Radd Ehrman eds., (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 71.

[20] The Priest Baldemar to Hildegard, before 1173, in *The Letters of Hildegard of Bingen,* 94-95.

considered liars. Hildegard's status and connections with the Church were positive, which further allowed her to actively write, speak and preach to the world; a position that was typically closed to women, even well after the death of Hildegard. Certainly, medieval religious identity was strongly gendered and sexualized. While most women in general had few rights, Hildegard of Bingen was certainly able to exercise significant rights and was able to educate both girls and women who served as protectors and patrons of culture and literature during and after her death due to her strong influence.[21] In the end though, her formidable intellect and her mystical writings made her a prophet and advisor to secular and religious leaders.

Although Hildegard suffered ill health, it did not prevent her from becoming involved in political and diplomatic dealings, which caused her fame to spread throughout Germany as well as to Flanders, France, England, Italy, and even Greece.[22] This made her one of the most well-known religious women of the Middle Ages, and one of the first of her kind in a society and community that was dominated by men. There is still much for historians to study when it comes to the subject of medieval women in the High Middle Ages. More research is needed about women of power in the religious sect, such as that of Hildegard. While the position she gained, her background, and the power and influence she held as a woman during her time is commonly known among scholars and researchers who study Hildegard and similar women, there is not much research that extends beyond the basics. It is hoped that short writings such as this can attract more interest and encourage detailed research regarding this important and fascinating person.

[21] Lawler, 9.
[22] Ibid, 77.

Peeling Away the Myth: How the Lincoln Bedroom Wallpaper Constructs an Identifiable Lincoln Family in Public Memory

Cayla N. Wagner

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In May 1844, Abraham Lincoln and his family moved into their home at Eighth and Jackson Streets in Springfield, Illinois. Abraham and his wife, Mary, would expand the home in 1856 to accommodate not only their growing family, but their growing presence in Springfield. In seventeen years, the family would face trials and triumphs: losing a son, hosting fabulous parties, and watching Abraham grow from a small-town lawyer to president-elect. After being elected to the presidency in 1860, the Lincoln family scrambled into a carriage on a rainy morning with intentions of coming back to their Springfield home. They never did.

Though the Lincolns never returned, today visitors flock to the Springfield home, now a historic site operated by the National Park Service. Historians, history, and the public alike have championed the Lincoln family—specifically Mary and Abraham—as something beyond human. Abraham has been placed upon a pedestal as a man who had done no wrong. Mary, on the other hand, has been cast aside in the Lincoln narrative as a crazy, overly demanding housewife. However, while many have emphasized these stereotypes of the Lincolns, the Lincoln Home site has not. Instead, the Lincoln home depicts typical and ordinary mid-nineteenth century family life to which many visitors of all backgrounds can relate. Through using material objects as evidence, such as the replica wallpaper in Abraham and Mary's bedrooms (Figure 1), the narrative and public memory of the Lincoln family within the home separates Mary and Abraham from their outlandish stereotypes.[1] Through the acquisition and preservation of the wallpaper, the narrative told of the Lincolns contributes to an overall aesthetic and memory of the Lincoln home.

Figure 1: Lincoln Bedroom Wallpaper, replica. Photo taken by author, August 2015.

Polarizing a Generalized Public Memory and History

To historians and the public alike, Abraham and Mary Lincoln appear as two complete opposites. Historian Merrill D. Peterson equates public memory of Lincoln to a "myth." The Lincoln myth is composed of several myths, including "The Great Emancipator," the man from the

[1] The wallpaper in this essay will be delineated as the Lincoln wallpaper, since it is unknown if it originally hung in Mary's room as well.

backwoods, a martyr, and so forth.[2] Abraham mythology often focuses on the great accomplishments of his life and presidency; doing no wrong, Abraham was a flesh-and-blood embodiment of true American values. "He was a masterpiece," continues Peterson, "a natural treasure to be preserved, loved, reserved, and emulated."[3]

The emulation and embodiment of American values lay in the overarching biography of Abraham: he was born in unincorporated Kentucky and self-educated. He struck out on his own as a young man before finding himself as a lawyer in Springfield. Almost two decades later, he became president during great turmoil and emancipated millions of enslaved people only to be assassinated by a Confederate sympathizer. "'Honest Abe,'" again writes Peterson, "was more than a political slogan; it was God's truth."[4] However, if Abraham Lincoln represented "God's truth" in public memory, Mary Lincoln seemed a devil.

Mary Lincoln in public memory oftentimes emerges as the complete opposite of her husband. "In our national version of this myth, [Abraham] Lincoln, the most venerated of all American heroes," writes biographer Jean Baker, "daily practiced tolerance of a cantankerous female who was neither his first nor greatest love."[5] Difficult indeed, Mary's temperament is often the first thing for which she is remembered. A temperamental woman, Mary would also go on later in life to have hysterical fits and other bouts of emotional expressions. For Baker, Mary was "easily transformed into the most notorious of shrews, her faults magnified, her virtues forgotten, her neuroses observed, and her very sanity questioned."[6] Whereas Abraham would forever be remembered as a true American, Mary would be the juxtaposition. Biographer Catherine Clinton laments that "[Mary's] story is bound up with the story of the nation, with the story of her husband's," and "she was one of the first American women in the White House to capture public imagination and to maintain a historical reputation into the present."[7]

The historical reputation had continued into the contemporary era and has polarized Abraham and Mary Lincoln. Abraham is not only remembered as the man who saved the nation, but a man who struggled with his wife at the same time. Mary is often remembered as the ill-tempered, stubborn, and crazed wife whom Abraham endured. With the celebrations of the American bicentennial, as well as the centennial of Lincoln's birth, Americans had begun to look deeper into their history and tell the stories of those often marginalized.[8] More and more individuals wished to see themselves in their history.

The public's quest to identify with historical figures and events continues even today. "Americans view themselves as historic people, [and because of this view], they tend to emphasize the lives of great individuals," argues Diane F. Britton, a public historian.[9] From great to marginalized individuals, contemporaries seek to understand and connect with day-to-day life in the past. Projecting contemporary values onto historical figures can lead to myths, like that surrounding Abraham Lincoln, and provoke questions. What does it mean to be an American? In what ways was a historical individual's life akin to people's today? This question generates other questions and calls out for new methodologies with which to explore the past. Public history can aid the public in exploring and answering these questions.

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[2] Merrill D. Peterson, *Lincoln in American Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 6. His book goes into great depth about not just the public memory of Abraham, but also historians' memories, too.

[3] Ibid, 35.

[4] Ibid, 33.

[5] Jean Baker, *Mary Todd Lincoln: A Biography* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1985), 1.

[6] Ibid, 2.

[7] Catherine Clinton, *Mrs. Lincoln: A Life* (New York: Harpers Collins, 2009), 6.

[8] Peterson, 378.

[9] Diane F. Britton, "Public History and Public Memory," *The Public Historian* 19, no. 3 (1997): 14.

In her article, "Public History and Memory: A Museum Perspective," Barbra Franco argues that "place and memory are unavoidable in discussion of history in public venues."[10] She continues that "visitors [to historic sites] combine abstract information with highly personal and specific memories to make new syntheses for themselves."[11] Getting up close and personal with historic artifacts, documents, buildings, and so forth allows guests truly to process and internalize this new synthesis and identification with the past. A new synthesis allows for guests to question their pre-conceived notions of public memory of the past. Furthermore, a new synthesis might create an entirely different new public memory than originally constituted. To question public memory allows both professionals and the public alike to think about the past in different ways.

Internalizing a new synthesis allows individuals to question pre-determined public memory. Memory is obviously questioned at a historic institution like the Abraham Lincoln Home National Site. There, guests encounter an 1850s Springfield bedroom; perhaps the wallpaper can remind guests of their own outrageously patterned wallpapers in their homes. Perhaps, and more importantly, visitors to the site can use the wallpaper to alleviate the stereotypes of Abraham and Mary Lincoln. However, before analyzing how the wallpaper contributes to this different public memory of Abraham and Mary Lincoln, first an examination of the history of the wallpaper, National Park Service, and its contribution to public memory should be conducted.

The Lincoln Bedroom Wallpaper

Domestic Life and the Original Wallpaper

"As a couple," writes historian Catherine Clinton, "[Abraham and Mary] did seem to work out a rough division of [gender] spheres. Lincoln encouraged his wife to be in charge of home life, including the setup of their house."[12] Mary hailed from a prominent Kentucky family; her 1843 wedding to Abraham completely changed her social and economic status, as Abraham was a struggling lawyer. Clinton suggests that Mary was "painfully aware of the financial limitations that her marital choice had imposed," yet "[she] was relieved when Lincoln finally freed himself from the debts he had accumulated before moving to Springfield," and "Mary was happiest trying to create a salon…reminiscent of her father's Lexington [home.]"[13] Mary's pride was decorating her home and making it suitable for her family and Springfield.

During the nineteenth century, especially the mid-nineteenth century, women were the primary decorators. Adorning a home was a way for a woman to express herself.[14] As social life began to dominate nineteenth-century domestic middle-class duties, such as receiving guests and hosting parties, the interior of a woman's home was her identity. Interior decoration became a successful and rapidly-growing business; though mostly associated with elites, women who lived outside of populous cities or were in the middle-class could get tips and tricks from magazines and newspapers, such as *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* and *The Ladies' Home Journal.*[15] These designers, newspapers, and magazines dictated how a woman decorated her home—from the public to the private rooms. Of course, the parlor of the Lincoln Home is decorated lavishly, including the beautiful cream and yellow-colored wallpaper (Figure 2), all of which express a sense of style, and therefore, status. However, the bedrooms on the second floor also express identity, style, and status.

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[10] Barbara Franco, "Public History and Memory: A Museum Perspective," *The Public Historian* 19, no. 2 (1997), 66.

[11] Ibid, 67.

[12] Clinton, 69.

[13] Ibid, 69-70.

[14] Kristen Hoganson, "Cosmopolitan Domesticity: Importing the American Dream, 1865-1920," *The American Historical Review* 107, no. 1 (February 2002): 58.

[15] Ibid, 60.

Bedrooms during the nineteenth century communicated identity, style, and status despite being within the private sphere. A more public space, like a parlor for example, might demonstrate a woman's individuality; however, because the space is shared, it often incorporated identities of other family members.[16] Bedrooms were for the sole individual. Items within the bedroom were typically gender-specific and housed several miscellaneous furniture pieces: washing and dressing equipment, clothing presses, and other storage.[17] Mary's bedroom even had a commode! Yet, virtually everything in Lincoln bedrooms displayed identity, even the wallpaper. First, it is imperative to understand the history of the wallpaper.

Figure 2: Parlor Wallpaper, photo taken by author, August 2015.

While Mary may have decorated their Springfield home, Abraham purchased a lot of the furnishings, including the wallpaper. Over the course of four years, Abraham acquired numerous wallpapers to furnish their homes; however, it is impossible to know specifically if the Lincoln bedroom wallpaper was purchased during this period. A list of purchases provided by the National Park Service shows that Abraham purchased rolls of paper anywhere from 50 cents to $92.66.[18] Over the four years as well, Abraham more than likely benefitted from readily available sources.

By the mid-19th century middle-class Americans enjoyed access to an increasing variety of types and styles of wallpapers. The Industrial Revolution finally appeared in the western United States by the 1840s, and new machine technologies allowed for objects to be made on a larger and faster scale. Wallpaper was no exception. Through a steam-powered engine, factory workers fed wallpaper through a cylindrical tool which printed from raised, not engraved, surfaces.[19] This process utilized thinner colors and standardized paper-width.[20] Suddenly, homeowners like Abraham Lincoln found themselves standing at a shop counter with many wall covering patterns and options. Technological advancements also meant that as furnishing styles evolved, wallpapers could adapt just as quickly.

Mary, with her knack for fashion and ambition for a home reflecting her family's growing prominence and prosperity, no doubt tried to decorate her home with the latest mid-nineteenth century styles. The wallpaper, not unlike the furniture, demonstrates that Mary succeeded in having

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[16] Elizabeth Collins Cromley, "A History of American Beds and Bedrooms, 1890-1930," *American Home Life, 1880-1930: A Social History of Space and Services*, edited by Jessica H. Foy and Thomas J. Schlereth (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1992), 128.

[17] Ibid, 130.

[18] Kathatine Menz, *The Lincoln Home: Lincoln Home National State Site, Springfield Illinois Historic Home Furnishing Report (*Harper's Ferry: Harper's Ferry Center, National Park Service, U.S.: Department of the Interior, 1983,) 143, 147. In her book, *Southern Girl, Northern Woman,* Stacy Pratt McDermott states that Mary had purchased this wallpaper from John Williams & Co., but this remains unconfirmed. See page 54.

[19] Catherine Lynn Frangiamore, "Wallpapers in Historic Preservation," (Washington, D.C.: Technical Preservation Services Division, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1977), 7.

[20] Nylander, 67.

an up-to-date home. Though the Lincolns bought an 1839 Greek Revival cottage, they filled it with Rococo revival materials, including the wallpaper.[21]

The Rococo, or Chippendale, revival gained popularity in homes across the United States during the middle of the nineteenth century. Furniture guidebooks and magazines, much like the wallpaper, became readily available and easily accessible to homeowners in all parts of the country. Such books explained how this style may be mixed with other popular revival styles of the time.[22] Rococo revivals were influenced by the French style. It often incorporated elaborate S scrolls, patterns and motifs of birds, flowers, vines, and leaves, and so forth to mimic the love of still-life and landscapes.[23] The wallpaper in the Lincoln home featured a bold scroll and floral print. A Francophile, Mary spoke French fluently and visited France several times throughout her life.[24] There is no doubt that she enjoyed the French influence in this style and its implied luxury and sophistication. After Abraham was elected to the presidency in 1860, and the Lincoln family never returned to their home at Eighth and Jackson, the house was rented out. Mary and her surviving sons, Robert and Tad, were co-owners of the home following Abraham's assassination.[25] Thus, while the Lincolns never physically returned to the home, the family remained its owners, and the wallpaper remained. The wallpaper is not only an integral part of the history of the Lincoln Home, but to the family's sense of self during their time in Springfield.

The identity of the Lincolns, as expressed in spaces such as rooms, is conveyed through the wallpaper in Abraham and Mary's bedrooms. It is unknown if Mary and Abraham had identical wallpapers in their bedrooms. While Mary is notorious for her ill-temper and emotional outbursts, many scholars have and continue to acknowledge the deep role she has played in Abraham's political sphere.[26] Mary and Abraham engaged in political talk constantly—often considered a taboo topic between a man and wife, head of the private sphere—and often bounced ideas back and forth from one another.[27] Mary and Abraham's political talk transformed each other beyond husband and wife, man and woman, public and private sphere. In a sense, it equated them as two adults having important and intellectual conversation. They transcended the rigidity of nineteenth century gender roles, and this equality is shown through the wallpaper, presuming the couple shared wallpaper in their bedrooms.

While Mary and Abraham belonged to the private and public spheres which dominated the nineteenth century, potentially thinking of decorating with identical bedroom wallpapers exemplify equality. Their bedrooms are joined; not only could an individual enter the bedroom from the hallways, but Mary and Abraham could move to the other's room through a connecting door. Remaining wallpaper fragments in the home, discussed later in this article, decorate both the Lincolns' rooms. If women decorated their houses to procure a specific identity and to express individuality in the privacy of their own bedroom, then Mary Lincoln saw in herself a woman not beneath her husband, but equal to him. The greatness she saw in him was, in fact, a mirror of the greatness she saw in herself, but to which she could not aspire since women were confined to the private sphere during her time. As historian Jean Baker concludes, Mary Lincoln was a woman with

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[21] Clinton, 68.

[22] Jason Busch, "The French Rococo Revival Along the Mississippi River," *Magazine Antiques* 166, no. 2 (2004): 87. This was especially important for the parlor and sitting rooms.

[23] Wayne Craven, "Decorative Arts: The Age of Romanticism & Eclecticism, 1800-1870" *American Art: History and Culture* (McGraw Hill, 1994), 197.

[24] Baker, 87.

[25] Susan Haake, e-mail correspondence. 24 Oct 2016. The Lincolns had four sons altogether: Robert, Edward "Eddie," William "Willie, and Thomas "Tad." Eddie would die in the Springfield home in Feb 1850, and Willie would die in the White House in 1862.

[26] Baker, 178.

[27] Ibid, 178.

a political agenda years before it was acceptable.[28] Again, it is unknown if Mary Lincoln originally had the identical wallpaper in her bedroom. If she had, it would attest to this political partnership and equality she and Abraham had in their family life.

Finding the Original and Making a Replica

With Tad's death in 1871, and Mary's death in 1882, Robert Lincoln became sole owner of the home. In 1883, Osborn H. Olyroyd took up residence in the Lincoln home, filling it with collections of clothing, furniture, books, portraits, and so forth. Many of the items memorialized Abraham, but nothing related to Mary.[29] Olyroyd then later encouraged Robert Lincoln to sell the home to the state of Illinois.

In 1887, Robert deeded the family home to the state of Illinois for $1; in this deed, he requested "that the home had to remain in good repair and free of access to all."[30] The state ran it as a historic site until it was deeded to the National Park Service in 1972.[31] The original Lincoln bedroom wallpaper remained on the walls since the addition of the second floor in 1856.

The National Park Service used numerous preservation materials on the wallpaper to maintain it. These materials included formaldehyde, varnish, and placing it under glass.[32] Figure 3 is a postcard that demonstrates a section of the wallpaper under glass. Surrounding the glass and original wallpaper was a replicated wallpaper that matched the original; dark gray and dark blue, it gave the room a dark appearance.[33]

In 1987, the National Park Service enlisted Mt. Diablo Handprints out of Vallejo, California, to print reproduction wallpaper. The original plans had called for a direct reproduction of the original and the 1950s replica – maintaining the muddy browns and dark blues. However, conservators wished to study and conserve some of the original wallpaper. While cleaning, the conservators found that the hues of the wallpaper were not, in fact, the dark colors. According to Susan Haake, "the conservators immediately called the wallpaper manufacture and literally 'stopped the presses' to redo the colors."[34] The new wallpaper, with the correct bright colors, was installed in 1988, as part of a whole-house

Figure 3: Postcard of Conserving Lincoln Bedroom Wallpaper with original under glass. Note Mary's room is decorated in a different wallpaper. Photo ca. 1950s. Photo courtesy of Susan Haake, Lincoln Home Curator.

[28] Baker, 71.

[29] Peterson, 144.

[30] Susan Haake, e-mail correspondence. 24 Oct 2016.

[31] Per Susan Haake, in the 24 Oct 2016 e-mail correspondence, the state of Illinois deeded it to the National Park Service also for $1.00 and with the same stipulations Robert Lincoln had bequeathed. Therefore, there is no admission to get into the Lincoln Home, and is one of two parks that have no admission due to deeds. The other is the Great Smoky Mountains.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid. It is unknown who the company was that made the first reproduction wallpaper.

[34] Ibid.

renovation. The public first saw the wallpaper on June 16, 1988.[35] The public and National Park Service has been interpreting it ever since.

Interpreting historic wallpapers, despite the contributions of professionals, remains challenging. Historic wallpapers, as Richard C. Nylander writes in his 1983 book, *Wallpapers for Historic Buildings,* "have not been explored as extensively as other decorative arts."[36] This is due, concludes Nylander, to a lack of original wallpapers, and surviving records do not normally indicate what was put on the walls.[37] His book documents specific wallpapers—as well as how to research and produce reproductions—and offers a brief history of wallpaper in specific eras. Many other books on historic wallpaper follow this example—they are "how-to" guides, telling the curator or another interpreter what to look for and why to restore a historic home.

Other books, such as the 1977 *Wallpapers in Historic Preservation,* by the Technical Preservation Services Division, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, National Park Service, and the U.S. Department of the Interior, and *An Introduction to Wallpaper,* by Jean Hamilton in 1983, historicize and explore historic wallpaper. According to *Wallpapers in Historic Preservation,* "stylistic characteristics [can be studied] as further clues to the age of wallpapers, and provide guidance for choosing replacement patterns."[38] Fortunately, the original bedroom wallpaper in the Lincoln bedroom had remained for conservators and historians to interpret, reproduce, and display. Salvaging the original and producing an identical copy of the Lincoln bedroom wallpaper can help the public remember the Lincolns not as mythological figures, but as everyday individuals.

Using the Wallpaper as a Tool for Public Memory

"The people saw in [Abraham Lincoln]," writes Merrill D. Peterson, "the vindication not only of American democracy, but also of American character."[39] Abraham Lincoln's place in public memory is that of a great hero: on a pedestal, Abraham was a man who did no wrong and is the model for all American people. Mary Lincoln, on the other hand, has oftentimes been cast in the Lincoln family narrative by historians as the shrew and hellish wife.[40] These two mythologies have often guided and cemented the roles of the Lincolns in American history. However, the Lincoln Home, and specifically the Lincoln bedroom wallpaper, helps visitors reconsider these mythologies for what they are. The wallpaper helps reconstruct a different public memory of the Lincolns: a memory of everyday, down-to-earth individuals. The narrative of the Lincolns presented by the National Park Service plays a large role in constructing this different public memory. It begins with the role of the Home.

"The fundamental interpretive role [of the Lincoln Home]," writes Katherine D. Menz, in the "Lincoln Home Furnishings Report," "is to illuminate the life and character of Abraham Lincoln during the seventeen years that he lived in the home, rather than represent the everyday life of the period or to recapture the setting of a single event."[41] As guides tell visitors about the wallpaper—and joke that it is no wonder Mary was plagued with headaches due to the complex patterns and colors--visitors may begin to recognize familial life that is no different than their own. Everyone does, in due time, pick out ways to decorate their home, including wall coverings.

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Richard C. Nylander, *Wallpapers for Historic Preservation: A Guide to Selecting Reproduction Wallpaper* (Washington, D.C.: Preservation Press, 1983), 9.

[37] Ibid, 9.

[38] Catherine Lynn, *Wallpapers in Historic Preservation*, (Washington: Technical Preservation Services District, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1977), 18.

[39] Peterson, 362.

[40] For further information on these characterizations, see Catheine Clinton, Jean Baker, Stacy Pratt McDermott, and Ruth Randall's Mary Lincoln biographies.

[41] Menz, 1.

Guests may marvel at the outlandishness of the Rococo Revival, mid-nineteenth century style, as tour guides tell anecdotes about the future First Family. However, despite the flamboyance (by today's standards) of the styles and patterns of the furnishings and wall-coverings, guests see that decorating a home meant a lot to the Lincolns, especially Mary. Visitors come to terms with the fact that Mary, though perhaps plagued with a bit of a poor temperament and unpleasant disposition at times, wished to make her family fit in with urban Springfield.

Furthermore, the National Park Service has set out four interpretive goals, each constructed to distance their narrative from the typical mythological public memory of Abraham and Mary. The four goals are:

One: To interpret the developing career of Abraham Lincoln and the events associated with that career while he lived in this house and the Springfield community.

Two: To interpret events in the life of Abraham Lincoln in this house where he lived primarily as a father, husband, citizen, and neighbor.

Three: To present the Lincoln Home, the contemporary neighborhood around it, and the related historical remains in the Springfield community in such a way as to enable visitors to understand the environment of which Mr. Lincoln was a part of for the 17 years that took him from the beginning of a law practice here to the presidency.

Four: To interpret Lincoln's social and political ideas, many of which were formed while he lived in this house in Springfield, and which were implemented in a national policy during his presidency and left to us – a complex legacy of both national and individual ideals to which we still aspire and toward the fulfillment of which we continue to work.[42]

Point number two is extremely important in separating the mythology from the Lincoln Home narrative. Abraham, according to point two, was not just the "Great Emancipator" and sum of great American values; he is also a father, a citizen of Springfield, and a husband. He had duties to perform in each of these roles. Thus, the interpretive goals of the Lincoln Home aim to separate Abraham (and Mary) from their previously conceived pedestals and place them in a narrative that negates these stereotypes. As stated previously, Mary may have been the one who wanted to decorate the home in Rococo Revival fashion, but it was Abraham who worked, and spent his money on wallpaper for the home. Through this goal and the narrative told in the Lincoln Home, visitors learn the Lincolns were more than just their mythological public memory: they were ordinary individuals with goals and responsibilities.

This difference in public memory, however, has been both supported and challenged by visitors to the Lincoln Home. One reviewer on "Trip Advisor" suggested the crazed patterns of the wallpaper and other fabrics, in conjunction with the black horse hair seats, proved that Mary Lincoln indeed was "psychotic."[43] Another asked "who knew Mary Lincoln was such a jezebel? LOL"[44] Yet, that same "jezebel" reviewer also credited the guides with doing an excellent job of providing history that textbooks ignore. Shying away from textbook approaches, per the interpretive goals of the Lincoln Home, allow for public memory to also shy away from the mythologies of Abraham the Great, and Mary the Shrew. One reviewer even stated the home separates Abraham from the mythical "godlike" qualities and "bring him down to earth."[45]

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[42] Menz, 1-2.

[43] Trip Advisor Review, Jimmy L. 28 Jan 2013, https://www.yelp.com/biz/lincoln-home-nationalhistoric-site-springfield?start=40 [accessed 23 October 2016].

[44] Yelp Review, Roger C., 1 Sept. 2012, https://www.yelp.com/biz/lincoln-home-national-historic-site-springfield?hrid=IdVVyTP0eAO2Qbey-dveNw&utm_campaign=www_review_share_popup&utm_medium=copy_link&utm_source=(direct) [accessed 30 October 2016].

[45] Trip Advisor Review, Sharp H., 19 Jan 2013, https://www.yelp.com/biz/lincoln-home-national-historic-site-springfield?start=20, [accessed 23 October 2016].

Other reviewers found themselves placed in the Lincoln family's shoes, further allowing them to remember the Lincolns not as their mythologies, but as regular individuals. "It was incredible to walk the same steps as Lincoln and his family," one reviewer gushed about her experience at the home overall.[46] Another called the home "surprisingly colorful."[47] Many other posts on popular review sites, like Facebook, TripAdvisor, and Yelp discuss this down-to-earth feeling.

Figure 4: Restoration of Mary Lincoln's Bedroom. Man with reproduction wallpaper. Ca. 1988. Photograph by Joe Winkleman, National Park Service.

Unfortunately, while many of these reviews discuss how the Lincoln Home sheds new light to the narrative and mythologies of the Lincolns, none attest to the wallpaper. Clearly, however, this sense of identifying with the Lincolns on a more personal level is due in part to the wallpaper in the Lincoln bedroom. The reproduction wallpaper in the bedroom allows visitors to fully envision the Lincoln family in the home, as well as the lives they lived daily. Without the replicated wallpaper, this may not have been possible.

Figure 5: (Left) Restoration of Mary Lincoln's Bedroom. Man pasting reproduction wallpaper. Ca. 1988. Photograph by Joe Winkelman, National Park Service.

Additionally, it is important to note that the wallpaper extends into Mary's bedroom, as well (Figures 4 and 5). The two rooms may have had different wallpaper; however, the NPS has interpreted Mary's room as identically decorated with the similar wallpaper. If bedrooms in the nineteenth century were a

[46] Facebook review, "Lincoln Home National Site," 23 June 2016, https://www.facebook.com/plugins/post.php?href=https%3A%2F%2F [accessed 30 October 2016].

[47] Facebook review, "Lincoln Home National Site," 24 Feb 2014, https://www.facebook.com/plugins/post.php?href=https%3A%2F%2F [accessed 30 October 2016].

symbol of individuality, and a woman decorating her home was a product of identity, as the NPS suggests in its interpretation, the Lincoln wallpaper tells an important story. By emphasizing the Lincolns, specifically Mary's, contributions to the family, Springfield, and Springfield society over her malignancy, the NPS offers a counterbalance to popular conceptions of the Lincolns.

The wallpaper in each of the rooms are similar, embracing Mary and Abraham in a common identity. Mary's narrative within the home is bound to Abraham's, and vice versa. It is impossible to talk about the private world of such a public man as Abraham Lincoln without a narrative of the contributions of his wife. Of course, the home also offers insights into nineteenth-century society and everyday life. Encapsulated in the wallpaper, Abraham's bedroom is furnished with a desk, books, and a shaving mirror. In her bedroom, furnishing includes a trundle bed which her boys slept on, a commode, and clothing presses. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was common for married couples to sleep in different bedrooms.[48] Visitors therefore can be reminded that Mary and Abraham's rooms have the same wallpaper; the rooms do not reflect the mythologies that Abraham was "better" than Mary, nor does it reflect the patriarchal society to which Abraham and Mary belonged.[49] Visitors also notice that the rococo revival style of the wallpaper aligns with Mary's flair for fashion, as well as a desire to prove to Springfield that she and her family were prominent and well-to-do. Guests can admire Mary's choices and reflect upon their own decorating styles. Surely, many visitors' homes have spaces that they try to keep up-to-date with the latest innovations and styles. Coupled with the furniture in the bedrooms, the home gives guests a personal connection to the Lincolns not found in textbooks. Again, reviewers suggest this personal connection is a highlight of the trip. The aesthetic created by the wallpaper, in conjunction with the Lincoln Home National Site overall, is a catalyst to free Mary and Abraham from their previously constructed mythologies.

In the preface to the 2008 edition of her biography, *Mary Todd Lincoln,* Jean Baker states that the mythology of Abraham as a great man was created partly by degrading Mary. "My tasks became one of challenging the myths that encrusted her reputation," Baker writes. She continues: "These myths served a national purpose, as all tales do, of creating the heroic Lincoln who freed the slaves and saved the Union. Denigrating Mary Lincoln enhanced her husband's reputation as a man of tolerance and forbearance. [It] continues to imprint interpretations of her life [today]."[50]
The public memory of Abraham and Mary Lincoln, as well as this mythological status of both, therefore are intertwined within one another. Of course, at the Lincoln Home National Site, this is no different. Tour guides do not talk about Mary without Abraham, and vice-versa. Yet, the narrative that the National Park Service has constructed moves the public toward a new national memory: not one of pitting husband versus wife or man versus woman, but a national memory of unity. "[Mary] provided Abraham with the space and support he required to achieve his goals," writes Catherine Clinton, "and with the emotional yeast he needed to become the wartime president he became."[51] Abraham and Mary Lincoln's marriage depended on both to become not only a strong parental and familial unit, but a strong political and public unit as well. Mary's freedom to decorate the home at Eighth and Jackson, and Abraham's purchasing, is an example of this unity. Yet, while the wallpaper reinforces the National Park Service's revisionism, identity with contemporary visitors, it also may cement the already in-place mythologies of Abraham and Mary exist. The Trip Advisor post that suggested the egregious style, while popular at the time, correlate to Mary's psychosis suggests the wallpaper, in some cases, can subvert the NPS's idea of unity and promote the typical mythologies. Jumbled patterns and bright colors apparently link Mary to her

[48] Lincoln Home Virtual Tour, National Park Service, https://www.nps.gov/museum/exhibits/liho/rooms/lincolnsRoom.html.
[49] See Jean Baker's biography for an extensive analysis of mid-nineteenth century society and how Mary and Abraham fit into it.
[50] Baker, preface.
[51] Clinton, 336.

mental instability. Merrill Peterson writes that following her son Willie's death in 1862, in the prime of the presidency, the world became subjected to "what her husband had known for years that Mrs. Lincoln was 'semi-insane.' [Then] she did nothing to earn the country's gratitude after her husband's death."[52] This feeling only contributed to the mythologies of Abraham and Mary Lincoln.

Conclusion

The public memory of Abraham and Mary Lincoln places them in two separate mythologies: Abraham is the great savior of the American people and nation, and Mary is the ill-tempered wife who often held him back. Catherine Clinton puts it best: "While Abraham Lincoln became immortal in the American imagination, Mary Lincoln would become infamous."[53]

The National Park Service and the Lincoln Home National Site challenges these mythologies and instead places the Lincolns within a narrative that redefines public memory. Instead of two juxtaposing individuals, the National Park Service has painted Abraham and Mary Lincoln as ordinary individuals, whose lives are easily identifiable to visitors from many diverse backgrounds. Visitors can find themselves within the home, and within the Lincoln family.

Through studying the Lincoln bedroom wallpaper, which also extends into Mary's bedroom, guests can identify with choices nineteenth-century heads of households (including wives) had in decorating their home. This identification in turn allows guests to think about their own home-decorating choices, while also providing additional history not found in textbooks.

The Lincoln family's history of seventeen years in Springfield are forever told in the Springfield home. The wallpaper is a true testament to how the Lincolns became a glorified family in American history while maintaining identity, individuality, and values typical of any nineteenth century person. Though the Lincolns never did come back to live in their home at Eighth and Jackson Streets, their memory lives on as guests come to admire the wallpaper, and identify themselves with the Lincoln family.

[52] Peterson, 52.
[53] Clinton, 3.

The Clubmen: Revolt, Violence, and Radical Neutrality

Nima Lane

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English Civil War Woodcut

Clubmen were men from the English countryside who became armed vigilantes to keep order in their communities during the Civil War between Parliamentarians and Royalists. They claimed that both sides were tearing apart communities, crippling non-combatants with taxes, stealing livestock, and even committing murder. Some of the Clubmen preferred or even supported one side or the other in the Civil War. Nevertheless, the Clubmen became fully realized as a separate movement in the spring of 1645. By then the Civil War had gone on for almost three years. Did that mean that their neutrality—their defining attribute—was not as solidified as they believed? Or was it merely a pragmatic approach to the problem of being caught between two armies, who had been fighting for years by the point the Clubmen truly organized themselves into a militant group. The armed Clubmen, seemingly paradoxically, espoused peace and strict neutrality. Was this neutrality deeply held or just a façade? This paper suggests their anti-military vigilantism characterized a mini-revolution within the larger revolution. This small revolution was divisive, popular, and backed up with force. The Clubmen aired their grievances and stated their mission just as any other revolutionary force would. The Clubmen were a conservative, populist movement whose radical neutrality fermented within the Civil War itself. While they were a notable case in the Civil War, they were hardly an unheard of trend in seventeenth century Europe.[1]

The revolt of the Clubmen sprung up seemingly quickly and dissipated just as quickly when the New Model Army consolidated its power.[2] In revolutions, events tend to happen quickly with movements flaring up and being silenced within the course of a couple of months. To see where this movement would fit into the greater theory of revolutions, it is helpful to look at the work of historian Geoffrey Parker, who examines revolutions around the world. Parker concludes that "[t]hree scenarios provoked serious popular revolts with the greatest frequency: a failed harvest; the

[1] The historiography on the Clubmen includes works such as David Underdown, "The Chalk and the Cheese: Contrasts among the English Clubmen," *Past & Present*, no. 85 (1979): 373-380; John Stephen Morrill, *Revolt in the Provinces: The People of England and the Tragedies of War, 1630-1648* (London: Longman, 1999); R. Hutton, "The Worcestershire Clubmen in the English Civil War," *Midland History* 5, no. 1 (January 1, 1979): 39-49; and John Staab, "Riotous or Revolutionary: The Clubmen during the English Civil War" *Historia*, 12 (2003): 47-54. Staab argues that the Clubmen were riotous rather than revolutionary, but here, I will be arguing precisely the opposite: that the Clubmen were through their actions at least in some way revolutionary.

[2] It should perhaps be noted that historians have speculated on the revolutionary nature of the NMA itself because of its status as an army drawn from the citizenry, and its ties to the Leveler movement. Such works include Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (London: Penguin Books, 1984); and Mark A. Kishlansky, *The Rise of the New Model Army* (Cambridge University Press, 1983).

arrival of troops requiring food and lodging; and the imposition of either a new tax or increases in an existing tax."[3]

The Clubmen, as farmers, were affected by all of these to some degree in their lifetimes, but the particular stated grievance that they claimed drove them was the third: the problems of having to feed and lodge the soldiers that they did not want to support. Taxes and famines aggravated this problem even further. This is evidenced in Underdown's work about the situation in Sussex. "The Club rising was confined, not surprisingly, to the west. It had both internal and external origins. Chichester and Arundel rapes had suffered badly in the war, and had complained about free quarter by parliamentarian troops in January 1645," Underdown explains.[4] Another aggravating factor was the Civil War already underway. Farmers had to deal with both the armies of King Charles and the armies of Parliament. Some echoes of this kind of action driving revolution could be seen in the American Revolution with the frustration brought about by the quartering of the English army's soldiers (note the third Article of the U.S. Constitution which forbids this). The Clubmen had to contend with something worse than a single English army: two English armies.

Historian Lawrence Stone, like Charles Tilly, believes that a revolution is invariably a type of internal war or, in this case, a civil war. Stone uses the term "internal war" which is a looser, more general term for a revolution. He writes: "an alternative formulation has recently been put forward by a group of social scientists working mainly at Princeton. They have dropped the word 'revolution' altogether and put 'internal war' in its place." Stone defines this new formulation "as any attempt to alter state policy, rulers, or institutions by the use of violence, in societies where violent competition is not the norm and where well- defined institutional patterns exist."[5] The concept of an internal war is a synthesis of a civil war and a revolution.

Several historians have examined the Clubmen phenomenon. David Underdown references a split within the clubmen, despite their proclaimed neutrality. Some scholars such as John Morrill cast doubt on whether the Clubmen were actually neutral. Underdown addresses this issue in his study "The Chalk and the Cheese": "The Clubmen most friendly to the Royalist forces were those from the 'chalk'—the nucleated settlements of the downlands. Those most friendly to the parliamentarians were from the fen-edge villages of the Somerset levels, from the clothing parishes of the wood-pasture region in the north of that county, and from the 'cheese' area of Wiltshire around Melksham and Chippen."[6] The main difference of how these clubmen were divided regionally was that those sympathetic to the Royalists tended to be where there were fields, while the Parliamentary-sympathizing clubmen lived in forest or pasture areas.

Aside from Underdown's theory, clubmen sympathies in the Civil War seem to follow no clear pattern. Officers on both sides of the Civil War received conflicting reports about the allegiance of Clubmen. Often those reports would later be proven inaccurate as in the case of the attack on Sir Lewis Dyne's Royalist forces in South Dorset.[7] John Morrill argues the Clubmen's loyalties depended on circumstances. Underdown notes that Morrill's depiction of the clubmen resembles French peasant groups around the same period like the *Croquants* and the *Nu-Pieds*, which were similarly structured French peasant groups that revolted against the king of France only 3 years earlier.[8] The uprisings also bear some resemblance to the peasant uprisings during the 30 Years War in Bavaria and upper Austria. The Clubmen were vertically organized and came from all segments

[3] Geoffrey Parker, *Global Crisis: War, Climate Change and Catastrophe in the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 512.

[4] Underdown, 42.

[5] Lawrence Stone, "Theories of Revolution," *World Politics* 18, no. 2 (1966): 159–76, 160.

[6] Underdown, 30.

[7] Ibid, 30.

[8] Ibid, 27.

like many other populist movements. Members included not only peasant farmers, but also yeoman and local gentry.[9] Besides farmers and minor gentry, their ranks also had clergy who played a role in the leadership of the movement.

In this turbulent time, religion became much more populist, if historians are to believe the reports of the Ranters who gave their sermons in taverns. Christopher Hill dedicates a sizable portion of his *World Turned Upside Down* to this concept of the Ranters. He writes of Ranter and Welsh clergyman William Erbery: "It is clear that Erbery was very much at home in the world of taverns and tobacco in which many of the sects used to meet. Religion is now become the common discourse and table talk in every tavern and ale-house, men were complaining as early as 1641."[10] Ranter ideas about religion were more radical than those of the Clubmen. Nevertheless, religion certainly played a role in the organization of the Clubmen uprisings. This contributed to their particular brand of radical localism that characterized the movement.

Clubmen mostly armed themselves with whatever they could get their hands on. They used bills, pikes, muskets, scythes, farming equipment, and yes—clubs. The term clubmen has also been used to refer to poorly equipped irregular troops that augmented Thomas Fairfax's parliamentary troops in 1643, which can be the source of some confusion. Their arsenal was at least partially an anachronistic one by the mid-seventeenth century, which coupled with their lack of discipline and training compared to the New Model Army, would eventually lead to their downfall.[11] For this reason, the Clubmen were unsuccessful. However, despite their lack of success, their actions can be seen as revolutionary. Revolutionary action does not need to result in revolutionary change.

Where the Clubmen came from before the year 1645 is a subject of some debate because their movement starts out as a series of populist revolts termed the "club revolts." According to Mark Stoyle, author of *Soldiers and Strangers*, which analyzed the English Civil War from an ethnic dimension, the first club revolt was a protest in West Shropshire, where over a thousand countrymen rose up in arms against the Dutch Colonel van Gerish whose troops were plundering around Bishop's castle.[12] Part of the grievances against van Gerish was that he was Dutch and Clubmen wanted him expelled to be replaced with a native instead. Some local Royalists sympathized with the Clubmen as their grievances did seem justified. These foreign mercenaries in the king's army further served to stoke popular rage towards the Royalists.[13] Shropshire was considered a Royalist county; however, even counties had divisions. The regions within these shires that supported the Royalists were called the "cheese" areas, while the Parliamentarian areas were referred to as "chalk" areas. This is made most apparent in David Underdown's work on the Clubmen: "The Chalk and the Cheese." In the east and the lowlands, the Clubmen merely resisted taxation from the Royalists, but in west Shropshire, Clubmen led by Jeremy Powell of Clun were openly Parliamentarian. Hampshire also had divisions: The Clubmen in the downs were Royalist, while the Clubmen in New Forest were Parliamentary. Not much is known about the ringleaders of the Clubmen. All historians of the English Civil War have is names from the Royalist arrest records.[14]

Strangely enough, when they were dispersed by Cromwell, the majority of the Clubmen were arrested—not killed by the Royalists or New Model Army. Particular challenges face historians studying populist behavior (like the Clubmen), in contrast to studying Cromwell or Parliament who

[9] Ibid, 42.

[10] Hill, 198.

[11] British Civil War Project, "Clubman Uprisings," http://bcw-project.org/military/english-civil-war/clubman-uprisings, [accessed 14 December 2016].

[12] Mark Stoyle, *Soldiers and Strangers: An Ethnic History of the English Civil War* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005), 102.

[13] Ibid, 102-103.

[14] Underdown, 47.

had pages upon pages of news books published on them. Most of what we can suppose about the Clubmen comes from sources like Parliamentary news books and letters from generals on their activities. These sources are wrought with both political and social biases. Outside of these works, of course, are the Clubmen's list of demands, which served as a type of mission statement for these bands.

There are a number of parallels to the Clubmen in seventeenth-century Europe alone, particularly around the period of the 30 Years War. Peter H. Wilson and Ian Roy have both written works that contrasted the 30 Years War with the English Civil War. It is an easy comparison to make as there were foreign soldiers in the English Civil War who "cut their teeth" in the 30 Years War, and there was a great deal of fear that England would become like Germany in the 30 Years War as the rules of conduct broke down around them. Mark Stoyle theorized that the New Model Army's purely English nature served to Oliver Cromwell's advantage.[15] While there were a couple of foreigners in Cromwell's army, the Royalists had the overwhelming majority of them. One of the most infamous of the men who came from the 30 Years War to fight for the Royalists was Prince Rupert of the Rhine, who was said to have a demon dog and was responsible for a great many of the atrocities committed on the Royalist side.

> Destructive raiding was common in the congested war zone around Gloucester. Massey, the governor of the city, found that he could not collect the Contribution for his garrison, but he could do great damage with it. He stopped all trade, where he could, up the Severn….A raid of a different kind was the punitive expedition launched by Rupert against the Clubmen in Herefordshire in March 1645. He took his cavalry through the county 'to refresh after the Dutch fashion', as he put it, by forcibly seizing men, money and supplies. There was ample warrant for his action, in his view, from the German wars.[16]

The quote here displays the kind of brutality brought by King Rupert to the shores of England. The passage also links the Clubmen to the experience of civilians and resisters in the 30 Years War. The 30 Years War resulted in the deaths of millions of Europeans. The war gave rise to this image of the soldier as a plunderer who comes into towns to take women and food and homes of the common people. Rupert's presence stirred fears that European violence was coming to England. These fears of amoral soldiers plundering the countryside for years drove the Clubmen to form their vigilante movement. These fears may not have been totally irrational as people involved in atrocities such as the ones in the 30 Years War were directly involved in attacks on their localities. While there was clearly a moralism and emotion in their response, their planning and organization indicates that this response was likely a pragmatic one. They saw keeping order in the face of these plundering soldiers—like the ones in the 30 Years War—as a civil duty. Parliamentary propaganda sought to paint the Royalist forces as akin to those plundering soldiers in the European wars, as historian Ian Roy suggests.[17] They could use Rupert's ties to the continental conflict as a type of advantage making his experience there as much of a liability as it was a boon. The Clubmen generally sprung up where the fighting was at its worst: in the South and West country and close to the Welsh border. Roy focuses on the effects of the war on the West country, particularly on the towns of the Severn valley, where Mark Stoyle claims the first true Club revolt took place.[18] These congested areas beset by murders and raiding created ideal conditions for yet another revolt.

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[15] Stoyle, 7.

[16] Ian Roy, "England Turned Germany? The Aftermath of the Civil War in Its European Context," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 28 (1978): 127–44.

[17] Ibid, 128.

[18] Ibid, 130.

Like Ian Roy, Peter H. Wilson's *The 30 Years War: Europe's Tragedy* draws parallels between England and Germany. While the international implications each of the wars had for the Hapsburg dynasty might not have been felt directly by the Clubmen, both wars informed the view of the other and played a role in the modernization of Europe when it came to armies, war, and the creation of sharply defined sovereign nation states.[19] Wilson considered the English Civil War and the wars brought on by the Reformation to be forces of modernization. Both wars, claims Wilson, saw an element of popular opposition in the form of protests, even revolts which Wilson writes are "Clubman-like."[20] The first club revolt started out as a protest, but eventually turned to armed resistance and insurrection. Of the peasant revolt and popular acts of resistance in the 30 Years War, the most notable revolts were in Upper Austria and Bavaria. Sometimes these popular revolts are collectively known as the Peasants' War.

During the 30 Years War, there were numerous peasant protests. Like the Clubmen, these peasants led popular revolts that were crushed under the pressures of facing both sides of the conflict. Geoffrey Parker was also familiar with numerous popular uprisings throughout Europe in the Seventeenth Century in France, Upper Austria, Lower Austria, Styria, and Brandenburg-Kolmbach. In his book on the 30 Years War, Parker recounted the massacre of the peasants in neutral principality Brandenburg-Kulmbach:

> Within a month of Breitenfeld, a letter arrived from Gustavus asking if he [Margrave Christian] were friend or foe. With the Swedish host advancing, there was no choice: on 31 October, Margrave Christian had an audience with the king, swore to be his ally against the emperor, and agreed to provide quarters and contributions for the army. The Margrave's subjects were thereby subjected to an unprecedented hardship at the hands of the troops, quartermasters and tax-collectors. When the peasants attempted to drive out the intruders, in November 1632, they were massacred: a chronicler who visited the site of the peasants' last stand was appalled to find the vineyards and fields red with blood, with corpses scattered in bizarre positions over a three-mile radius. Meanwhile the Margrave locked himself in his only defensible castle, the Plassenburg, and waited for the storm to subside. Such were the consequences for the former 'neutrals' of Sweden's victory at Breitenfeld.[21]

As with the Clubmen, the peasants and the Margrave himself advocated for peace and neutrality, but in the end, the professional army decimated them. Revolts like this one would continue throughout the 30 Years War and for another two years in Bavaria. The case of the Margrave mirrors the Clubmen's struggle in that they espoused neutrality but were in the end decimated by a professional army. In both cases they revolted against something that was perceived to be an injustice. This shows the perils of neutrality in a divisive conflict.

The Swedes clashed with ordinary citizens on the continent. Not only was there the threat of violence, but there were also the immense costs of garrisoning their army. In Olmüt, which was about 200 km north of Lower Austria, a local town clerk wrote an account of the costs of garrisoning the army, which ran over 100,000 thaler. Expenses included: ransom, shoes and

[19] Peter H. Wilson, "Kingdom Divided: The British and European Continental Conflicts Compared," in *The Oxford Handbook of the English Revolution*, ed. Michael J. Braddick (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2015), 577.

[20] Ibid, 584.

[21] Geoffrey Parker, *The Thirty Years' War*, 2nd ed. (London: New York: Routledge, 1997), 127-28.

stockings, money for the commandant and other officers from the councilor's own pockets, 73 barrels of wine, hops, salt, construction costs, and brewing costs.[22]

The experience of the Swedes and others manifests the staggering economic costs to the people who dealt with these armies in addition to the constant threat of violence, pillaging—even rape. The financial burdens of the war were shifted to these civilians and in this the Clubmen and groups like them had a cause and something to revolt against.

A parliamentary newspaper reported on that first club revolt in West Shropshire in December of 1644: "They oppose Colonel Vagary [Vangeris] of the king's army plundering and other exorbitances and have been treated by Sir Richard Lee, Mr. Francis Herbert, the two Baldwins and other commissioners to lay down their arms, but they refuse unless they have some satisfaction for plundering."[23] This report exhibits the early actions and motivations of the Clubmen. They armed themselves in the face of the Parliamentary government which was still in the process of consolidating its power and was likely trying to establish a level of legitimacy by not interfering with the populace. They seemed to be open to dialogue with Parliament which is a stark contrast to what happened to people advocating neutrality in the 30 Years War. It is difficult to pinpoint the difference, but one likely, and often cited possibility was that in a civil war, there was no disconnect between the cultures, which in some way tempers the soldiers, particularly when it comes to civilian resistance. This report also serves to pinpoint the exact point and events of the first club revolt, however vague.

According to the parliamentary paper, the *Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer*, a group of gentry, clergy, and citizens had organized in Worcester in March of 1645 to give out a declaration and resolution. In this declaration, they had eight stated purposes. These included: maintaining the Church of England in the face of Catholicism, defending the king's honor, and defending each other from soldiers.[24] Here the Clubmen's words serve as a mission statement for the people of Worcester. They describe themselves in very general terms. These general terms are part of what paints their movement as a populist movement from the ground up. Worcester is one of the counties considered Royalist throughout the war. This shows, to an extent, when the Clubmen write about protecting the King, but they also wish to keep the status quo and the ideas of English law and precedent. At this point they do not mention peace, but a reference to a return to order with no overt animosity against one side or another.

Clubman risings were more widespread in Dorset, Wiltshire, and Somerset than other counties.[25] The Clubmen of Dorset and Wiltshire issued their own demands and resolutions: "We the miserable inhabitants of said counties being too deeply touched by the apprehension and sense of our past and present sufferings occasioned only by civil and unnatural wars within this kingdom."[26]

This writing sheds yet more light on their motives and the misfortunes brought upon populations by the war. While the people in Worcester were concerned about taxes, these Clubmen in Dorset and Wiltshire expanded their demands to include grander ideas of peace and a return to the natural order of things. This amounted to a rallying call for restoring order, but also a statement opposing the two forces struggling for legitimacy. This would suggest that despite the conservative and localized nature of their movement, there were larger ideas at play. In places where the Clubmen

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[22] "Tagebuch des feindlichen Einfalls der Schwed in das Markgraftenthum Mähren während ihres Aufenhaltes in der Stadt Olmütz, 1642-1650" (*The diary of Friedrich Flade, the Olmuetz town clerk*), in: *The Thirty Years War: A Sourcebook*, ed., Peter Wilson, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 243-44.

[23] "Perfect Occurances of Parliament," (27 December 1644), unpaginated, in *English Historical Documents*, 1297.

[24] "A declaration and resolution of the gentry, clergy, and other inhabitants of the northwest part of the county of Worcester," *The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer* (11-18 March 1645) in *English Historical Documents,* 1297-98.

[25] Underdown, 29.

[26] "The Desires and Resolutions of the Clubmen of the Counties of Dorset and Wiltshire," (1645), in *Historical Documents*, 1300.

were more concentrated, they used language that appears far more revolutionary than in areas like Worcestershire. Simply the act of not cooperating with both "governments" and taking up arms to become their own small paramilitary force could be considered a revolutionary act. The Clubmen in Wiltshire were not the only ones who made a statement calling for peace. The Clubmen did this on several occasions. They petitioned the king for peace which appeared in a Royalist news book.[27] The Somerset Clubmen petitioned that England go back to the status quo of Elizabethan times. The Somerset Clubmen made this clear when they proclaimed: "We stand for the Protestant religion as it was observed in Queen Elizabeth's time."[28]

In Herefordshire, the Parliamentary forces seemed to want to corporate with the Herefordshire Clubmen and even see if they could get them to accept Parliamentary demands. Colonel Massey signed off on a letter to Sir Samuel Luke: "Bee it how it will I have used all the best arguments I can to move them to declare themselves for Parliament then they may have protection and authority for what they doe. Now their act is a perfect act of rebelling to be justified by noe Law or Statute and their confesion will be certaine."[29] Herefordshire was one of the Royalist counties, but as was the case with Shropshire, there were sections near the forests that were considered sympathetic to the Parliamentary forces. Nevertheless, the very process of declaring neutrality in the face of a government vying for legitimacy was a provocative act even if they did have some vague sympathies for these militia groups. At a certain point, even if these Clubmen were thought to possibly be sympathetic to Parliament, they were in rebellion nonetheless.

The Sussex Clubmen in the fall of 1645 were considering more immediate and practical concerns with the remembrance of a series of infamous rapes. The stated goal for many of the Clubmen was their opposition to the soldiers who steal, rape, and pillage their way through the countryside. As is the case with the Parliament and the King's forces, there was a constant search for legitimacy citing precedent in an appeal to the law. War, they claimed, was not only unnatural; it was illegal. In Sussex, they made their opposition to both sides explicit: "Wee desire in respect we have been these three yeares last past opprossessed by free quarter of souldiers, plunder and other charges both by the royall and parliament amryes."[30] The authorities in Sussex denounced the Sussex Clubmen as traitors, as well as "neuters" and "enemies to the Commonwealth."[31] Towards the end of the English Civil War, it appears the Clubmen were the actual revolutionaries.

Sir Thomas Fairfax took credit for dispersing the Clubmen in August of 1645, and while there were club revolts that flared up later, the latter half of 1645 saw the end of the Clubmen as an organized movement. There was a degree of anger towards the Clubmen coming from some of the Parliamentarians. One claimed, in a firsthand account of the battle between Fairfax and the Clubmen, that Clubmen deserved to be hanged.[32] Parliament also used religious imagery in its battle against the Clubmen. In a time where religion dominated, every army believed God was on their side. This was evident in cleric Thomas Case's sermon blasting the Clubmen.[33] After the Clubmen were rooted out of their castle, the soldier expressed hope that this was the end of these revolts. This suggests that for some, destroying all forms of opposition like the Clubmen was the goal of the New Model Army: ensure peace through dominance.

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[27] Morrill, 196.

[28] "A Copy of a Petition Commended to the Peace-Making Association in the West, 1644–1646," in *Historical Documents,* 1301.

[29] "The Clubmen in Herefordshire. Cololnel Masey, Governor of Gloucester to Sire Samuel Luke," 22 March 1645, in Morrill, 196.

[30] "Extracts from the petitions of the Sussex Clubmen," 26 September 1645, in Morrill, 199.

[31] Underdown, 47.

[32] Edward Bowles, The Proceedings of the Army under the Command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, Early English Books, 1641-1700 / (London [England]: printed for Samuel Gellibrand, July 9, 1645., 1645), 5, (2337:06) *Early English Books Online* (London: Chadwyck-Healey).

[33] Thomas Case, "Sermon Before Honurable House of Commons at Westminster, August 22, 1635," in *Early English Books Online.*

Geoffrey Parker's analysis on why people revolt fits into how the Clubmen came into being and the conditions that brought them about. Expensive wars combined with lackluster harvests proved to be a powerful force in shaping the social and economic fabric of mid-seventeenth century British society. The Clubmen openly articulated their grievances with the soldiers from both sides. They chose a side by not taking sides and instead, in practice, ended up creating their own communities policed by themselves. They were a revolution within a revolution with the stated goal of bringing about peace and order by organizing and taking up arms against their government(s). The Clubmen were united by their common cause of radical neutrality, a nostalgia for the simpler era of Elizabeth, their status as lower class people, and their tenuous connection through the series of populist revolts in the west country. They lived their lives for three years where the fighting in the English Civil War was at its worst. Clubmen were radical because they opposed the largest forces in their society, while formulating their own internal doctrine. They articulated their grievances, had meetings, and organized. Their political consciousness was undoubtedly present as they cited their ideas concerning the war. They wanted peace. They wanted a return to old times, such as the Elizabethan era, particularly in a religious sense. Clubmen were locally focused and parochial to the point that they held sympathies with one side or another, some groups of Clubmen being openly Parliamentarian or negotiating with one side at the very least.

The Clubmen did not appear from the ether, but, as was evident in their stated grievances, they were a part of an ongoing problem of how civilians often get treated by soldiers in war. The case of the 30 Years War showed the costs and difficulties of garrisoning soldiers, especially when times are lean. While England did not turn into Germany, it was easy for the English to imagine that it could. The brutality of the 30 Years War towards the peasants carried over and translated into the English Civil War, but there were some lessons learned from it, and it is not hard to see how some may have taken steps to keep this war from escalating to that point. The Clubmen were radical in that they thought they could demand conditions from both Parliament and the king. They armed themselves and questioned the legitimacy of both armies by not supporting one over the other. If they were not radical, they would not have posed a threat to the growing New Model Army. They were also a conservative or reactionary movement linked by a dislike of the papacy and a love of their old religion. The story of the Clubmen is one riddled with odd paradoxes, but as their stated motives and actions show, they were a small revolution in themselves, fermented by the same causes that bring revolutions and taking the same actions as revolutionaries.

The Clubmen saw themselves as practical people as well as peaceful people. They merely wanted to keep order for their women and children. Their wish was to return to a time that was simpler, more peaceful (at least in their minds). Even during a revolution, the English still managed to be concerned with what was practical and what was legal. Clubmen in all counties cited ancient laws to build upon precedents for their actions. They reached a point where they could not trust either side to protect their people and, because of that, in 1645 they hit a breaking point. The contrasts between Clubmen in different areas are not as notable as their similarities. Even within counties that supposedly leaned toward one major side or the other (Parliamentarians or Royalists), there existed an overarching preference for peace and order—a yearning that spawned the Clubmen. There is an axiom that picking no side is still picking a side, and that is precisely what the Clubmen did.

Clubmen conservatism was to such a degree that they could not in good conscience fully support either side because neither side had the capacity nor the will to return everything back to the Elizabethan era. Parliament and the Royalists had competing ideas of which way the country should go, but neither one of these appealed to the club and scythe wielding men on the farms who, while supporting neither of the two armies, embodied many aspects of both. Like the Royalists, they lionized the king and likely could not support the man's execution even with what Charles had done.

The Clubmen's words and actions set them apart from a mere food riot or peasant revolt in that they cited laws and precedents. In their communities, the Clubmen organized and enforced laws. By doing this, they formed little governments of their own. For the Clubmen to make peace and neutrality a defining part of their movement, they had to display it in both word and action. The sum of which makes them revolutionary.

Changing Social Spheres of Antebellum Women in America

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They were chained together and held in cages—beaten until they were quiet and driven mad by the horrible living conditions. Like many other reformers of her time, Dorothea Dix realized it was her mission as a Christian woman to save these inmates who were severely oppressed, and let God decide what to do with them. She travelled thousands of miles to see conditions in asylums around the country, only to be met with despair in the face of these horrid places. Dorothea Dix, along with many other reformers, led the way as women increasingly fought against the poor morals and destitution that plagued the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century. In doing so, women began to join more movements and push into the public sphere.

As Sarah Josepha Hale, an editor for *Godey's Lady Book*, wrote, women were "God's appointed agent of morality."[1] In the time preceding the Civil War, women saw the country as a place of sin. This held particularly true in the cities. Problems such as prostitution and horrid prison conditions shocked female reformers, driving them past their male counterparts to take a stand for change. In doing so, women frequently involved themselves in the public sphere, a realm previously off-limits. The antebellum women's moral reform movements greatly helped push women into the public sphere. Women increasingly saw it as their mission to help the fallen people of the cities. It was the country's negligence, these reformers determined, which allowed these atrocities to happen to people of good social standing, who fell through the cracks of decent society.[2]

Scholars have written about women in the public sphere for decades. Following the American Revolution, many women were pushed from the public sphere, especially from partisan activities and relegated to the home.[3] Though their exit from the public sphere was sudden, women remained active in the community. Historian Mary Beard argues antebellum women had more influence in and out of the public sphere than was understood later.[4] Women from that period are often portrayed as the victims of a patriarchal society. While, this assumed oppression in many cases was accurate, Mary P. Ryan, another prominent historian, argues that even in their separate spheres, women were able to exert a substantial amount of influence on the public sphere, especially while working together in reform movements.[5]

Antebellum Americans defined the public sphere as being active in the community, for example, being part of local politics. In the time of antebellum America, those allowed in the public sphere were typically only white men. Slavery was still a reality for African Americans, and women of any race were denied the same political rights as men. Men held political rights—for example, the ability to vote or run for office—and had more opportunities in the workforce. Men were less likely

[1] Lori D. Ginzberg, *Women in Antebellum Reform* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson Inc., 2000), 9.

[2] Ibid. 4.

[3] Carol Lasser and Stacey Robertson, *Antebellum Women: Private, Public, Partisan* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010).

[4] Mary P. Ryan, "The Power of Women's Networks: A Case Study of Female Moral Reform in Antebellum America," *Feminist Studies* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1979): 66-86.

[5] Ibid.

to be involved in "domestic" work, leaving those duties to a housemaid, or, more likely, a wife. The private or domestic sphere was that of the home, not participation in public or political matters. Those involved in this sphere were women. The duties of a woman in antebellum America involved taking care of her husband, her children, and the home. According to a nineteenth-century magazine, *The S.G. Friends' Intelligencer*, "It is at the home that a woman should love to shine. There her virtues are best known and there should she exert her powers to please and make those around her happy."[6] Women often did not take part in the public sphere because they feared being seen as "unfeminine or unlady-like."[7] Another way of discouraging women from leaving their duties at home was the use of religion. Though women were thought of as "God's appointed agents of morality," there was still pressure on them to be the "pure" citizens they always had been in their domestic spheres.

Cracks in the Sphere

Prior to their involvement in reform movements, higher education helped push women farther into the public sphere. Those who participated in the moral reform movements needed education in order to properly stand for their cause. The ability to read and write helped women by allowing them to write proposals for their movements. Many women had only elementary reading and writing skills, but they made it another mission to educate the next generation in order to further advance women and their goals.[8] College education for women became more available after Oberlin Institute began educating both men and women in the 1830s.[9] By furthering their education, women took steps needed to venture into the public sphere. This helped women's advancement because, though still in small numbers, more women were then able to have better jobs and more involvement in the public sphere.

In 1834, a new chapter of the moral reform movement against prostitution began with the creation of the New York Female Moral Reform Society (NYFMRS), an organization that greatly contributed to the advancement of women in the public sphere.[10] The mission of this group was to prevent prostitution in New York and to help "fallen" women themselves. A large part of the program's initiative was to redeem prostitutes and convince them to join the moral reform movement; however, very few of the women in the NYFMRS were former prostitutes.[11] The women in this group were white, religious, middle-class members of society.[12] By leading the moral reform movement, the NYFMRS began slowly to break the walls of the domestic sphere by going to brothels in order to reform fallen women and encourage parents to instill a mindset against prostitution.

Though a significant portion of NYFMRS efforts against prostitution involved reforming already-fallen women, the group spent most of its time preventing women from falling into that position. One mode of prevention called on parents to "sow the seeds of chastity and virtue, and to build up a wall of principle around these little ones."[13] By teaching children to value purity and

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[6] "Woman her Sphere and Influence," *S G. Friends' Intelligencer*, 20, no. 2 (March 21, 1863): 19.

[7] Ginzberg, 11.

[8] Lasser and Robertson, 30.

[9] Ibid. Oberlin Institute also opened its doors to African Americans starting in 1835.

[10] New York Female Moral Reform Society, *First Annual Report of the Female Moral Reform Society of the City of New York* (New York: William Newell, 1835).

[11] Carroll Smith Rosenberg, "Beauty, the Beast and the Militant Woman: A Case Study in Sex Roles and Social Stress in Jacksonian America," *American Quarterly*, 23, no. 4 (Oct., 1971): 562-584.

[12] Ibid.

[13] New York Female Moral Reform Society, "An Appeal to the Wives, Mothers and Daughters of Our Land" (New York: Female Reform Society, 1836), http://www.teachushistory.org/second-great-awakening-age-reform/resources/appeal-women-take-part-moral-reform.

chastity, reformers believed, children would be less likely to find themselves in that situation. The NYFMRS also warned parents about the dangers of "neglecting their duty" to educate their children. The direct result of not teaching children about the horrors of prostitution, insisted the reformers, was the short road to prostitution. In addition to warning parents of female children, the NYFMRS cautioned parents of male children "from the theatre to the brothel, the transition is easy and natural; and now the voice of conscience is silenced."[14] In teaching boys to value purity over lecherousness, reformers hoped to discourage the practice from being continued into the next generation. By encouraging parents to educate their children, women stepped outside the home to become activists advocating for reform in the city. This was a large step for women especially in the reform movement because their voices were being heard in communities larger than those of only housewives. Women reformers fought to save the nation from the immorality of prostitution.

Acting as "rescuers," the NYFMRS portrayed prostitutes as women in need of help, even if help was resisted. In fact, resistance to the reformers' help was often not understood by the reformers themselves, who assumed all women in that position did not make the active choice to be there, even the "high-end prostitutes and madams" who often led lives of luxury.[15] When prostitutes rejected the reforming efforts of the NYFMRS, the reformers took to staging "rescues" of the fallen women to help sway the public in their favor.[16] Seeking to help fallen women, the NYFMRS often went directly to the brothels in order to preach their moral ideals to both the women who worked there and their male clients.[17] This action was called "active visiting" by the moral reformers.[18] Today, these types of visits are recognized as being ineffective, likely because the reformers pushed their ideals on women who did not want to reform.[19]

Reformers often drove away business at the brothels, causing financial problems and growing resentment among the prostitutes. The moral reformers also opened a "House of Reception" for the women who were willing to move from their fallen ways.[20] This building was constructed to provide women with a place to live, so they did not need to stay in the brothels anymore.[21] The number of reformed women was often very low, so the House of Reception did not house many women, often less than twenty at a time.[22] The persistent efforts of the reformers largely went unnoticed by those they were trying to help.

In order to get the word out about the moral reform movement, the NYFMRS published a journal called *The Advocate of Moral Reform*. With this news source for reform movements, women dramatically stepped into the public sphere in a national—instead of just local—way. This news source symbolized much more than just the reform movement picking up speed throughout the country. It showed that women were able to successfully traverse the waters of the public sphere, where they were not able to have such influence some twenty years before. This periodical circulated throughout the United States as the "leading Evangelist journal," amassing a reader subscription of 16,500 after only two years of publication.[23] One of the purposes for this journal was to keep the smaller reform movements throughout the country updated on events happening to the main

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[14] Ibid.

[15] Nicolette Severson, "'Devils Would Blush to Look': Brothel Visits of the New York Female Moral Reform Society, 1835 and 1836," *Journal of Sexuality* 23, no. 4 (May 2014): 237-238.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Rosenberg, 562-584.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ginzberg, 11.

[20] Rosenberg, 562-584.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

[23] A. Cheree Carlson, "Creative Casuistry and Feminist Consciousness: The Rhetoric of Moral Reform," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 72 (1992):16-32.

movement.[24] The journal itself focused mainly on two things: pinpointing men as the cause of widespread immorality in America and calling for "a national union of women."[25] With this message, the NYFMRS helped knit women together by proclaiming a common enemy. Many of the articles in *The Advocate* were stories aimed at women to prove their cause was worthy. One article stated rather precisely the goal of the organization: "The object of the Moral Reform Society is not so much to reclaim the vicious as it is to preserve the virtuous from the paths of the destroyer."[26]

While redeeming fallen women, the NYFMRS also sought to level the public sphere playing field by indicting all parties involved in immorality as fallen people. Doing this, the NYFMRS made the case it was not just women to blame for the lack of morals in the society. In the eyes of the NYFMRS members, prostitutes were merely the "byproducts of men's vices." Males were the ones truly in desperate need of help.[27] Men involved in prostitution were regarded as unholy members of society who put these women in their positions of degradation. Dramas performed by the reform society emphasized the horrors of prostitution, and men were shown to be the direct cause of the vice.[28] The reformers put men who engaged in these lewd acts on the same level as the licentious women.[29] They called on virtuous women "to look down on licentious men as virtuous men now look down on licentious women."[30] The loss of character associated with these acts was no longer placed solely on the women but the men as well. By association with prostitution, men were seen as fallen persons themselves. This allowed women reformers to argue that "licentious" men should be viewed the same as the prostitutes.

Women involved in this movement broke from their domestic confines by entering the realm of politics in America. Their political causes included prostitution itself and lobbying for the eradication of the practice by both men and women. By joining together in the fight to help "fallen" women, reformers also took on the double standard that effected the prostitutes of American society. They demanded men take responsibility for their actions instead of placing the blame wholly on woman, who were likely compromised as a result of a man's impure actions. In doing so, women took a stand against the social norms already in place in order to help women advance. This would lead to further challenges to the separate sphere in years to come.

Prison Reform

Prostitution reform was not the only moral reform movement in Antebellum America. Another important movement was that of prison reform. In the same regard as prostitution reform, women involved in prison reform saw their work as helpful to those in need, which caused them to press outside their private spheres. The prison reform movement started slowly in the 1820s when it was discovered female inmates were not separated from their male counterparts and not given the care needed to survive well in the prison settings.[31] In prisons, female inmates were not protected from abuses from their male guards.[32] These circumstances greatly stirred women of the country to act in favor of their fallen counterparts by helping to reform prisons. Early reformers pressed for female matrons to supervise women inmates in order to provide protection.[33] In the 1840s, a half-way house for released prison inmates was constructed in New York, which contained a female

[24] Ibid.
[25] Rosenberg, 562-584.
[26] "Object of Moral Reform Societies," *The Advocate of Moral Reform*, 4, no. 14 (July 16, 1838): 3-4.
[27] Ginzberg, 40.
[28] Nicolette Severson, 226-246.
[29] New York Female Moral Reform Society, *First Annual Report.*
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ginzberg, 45.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.

department led by Abby Gibbons.[34] This house allowed former inmates a place to stay temporarily while in the process of finding a permanent home and work. According to *Godey's Lady Book*, women "are particularly well fitted for the care of delinquents and defectives."[35] This statement insisted that women, partly by virtue of their femininity, were fully capable of handling the public sphere.

Many antebellum women grew interested in asylum reform and the care of the insane, but one who was particularly important to the cause was Dorothea Dix. Asylums in the nineteenth century were not well kept. Diseases riddled the premises, and conditions for the insane were deplorable.[36] The people of antebellum America did not seem terribly concerned with the well-being of the insane or "idiotic" men and women; this is largely because they believed the insane were sinners and living in these conditions was their punishment.[37] Dorothea Dix travelled thousands of miles throughout the United States to survey conditions in asylums.[38] During her travels, she saw many of those committed to the asylums in awful living situations. Dix saw inmates locked in cages, chained to the walls, "beaten with rods, and lashed into obedience."[39] She took it upon herself to help these poor people, but the process was a long and arduous journey, as she needed to go through the proper channels to get funding for her mission. Dix spoke to legislators around the United States in order to achieve her goal of better conditions for these poor people. She evoked religious virtues to spread her work throughout the country. Dix called on men and women both to look into their hearts and see it was not their place to judge; that power was left only to God himself. Her work to help the insane vastly improved living conditions in the asylums, which in turn helped those who lived there to lead healthier lives. Though Dix's work may not have sparked an uprising of women reformers to eventually take their place in the public sphere, her work did show women were entirely capable of leading change in America. For a woman to go through the proper channels for change in Antebellum America would have been quite difficult, as many believed women should not be a part of the public sphere. Dix was able to prove women were capable of much more than just being in the home by becoming a part of something much larger than herself in order to help in a major way.

The women involved in these reform movements did not join for the sole reason of breaking into the public sphere.[40] Often women reformers had no ambitions to break out of their separate worlds, rather they only sought to help those in need of their attention. Still, some viewed their work as a precursor to what could be accomplished with more access to the public sphere. The ability to vote and be taken seriously in the public arena was a great cause to reformers such as Susan B. Anthony, who joined with gusto the abolitionist and women's rights causes.[41] She knew women would be able to make important contributions, but in order to help fully, women needed more access to what was considered to be the public sphere.

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[34] Ibid.
[35] Emily E. Williamson, "Woman's Work in Prison Reform," *Godey's Magazine* (April 1897): 414.
[36] Dorothea Dix, "Memorial to the Legislature of Massachusetts" (Boston: University Park Press, 1843).
[37] Ibid.
[38] Thomas J Brown, *Dorothea Dix: New England Reformer* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).
[39] Dorothea Dix, "Memorial to the Legislature of Massachusetts."
[40] Lasser and Stacey Robertson, xvi.
[41] Ibid.

General's Legions: Marian Reforms and the Collapse of the Roman Republic

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Few peoples have been studied, discussed or disputed as much as the Ancient Romans. These world conquerors established one of the most impressive and expansive empires of antiquity. Their influences are still seen to this day across Europe, America, and the Near East. However, before the Romans spanned their empire from Britain to the Caspian Sea, Rome was a Republic, built to govern the small territory around a growing city. At the beginning of the first century BC, there had already been great tumult in the governance of the state, as the military emerged an increasingly important power in the republic. Wars were becoming commonplace in the Republic as the expansion of its dominion continued past the Italian peninsula and into places such as Africa and eventually into Gaul, or modern day France. One man who profoundly shaped the army and molded it into the legendary fighting force for which it is known today was Gaius Marius, a military man who reformed the Roman army and in no small part set the stage for the fall of the Republic through his professionalization of the military, and his grants of land as payment for military service.[1]

Historical scholarship on Marius is scant, since most historians are quick to label him merely a man of the people and a reformer of the armed forces of Rome. These scholars underestimate the implications that came with his reforms. In fact, the reforms served to undermine the Republic through the creation of legions—professional armies that quickly became more loyal to their general than to the state. Likewise, while historians recognize his interest in politics (serving several consulships), few see his public service as contributing to the fall of the republic.

These scholars have overlooked the contributions of Marius and others after him, namely Sulla and Caesar, to ending the Republic as it was known. Classical sources also seem to place less weight upon Marius, for many of the same reasons as modern historians; in general they treat him from a negative or indifferent perspective. It might be that later the military had become such an integral part of society that Velleius Paterculus, a Roman historian from the Augustan period, would see Marius simply as a man who had Roman virtues and a commitment to Roman expansion, rather than a man who set in motion the end of the Republic.

Of course, one cannot strictly pin the entirety of the fall of the Republic on the shoulders of one general and his military reforms, yet Marius set out some of the building blocks that would be used to make it possible. The fall of the Republic hinged on the use of the military as a political tool more than a strictly defensive or offensive weapon. Once armies were beginning to march on Rome itself, much of the damage had already been done. Marius' reforms, while not groundbreaking, definitely set a precedent for those who came later. Civil strife within Rome had become a problem as the senatorial class continued to create factions that would compete, often violently, for control

[1] Marius was a Roman general and six time consul of the Republic. Born in Cereatae, later called Casemare, in 157 BC, he died in 86 BC upon on his election to a seventh term as consul. He gained fame in the Jugurthan and Northern Campaigns into Cisalpine Gaul. On his life see Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*, ed. E.H. Warmington, trans., Perrin Bernadotte, vol. IX (London: Harvard University Press, 1968).

of Rome. "[Marius] allied himself with Saturninus and Galucia… He also stirred up the soldiery, got them to mingle with the citizens in the assemblies, and thus controlled a faction which could overpower Metellus," according to Plutarch.[2] These factions would come into conflict with each other to the point where parts of the city were ruled by glorified gangs. Street riots continued into the time of the First Triumvirate and beyond, having to be crushed by various consuls. Some of these factions hired or aligned themselves with street rioting men, like Saturninus, for political gain, turning on them as soon as the Senate demanded it. During this time, Glaucia and Saturninus held office and sabotaged elections through acts of thuggery.[3] Such issues and the direct civil wars between the generals of the Roman army led to the collapse of the Republic.

Beginning with the professionalization of the military, there was quite a change in how the Republic viewed its armed forces. Marius would later become almost universally known for this, despite his other accomplishments and his unprecedented six consecutive consulships. A prime example of these other accomplishments was his triumph in 104 BC when he took King Jugurtha as a prisoner, a man who had been a vigorous adversary to an expanded Republic.[4] Up until that point, there were no "professional" soldiers: men came from the upper classes to fight in the army because they could pay for their own equipment. Also, they had a tangible interest in seeing the success of the Roman state, something that many believed did not apply to those in the lower classes. The economic class of a man determined if he was eligible for service; even if people from the plebs wanted to serve Rome, class status remained the determinant. This became increasingly problematic with the Republic expanding; during the time of the Punic Wars and Pyrrhic War, it was not as much of a concern as the wars were usually more localized. As Leon Fitts suggests, "what put stress on this system was the continuous warfare in which Republican Rome became engaged. In theory, the army was designed for local wars of short duration."[5] This local system and conscription were unstable or unsustainable for large scale and drawn-out conflicts, as the requirement for equestrians and soldiers with means to buy equipment rose. "So it was to the recruiting system that Marius turned his attention, and he began making changes by throwing open the legions to volunteers and abandoning all inquiries into the economic status of recruits."[6] As the need for soldiers grew and foreign wars became more heated, the only solution was to allow those in the lower economic statuses to join the military. This, as some historians suggest, was unpopular at first with many—especially the equestrian class who held a lofty position as members of the military and in politics.

Many of Marius's reforms, especially that all soldiers must carry their own supplies and gear,[7] shook the status quo and therefore could be unpopular, even if reforms merely meant to promote more successful tactics. Shifts in the number of men serving in the army also made the power of each commander much greater. A legion was much larger than the select amounts of maniples that other commanders might have possessed, which could be seen in the civil wars later in the decades to come. This was very significant as it put more men under the supervision of one general. Instead of smaller local commands that were led by a consul, there were professional legions commanded by lifetime soldiers. These generals earned the respect and love of their men, who generally held less

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[2] Plutarch, *Marius* 28.5.

[3] Velleius Paterculus, *The Roman History: From Romulus and the Foundation of Rome to the Reign of the Emperor Tiberius*, trans. J. C. Yardley and Anthony A. Barrett (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2011), 6.

[4] Peter Zoch, *Ancient Rome: An Introductory History* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 153. Jugurtha was King of Numidia, who led a hit-and-run war against the Romans until being captured in 105 BC and executed after Marius' triumph in 104 BC.

[5] R. Leon Fitts, "All for Power," *Calliope* 13, no. 2 (October 2002): 38.

[6] P.A Kildahl, *Gaius Marius* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc, 1968), 74-74.

[7] Later his soldiers were called "Marius' Mules." By carrying their own equipment, soldiers cut down on supply chains and therefore the weakness of the army, making them far more mobile in the field as they needed to cover a large amount of ground quickly. Kildahl, 77.

love for the Senate perhaps than most upper-class Romans. As the number of legions grew, the threat to the Senate did as well, for there was no guarantee of loyalty from these soldiers or their generals. As the Republic grew larger and transformed into the Principe, many of the reforms endured and were expanded. Some of these reforms would spell the end of the Republic. As the nation grew to become more dependent on their military strength, much of the political power would be tied to whoever possessed the most legions. Also important was how well military leaders wielded their power and authority in the Senate. Many of these leaders who started with Marius, began to take more consulships and positions than were their due based on their prowess at warfare. This would allow authors of the time to label Marius's reforms as "a betrayal of Roman traditions"[8] and claim that these volunteers lacked the patriotism for Rome necessary to fight for her. Yet, the opening of the military to the have-nots made Marius popular among the plebs, giving him the opportunity to undermine senatorial authority and begin a reign of six consulships. These consulships began a trend that continued until the end of the Republic, and the military reforms and the political sway it gave to military leaders led to the Republic's downfall. The Marian Reforms were just one aspect of how the military ushered in the age of civil wars.

Indeed, the Civil Wars can be seen as coming directly from Marian reforms. With the growing influence of the legions in the political sphere, some generals were emboldened, seeking more power. One of these men, Sulla, rose in direct opposition to Marius. In many ways, Marius made Sulla who he was, and his reforms were the building blocks that eventually led to his own downfall. Sulla was Marius' aide and later his opponent, fighting in a civil war against him and the Roman State. Some suggest that Marius chose Sulla for his help against Jugurtha while others argue that, "[Marius] picked Sulla for the job [of Marius' aide], simply because he was a sufficiently shrewd judge of military ability," according to one historian.[9] The period of civil warfare began to take the state by storm as the Senate and people had to scramble to pick a side, hoping to not be on the wrong one. Such divisions made it easy for later men like Caesar to come to power, as the people wanted one thing, while the senatorial class wanted another.

Generally, soldiers saw Marius as one of them. Evidence suggests he was a man to whom the soldiers could relate, which raised his popularity, as did the perceived benefits he offered his men. While land concessions were not unheard of previously, Marius used it to his advantage during the Jugurthan War, and it would later be used by many of the generals and leaders of the late Republic. The promise of riches and even land in conquered territory upon discharge proved an attractive incentive that sparked loyalty to Marius, especially among the poor and homeless of Rome, who were now able to volunteer for the army. "For a desperately poor man… the army would look good – especially an army led… by a proven commander," noted scholar Erik Hildinger.[10] Marius bred great loyalties in his men, and it showed in his victories. This pattern became more prevalent among many of the leaders of the late Republic. Military commanders, proven in battle and with enough money and prowess to earn their soldier's loyalties, would begin extending their power and even marching on Rome. Augustus and Antony followed the Marian model, with much greater bloodshed against fellow countrymen, appeasing their legions with promises of land taken from their enemies.

More and more, the men of the legions did not have loyalty to the state. Wondering what the state had ever done for them, the men knew their generals had offered them land, plunder, and gainful employment. During a campaign against the Ambrones, Roman soldiers pilfered all that they could from the slain and some claimed that soldiers voted to give it all to Marius.[11] This might speak

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[8] Erich S. Gruen, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1974), 366.

[9] Arthur Keaveney, *Sulla: The Last Republican*, Classical Lives (London: Croom Helm, 1986), 14.

[10] Erik Hildinger, *Swords against the Senate : The Rise of the Roman Army and the Fall of the Republic* (Cambridge, MA : Da Capo Press, 2002), 98.

[11] Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives*, Mar.21.2-4.

to the loyalty and perception of the soldiers that greater rewards were around the corner should they remain loyal. The promise for land clearances were harder to make when fighting a defensive war, but it would be possible. Land confiscations would not become uncommon for these generals, and later Octavian and Antony made quite the art form of pressuring people from their homes. As the army grew around the general, soldiers would find little good in the Republic they were told to serve. "These men were professional soldiers with loyalty perhaps tilting from the state and towards the army – an institution that had looked after them more completely than the republic," concluded one scholar.[12] Marius set these ideals as a precedent that extended far beyond him, and this precedent would become critical during the Civil Wars, leading almost directly to the end of the Republic. The Senate had failed these soldiers, having passed laws for its own empowerment rather than for that of the state at large. Many soldiers became disillusioned with a state and Senate that had never done anything for them. Scholars and contemporaries blamed the Senate for the period of civil wars, as the "Senate was in a poor position, though this was largely of its own making."[13] A few argue that the generals inspired loyalty through bribery alone. Yet Sulla, Marius, and Caesar also had powerful personalities that commanded respect and loyalty. Marius' reforms would lead to men with great personal armies at their disposal, some of which were used to march on Rome during the last century of the Republic.

As the routine bequeathing of lands to soldiers continued, a curious issue began to arise, one that had been debated since the time of the Gracchi in the late first century: How would new land be divided and what new land would the state hand over. At first there was little debate. Later, however, a large overarching problem began to arise near the end of the republic: how the generals were going to pay their troops. "[Marius] abolished qualifications and sought volunteers from below the fifth class. He also promised land and money to those who survived the war."[14] This required generals to continue to campaign, continue to conquer, in order to pay their bills to their soldiers. Even if they were loyal, troop loyalty would only stretch so far without concrete rewards. Sulla found himself at a roadblock due to these previous promises and policies. Because conquest was slim, there was no land to give, and he resorted to taking land from his political enemies. Previously compensation was given for the lands taken, but, later Sulla began a policy in which no money was paid for confiscated land.[15] There was always going to be a need for more land as these commanders continued to press their soldiers into increasing amounts of conflict. This policy was something that was in the consciousness of citizens of the new Principate, shown by Augustus' attempt to establish a new military compensation policy not predicated by land claims.

During the time of Marius, soldiers began to be attached to generals, who became patrons, providing equipment and training in service to Rome. Some of these patrons, increasingly men with military experience rather than senators with little to no experience, went as far as spending time and lending money to their men. "Sulla not only lent money to the troops but spoke fair words and made jests with them. Caesar, too, was remarkable… even went so far as to call his soldiers 'comrades.'"[16] Such practices had not begun with Marius, yet, many generals looked to him as the example of how to conduct themselves. These soldiers, who viewed their commanders as both competent and on their side, forged staunch loyalties with their leaders and followed them to almost any end. Marius flexed his power in this fashion. Yet these loyalties would have profound effects on those who came later, such as Sulla or Caesar who both marched on Rome with their legions, despite very little support outside of their own legions. This made the military a powerful instrument

[12] Hildinger, 22.
[13] Ibid, 115.
[14] Fitts, 38.
[15] Keaveney, 61.
[16] Ibid, 10.

when placed into the hands of a man with great ambitions. It would eventually lead the Italian peninsula into a long stretch of civil wars and conflicts over the status of Rome. This was only the beginning of a string of bad precedents started by Marius that would lead the Roman Republic into ruin. The consulship of Rome was a position for two men annually appointed by the Senate to rule over Rome. The rule of co-consuls aimed to eliminate the potential for despotic rulership or the formation of Rome as a kingdom once again. It provided the sort of checks and balances that can still be seen in modern democratic societies.

Marius, a man of 'simple' origin, was destined to strain this system and set precedents that can be seen as the beginning of the end for the co-consulship of the Roman Republic. People at the time believed that he was, according to historians, "the only man who could save Rome and Italy."[17] His ability as a commander and conqueror of the enemies of Rome had given him the status to bring peace to Rome, yet, as others have suggested, he brought its ruin. This began with him being elected to the consulship for seven terms, an otherwise unheard of number in those times, and it would become something that other leaders sought to emulate, especially in the case of Julius Caesar, who took it a step further when the Senate declared him dictator for life. The escalation and pushing of the envelope by Marius and Sulla allowed many men to rise to power and take things that did not belong to them. Marius' election was because of his support from the lower classes, who saw him as an outsider to the aristocracy and a man of the people, while the equestrians supported him for his military prowess and ability to end wars, which was good for their businesses. The seven consulships enjoyed by Marius would fundamentally change the balance of power in Rome; increasingly the system could be bypassed by ambitious military leaders with the support of former troops. Later landed men and the non-senatorial classes pursued the same course to power. This course would be followed later by men such as Julius Caesar who used the Tribune of the Plebs to his advantage in getting motions passed of which the Senate would not have approved. This became an issue as the army began to have more and more power in the governance of everyday life.

Rome was one of the greatest territorial empires in the Ancient World. With military might, it secured dominance over most of Europe and the Near East. Gaius Marius was a Roman general who helped shape the late Republic and became an essential architect of its downfall. Attaching Roman legions to generals inspired loyalty to military leaders rather than the state. This empowered generals. While not the sole cause, Marius set in motion developments that would be taken up by others and lead to the end of the Republic as it was known.

[17] D. C. A. Shotter, *The Fall of the Roman Republic* (London; Routledge, 1994), 32.

The Inner Workings of Slavery

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> I suffered much more during the second winter than I did during the first. My limbs were benumbed by inactions, and the cold filled them with cramp. I had a very painful sensation of coldness in my head; even my face and tongue stiffened, and I lost the power of speech. Of course it was impossible, under the circumstances, to summon any physician. My brother William came and did all he could for me. Uncle Phillip also watched tenderly over me; and poor grandmother crept up and down to inquire whether there was any signs of returning life. I was restored to consciousness by the dashing of cold water in my face, and found myself leaning against my brother's arm, while he bent over me with streaming eyes. He afterwards told me he thought I was dying, for I had been in an unconscious state sixteen hours. I next became delirious, and was in great danger of betraying myself and my friends. To prevent this, they stupefied me with drugs. I remained in bed six weeks, weary in body and sick at heart…I asked why the curse of slavery was permitted to exist, and why I had been so persecuted and wronged from youth upward. These things took the shape of mystery, which is to this day not so clear to my soul as I trust it will be hereafter.
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> -Harriet Jacobs, 1861.[1]

The inner workings and functioning of slavery, how a slave lived, were a mystery to those who did not experience it firsthand. In some parts of the country, most commonly in the North, slavery was the "peculiar institution" that belonged to the South. Some northerners opposed slavery, some may not have seen it as a problem, and to others, it was a necessary institution. Slavery's supporters often painted it as positive and productive. For some, their first exposure to slavery, and the life of a slave, was through slave narratives that emerged in the antebellum North. These stories were written and shared by former slaves. The authors of these tales ranged from those who were born into slavery, to those who were stolen and forced into captivity. Slave narratives tell the story of a life of bondage—the struggles, the pains, and the horrors that accompanied a life of slavery—and they often carried common themes in regards to occurrences in the daily lives of slaves.

During the antebellum period leading up to the American Civil War, all types of propaganda concerning slavery circulated throughout the country. Southerners tried to convince the country that slavery was a "positive good," while abolitionists argued it was a crime against humanity. The most powerful type of propaganda or persuasive literature that emerged in this time was the slave narrative. There were quite a few slave narratives published in the antebellum period, but three that seem to have had strong influences on northern opinion were *Twelve Years a Slave*, by Solomon

[1] Harriet Jacobs, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861 repr., New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 185-186.

Northup*, Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, by Harriet Jacobs*,* and *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave*, by Frederick Douglass. Each one of these narratives was written under different circumstances—Douglass and Jacobs were both born into slavery and Northup was stolen into captivity—but they all worked to show northerners the evils of slavery. Jacobs' narrative offers an in-depth view as to what life was like as a female slave, and the extremes that a mother would go to secure freedom for herself and her children. The narrative written by Frederick Douglass showed a man who was willing to risk his life for freedom and how the road out of slavery was by no means easy. Possibly the most concerning narrative to northerners would be that written by Solomon Northup, a free man, stolen and sold into slavery. For many northerners, slavery was a distant problem that had no direct effect on them, but when introduced to Northup's story, they may have been shocked to find that their own neighbors could be stolen into slavery if they were black. These three narratives tell very different stories, but together they provide a well-rounded picture of slavery, focusing on essential problems and events, that many northerners were not prepared to see.

The experience of slaves varied over time and place, but as seen in these narratives, slaves often seemed to share experiences binding them together into one community, which astounded northerners.[2] Some slaves, such as Harriet Jacobs, did not know they were slaves for the first few years of their lives. Jacobs was left to be raised by her parents, and did not realize that she could, at any moment, be taken away to be sold.[3] Young children were unaware of the fact that they were someone else's property, but the issue of their ownership was often used to keep their families in line. The threat of selling slaves to separate them from their families was often used to discipline slaves and encourage them to follow orders.[4] Although slaves came from all different backgrounds, they were often able to define a communal identity because of the common life they shared through the slave trade.[5] Solomon Northup had not been born into a life of slavery. He had been kidnapped and robbed of his liberty when he found his free papers to be missing, yet he still found similarities with those with whom he was imprisoned.[6] Diverse experiences in their youth and the progression of their lives gave each slave a unique story to tell, but their differences did not stop them from bonding together to survive the hardships they endured.

Slave narratives offer insight into the slave market which was unimaginable to those who did not experience it firsthand. The stories describe the logistics of buying and selling slaves. The process in which people were bought and sold, as if they were simple livestock, was surprising to northerners who were aware of the existence of the slave trade, but not the technicalities that were associated with it. Advertisements for slaves consisted of their, "sex, racial designation, age, and skill" when they were put on the market and bargaining over slaves could take days.[7] Northup bluntly notes how slaveholders examined slaves for perspective purchase, "precisely as a jockey examines a horse which he is about to barter for or purchase."[8] Slaveholders, it seemed, only saw the likes of Northrup and his fellow captives as animals. The slave market and its intricacies were only the beginning of life as a slave in the Antebellum South.

The daily lives of slaves were complex, and slave narratives showed northerners the extremes such as the everyday violence experienced by some. Children saw violence so early and often in their

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[2] On the diversity of slave experiences see Ira Berlin, "Time, Space, and the Evolution of Afro-American Society on British Mainland North America," *The American Historical Review,* 85, no. 1 (February, 1980): 44-78. For a short, concise review of the historiography on slavery, see "Historiography," in *Slavery in the United States: A Social, Political, and Historical Encyclopedia*, Vol. 1, ed. Junius P. Rodriguez (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CIO, 2007), 340-347.

[3] Ibid*,* 12.

[4] David Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 183.

[5] Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 71.

[6] Solomon Northup, *Twelve Years a Slave* (1853, repr., Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), 20.

[7] Johnson*,* 138-139.

[8] Northup, 52.

lives that there are some stories that have circulated about children pretending to be overseers and whipping each other.[9] Frederick Douglass remarks that when he was a child, he would often see young children whip their half siblings, related to them through their father—who, as the master of the plantation, could not or would not show paternal partiality to his slave children.[10] As an adult, Solomon Northup was flogged for simply stating he was a free man; he learned quickly that many overseers and slaveholders were quick with the whip.[11] It was not uncommon for slaveholders to give their slaves mixed messages, being very liberal with the whip one moment and then giving gifts and time off in another.[12] A version of time off could be given to slaves if their master gave them a pass to visit other plantations nearby. A slave caught without a pass from his or her master, however, could be whipped by any white man.[13]

Holidays for slaves, as depicted in slave narratives, were very different than what most people would think of when they thought of the happy times and joyous celebration that surrounded the holiday season. The cotton-picking season required intense work, so when the harvest season was finished, it was usually followed by another type of time off in the form of holidays and periods of celebration and festivity.[14] Harriet Jacobs remembered the slaves usually getting four or five holidays around Christmas time, depending on what the master thought was proper in respect to the work they had done.[15] Frederick Douglass remembered the holiday times in bleak terms. He saw that the masters attempted to use this time to show their slaves the evils of freedom and confuse them into believing that slavery was best for them.[16] Daily lives of slaves were nothing less than confusing and conflicting, often differing from plantation-to-plantation and sometimes even slave-to-slave.

The reality of slavery, as shown in slave narratives, was that there was a prominent inequality between how women and men were treated. Female slaves, like the men, were property and therefore lived at the pleasure and will of their master. Harriet Jacobs wrote, "Slavery is terrible for men; but it is far more terrible for women…added to the burden common to all, *they* have wrongs, and sufferings, and mortifications peculiarly their own," very clearly reflecting on her own experiences of sexual exploitation and those she had witnessed.[17] Having complete control and ownership over the women they bought gave slaveholders the authority to do whatever they wished. Frederick Douglass remembered a woman who was bought specifically for the purpose of breeding and was forced by her master to produce children who would then become his slaves.[18] Slave masters had a calculated regard for the economic prosperity that women under their ownership could bring them by having children.[19] However, slaveholders did not always think purely in economic terms. They sometimes made decisions that would cost them a slave. Harriet Jacobs was witness to a woman being sold because she argued with her husband over the fatherhood of her newborn, and she came too close to saying that it was her master's child.[20] Women could often be punished for actions that they had no control over and were victims of sexual exploitation themselves.

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[9] Davis, 199.

[10] Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (1845, repr., New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 15.

[11] Northup, 24-25.

[12] Davis, 196.

[13] Northup, 118.

[14] Davis, 199.

[15] Jacobs, 25.

[16] Douglass, 56.

[17] Jacobs, 119.

[18] Douglass, 48.

[19] Peter Kolchin, *American Slavery: 1619-1877* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993), 139.

[20] Jacobs, 24.

As can be seen in slave narratives, women who were taken advantage of, or became mothers of their own account, were not treated as equals to free women. Many slaveholders attempted to paint slave mothers as lazy and uninterested in their children or their responsibilities as mothers.[21] In *Twelve Years a Slave,* Solomon Northup indirectly disputes the claim when he speaks of Eliza and her spirit dying when she is separated from the children she loves.[22] Frederick Douglass was separated from his mother when he was young, but he remembered spending time with her at night when she would sneak over to sleep with him.[23] Women who lived in the ownership of another did not have any rights to their children or even their own bodies. Since every part of the female slave was the property of the slaveholder, including the womb, the child of a slave mother was thus also the property of the female slave's master.[24] Mothers gave birth knowing that their children would be slaves and that there was very little, most often nothing, they could do to change it. Problems often arose for female slaves with their masters that most male slaves never had to consider.

It is commonly brought to light in slave narratives that for some female slaves being the favorite of their master could arouse the fury of their mistresses and make their lives much worse. When Epps started to show a favoritism to a slave women named Patsey, his wife became enraged and would often threaten Patsey's life because of the affection bestowed upon her.[25] Some slaves were subject to their master's sexual whim because the mistress of the house was not there to satisfy him and the girl was his property.[26] Harriet Jacobs, on reaching the age of fifteen, started receiving advances from her master who claimed that she was his property to do with what he wished.[27] Abolitionists argued that slavery deprived women of their self-respect when they were sexually exploited and degraded by their masters.[28] Despite the objection of their wives and some in society, male slave owners frequently took advantage of their female slaves and took a part of their humanity every time they did.

Many people knew of the few successful slave revolts that took place in the antebellum South, but slave narratives shed light on how the slaves themselves were affected by these revolts. There were a handful of insurrections that were quickly crushed by minimal armed force, but these still put the thoughts of revolt into the minds of panicked whites.[29] Nat Turner led one of the most famous successful slave revolts in which he and his followers murdered around sixty whites, most of whom were women and children.[30] Living nearby to where Turner's rebellion took place, Harriet Jacobs remembered the ramifications of the murders at the hands of other slaves. Jacobs, safe in her grandmother's house, watched white men search through houses, beat innocent black people, and look for any reason to punish any colored person or slave.[31] There were few cases when slaves fought back against their masters, or caused any genuine problems that would spark such a widespread manhunt. In one case, a female slave named Celia who had become a favorite of her master ended up killing him and burying his remains. In the end, however, she was betrayed by another slave and caught.[32] In Solomon Northup's time in bondage, he was strung up and almost

[21] Thavolia Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage: The Transformation of the Plantation Household* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 66.
[22] Northup, 57.
[23] Douglass, 14.
[24] Edward Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), 106.
[25] Northup, *143*.
[26] Baptist, 215.
[27] Jacobs, 44-45.
[28] Davis, 255.
[29] Kolchin, 156.
[30] Davis, 208.
[31] Jacobs, 98.
[32] Davis, 202.

killed because he dared to fight back against a white man who wanted to whip him.[33] Though there were few successful rebellions led by slaves, the fact that there were any caused slaveholders in the South to begin to fear their slaves to some extent.

In the wake of various revolts and rebellions, slave narratives tell the story of how fear caused a transition in the role religion played in the lives of slaves and the important function it took up in the relationship between master and slave. Harriet Jacobs recollects that after Nat Turner's insurrection, many slaveholders decided to provide their slaves with enough religious instruction to keep them from murdering their masters.[34] Southern clergymen and planters alike believed that religious instruction would make slaves more obedient and accept their place in the world.[35] In attempting to bring Christianity into the lives of their slaves, slaveholders strove to find another aspect of their slaves' lives that they could control.[36] Jacobs remembered one clergyman who gave the slaves sermons that they could understand and treated them like they were actual human beings, but the white parishioners quickly complained about the quality of services.[37] Frederick Douglass claimed that slaveholders who were religious were the worst kind of masters as they used religion to justify appalling barbarity, as justification for the "darkest, foulest, grossest, and most infernal deeds" that a slaveholder could commit.[38] Often, slaveholders would try to use the Bible to strike fear into the hearts of their slaves. One mistress would cherry pick sections of the Bible to read to her slaves, emphasizing how the devil would punish slaves that stole or lied.[39] In Solomon Northup's experience, one of his masters used the New Testament to convey to his slaves that it was God's will that slaves obey their master, and that they could not go against God.[40] Many slave masters looked to religion to try to put their fears to rest, but by introducing religion, some slave owners got more than they bargained for.

Usually slave narratives are written by slaves that knew how to read and write which placed them among a minority of literate slaves. Many slaveholders were opposed to some religious practices, such as teaching their slaves how to read the Bible. They feared that once slaves could read, it would give them a sense of independence that would be much too excessive.[41] In the case of Frederick Douglass, when his master found out his wife had been teaching Douglass to read, he demanded that it be stopped, claiming that a slave "should know nothing but to obey his master," and he would not have Douglass becoming rebellious.[42] Harriet Jacobs was also taught to read by her mistress, unaware that it was a rare privilege closed to most slaves.[43] Indeed, southern authorities forbad slaves from learning to read.[44] Jacobs risked her life to teach one slave how to read the Bible.[45] Solomon Northup, who was educated as a free child, was threatened with a hundred lashes by one of his masters when he found out that Northup was literate.[46] Many slave masters felt threatened not only by the idea that a slave had the ability to read and write just as they did, but that it could lead to slaves coming up with ideas and having thoughts of their own.

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[33] Northup, 80, 87.
[34] Jacobs, 105.
[35] Davis, 202.
[36] Kolchin, 116.
[37] Jacobs, 110.
[38] Douglass, 57.
[39] Glymph, 29.
[40] Northup, 94.
[41] Kolchin, 116.
[42] Douglass, 31.
[43] Jacobs, 16.
[44] Davis, 260.
[45] Jacobs, 112.
[46] Northup, 175.

Although no two slaves had the same exact experience, some slave narratives show what it was like for the slave who did make it out of slavery and lived to tell their stories. Most slaves returned to their masters after running away; whether it was because they were caught, other slaves betrayed them, or they got lost. Many quickly lost hope of ever making it to the free states.[47] Harriet Jacobs hid in a small nook in her grandmother's shed for seven years rather than go back to her life of slavery and abuse from her master.[48] Many slaves thought they would be able to find freedom in the northern states, but with the passing of the Compromise of 1850, there was new legislation that could change everything. The Fugitive Slave Act, a part of the Compromise, mandated that people in both slave and free states and the federal government pursue runaways in any part of the country and return them to their owners.[49] With the passing of the Fugitive Slave Act, many slaves contemplating running away developed particular fears of New York, which had a reputation for strong enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act. Once a refuge, now slaves understood New York might simply return them to the life of slavery they had always known.[50] The Fugitive Slave Act allowed federal agents who were required to recover fugitive slaves to draft Northern citizens to aid them in seizing blacks suspected of being runaway slaves.[51] Harriet Jacobs was afraid that she might be seized and taken back into slavery, but the woman she worked for was determined never to allow her to be taken back into the South.[52] It was never easy, but there were slaves that made it out of the horrible life of bondage they were either born into, or stolen into, and were left able to tell their tale about life as a slave.

Slavery was a taboo topic in a country that was in part run on the work and power of slaves. It may have been that those in the North did not always have an accurate depiction of slavery and how slaves really lived. Instead, they saw the propaganda and heard what slaveholders wanted them to hear. That all changed, however, with the publishing and circulation of slave narratives. Narratives like *Twelve Years a Slave, Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl,* and *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* all gave insight and told the true tale of slavery and all it encompassed. It is impossible to say that the authors of slave narratives are unbiased: expecting someone who lived through a life of bondage to not have a position to take on its effect would be ludicrous. However, despite whatever goal they may have had in writing their story, what matters is the truth of what happened. Slave narratives are the stories of slaves, the stories of what millions of people lived through. It is also clear that the memoirs of slaves sought to deliver a powerful, true message to those in the North who did not understand the magnitude of slavery's effect.

[47] Baptist, 168.
[48] Jacobs, 172, 174.
[49] Baptist, 347.
[50] Douglass, 61.
[51] Davis, 265.
[52] Jacobs, 285.

Abraham Lincoln: Hero to the Slaves?

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Abraham Lincoln has been memorialized as the man who ended slavery. According to American lore, he freed the slaves and reunited the country at a time of political turmoil. However, freeing the slaves was never the focal point of Lincoln's political agenda. Emancipation never entered his thoughts until midway through the Civil War. Lincoln always had opinions on the question of slavery, but he never voiced a paramount position on the question. He saw slavery as morally wrong, but believed that it would eventually end. This is the common trend running through his life to the emancipation of the slaves. Analyzing his early life, Illinois political career, the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and his presidency reveals the political neutrality that Lincoln held towards slavery.[1]

Born in 1809 in Kentucky, Lincoln spent most of his life in southern Indiana until he moved to Illinois with his father once he turned twenty-one.[2] The state of Kentucky had a large population of slaves that resided on primarily small farms. It was not like Virginia (his father's home state), which relied heavily on a plantation based system of slavery. Some of Lincoln's relatives owned slaves in Kentucky. His uncle Isaac owned forty-three slaves until he died in 1834.[3] Slavery was in part why Lincoln and his family moved to Indiana. Lincoln's father and mother held a distaste for slavery. They were members of the South Fork Baptist Church, a religious group sharply divided over slavery. Lincoln's parents belonged to an antislavery congregation,[4] which undoubtedly influenced how their son felt about the morality of slavery. Coming from a religious family that held antislavery values would be a catalyst for his moral objections to slavery throughout his political career. Lincoln's parents did not become active in abolitionist movements however. They were strict Calvinist predestinarians, and they believed that one's actions bared no weight on their eventual salvation, so they mostly kept to themselves in the realm of abolition.[5]

[1] The issue of Lincoln and slavery has garnered much attention from historians. Broadly speaking, historiographical divisions fall into two camps (with some coming down between camps): those who see Lincoln as sympathetic to the abolitionist cause, and those who see the sixteenth president as indifferent to the peculiar institution. During the 1990s, James McPherson took the pro-Lincoln position and Ira Berlin stressed the president's inconsistencies and argued that the slaves self-emancipated. See James M. McPherson, "Who Freed the Slaves?" *Reconstruction* 2, no. 3 (1994): 35-40; and Ira Berlin, "Emancipation and Its Meaning in American Life," *Reconstruction* 2, no. 3 (1994): 41-44. Since then, key historians have presented Lincoln as generally antislavery although not without some complications: Thomas L. Krannawitter, *Vindicating Lincoln: Defending the Politics of Our Greatest President* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008); Allen Guelzo, *Redeeming the Great Emancipator* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016); Brian Dirck, *Lincoln Emancipated: The President and the Politics of Race* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2007); and Mark E. Neely, "Lincoln, Slavery, and the Nation," *Journal of American History* 96, no. 2 (September 2009), 456-259. Eric Foner, *The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010), stakes out a middle ground, situating the president within the culture and politics of his times. To Foner, Lincoln was a complex emancipator. For a very negative view of Lincoln see Thomas DiLorenzo, *The Real Lincoln: A New Look at Abraham Lincoln, His Agenda, and an Unnecessary War* (Roseville, CA: Prima, 2002), and *Lincoln Unmasked: What You're Not Supposed to Know about Dishonest Abe* (New York: Crown Forum, 2006).

[2] Foner, 3-4.

[3] Ibid, 5.

[4] Ibid, 5.

[5] Ibid, 5.

Once Lincoln and his family moved to Indiana and eventually to Illinois, they did not encounter slavery as often. This was due to the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 which prohibited slavery in northern territories. Early on in Lincoln's life, his views on slavery were already being shaped. Due to his family life, he already questioned slavery. In the environment in which he lived, slavery was not the means of economic production, so he was surrounded in a community that was not dependent on slavery. Lincoln then, early on, did not have strong abolitionist feelings towards slavery. In his private life, Lincoln held moral objections to slavery, but he did not make them the focus of his public life and political career.

Lincoln for most of his life did not personally encounter slavery. He only knew little of the institution, and, for the most part, he lived in relative isolation on the periphery of slavery. The first interaction that Lincoln had with slavery did not come until 1828 and 1831 when he was traveling down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers transporting farm goods to New Orleans to sell them.[6] This was a 2,000-mile round trip which exposed Lincoln to various types of slavery and blacks in general. There were more than just slaves on both cotton and sugar plantations that Lincoln encountered. One night Lincoln and his companions were almost robbed by blacks, but they managed to drive them away.[7] It was in these trips that Lincoln is believed to have formed his personal opinions on slavery. During the 1831 trip to New Orleans John Hanks, one of the crew members that Lincoln traveled with, claimed "we saw negroes chained, maltreated, whipped and scourged. Lincoln saw it. His heart bled…I can say knowingly that it was on this trip that he formed his opinions of slavery."[8] This, however, was mostly speculation, since Hanks did not travel the entire voyage and left when the group reached St. Louis. The claim by Hanks is left to speculation as what he personally felt and that it was the same in his companions. The only surviving reference to these voyages is the incident in which Lincoln and his companions were attacked by blacks.

Lincoln began his political career in the 1830s and became a member of the Whig party. He voted in the 1832 election for the first time and voted for Henry Clay for president. Lincoln strongly admired Clay and referred to him as "my beau ideal of a statesman."[9] Clay believed that slavery was a terrible institution and emancipation must be a gradual process that would eventually lead to the colonization of the free blacks. Lincoln would come to share these convictions and would often cite Clay when discussing his own feelings towards slavery. During the 1850s, Lincoln frequently would quote or paraphrase Clay, claiming, "I can express all my views of the slavery question, by quotations from Henry Clay."[10] Relying so on Clay for his opinions on slavery, hardly meant Lincoln shared the exact same feelings on slavery. As a young politician at the time and just joining the emerging Whig Party, Lincoln may have wanted to keep with the status quo and support the presidential nominee and earn himself connections within the party.

During Lincoln's time in the Whig Party, there was a growing conflict between the abolitionist movement and those that followed the colonization plan. Lincoln would deny any affiliation with the abolitionists. Instead, he offered general support for vague plans to colonize former slaves. During Lincoln's tenure in the Illinois legislature from 1834 to 1842, there was not much discussion on this conflict over slavery. When it did come up in discussion, Lincoln maneuvered himself apart from his colleagues in both parties.[11] One example of this comes from January 1837 by way of Joseph Duncan, Democratic governor of Illinois. Duncan came before the legislature and informed members that southern states wanted northern support in condemning

[6] Ibid, 8.
[7] Ibid, 9.
[8] Ibid, 10, Neely 456.
[9] Foner, 18.
[10] Ibid, 19.
[11] Ibid, 24.

abolitionists.[12] A committee came together, headed by Lincoln friend and prominent Whig Orville H. Browning, charged with meeting the southern states' request, but it stopped short of making an argument in support of slavery. The committee issued a report that defended the right to own slaves in the constitution, but it was written with an argument in support of colonization.[13] There were a series of resolutions regarding this report. The third resolution was of importance to Lincoln. It condemned the idea of abolition in the District of Columbia without the consent of the white citizens living in Washington, D.C.[14] Lincoln wanted to make an amendment to that resolution to be added at the end: "unless the people of the said District petition for the same."[15] This amendment was not approved, and Lincoln was only one of six members of the House that did not vote in favor of the resolutions. Lincoln followed up this vote with a protest in coordination with Representative Daniel Stone, another Whig from Sangamon County. Together they stated "that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy; but that the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than to abate its evils. They believed that the Congress of the United States had no power, under the constitution, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different States. They believe that the Congress of the United States had the power, under the constitution, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; but that that power ought not to be exercised unless at the request of the people of said District."[16]

This episode suggests that Lincoln had begun to form his own interpretations of the constitution and how it coincided with his views of slavery. He felt that it was within the power of the government to abolish slavery, but only if that is what the people of that state wanted, "popular sovereignty" as it was known. If the state wanted to keep slavery, then it is the responsibility of the government to adhere to that.

By 1852, Lincoln had begun to develop his antislavery ideas, but not an antislavery ideology. He cast votes opposing slavery but did not spearhead plans as to pursue antislavery policy within the Illinois political system.[17] It was not until the Kansas-Nebraska issue that Lincoln came on the national scene with a proposition on the question of slavery. It came as a response to the proposed plan by Senator Stephen A. Douglas (D-IL) to organize the Nebraska territory based on popular sovereignty. Lincoln gave a speech on October 16th, 1854, in Peoria, IL, strongly criticizing the proposed policy of westward expansion of slavery.[18] His words were wrought with fiery emotion as he assailed the immorality of the plan proposed by Douglas. "This is the repeal of the Missouri Compromise…I think, and shall try to show, that it is wrong; wrong in its direct effect, letting slavery into Kansas and Nebraska—and wrong in its prospective principle, allowing it to spread to every other part of the wide world, where men can be found inclined to take it," blasted Lincoln.[19] Finally Lincoln made a resounding stance on slavery. This speech would help put him on the national scene and push him into prominence within the Republican Party.

Lincoln made his voice heard in the October 16th, 1854, speech in Peoria. He was also careful to not let his emotions take the better of him in this speech. As he explained:

> Before proceeding, let me say I think I have no prejudice against the Southern people. They are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not now exist amongst

[12] Ibid, 24.
[13] Ibid, 25.
[14] Ibid, 25.
[15] Ibid, 25.
[16] Ibid, 25.
[17] Ibid, 62.
[18] Ibid, 63.
[19] Abraham Lincoln, "Speech on the Kansas-Nebraska Act at Peoria, Illinois, October 16, 1854," in *Abraham Lincoln, Slavery, and the Civil War: Selected Speeches and Writings,* ed. Michael P. Johnson (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2001), 45.

> them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist among us, we should not instantly give it up. This I believe of the masses north and south. Doubtless there are individuals, on both sides, who would not hold slaves under any circumstances; and others who would gladly introduce slavery anew, if it were out of existence. We know that some southern men do free their slaves, go north, and become tip-top abolitionists; while some northern ones go south, and become most cruel slave-masters.[20]

This statement helped Lincoln show that he was by no means endorsing abolition. He was framing his speech on the grounds of his outrage that such a policy would be proposed. This speech did however show his moral objections to slavery, and this led to a question of his stance on slavery in 1858 when Lincoln ran for the Illinois senate seat against Stephen A. Douglas.

Prior to the debates between Lincoln and Douglas in 1858, there was a moment in which Lincoln took the time to respond to the Dred Scott decision and the Lecompton Constitution. At the Republican state convention in Springfield on June 16, 1858, Lincoln issued his famous "House divided" speech. This was the speech that Lincoln had delivered after being nominated by the Republican Party to run for the U.S. Senate seat. Lincoln set out in particular to assail the notion that Republicans could support Douglas' position on Kansas-Nebraska in the hope that it would solve the slavery conundrum.[21] In this speech Lincoln declared:

> We are now into the fifth year, since a policy was initiated, with the avowed object, and confident promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only, not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease, until a crisis shall have been reached, and passed**.** 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half slave and half free.[22]

Lincoln's opening statement inspired a sense of awe in many at the convention that day. Others reacted with hostility and anxiety about the meaning behind his words.[23] Lincoln wisely showed that as a politician he was concerned with the present state of affairs on the issue of slavery without precisely committing himself to a course of action. He simply argued that the lack of progress on the slavery issue was causing unrest in government.

The buildup to the senate race of 1858 between Lincoln and Douglas began during the Kansas-Nebraska debate of 1854. Lincoln was put into the political spotlight of the Republican Party in Illinois after his blistering speech at Peoria that year. He would run in 1858 against standing Senator Stephen A. Douglas, a member of the Democratic Party.

This would be troublesome for Lincoln, because until then he had managed to keep his personal beliefs about slavery in the back of the peoples' minds. Two weeks into the campaign Norman Judd, a member of the Republican state committee, felt that Lincoln was trailing drastically behind Douglas. He and the committee urged that Lincoln meet Douglas on the same stage in an open debate.[24] Lincoln was not a supporter of this plan of action. He and others worried that since Douglas was the celebrity and effective orator, the senator would be able to use his experience and popularity to his advantage, especially in front of a crowd.[25] This was one concern for Lincoln, but the challenger also fretted over the question of slavery. He knew his objections to the Kansas-

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[20] Ibid, 45-46.

[21] Foner, 99.

[22] Abraham Lincoln, "`A House Divided' Speech at Springfield, Illinois, June 16, 1858," in *Abraham Lincoln, Slavery, and the Civil War*, 63.

[23] Allen C. Guelzo, *Lincoln and Douglas: The Debates that Defined America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008), 62-63.

[24] Ibid, 90.

[25] Ibid*,* 90.

Nebraska Act would be discussed. Lincoln would play this cleverly in the debates, avoiding any clear response to the question, but he would still garner support from the answers.

Looking at the type of argumentation that Lincoln used shows just how careful he was in his answers and speeches during the debates. Coming into the debates, Douglas was to strike first on the question of slavery, opening his speech by challenging Lincoln. "We are told by Lincoln that he is utterly opposed to the Dred Scott decision and will not submit to it for the reason that he says it deprives the negro of the rights and privileges of citizenship," blasted Douglas.[26] This would force Lincoln into a response and put him at an immediate disadvantage with the crowd at Ottawa, Illinois. Within the hour that Douglas spoke, he led the crowd to believe that Lincoln was an abolitionist conspirator that was out to seduce the old Whigs into an abolition cause.[27] The claims that Douglas had made were not false. Lincoln had consistently voted against the interests of the country and his own state. He did want equality of all men. Lincoln responded with care. He would begin to make his climb back into contention with his speech.

Lincoln's response to Douglas greatly surprised those in attendance. The crowd saw for the first time Lincoln's great skills as an orator. He opened his comments with, "This is the true complexion of all I have ever said in regard to the institutions of slavery and the black race. This is the whole of it, and anything that argues me into his idea of perfect social and political equality with the negro, is but a specious and fantastic arrangement of words, by which a man can prove a horse chestnut to be a chestnut horse."[28] This was a smart tactic by Lincoln; elements of the accusations made by Douglas, he acknowledged, were in fact true, but the senator had gone out of his way to try and make it seem that Lincoln was an avid abolitionist—and this was absurd. Lincoln then followed up by reassuring the crowd about his true stance on slavery. "I will say here, while upon this subject, that I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe that I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so."[29] Lincoln aimed to persuade the crowd that he had no policy towards abolition, and he had no intentions of making such a policy. Lincoln also made no attempt to answer any of the questions that Douglas had raised during his speech. As a speaker, Lincoln avoided responding to questions without preparation. He preferred to wait until he had given questions more careful thought, but given the demands of the debate, he would not have this opportunity.[30] This worked well for Lincoln in this first debate at Ottawa. When Douglas issued his rebuttal to Lincoln, he was met with heckling and taunting. Mayor Joseph Glover of Ottawa had to step up to the stage and demand that the crowd be quiet so Douglas could speak.[31]

The debates that followed featured much the same tone. Lincoln proved to be a worthy adversary to Douglas. In the end, conventional wisdom held that Lincoln won the debates, but he still lost the senate seat to Douglas. Lincoln did score a victory in that he was now a nationally recognized figure. His ability to inspire voters and remain as close to neutral as he could on the issue of slavery appealed to many Republicans. Lincoln had managed to still hide his true feelings on the subject of slavery. He was able to articulate an argument that posited slavery as morally wrong, but he offered no opinion as to whether or not slavery should be abolished. Some may have perceived his moral standpoint as amounting to a justification for abolition, but as a politician his vagueness served him well.

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[26] Stephen A. Douglas, "Douglas at Ottawa, August 21, 1858," in *Illinois War: The Civil War in Documents,* ed. Mark Hubbard (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2013), 40.

[27] Guelzo, 121.

[28] Abraham Lincoln, "First Lincoln-Douglas Debate, August 21, 1858," in *Abraham Lincoln, Slavery, and the Civil War*, 72.

[29] Ibid, 72.

[30] Guelzo, 125.

[31] Ibid, 125.

The debates helped Lincoln so much that he received the Republican nomination for president in 1860. His views placed him comfortably in the Republican middle ground. Lincoln occupied this middle ground both ideologically and geographically. He could carry the north and therefore the Electoral College, but he was not radical enough that he would send the union into a state of crisis—or so it seemed.[32] As Lincoln prepared to begin his campaign for presidency, he was given the opportunity to speak in New York at the Cooper Institute on February 27, 1860.[33] There, Lincoln would respond to criticisms made by abolitionist-inclined Senator William H. Seward (R-NY), moderate Stephen Douglas, and states' rights supporter Chief Justice Roger B. Taney—essentially the entire political spectrum. He would also use this speech to begin to introduce his position on slavery to audiences in the northeastern United States.[34]

In New York, Lincoln argued that slavery should not be eliminated or extended beyond where it presently exists:

> Let all who believe that our fathers, who framed the Government under which we live, understood this question just as well, and even better, than we do now, speak as they spoke, and act as they acted upon it. This is all Republicans ask—all Republicans desire—in relation to slavery. As those fathers marked it, so let it be again marked, as an evil not to be extended, but to be tolerated and protected only because of and so far as its actual presence among us makes that toleration and protection a necessity. Let all guaranties those fathers gave it, be, not grudgingly, but fully and fairly maintained.[35]

Here Lincoln rallied Republicans toward a middle ground: let slavery remain and be protected where it exists, but prohibit its expansion. These views, he insisted, were shared by his fellow Republicans and the founding fathers. The Cooper Union address showed that the Republicans were going to follow a policy of not interfering with slavery where it stood. This was a plan that did not call for abolition and would greatly help Lincoln on his journey to the presidency.

Lincoln won the 1860 election beating out the other candidates by a large margin. This margin, however, was only in the Electoral College; Lincoln did not gain a dominating lead amongst the popular vote. This win would only cause Lincoln more headache then adulation. The crisis over the question of slavery was escalating, and the new president needed to make it clear as to how he was going to approach this issue. He did this in his first inaugural address on March 4, 1861. Before he could even give this speech, seven slave states declared their independence and formed the Confederate States of America. On March 4, Lincoln acknowledged, "Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States, that by the accession of a Republican Administration, their property, and their peace, and personal security, are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the amplest evidence to the contrary has all the while existed, and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the published speeches of him who now addresses you."[36] Lincoln clearly was growing frustrated with the developing situation. He had made attempts to appeal to the South to assure citizens neither he nor his administration was going to touch their property where it exists. At this point he had done all he could on the question of slavery, and he turned his attention to the coming war.

Throughout the war, Lincoln made clear that he was trying to quell the rebellion and not free the slaves. Not until later in the war did Lincoln begin to consider the idea of emancipation. But emancipation was hardly a way for Lincoln to unveil his inner abolitionist, rather it was a wartime

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[32] Ibid, 132.
[33] Ibid, 136.
[34] Ibid, 136.
[35] Lincoln, "Address at Cooper Institute, February 27, 1860," in *Abraham Lincoln, Slavery, and the Civil War*, 83.
[36] Abraham Lincoln, "First Inaugural Address March 4, 1861," in *Abraham Lincoln, Slavery, and the Civil War*, 108-109.

strategy to severely hurt the infrastructure of the Confederacy. In a letter to newspaper publisher Horace Greely, Lincoln responded to the criticisms that Greely made of the president and the confiscation acts that he had issued.[37] Lincoln wrote to Greely privately, showing his frustration with the war and the issue of slavery. "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery," he wrote. "If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that. What I do about slavery, and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union."[38] Emancipation, in short, was hardly the president's priority. Lincoln only emancipated the slaves to save the Union—not for its moral reasons or to be the savior of the "colored" race, but because it was needed to save the Union from this rebellion.

When emancipation finally came, it came off the heels of a resounding victory at Antietam for the Union forces. This was the victory that Lincoln needed to announce such a monumental proclamation. This move would change America forever, and Lincoln chose his words carefully. In the proclamation Lincoln states,

> That it is my purpose, upon the next meeting of Congress to again recommend the adoption of a practical measure tendering pecuniary aid to the free acceptance or rejection of all slave-states, so called, the people whereof may not then be in rebellion against the United States, and which states, may then have voluntarily adopted, or thereafter may voluntarily adopt, immediate, or gradual abolishment of slavery within their respective limits.[39]

Here was where Lincoln finally made known his policy on slavery. After years of eloquently dancing around the question, he made a stand. He did not directly free the slaves in this proclamation as it states that the southern states must adopt a policy that involves emancipation. It was not by his hand that the slaves were free, he rather made it a policy that, for the slave states to be readmitted to the Union, they must adopt a policy of emancipation. In a way, this left the overall emancipation in the hands of the slave states.

Abraham Lincoln was not the savior of the slaves. He never took a clear stand on slavery until 1862. He made known his moral objections to slavery, but not his personal beliefs that slaves should or should not be free. As he became more involved in politics, he was forced to become more open on the question of slavery. His moral stands on the issue and insistence that it was not his place to free the slaves won him praise and criticism. This attitude carried him to the White House where he could avoid the issue no longer. His final stand was not made with the sole purpose of freeing the slaves. It was done so that he could save the Union. Freeing the slaves was never a specific goal for Lincoln. It only became a goal when he saw the opportunity it offered to preserve the great nation to which he was prepared to offer his "last full measure of devotion."

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[37] Lincoln to Horace Greeley, August 22, 1862, in *Abraham Lincoln, Slavery, and the Civil War*, 204.

[38] Ibid, 205.

[39] Abraham Lincoln, "Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation September 22, 1862," in *Abraham Lincoln, Slavery, and the Civil War*, 206.

A Riot, A Rebellion, A Massacre: Remembering the 1948 Jeju Uprising

Brittany M. Dixon

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"Who controls the past controls the future: who controls the present controls the past," wrote George Orwell.[1] The Jeju Uprising of 1948 and how it is remembered is a clear example of this truism. Any mention of the Jeju Uprising was illegal in South Korea until the early 2000's. Those who spoke out risked heavy penalties, including jail time and torture. In the year 2000, after nearly fifty years of silence, South Korea's president, Kim Dae-jung, opened up discussion on the topic of the Jeju Uprising and established Korea's first Truth and Reconciliation committee. This essay describes how South Korea controlled the official memory of the Jeju Uprising through textbook revision and language. That control, in turn, has fundamentally shaped both memory and history in South Korea.

Methodology

This study assumes that memory is created. It works under the premise that people choose what they commit to memory and what they forget. In terms of the Jeju Uprising, this approach differs from other authors on the topic because it focuses less on placing blame on any of the involved parties, and more on how the experience is remembered and felt by Zainichi Koreans (Koreans living in Japan), North Koreans, and, most importantly for this paper, South Koreans. There have been previous approaches to establishing a narrative history of the Jeju Uprising, but many fall back on trying to establish the so-called victims and aggressors of the event. For example, Bruce Cumings does an excellent job of constructing a narrative of the Jeju Uprising in his book *The Korean War: A History*, but he places blame on the United States and United States controlled South Korean forces.[2] I aim to avoid the possibility of removing Koreans from Korean history, and will not be focusing on establishing blame. To do this I use a framework for connecting memory to historical studies. This framework is the following: to recognize the difficulties of establishing a clear consensus of the narrative, to recognize that collective memory can be changed, and, after doing this, to find a way to establish a historical narrative with these differing, changing sources.[3]

Understanding Jeju

Undeniably, the process of getting to an uprising on the scale of Jeju's in 1948 is one that can be linked far back in Korean history.[4] With that caveat, I will specifically draw from the period of 1900-1945, acknowledging that Jeju's early history did impact why it chose to rise in armed protest in 1948. The late precolonial Korean period and Korean colonial period (1900–1945) is the most

[1] George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-four* (1949 repr., New York: Everyman's Library Classics, 1987), 260.

[2] Bruce Cumings, *The Korean War: A History* (New York: Random House Publishing Group, 2010), 101-147.

[3] Patrick H. Hutton, "Memories of Trauma: Problems of Interpretation," *History and Theory* 43, no. 2 (2004): 250.

[4] John Merrill "The Cheju-Do Rebellion," *The Journal of Korean Studies* 2 (1980): 139-197. Merrill argues that the foundation for the Jeju Uprising can be traced as far back as the Goryeo dynasty (918-1392) while Jeju was still an independent tribute state with the name Tamna, and says that Jeju develops a "tradition of rebellion."

fitting time period from which to understand this event. In the colonial period, the foundations for the ideas and economic circumstances that led to the uprising are most clearly established.

By 1901, Catholicism, Japanese attempts at developing industries, and a new tax office were established on the island of Jeju. These factors spurred the growth of anti-foreign sentiment and helped escalate the descent into poverty for the islanders. The new tax burden on Jeju was nearly 50% on all types of earnings for the islanders. In further efforts to raise money from Jeju, communal lands and government properties were taken and auctioned off. Many of the new Catholic arrivals benefited from the addition of a tax office in the form of jobs and from land auctions. Native islanders associated Catholics with feelings of economic exploitation. These sentiments led to the rise of militia groups on the island. Japanese traders, much like the islanders, were opposed to the Catholics on the island. Both groups had seen their own economic interests undercut by the new Catholic arrivals to Jeju. The Japanese owner of a fish processing company named Kosen Ryujuro was instrumental in aiding these various militia groups. He supplied them with swords and rifles and encouraged the killing of foreign Catholics and converts. Between April and May of 1901, islanders, spurred on by their own grievances and the assistance of the Japanese traders on the island, launched a massive rebellion that ultimately helped reinforce resistance to mainland Korean rule.[5] This also may have helped establish a willingness on Jeju to absorb ideas from Japan.

Mainland Korea for most of Jeju's history left the island alone. In contrast to mainland Korea, Japanese colonizers were more hands on. The islanders showed noticeably little resistance to Japanese rule. Japan did not look down upon the residents of Jeju with as much disdain as mainland Korea. To the Japanese, the islanders were regarded as naïve and hardworking. The Japanese also encouraged the islanders' separatist tendencies. However, Japan's hands-on approach made Jeju exceedingly poor during the colonial period. It was under the Japanese that the island modernized, but modernization on Jeju was lopsided and primarily for Japanese interests.[6] The Japanese colonial government built many factories and industries on Jeju, but island residents either did not possess the needed skills or were not being hired for the jobs created by those factories due to a preference for Japanese workers.[7] The island became heavily militarized during the colonial period, and at one point, there were more Japanese military personal than islanders. Japanese immigration was also highly encouraged. This means that there was never a shortage of Japanese citizens seeking work. Japanese modernization on the island also resulted in many islanders losing their land, thus contributing to unemployment. Due to the lopsided nature of modernization, many Jeju residents were unable to find work on the island and did not have the means to support themselves. The jobs available to the islanders did not provide enough to offset massive unemployment. This lack of work coupled with overpopulation resulted in massive migration during the colonial period. By 1938, approximately 150,000 people had left the island. Most of the residents went to Japan or Manchuria to find work.[8] These groups would become a noticeably large source of information since they were never under the threat of punishment for speaking about the Uprising in the same way as South Koreans. The poverty of the colonial period followed Jeju residents into the liberation era. For comparison, in 1945, prior to liberation, Korea had a real wage per-capita income of 103 USD. By December 1947, shortly before the Uprising, this had sunk to around 30 USD.[9] With Jeju being

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[5] Ibid, 141-145.

[6] Ibid, 141-142, 148-150.

[7] Betty L. King, "Japanese Colonialism and Korean Economic Development 1910-1945," *Asian Studies: Journal of Critical Perspectives on Asia* (March 13, 1975): 18-20, http://www.asj.upd.edu.ph/mediabox/archive/ASJ-13-03-1975/king-japanese-colonialism-korean-economic-development.pdf.

[8] Merrill, 148.

[9] Young-Tae Jung, "The Rise of the Cold War and Labor Movements in South Korea, 1945-1948," *Asian Perspective* 13, no. 1 (1989): 151-71.

possibly even poorer than 30 USD per capita in 1948, it is not hard to imagine why some moved towards communism or socialism in hopes of life betterment.

While the Japanese officially did not approve of communism or socialism, it was through Japan's more hands-on approach that Jeju residents learned of socialism. Many on the island were considered left-leaning, usually in this context meaning socialist or communist. So-called socialists and communists would heavily play into the Peoples' Committees that formed in the aftermath of liberation from Japan. Attraction to communism and socialism developed into a social force on the island. For instance, in 1931, self-proclaimed socialists held one of the few notable protests against Japanese colonial rule on the island after being denied diplomas due to holding what the Japanese viewed as socialist beliefs. The idea that these islanders were socialists or communists plays heavily into the memory of the Uprising. This idea still heavily influences how some, mostly older and conservative, South Koreans viewed the event. After gaining liberation from the Japanese, and having many of the people that were imprisoned for being socialists or communists released, islanders were able to talk about these ideas with local leftist leaders. Furthermore, at this point, islanders were also able to compare how the Soviet Union and the United States were treating their respective halves of Korea. The various Peoples' Committees that formed after Korean liberation and before the Korean War would ultimately fall under the banner of the Communist South Korean Labor Party (SKLP) and gain widespread support and prominence on the island. Once this organization was in place, the Jeju Peoples' Committees began making demands for becoming a separate province. The Jeju islanders' communist-inspired push for independence had a heavy influence on the Uprising.[10]

Before pushing for independence, the Peoples' Committees (henceforth known as the SKLP) had a large population problem to contend with. After the Japanese defeat in World War II, many of the islanders who had left Jeju in search of work returned. This mass reverse migration resulted in the population doubling in a matter of months.[11] The poor conditions these people left had not improved during their absence, and the population boom exacerbated poverty. There were fewer jobs, lower wages, and a major rice shortage.[12] A rice shortage in Korea, while physically trying, was also psychologically trying. In Korean, the word for rice is commonly used in place of the words meal or food.[13] A shortage of rice literally meant that many poorer South Koreans were not eating.[14] Taking advantage of the massive population spike and the increased burden of poverty, the SKLP took charge. The SKLP would remain the de-facto government of the island until it was made into an independent province of South Korea with U.S. Army Lt. General John R. Hodge in charge of the new top layer of government. It was with the addition of General Hodge who viewed communism and the SKLP as an enemy, that some of the ideological tensions on Jeju really began developing.[15]

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[10] Merrill, 148-149.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Young-Tae Jong, "The Rise of the Cold War and Labor Movements in South Korea, 1945-1948," *Asian Perspective* 13, no. 1 (1989): 151–71.

[13] "밥 : 네이버 영어사전 검색결과," *NAVER Dictionary*, accessed November 15, 2016, http://endic.naver.com/search.nhn?sLn=kr&searchOption=all&query=%EB%B0%A5.

As a secondary definition for밥 or rice, Naver uses the word "nosh" and in another example uses the word "meal." In the usage examples it is used in a way that indicates eating, but not eating rice specifically.

[14] Jung.

[15] Merrill, "The Cheju-Do Rebellion."

Buildup to an Uprising

On March 1, 1947, the anniversary of the March 1 Independence Movement of 1919, the SKLP called for a peaceful protest against elections that were to take place in the southern half of Korea. This call for a peaceful protest was against the U.S. issued direct order that only one official, state-sponsored celebration of the March 1 Independence Movement was to occur. The American and Korean forces attempted to breakup peacefully protesting groups who were thus far meeting in school playgrounds. This action moved the protests into the streets.[16] It was then that the police officers, reportedly under U.S. orders, open fired on the protesters. Six islanders were killed while many more were wounded. The citizens of Jeju reeled at the amount of people detained for a peaceful protest and protested again, peacefully, on March 10. These second protesters were again shot down by police officers under U.S. control, and many more were arrested. This second shooting resulted in Jeju natives being removed from the police force, being replaced with more anti-communist mainlanders, and the resignation of the governor in protest.[17]

On March 16th, 1947, Jeju citizens found three bodies floating in a river. The bodies belonged to captured protesters from a little over two weeks before. Their cause of death was torture. The torturers, the American and Korean police forces, were not brought to trial, but 328 civilians were.[18] After SKLP's removal from power, and the trial of the civilians, rightist groups were sent in to fill the power void and maintain order as the United States wanted it. Rightist groups are in this context, anti-communist, pro-United States Korean men mostly from northern Korea. The most prominent of these was the Northwest Youth Group (NWYG).[19] The NWYG was primarily made up of young men who had been driven out of their homes in northern Korea. Fueled by resentment, the NWYG indiscriminately attacked Jeju residents as a way to express anger and "get back" at communists. Coupled with their rage was the promise of land if they helped U.S. troops subdue Jeju residents. NWYG members were unpaid and were warned against terrorizing the island.[20] The on-going rice shortage was worsened by these groups. By the end of 1947, unauthorized rice taxation was five times higher than official taxation. For many, the Jeju Uprising amounted to a protest against extreme rightists, in particular the NWYG, on the island. Extreme right leaders controlled food rationing, imprisoned many islanders in small cells, and attacked civilians believed to be communist or communist sympathizers.[21]

Most accounts identify the residents of Jeju as leftists. Most islanders supported the SKLP, and by 1948 approximately 20% of the islanders were somehow linked to the SKLP.[22] While impressive, it is worth noting, however, the party only had about 400 core supporters. The Jeju branch of the SKLP had even fewer guns than core supporters.[23] The SKLP was against the division of Korea, but not necessarily against democracy. There is very little indication that this group on Jeju opposed democracy in Korea. The SKLP decided to protest the 1948 May elections in which Syngman Rhee, due to American interference, ran unopposed.[24] The elections involved only the southern half of the peninsula and would divide the country in half. Residents of Jeju and the SKLP

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[16] Ibid, 153.

[17] George N. Katsiaficas, *Asia's Unknown Uprisings: South Korean Social Movements in the 20th Century* (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2012), 92.

[18] Ibid., 92-93.

[19] There are no less than four ways to translate the name of this group. Other terms include Northwest Youth League, Northwest Youth Corp, and Seobuk Young Men's Association. Northwest Youth Group was chosen for convenience.

[20] Cumings, 123.

[21] Ibid, 122-124.

[22] Katsiaficas, 93.

[23] Merrill, 159.

[24] "Reds Will Make US Troops Quit Korea, They Say," *Chicago Tribune,* May 9, 1948.

strongly opposed this division. Little evidence exists of opposition to a democratic system on the island. The last protest in April 1948 is the one known as the Jeju Uprising.

The Jeju Uprising

On April 3, 1948, the SKLP rose in armed struggle to protest the South Korean elections and to demand a halt to police aggression on the island. In hopes that it would lead to a wider Korean protest, islanders cut phone cables, destroyed railroads, and attacked police stations. Members distributed leaflets and demonstrated. The uprising would officially last from 1948 to 1954, after the conclusion of the Korean War. The protesters promoted reunification, independence, and "save-the-nation ideas."[25] To the detriment of the protesters, rumors quickly circulated that they were North Korean communists, corrupt mainland butchers, or Japanese communists. These rumors were picked up by Korean newspapers. The South Korean government and American military forces used these rumors to justify a hardline stance against the protesters.[26] Many of the police, all mainlanders, viewed a deployment to Jeju as "undesirable" and sought to end the uprising quickly.[27] The SKLP used guerrilla tactics and fled to Mt. Halla to hide from government retaliation. Police forces captured towns and went house-to-house rooting out communist sympathizers. Newspapers branded guerrilla forces "armed rioters."[28] Later, this term "riot" came back into play in South Korea during the textbook revision controversy and became a sore spot for South Koreans on both sides of the debate on how to teach the Jeju Uprising. As elections grew closer, guerrilla attacks increased. The mainland in response to the uprising sent around 1,700 military forces and around 10,000 people were detained between the months of March and May. The U.S. ordered a "scorched Earth" policy against the guerrilla forces.[29] This policy would result in 30,000 islanders being killed or going missing and a large unknown number of residents fleeing the island for places like Japan. Of 400 villages on the island, only 170 remained by the end of the violence.[30] The islanders that go to Japan, later to be known as Zainichi Koreans, provided unique and sometimes horrifying accounts of the Jeju Uprising during the investigation conducted by the Truth and Reconciliation Committee.

Remembering Jeju

Currently, there is no clear-cut consensus on the Jeju Uprising. In selecting five randomly chosen articles from the *Korea Times* online, one can find at least four different names for the event.[31] With conservatives claiming the Uprising has been given undue importance and liberals claiming that it was actually a pro-democracy event, the status of Jeju is less clear than ever.[32] This uncertainty is due in part to the fact that speaking out about the event was illegal in South Korea until 2001. Those who broke this law were subject to jail time and in some cases torture.

The memory of the Jeju Uprising is different depending on what group is remembering it. A notable group of survivors are the Zainichi Koreans, who located in Osaka, Japan, after having fled

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[25] "The Jeju 4·3 Incident Investigation Report," 210, accessed September 27, 2016, http://www.jeju43peace.or.kr/report_eng.pdf.

[26] Ibid, 211-213.

[27] Merrill, 159.

[28] Ibid, 168.

[29] Katsiaficas, 94.

[30] Cumings, 129-130.

[31] On Korean Times.com, I found the Uprising labeled as "Jeju Riot," "4-3 Incident," "Jeju Uprising," "Jeju April 3 Uprising of 1948," and "Jeju Revolt."

[32] "An out-of-Context Society," *Koreatimes*, June 26, 2014, http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/opinion/2016/11/137_159867.html.

the chaos. These survivors are so numerous that Tsuruhasi in Osaka has been dubbed "Jeju in Japan." Travel for residents of Jeju to Osaka was fairly easy, especially during the colonial period. It was a two-day journey and the cost was only half the cost of a bag of rice. Osaka at the time was seen as Japan's industrial heartland. Work in Japan paid low wages, but it allowed islanders to save money and help the economy of Jeju. Oftentimes islanders would bring over their entire families and educate their children in Japan. Jeju would have one of the most educated populations in Korea during the colonial period due to this exchange. It was also through this mass migration during the colonial period and after that islanders helped islanders understand new ideologies that had been brought over like socialism.[33] It is not odd that once Jeju fell on hard and violent times that many would go to Osaka, because, as history shows, it was almost always a trip that was beneficial for the traveler.

For Zainichi Koreans, talking about the event was never outright banned as it was for South Koreans. It is perhaps the reason why the Truth and Reconciliation Committee quotes a notable number of Japan-based survivors in its findings. The search for understanding has been just as persistent for this group as it is for Jeju residents and South Korean mainlanders. One Korean Japanese scholar, Sonia Ryang, has detailed violent and traumatic accounts of people from her childhood. Her article "Reading Volcano Island: In the Sixty-Fifth Year of the Jeju 4.3 Uprising," recounts violent details that did not appear in English language sources or in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission report.[34] Nor did some of these violent details appear in Korean news articles examined for this study. However, the fact that Ryang, with a connection to Jeju, included these details reveals much about how the event was remembered and taught. Ryang in particular hits on the belief that mainlanders view Jeju residents as lesser beings, "considered even lower than vermin," and that because of this they were "deserving to be exterminated."[35] For those in Japan, the Jeju Uprising was remembered as a violent, sadistic slaughter that reflected the view that mainlanders were outsiders that looked down upon the islanders.

For South Koreans and Jeju residents especially, figuring out how to remember the uprising is more complex. Due to the 50 year silence regarding the event, South Korea must tackle numerous issues that come from forgetting. Jeju residents had lived in fear of being branded communists or communist sympathizers due to the uprising, and many chose to forget the events that occurred in order to move forward.[36] For South Koreans, uncertainty about whether or not the uprising should be remembered and taught and how it should be taught surfaced under current president Park Geun-Hye, the daughter of dictator Park Chun-Hee. Park decided that South Korea needed a single state history textbook in order to correct the perceived errors of the supposedly "too liberal" textbooks on the market.[37] Until March 2017, the start of the school year in Korea, South Korean middle and high schools will be allowed to pick from eight different history textbooks. Each text book was approved by the Ministry of Education and were independently created, largely but not entirely without government interference. Once the new state sponsored text book is in place, the other eight text books will no longer be used. They will be replaced with a text book coincidentally named the "Correct History Textbook."[38] This has been a hotly contested decision inspiring disdain both inside and outside of Korea. A source of contention is the lack of transparency. The academics

[33] "The Jeju 4·3 Incident Investigation Report," 81–82.

[34] Sonia Ryang, "Reading Volcano Island: In the Sixty-Fifth Year of the Jeju 4.3 Uprising," *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus*," accessed November 3, 2016, http://apjjf.org/2013/11/36/Sonia-Ryang/3995/article.html.

[35] Ibid, 2.

[36] "Islanders Still Mourn April 3 Massacre - JEJU WEEKLY," http://www.jejuweekly.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=657, [accessed 27 September 2106].

[37] "Left-Leaning Textbooks to Be Revised," *Koreatimes*, September 22, 2008, http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2016/11/113_31438.html.

[38] Ibid.

behind the project were originally kept anonymous.[39] With this text book controversy, the legacy of the Jeju Uprising is up for debate. Yonhap News, describing the textbook controversy, labeled the Jeju Uprising, alongside the Korean War, one of the "most important incidents" in modern Korean history.[40] With the two contrasting views between liberals and conservatives, it becomes clear that the memory of Jeju impacts how South Korea sees itself and its actions.

Starting in 2000, South Koreans could legally begin deciding how to remember Jeju. For the first time, they could openly talk about the events that took place on Jeju Island in 1948–1949, but many were still too scared to do so. For a long time, there was a stigma against those associated with the Uprising in South Korea. Many suffered from the biases that come from "guilt-by-association." Kim Byeong-jong in his testimony describes for the Truth and Reconciliation Committee how he was not allowed to enter into the Korean Military Academy due to his Jeju origins despite the fact he was only 12 when the Uprising occurred and had no other notable links to communism. At the time of the report, he had moved to Osaka, but he had grown up in Jeju until adulthood.[41] Why would a person with no obvious connections to the Uprising other than having lived through it be denied acceptance into the Korean Military Academy? I believe part of this is due to lasting Cold War tensions between North and South Korea. North and South Korea are technically at war even today.

In the early 2000's, Korea established a Truth and Reconciliation Committee in order to learn the truth about the Uprising. Upon the conclusion of the fact-finding mission, the South Korean government issued a formal apology. It further sought to "restore honor" to the victims of the Uprising, but arguably the damage was already done for many. Still, the Truth Commission defined the event as the "brutal suppression by the Korean government against armed rebellion in Jeju."[42] This contrasts with the previous official narrative that it had been a pro-communist event. The commission further established that approximately 1/10 of the island's population had been killed or gone missing and that over half of the island's villages had been destroyed in the chaos.[43] An unknown number of Koreans fled to Japan during the uprising. Following the results of the commission, the last question for South Korea is to find a suitable name for the incident. For South Koreans, the name of the Uprising means a lot. The textbook controversy mostly revolves around the terms used to name the Jeju Uprising. In the conservative textbook released in 2008, "Alternative Textbook: Korea's Modern History," the uprising is referred to as merely a "riot." The textbook also says the so-called riot was instigated by communists as opposed to protesters calling for independence and democracy.[44] The view of the uprising as a communist event exists in English scholarship and on both sides of the DMZ. North Korea has made use of Jeju to help solidify the position of its newest leader, Kim Jong-Un. This move has left Jeju residents worried that the North Koreans may try to play up the uprising on Jeju as a failed communist revolution.[45] The truth commission also made mention of communist roots of the Uprising. The Jeju branch of the South Korean Labor Party was initially a Peoples' Committee. In English scholarship, this is usually the term used. However, in the truth finding report by the South Korean government, there is mention that the Jeju group that became part of the South Korean Labor Party was called "Jeju Committee

[39] Se-woong Koo, "South Korea's Textbook Whitewash," *The New York Times*, November 12, 2015.

[40] "S. Korea Locked in History Textbook Dispute," *Yonhap News Agency*, [accessed November 14, 2016], http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/feature/2015/09/15/85/0900000000AEN20150915004500315F.html.

[41] "The Jeju 4·3 Incident Investigation Report," 411-12.

[42] "The Jeju 4·3 Incident Investigation Report." Accessed September 27, 2016. http://www.jeju43peace.or.kr/report_eng.pdf.

[43] Ibid.

[44] "Dispute Erupts Over Right-Wing Textbook," *Koreatimes*, March 24, 2008, http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2016/11/113_21241.html.

[45] "Kim Jong-Un's Jeju Blood Confirmed - JEJU WEEKLY," accessed November 13, 2016, http://www.jejuweekly.com/news/articleView.html?idxno=3852.

of the Korean Communist Party."[46] While a seemingly minor detail at first, it plays into a much larger Korea-wide debate about the origins of the uprising and how it is to be remembered. Others argue that most of the protesters were unsure of what communism was, and that the people were protesting against tyrannical government rule.[47] I believe that the residents of Jeju knew what communism was, but they were not likely faithful adherents to the ideology. They were more interested in being left to their own affairs. What is certain is that the idea of communism plays heavily into how Koreans abroad and at home remember the event. It speaks to much deeper biases. The terminology makes it easier for Koreans on both sides of the political spectrum to acknowledge or downplay the uprising. What is certain is that this event was a massive massacre that is second only to the Korean War and that it must be remembered.[48]

Conclusion

For South Koreans, the legacy of the Cold War and ongoing tensions with their communist neighbors play heavily into the memory of Jeju. Deep abiding distaste for communism and the fact that the Jeju Uprising was put together by the SKLP, a communist group, complicates all efforts to come to grips with what happened. I first believe that many liberal South Koreans will have to reconcile that this group was communist in at least name. Many liberal South Koreans feel like they must acknowledge this event as one that was pro-independence and pro-democracy. This stance is not without merit, but the other half must be recognized. On the other side, Conservatives must acknowledge that this Uprising was communist mostly in name only. Until South Koreans on both sides can reconcile preconceived notions about communism as inherently evil, there will be a struggle to remember the Uprising as an Uprising instead of as a "riot," which is fundamental to remembering the event. If South Korea allows the government to alter textbooks and diminish the Uprising there is nothing to stop the government from altering other important historical events. The event must remain in Korean memory both on the mainland and abroad, but there needs to be further reconciliation in order for everyone to move on. Until this further reconciliation happens, South Korea—and by extension the diaspora and North Korea—will continue to struggle to understand the event.

[46] "The Jeju 4·3 Incident Investigation Report," 111.

[47] Ryang.

[48] "S. Korea Locked in History Textbook Dispute." http://english.yonhapnews.co.kr/national/2015/09/15/85/0302000000AEN20150915004500315F.html

Truman at Potsdam: The First Battle of the Cold War

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The year is 1945. Newly-minted President Harry S. Truman boards the U.S.S. *Augusta*, bound across the North Atlantic for the war-ravaged continent of Europe. The ultimate collapse of Nazi Germany and death of Adolf Hitler marks the end of nearly a decade of intense conflict that has left millions dead and many more without homes. Europe is a land in shambles, full of corpses and the empty shells of cities. It makes a sharp contrast to the nation Truman has just left behind, a land physically unscathed by war. The United States is as strong as it has ever been, fueled by nationalistic pride and a revitalized economy. The Great Depression, only a few years before, seems like a thing of the distant past. America lacks only faith in its new commander-in-chief.

As a decorated veteran of World War I, Harry Truman was not new to war. This would not be his first trip into a fallen Germany. However, it would be the first time he negotiated with seasoned global leaders as President of the United States. To say that the American people were unsure how he would handle figures such as Stalin and Churchill would be an understatement, with some going so far as to send letters to the White House suggesting that Truman should allow more experienced officials to deal in international diplomacy.[1] Many adored and trusted four-term President Franklin D. Roosevelt—who had recently succumbed to a stroke in April—but had very little knowledge of his third vice-president.

At the start of the Potsdam Conference, Truman's main purpose was attaining Soviet and British support in ending the war in the Pacific. By the end of the conference, however, new information on the power of the atomic bomb energized the president into taking charge and opposing Russia on many points. The rookie president would prove a capable diplomat, undaunted by the challenges posed by the rapid expansion of global communism. But his aggressive posture against the Soviets would leave long-standing feelings of resentment that would go on to fuel the Cold War.

Harry was born to Martha and John Truman in 1884, on a farm in rural Missouri. He initially had very little interest in politics, working for a railroad company and a number of banks before volunteering for duty in World War I. Upon joining the 129th Field Artillery in 1917, he deployed to France and achieved the rank of captain.[2] His unit would go on to fight in some of the most violent confrontations of the later war, eventually ending with the campaign at Verdun in mid-1918. Truman returned home as a decorated veteran and finally had the chance to marry his longtime fiancé Bess Wallace in June of 1919.[3]

After a fruitless foray into the hat-selling business, Truman launched his long and much more successful career in politics. Thanks to connections he had made within his unit overseas, he received an appointed position as a highway overseer before being elected a county judge in his hometown. In 1934, he was elected to the U.S. Senate and became a valued rising figure in the

[1] D.M Giangreco and Kathryn Moore, *Dear Harry: Truman's Mailroom, 1945-1953* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1999), 81-83.

[2] Robert H. Ferrell, *Harry S. Truman: A Life* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2013), 56-71.

[3] David McCullough, *Truman* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1992), 99-139.

Democratic Party. As a member of several key congressional committees, he earned respect from his peers on both sides of the aisle.[4] This bipartisan appeal is part of what led to President Franklin Roosevelt's selection of Truman as his running mate in the 1944 election.[5] The president knew well he might not live to see the end of his term, and wanted to be sure that he was followed by someone whose leadership would not divide the country. The nomination came as somewhat of a surprise to Truman, who had only been acquainted with the president for a few years and had never intended to be a part of his administration.[6]

Roosevelt would serve for less than three months of this fourth term before his death on April 12th, 1945. Vice President Truman inherited a nation engaged in conflict on two separate fronts in a war that had taxed every ounce of the nation's resources. Despite his popularity as a senator, many in Congress found his lack of foreign policy experience unnerving. Victory in Europe was nearly assured by this point, and the legislature could only hope that Truman would not allow the other allied nations to trample over the United States in the negotiations that would follow.

When the European theatre of war did finally come to an end in May of 1945, plans were immediately set in motion for a meeting between leaders of the Big Three nations of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union to decide the fate of the fractured continent. The new president was unsure if his short time in office had prepared him for such a task,[7] but he had an ace up his sleeve: the Manhattan Project. Deep in the desert of New Mexico, American scientists were nearing completion of the world's first atomic bomb. Nobody at the time knew what to expect from this weapon, except that it would revolutionize global warfare once completed. Truman planned to use this to his advantage both in ending the war with Japan and in negotiating with the other Allied leaders.[8]

As pressures mounted to schedule a meeting dealing with the issues left in the wake of the war, Truman pushed it back as far as he could in order to give the scientists at Los Alamos the time they needed. The final date was set for July 16th, 1945, in the Berlin suburb of Potsdam. The key matters to be discussed included restructuring the boundaries and government of Germany, the recognition of the new Soviet-backed governments of Eastern Europe by the U.S and U.K, and the inclusion of several countries into the newly formed United Nations.[9] The president put immense pressure on General Leslie Groves and Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer to finish the bomb before the start of the conference.[10]

Leaving for Potsdam aboard the *Augusta*, Truman had very low expectations that much could be done in dealing with the restoration of a lasting peace in Europe. His predecessor Roosevelt had met with Stalin and Churchill at the Tehran and Yalta Conferences, both of which accomplished very little in regard to the future. All three nations and leaders had their own ambitious ideas on how to move forward, and he noted in his diary that there was very little chance of any real progress being made at the conference.[11] In a letter he wrote to his wife Bess aboard the cruiser, Truman bemoaned, "I sure dread this trip, worse than anything I've had to face. But it has to be done."[12]

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[4] Ibid, 231-297.

[5] Wilson Miscamble, *From Roosevelt to Truman* (New York: Cambridge, 2007), 28.

[6] Harry S. Truman, *Memoirs* (New York: Doubleday, 1955), 193-195.

[7] Ibid, 199.

[8] Gar Alperovitz, *The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb and the Architecture of an American Myth* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 224.

[9] J. Samuel Walker, *Prompt and Utter Destruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 54.

[10] Ibid, 55.

[11] Ibid, 53.

[12] Harry S. Truman and Robert Ferrell, *Dear Bess: The Letters from Harry to Bess Truman 1910-1959* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1983), 518.

The president and his entourage arrived in Berlin on the day the meeting was slated to begin, but then word came Stalin had taken ill and would be a day late. The Americans took this time to explore the ravaged city. In another letter, Truman described Berlin as a "hell of a place—ruined, dirty, smelly, forlorn people… You never saw as completely ruined a city."[13] Along with General Dwight Eisenhower and Secretary of State James Byrnes, Truman watched as the victorious U.S forces raised the American flag over the Nazi barracks.[14]

A soldier raises the Soviet flag on the Reichstag over the ruins of Berlin. (Yevgeny Khaldei: 1945)

Upon retiring to the house he had taken in Potsdam (unbeknownst to him, an old book publisher's home who was more than likely killed by the Russians[15]), Truman learned of the successful test of the atom bomb. At this point, not much was known about its destructive capabilities. As more information came in over the following days, he noted in his diary that it's a "good thing for the world that Hitler's crowd or Stalin's did not discover this atomic bomb."[16] Despite reports of the bomb's success, Truman decided not to inform the other leaders about it at the outset of the conference until he knew more.

The president had his first chance to meet Joseph Stalin when the Potsdam Conference finally opened on July 17th.[17] He had enjoyed a visit with Winston Churchill the day before, though later he penned in his diary a comparison of the Prime Minister to "soft soap."[18] Truman was initially more impressed by Stalin, with whom he had more in common. They both came from somewhat similar backgrounds and had a straight to business attitude that avoided all the unnecessary pleasantries that the English leader insisted on. In another entry, he described Stalin as "honest, but smart as hell."[19]

Due to his experience leading the Senate back in Washington, the president was chosen to chair the meeting.[20] He used this position to push the topic of the Japanese war to the forefront and was pleasantly surprised when Stalin agreed to bring the USSR into the conflict in less than a month. He assured his wife and colleagues that this would save American lives, even if it meant ceding some former Chinese lands and allotting a large portion of the German and Japanese fleets to the Soviet Union when Japan was defeated.[21] These were largely the same terms for Russian involvement that had been discussed at previous conferences, but Roosevelt had been too proud to give into Stalin's demands at the time. By 1945, America was ready to be done with the war, and Truman was much more willing to negotiate for Soviet assistance.[22]

Once Truman had what he wanted in terms of a quick and easy end to the war in the Pacific, he became slightly more reserved on the European issues in order to not upset Stalin and endanger

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[13] Truman and Ferrell, 520.

[14] Ben Grauer, "Big Three Open Parley Near Berlin," Video (1945: Universal Studios/Associated Press) http://ebscovideos.ebscohost.com/v/103168515/truman-sync-on-potsdam-world-war-two.htm.

[15] Truman and Ferrell, 518.

[16] Walker, 60.

[17] Ibid, 55.

[18] Barton Bernstein and Harry Truman, *Truman at Potsdam: His Secret Diary* http://nsarchive.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB162/38.pdf (accessed 4 December 2016).

[19] "Entries from President Truman's Diary," PBS, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/primary-resources/truman-diary/ (accessed 25 October 2016).

[20] Truman and Ferrell, 521.

[21] Ibid, 519.

[22] Truman, 382-84.

his cooperation against the Japanese.[23] After a party on July 20th, he went so far as to call the Soviet premier a friend. The two engaged in a friendly competition for the remainder of the conference, always trying to one-up each other with the greatest pianists and violinists their countries could offer at increasingly lavish parties.[24] This provided a sharp contrast to the real rivalry in which they would soon be embroiled.

Truman and Stalin's relationship quickly began to wear on Winston Churchill. While he opposed Stalin at every turn, he found very little support from Truman.[25] It quickly became apparent that the British would have to negotiate with the Soviets alone on some major issues, as the U.S. seemed primarily focused on appeasing Russia and ending the war in the Pacific.

It was not until July 21st, when more details of the Trinity atomic blast came across his desk, that Truman began to distance himself from the Soviet leader. The report from General Groves described the explosion that had created a cloud thousands of feet high and leveled everything in a radius of miles.[26] This news would prove to be a turning point for Truman's involvement in the conference. The president was "immensely pleased" with the results, and had decided that the United States might now be able to deal with Japan on its own.[27]

Truman was hesitant to inform Stalin of the bomb test, fearing that he might spur the Soviets into action against the Japanese so they could ensure a piece of the reparations. However, he also did not want Stalin to harbor resentment towards the U.S after the bomb had been dropped if he had never been informed. Thus, on July 24th Truman casually mentioned the atomic bomb to Stalin, saying that the United States had created a weapon of "unusually destructive force."[28] Stalin feigned ignorance and wished Truman luck with his new weapon. The American and British delegations assumed that he had not known what they were talking about, but had no idea that the Soviets had spies planted within the Manhattan Project.[29] In his memoirs written several years later, Soviet Marshal Georgii Zhukov recalls Stalin informing his own physicists to speed up work on the Soviet atom bomb immediately after his meeting with Truman.[30] The Soviet Premier knew exactly what kind of weapon the Americans had created and was already using the information passed along by his spy network to begin work on his own atomic arsenal.

With Soviet support in the war against Japan no longer necessary or desirable, Truman was able to begin to help Churchill thwart Stalin wherever possible.[31] On the key issue of what would become of Germany's borders, the U.S and U.K were determined to not give up any land directly to Russia. Stalin wanted to allow Soviet-backed Poland to annex large areas of Prussia and East Germany as reprisal for the Nazi invasion in 1939. The western powers saw this as the communists trying to spread their grasp into central Europe, while the Soviets maintained the position that it was solely to prevent Germany from rising up as a threat to their nation ever again.[32] When their proposal was denied by the other two powers, the Soviets instead suggested that Germany be broken up into a number of independent nations. Again, the British and Americans vehemently denied this proposal, stating that Stalin wanted to pulverize Europe into several small and easily-conquered states.[33] Eventually the three managed to negotiate the splitting of Germany into two

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[23] Walker, 59.
[24] Truman and Ferrell, 521.
[25] Miscamble, 199.
[26] Offner, 75.
[27] Ibid, 75.
[28] Walker, 67.
[29] Ibid, 67.
[30] Georgii K. Zhukov, *The Memoirs of Marshal Zhukov* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1971), 674-675.
[31] Walker, 65.
[32] Herbert Feis, *Between War and Peace: The Potsdam Conference* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), 227.
[33] Ibid, 236.

halves and four zones, with the Soviets having control of the east and the Americans, British, and French governing the west.

Another vexing topic for the Allies was that of the former German satellite states in central and Eastern Europe. Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria had all joined in the war effort on the side of the Axis Powers. After failing to halt the invading Soviets, all three found themselves under the control of coalition communist governments.[34] Similar to the occupied portions of eastern Germany, Soviet troops were looting these regions and demanding heavy reparations of the people who lived there.

Stalin tried to push the other heads of state into recognizing the new communist regimes, but Churchill would not have it.[35] He insisted that British agents in these countries were being kept in the dark by the new governments, while private western assets were being nationalized.[36] Stalin called these accusations "fairy tales" and claimed that democratic elections would happen soon.[37] Truman took Churchill's side again, opting to draft peace treaties with these nations but not reopening any kind of diplomatic relations or accepting them into the United Nations until a democratic government was put into place.

The main meeting room at Potsdam. Harry S. Truman Library: U.S Army Signal Corps, 1945.

When the Americans and British had made it clear that they would not grant Stalin's request to recognize his new governments, he brought up the topic of Spain. How was it that they would refuse to accept the new eastern European "people's democracies," but continue to maintain a diplomatic relationship with a vile dictator like Francisco Franco? Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy had helped to put Franco in power at the end of the Spanish Civil War, and while never formally joining the Axis Powers, the Spanish fascists had still sent troops to fight the Russians in the east.[38] Churchill had already made it clear at the start of the conference that he would not damage Great Britain's trade relationship with Spain, nor would he risk starting another conflict in Western Europe.[39] While Stalin tried to paint Truman and Churchill as hypocrites for their lack of action on the Spanish issue, his own motives for wanting Franco out were not entirely for the greater good. With the Franco regime deposed, the communist party might find a way to take power in Spain and provide the Soviet Union with a powerful ally in the west. Ultimately, the decision was made to keep Spain from joining the United Nations until Franco relinquished power to a democratic leadership.[40]

Just as Truman and Churchill were beginning to make progress in opposing Stalin, the results of the British election arrived and the prime minister had to return to London. Despite believing his Conservative Party would win, Churchill lost by a large margin and would not return to the Potsdam Conference.[41] His successor was Labour Party leader and former Deputy Prime Minister Clement Attlee, a man for whom Truman did not particularly care. In a letter to Bess, he described him as "an Oxford man" who "talks like the much overrated Mr. Eden (Churchill's

[34] Feis, 190-191.
[35] Alperovitz, 255.
[36] Truman, 360-61.
[37] Feis, 196.
[38] Ibid, 201.
[39] Ibid, 201.
[40] Ibid, 202.
[41] James L. Gormly, *From Potsdam to the Cold War: Big Three Diplomacy 1945-1947* (Wilmington, DE: SR Books, 1990), 52.

Foreign Secretary)."[42] This change in the British leadership would stall much cooperation with the United States, as Truman did not mesh with Attlee as well as he had with Churchill. The two still worked closely together against Stalin, but from this point on much less was accomplished at the conference.

Clement Attlee (left) took Winston Churchill's place at the Potsdam Conference on July 28th. (Harry S. Truman Library: U.S Army Signal Corps, 1945)

On July 26th, the American, British, and Chinese delegations met in secret to discuss the war against Japan. Truman had given them a vague idea of the capability of the atomic bomb, and it was decided that Russia's entry into the war was no longer needed. Together they drafted the Potsdam Declaration, offering one last chance of unconditional surrender to the Japanese and threatening the alternative of "prompt and utter destruction" if they did not stand down.[43] Stalin was infuriated upon hearing about the proclamation, and immediately demanded to know why the Soviet Union had not been invited to sign it.[44] The answer was that the Anglo-Americans had not wanted Russia to procure any reparations not deserved from the Japanese, but Truman managed to skirt the question for the remainder of his time in Potsdam. Stalin disappeared for another couple of days after allegedly taking ill, though he more than likely needed time to cope with his anger over being left out of the signing.[45] When he returned it was clear that there was little left to negotiate. Truman found no point in continuing the discussions until he had played his "master card," and thus the Potsdam Conference was adjourned on August 2nd.[46]

Four days later, the president and his party were homeward bound aboard the *Augusta* when news of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima reached them. State Department advisor H. Freeman Matthews described the president's attitude as overall positive as he moved about the ship informing the captain and crew of the great blow they had just dealt Japan.[47] Others onboard were not as optimistic, including Admiral William Leahy who described the bomb's explosion as having "terrible consequences for the future."[48]

The president immediately addressed the nation upon returning to Washington on August 9th.[49] He spoke of the successes at Potsdam and the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, while promising he had more in store for the Japanese. While he made the negotiations sound as if they had gone more smoothly than they really did, it was hard for anyone to deny that he had defied expectations. Like most presidents, public confidence in Truman declined over the years. However, he enjoyed some of the highest approval ratings of his administration following the perceived success of his meeting at Potsdam.[50] Many across the nation had questioned whether or not the man who had begun life on a farm in rural Missouri would be able to go to Europe and parley with some of the world's most experienced and powerful leaders. The American people, who had initially been unsure

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[42] Truman and Ferrell, 522.

[43] Walker, 72.

[44] Gormly, 61.

[45] Ibid, 61.

[46] Alperovitz, 265.

[47] H. Freeman Mathews, interview by Richard D. McKenzie, Washington, D.C., June 7, 1973, Harry S. Truman Presidential Library, Independence, MO.

[48] Ibid.

[49] "Radio Report to the American People on the Potsdam Conference," Truman Library, https://www.trumanlibrary.org/publicpapers/?pid=104 (accessed 8 November 2016).

[50] Leo Borart, ed., *Polls and Awareness of Public Opinion*, 2rd Ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, Bks., 1988), 6.

of Truman's ability to lead in the wake of arguably the country's greatest president, now knew that they had a commander-in-chief they could stand behind.

The Japanese would surrender less than a month later after a second bomb was dropped on Nagasaki. Nearly six years after its start, World War II was over. Millions of soldiers and civilians were dead, hundreds of cities devastated, and still the world was not at peace. While Potsdam is regarded as an overall success today in relation to previous meetings of the Big Three, it was a failure that set in motion tensions between capitalists and communists that would lead to the Cold War. Despite an initially positive relationship with Joseph Stalin, Truman had made it clear that the Soviet Union would find no ally in the United States.[51] Though future conflict between the two nations was already nearly assured before the meeting, one has to wonder if Truman's, Churchill's, and Attlee's staunch anti-Soviet attitudes may have undermined any real hopes for negotiations and driven the world into a dangerous Cold War.[52] Even so, perhaps the gaps between west and east, democracy and totalitarianism, and capitalism and communism were just too wide to find much common ground. Both sides had different ideas for a global future in the new atomic era. The Potsdam Conference marked the end of World War II, but the Cold War was just beginning.

[51] Robert H. Ferrell. *Harry S. Truman and the Cold War Revisionists* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2006), 26-27.

[52] While the Potsdam Conference was generally regarded as a success by many western historians in the decades following its conclusion, some see it as a failure or at least as a causal factor of the Cold War. Pro-Truman authors cited in this paper include Miscamble and the traditionalists Feis and McCullough. The traditionalists, some of the earliest chroniclers of the Potsdam Conference, generally credit Truman's actions as essential to thwarting the expansion of communism. The revisionist perspective of the conference is best characterized by the writing of Arnold Offner, who argued Truman contributed more to increasing tension in the world than helping to stabilize it. It would be an obvious exaggeration to say that Truman's actions were the sole cause of conflict between the United States and Soviet Union, but it would also be a snub to the historical importance of Potsdam to say that the decisions he made there did not at least have some influence on their relationship in the years to come.

The Colonial and Post-Colonial Transformation of African Chieftaincy: A Historiography

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Introduction

The arrival of Europeans in many African societies in the 1400s had an enormous impact on the institutions and practices of African people. Not all influences on African institutions lasted. Some institutions simply collapsed in the wake of dramatic change, while others metamorphosed into completely new and significant entities supporting the colonial administration or the people. In the political life of Africa, one institution which stood the test of time was chieftaincy. It grew under the weight of European influence as a collaborator with the imperial power and later as a victim, together with colonialism in general, of the anti-colonial nationalism in the period after the world wars. The years of colonial rule and the postcolonial system all proved influential in the evolution—rather than a revolution—of chieftaincy across the continent.

This paper offers an historiographical assessment of the colonial and postcolonial transformation of the institution of chieftaincy in Africa. A reading of the literature reveals two approaches, each conceptualizing the roles and place of chiefs in both the colonial and postcolonial periods in Africa. The paper then will examine the different roles of chiefs during the colonial and postcolonial systems. While Marxist and imperialist scholars differ on chiefs' role during colonial rule, other scholars disagree about chiefs' fortune in postcolonial Africa. The latter viewpoints are the "adaptive" and the "marginalized" schools. Overall, the paper studies the changes over time in the function of African chieftaincy under colonial rule and in the postcolonial era of self-rule.

The Chief before Nineteenth Century

Political leadership in Africa was not a recent creation. Long before contact with European merchants, African societies developed sophisticated communities and kingdoms. Edward Bovill and Hallett Robin draw attention to the fact that many West African kingdoms had rulers with enormous wealth, organized judicial systems, and large armies before the fifteenth century.[1] Some of these kingdoms were Ancient Ghana, Mali, Songhai, and Kanem-Bornu. Organized judicial systems based on local and Islamic law shaped most of these societies. In Nigeria, the kingdoms of Oyo, Benin, Edo, and the Habe dynasties of the north molded the political destinies of the people.[2] Some of these were neither Islamic nor Christian. They were completely the product of African people, resulting in centuries of political and organizational skills and experience. The kingdoms of Kongo, Zimbabwe, and other advanced societies of the southern parts of Africa were all well organized and

[1] Edward William Bovill and Robin Hallett, *The Golden Trade of the Moors: West African Kingdoms in the Fourteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: M. Weiner Publishers, 1995). Bovill and Hallett studied ancient states in West Africa. Some of these kingdoms were Ancient Ghana, Mali, Songhai, and Kanem-Bornu.

[2] Toyin Falola, and Matthew M. Heaton, *A History of Nigeria* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

efficient in the pre-colonial era. In modern Ghana, the kingdom of Mamprusi, for instance, is traceable back to the 1300s.[3] It was the earliest of the Mole-Dagbani states in the savannah regions of Ghana and Burkina Faso.

Many of these states and kingdoms were instrumental in the trade, politics, and civilization of the Islamic world. By the time European merchants arrived on the coast of the Atlantic, many advanced civilizations had risen and fallen while many more were flourishing. They did not possess guns and gunpowder, but their social organization, economic interdependence, and involvement in the global economy through Mameluke Egypt and the North African merchants assured prosperity for aristocrats and freedom for the citizens.

With the coming of Portuguese and later other European merchants, the institutions and cultures that were created over centuries adjusted to meet the exigencies of the times. One such institution was chieftaincy, a key force for mobilization and stability in African communities. The position of chief was a ritual one in which they served as links between the living and the dead. Chiefs dispensed justice without favor in their role as the representatives of the ancestors. All these enriched the political fabric of the continent. This meant that Africa was not an empty, disorganized geographical place before the Portuguese encountered coastal Africans; however, as colonialists set about creating the new systems of political administration, the office of chief transformed in many ways.

Colonial Chieftaincy

The formalization of European imperialistic control over African territories saw the first encroachment on the nature and authority of the institution. Mahmood Mamdani, writing from a Marxist-inclined position in *Citizens and Subjects* noted that colonial rule brought with it European concepts of land ownership.[4] In the process, the colonialists made land synonymous with chiefly authority by investing all lands into the native political institutions of the communities in rural Africa.[5] Lands with no private claims were deemed royal lands, and later, government property, which was a deviation from African communal land ownership system. The colonialists therefore succeeded in transforming the ritual function of the chief into a political one. This enhanced chiefly authority over land was an aberration from the custom and practices of the people. It became "the foundation of native rule," according to historian Mahmood Mamdani.[6] In a larger sense, Mamdani's argument shows that this change enabled colonial powers to use chiefs as conduits to gaining concessions for the exploitation of resources for the good of the colonial metropole. He reflects that "chiefs were autonomous is not to say that they were independent."[7] Thus, land re-organization not only empowered chiefs, but colonial powers as well. The reorganized political system based on new land tenure systems involving the colonial administrators and the chiefs was therefore a symbiotic economic relationship in which colonialists and chiefs acted together for their own mutual economic benefit.

Kofi Abrefa Busia also contended in *The Position of the Chief in Asante* that the African system was originally a non-feudal system.[8] Though not a Marxist, he viewed the influence of chiefs in

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[3] Djibril Tamsir Niane et al eds., *Africa from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century* (Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 1997).

[4] Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).

[5] The Aborigines Rights Protection Society of the Gold Coast protested the investiture of all unused lands in the hands of the British government in the late nineteenth century. For a detailed study, see, Kojo S. Amanor and Janine M. Ubink, *Contesting Land and Custom in Ghana. State, Chief and the Citizen* (Leiden, Netherlands: Leiden University Press, 2008).

[6] Mamdani*,* 141.

[7] Ibid, 145.

[8] Kofi Abrefa Busia, *The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of Ashanti* (London: International African Institute, 1951).

colonial Africa through an economic lens. The right of usufruct, a practice undergirding African land tenure, was revoked in favor of a more Western system. Chiefs were made actual owners of land rather than the whole community. From them, the colonialists could easily obtain mining concessions, plantations, and other resources without much resistance. This was simpler for the colonial authorities because there were only the chiefs to convince and not the whole tribe or community for access to resources.

While giving chiefs landed authority, the colonialists deprived them of enormous judicial power. Instead, judicial authority transferred to colonial courts. Educated interpreters assumed relevance in the administration of justice. The cumulative impact of these actions concentrated power in the hands of the European administrators. New opportunities in labor, commerce and services provision also helped advance a new class of wealthy citizens. For historian Kofi Abrefa Busia, this created a merchant group whose prestige rivaled that of the chiefs. Traditionally, the chief could not trade or acquire private property. A chief enriched himself through obligatory service from his people. They had worked his farms, built his houses and tapped his palm trees. But the new class of citizens made much more wealth than chiefs through wage labor and the provision of services to Europeans. Gradually, they became socially influential through the accumulation of resources. With no obligatory services to the chief due to increasing urbanization and a growing sense of human freedom and individualism growing among former subjects, the economic basis of chiefly power declined. This reality compelled chiefs to accede easily to European requests for access to mineral and natural resources in return for economic gain, because chiefs needed economic security. Thus, the reorganization of land proprietorship defined the functions of chiefs in colonial Africa. It made them pawns in the hands of the colonial administration. Chiefs gradually lost much economic and social standing relevance to the colonial system.

Alexander Keese studied colonial chieftaincy in French West Africa during and after the Second World War. He focused on the economic relations colonial rule birthed between chiefs and subjects. In an article, Keese observed that chiefs increasingly became oppressors of colonial subjects due to their political and economic roles in the colonial administration.[9] In the Ivory Coast, Senegal, and Benin among others, chiefs had helped the colonialists recruit and organize labor for exploration, exploitation, and exportation of the much needed resources from the colonies to France. Chiefs also took the lead in collecting taxes from the people. Citizens who proved recalcitrant were severely punished by colonial troops at the requests of chiefs. The French administration remunerated chiefs well and organized them through the colonial provincial councils of chiefs. Additionally, Chiefs acquired free labor from their subjects for agricultural and other commercials purposes. There developed a familial bond between colonial authorities and chiefs based on their shared interest in the exploitation of the people and the natural resources in the colonies. The colonial experience of chieftaincy in French West Africa was synonymous in many ways with their counterparts in other parts of the continent. It was basically an economic relationship with the colonizers in which they both benefitted and the people suffered.

In contrast, another school of thought, which might be labeled the "Imperialist" school, saw the roles of chiefs not in economic terms but in political and administrative terms. Chiefs were portrayed as partners in the civilizing mission of Europe in Africa. In *The Dual Mandate*, Lord Fredrick Lugard set out to define the role and place of African chiefs in the British Colonial administration.[10] He held that under British administration, "native chiefs retain their titular positions, and were allowed the exercise of restricted powers."[11] Chiefs were administrative partners

[9] Alexander Keese, "Understanding Colonial Chieftaincy from Its Final Phase: Responses to the Crisis of an Institution in French-ruled West Africa and beyond, 1944-1960," *Africana Studia* 15 (2011): 11-28.

[10] Lord Frederick Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (London: Routledge, 2013).

[11] Ibid, 228.

with some degree of autonomy in bringing the benefits of European progress to indigenous people. The chiefs under the British system were employed in organizing social services, implementing taxation, public work, and other exactions made by the colonial authorities. This system of administrative imperialism, a carefully constructed setup of offices and officials to manage and run communities for the benefit of colonial or imperial powers, was known as Indirect Rule. For imperialists like Lugard, chiefs were administrative instruments carrying out a "civilizing mission" on behalf of the colonial administrators. They were not co-equal with the colonial administrators, but were conduits through whom the colonizers oversaw the daily lives of the people. Indirect rule therefore gave legitimacy to the chief in the eyes of his people; but enslaved them in the eyes of the colonial authority. In this way, the chief in the colonial British system in Africa carried out the dual mandate required by the colonial authorities and the active political and spiritual roles expected of them by their citizens.

Similarly, A.A Costa carried the imperialist argument further when he held that colonial Britain thought of and shaped her political administration in South Africa based on traditional African systems of patriarchy.[12] The British established patriarchal relations with chiefs, who in turn dominated their people based on this patriarchal ideal. In this relationship, chiefs in South Africa used native law to administer indigenous people. It formed the foundation of indirect rule. Patriarchy assumed that blacks were ill prepared for liberal, progressive governance. They were subjected to customs not law, and were trained for preservation not assimilation. Authorities fashioned customary law as "an instrument of patriarchal government," using chiefs in this chain. Only private property was protected beyond chiefly authority in rural South Africa. Chiefs held proprietary right over all lands, but colonial authorities could access it without restraint. The chiefs served simply as black governors on behalf of the colonizers. Native or customary law was deemed appropriate to African people, while civil law governed expatriates. This very difference of legal application proved discriminatory because it used cultural differences as a marker of legal maturity. The colonial administration therefore regarded African chiefs as pawns for the achievement of their political aims of administering the many linguistically varied people in southern Africa. In short, chiefs were the trainees who brought British progress to their ignorant, backward people in rural Africa.

In acephalous societies, colonial administrators established the office of chief effectively to gain a semblance of legal authority among the people and to achieve smooth administration in such unorganized communities. Peter Geschiere contended that acephalous societies proved resistant to the imposition of colonial rule.[13] French and British authorities created the position of chief to help stamp out such opposition. The imposition of *chefs coutumiers* in French territories enabled authorities to find executors of administrative orders, who enforced labor requirements, often brutally. Though they were notorious for their brutality, they nonetheless helped extend French political sovereignty into rural Africa. French authorities sought to traditionalize and legitimize these chiefs by enforcing hereditary succession. The chiefs were also effectively supported against rebellious subjects through the use of colonial troops. In the British territories, chiefs in acephalous societies were called *warrant chiefs*. They performed colonial functions similar to those in French domains. But here, chiefs had a high degree of autonomy compared to their counterparts in French colonies. This seeming independence ensured that subjects did not perceive the great intrusion of external powers in their lives because "chiefs seemed to act as a screen between the British and the local population."[14] Thus,

[12] A. A. Costa, "Chieftaincy and Civilization: African Structures of Government and Colonial Administration in South Africa," *African Studies* 59, no. 1 (2000): 13-43.

[13] Peter Geschiere, "Chiefs and Colonial Rule in Cameroon: Inventing Chieftaincy, French and British style," *Africa* 63, no. 02 (1993): 151-175.

[14] Ibid, 161.

colonial authorities, whether French or British, used the institution of chieftaincy to facilitate colonial rule and exploitation in previously non-organized communities. Colonial administrators from France and Britain both saw and used African chiefs solely for administrative purposes to further the interests of metropolitan Europe.

The fate of chieftaincy under formal colonialism was therefore one of subordination to the colonial authorities. They served to enforce colonial edicts and directives in return for the maintenance of their position of influence. It was with the rise of an educated class of Africans that the position of chiefs faced internal opposition and condemnation. This struggle between chiefs and the educated elites was to form one of the core areas of contention during the fight to regain independence in the years after colonialism.

Postcolonial Chieftaincy

The coming of Europeans saw a rise in castle schools on the coasts of Africa. These unassuming, sometimes one-classroom structures, produced the men and women who proverbially took the colonial system to the cleaners and eventually to its knees. Educated Africans in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries used their knowledge of European political ideas to counter the legitimacy of colonial rule, including the compliant institution of chieftaincy. Two divergent approaches to conceptualizing the role of chiefs in postcolonial Africa can be discerned from the literature. The first may be called the "adaptive" approach and the second one may be christened the "marginalized" approach.

Kwame Arhin, arguing for the adaptive school, believed that chieftaincy adapted to the needs of the postcolonial state in Africa. In his article, "The Search for 'Constitutional Chieftaincy,'" Arhin pointed out that the power and sway of chieftaincy wilted in the postcolonial state. In place of influence, there emerged a passive rather than active role for chiefs in governance.[15] When chiefs' active political service ended, some fragments of the institution were transferred into modern governance. State singers, linguists, and other cultural and material aspects of the institution were used to endow the new state with legitimacy. So, though the new state demanded complete loyalty to itself beyond ethnic identity, it nonetheless used symbolic and material appeals from the old institution to court and sustain support for the artificial state. Arhin showed that constitutional chieftaincy, which implies reduced power and reach for chiefs, dominated the political thinking in Ghana following the end of colonial rule. The new Ghanaian state stripped chiefs of their active or effective political functions, but coopted them into running local communities as opinion leaders. It thus gave chiefs symbolic recognition, but no actual power. So, the question "how to reconcile the demands of the growing African Revolution with claims of tradition" was resolved through this novel adaptive settlement named constitutional chieftaincy.

Ørnulf Gulbrandsen asserts that postcolonial states sought to eliminate the chieftaincy institution.[16] But the "force, vitality, and persistence" of chiefs made the attempt impossible.[17] For example, chiefs rose to fill the power vacuum left by the political chaos of the postcolonial era in Congo. In Botswana, it was the relevance of the institution's symbols and aura in unifying and building the new nation-state which encouraged the new leadership to accord chieftaincy the significance it now holds in public affairs. However, this excluded overt political agency. The new nations of central and southern Africa found the aura of chieftaincy relevant to buttressing the

[15] Kwame Arhin, "The Search for 'constitutional chieftaincy,'" in *The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah,* ed. Kwame Arhin (Accra: Sedco Publications, 1991): 27-54.

[16] Ørnulf Gulbrandsen, *The State and the Social: State Formation in Botswana and its Precolonial and Colonial Genealogies* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013).

[17] Ibid, 9.

authority of the nation-state. Gulbrandsen thus agreed with Pierre Englebert that "the quality of leadership and the construction of state capacity in Botswana are directly related to the embeddedness of its postcolonial state into precolonial patterns of political authority."[18] While politicians opted to adapt the institution to the needs of modern governance, they stripped it of any concrete political power. Chiefs in Central Africa are still barred from active politics. So only the material culture of the institution remained relevant to the modern state.

The other approach to understanding postcolonial chieftaincy is the "marginalized" school. This approach holds that postcolonial political institutions and arrangements demoted chiefs politically. O.M Laleye and Victor Ayeni suggest that the postcolonial state deprived chiefs of influence through democratization of institutions like the local councils, national legislatures, and through the grant of universal suffrage. They argued that traditional kingship has remained visible but not vibrant in the postcolonial era.[19] Chieftaincy came to negotiate with and through new institutions and people in order to remain relevant. This was because of the negligence it suffered at the hands of modern institutions of power and interest. These institutions include civil and public service institutions, educated elites, and the media. In negotiating its survival with these institutions, chieftaincy employed innovative approaches like clientelism, education, propaganda, and lobby. In fact, governments have counted chiefs as another segment of society with the same defined interests as all other interest groups. The state now use chiefs for rural mobilization in public and health education, campaigns against bad cultural practices, and for other policy purposes.

However, politicians have largely avoided furnishing chiefs any political agency. The excessive authority of the postcolonial state with its use of new institutions for governance has made chieftaincy less desirable than was the case during colonial rule. The army, civil service, public service, and judicial services have emerged to provide means for modern states to exercise suzerainty over people without any need for intermediaries like chiefs. All these have worked to make politicians less needful of chiefs. In some instances, state officials are hostile to chiefs. The Emir of Kano and the Oni of Ife in 1984 discovered this when the Nigerian government banned them from traveling for six months because they travelled to Israel at a time the Nigerian and Israeli states were in a diplomatic row. This new reality had put chiefs in a dilemma because they must tread cautiously. For this reason, Laleye and Ayeni said that chieftaincy in the postcolonial society is one in which "traditional rulership is locked into the modern setup. It cannot avoid politics and yet politics is no good to or for it."[20] Negligence, relegation, and occasionally hostility has been the lot of the chief in postcolonial Africa, so says Laleye and Ayeni.

More recently, Nana Dr. S.K.B Asante, a chief from Ghana, analyzed the chief-state relations in his home country as a chief and scholar. Nana Asante explained that the modern chief has been marginalized from mainstream governance despite performing community development roles like settling disputes, supporting improvements in education, fostering social cohesion, and furthering cultural welfare.[21] The postcolonial state denied chiefs judicial, executive and political power or a share in it. Chiefs, at their personal level, are not financially endowed to provide for the welfare of their people in ways that the modern state can. His concerns are representative of the larger issue of institutional negligence in Africa. Such negligence occurs despite the fact that the new nation-states cannot hope to exercise absolute suzerainty in rural, remote areas. In these far off

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[18] Pierre Englebert, *State Legitimacy and Development in Africa* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002), 107.

[19] O. M Laleye, and Victor Ayeni, "On the Politics of Traditional Rulership," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 6, no. 4 (1993): 555-571.

[20] Ibid, 569.

[21] S.K.B Asante, "Chieftaincy, Non-partisan Good Governance and Development in Ghana's Modern Democracy," in *Reclaiming the Human Sciences and Humanities through African Perspectives*, vol. 1., eds. Helen Lauer and Kofi Anyidoho (Accra: African Books Collective, 2012), 1096-1115.

places, government capacity for enforcement weakens because communities are farther and sometimes inaccessible to state institutions. Chiefs become the only intermediaries for government in such situations.

Explaining this, Nana Asante identified two worlds in the new nation-state. The first world is one with an educated and rich populace. This is usually urban and possesses adequate infrastructure. Chiefs have little place in the first world. The second world is one where people possess less education and finances, less infrastructure, and are rural in outlook with maximal chiefly authority and involvement in everyday life. Nana Asante reasoned that the modern state has eliminated chiefs from active politics, but they are needed in the second world for "crucial leadership." However, in this second world, financial and political limitations hamper chiefs' ability to provide the needed leadership. The issue of resource dearth raised by Asante is very significant. The lack of resources compel many chiefs to resort to patronage in an effort to exploit politicians for material and financial gains. They also lobby politicians for infrastructural development. This can compromise their political neutrality. He also laments situations where politicians use state resources to provide luxuries for powerful chiefs to gain electoral favors because of the influence they hold in rural areas. This has been detrimental to the development of certain areas because self-seeking chiefs have enriched themselves at the expense of the people.

Lastly, Rijk van Dijk looked at the diffused nature of power in postcolonial Africa between chiefs and the modern state. He observed that managing chieftaincy was a matter of policy for postcolonial governments.[22] Though the idea of sovereignty became divided and diffused between the new nation-states and earlier units like chiefs and other markers of ethnicity, the state's possession of coercive tools and financial power made it possible to override all other competitors. Also new national leaders worked to gain loyalty from citizens through the creation and use of national symbols. These symbols, which were emblems of chieftaincy, became markers of state power and legitimized individuals' patriotism towards the state. Rijk van Dijk further argued that such legitimization helped politicians appropriate greater power using the authority of the state. However, they tended to do so at the expense of chiefs. Gradually chiefs were marginalized into a pale shadow of their former selves.

Rijk van Dijk noted, for instance, that politicians assumed the agency to determine the legitimacy of chiefs in the postcolonial era through legal and political confirmations. He drew attention to the fact that in Ghana, for instance, structures and systems have been created to accommodate and attend to the peculiarities of chieftaincy. These solutions have only served to give the state even greater agency over chiefs because the state funds and thus, covertly controls the undertakings of chiefs in such bodies like the National House of Chiefs. But then again, in most states, he argued, this power over chiefs by politicians led to a relegation of the institution through the denial of economic and other forms of power. He added that the "right of choice" and "ability" assumed by postcolonial governments through politics furthered the vulnerability of chiefs at the hands of politicians. Chieftaincy consequently lost any active role and relevance in modern governance. It has therefore become a marginalized institution.

Overall, chieftaincy in the years after Africa regained independence has had limited political impact. Even in remote areas, governmental authority is still visible due to the efficient use of media and the availability of new, improved means of transport and communication. All these elements of modernity have made chieftaincy redundant as a governance mechanism and proxy for central authority.

[22] Rijk van Dijk, *African Chieftaincy in a New Socio-political Landscape* (Hamburg: LIT Verlag Münster, 1999).

Conclusion

Traditional authority in Africa was as active in the precolonial era as any form of government anywhere in the world. Later, chieftaincy aided in guaranteeing the extension of colonial administrative control to every nook and cranny of the continent. However, the currents of modernity and political change eventually limited its role in politics. Its place in the postcolonial era became largely cultural and social—a means to highlight the distinct indigenous material and intellectual traditions of a nation. The historiographical tradition moved from seeing chieftaincy as an active participant in colonial governance to one with limited space in postcolonial states. The prohibition of chiefs from active politics will be the key feature to understanding the institution in the next few years. As chiefs become increasingly apolitical, scholarship will move towards understanding the moral leadership and spiritual sway of their authority in the modern states.

Wife or Revolutionary: Historiography of Abigail Adams

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John Adams met Abigail Smith for the first time in the summer of 1759 when his friend Richard Cranch began courting Mary Smith, Abigail's eldest sister, who was considered the prettier of the Smith sisters.[1] John was not impressed the first time he met Abigail. His first impression of her was that she was neither "fond, nor frank, nor candid."[2] John soon found the maxim that first impressions were not always accurate to be very true. Abigail was in every way John's equal, and they developed a strong attraction to one another. She was highly intelligent, witty, and was fond of poetry and conversation. Abigail also showed a love of writing letters. Throughout their lives, Abigail and John would write numerous letters to one another. In the privacy of these letters, they developed aliases for one another. During their five-year courtship and early into their marriage, "She was his Diana, after the Roman goddess of the moon. He was her Lysander, the Spartan hero." Abigail would often begin these letters with "My Dearest Friend." She saw the great potential and abilities that John had, and he saw the same in her.[3]

With the rise of gender history in the late twentieth century, more and more historians have tried to locate and analyze women's place in past societies. This is difficult for the same reason that other social histories are: the lack of sources. However, Abigail Adams lends herself to being studied and has allowed historians to gain some insight into womanhood of her times. Hundreds of letters were exchanged between Abigail and John over their lifetimes—a correspondence that exists for posterity. For historians, this is a goldmine yielding great access and information about the life of an eighteenth-century woman. This access has allowed for many historical interpretations of the matriarch of Braintree and has made her one of the most studied and profiled women in American history. These historical interpretations have been influential on our view of Abigail and eighteenth-century women, but have also been unsatisfactory. Prior to the 1980s, most historians viewed Abigail as the dutiful wife of John Adams. Throughout the last three and a half decades, Abigail has come to mean many things to different historians. She has been portrayed as the ideal republican woman, the conservative, the feminist, the revolutionary, and the matriarch. The contradictions of these interpretations are equal to perhaps the most well-known figure of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, Thomas Jefferson. Like Jefferson, Abigail's historiography has become muddled and inconsistent. It is time that historians re-conceptualize Abigail Adams and her relationship to her family and her times.

[1] David McCullough, *John Adams* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001), 52.
[2] John Adams, *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, L.H. Butterfield, ed. (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1961), 109.
[3] McCullough, 54-58.

Abigail as the Loving Housewife

The first modern biography of Abigail Adams was Jane Whitney's *Abigail Adams*, published in 1947. This study of Abigail is a perfect representation of the phrase "behind every great man is a great woman." This work places Abigail in the background as the dutiful republican wife. Whitney's work is as much of a love story as it is history. While she used a great variety of sources and relied heavily on Abigail's letters, she also created her own dialogue throughout the biography (an impermissible act for an historian): "`You won't let the Sons of Liberty draw you out into their doings' Abigail murmured. 'No,' said the firm decided voice she trusted."[4] Abigail loses all complexity in this work and only comes off as a love interest for the revolutionary John Adams. Despite its flaws, Whitney's work was highly influential and is still cited today. Phyllis Lynn Levine's work, also titled *Abigail Adams*, uses Whitney's framework but offers more detail. Published forty years later in 1987, it also falls victim to placing Abigail in the background of her own story and, like Whitney, Levine's work relies too heavily on letters and quotations without providing a satisfactory analysis.

The Republican Housewife

Scholarship since Whitney has closely examined what being a wife during the American Revolution meant. Lynne Withey was one of the first historians to attempt to write a political history of Abigail without looking at her life as revolving around John's political activities during the American Revolution. In her work *Dearest Friend: A Life of Abigail Adams* (1981), Withey acknowledges the contradictions of Adams' character and actions throughout her life and attempts to make these contradictions understandable. How can Abigail Adams be a conservative, a revolutionary, and a feminist? Withey argues that Abigail Adams was ultimately a conservative, despite her support of the American Revolution. Revolution made Adams uncomfortable because she valued stability. She viewed family and religion as pillars on which society stood and considered racial inequality a necessity. While she believed in American independence, a larger role for women, and the evil of slavery, Withey notes that these were issues "in her mind (Abigail), that could be ended without threatening the underlying social order."[5]

Withey makes commendable use of available sources to bring the reader into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many historians of gender have wrongly attempted to attribute modern views to an eighteenth-century woman. However, Withey describes Abigail as "a prisoner to her times."[6] This is an important idea that has been forgotten in the recent historiography of historical figures. Abigail, like all other historical figures, is a person of her times and therefore should not be judged by our twenty-first century worldview. While *Dearest Friend* should be praised, it falls into the same trap as earlier biographies. Withey attempts to bring Abigail out of the shadow of her husband, but is never fully able to do so. This conservative view of Abigail would persist into the twenty-first century.

In her scholarly work, historian Rosemarie Zagarri has attempted to provide women of the time with political agency. Though not exclusively about Abigail Adams, Zagarri's recent *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic* (2007) picks up the theme of republican women and gives Abigail a prominent role in explaining female patriotism in the late eighteenth century. "Abigail Adams represented a paragon of female revolutionary patriotism," according to Zagarri. Adams sacrificed her own private happiness for the good of the revolution,

[4] Janet Whitney, *Abigail Adams* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1947), 54.
[5] Lynne Withey, *Dearest Friend: A Life of Abigail Adams* (New York: Free Press, 1981), x.
[6] Ibid, xiii.

which means that she allowed John to serve the public, while she handled the household affairs.[7] In this sense, Abigail also comes off as more conservative than her contemporaries such as Mercy Otis Warren. Zagarri quotes Abigail as saying that female patriotism was "the most disinterested of all virtues."[8] This interpretation suggests that Abigail would have supported the revolution and the United States regardless of whether women actually benefitted. Historians such as Charles W. Akers have challenged the idea of Abigail's conservative values, instead, linking her to the revolutionaries of her times. Zagarri also seeks to bring Abigail out of John's shadow, but while reading her work, it seems as though Zagarri believes that she belongs there. In fact, in a book about women during the early republic, John is actually mentioned more times than Abigail.

Abigail as a Feminist

As some historians explored Adams as a Republican housewife, others made her out a nascent feminist. By the 1970s, feminist historians set out a project to correct male biases in history—sometimes in the process unintentionally created biases of their own. One of the main problems with feminist history is that it can often be anachronistic and impose twentieth or twenty-first century values and morality onto past societies. The word "feminism" did not even exist in Abigail Adams's lifetime, but her accessibility has made her an easy target for feminist historians to study and claim as their own.[9] In Elizabeth Evans's 1975 study *Weathering the Storm: Women of the American Revolution* asserts that "The most famous advocate for women's rights was Abigail Smith Adams, wife of John Adams… Refusing to be an obscure mouthpiece for her husband's views, she influenced many of his political decisions."[10] This became a popular view of Abigail and still persists today, but it also distorts both Abigail and her times. The most prominent female role in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was in the domestic sphere. The idea that Abigail was a feminist activist is misleading. However, there are more convincing arguments about Abigail and feminism. In *Patriotism and the Female Sex* (1994), Rosemary Keller refers to Abigail as an "enlightened feminist." In Keller's view, Abigail's views were not feminist, but were a precursor to the feminist movement and were comparable to Mary Wollstonecraft's views of women's rights. Abigail's view of women's rights was only constrained by her time and place.[11] Abigail was certainly well-read and extremely intelligent. There is no doubt that living through the Enlightenment and the American Revolution impacted her worldview. While Keller is making the claim that Abigail was a predecessor to the feminist movement, she also argues that, "Abigail had no vision of independent identity and was determined to realize her own existence through John's."[12] This conceptualization of Abigail falls into the same trap as Whitney and Levine: they all take away Abigail's agency. Fortunately, Keller does not warp the reality of the eighteenth century like Evans, but *Patriotism and the Female Sex* is unsatisfactory in that it does not provide Abigail with any independent existence. Feminist historiography of Abigail is messy. While Abigail certainly was not a feminist, she was also much more than the housewife that Whitney depicted. These historians ultimately failed in providing her with agency in the reality of the eighteenth century.

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[7] Rosemarie Zagarri, *Revolutionary Backlash: Women and Politics in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 24-25.

[8] Ibid, 69.

[9] Leslie F. Goldstein, "Early Feminist Themes in French Utopian Socialism: The St.-Simonians and Fourier," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 43, no. 1 (Mar., 1982): 92.

[10] Elizabeth Evans, *Weathering the Storm: Women of the American Revolution* (New York: Scribner, 1975), 5.

[11] Rosemary Skinner Keller, *Patriotism and the Female Sex: Abigail Adams and the American Revolution* (New York: Carlson Pub, 1994), 186.

[12] Ibid, 187.

"Remember the Ladies"

Historians often point to the letter from Abigail to John dated March 31, 1776, as proof of Abigail's egalitarian views towards women. She wrote John, "I desire you would Remember the Ladies, and be more generous and favourable to them than your ancestors."[13] Feminist historians, such as Rosemary Keller, claim that Abigail believed in a perfect equality for men and women and was an early advocate for women's suffrage. Keller argues that "Abigail's word in support for her sex grew out of her distress over educational, voting, and other legal restrictions of women in Massachusetts and her hopes that these wrongs would be redressed during the Revolution."[14] Historians, especially in recent years, have disputed this claim. Rosemarie Zagarri and Woody Holton have both reminded readers that Abigail was not trying to be an activist for women's rights when she wrote this letter. She was writing to an audience of one, John Adams. The common denominator between Zagarri and Holton was their belief that Abigail's words revolved around marriage rights. Mary Beth Norton made the claim that Abigail was not arguing for women's suffrage. Instead, in the March 31st letter Abigail revealed "her conclusion that the major problem facing women in the revolutionary era was their legal subordination to their husbands.[15] Zagarri wrote that Abigail "was not demanding the vote. She was more concerned with married women's lack of property rights and lack of protection against abusive husbands."[16] Holton noted that Abigail had experience with spousal abuse, as her alcoholic brother was known to be abusive towards his wife. Since the ancient times, whether a woman "was to be happy or miserable depended infinitely less on who ruled her colony or state than on who governed her household, the most significant relationship that a woman had was with her husband."[17] Marriage has played a big role in the historiography of Abigail and other women of the Revolutionary Era; from Whitney, who thought of Abigail as the loving wife, to Zagarri and Holton, who believed that Abigail's political beliefs revolved around marriage. Because of the correspondence between John and Abigail, historians have more insight into their marriage than any other married couple of the time period. What influence Abigail had on the marriage and on John's politics has been examined tirelessly by historians since the feminists of the 1970's.

The Attempt to Give Abigail Political Agency

Historians have struggled to bring Abigail out of John's shadow largely because it is impossible to completely separate Abigail from John without impeding the ability to understand either person. Historian Edith B. Gelles believed that Abigail has not only been overshadowed by her husband, but she also was overshadowed by the American Revolution in historical scholarship. In the introduction of her work *Portia: The World of Abigail Adams*, Gelles wrote, "As long as Abigail's life is told against the background or context that emphasizes events in which John took a major role during the Revolutionary War and the early republican era, the story tends to slip into his world."[18] While what Gelles attempts is noble, there remains a huge problem with *Portia*. She correctly argues that Abigail's times overshadow her. The American Revolution was bigger than any one person. People are shaped by their times as much as any other factor; Abigail was no exception. She cannot be understood without understanding the American Revolution and its impact. With

[13] Abigail Adams to John Adams, March 31, 1776, in *The Book of Abigail and John: Selected Letters of the Adams Family*, L.H. Butterfield et al., eds. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1975), 121.

[14] Keller, 89-90.

[15] Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), 50.

[16] Zagarri, 29-30.

[17] Woody Holton, *Abigail Adams* (New York: Free Press, 2010), 99.

[18] Edith Belle Gelles, *Portia: The World of Abigail Adams* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), xv.

Gelles, we only get a distorted understanding of Abigail without the influence of her husband and the major events of her times.

In *Portia*, Gelles assumes the existence of separate male and female spheres. This is an idea that has been hotly debated amongst historians since the 1960's.[19] Withey in *Dearest Friend* uses this idea as well, but in her work these spheres are intertwined. Gelles separates these two spheres entirely, almost as though women and men live in completely different worlds. To assume this is to assume that one sphere does not influence the other. Whether or not these spheres exist or how they are connected is for other historians to debate. Considering these assumptions and arguments that Gelles makes, *Portia* is an ironic title. Portia, who was the wife of the Roman politician Brutus, was Abigail's pen name when writing to John. Even in this name, posterity can grasp the interconnectedness of Abigail's and John's worlds. Gelles' position ultimately takes away from what we can understand about Abigail Adams. She did not live in a separate world from her husband. Her life in Braintree intertwined with John's wherever he was. Despite the shortcomings of *Portia*, Gelles did establish a unique way in which historians can provide Adams with agency without shaping her into someone who is a woman beyond her times.

One of the most recent works on Adams, written by historian Woody Holton in 2010, also makes the domestic sphere his primary focus for studying Adams. Holton weaves his work around the idea of Abigail as an economic opportunist and the manager of family affairs. John spent a majority of the years of his public life away from home. It was therefore up to his wife to keep the household afloat. Holton states in the introduction, "Adams's determination to enact some of her proto feminist ideals within her own household—to act as though the doctrine of coverture lost its force at her front door—is only one of the many surprises concealed within the pages of this woman's extraordinary life history."[20] Other surprises that Holton refers to are mostly Abigail's economic dealings. Holton points out that, unlike his successors and fellow founding fathers Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, John Adams died fairly wealthy with little debt. The explanation provided is that "it may well be that if his (John) financial records had survived the ravages of time as well as his correspondence did, they would show his wife making a larger contribution to the family's wealth than he did."[21] While assumptions usually do more harm than good to historical analysis, Holton provides substantial evidence to support this claim. The wealth that John made as a public servant was not substantial, but Abigail was actively managing the household finances. She did several things with the family's money of which John highly disapproved. Abigail speculated on land and government securities among other economic exploits.[22]

Holton's work is perhaps the most detailed of any of the studies on Abigail Adams. Like most works on Adams, Holton relies heavily on correspondence, but uses it far better than any previous historian of Abigail Adams. However, Holton attempts to twist Abigail and her world in a way that is not consistent with the time in which she lived. He downplays much of Abigail's conservative values. Instead of having a mutually dependent relationship with her husband, Holton all but makes the claim that John needed Abigail much more than Abigail needed John. For Holton, Abigail's economic exploits were much more than just the source of financial stability for the Adams household, they were a way in which Abigail could resist her subjugated position as a woman in the eighteenth century.

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[19] Linda Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *The Journal of American History* 75, No. 1 (June, 1988): 10.

[20] Holton, xx.

[21] Ibid, 277.

[22] Ibid, xx.

Abigail the Revolutionary

Most interpretations of Abigail place her almost exclusively in the Adams household. Linda Kerber has noted that Abigail was one of the few women of her time to believe that she could be both a wife and mother and a political being.[23] More recent explanations of Abigail have tied her to the founding fathers as a revolutionary figure. Scholars that have labelled Adams a revolutionary have attempted to take her out of the domestic sphere which she usually occupies. Instead, in these interpretations, Abigail enters the political sphere which in the eighteenth century was seen as exclusively for men. Historians such as Charles W. Akers challenged the notion that Abigail strictly belongs to the domestic sphere and attempted to provide her with political agency. In his book, *Abigail Adams: A Revolutionary American Woman* (2007), Akers ascribes Abigail's political experience to her husband: "Marriage to John Adams brought his wife a range of experience unequaled by any other American woman of her day."[24] Unlike a lot of Abigail's biographers, Akers admits that John had a lot to do with her ability to participate in the political discourse of the day. It was through her husband, Akers argues, that Abigail became politically influential. "Denied a public voice, she helped shape the political views of her husband and sons."[25] Akers provides the scholarship of Abigail with a lot of balance. John does not overshadow Abigail as in other works, and she is given her due as a political agent without the anachronisms of some feminist interpretations.

Conclusion

Abigail Adams has the most vast historiography of any American woman of the Revolutionary Era, perhaps even in American History. As the popularity of women and gender history grows, so will Adams's historiography. It is amazing in the short time since all of her correspondence was released in the 1950's how varied interpretations of Abigail have become. Historians need to continue to examine her correspondence and the records of other women of the era to get an even fuller understanding of what life was like for the American woman during the American Revolution and the Early Republic. While Abigail has been seen as a revolutionary, a conservative, a feminist, and the model republican wife, historians must first keep in mind that Abigail was a woman of her times. She was, above all, a woman from Massachusetts in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. This should be the starting point for any historian attempting to examine her life. Anything more or less is doing her historical reputation a disservice. Being a person of her times does not take away from her uniqueness.

[23] Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 36.

[24] Akers, xi.

[25] Ibid, 37.

On the Anatolian Orientation of Troy

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Introduction

This research project investigates the political orientation of western Anatolia in order to determine the likely nature of the archaeological sites of Troy VI and VII at Hisarlik. In order to do this, I survey the archaeological evidence and review the Hittite sources that comprise the Ahhiyawa corpus. At Troy VI and VII, society was oriented toward the Hittite state in Hattusa and an eastern culture more broadly. The corollary to my thesis is that the orientation of not only the supposed Trojans, but also the Greeks, is toward the east. This is a perspective that is often clouded by a desire to include the ancient Greeks in the long-run narrative of the West. The writings of Herodotus have been used to describe the Greeks as the defenders of the West and all its potential as a region independent of the empires in the East. Greek culture indeed was formative in the ideology of the Romans, who spread Homer alongside their influence throughout Europe. Yet, this theoretical framework that connects the Greeks described by Homer to those European regions most commonly associated with modern western civilization (i.e. Britain, France, and Germany) is a framework that largely ignores the reality that those places were completely off the radar for the ancient Greeks. Furthermore, Romans viewed these regions as being home to uncivilized barbarians. This portrayal was magnified by the writings of Homer, which have been a part of the western literary cannon intermittently since they were penned. For this reason, I will avoid Homer, which will allow the Mycenaeans to be recognized as they likely saw themselves. This method will not only bring clarity to the specifics about Troy VI and VII, but raise broader questions about the traditional view of the cultural lineage of the West.

This first section of this study surveys the archaeological debate that has raged over Hisarlik, particularly in the last three decades. This section also addresses some of the contextual and linguistic evidence that must be established in order to justify the choices made in the primary narrative. My analysis will utilize this understanding of the evidence and attempt to reconcile it with the limited historical material available. Historical sources used here derive primarily from the Ahhiyawa texts, which explicitly further my thesis and its corollary by including the Troad and the Mycenaeans as players in the Hittite sphere of influence. Additionally, I will dive deeper into the arguments advanced by Manfred Korfmann and his excavators in the context provided by the Ahhiyawa texts. On an analytic note, I refer to toponyms and other nouns differently depending on the context in which they are encountered in my analysis. For example, I refer to the Bronze Age site at Hisarlik as Troia or Troy I-VII when discussing it from the perspective of Manfred Korfmann's research. When addressing toponyms and groups of people from the Hittite perspective, I refer to these under the terminology derived from tablets found in the archives of Hatti (i.e. Wilusa, Ahhiyawa, etc.). Naturally, this means that the Greco-Roman levels at Hisarlik are referred to as Ilion/Ilium.

The Archaeological Evidence at Hisarlik in the Context of the Broader Aegean

Fifty years after Carl Blegen's excavations at Hisarlik, Manfred Korfmann's team of Germans from the University of Tubingen set about digging at the site in 1988. Distinct from all prior archeologists who had worked at the site, Korfmann was interested, not in the relationship between Hisarlik and the Homeric city of Troy, but in a site that had connections to the broader context of the Late Bronze Age Aegean and Anatolian worlds. Furthermore, Korfmann claimed to not be focused on proving or disproving the historicity of Homer's *Illiad*. However, Korfmann was certain that Troia was the city known to the Hittites as Wilusa, which became the Greco-Roman city of Ilion/Ilium. An important find to the analytics of Korfmann's excavations was the distinction between two sub-phases of Troy VII. The archaeologists determined that, at some point in the end of the thirteenth century BCE, Troy VII was subject to massive upheaval involving invasion and/or natural disaster. The period between 1230 BCE to around 1190 BCE was determined to be Troy VIIa, and the period of upheaval that continued for nearly a century and a half was thus called Troy VIIb.[1]

The most significant discovery of the Korfmann excavations involved the existence of a lower city in the area beneath Hisarlik. By making use of magnetometers, remote sensors that are used to map the ground before an excavation, Korfmann's team found a one meter deep ditch carved into the bed rock. The ditch traced an area of 200,000 square meters around the area beneath Hisarlik. Peter Jablonka, the head of the team that found the ditch, said that the find raised the projected population and importance of the site. Furthermore, the lower city meant that Troia "has closer analogues in Anatolia than in the Mycenaean region."[2] The ditch dated to the Troy VI/VIIa period and encompassed the entire area identified as the lower city. Further attention was paid to methodically placed gaps in the ditch that seemed to indicate the existence of a gate, through which wagons, cattle, and people might pass into the city. Korfmann identified this earthwork as an anti-chariot ditch, a feature that generally indicates the existence of a wall, upon which a battery of archers could have barraged encroaching forces as they navigated the trench.

The other primary claim of Korfmann's excavation centers on the status of Hisarlik as the site of a Late Bronze Age trade hub. This claim is central to the importance of Troia as a Late Bronze Age archaeological site. However, it is also a pivotal element for those who seek Homer's Troy in the Troad. At Hisarlik, there were large quantities of potsherds, which Carl Blegen had called grey Minyan ware. Donald F. Easton, an archeologist with Korfmann's team, determined that these were actually pieces of Anatolian grey pottery. Additionally, Korfmann found evidence of worship and tombs, as well as seventeen stelai, large stone carvings that served as religious idols, which were typical of Anatolian sites. They were largely ignored by everyone else who had excavated at the site before. Furthermore, Troy was probably located much closer to the Aegean at the time of Troy VI/VII. The Bay of Besik once came right up to the citadel and served as a port for Troia. A great deal of this point rests on evidence found at lower levels of Hisarlik that indicate the site's connection to Anatolian trade routes, such as treasure hoards found in the burned-out remains of Troy II.[3] Combined with evidence of steady growth of fortifications and wealth, Korfmann concluded that Troy was a major hub of trade. Troia must have served as a basis for trade between the Levant, Egypt, and the Mycenaean world, as well as the civilizations along the shore of the Black Sea to the north of the Dardanelles. Furthermore, the existence of seals that were used to certify trade agreements, not only indicates Troy as a trade hub, but also as a society oriented toward the Anatolian east. Despite this evidence, there is a notable dearth of writing found at Troy VI/VII.

[1] See "Table 2" in Eric Cline, *The Trojan War: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 96.
[2] Joachim Latacz, *Troy and Homer: Towards a Solution to an Old Mystery* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 26.
[3] Ibid, 42.

Korfmann's deductions regarding the Anatolian orientation of Troia and its status as a trade hub generated controversy among archeologists and historians. While Korfmann claimed that he was not looking for Homeric Troy, his interviews with the press drew him into debates about the authenticity of a Trojan War at Hisarlik. Frank Kolb emerged a leading critic of Korfman's argument. An archaeologist who had once worked with Korfmann at Troia, Kolb had long contended that there was no historical basis for the Trojan War having occurred at Hisarlik. Kolb's primary critique of the Korfmann excavations rests on a dearth of evidence both in the ground and in textual sources. Kolb contends that the character of trade in the Mediterranean world during the late Bronze Age was one of limited trade overseas, minimizing the importance of Troia's past access to the Bay of Besik. Furthermore, Late Bronze Age trade is not significantly attested to in the Troad, despite its possible connections to the Hittites. In its broad sweep, most of the trade in the Aegean, Levant, and Egypt was concentrated elsewhere.[4] Kolb also attempted to discredit the evidence for a lower city, although those claims have largely been refuted by the work of Peter Jablonka and C. Brian Rose, who defend the archaeological work that led Korfmann to expand the size and population of Troy VI/VII. They defend the notion of the ditches as defensive in nature and indicative of a walled lower city. Furthermore, they explain why the gaps in the ditches were the sites of wooden palisades through which carts, animals, and travelers might have passed.[5]

Ultimately, the concerns of Frank Kolb, which emerged in the 1990s, have been thoroughly addressed by scholars from authoritative areas of the field. It is hard to deny the similarities between the Anatolian sites and Troy VI/VII from this analysis, which has now been thoroughly tested, examined, and re-examined. The city that stood at Hisarlik was one within the cultural sphere of the Hittite world. However, Kolb's strongest argument rests on the lack of writing found in the levels that precede the Greco-Roman layers. The preponderance of seals seems to suggest that there should be a great deal of writing at Hisarlik to document the trade that the seals are assumed to have facilitated.

The last bit of framework evidence that should be surveyed before moving forward is the nature of Hisarlik's connection to Troy, Wilusa, Ilion, and Ilium. There is no map of the Hatti Empire that comes down through history and thus most of the cartography has to be deciphered from the evidence available in official imperial documents. The first element in deciphering the linguistic roots of the term means acknowledging that Homer uses the terms Ilios and Troy interchangeably throughout *The Illiad*. Joachim Latacz's exhaustive analysis of the historical, archaeological, and linguistic evidence in his book *Troy and Homer* presents sufficient linguistic evidence that these two terms refer to the same place. The phonetic laws of Indo-European languages have been relatively apparent as far back as 1924. It was "well known and beyond dispute that that original toponym in an earlier period, before Homer, was 'Wilios,' with an initial 'w,'" explains Latacz.[6]

With the veracity of equating Ilios with Wilios established, one can ask: what is the relationship of those words to the Hittite toponym Wilusa? It took over seventy years to reach a definitive answer to that question. In 1996, Frank Starke proved "convincingly that the pile of ruins on the Dardanelles, whose once-proud predecessor Homer calls by turns 'Troy' and 'Ilios,' really was the remains of that center of power in northwestern Asia Minor." With the recovery of a treaty made between a thirteenth century Hittite king and a vassal, which described just enough about the geography of Anatolia to provide clarity at the western edges of Asia Minor, the map was completed

[4] Frank Kolb, "Troy VI: A Trading Center and Commercial City?" *American Journal of Archaeology* 108, no. 4 (October 2004): 582-3.

[5] Peter Jablonka and C. Brian Rose, "Late Bronze Age Troy: A Response to Frank Kolb," *American Journal of Archaeology* 108, no. 4 (October 2004): 616-620.

[6] Latacz, 75.

at last. We can now move forward, relatively comfortably, with the argument that Hisarlik is the site of Late Bronze Age Wilusa, which is known to have become the Greco-Roman city of Ilios/Ilium.[7] Evidence of this treaty is found in the Milawata Letter, which will be dealt with more directly later.

The Ahhiyawans

It is challenging to piece together a historical narrative of a region on the western fringes of the Hittite kingdom at the end of the second millennium BCE. Using just the archaeological evidence, the Troad remains shrouded in mystery at the end of the Bronze Age. There is far too little left at Hisarlik after the intervening three millennia. However, there is significantly more information available about the social, cultural, and political developments in the region when the issue is approached from the perspective of the Hittite sources. A specific set of Hittite texts concerns the potential historicity of the Trojan War. Known now as the Ahhiyawa texts, Hugo Winckler discovered these documents in 1906 by the site of Hattusa; the ancient Hittite capital.

In 1924, Swiss scholar Emil Forrer was the first to connect the Ahhiyawans with the Achaens, the primary name for those whom Homer refers to as the force that opposed the Trojans in the *Illiad*. The issue has been thoroughly picked over across the last ninety years. A great deal of this argument has centered on navigating from one ancient Indo-European language to another—Hittite and ancient Greek—in order to determine the linguistic relationship between the terminology in Homer and the Hittite texts. Turning once more to Latacz for the linguistic analysis, it becomes apparent that these terms are also closely connected. Homer's use of several different names seems to demonstrate some historicity, as "there was no conceivable motive for inventing a name."[8]

Finally, there is substantial textual evidence for contact between the Hittites and the Ahhiyawans. It is worth noting that, while the Ahhiyawans might not have literally been a detachment from the city of Mycenae and other prominent cities on the Greek mainland (though they may have been), they were a group within the Greek world that had spread around the shores of the Aegean. Beyond the linguistic argument, it is largely "by default" that scholars have been led to posit that the Ahhiyawans and the Mycenaeans are the same people because, "[o]therwise, we would have, on the one hand, an important Late Bronze Age culture not mentioned elsewhere in the Hittite texts (the Mycenaeans) and, on the other hand, an important textually attested Late Bronze Age 'state' without archaeological remains (Ahhiyawa)."[9]

The Narrative of the Ahhiyawans and the Hittites in Western Anatolia

This section will outline the broader Late Bronze Age narrative of the Mediterranean region, specifically the Late Helladic I period (1600 BCE) through the Late Helladic III period (1050 BCE). This will be interwoven with a historical narrative that utilizes those sources described in the previous section, which detail the interactions between Hattusa and the Ahhiyawans. There are some primary themes worth noting in this analysis. First, the Hittites and the Ahhiyawans appear, at different times, to have been both aligned and at odds with each other in Western Anatolia. Second, the identity of one Pijamaradu is central to this narrative. Whether he is an Ahhiyawan, a Hittite, or someone else entirely, his effort to carve out a space on the Hittite frontiers is the primary reason that the Ahhiyawans have appeared at all to modern historians. As established in a prior section, this narrative will start by accepting the scholarly consensus that the Ahhiyawans represent a major state on or associated with the Greek mainland.

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[7] Ibid, 75-82.
[8] Ibid, 121-8.
[9] Gary M. Beckman, Trevor R. Bryce, and Eric H. Cline, eds., *The Ahhiyawa Texts* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 3.

The Hittites and the Greeks are both Indo-European peoples who spread out across the Eurasian continent, arrived in Asia Minor, and spread to the Balkans as early as 2200 BCE. In the Balkans, an undeveloped agricultural economy defined the region, with the exception of the Minoans who were neither Indo-European, nor Semitic, nor Egyptian. For up to 600 years after the arrival of the Indo-Europeans on the Greek mainland, the Minoans lived in palatial societies defined by centrally planned economies. For some time, scholars imagined that the Minoans were actually the progenitor of Mycenaean society. However, it is now understood that, at some point in the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries BC, Indo-Europeans on the mainland began to accrue wealth, build architecture, and stratify society without military coercion from Crete. Obviously, the Mycenaeans did not develop completely independent of the Minoans. In fact, trade relations probably began around 2000 BCE, and at that point "the Greeks did not just borrow single elements from the Minoan cultural repertoire; they adopted wholesale the model of the Minoan state, right down to the writing system."[10] The similarity between Linear A, which was the written language of the Minoans, and Linear B, which was an early Greek script used by the Mycenaeans, was what led scholars to confuse the origins of these two groups until Michael Ventris deciphered Linear B between 1951 and 1953. The reality was that, starting in 1450 BCE, the Mycenaeans invaded the Minoan society on Crete and, by the middle of the fourteenth century, the Mycenaeans controlled all of Crete. This translated into the development of the apex of Mycenaean society until a Dark Age ensued around 1050 BCE. Mycenaean civilization was so grand, and its fall so complete, that the era was eventually thought of by Homer as a time of heroes and monsters. It was the only explanation for what still remained of the ruins of the Mycenaean civilization by the middle of the Dark Age in Greece.

Concurrent with the development of Mycenaean civilization was the Hittite conquest of Mesopotamia during the Old Hittite Kingdom in 1595 BCE. Before this time, there is little historical information on Anatolia. What is known comes from an Assyrian merchant colony in Anatolia, which described the rapid centralization of several kingdoms in the region under Hittite rule. Most of the information that exists about the Hittites comes from annals on clay tablets written generations after the fact, which were preserved by a fire at the palace in Hattusa. These are some of the oldest historical records found in the East. Scholars know that the Hittites were heavily influenced by Babylonian culture, which was where they derived their language and religion. The earliest known Hittite king was Hattusili, whose annals describe his creation and reign over the empire he called Hatti during the early seventeenth century. Hattusili launched a campaign in Yamkhad (modern day Syria) as a part of an effort to obtain more farmland. This policy of southern expansion was extended by Hattusili's grandson, Mursili, who came to power near the end of the seventeenth century after Hattusili's sons rebelled or at least disqualified themselves in some way. It was under Mursili that, in 1595, the Hittites destroyed Aleppo and Babylon. "The situation that had characterized Mesopotamia and Syria for two centuries was thus totally reversed," writes Marc Van De Mieroop.[11] The region plunged into darkness by a power vacuum that opened up beneath one of the oldest civilizations in the world. For over a century, the region turned over on itself. Babylon was overrun; Egypt reasserted control in the Levant under Thutmoses III; urban development fell to a level that had not been seen since at least 3000 BCE. This was the context of the Middle Hittite Kingdom, a low-point, which stretched from 1500 to 1430 BCE.

Hatti reemerged in the late fifteenth century as a force in regional affairs under the leadership of Tudhaliya. In a move corroborated by Egyptian sources, Tudhaliya I/II campaigned in

[10] Sarah B. Pomeroy, et. al., *Ancient Greece: A Political, Social, and Cultural History*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 31.

[11] Marc Van De Mieroop, *A History of the Ancient Near East: ca. 3000-323 BC* (London: Wiley Blackwell, 2016), 130.

western Anatolia primarily to keep the region under control.[12] While the Tudhaliyas and Arnuwanda I/II were in power between 1430 and 1344, a vassal for the Hittites named Madduwata ultimately brought most of the western region under his control. However, he failed to cope with a person called Attarissya, who Arnuwanda II calls "the ruler of Ahhiya" in his letter to Madduwata. The letter chastised the vassal for costly military mistakes and questionable loyalty. On two separate occasions, Attarissya invaded the region. The first time, Attarissiya "chased [you], Madduwata, out of your land." At this point, Tudhaliya had conveyed vassal status on Madduwata and restored him to the region. Yet, Madduwata had continuously failed to fulfill his obligation, conspiring against Arnuwanda II, waging war on other vassals, and failing to respond appropriately to a second invasion by Attarissya.[13] This is the earliest acknowledgement of the Ahhiyawans playing a role in the region to the west of Hatti. Much like the Romans did in Asia Minor twelve centuries later, Suppiluliuma restored regional dominance starting in Anatolia through a series of diplomatic and military efforts.

Returning from the east and suffering from the plague that likely killed both him and his chosen successor, Suppiluliuma was replaced by Mursili II around 1321 BCE. The new leader dealt successfully with an Assyrian incursion in Mittani, Egypt in the Levant, and an effort to destabilize Millawanda (Miletus) in the west. According to the annals found at Hattusa, Millawanda had fallen to Ahhiyawa with the help of the vassals in the region, particularly one called Uhha-ziti. "He supported [the King of Ahhiyawa] and became hostile to me. (Now) you must become mine [again], and [no longer support] Uhha-ziti."[14] Muwatalli II succeeded Mursili II and focused on further consolidation of power by moving the capital at Hattusa south to Tarhuntasa after the Kaskeans, a group of people from the steppe who had raided the city repeatedly, sacked Hattus at its exposed location in northeastern Anatolia. It appears that, under Muwatalli II's reign (c. 1295-72 BCE), Pijamaradu actively opposed the Hittites in Wilusa, possibly with the support of the Ahhiyawans. In a letter from Manapa-Tarhunta, one of the vassals to the west, to Muwatalli II, historians gain insight into events occurring at Wilusa. Though the letter is focused on a group of skilled laborers that had defected to the Seha River Valley south of the Troad, it introduces Pijamaradu and contextualizes the political dynamic around Wilusa. The result of this appears to be a treaty signed between the Hittites and a person named Aleksandu, a name that is tantalizingly consistent with Homer's account of the son of the Trojan King Priam—Alexander or Paris "on account of whom this war began" (Hom. *Il.* 3.90). Shortly before the end of his reign, in 1274 BCE, Muwatalli II defeated Ramses II at Qadesh in Syria. While evidence in Egypt contradicts the notion of this battle as a Hittite victory, there is also evidence that Hittite control in the Levant expanded after this battle.

In a letter that was translated into Hittite from Greek, an unknown King of Ahhiyawa wrote to Muwatalli II to discuss the ownership of a group of islands. What makes the letter fascinating is that the islands were a part of a dowry, which suggests that there was some sort of an elite marriage between an Ahhiyawan and a Hittite. Furthermore, it appears to be a reference to marriage from several generations prior. The King of Ahhiyawa writes that Muwattalli II's great grandfather, Tudhaliya, had subjugated the Assuwan confederacy as much as a century earlier. The language of the letter fits with an inscription on a sword that was uncovered at Hattusa. Both the letter and that sword credit a "Storm-God" with the subjugation of Assuwa. The figure appears once more in the Tawagalawa letter, which means that historians can account for a consistent and common, if not shared, ideology between Mycenaean and Hittite elites that stretched back to the late fifteenth century and into the middle of the thirteenth century.[15]

[12] Ibid, 164-5.
[13] Gary M. Beckman, et. al., *The Ahhiyawa Texts* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 71, 81.
[14] Ibid, 39.
[15] Ibid, 138. See 105 for mention of the Storm-God in the Tawagalawa letter.

Meanwhile, Hattusili III had retaken the northern region of Anatolia, likely laying claim to Hattusa. However, a young Mursili III came to the Hatti throne in 1272. In 1267, Hattusili III swept to the throne and sent Mursili III fleeing for Egypt. As Ramses II and Hattusili III came to blows over the asylum offered to Mursili III, Assyria invaded the region of Mittani. In 1259, Ramses II and Hattusili III entered into a treaty that ended the threat in Mesopotamia. At some point, Pijamaradu comes back onto the scene in the west. This is what prompts Hattusili III to write the Tawagalawa letter to a second unknown King of Ahhiyawa. He asked for solidarity from the Ahhiyawans, whom he suspected of having aided and tacitly supported the incursion of Pijamaradu. There is a reference to an instance when Hattusili III and the King of Ahhiyawa had found common ground previously. The Hittite king wrote, "And concerning the matter [of Wilusa] about which we were hostile-- [because we have made peace], what then?"[16] Instead of merely another conflict between states and individuals in proximity to one another in western Anatolia, this reference appears to be about a direct conflict between Hatti and Ahhiyawa. This is, undoubtedly, the best historical evidence that a proverbial "Trojan War" might have occurred at Wilusa.

It was not until 1237 BCE, thirty years after deposing Mursili III, that Hattusili III was replaced by Tudhaliya IV. After he regained control of Milawata from the Ahhiyawans, Tudhaliya IV signed a treaty with the local leader of Amurru. The settlement was with Tarkasnawa, the King of Mira, whose father had rebelled against Tudhaliya IV. Mira was likely located just south of the Seha River Lands, adjacent to the Troad. Called the Milawata Letter, this piece of correspondence demonstrates the weakening grip of the Hittites on western Anatolia and provides insight into the status of Wilusa. It seems that Tudhaliya IV needed Tarkasnawa to turn over Walmu, a vassal, so that he could put him in charge of Wilusa.[17] A similar deterioration may have been occurring across the Aegean as well, as a treaty between Tudhaliya IV and Amurru (Syria) initially named the Ahhiyawans among the great powers like Egypt and Assyria; but, that mark was intentionally removed from the tablet, suggesting that something occurred after the treaty was written to change the actual or perceived strength of the Ahhiyawans. It is worth pointing out that the Milawata Letter is the same document that, after the discovery of a missing join in the tablet, set in motion the scholarship that brought clarity to the location of Wilusa and other important Hittite cities and states in 1996. Harry Hoffner, an archaeologist, helped bring this narrative to light in 1981 when he found a new fragment of this so-called Milawata Letter. Hans Guterbock, another archaeologist, contextualized these findings, noting that "instead of Milawata/Millawanda as a Hittite dependency, we now have a city from whose territory both the Hittite king and Tarkasnawa enlarge their own realms."[18] It revealed the nature of the relationship between this New Hittite Kingdom and its subsidiary rulers. This is useful for analyzing the diplomatic relationship of other rulers and vassals.

Past this point, there is no record of the Ahhiyawans in the Hittite sources from Hattusa. There is only one known king of Hatti in the Anatolian heartland after Tudhaliya IV. Facing incursions once more from the steppe, the Hittites fell from the pages of history under Suppiluliuma II, sometime soon after he came to power in 1207 BCE. However, in the ruins of the ancient Syrian city Ugarit, archaeologists unearthed a correspondence between Suppiluliuma II and the last known king of Ugarit, Ammurapi. At the same site, a letter from a Hittite official to the same Ugarit king came to light. Likely dated to the very end of the thirteenth or the first part of the twelfth century BCE, both letters addressed the funding of Ahhiyawan mercenaries deployed for the Hittite empire over the edge of its already receding southwestern frontier. Though, "the (Ah)hiyawan is tarrying in

[16] Ibid, 117.

[17] Ibid, 129.

[18] Hans G. Guterbock, "The Hittites and the Aegean World: Part 1. The Ahhiyawa Problem Reconsidered," *American Journal of Archaeology* 87, no. 2 (April 1983): 137.

[the land] of Lukka... there are no (copper) ingots for him."[19] This seems to indicate the deterioration of both the sovereignty of the Ahhiyawan state and the ability of the Hittite state to fund the security of its border in the west. Ultimately, the Hittites and the Mycenaeans were swept away around the close of the thirteenth century BCE, as their empire was gradually broken off into its constituent parts.

Reconciling the Historical Narrative and the Archaeological Evidence

The most striking syllogism between the development of the archaeological evidence under Manfred Korfmann and the corpus of Hittite texts referencing the Ahhiyawans is the corroboration of a period of turmoil in the region around Hisarlik across the Troy VI and VII levels. After Suppiluliuma brought Hatti to its last great height between 1344 and 1322 BCE, the empire was thereafter beset with problems stabilizing its frontiers, particularly in the Troad. Compare the severity of control exercised by Arnuwanda II over Madduwata in the first half of the thirteenth century with the policy of Tudhaliya IV. Whereas the emperor dressed down Madduwata for not contributing troops to the Hittite cause in the West, Tudhaliya IV attempted to consolidate his rule in Milawata with the aid of Tarkasnawa, whose father had openly rebelled against the Hittites. Crucially, in both instances, it was the Ahhiyawans who were the antagonizing force that faced the vassals of the Hittite state in the west.

This transition across the middle of the fourteenth century and the end of the twelfth century corresponds with the major destructions that divide the sixth and seventh levels at Hisarlik. The earthquake, which the Korfmann expedition posits as the cause of the conclusion of the Troy VI society around 1300 BCE, corresponds with the beginning of the Ahhiyawan incursions, particularly those by Pijamaradu, under Mursili II, Muwatalli II, and Hattusili III between 1321 and 1272 BCE. The synthesis of these two pieces of evidence indicates an earthquake in the region of Hisarlik that destabilized the region, possibly opening the door to outside powers to exploit a recovering society. The continuity and rebuilding efforts that Korfmann's excavation indicates between 1300 and 1150 BCE appear to be consistent with the historical evidence as well. However, it seems that Hatti's deteriorating hegemony left the door open for an increasing number of Ahhiyawan invasions. Notably, these invasions do not seem to be the product of a perpetual enmity between the Hatti and Ahhiyawan leadership. Yet, the Tawagalawa Letter does imply a direct conflict between the two states. However, that conflict is referenced in contrast to otherwise amenable relations. Additionally, the letter from the King of Ahhiyawa to Muwatalli II indicates that some sort of positive relationship had existed as far back as the middle-to-early thirteenth century BCE.

Conclusions

It appears that the incursions of Ahhiyawans in western Anatolia were outside the interests of both the kings of Ahhiyawa and the Hatti Empire. Therefore, the turmoil in and around Wilusa was likely the product of two states in decline. Notably, decline is consistent with the broader historical and archaeological context of the end of the Late Bronze Age. Mycenaean cities were abandoned en masse by their populations during the twelfth and eleventh centuries, suggesting a migration that corresponded with the start of the Dark Age in Greece. Hatti experienced a general collapse defined by famine and violence at the start of the twelfth century. Indeed, if the explanation for the destabilization of western Anatolia is the decline of the two adjacent powers, then that

[19] Beckman, 257. Note also the loss of the first syllable, a phenomenon already referenced in the linguistic analysis of the Hittite toponym "Wilusa," which translated and developed into Ilion in Greek.

meshes with Korfmann's analysis of the Troy VIIb level. Korfmann contends that the combination of invasion and migration appears to have completely supplanted the population at Hisarlik around the middle of the twelfth century. If the inhabitants of Troy VI and VIIa were replaced around the same time as the end of Hittite influence in the region, then it can be said, with some certainty, that the Late Bronze Age site at Hisarlik was fundamentally oriented toward the Hittite state.

This narrative reveals several central facts that aid in understanding the cultural orientation of not only the Late Bronze Age levels at Hisarlik, but the relationship of the Mycenaeans with the civilizations to the east as well. First, it is clear that the Troad was in a transition zone between the Hittites and the Ahhiyawans. Neither state appears to be capable of exerting its full force in western Anatolia. Second, it demonstrates how the political structures used by the Hatti state were present in the Troad during the period that Homer and Herodotus have suggested the Trojan War occurred. If there is any truth to the *Iliad*, then it is likely the product of a telescopic representation of conflicts in western Anatolia, particularly in the century before Greece plunged into its Dark Age. Indeed, the Hittite state was not only influential here, but it demanded obedience from its vassals along the Aegean. Third, this narrative demonstrates that, despite the antagonistic relationship that often appears to have defined these diplomatic relationships, the Ahhiyawan elite found common ground with the Hatti elite and even counted some of them among members of their family as early as late fifteenth century. Finally, this analysis allows the Tawagalawa Letter to stand as the strongest piece of evidence for the historicity of the Trojan War. While this is not a primary objective of this paper, this fact reveals itself, with some irony, once one dispenses with a western-centric view of the story.

Review of *The Myth of Seneca Falls: Memory and the Women's Suffrage Movement, 1848-1898*, by Lisa Tetrault

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Lisa Tetrault's *The Myth of Seneca Falls: Memory and the Women's Suffrage Movement 1848-1898* thoroughly examines the "legend" of Seneca Falls, which most historians would argue marked the beginning of the Suffrage Movement. Challenging this conception, Tetrault contends that, while the 1848 meeting was significant, it should not be viewed as solely responsible for launching the Suffrage Movement. She writes, "The 1848 meeting, so far as we know, was the first meeting explicitly called to demand women's rights in the United States…This does not, however, mean the meeting *began* the movement" (5). Building upon her theme, Tetrault argues that suffragists Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton carefully constructed the Seneca Fall myth to secure their historical legacy as leaders of the movement. "They [Anthony and Stanton] were savvy politicians, who increasingly understood-consciously or not-how vital an origins story could be to the operations of activism," she explains (8).

Throughout the book, Tetrault effectively weaves together primary and secondary sources. Books, manuscripts, newspaper articles, and periodicals give the reader insight into the debates within the movement. For example, Tetrault particularly utilizes Anthony's *History of Women Suffrage* to illuminate the suffragists' stance on Reconstruction and the Fifteenth Amendment. Also, Tetrault incorporates the autobiographies of Fredrick Douglass and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, which include dialogue between the two leaders.

Tetrault's work is an excellent contribution to historical debate surrounding the origins of the women's rights movement, and gender studies as a whole. First, Tetrault examines the white supremacist /racist attitudes that existed within the suffragist movement. She looks at the establishment and the failure of the American Equal Rights Association (AERA), which was established following the Civil War. At the time, AERA's main focus was to help black males gain the right to vote. Nonetheless, as Tetrault points out, this caused a rift within the AERA. Stanton, a self-proclaimed "abolitionist," was a staunch opponent of the Fifteenth Amendment, arguing that black men should not have the ballot before white women. "I say, no; I would not trust him [black men] with all my rights; degraded, oppressed himself, he would be…despotic," insisted Stanton (19). According to Tetrault, the debate over who would have the right to vote first "wracked the AERA from its inception" (19). As a result of this conflict, Anthony and Stanton decided to start their own organization, the National Women Suffrage Association (NWSA), in 1869.

Another important and fascinating aspect of Tetrault's book is how different groups of people (i.e. white men, blacks, and women) reconstruct their own history. According to Tetrault, suffragists began to construct their history in 1870, when Paulina Wright Davis launched the Second Decade Convention in 1870, to commemorate the Suffragist Movement. Nonetheless, Davis did not mark Seneca Falls as the birthplace of the Suffragist Movement, instead she argued that the 1850 Worcester Convention marked the birth of the movement. It was also during this time, as Tetrault demonstrates, that Anthony and Stanton began to construct their Seneca Falls history. She writes,

"No longer did Stanton and Anthony insist that the 1850 Worcester Convention had begun the movement. They now relocated and antedated the movement's birthplace and time" (46). Tetrault notes during the post-Civil War period, suffragist organizations sprung up throughout the country. For example, there were suffragist groups throughout the Midwest (i.e. Missouri Suffrage Association and the Northern Iowa Women Suffrage Association). In addition, black women began forming their own organizations throughout the South and the Washington, D.C., area. Tetrault insists, even with the formation of these different organizations, Anthony and Stanton still were viewed as the leaders of the movement. Nonetheless, Anthony believed that the movement needed to be unified through centralized leadership. Commemorating events according to the strategy set out by Anthony and Stanton helped unify the movement. More significantly, as Tetrault points out, these events became useful in establishing Seneca Falls as the birthplace of the movement as well. Importantly, Anthony and Stanton began to work on their *History of the Women Suffrage* in 1876, which Tetrault argues solidified 1848 as the origins story. She writes, "Stanton, Anthony, and Gage had no choice but to select some origin point. They chose to present that point as the 1848 convention in Seneca Falls" (120).

Tetrault's work provides readers with a compelling and eye-opening narrative. To a certain extent, Tetrault's book fits into the same school as Zagarri's *Revolutionary Backlash: Women in Politics in Early America* (2009) and Ginzberg's *Untidy Origins: A History of Women's Rights in Antebellum New York* (2005), which both challenge the Seneca Falls origin story. However, Tetrault's book not only problematizes the origin story, it demonstrates the great lengths Anthony and Stanton went through to create this myth, which has been the dominant historical interpretation of the Women's Rights Movement. In writing this book, she is challenging reader/historian to look beyond the Seneca Falls interpretation.

Review of *The Empire That Would Not Die: The Paradox of Eastern Roman Survival, 640–740*, by John Haldon

Jacob T. Sainer

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In his 2016 book *The Empire That Would Not Die*, John Haldon examines the social, political, economic, and geographic factors that allowed the Byzantine Empire to survive in the seventh and eighth centuries. According to Haldon, his book offers a "holistic picture" of the Byzantines in this period of time that has not been provided in any previous work. From 565-650, the Byzantine Empire saw a drastic reduction in size, with its territories in North Africa, Syria, and Iraq conquered by the rapidly growing Islamic caliphate. With Islamic invasions in Anatolia, the weakened Byzantine Empire appeared at its end. However, thanks to ideological, organizational, and geographic advantages against the Muslims, coupled with favorable environmental changes, the Byzantines were able to maintain the remnants of their empire in the seventh and eighth centuries.

Haldon examines Byzantine ideologies, political organization, geography factors, the role of the social elite, and the changing environment in Anatolia. He argues that the shrinking of the Byzantine Empire actually contributed to its survival, as it allowed for a centralization of political and religious power, as well as centralization around the city of Constantinople. The Byzantine government became more what Haldon calls "sacralized," placing the emperor as the head of the church and enabling propagandistic ideologies stating that the emperor would restore Christendom, thus giving the Byzantines a religious and cultural cohesion. This centralization also forced elites to maintain the existing economic and military structures already in place. The reduction of the Byzantine Empire to the rugged region of Anatolia would also prove advantageous. While the Byzantines were better able to defend their remaining territory, the terrain made it difficult for the invading Arabic armies to establish permanent strongholds without eventually being driven out by the Byzantines. Finally, Haldon examines changes in the environment and a simplification of the Byzantine agrarian system that helped compensate for the loss of food supplies from the North African territories that assisted in the survival of the empire. Haldon concludes his book with a summary of his evidence, arguing it supports his position that the Byzantines were able to both adapt to their adverse conditions and take advantage of existing conditions to maintain their survival.

Haldon's book provides a thorough and compelling picture of the Byzantine Empire in the seventh and eight centuries. The author employs numerous sources to support his arguments. Those interested in environmental history will be intrigued by Haldon's use of archeological data, pollen data, and sea surface temperatures to educate the reader on the changing Anatolian environment in this time period. In sum, anyone interested in broadening their knowledge on the Byzantine Empire would find this book to not only be an informative read, but also an enjoyable one.

Review of *The Zookeeper's Wife: A War Story,* by Diane Ackerman

Jordan Rowe

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Diane Ackerman's *The Zookeeper's Wife* is the true story of Jan and Antonina Żabinski's experiences from the German invasion of Poland in 1939 through the duration of the Second World War. Ackerman typically focuses on the natural world, so the result of *The Zookeeper's* Wife is a genre-bending piece that mixes historical, biographical, and naturalistic themes. The author relies on extensive research and Antonina's diary to use the Żabinskis as a window into this tumultuous and painful period. Before the war, the couple ran a popular zoo in Warsaw. With the invasion of Poland, bombings killed most of the exotic animals and the rest were seized by Nazis. The racist Aryan views espoused by Hitler reached even to the "racial purity" of animals. Antonina saw the Nazis violent acts towards the creatures as a foreshadowing of violence to come. The couple received permission to turn their empty zoo into a pig farm, and from there the Żabinskis began to fight against the Nazis on their own terms.

Jan joined the Polish resistance. He smuggled food and other items into the Warsaw ghetto and sometimes smuggled people out. The Żabinskis had a steady stream of friends and family visiting them, providing cover for smuggling Jews. At a time when even giving a Jew water was punishable by death, the couple lived a tense existence and took great risks. Yet, under the Żabinskis, the zoo remained a positive sanctuary. Unlike the depressing bunkers where many Jews hid, Antonina wrote about the upbeat and pleasant atmosphere with music in the evenings. Antonina served sit-down meals and fretted over the emotional needs of her guests. The Żabinskis even managed to keep some zoo animals. They refused to lose their sense of connection to the world. Despite the chaos around them, the Żabinskis saved the lives of approximately three hundred Polish Jews.

Ackerman provides an extensive bibliography from her research, including a report written by Jan and the diary of Antonina. The diary is a significant part of the book and Ackerman's source for the personal details described. The author also explains in her introduction how she used photographs to help her describe some of the physical characteristics of Jan and Antonina. Ackerman is known for her extremely detailed descriptions, and this is noticeable in *The Zookeeper's Wife.* While not an historian, the author developed an interesting method of retelling a story in a historical way while using naturalistic themes. Ackerman is an essayist and poet who typically writes nonfiction pieces about the natural world.

Ackerman's book is reminiscent of stories such as *Schindler's List* that describe human empathy during dark times. The story of the Żabinskis and their zoo is intertwined with the larger picture of the Second World War. She writes with rich detail that keeps the reader locked into the narrative.