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inside front cover flyleaf

On the cover: Claude Pepper's destroyed truck, targeted during his bid for the United States Senate in 1950. The primary race in Florida between George Smathers and Pepper became a hotbed for mudslinging, the topic for Alpata's 2013 editorial section. Photo from the University of Florida Digital Collections.

Alpata is the Seminole-Muscogee word for alligator.

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Mudslinging: An Editorial Introduction
Joshua Krusell

During the 2012 United States presidential election, many Americans expressed frustration with the trend towards polarized partisanship in American politics. Within such a political environment, mudslinging, more formally known as negative campaigning, is often the foremost example of political incivility. Indeed, the growth in mudslinging within the national political discourse is evidenced by several quantitative analyses indicating a steady increase since 1960.[1] In recent years, numerous news media editorials have lamented what is often characterized as an unprecedented decline in political civility.[2] However, mudslinging is far from novel. Using *ad hominem* attacks to benefit a particular candidate or policy position has long been a fundamental aspect of politics. The same quantitative analyses that indicate a modern rise in uncivil political rhetoric also demonstrate that the American political system has historically

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[1] Daniel M. Shea and Alex Sproveri, "The Rise and Fall of Nasty Politics in America," *PS: Political Science & Politics* 45, no. 3 (2012): 416-421.

[2] Thomas L. Friedman, "Where Did 'We' Go?," *The New York Times*, September 29, 2009, http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/30/opinion/; Chris Cillizza, "Partisanship doesn't seem worse. It is worse," *The Washington Post*, June 4, 2012, http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/the-fix/post/partisanship-doesnt-seem-worse-it-is-worse/2012/06/04/gJQAJIuzDV_blog.html.

undergone periods of fairly radical partisanship marked by particularly vitriolic mudslinging. Mudslinging is also not confined to American politics; its strategic use in various forms has a very extensive history.

The following section explores the topic of mudslinging by analyzing political rhetoric both within and outside the United States. The universal context allows for a broad scope of analysis and brings out the historical continuity of politically charged *ad hominem* attacks. In Ancient Rome, as Dylan Fay demonstrates, the negative political rhetoric of statesmen such as Cicero represented a well-developed culture of mudslinging in an early republican society. Yet even in non-democratic societies mudslinging was present and retained its strategic use. Chris Crenshaw argues that, in colonial North America, candidates vying for royal appointments engaged in trans-Atlantic mudslinging.

In the early American Republic, the press played an especially strong role in rhetorically attacking political figures. Jackson Loop reveals the ways in which the egalitarian nature of American society fostered a particular relationship between the press and mudslinging that continues today. The wide-ranging impact of such a relationship was notably evident during the Spanish-American War. Carlos Hernández shows how, during the war, press caricatures portraying Cuba as an inferior nation victim to Spanish imperialism fueled nationalistic sentiments. Furthermore, the visual propaganda disseminated by the American press contributed to a form of historical amnesia by which the indigenous Cuban struggle for independence was largely forgotten. Finally, Sarah Strickland connects attacks on politicians with national events through her analysis of the Eulenburg Affair of 1907. Even within Imperial Germany, the Kaiser faced a scandal arising from newspaper allegations that targeted members of his inner circle. Some posit that such allegations may have led to the hyper-militarization of German society before the First World War.

Thus, while the manner and extent to which mudslinging has been used may differ, mudslinging has a

long history as a tool of political rhetoric. Whether in Ancient Rome or during the Jacksonian Era, the goal was always the same, to discredit the opponent. The results have often varied, particularly within a modern-day democratic society such as the United States. Mudslinging remains, however, an indication of political fragmentation and potentially detrimental partisanship.

Ad Hominem:
Ciceronian Mudslinging in the Ancient Roman Republic
Dylan Fay

In October of 2012, a retiring senator well-known for taking moderate positions joined the board of the National Institute for Civil Discourse (NICD), an organization devoted to advancing "the understanding and practice of civil discourse" in the public sphere.[1] Richard Lugar, who had been defeated in the 2012 primary election by conservative activists, told reporters that he joined the NICD in order to reinvigorate bipartisanship, because "good governance depend[s] greatly on the civility of our public discourse."[2] Millions of Americans share his dissatisfaction with negative campaigning and uncivil political discourse, especially during nasty election seasons.

Yet such incivility and mudslinging is by no means a new concept, and certainly is not uniquely American. As far back as republican Rome, orators used harsh invective to belittle and discredit their political opponents. Indeed, mockery and clever wit were integral parts of an orator's success:

> In persuading successfully, it is very important that the character, principles, actions, and way of life be approved of both those who will plead the case as well as those on behalf of whom [the case will be spoken], and that likewise [the traits of] one's opponents be exposed to disapproval.[3]

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[1] National Institute for Civil Discourse, "Objectives." http://nicd.arizona.edu/objectives (accessed January 16, 2013).

[2] "Retiring GOP senators join civil discourse group," National Institute for Civil Discourse press release, October 10, 2012, http://nicd.arizona.edu/news/retiring-gop-senators-join-civil-discourse (accessed January 16, 2013).

[3] Cicero *De oratore* 2.182, translated in Anthony Corbeill, *Controlling Laughter: Political Humor in the Late Roman Republic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 16-17.

In this passage, Cicero, one of the greatest orators of the Roman Republic, makes clear that verbal abuse of one's opponents is a legitimate political exercise essential to providing the complete picture of a debate, so long as the invective did not descend into slander.[4]

Slander, however, was a difficult charge to pursue in the first century BCE, and Roman standards of acceptable incivility differed greatly from the modern American sense of propriety. As Rome's greatest orator, Cicero was also its most vituperative, a trait demonstrated in his many speeches written for court cases. In *Against Vatinius*, a speech condemning a *quaestor*[5] whom Cicero believed was accepting bribes and committing extortion, he declares that he "should surpass all in hatred" of Vatinius because of personal disputes, but the politician is so corrupt that the hatred of the populace surpasses Cicero's own.[6] Cicero's hatred drove him to vicious personal attacks, comparing Vatinius to a "snake crawling from its den," with a "swollen throat," a "bulging neck," and puffed up boils on his face.[7]

Attacks based on physical appearance were not the worst examples of mudslinging in Cicero's arsenal—for particularly despicable opponents, he preferred accusations of effeminacy or sexual debauchery. In order to preserve his dignity as a public speaker, Cicero had to limit his accusations of moral turpitude to vague double entendres and indirect suggestions of social and sexual impropriety.[8]

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[4] Cicero *Pro Caelio* 6, translated in Corbeill, *Controlling Laughter*, 16-17.

[5] A *quaestor* was a financial magistrate, usually responsible for duties regarding the treasury. The office was one of the lowest on the *cursus honorum*, and usually the first position one held before entering public life in the Senate.

[6] *Odio enim tui, in quo etsi omnis propter tuum in me scelus superare debeo, tamen ab omnibus paene vincor;* Cicero *In Vatinium* 1. *"*For I hate you, indeed I ought to go beyond all in hatred on account of your crimes against me, but I am surpassed by everyone." My translation.

[7] *Repente enim te tamquam serpens e latibulis…inflato collo, tumidis cervicibus intulisti.* Ibid, 4. My translation.

[8] Corbeill, *Controlling Laughter*, 105.

In the second of his speeches excoriating Marcus Antonius, Cicero stops before becoming too explicit:

> But now let us pass over his shameful and illicit sexual conduct; these are certain things which I cannot decently discuss. You therefore are freer, because you can't hear from a discreet enemy [i.e. Cicero] what you have allowed to be done to yourself.[9]

By claiming that he will not talk about Antonius's sexual deviancy, Cicero in fact draws attention to it in a rhetorical strategy known as *praeterition*. Cicero's audience undoubtedly would have been quite curious as to what kind of activities were so shameful that the famously caustic orator would decline to expound on them.

Savvy listeners realized that Cicero's "discretion" was actually false modesty that came more from rhetorical strategy than from a desire to spare Antonius humiliation; *praeterition* and other such oratorical devices were meant to increase embarrassment rather than avoid it. Indeed in other speeches, such as the *Pro Sestio*, Cicero has no qualms about using openly libelous language, accusing the tribune Clodius of "abusing his brother, having sex with his sister, and every other unheard of lust."[10] Clearly, Cicero's "reticence" to specify Antonius's crimes has more to do with a lack of confidence in the veracity of his accusations than an ethical aversion to slander.

The end goal of Cicero's mudslinging and attacks was the same as the goal of negative campaigning today: to "cast out from the state any memory" of his opponents' time in public office and to end their political careers.[11]

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[9] *Sed iam stupra et flagitia omittamus; sunt quaedam quae honeste non possum dicere, tu autem eo liberior quod ea in te admisisti quae a verecundo inimico audire non posses.* Cicero *Philippica* 2.47. My translation.

[10] Cicero *Pro Sestio* 16, translated in Corbeill, *Controlling Laughter*, 115.

[11] Cicero *In Pisonem* 96, translated in Corbeill, *Controlling Laughter*, 173.

While it is difficult to imagine a senatorial candidate in 2012 bringing the same level of vicious personal invective to American politics, the spirit of Ciceronian mudslinging lives on, from Republican Congressman Joe Wilson's notorious "You lie!" interjection during a presidential speech to Democratic Congressman Alan Grayson's description of the Republican health care plan as "die quickly."[12] With thousands of years of historical precedent behind it, mudslinging is unlikely to disappear any time soon

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[12] Kate Phillips, "House Admonishes Wilson on Outburst," *New York Times Blog*, sec. Politics and Government, September 15, 2009, http://thecaucus.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/09/15/blogging-the-house-action-on-wilson/ (accessed January 16, 2013); Jonathan Allen, "Grayson: GOP wants you to 'die,'" *Politico*, September 29, 2009, http://www.politico.com/news/stories/0909/27726.html.

Mudslinging for Appointment in British East Florida: Andrew Turnbull vs. John Moultrie, 1771-1772
Christopher Crenshaw

Political mudslinging can thrive without representative democracy. In British crown colonies like East Florida, political offices were filled by cascading appointment rather than elections—the King appointed the governor, who was in turn free to appoint subordinates. Attempts by Florida planters seeking office to navigate the appointment process reveal a more private, less colorful, but equally self-serving counterpoint to the more direct forms of campaigning in the later United States.[1] While royal governors and the Royal Council did not have to appeal to the entire population for election, and had little real power over so small a population, political aspirants in East Florida nonetheless attempted to apply indirect pressure to the power brokers who made appointment decisions. Two contestants for the position of Lieutenant Governor in 1771, planters Andrew Turnbull and John Moultrie, took part in a dirty epistolary mudslinging campaign in an attempt to tip the scales of royal favor in Florida, London, and elsewhere.

Physician and planter Andrew Turnbull's approximately 100,000 acre Smyrnéa plantation was an exceptionally large settlement, even for Florida. He hoped to translate this economic power into political power in 1771, when Governor James Grant left the colony for Nova Scotia. Grant did not immediately resign his post; contestants were left to wrangle over the Lieutenant Governor position on the assumption that they would be a natural choice for the Governor's chair when Grant finally resigned. Turnbull's economic power was a double-edged sword. He commanded the labor of more than 1,000 Mediterranean-born indentured servants at the plantation, but he also ran up enormous debts to his London backers; and his colonists died one after another, sometimes by the dozen, as they

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[1] See the articles in this issue by Jackson Loop and Carlos Hernández.

were forced to endure near-starvation rations and huddle in inadequate, thatched huts.[2] With the assistance of well-connected friends in London, though, Turnbull was confident that he would take the position and rule as provisional Governor until a new Royal Governor (hopefully him) could be appointed. His hopes were dashed when Governor Grant appointed a South Carolina transplant, John Moultrie, to the coveted position instead.

Turnbull was outraged by the selection of the younger and seemingly less successful Moultrie and took it as a personal snub. In a flurry of letters to Sir William Duncan, his influential business partner in London, he threatened to abandon their wildly expensive venture if he did not receive the position. "[If I am not] put on a better footing," he wrote, "I will leave the province." He would not remain in a territory "where my Services [as an important planter and member of the Royal Council] are look't upon in the light Governor Grant has look't on mine."[3] The pressure was on in London to force Grant's hand and replace Moultrie with Turnbull.

Beyond the personal insult, Turnbull thought Moultrie was a poor choice. The language he used in his letter campaign bears a striking resemblance to the logic of recent campaign appeals. First, he argued that his opponent was bad for business because he was not sufficiently committed to East Florida's long-term development. Though Moultrie had served alongside Turnbull on the Royal Council since 1767, Turnbull expressed amazement that someone who brought only twenty slaves into the

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[2] Patricia C. Griffin, *Mullet on the Beach: The Minorcans of Florida, 1768-1788* (St. Augustine, Fla: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1991) and Kenneth H. Beeson, *Fromajadas and Indigo: The Minorcan Colony in Florida* (Charleston, SC: History Press, 2008) both give excellent accounts of Turnbull's plantation and the suffering of his laborers.

[3] Andrew Turnbull to Sir William Duncan, May 25, 1771, "Turnbull Covets an Appointment as Governor," *Florida History Online,* http://www.unf.edu/floridahistoryonline//Turnbull/letters/6.htm (accessed June 14, 2012). All subsequent letters from same archive, unless otherwise noted.

colony, when he had "brought hundreds of laborers," should be entrusted with the role.[4] There were more "black Guinea folks" at Smyrnéa alone, according to Turnbull, than at all of Moultrie's plantations combined. Turnbull also argued that he was a "job creator," unlike Moultrie: "[If I] had not brought my people here," he reminded his business partner Sir William Duncan in London, "East Florida would still be a desert."[5] Turnbull dramatically understated the success of Moultrie in his missives. Moultrie was a substantial South Carolina planter in his own right, and his mansion at "Bella Vista" plantation in Florida, was "surrounded by park land including pleasure gardens and a bowling green, fish ponds, and walks planted with a great variety of trees."[6] Turnbull's correspondents must have been aware of Moultrie's real position, but he carried on with the attacks anyway.

Turnbull also sensed a weakness in Moultrie's "foreign policy." He stressed to all of his correspondents that Moultrie was soft on the Indian "menace." In early 1771, Smyrnéa was visited by a band of Creeks, who returned to raid the plantation's extensive stockyard on several occasions in subsequent months. Turnbull was quick to characterize these raids as an escalating campaign of terror that "[threatened] to break the back of this settlement," while Moultrie was "indolent" at best when he approached him about the problem.[7] Moultrie deflected Turnbull's attacks with skill, claiming in a June letter to Grant that Turnbull "was full of the horrors" while "neither you nor myself believed a tenth part of the story." Turnbull provided a phony affidavit to prove the hostile intentions of the Creeks, sworn by a man who had no knowledge of Creeks and could not even communicate with them. "This you know as well as I do," Moultrie winked to the former

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[4] Andrew Turnbull to Sir William Duncan, April 19, 1771.
[5] Andrew Turnbull to Sir William Duncan, May 27, 1771.
[6] Charles L. Mowat, *East Florida As a British Province, 1763-1784* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943), 69.
[7] Andrew Turnbull to James Grant, May 27, 1771.

governor, "to be vanity and a lie."[8]

Moultrie and his supporters deftly countered Turnbull's claims by insinuating that he was mentally exhausted by the enormous burden of his plantation. According to Moultrie, Turnbull's behavior was erratic at best. "One minute" he was shouting about stopping his building projects, "the next" he was dreaming up schemes to build even more.[9] St. Augustine's Anglican minister John Forbes characterized Turnbull's irregular behavior in a letter to Grant. "It is happy for the Doctor [Turnbull] that your good sense will stifle little sallies of resentment, and that you will make large allowances," he claimed, adding patronizingly that Turnbull was "a little distracted with the disappointment… with his private affairs."[10] Grant listened to his friends in St. Augustine, and he was not pleased with Turnbull's stream of hostile letters. He never responded favorably to Turnbull's complaints.

While campaigning took a form different from that of colonies with representative government, the participants were not hesitant to attack their opponents at every opportunity. Rather than delivering stump speeches and taking out advertisements in the newspaper, they made their appeals through the trans-Atlantic post. Their efforts nonetheless took the same form as many of their republican descendants' in the United States. In British East Florida, Andrew Turnbull characterized his political rival as a bad businessman and an ineffective policymaker. He promoted himself as a "job creator" with proven credentials and a superior policy strategist. His opponent John Moultrie countered that he was an erratic liar, possibly insane. Knowledge of the enormous debt heaped on Turnbull's business partners, compounded by the hundreds of deaths on his plantation, silently informed the conversation on both sides. Turnbull did not receive the appointment he so urgently desired.

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[8] John Moultrie to James Grant, June 10, 1771.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Rev. John Forbes to James Grant, May 13, 1772.

Early American Mudslinging:
The Power of the Egalitarian Press
Jackson Loop

In recent years the partisan nature of the American political system has polarized not only the halls of government, but also the nation's press. The last two election cycles were fraught with character assassinations, misquoted interviews, and out of context sound bites—or what some might broadly call "mudslinging." Accounts of the United States's early elections by political historians and journalists reveal a similar thematic trend in the nineteenth century. After a recent revolution against European monarchism and aristocracy, America's experimental egalitarianism and economic success created a largely free and, thus, more widely influential press, which often contributed an actively partisan political tone.

A market boom soon followed the American Revolution, which had already uprooted much of the American sympathy for aristocratic deference. Innovations led to an explosive economy, which when coupled with relative equality, created a highly individualized society, and ultimately resulted in Jacksonian Populism[1] in the 1820s and 30s.[2] In other words, the early nineteenth century saw the backwoodsman gaining comparatively equal standing in politics with the socioeconomic elite of America. This equalization made figures of power more susceptible to mudslinging, allowing for seething attacks with less fear of punishment, which often lead simply to reciprocation, but sometimes even jail time.

The figure of Congressman Matthew Lyon provides a good case study in an analysis of the developing, pre-

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[1] Andrew Jackson and his Democratic Party worked to expand voting rights and protect the image of the so-called "common man." Although the expansion was still limited in most cases, the Age of Jackson is commonly considered to be an era of populist sentiment and grassroots political activism.

[2] Harry L. Watson, *Liberty and Power: The Politics of Jacksonian America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006), 43.

Jacksonian power of the press. Born in Ireland, Lyon moved to Vermont in 1774, participated in the Revolution as a colonel's assistant, and was subsequently elected to the House of Representatives in 1797. Aleine Austin describes him as a "complex man," in her biography of the figure, who "began as an indentured servant and rose to become a prosperous entrepreneur in frontier Vermont, where he emerged as the leader of the Jeffersonian Republican movement in the 1790s."[3] His newspaper, entitled *The Scourge of Aristocracy and Repository of Important Political Truth*, openly lambasted John Adams for his "continual grasp for power" and "unbounded thirst for ridiculous pomp, foolish adulation, and selfish avarice."[4] Comments like these eventually landed him in jail on charges under the Alien and Sedition Acts.[5] Despite this, Lyon won election to the Sixth Congress from his cell, demonstrating the average American's positive response to his crusade against elitism, and scoring "a victory for freedom of speech."[6] Lyon, having risen from the lower class to become both an editor and politician, was a living illustration of the dynamic relationship between equality, print, and politics.

Journalist Jeffrey Pasley explores how this relationship developed in the nineteenth century, in his book *The Tyranny of Printers*. He argues that America's nineteenth-century press was highly subjective, and often published material approaching the propagandistic. Pasley unpacks the role that newspaper editors played in the fledgling nation, contending that "the newspaper press was the

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[3] Aleine Austin, *Matthew Lyon: "New Man" of the Democratic Revolution, 1749–1822* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1981), 1.

[4] Claude G. Bowers, *Jefferson and Hamilton: The Struggle for Democracy in America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925), 386.

[5] Austin, *Matthew Lyon*, 1. The Alien and Sedition Acts were infamous pieces of legislation that limited the press's ability to criticize the president.

[6] Austin, *Matthew Lyon*, 1.

political system's central institution."[7] His book develops an important image of editors in Jacksonian America—who, like Lyon, often came from humble beginnings—as simultaneously mirroring and helping to cultivate the democratization of America through vicious press.

While Pasley establishes the existence of a climate of mudslinging in nineteenth-century America, Joanne Freeman recreates the sensibility of the time period in her book *Affairs of Honor*, helping provide a better understanding of the media's significance in a contemporary's mind. Freeman analyzes the abstract concept of "honor," which she defines as "reputation with a moral dimension,"[8] and its prevalence in nineteenth-century politics. For many contemporary political figures, character assassinations did not only question political ability, but also powerful, masculine ideas like "bravery, self-command, and integrity."[9] A topic debatably less prominent in twenty-first-century politics, this previous ideal of honor often resulted in vicious rhetoric, duels, and even deaths.[10]

Freeman's reconstructed significance of honor is particularly relevant to the mudslinging of the Jackson administration. Jackson's opposition, the Whig Party, borrowed their name directly from the anti-monarchical party of England, conveying their feelings on Jackson's frequent use of the presidential veto, and on his heavily centralized administration. Critical presses portrayed Jackson in full royal regalia, standing on the Constitution, and surrounded with complex monarchical titles.[11] It is not difficult to imagine the weighty implications of this illustration. With the presence of the British Crown still

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[7] Jeffrey Pasley, *The Tyranny of Printers: Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virgina, 2001), 22.

[8] Joanne Freeman, *Affairs of Honor: National Politics in the New Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), xx.

[9] Ibid, xx.

[10] Ibid, xvii.

[11] See following page

fresh in America's collective memory, comparing Jackson to a monarch was bold, to say the least. This kind of mudslinging occurred early and often within the Second American Party System, and provides powerful evidence of the explosive combination of the press and an anti-aristocratic mentality.[12]

In America's egalitarian climate, mudslinging editorials and political cartoons held a clearly serious significance. America's political process—which attempted to ignore the social stratification and deference associated with European monarchies—provided this niche for the press, which still exists today. Varied assessments of the role of America's press can be seen in the arguments of Pasley and Freeman. Whether constructed journalistically or historically, they collectively affirm the time-tested political significance of the relationship between print, social equality, and mudslinging, and through a scope that is specifically American.

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[12] This is the name given to the Age of Jackson's political system, in which Whigs and Democrats vied for power. It followed the First Party System, in which Federalists and Anti-Federalists struggled against one another in the early years of the republic.

BORN TO COMMAND.

OF VETO MEMORY.

HAD I BEEN CONSULTED.

KING ANDREW THE FIRST.

Mudslinging Cuba:
Cuban Independence in American Caricatures
Carlos R. Hernández

While mudslinging can damage an individual's political opponents, it can also be responsible for shifts in historical memory, as in the case of Cuban independence. The Cuban people struggled for thirty years to achieve sovereignty, only to have the United States intervene and occupy the island for four years (1898-1902).[1] This brief essay will argue that U.S. representations of Cuba played a major role in that process. Although the "Spanish-American War" is generally explained in terms of expanding markets and yellow journalism, U.S. caricatures provided the necessary visual propaganda for intervention. They assumed different forms, but practically all of them portrayed Cuba as an inferior nation incapable of handling independence and in want of U.S. intervention. This allowed the United States to justify its imperial project. By framing the three-month conflict in Cuba as the "Spanish-American War," the United States engaged in a form of historical amnesia.[2] The fact that most Americans today are unaware of Cuba's struggles for independence speaks to the power of these images.

According to Ada Ferrer, the Cuban struggle for independence was actually a series of struggles, which can

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[1] Even though the formal occupation ended in 1902, Cuba remained under the jurisdiction of the Platt Amendment until 1934. However, that is beyond the scope of this essay. For a discussion of that period, see Louis Pérez, *Cuba under the Platt Amendment, 1902-1934* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1986).

[2] Philip S. Foner was the first U.S. historian to acknowledge the problem with the name "Spanish-American War." He was also the first U.S. historian to write about Cuban independence using sources written in Spanish. See Foner's two-volume *The Spanish-Cuban-American War and the Birth of American Imperialism, 1895-1898* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972). For a more recent interpretation, see Louis Pérez, *The War of 1898: The United States and Cuba in History and Historiography* (Chapel Hill: University North Carolina Press, 1998).

be divided into three phases: the Ten Years' War (1898-1878), the Guerra Chiquita/Little War (1879-1880), and the War of Independence (1895-1898).[3] The struggle for independence began on October 10, 1868, when sugar planter Carlos Manuel de Céspedes freed his slaves and called for independence from Spain. Unfortunately for Cubans, the Pact of Zanjón, which ended the Ten Years' War, did not grant them independence. Unsatisfied with the result of the Ten Years' War, Cuban revolutionary leader Calixto García and his followers participated in a brief uprising that lasted only one year, from 1879 to 1880. Cubans then waited fifteen years before attempting to gain independence from Spain again. By 1895, Cuba had recovered from the previous wars, and with the complete abolition of slavery in 1886, it could draw on a broader population for military support.[4] As a result, Cuba gained independence from Spain in 1898. However, the victory was overshadowed by America's intervention in the "Spanish-American War" and the U.S. Occupation of Cuba (1898-1902).

In 1898, American caricatures of Cuba contributed to the construction of the "Spanish-American War." To be sure, there was a real military conflict, but the way in which Americans envision the war is a myth. The name suggests that it was just a confrontation between the United States and Spain, but Cuba was actually at the center of it. Nevertheless, the United States' 1898 cartoons of Cuba allowed the United States to replace the struggles for Cuban independence with the call for U.S. intervention.

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[3] Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 3.

[4] Emancipation in Cuba was a gradual process. Slavery was originally scheduled to end in 1888, after an eight-year period of *patronato* (apprenticeship). See Rebecca Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860-1899* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985). For the complex relationship between race and nationalism, see Lillian Guerra, *The Myth of José Martí: Conflicting Nationalisms in Early Twentieth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

The following examples illustrate the invention of this narrative.[5]

Figure 1: "The Duty of the Hour: To Save Her Not Only from Spain but from a Worse Fate."
From *Puck*, May 11, 1898.[6]

Figure 2: "Save Me from My Friends!"
Caption: "Taking Cuba from Spain was easy. Preserving it from overzealous Cuban patriots is another matter."
From *Puck*, September 7, 1898.[7]

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[5] The images come from Louis Pérez, *Cuba in the American Imagination: Metaphor and the Imperial Ethos* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008). There are many images to choose from. These were selected for the sake of consistency because they all represent Cuba as a woman.

[6] Pérez, *Cuba*, 44.

[7] Ibid. 89.

"Is Help in Sight at Last?" From *New York Journal*, April 3, 1898.
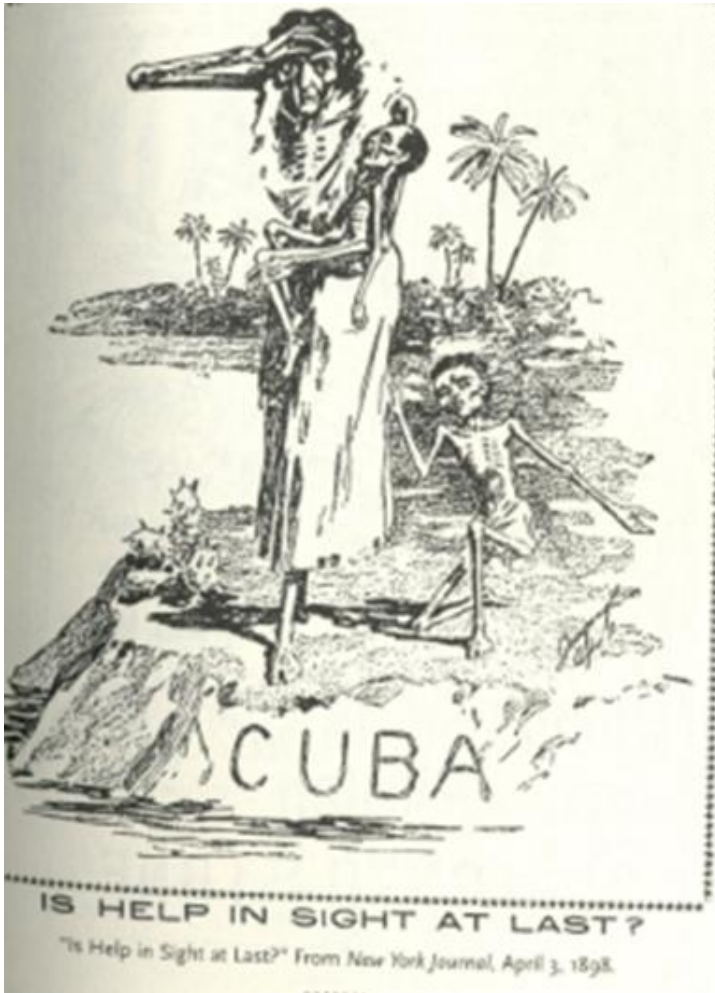
Figure 3: "Is Help in Sight at Last?"
From *New York Journal*, April 3, 1898.[8]

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[8] Ibid. 59.

"Hands Off!" From *Chicago Tribune*, April 19, 1898.

Figure 4: "Hands Off!"
From *Chicago Tribune*, April 19,1898.[9]

All four cartoons told Americans that U.S. intervention was absolutely necessary, and that without it, Cuba would be condemned to a state of barbarism and anarchy. In these particular examples, the cartoonists also depicted Cuba as a woman, with all of the chauvinist associations that implied. By casting Cuba as a damsel in distress waiting for her knight in shining armor, the U.S. press argued that Cubans were passive, helpless, and in need of U.S. intervention.
In Figure 3, for example, an emaciated Cuba gazes hopefully in the direction of the U.S. and asks, "Is help in sight at last?" Figures 1, 2, and 4 also indicated that Cubans could not handle independence, and needed Uncle Sam's

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[9] Ibid, 74.

protection. "Taking Cuba from Spain was easy," one cartoonist wrote, "Preserving it from overzealous Cuban patriots is another matter." In both Figure 2 and Figure 4, Uncle Sam shields a female Cuba with the cloak of the American flag. This presents a contrast to Figure 1, which argues that, without the U.S. flag, Cuba would fall from the frying pan of Spanish misrule into the fire of Cuban anarchy.

These and other U.S. caricatures of Cuba are major reasons why the United States was able to subsume Cuba's struggles for independence under the narrative of U.S. intervention and salvation in the "Spanish-American War." Traditional explanations of the "Spanish-American War"—yellow journalism, expanding markets, and protecting U.S. interests—are incomplete without also understanding the history of the struggles for Cuban independence and how negative depictions of an ethnically diverse and independent Cuba led to U.S. intervention and historical amnesia. [10] Using U.S. political cartoons of Cuba as a case study, we can see how mudslinging has the potential to have national and international implications.

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[10] Although this essay did not touch on it, people were generally afraid of a race war and a black republic (fears inspired by the Haitian Revolution). See Ferrer, 1-12. It is also important to recognize that there was debate within the Cuban community as to what should happen in 1898. Not all Cubans opposed U.S. intervention, but this article was concerned with how the U.S. promoted its imperialist project in such a way that it virtually erased Cubans from U.S. history. For a discussion of Cuban attitudes toward the U.S., see Louis Pérez, *Cuba between Empires, 1878*-1902 (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1983).

Damaging Allegations:
An Example of Mudslinging in Imperial Germany
Sara Strickland

While my fellow editors have shown the extremely personal nature of mudslinging, as well as its impact on cultural attitudes and global affairs, this piece connects the two, through an analysis of Germany's Wilhelm II. As Germany's last emperor from 1888 to 1918, Wilhelm gained more media attention than any other leader in his country before him. Wrongly believing that his own convictions would sway public opinion, Wilhelm made outlandish and uncompromising statements that animated his opponents on the left.[1] Yet, the Kaiser was not always directly responsible for the slanderous material used against him. Using the example of the Eulenburg Affair of 1907, this essay shows the extremely damaging effects of mudslinging on a leader's reputation domestically and internationally.

The so-called Eulenburg Affair became the "most stunning scandal" during Wilhelm's reign.[2] During the autumn of 1906, the journalist Maximilian Harden published a series of articles in the newspaper *Die Zukunft,* accusing two of Wilhelm's best friends and closest advisors, Count Kuno von Moltke and Prince Philip zu Eulenburg, of engaging in homosexual activities.[3] Moltke and Eulenburg were members of the Kaiser's tight-knit inner circle, sometimes called the "Liebenberg Round Table" because of their frequent hunting trips together at

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[1] Christopher Clark, *Kaiser Wilhelm II* (Harlow, England: Longman, 2000), 160. Christopher Clark writes, "it would not be an exaggeration to say that far more damage was done to the emperor's reputation…by what he said than by what he did or caused to be done."[1]

[2] James D. Steakley, "Iconography of a Scandal: Political Cartoons and the Eulenburg Affair," in *History of Homosexuality in Europe and America*, eds. Wayne R. Dynes and Stephen Donaldson (New York: Garland,1992), 323.

[3] Clark, *Kaiser Wilhelm,* 106.

Eulenburg's country estate at Liebenberg.[4] Wilhelm, who placed men in uniform above all else, often entrusted Moltke and Eulenburg to make important decisions in regards to ruling the country and the Kaiser's dependence on these men added to the impression that he was a weak leader. In addition, with the shocking allegations came embarrassing information about the Kaiser, including how his clique allegedly referred to him as *das Liebchen* or *"sweety."*[5]

Charging Wilhelm's friends with allegations of homosexual behavior was not only a highly offensive and disgraceful accusation in homophobic imperial Germany, but also one with legal ramifications. At this time, Germany had in place an anti-sodomy law, Paragraph 175, which mandated a prison sentence.[6] With a ruined reputation and without the Kaiser's friendship, Eulenburg retired from the public spotlight. Moltke took Harden to court, but Harden was acquitted in October 1907.[7] Although not exclusively aimed at the Kaiser himself, the proliferation of political satire and criticism made a mockery of Wilhelm's closest associates, and in doing so made him the laughing stock of the leftist press and of the press in countries throughout the world.

The Harden-Eulenburg scandal quickly made its way across the Atlantic Ocean. An article published on 9 June 1907 in *The Washington Post* succinctly states: "While no personal blame attaches to the Emperor, he has lost prestige enormously because he has been imposed upon so readily, yielding to the influence of such men in more than one political intrigue."[8] In October 1907 a headline in *The*

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[4] John Van der Kiste, *Kaiser Wilhelm II: Germany's Last Emperor* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), 130.

[5] Clark, *Kaiser Wilhelm*, 106.

[6] Ann Goldberg, *Honor, Politics, and the Law in Imperial Germany, 1871-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 137.

[7] Van der Kiste, *Kaiser Wilhelm*, 132.

[8] "Berlin Court Scandal: Kaiser Has Lost Enormously in Prestige by the Eulenburg Affair," *The Washington Post*, June 9, 1907, http://search.proquest.com/docview/144744594?accountid=10920.

Chicago Daily Tribune stated "Libel Suit 'Shames Nation,'" referencing the court battles as the "Knights of the Round Table Scandal."[9] Using such language reflected poorly on Kaiser Wilhelm, portraying him not as a strong ruler, but rather as a man who depended solely on his inner circle of friends for their counsel.

Historians continue to debate whether the mudslinging attacks had an influence on the fanatical militaristic attitudes that arose in Germany during the following years. James D. Steakley writes that the scandal became far more than just a "mere episode." He adds, "French, British, and American historians have linked the events of 1907-1909 to a far-reaching shift in German policy that heightened military aggressiveness and ultimately contributed to the outbreak of World War I."[10] John Röhl writes that the press attack led by Harden in the Eulenburg Affair, "should be seen as an attack on favoritism, which is symptomatic of monarchical systems in the stage of decline."[11]

Although the German monarchy seemed to be stronger than ever, in hindsight one can observe that the empire was on the verge of decline. After defeat in World War I just over a decade later, the Kaiser abdicated. Germany took on a new challenge: becoming a democratic society for the first time, which ended in January 1933 with Adolf Hitler's accession to the chancellorship. Whether or not the Harden articles led to a turning point in the German mindset is hard to determine, but one can be certain that the Eulenburg affair and subsequent mudslinging negatively affected the Kaiser's reputation as a ruler, both domestically and internationally.

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[9] "Libel Suit 'Shames Nation,'" *Chicago Daily Tribune* (Chicago, Ill), October 17, 1907,
http://search.proquest.com/docview/173350244?accountid=10920.

[10] Steakley, "Iconography of a Scandal," 325.

[11] John C.G. Röhl, *The Kaiser and his Court: Wilhelm II and the Government of Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 69.

Featured Articles

Hellenistic Evangelism and War:
Julian the Apostate and the Invasion of Persia
Matthew Chambers

In midsummer 363 CE, Emperor Julian the Philosopher, known as Julian the Apostate to his Christian subjects, led the Roman Army through the scorched farmland of Mesopotamia. Low on supplies, half-starved, and exhausted, the army marched in the shadow of Sassanid war elephants and cataphracts in gleaming armor.[1] In many ways Julian was the last hope for the survival of traditional Hellenistic religion as a mainstream movement in western society. Julian had managed to lead his army through the Persian heartland to Ctesiphon, the Persian capital itself, but his fortunes turned as Persian armies arrived to defend the city and Julian's own reinforcements failed to appear. While attempting to withdraw into the safety of Syria, Julian was killed in battle as he tried to cover his army's retreat.[2]

Julian's dramatic reign was short and shocked the entire empire. Upon coming to power, he formally abandoned

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[1] Cataphracts were heavily armored horsemen first used by the Persian army and eventually adopted by most near eastern nations, as well as Hellenic and Roman militaries on the eastern frontier of the Mediterranean world. Almost completely covered in armor, cataphracts were usually armed with bows, throwing spears, and lances, and functioned as shock cavalry that could crash through enemy lines.

[2] Ammianus Marcellinus, *The Later Roman Empire*, trans. and ed. Walter Hamilton. (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1986), 25.3-25.3.6.

Christianity in favor of the Hellenistic pantheon of gods. Almost immediately, he attempted a policy that would horrify the leaders of the Christian church: the conversion of the Roman Empire *back* to the traditional Greco-Roman gods. He sought to undo Christian prophecy by rebuilding the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem in order to prove that Christ was not the Messiah.[3] Julian's effort to forbid Christian teachers from teaching the classical pagan curriculum was notorious and even troubled some of the emperor's own pagan supporters.[4]

Yet, he was also one of the most prolific emperors, with more surviving written works than any other emperor of Rome. Many of these works were written to convince Christians of the error of their ways and to celebrate proper Hellenistic virtues. Julian even once claimed that "though [Christianity] has nothing divine, by making full use of that part of the soul which loves fable and is childish and foolish, it has induced men to believe that the monstrous tale is truth."[5] In short, Julian viewed Christianity as a menace to the Roman Empire, and more importantly, a threat to Hellenism itself. Julian remains a colorful and memorable character in history because he fought against the seemingly inevitable process of Christianization and attempted not only to defend the Roman Empire, but also to expand it even further into Persia, emulating Alexander the Great. This paper asks: What led Julian into Persia, marching towards his own demise? Perhaps more importantly, did Julian's religious and military policy intersect, and if so, how?

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[3] Ammianus, *The Later Roman Empire*, 23.1.

[4] *Paideia* was a term used for the ancient education system. It focused on the study of the pagan classics such as the works of Homer and Hesiod. Both Christians and pagans pursued this type of education as it was generally a mark of culture and class within the aristocracy. Ammianus even declares that the act should be "buried in lasting oblivion." Ammianus, *The Later Roman Empire*, 22.10.

[5] "Against the Galilaeans," in Flavius Claudius Julian, *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, 3 vols., trans. and ed. Wilmer Wright (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1930), 3:319.

Susanna Elm has recently hinted that Julian's invasion of Persia was a necessary part of his broader political objectives because it would show that his rise to power was bestowed by divine grace.[6] Taking this suggestion a step further, I will argue that Julian intended his invasion as part of a grand Hellenistic evangelization campaign for both his subjects and his Persian adversaries. This invasion and other pagan military efforts might also be seen as a kind of proto-holy war, which laid out the ideological framework of holy war for the major monotheistic religions in the ensuing centuries.[7] The conquest of Persia would be exceedingly difficult, yet Julian believed he would triumph through divine favor. His absolute confidence in this favor, in turn, propelled him forward despite the countless warnings he had received from his generals and advisors not to proceed. The emperor intended his military successes to be the palpable fruits of his faith for Christians who had lost their way from true Roman religion. In short, this was a war to prove the gods were real and to restore Hellenism to its rightful place as the religion of the Roman state and

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[6] Susanna Elm, "Pagan Challenge, Christian Response: Emperor Julian and Gregory of Nazianzus as Paradigms of Inter-Religious Discourse," in *Faithful Narratives: The Challenge of Religion in History*, ed. Andrea Sterk and Nina Caputo (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, forthcoming), 9.

[7] It should be noted that Julian was also heavily influenced by Christianity. It is difficult to pinpoint individual Christian influences, however, because Julian himself was not very fond of mentioning them in his own writings. The few times he did, it was usually with scorn. Chastising an Alexandrian mob in a letter for tearing his former Christian tutor George "into pieces as dogs tear a wolf," Julian nevertheless adds that George "deserved even worse and more cruel treatment." "Letter to the Alexandrians," in Julian, *Works*, 1:65. Though it is difficult to pinpoint those individual Christians who did influence him, there does seem to be evidence to suggest that Julian was well educated and had a firm understanding of Christianity. According to Eunapius, Julian "had [learned Christian] books so thoroughly by heart that [his teachers] fretted at the scantiness of their erudition, since there was nothing that they could teach the boy." Eunapius, *The Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists*, trans. Wilmer Wright (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1921), 476.

populace. Julian's *Against the Galileans* and *The Caesars*, as well as writings of one of his closest political allies, Libanius, will reveal that Julian viewed his invasion as a method of pagan evangelization.

For some, Julian marks the beginning of the last chapter of Hellenist religion.[8] There are many ways of telling that story, but whether Julian is the hero or the villain, he marks the twilight of the world first created by Alexander the Great. In some ways it is poetic: the Hellenistic world was built on the conquest of Persia, and likewise entered its final phase of collapse with Julian's failed invasion. But instead of a marker between the triumph of Christianity and the decline of Hellenism, Julian can also be viewed as representative of the world in which he lived. He occupies a liminal space in the historical imagination, and he not only embodied but also brings into clear focus the contradictions and assumptions of his time.

It is important to understand why Julian became an "apostate." Although the future Roman emperor would give a number of reasons, his apostasy was almost certainly a personal matter. Upon the death of his uncle Constantine, the emperor's sons prevented Julian's side of the family from inheriting the throne. By the time Julian was five or six, almost his entire immediate family had been murdered by his Christian cousins. Only he and his older brother

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[8] In using the term Hellene and Hellenism, I am attempting to use the terms as Julian did. For the emperor, the notion that Hellenistic culture could exist independently of ancient Greco-Roman paganism was not valid. This was even a problem for Christians at the time who relied heavily on Hellenistic culture, but had problems separating the culture from the religion (hence the success of Julian's law forbidding Christian teachers from teaching the pagan classics). In fact, Julian was unable even to acknowledge that Greek Christians were "Hellenes." In a letter to the philosopher Aristoxenus, Julian begs the philosopher "show me a genuine Hellene among the Cappadocians. For I observe that, as yet, some refuse to sacrifice, and that, though some few are zealous, they lack the knowledge." The implications of this are clear, Julian viewed Hellenistic culture as being attached to pagan religion, and those who were not Hellenistic pagans were not Greek. "Letter to Aristoxenus,"in Julian, *Works*, 1:114-117.

Gallus survived the massacre, eventually being excluded from public life and placed under guard in a fortress in the Cappadocian mountains. Ultimately even Gallus was sentenced to death, leaving Julian as the sole surviving member of his family, and one of the last heirs of Constantine.[9]

By 355 CE, Constantius II, the second son of Constantine, found himself ruling the entire Roman Empire after the deaths of both his brothers. Faced with the administrative challenges of holding together one of the largest empires in the ancient world, Constantius promoted Julian to the rank of Caesar and gave him command of the legions of Gaul to stave off Germanic invasions.[10] Much to Constantius's surprise (and perhaps horror), Julian was brilliantly successful and led his troops to a string of victories on the frontier. By 360 CE relations had completely broken down between the two cousins and erupted into civil war. Before a major battle could be fought, however, Constantius became ill and died, leaving Julian as the sole heir to the empire. When Julian arrived in Constantinople and was proclaimed emperor, he also revealed that he was a pagan, shocking the Christian Church.

How did Julian's concept of divinely inspired Hellenism change the way he carried out his war effort? Before the invasion, Julian spent time in both Constantinople and Antioch. Over the course of a year and a half, Julian produced a large amount of literature. Inasmuch as the invasion is concerned, Julian's writings are

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[9] These are Julian's primary reasons justifying his rebellion against Constantius when he entreats the Athenians to join his cause. "Letter to the Athenians," in Julian, *Works*, 1:245-291.

[10] Constantius, facing war with Persia and the Germanic invasions of Gaul, as well as rebellions by his own generals, needed someone to oversee Roman armies in Gaul. According to Julian, he was supposed to serve more as a figurehead, with Constantius's trusted generals making all the important decisions. Julian even implies that these generals tried to sabotage his efforts to defend Gaul when it turned out that Julian was a competent commander. Julian, "Letter to the Athenians," 248-259.

dedicated to two themes: the failures of the Christian God in all things relating to the military and the successes of previous pagan leaders in battle, especially against the Persians. This focus subtly reveals Julian's intention to reveal the power of the pagan gods on the battlefield. Furthermore, if Julian had any intention of using his successful invasion of Persia to convert Christians back to paganism, he needed to make a show of his pagan piety. The more ostentatious this piety was, the more potential the successful invasion would have to convert the populace. In short, Julian's writings needed to champion the power of his gods to protect the empire and his actions needed to publicize his spiritual connection.[11]

Julian's *Against the Galilaeans* was written as an attack on Christianity focusing on everything from illogical beliefs to the abandonment of old Hebrew traditions of sacrifice and worship. He attacks specific practices, such as the cult of martyrs, for having no basis in scripture.[12] Unfortunately the work survives only in fragments through Cyril of Alexandria's refutation. Thus, the extant extracts of *Against the Galilaeans* have been passed on by a hostile witness. Nevertheless, though Julian's arguments are incomplete and possibly misrepresented, many of his core themes remain clear. The treatise was likely written

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[11] Julian's writings seem to have been intended for a broad audience, however. *Against the Galileans* must have had a wide audience, as Cyril comments in the preface of his rebuttal to Julian some seventy years after Julian wrote it: "very many followers of superstition, when they meet Christians, overpower them with any kind of sarcastic remarks, and rely on the works of Julian to attack us, which they proclaim to be of an incomparable effectiveness, adding that there never was a learned man on our side able to refute them, or even show them at fault." Cyril of Alexandria, *Address of the blessed Cyril, Archbishop of Alexandria to the very pious emperor Theodosius, devoted to Christ*, trans. Roger Pearse (Ipswich: Pearse, 2006), 4.

[12] On *Against the Galilaeans*, Robert Wilken has much to say. He notes that Julian viewed Christians as apostates from Judaism. He also points out that one of the Christians' main flaws was that they, unlike pagans, actually believed in their stories, rather than viewing them as allegorical myths. Wilken, *The Christians as the Romans Saw Them* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 182, 191.

sometime in early 363 CE, on the eve of his Persian invasion, and has military themes woven into the text. [13]

Julian takes special care to demonstrate the weakness of the Christian God. He declares, for example, that "they [the Jews] were enslaved first to the Assyrians, then to the Medes, later to the Persians, and now at last to ourselves. Even Jesus…was one of Caesar's subjects."[14] For Julian, the Christian God is either incompetent or impotent. How could the "chosen people" of the supposedly one true God be conquered and subjugated to foreign empires for a greater part of their existence? Towards the end of this section, Julian further asks:

> Is it better to be free continuously and during two thousand whole years to rule over the greater part of the earth and the sea, or to be enslaved and to live in the will of others? No man is so lacking in self-respect as to choose the latter by preference. Again, will anyone think victory in war is less desirable than defeat? Who is so stupid? But if this that I assert is the truth, point out to me among the Hebrews a single general like Alexander or Caesar! You have no such man.[15]

Julian is attacking the Jewish and Christian people on a military and political level. They had no imperial tradition, nor could they claim to have forged a great empire. The only history to which Christians could refer in their tradition was one of countless defeats. However, Julian is not merely saying that the Christian God is weak – Alexander and Caesar were *pagan* generals. These men were believers in the true gods, and the true religion, and with divine aid they were able to triumph and establish empires across the world. By contrast, Judaism's strongest leaders, their kings, first came to power against their God's

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[13] Browning, *The Emperor Julian*, 174.

[14] Julian, *Against the Galilaeans,* 210A-213A, 379.

[15] Julian goes on to declare that even the most inferior of the Greco-Roman generals deserves more respect than all of the Hebrew leaders combined. Julian, *Against the Galilaeans*, 218B- 218C, 381-383.

will; thus, the Judeo-Christian God cannot even control his own people, much less protect them.[16] But just as Julian demonstrates how Christianity would lead to military defeat, he also asserts the glories and triumphs of Hellenism. In Julian's *Against the Galilaeans* he draws a direct connection between paganism and Roman triumph by referencing the legendary Roman King Numa.[17] Numa's piety enabled conquest; his military success was completely dependent on divine favor.[18] The Roman Empire itself, then, was the product of pagan piety.

Julian's *The Caesars* attacks Christian military failures in a setting more relevant to his audience. The work is a satire in which all of the previous emperors of Rome attend a banquet on Mt. Olympus and hold a contest to decide which emperor is the greatest. The satire was probably written in 362 CE, during the Saturnalia festival, giving Julian license to treat the gods and figures such as Alexander the Great and Augustus with a degree of mockery.[19] This also puts the piece within a few months of Julian's departure for Persia, the point when Julian was making his final preparations for war.

Although this satire is one of Julian's ways to glorify Hellenistic civilization, it also presents an opportunity for him to attack Constantine and Constantius. While Julian focuses on Constantine here, it seems likely that Constantine serves as an easy proxy for Constantius, despite the fact that Constantius is never mentioned in the

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[16] Julian, *Against the Galilaeans*, 209E, 379.

[17] Numa was the second King of Rome, following Romulus. He is almost as legendary as his predecessor. He was credited by Livy and Plutarch as having established most of the Roman religious traditions, rituals, and offices, including the position of Pontifex Maximus and the Vestal Virgins. The religious traditions that Numa established were important to Romans in establishing the Pax Deorum (Peace of the Gods), the notion that if Roman religious practices were properly observed, the Roman Empire would experience harmony in peace and triumph in war.

[18] Julian, *Against the Galilaeans*, 193C-194D, 371-373.

[19] Browning, *The Emperor Julian*, 182.

satire by name.[20] Julian had never met Constantine, and his criticisms of him were also the same criticisms that many of Julian's contemporaries leveled against Constantius. For example, Ammianus claims that Constantius "bathed in the blood which poured in a fearful stream from the internal wounds of the state" and that Constantius's court was corrupted by greed and luxury.[21] Julian's Constantine is similarly criticized for his paltry victories against his fellow Romans and his love of luxury and pleasure.[22] There are probably two main reasons for Julian's choice in using Constantine. The first is that, as the founder of the first Christian imperial dynasty, Constantine was a higher profile target than Constantius. Second, but perhaps just as important, Julian was forced to rely on many of Constantius's former allies for military support and thus could not risk offending them.[23]

In the satire, Julian characterizes Constantine the Great, the greatest Christian political leader up to that point, as an absent-minded dolt driven by base desire. After each of the greatest emperors explains his exploits, it is Constantine's turn to explain himself before the gods. Julian uses this as a chance to review the 'accomplishments' of Christianity's first successful leader: [24]

> But when [Constantine] reflected on the exploits of the others he saw that his own were wholly trivial. He had defeated two tyrants, but, to tell the truth, one of them [Maxentius] was untrained in war and effeminate, the

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[20] The only point at which Julian seems to refer to Constantius at all is when he refers to the former emperor as one of the sons (τὰ παιδία) of Constantine. "The Caesars," in Julian, *Works*, 2:316A, 367.

[21] Ammianus also claims that Constantius paraded his military triumphs in civil wars and his paranoia rivaled that of Caligula. Ammianus, *The Later Roman Empire*, 21.16, 230-233.

[22] Julian, *The Caesars*, 397, 413.

[23] G. W. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 65.

[24] According to Julian: Caesar, Octavian, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Constantine (as a man of great pleasure), and Alexander the Great. Julian, *The Caesars*, 369-371.

other [Licinus] a poor creature and enfeebled by old age, while both were alike odious to gods and men. Moreover his campaigns against the barbarians covered him with ridicule. For he paid them tribute, so to speak, while he gave all his attention to Pleasure…[25]

Julian not only makes Constantine's military victories seem trifling, he even credits them to the pagan gods, who also hated Constantine's enemies. In this respect, Julian remains consistent with his other claims about the weakness of the Christian God: Constantine's victories are wholly insignificant and entirely dependent on the whims of the pagan gods. Moreover, it would seem that Julian is also putting Christianity, quite literally, on trial in this scene before the Olympians.

Perhaps the most telling scene of *The Caesars* comes near the end when Constantine is asked what the goal of his life was, to which he replies somewhat inanely, "to amass great wealth and then to spend it liberally so as to gratify my own desires…."[26] This Constantine is certainly not a man of even limited virtue, much less a great emperor worthy of competing against the likes of Augustus and Alexander the Great, but Julian takes his satire a step further by feminizing Constantine as well. For example, Julian uses the word $\mu\alpha\lambda\alpha\kappa\tilde{\omega}\varsigma$ (tenderly) to describe Constantine's embrace of Luxury . While this translation seems to make the most logical sense, the word's other meaning "cowardly" should not be overlooked and fits with Julian's overall image of lonely Constantine jumping into Luxury's arms, being both weak willed and spineless. Luxury dresses Constantine in a $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\omega\varsigma$ (peplos). The peplos was a garment worn by women and the fact that it was "long" and "colorful" only serves to feminize the man further. The end result of this description is dramatic –

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[25] Julian, *The Caesars*, 397.
[26] Ibid., 411.

Constantine runs to Luxury and Wastefulness, both female personifications, to be beautified (καλλωπίσασα).[27]

Julian's portrayal of Jesus, and thus Christianity in general, is one of vice. Here Jesus comes off as something akin to the modern used-car salesman, making impossible promises to the corrupt (φθορεύς) and shameless (βδελυρός) that turn out to be unfulfilled, because in the end the gods have their vengeance.[28] Constantine is made to be both gullible and stupid for following such a figure down the path of self-destruction. A great military commander, this man was not. In the end, the gods pass judgment on Constantine and he is removed from Olympus for being corrupt and immoral.

Julian's method of ranking the emperors in *The Caesars* is also noteworthy. To compete, the contestants had to "model themselves after [the gods]."[29] Those emperors who compete for the position of greatest are all renowned for their military exploits. Though every emperor has his faults, each is given a chance to explain the glories of his life. It is no coincidence that Julian chooses the conquerors of the Greco-Roman world – their military triumphs are a chance to recount the victories of Hellenism. Trajan, for example, speaks of his victories first against the Getae and then against the Parthians, glorifying himself first by describing the fierceness of his enemies and second by elaborating on his clemency after his conquest.[30]

Aside from their military exploits, these emperors are being ranked, to some degree, by their piety. Constantine is ranked last, but the positions of the other emperors are also telling. Caesar, for example, strides impudently before the

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[27] Ibid., 413.

[28] Ibid., 413.

[29] Ibid., 317D, 371.

[30] This example is also interesting because, in some ways, it parallels Julian's own military exploits. Trajan took over an empire "disordered by tyranny" and began to make things right again, first by defeating barbarians in the west and then by sallying forth into Mesopotamia to fight the Parthians. Julian, *The Caesars*, 393-395.

gods daring even Zeus to challenge him.[31] While there is certainly an amount of humor employed here, in the end, Caesar is left to wander searching for a god to protect him until Aphrodite and Ares take pity on him.[32] Even though Caesar was a pagan, he is still marginalized for his challenge to the gods. According to Julian, it was not merely enough to be a pagan – true piety was essential to gaining both personal virtue and public success.

Nowhere is this better exemplified than in Julian's portrayal of Marcus Aurelius. In *The Caesars*, Marcus Aurelius is represented as a devout philosopher who understands both the will and the nature of the gods. In fact, he is almost above reproach from Silenus, who ridicules all the other emperors.[33] He is presented as an ascetic "careless of his appearance" and whose body "from lack of nourishment was very shining and transparent."[34] This is a direct parallel to Julian, who saw himself as an ascetic. This depiction of Marcus Aurelius probably serves as the ideal model emperor whom Julian wished to emulate. On the one hand, Marcus Aurelius was a military emperor who concluded many successful campaigns in Germania, and on the other, Marcus Aurelius's great piety and philosophical leanings gave him an understanding of the gods unequalled by the other emperors. On another level, Julian seems to suggest that he, too, will rule like Marcus Aurelius as a philosopher king, and even asserts that he will experience salvation through the god Mithras upon death.[35] At the end of *The Caesars,* Marcus Aurelius wins the competition and is allowed to reside with Zeus and Kronus.[36] Mere pagan belief, while important in securing divine favor, is not enough. To become truly great, piety and philosophical understanding are necessary. To such a man who had both, nothing was impossible.

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[31] Julian, *The Caesars*, 308D-309A, 351.
[32] Ibid.*,* 335D, 413.
[33] Ibid., 312A-C, 359.
[34] Ibid., 317C, 371.
[35] Ibid., 336C, 415.
[36] Ibid., 335D, 413.

Finally, the writings of Libanius also give us some idea of how Julian viewed the invasion of the Persian Empire. As one of Julian's closest political allies and friends, Libanius often echoed the emperor's views and sought, like Julian, the return of paganism.[37] He was probably well aware of Julian's intentions and policies. Polymnia Athanassiadi suggests that the two men had a close relationship that began during Julian's stay in Bithynia, before Julian had even become a Caesar in Gaul.[38] Bowersock also mentions Libanius's proximity to the emperor, characterizing the relationship between Libanius and Julian almost as that of a mentor and pupil, together making plans to revitalize Hellenism throughout the empire, starting at Antioch.[39]

Perhaps Libanius's most important work with regard to the invasion is Julian's Funeral Oration, in which he attempts to recount the entirety of Julian's life. More importantly, however, Libanius also attempts to address the question how the gods allowed Julian to die. Libanius does not blame Julian or the pagan gods, instead explaining that the invasion depended entirely on Julian's survival.[40] Julian's death is not the result of his foolhardy charge towards the enemy without armor or bodyguards but rather the product of treachery. Libanius claims "those fellows, who found his existence detrimental to themselves and whose whole manner of life was contrary to the law, these had long conspired against him, and then at last seized their chance and acted."[41] Libanius's implication is clear: Julian's Christian soldiers killed him. Thus, in the same

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[37] Upon learning of Julian's death, Libanius even contemplated committing suicide. While he may not have completely agreed with Julian on all things, Libanius clearly seems to have revered him. Libanius, Oration 1.135., vol. 1 of *The Selected Works of Libanius*, trans. and ed. A. F. Norman (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987).

[38] Polymnia Athanassiadi, *Julian and Hellenism* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 42-43.

[39] Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate*, 95.

[40] Libanius, Oration XVIII, 272, 463.

[41] Ibid., 274 – 275, 465.

way that Christians had forsaken the pagan gods, so too did they forsake their empire and their duty as Romans. Libanius attempts, perhaps unsuccessfully, to turn a military defeat into an attack against Christianity. But perhaps Libanius's most revealing claim about the war comes when he speaks of Julian's intentions:

> We expected the whole empire of Persia to form part of that of Rome, to be subject to our laws, receive its governors from us and pay us its tribute: they would, we thought, change their language and dress, and cut short their hair, and sophists in Susa would turn Persian children into orators: our temples here, adorned with Persian spoils, would tell future generations of the completeness of the victory…dead men's tombs would give place to temples, and every man of his own free will would make his way to the altars: their one-time desecrators would themselves restore them, and the very people who shunned offering up blood would offer up sacrifice…[42]

It is clear that Libanius, like Julian himself, perceived the invasion as both an evangelizing endeavor in Persia and an attempt to revitalize paganism back in Rome. Libanius saw the potential for a pagan renaissance. The phrase "dead men's tombs," for example, refers to the Christian practice burying bodies in pagan holy places in order to make them impure for the pagans and keep them from worshiping there. After Julian's victory, those tombs would have been dug up by the very people who put them there and the temple space would become sacred once again. But more than merely reviving paganism, Libanius believed that Julian wanted to spread Hellenic tradition as far east as India. An entire civilization was to be refashioned in the Hellenistic mold.

It is both easy and tempting to speculate as to what kind of world Julian would have created had he conquered

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[42] Ibid., 282, 471.

Persia. While it is hard to believe that any one action could have stopped the expansion of Christianity, it is likely that such a conquest would have given Julian the initiative he needed to revitalize paganism for a time. In the months before the attack, Julian laid the groundwork for his invasion. His writings and actions were designed to remind the populace of what pagan piety meant and how it would be rewarded. Julian believed he would march into the heart of Persia, defeat Shapur, and capture Ctesiphon. He would return to Tarsus as a second Alexander and be hailed as Parthicus.

Julian, however, did not return to Tarsus a conquering hero. Instead he was buried there. It would be easy to say that the failure of the campaign was the real difference between Alexander and Julian. But there is a deeper, perhaps more significant difference between the two men. Alexander conquered the Persian Empire and made an entirely new world from its ashes. Julian fought to preserve the world that Alexander had created. Julian's failure does not mark the end of the Hellenistic world, but rather a point of no return in the process of transformation that occurred during Late Antiquity. In his reign, we are given a faint glimpse of a world where Hellenistic religion might have been transformed to survive Christianity, and remain, as Julian saw it, at the core of Hellenistic cosmology. But with the emperor's death, his vision became nothing more than a brief after-image of what could have been.

Dives and Pauper:
Superstition and Catechesis in the Fifteenth Century
Dylan Fay

A proud man, riding along the horse-path from London, came upon two friars walking along an adjacent footpath to avoid the foul roadway. Coming up behind them near the edge of a ditch, the man cried, "On the left hand, friar! On the left hand!" and tried to cross onto the footpath so he could pass to the right of the two mendicants. When one friar asked the man to stay on the horse-path so that they could use the footpath, the man refused and began to press in with his horse between the two hapless travelers and the steep ditch on the right side of the road. Frustrated, one of the brothers shoved both man and horse into the ditch, where they lay for several hours until a passerby helped drag them out.

For what reason was the man on horseback so insistent that he pass to the right of the friars, even if it required them to step onto the muddy main roadway? Chapter 25 of the Gospel of Matthew provides the answer. A literal reading of the chapter had him superstitiously terrified that his passing on the friars' left-hand side would doom him to hell. Because those placed at Jesus' left in that story "will go off to eternal punishment, but the righteous to eternal life,"[1] presumably the man was afraid that getting caught on the left side of God's earthly delegates would earn him the same punishment as being to the left of God himself.[2]

The above story is found in the fifteenth-century manuscript *Dives and Pauper*, a lengthy theological exposition on the Ten Commandments, and is but one example of the superstition, magic, and misunderstood theology that permeated pre-modern England.[3] Medieval

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[1] Matthew 25:46.

[2] The episode of the superstitious horseman and the irritated friars can be found in Priscilla Heath Barnum, ed., *Dives and Pauper,* 3 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1976-2004), 1:187.

[3] "Magic" and "superstition" are used similarly in this article. Only the very educated perceived a nuance between the terms. Magic was the

people ascribed mystical powers to clergy and the religious. They carried charms and amulets, and said prayers to cure illness or ward off bad weather. In response, many members of the Church, such as the two friars above, fought a constant battle against the superstitious and magical beliefs that they considered parasitic to official Church teaching.

While scholarship on the period has amply demonstrated the prevalence of superstition in medieval and early-modern England, there is less research on the response to this culture of magic and the efforts of a small but zealous group of clergy and elites who fought fiercely to educate the laity about the danger superstition posed to orthodox belief. They did not deny the existence of magic, but rather cast it as the treacherous deceits of Satan, since true supernatural power could emanate only from God himself.[4]

Though historians such as Keith Thomas and Euan Cameron make brief mention of early Church attitudes toward magic, they and most other scholars consider the main thrust of anti-superstition efforts to have begun during the Reformation and counter-Reformation. A close analysis of *Dives and Pauper*, a text written in the vernacular and thus clearly intended for a wide audience, suggests that a strong and organized catechetical effort to counter superstition predates the Reformation by centuries.

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term for supernatural effects unexplainable by nature and used for evil, while superstition consisted of belief in or use of supernatural power existing outside of God's intentions. This article intends to draw a distinction between magic or superstition and religious practices with perceived superstitious elements, which were not superstitious in the eyes of their official practitioners because they were ordained by God

[4] Alan C. Kors and Edward Peters, *Witchcraft in Europe: 1100-1700: A Documentary History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 149–180. The fifteenth century, when *Dives and Pauper* was written, was the era when the concept of witches as diabolical servants began to dominate theological discussions of magic. Real magic had to emanate from the devil and was harshly punished. Superstitious belief could be gently corrected.

Although the author of *Dives and Pauper* is unknown, a close reading suggests that he was a member of the educated elite, well educated and literate. The text is structured as a conversation between two men, divided into ten "precepts" corresponding to each of the Ten Commandments. Dives, the rich man, usually proposes a theological question or makes an observation, which Pauper, the poor man, rebuts or clarifies. Pauper nearly always prevails in these discussions, and the obvious superiority of his arguments makes it easy to assume that the author at least identified with the character, even if he did not intend it to be a self-portrait.

Other portions of the text offer further hints as to his identity, such as this passage:

> DIVES: Of what country art thou?
> PAUPER: By dint of heritage, my country is paradise…
> Once I was free as others are, but for Christ's sake, to win the souls that he bought so dear, I have made myself servant to all men rich and poor…and for my travel I beg my meat and my clothing.
> DIVES: Thou seemst to have been a lettered man and a cleric…[5]

The above passage suggests that the author is a wanderer—perhaps a friar or a monk—who has taken a vow of poverty and lives to preach the gospel. He was quite possibly a friar, either of the Franciscan order or intimately familiar with Franciscan writings,[6] since he mentions

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[5] When quoting the critical edition of *Dives and Pauper*, I have transliterated the text from Middle English to modern English. In a few places, where I have merely cited or paraphrased the text, I include the full original in a footnote. Barnum, *Dives and Pauper* 1:52–53.

[6] Roland Bishop Dickison, "*Dives and Pauper*": *A Study of a Fifteenth Century Homiletic Tract* (Gainesville: University of Florida, 1950), 38. Evidence for the author's membership in the Franciscan order includes his praise of costly churches, his assertion that the preacher's word is God's word, and a mention of his footgear, which seems to describe Franciscan sandals rather than Dominican high shoes. Franciscans are also the only religious order mentioned favorably in the text. The only

reading the "life of St. Francis" in Precept Four. In any case, the man who wrote *Dives and Pauper* was a demonstrably learned theologian, literate in Latin and well-versed in the laws and teachings of the Church. He is able to quote such erudite figures as St. Augustine in his attack on astrology[7] and can cite canon law with ease.[8]

The author of the work references two specific historical events that suggest he began writing between 1402 and 1405.[9] The first of these is a spectacular comet that brightened the skies over Europe in 1402.[10] The second is a reference to the fact that the kalends of January fell on a Thursday in 1400, and "this year [i.e. 1405] is come again on the Thursday."[11] The first event is a *terminus post quem* for the date the author began work, and his reference to 1405 as "this year" makes it a likely *terminus ante quem* for the work.

As a sermon, *Dives and Pauper* was meant to reach as wide an audience as possible. Dives, the direct recipient of Pauper's teachings, gives a hint about the composition of this wide audience in Precept I:

Much of my nation is enchanted and blinded by such fantasies, many more than I can tell, and so they forfeit highly against the first commandment that ought most

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indication that he might not be a Franciscan is the frequent translation of Bible passages into English, a practice anathema to Franciscan leadership.

[7] *Seynt Austyn seyȝt nought þat þe craft was leueful...* Barnum, *Dives and Pauper*, 1:135. St. Augustine is a frequently quoted figure in the work.

[8] *And þerefor seith þe lawe þat þe offys of teching and chastysyng longyth nout only to þe buschop but to euery gouernour aftir his name & his degre, to þe pore man gouernynge his pore houshold, to þe riche man gouernynge his mene.* Barnum, *Dives and Pauper*, 1:328. The canon laws cited here are Causae 23 q.4 c.35 and 23 q.5 c.41. Emil Friedberg, ed., *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1879).

[9] Barnum, *Dives and Pauper,* 3:xviii. For an extended discussion of the date of the text, see also Dickison, "*Dives and Pauper,*" 23.

[10] *þat wondyrful comete and sterre quiche apperydde vpon þis lond þe ȝer of oure lord M CCCC II*. Barnum, *Dives and Pauper*, 1:147.

[11] Barnum, *Dives and Pauper*, 1:183.

to be charged… and there is neither bishop nor prelate nor curate nor preacher that will speak against these vices and errors that are so high against God's worship.[12]

Dives hopes that Pauper will take on the duties that the bishops, priests, and other preachers have neglected: namely, to speak out against the "fantasies" (i.e., superstitions) and vices that plague the nation of England. But as a written text, the audience for these teachings would seem to be limited to those able to read and understand English. An examination of the scope of the text's influence therefore hinges on, among other things, an understanding of literacy in the late Middle Ages.

Modern medieval scholars have made a strong case against the traditional model of literacy, with its "rapid decline in the period after the barbarian invasions, followed half a millennium later by an equally dramatic rebirth, to one of continuity punctuated by periods of acceleration."[13] In the Middle Ages, the ability to read was not necessarily linked to the ability to write, and a minimal capability in both was not described as literacy.[14]

While most of the common people did not possess the scholarly learning of the *literati* and the clergy, there nevertheless was "an extent of pragmatic literacy among the peasantry."[15] An increase in demand for books and literature in the vernacular led to a rise in the number of texts available, which in turn led to more readers, so that "by 1400 the principal difference between the court and the increasing bourgeoisie was one of taste, not of literacy."[16] Even the wholly illiterate still lived in a "culture of

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[12] Ibid., 1:188.

[13] Charles F. Briggs, "Literacy, Reading, and Writing in the Medieval West," *Journal of Medieval History*, 26, no. 4 (2000): 397–420.

[14] M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record, England, 1066–-1307* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 183.

[15] M. B. Parkes, "The Literacy of the Laity," in *The Medieval World*, ed. D. Daiches and A. Thorlby (London: Aldus Books, 1973), 555–76.

[16] Ibid.

literacy" in which texts were disseminated orally to those who could not read them.[17] Such a culture enabled the author of *Dives and Pauper* to address his work to a wide audience, including those ignorant of Latin, for whom he translates passages from the Vulgate into English whenever he cites the Bible.

A large number of extant manuscripts and editions suggest that this text was quite popular.[18] In 1490, it was widespread enough for a London merchant, John Russhe, to finance a first printing of six hundred copies, which was followed by a second printing in 1496.[19] Such popularity indicates that it was relevant to the people reading or hearing it. The text's anecdotes and documentation of magic—especially magic derived from corrupted religious belief—can therefore be considered representative of common occurrences in fifteenth-century England.

Pauper is by no means a skeptic. He readily believes in the power of witches and charmers to summon the devil and in the power of priests to cast such demons out,[20] and he considers it common knowledge that "spirits [of men] walk about when the men are dead."[21] To an educated medieval mind such as Pauper's, "magic" meant supernatural activity emanating from a source other than God, including the activity of witches and cunning-folk healers. In most cases, Pauper has little patience for such magical practices not in line with traditional Church doctrine, but he has no objection to equally supernatural phenomena that *are* orthodox—exorcisms, prayer, and consecration, for example, would not have been considered "magic" by Pauper and his elite contemporaries, despite their similarities to illicit sorcery.

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[17] Briggs, "Literacy," 397–420.

[18] Dickison, "*Dives and Pauper,*" 19.

[19] Barnum, *Dives and Pauper*, 3:lxxxiii.

[20] Barnum, *Dives and Pauper*, 1:155–56.

[21] Dives: *How is it þat sprytis walkyn so aboutyn whan men ben dede?* Pauper: *Comonly swyche sprytis arn fendys…* Barnum, *Dives and Pauper*, 1:171.

Magic and religion were intrinsically linked in the collective consciousness of the Middle Ages. As Keith Thomas notes, "the magical aspects of the Church's function were often inseparable from the devotional ones"[22] for many of the faithful. Like the thin line that divided veneration from idolatry, the distinction between prayer and charm was often too vague and undefined for the masses to fully understand. Many practices straddled this line, such as the celebration of Mass for a special purpose, but the most common conflation of superstition and religion came from the use of sacramentals and prayer.

Sacramentals are objects, devotions, and rituals blessed by the Catholic Church and believed to have special religious power. According to Church teaching, this power includes "the virtue to drive away evil spirits whose mysterious and baleful operations affect sometimes the physical activity of man."[23] Although they do not work *ex opere operato*—i.e., of their own accord—they do have a "special efficacy" that can "move God to give graces which He would otherwise not give."[24] Prominent examples of objects regarded as sacramentals include holy water, blessed salt, and amulets dedicated to Jesus or the saints. Ritualistic sacramentals include anything from the simple sign of the cross to more sophisticated devotions, such as novenas and fasting.

The objective power that the Church granted to such objects made them easy targets for abuse. Holy water in sacred fonts was often kept under lock and key to prevent it from being used for magical spells,[25] and priests presided

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[22] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 50. Thomas uses "magical aspects" to describe functions of the Church that employ supernatural power. The author of *Dives and Pauper* would disagree with the characterization of orthodox Church practices as "magical," but the term is useful for discussion.

[23] Henri Leclerq, "Sacramentals," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol 13 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912), http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/13292d.htm.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 280.

over the sacred fires on the Nativity of John the Baptist to prevent their misuse.[26] The friar of *Dives and Pauper* is especially concerned with the use of sacramentals by witches:

> All that use [for charms and conjurations] holy water of the font, holy chrism, singing in the Mass, fasting, continence, wearing sheep's wool as penance, and such others, in their witchcraft they make a high sacrifice to the devil.[27]

But he is quick to point out that it is not the holy objects themselves that enable the witch to do evil:

> DIVES: What have the Pater Noster [Our Father] and the holy candle done thereby?
> PAUPER: Nothing. But since the witch worshipped the devil so highly with that holy prayer and with the holy candle and used such holy things in his service, against the will of God, therefore is the devil ready to do the witch's will.[28]

When sacramentals are properly used, the objects themselves hold no power, but rather can move God to act. Similarly, in this example of improper use, the holy candle was used to induce the devil to act, but possessed no evil power in and of itself.

A key feature distinguishing *sacramentals* from the *sacraments* is that sacramentals are not guaranteed to work. As the author of *Dives and Pauper* notes, men "must not bind God nor put him to any laws," because sometimes God "grants them not that end or effect that they fasted for."[29] A person who uses sacramentals must "call on the

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[26] Euan Cameron, *Enchanted Europe* (London: Oxford University Press, 2010), 219.

[27] Barnum, *Dives and Pauper*, 1:162–63.

[28] Ibid.

[29] *And þerfor God graunteth hem nouȝt þat ende ne þe effect þat þ fastyn fore…We mon nouȝt artyn God ne puttyn hym to no lawys, and þerfor*

grace of God in his doing"[30] and trust Him to make the final decision regarding their petition and not believe that the temporal objects themselves hold the power.

Such a distinction—e.g., that holy water works as a facilitator of divine grace, rather than on its own merits—would have been a difficult concept for people without theological training to grasp. To the theologically educated clergy, divine power and false superstitious power competed in a cosmic conflict for the allegiance of the faithful. But for the majority—including many in the clergy itself—that cosmic conflict did not take place. Rather, overlapping and mutually supporting forms of spiritual energy were available to help them through the perils of life.[31] This majority of people considered countless forms of religious magic acceptable, even without a full understanding of the theology behind them.

For example, the use of holy water or relics to cure illness in livestock and people was an acceptable practice, as was crossing oneself to fend off demons, ringing bells to dispel storms, and the use of prayer in *ex opere operato* fashion.[32] Along similar lines, the author of *Dives and Pauper* permits the "hanging of scrolls about man, woman, child, or beast for sickness, with scripture or figures or words" so long as the words are the "Pater noster, Ave, or the creed, or holy words of the Gospel…or the token of the

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we shuldyn puttyn al our lyf and our deth only in his wil… Barnum, *Dives and Pauper*, 1:172.

[30] *To helyn mennys woundys…blac wolle and olee ben wel medicinable… But þouȝ a man in þe doynge seye his Pater noster or som holy preyere, clepynge þe grace of God in his doynge, it is no wychecraft but it is wel don.* The friar finds it acceptable to use holy oil [olee] and chanted prayers to heal a wound, so long as the petitioner realizes that he is calling on God's grace in his doing. Barnum, *Dives and Pauper*, 1:168–69.

[31] Cameron, *Enchanted Europe*, 62.

[32] For the use of relics, see ibid. 28. For the use of holy water, the sign of the cross, and church bells see ibid. 49. For the use of prayer as a charm that worked simply by virtue of the words said, see Cameron, *Enchanted Europe*, 42.

holy cross."[33] Like St. Thomas Aquinas, who wrote that "it would seem that it is not unlawful to wear divine words at the neck,"[34] Pauper believes that the wearer must place his faith in God and not in the object itself.

In contrast to such benign blessings, the twisting of religious practice for superstitious or nefarious means was unacceptable in any manner. A communicant who carried away the host in his mouth possessed a source of great power, with which he could cure blindness, avoid ill fortune, or protect his home,[35] even though the Church forbade any use of the Host except consumption. A person might fast in order to cause the death of an enemy or use attendance at Mass as a way to ascertain the guilt or innocence of a suspected criminal, like the "poison ordeals" common in primitive societies,[36] and some corrupt priests even tried to use the Requiem Mass as an imprecation against the living.[37]

Dives and Pauper also warns of witches who pray the words of the Gospel or the Lord's Prayer backwards, or use holy water, holy oil, and chanting to summon the devil.[38] Those who "say the Pater Noster or other holy words…to imply that what is done is done by way of miracle and by his prayer and holiness, when in fact he did it by reason and working of nature" are condemned as committing a "very great hypocrisy and grievous sin."[39] Fasting to avoid

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[33] Barnum, *Dives and Pauper*, 1:157–58.

[34] St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica, Second and Revised Edition* (London: Fathers of the English Dominican Province, 1920), Secunda Secundae Partis, 96, a. 4, www.newadvent.org/summa.

[35] Thomas, *Religion*, 34.

[36] Ibid., 44.

[37] *He þo þat for hate or wratthe þat þey beryn aȝenys man or woman…syngyn messe of requiem for hem þat ben olyue in hope þat þey shuldyn faryn þe werse and þe sonere deye, þe preest shulde ben disgradit, and boþe þe prest and he þat styrde hym þerto for to don it shuldyn ben exylyd foreuere.* Barnum, *Dives and Pauper*, 1:159.

[38] Barnum, *Dives and Pauper*, 1:162.

[39] Dives: *What ȝif he seye þe Pater noster or oþer holy wordis…for to don þe peple wenyn þat it is don be weye of miracle and for his preyere and his holynesse, wan he doth it be resoun and werkyng of kende?*

sudden death and fasting on certain days based on the Church calendar in hopes of a lucky year are both sinful,[40] as is the use of witchcraft to turn men and women into the likeness of beasts or birds.[41]

The Church did not encourage its adherents to attach magical significance to religious observances. In fact, since its arrival in England, the Christian Church had consistently campaigned against the resort of the laity to magic and magicians.[42] It is unsurprising, however, that such beliefs persisted, since the subtleties of Church doctrine were incomprehensible to the average person in 1400. Transubstantiation, for example, seemed especially magical—a priest muttered incantations and gestured over simple bread and wine, which then physically changed into the body and blood of Christ.

When such mystical processes were official practices of the Church, the persistence of superstition in the face of institutional attempts to educate or suppress believers in magic is unsurprising. *Dives and Pauper* is just one of the many attempts by well-educated theologians to address the problem of superstition among the faithful and explain the difference between acceptable religious custom and heretical magic. In fact, evidence of a series of sermons by the same author has recently been discovered,[43] which offers further evidence that the homily was intended to provide clergy a tool with which to educate their flock.

Countless other examples of magic and superstition can be found in *Dives and Pauper*, including fascinating discussions of astrology, witches, religious curses, and

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Pauper: *Þan is it a wol gret ypocrysye and wel greuous synne in hym.* Barnum, *Dives and Pauper.*, 1:169.

[40] Dives: *[Is it] leful to trostyn in þese fastyngis newly foundyn to flen sodeyn deth?* Pauper: *It is gret foly to trostyn þerinne…* Barnum, *Dives and Pauper*, 1:172–3.

[41] *And alle þo þat seyn or leuyn þat men and women myȝtyn be wychecraft ben turnyd into bestis / or into þe lyknesse of bestis or bryddis bodyly ben warse þan ony paynym.* Barnum, *Dives and Pauper*, 1:158–59.

[42] Thomas, *Religion*, 253.

[43] Ann Hudson, *The Premature Reformation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 118.

miracles. The existence of such texts is strong evidence of the ubiquity of pre-modern belief in magic and its close relationship to religious beliefs—a conflation that would continue for centuries into the Renaissance. Analysis of a primary text—especially a sermon clearly intended to reflect the time in which it was written—provides an incredibly useful glimpse of the fascinating, enchanted world of the fifteenth century and the struggle the Church faced to keep its teaching clear amidst a sea of superstition. In a treatise on divination published in 44 BC, Cicero declared that "religion is not destroyed by the destruction of superstition."[44] Although the author of *Dives and Pauper* wrote 1,500 years later, it seems likely that he, who did his best to encourage one and destroy the other, would have agreed with the Roman orator.

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[44] *Nec vero, id enim diligenter intellegi volo, superstitione tollenda religio tollitur.* Cicero, *De divinatione,* book I, chapter LXXII, sec. 148.

Constructing Hausa Identities in
Colonial Northern Nigeria
Josh Krusell

Ethnicity can be delineated by the cultural differences which create "a common consciousness of being one in relation to the other interacting ethnic groups."[1] This distinction allows for the creation of imagined communities based upon the perception of commonly held values and goals.[2] These imagined communities serve as the basis of group negotiation within society through the expression of both political and cultural representations. Thus, ethnicity can serve as a form of political identity, both as a result of the ideological values that may be inherited from a particular culture and the potential status that may be conferred by a particular ethnicity within a political hierarchy. Furthermore, due to the changing social conditions which influence the construction of identity, ethnicity represents a continuous process of group identification.

This continuous process can be seen in the construction of Hausa political identities during the era of British colonialism in Northern Nigeria. Through much of Nigeria's history, Hausa has been the dominant ethnic group, both politically and economically, within this mostly Muslim region. As such, the British co-opted the Hausa political elite into the colonial hierarchy as a means of extending British dominance through indirect rule.[3] The implementation of indirect rule influenced the ongoing development of the Hausa ethnic identity through the preservation of the pre-existing Islamic political order. However, indirect rule also resulted in a fundamental

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[1] Okwudiba Nnoli, *Ethnicity and Development in Nigeria* (Aldershot, Hants, England: Avebury, 1995), 2.

[2] Benedict R. O. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991).

[3] Indirect rule was a type of European colonial policy in which the traditional local power structure, or part of it, was incorporated into the colonial administrative structure.

contradiction emanating from a colonial desire to both preserve the pre-existing political and religious institutions, and to modernize the colonized.

This paper will analyze how indirect rule affected the construction of ethnicity and political identity within colonial Northern Nigeria during the first decades of the twentieth century. There is an extensive literature focused on the impact of indirect rule as a formative policy during the colonial period. Previous scholarship has analyzed Hausa as a categorical identity that was co-opted by the British colonial administration.[4] Additional works have focused on the introduction of technology as a mode of colonial rule and on the native discourses surrounding colonialism.[5] This paper will adopt both the conclusion that Hausa exists as a category of group identification and that technology serves as a fundamental aspect of colonial modernity in order to demonstrate the development of the Hausa identity as a facet of colonialism.

The first section will summarize the principles of indirect rule and the pre-colonial development of Hausa identity to demonstrate that Islam within Northern Nigeria existed, and continues to exist, as a cultural phenomenon through its association with the Hausa ethnicity. The paper will also offer an overview of the Islamic institutions retained by the colonial administration in order to describe the conditions that tied tradition to the political identity of the Hausa elite. Finally, this paper will analyze the paradoxes of indirect rule that arose due to the conflicting desires of British colonials to both preserve and transform Hausa society. Overall, then, it will be argued that through the colonial policies of the British administrators, Hausa, as

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[4] Moses Ochonu, "Colonialism within Colonialism: The Hausa-Caliphate Imaginary and the British Colonial Administration of the Nigerian Middle Belt," *African Studies Quarterly*, 10, no. 2 (2008): 95-127.

[5] Brian Larkin, *Signal and Noise: Media, Infrastructure, and Urban Culture in Nigeria* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); Muhammad Sani Umar, *Islam and Colonialism: Intellectual Responses of Muslims of Northern Nigeria to British Colonial Rule* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

a pre-existing ethnic identity, continued to develop as a political process tied to the traditional Islamic identity of the political elite.

Indirect Rule:

On January 1, 1900, Colonel Frederick Lugard declared the establishment of the British Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, comprised predominantly of the territories of the Sokoto Caliphate. [6] The establishment of the Protectorate represented an expansion of British colonial dominance in an effort to compete with the other European colonial powers, most notably the French and Germans, who were vying for territory in West Africa. The Northern region was completely conquered by 1903, resulting in the death of Sultan Muhammadu Attahiru I in the Battle of Burmi and the installment of Muhammadu Attahiru II as the new caliph within the colonial administration. By 1906, armed resistance to British dominance ceased following the suppression of a Madhist revolution in the Saturi Uprising. Thus, the British were able to quickly establish effective military dominance within Northern Nigeria. Lugard utilized this military superiority to legitimize the new colonial administration by claiming the *right of conquest,* the assertion that military superiority justifies political control.[7] However, despite military superiority, the British did not have the manpower or resources to establish effective political control. As such, the religious and political institutions of the Sokoto Caliphate were retained through a manipulation of the pre-existing power hierarchy to support British colonial rule. This retention served as the basis for the policy known as indirect rule, whereby British colonials utilized forms of indigenous political control in order to effectively administer decentralized colonial territories.

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[6] Umar, *Islam and Colonialism*, 1.

[7] Ibid*., 22.*

Two pre-conditions were necessary for the implementation of indirect rule: a centralized system of political authority and the existence of ethnic difference.[8] When the British conquered Northern Nigeria, they were presented with a well-organized polity known as the Sokoto Caliphate, dominated by the Hausa-Fulani ethnic group.[9] The political Muslim elite claimed to be descended from Arabians, thus making them natural allies, in contrast to the strictly African population.[10] The British maintained the status of the political elite by retaining pro-colonial Emirs, thereby elevating the position of the Hausa within the colonial hierarchy. As a result, the manipulation of specific elites through a strategy of ''divide-and-rule'' reinforced ethnic divisions.[11] Furthermore, the political and cultural structure of the Sokoto Caliphate was extended to areas that lacked a strong centralized authority.

In effect, the British established a form of Hausa sub-imperialism in which indirect rule promoted the dominance of the Hausa elite over regions, such as the Nigerian Middle Belt, which had previously been independent of the Sokoto Caliphate.[12] This form of indirect rule was hardly unique to Nigeria, and was instead modeled after the colonial administration of India, which gave political power to the Muslim elite over the largely Hindu population. [13] Indirect rule represented a policy of gradualism through which the British hoped to maintain the traditional institutions central to colonial order while still embarking on the goal of modernization found in European

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[8] Ochonu, "Colonialism within Colonialism," 95.

[9] Hausa-Fulani refers to the collective ethnic identity established following the 1804 Fulani Jihad. Since the Fulani integrated into Hausa society while also influencing the consolidation of Hausa identity, the two ethnic groups are closely related. For the remainder of the paper, the Hausa-Fulani ethnicity will simply be referred to as Hausa.

[10] Frank A. Salamone, "Colonialism and the Emergence of Fulani Identity," *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 20, no. 3/4 (1985): 196.

[11] Ochonu, "Colonialism within Colonialism," 96.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid., 102.

colonialism. It was this process of indirect rule which directly shaped the ongoing development of Hausa identity. The association of the Hausa with political authority and power in Northern Nigeria meant that with the colonial emphasis on tradition, traditional religious and cultural traits became the constituents of the Hausa identity

The Development of Hausa Identity:

The Hausa language has evolved to denote what Moses Ochonu describes as "a category that has become synonymous, and now correlates, rightly or wrongly, with certain ways of acting, expressing oneself, making a living and worshipping God."[14] The categorical function of the Hausa language reflects the diverse composition of the Hausa ethnicity. Affiliation with the Hausa identity is loosely based on the characteristics that differentiate Hausa from surrounding ethnicities. Hausa thus represents a collective sum of political, social, and economic patterns which govern a member's interpersonal relations. Furthermore, central to the Hausa identity is an association with Islam, which during the colonial period governed the manner in which tradition defined Hausa ethnicity.[15]

This association was rooted in the 1804-1808 Fulani Jihad launched by Uthman b. Fodiye, which aimed at purifying Islam within the Hausa city-states. The Jihad resulted in the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate, which imposed a unifying central political authority over the Hausa region. Following the conquest, the Fulani jihadists integrated into Hausa society through the adoption of the Hausa language and culture, despite their serving as the political elite. This integration, coupled with the Islamic ideology of the Jihad, shaped the development of a unified Hausa identity. As a result, the Jihad led to the Islamization

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[14] Ochonu, "Colonialism within Colonialism," 98.

[15] Although Hausa has been to a large extent associated with Islam, not all Hausa are Muslim. Nevertheless, historical developments of the Hausa identity have made Islam an integral aspect of Hausa identity and society.

of the Hausa identity, in which Muslim principles of piety were established as cultural characteristics.[16] Islam therefore served as method of homogenization through which the borders of the Hausa ethnicity became permeable to non-ancestral individuals. This incorporative nature "was crucial because it reinforced the power of the Hausa language and Islam as the supreme indicators of belonging."[17] Hausa therefore represented those, even outside of Hausaland, who self-identified with Islam and the Hausa language. The fluidity of Hausa as a group identity demonstrates that the development of the Hausa ethnicity is an ongoing process affected by present social conditions.

The inclusive nature of Hausa led to its association with the political power of the Sokoto Caliphate. The collective connotations that defined Hausa as an identity were tied to the dominance of the political elite. Any individual who identified as Hausa was granted access to the privileges and status conferred through the Caliphate. Thus, Hausa served as a form of political identity through which membership in the group allowed for the collective negotiation of perceived goals.[18] The British retention of the Sokoto power structure and Islamic institutions reinforced the association of the Hausa identity with the political elite and Islam. As such, indirect rule had the effect of emphasizing the preservation of tradition, thus establishing the boundaries of Hausa along both political and cultural lines. In both cases, Islam served to legitimize Hausa political power and as the principal aspect of Hausa culture.

Preservation of Islamic Institutions:

Central to the principle of indirect rule in Northern Nigeria was the preservation of Islamic institutions, which legitimized the power of the political elite. As a result,

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[16] Ochonu, "Colonialism within Colonialism," 98.
[17] Ibid., 100.
[18] Salamone, "Colonialism and the Emergence of Fulani Identity," 199.

there exists a contentious debate concerning the extent to which the British promoted Islam within Nigeria. Rather than arguing whether the British favored Islam as a mode of indirect rule, it is appropriate to adopt Muhammad S. Umar's more nuanced framework for understanding British policy towards Islam.[19] The British approach to Islam and indirect rule can thus be understood in terms of appropriation, containment, and surveillance.[20] In the case of appropriation, British colonial officials utilized Islam as a method of political control. This included incorporating the Sokoto political structure into the native administration. Furthermore, the British Empire sought Islamic legitimization for colonial rule through the appropriation of Muslim edicts as the legal justification for such systems as taxation.[21]

Containment, on the other hand, was expressed through the absolute authority of the colonial officials. Although the position of the Emirs within society was retained, the British colonial administration still held authority over who occupied each position as well as exclusive control of such sectors of society as the military. Although the two policies of appropriation and containment may seem contradictory, it reflected the desire of the British colonial state to maintain political hegemony through the promotion of Islam as a political tool and the containment of Islam as a means to maintain central control.[22] Finally, surveillance involved the active monitoring of religious leaders thought to pose a threat to the colonial order. The perceived need for surveillance was fueled by British fears concerning potential Islamist uprisings, "even though there was no

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[19] For an overview of Christian critiques of Islam and the colonial government during the colonial era, see Andrew E. Barnes, "'Religious Insults': Christian Critiques of Islam and the Government in Colonial Northern Nigeria," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 34, no. 1/2 (2004): 62-81.

[20] Umar, *Islam and Colonialism,* 26.

[21] Ibid., 32.

[22] Crawford Young, *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 147-149.

armed opposition to colonialism among the Muslims of Northern Nigeria since the armed revolts of 1906 in Satiru, Bauchi, and Hadejia were suppressed."[23] These fears were especially exemplified in the British attitudes towards the *tariqa Tijaniyya,* which was considered "as having the potential to 'radicalize' the stability of the colony" due to its universal pan-Islamic character.[24] Together, all three conceptualizations provide a method for understanding the justification behind the retention of various Islamic institutions by the British colonial administration. This remains particularly important since this preservation served as the cornerstone for the shaping of colonial Hausa identity.

One of the most preeminent institutions retained by the British was the Islamic legal system prevalent during the Sokoto Caliphate. Although English Common Law was introduced to Northern Nigeria, shari'a courts were retained as a parallel court system to deal specifically with "native law and custom."[25] The Islamic court system represented a method of appropriation by the British, who utilized it to maintain the legal legitimacy of the colonial-era Hausa political order. However, the British still undertook an active approach of containment through selective acts of "suspending aspects of Islamic Law; imposing non-Islamic laws passed by the British; and subordinating Islamic law to British law in cases of conflict of laws."[26] The foremost example of containment was the British action to outlaw slavery through the appropriated Islamic legal system. The continued existence of Islamic law under colonialism served as a symbol, both for Islam and Hausa society in general. Thus, it represented merely one aspect of the Hausa tradition the British were attempting to preserve.

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[23] Umar, *Islam and Colonialism*, 38.

[24] Irit Back, "From the Colony to the Post-Colony: Sufis and Wahhabists in Senegal and Nigeria," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 42, no. 2/3 (2008): 428.

[25] Umar, *Islam and Colonialism*, 41.

[26] Ibid., 45.

The Paradox of Indirect Rule:

One of the overarching goals of European colonialism was to modernize indigenous societies through the introduction of European technological innovation. Within the colonial setting, technology served a double function by providing a direct economic benefit through innovation and infrastructural development while also serving as a representation of power and authority by the colonial administration.[27] The result was the establishment of what Brian Larkin terms the colonial sublime, which represented both of these functions as modes of colonial rule.[28] The awed reaction of indigenous populations towards technology represents the sublime, which in turn is eventually destroyed by the developmental effects of technology.

Within Northern Nigeria, the introduction of technology as a facet of modernization undermined the efforts of the British to preserve the traditional structure of Hausa society. Thus, there existed "a contradiction at the heart of indirect rule, revolving around the simultaneous promise to preserve existing Hausa society and to transform it."[29] This resulted in the creation of dual political systems—the native administration and the British hierarchy—which separated the colonized from the colonial, as well as from other colonized ethnic groups with different political and religious institutions.[30]

The tension between preservation and transformation added to the tensions between the various ethnic groups comprising Northern and Southern Nigeria.[31] Following the amalgamation of the Northern and Southern Nigerian

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[27] Larkin, *Signal and Noise*, 47.

[28] Ibid., 35-40.

[29] Ibid., 23.

[30] Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 18.

[31] Nigeria has had a long history of ethno-religious conflicts. One famous example is the Biafran War involving the failed attempt by the Southeastern portion of Nigeria to establish an independent state.

Protectorates into one British territory in 1914, these tensions arose, in part, from colonial policies promoting ethno-religious differences. The colonial emphasis on ethnic separation reinforced ethno-political consciousness and was aimed at preventing the development of a Nigerian nationalistic movement.[32] The radically different approaches to modernization undertaken in each region were an extension of these policies, further exacerbating the situation by resulting in uneven regional development. In the North, the emphasis on the preservation of tradition as a means of maintaining the indigenous political order led to the banning of Western education and Christian missionaries.[33] As a result, many Southern Nigerians viewed Northern Nigerians as backwards and uneducated.[34] This developmental isolation, and by implicit extension indirect rule, was supported by the Hausa political elite, who claimed legitimacy through tradition. Such modernization efforts as Western education were seen, among various conservative Muslim elements of society, as "ploy[s] for the conversion of Muslims to Christianity."[35] Thus, Hausa political identity became tied to the policies of gradualism and the rejection of modernization which undermined traditional Islamic authority.

The Evolving Concept of Hausa Identity:

During colonialism, the ongoing development of the Hausa identity was also caught up in the paradox of indirect rule. While developmental isolation reinforced the traditional Islamic identity of the political elite, modest efforts at transformation by the colonial administration led to the emergence of alternative political identities. It is important to remember that, although indirect rule insulated

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[32] Joseph C. Ebegbulem, "Ethnic Politics and Conflicts in Nigeria: Theoretical Perspective," *Khazar Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 14, no. 3 (2011), 1.

[33] Larkin, *Signal and Noise,* 28.

[34] Ibid., 30.

[35] Umar, *Islam and Colonialism*, 58.

Northern Nigeria from various aspects of modernization (particularly during the early years of colonialism), there existed a certain degree of economic and social development spurred on by the colonial administration. Infrastructural initiatives such as railways and banks were undertaken extensively while there were modest attempts to introduce Western education.[36] Nowhere was the paradox between modernization and tradition more apparent than in Kano, which developed during the colonial era into two sections: the *Birni,* or old city, comprised of the emirs and traditional elite, and the *Waje*, or outside, which consisted of the township including the regional colonial administration.

This paradoxical development led over time to the gradual emergence of a "modern-oriented, Western-educated Hausa elite, eager to modernize Northern Nigeria, and whose emerging power base was seen as a threat by the aristocracy."[37] This small class of Western-educated Hausa represented an alternative to the Islamic emirs and served as a counterweight to the traditional Islamic conceptualization of the Hausa identity. The orientation towards modernization was further present during the post-colonial transition to independence in which Northern reform-minded politicians, although still a minority, argued for increased societal and economic development.[38] Some of the discourse surrounding modernization during the transition period can be seen in Hausa poetry by individuals such as Sa'adu Zungur who argued in favor of tradition within Hausa society.[39] Thus, the emergence of alternative political identities demonstrates the diverse nature of ethnicity.

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[36] Larkin, *Signal and Noise*, *27, 46.*

[37] Ibid., 23.

[38] C. S. Whitaker, *The Politics of Tradition Continuity and Change in Northern Nigeria, 1946-1966* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1970), 58-60.

[39] Graham Furniss, *Poetry, Prose and Popular Culture in Hausa* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), 224-227.

Conclusion:

Hausa comprises the collective development of an ethnic identity which, following the 1804 Fulani Jihad, was largely tied to the traditions of Islam. Colonialism had an enormous impact on the construction of identity within Northern Nigeria by influencing the manner in which this ethnicity continued to develop. The political identity of the Hausa elite was constructed and legitimized through a pre-existing Islamic tradition that was co-opted by the British colonial administration. However, inherent paradoxes within colonial policies led to the emergence of a minority, Western-educated elite oriented towards the principles of modernization, who represented a counterweight to the traditional Islamic institutions. It remains important to note, however, that ethnicity represents a diverse collection of personal identities. Although broad trends can be established, there are always multiple and competing notions of identity within any group. Nevertheless, tracing the influence of sociopolitical processes such as indirect rule remains particularly relevant when attempting to analyze the lasting effects of colonialism on Nigeria.

"Let's Raid a Girls' Dorm!":
Student Resentment of Social Norms at the University
of Florida in the 1950s
Michael Boothby

For many Americans, the phrase "sexual revolution" conjures memories of long-haired hippies, free love, and the pill. While these images reflect the expanding revolution of the 1960s, a transformation of sexuality in the United States began a decade earlier with ordinary students on college campuses. In the 1950s, white, middle-class college students started to challenge established social norms and the antiquated sexual mores of their parents' generation.[1] These norms stigmatized pre-marital sex, masturbation, pornography, and any expression of open sexuality. Even before the era of the counterculture, students grew frustrated with the limitations on their ability to express their sexuality openly and publicly. On campus, panty raids gave expression to that frustration.

A panty raid, as the name suggests, describes the act of male students breaking university housing regulations by entering female dormitories and taking female undergarments. In the spring of 1952, panty raids took place frequently around the country, occurring at the University of Wisconsin, the University of Alabama, Indiana University, the University of Oklahoma, and University of Kansas, to name a few.[2] At the University of Florida, two major panty raids occurred in 1952 and 1959. At the time, many adults, including school administrators and even Alfred Kinsey, a prominent biologist and human

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[1] On the sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s in the United States, see John D'Emilio and Estelle Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1988), 301-343; David Allyn, *Make Love Not War: An Unfettered History of the Sexual Revolution* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 2000). Beth Bailey's *Sex in the Heartland* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002) remains one of the few books to examine the roots of the sexual revolution on college campuses in the 1950s.

[2] Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 45.

sexuality researcher, argued that the panty raids were nothing to be concerned about because "all animals play around."[3] Yet, at the University of Florida (U.F.), the panty raids reflected deeper tensions. They served not only as a release of students' sexual frustration, but also demonstrated for the first time in the school's history that male and female students were going to insist on public acknowledgement of their sexuality. The raids also foreshadowed the violent anti-war protests of the 1960s and early 1970s and reflected a liberal atmosphere at the University of Florida, which separated it from many other southern universities.[4]

Historian Beth Bailey argues that many students in the 1950s were already "breaking the rules" without directly challenging the system of sexual controls.[5] That is, students still secretly found ways to have sex but never openly rejected the status quo. This paper reaffirms Bailey's findings by using a local case study of one university and also shows that a minority of students were ready to contest the sexual mores of their parents' generation. The group mentality of the panty raids at U.F. allowed these students to challenge directly the administration in a way they could not before. The raids captured students' resentment of the *in loco parentis* rules that forced them to keep their sexual lives secret.[6] While the raids did not end *in loco parentis*, they were among the first events at the university to challenge the idea. However, the raids also ended up having very significant and unforeseen consequences and served as one of the main

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[3] Ibid., 46.

[4] Marshall Jones, typescript for "Berkeley of the South," University Archives, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

[5] Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 49.

[6] *In loco parentis* is Latin for "in the place of the parent." The *in loco parentis* system at universities governed what students could wear and restricted interactions between male and female students with the goal of controlling sexual behavior. See Kathleen A. Bogle, *Hooking Up: Sex, Dating, and Relationships on Campus* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 22.

reasons that the university administration moved to create stricter policies on public group assembly in the 1960s.[7]

To analyze properly the panty raids and their impact at the University of Florida, one must first look at the composition of the student body at the time. Prior to 1947, the university was an all-male school. When Dr. Marna V. Brady became the school's first Dean of Women in 1948, only 400 women attended as undergraduates.[8] The ratio of men to women was initially a staggering eight to one, but by 1967, Brady's last year as Dean of Women, men outnumbered women by a significantly smaller ratio of two and a half to one.[9] At the time of the first panty raid, 9,221 students attended the University of Florida - 6,985 men and 2,236 women.[10] By 1958, a year before the second panty raid, the number of female students had increased by about 400.[11] It is evident then that male students outnumbered female students by a considerable margin both in 1952 and 1959. During the 1950s, the enrollment of thousands of female students forced the university to create new administrative and housing policies.

The university created the Office of the Dean of Women in 1948 to handle the affairs of female students. At that time, women had to live in apartments off-campus as no on-campus housing existed for them yet.[12] In 1950, Mallory and Yulee became the first women's dorms, and

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[7] These stricter policies on public group assembly affected the Vietnam War protests at UF. On the protests, see Michael Steven Thomas, "The May 1972 Crisis," *Alpata: A Journal of History* 9 (2012): 81-91.

[8] Dr. Marna V. Brady, Oral History Interview with Samuel Proctor, January 1, 1971, 4, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program Collection, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

[9] Proctor, Interview with Dr. Marna V. Brady, 8.

[10] R.C. Beaty to Dean W.W. Little, November 12, 1952, Student Body: Enrollment, Box 7, Series 49, University Archives.

[11] Office of the Dean of Women Report to the President Academic Year 1958-1959, Miscellaneous Reports 1958-1969, Box 3, Subseries 49c, University Archives.

[12] Proctor, Interview with Dr. Marna V. Brady, 10.

adult supervisors lived in both.[13] A 1952 letter from Dean Beaty illustrates the strictness of the university's housing regulations:

> Regulations provide that freshmen men students must live on the campus so long as we have space available.
> All freshmen women must live in University dormitories unless given special permission and for a good reason to live off campus.
> Upper class women may live off campus provided there are not sufficient accommodations on the campus and with the permission of parents.
> A large number of young women live in sorority houses which are under general supervision of the University administration.[14]

Clearly, the administration was greatly concerned with the supervision of women's housing. Dormitories and sorority houses allowed the university to keep an eye on young women and ensure that they were acting as "proper" students. It is also interesting to note that only upper-class (junior and senior) women were allowed to live off campus, and they still needed permission from their parents to do so. Meanwhile, freshman men only had to live on campus provided that there was enough space, and there is no mention of men needing parental permission to live off campus. A double standard existed between men and women in the 1950s toward off-campus housing.

While housing policies in the 1950s were stricter for women than men, social regulations were tight for both sexes. The Dean of Men's Office authorized all social events and required two sets of chaperones to attend all mixed social events. Regulations allowed for socials on Fridays to continue until 1:00am, and socials on Saturdays to continue until 1:30am. Women could visit fraternity houses until 10:30pm from Sunday through Thursday.

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[13] Proctor, Interview with Dr. Marna V. Brady, 11.

[14] R.C. Beaty to Dean W.W. Little, November 12, 1952, Student Body: Enrollment, Box 7, Series 49.

Visiting hours on Saturdays and Sundays coincided with those of the socials, and drinking was not allowed in fraternity houses or on campus.[15]   Although this information is gleaned from a 1962 memo, social regulations from the 1950s would certainly have been no less strict.

Men and women were only permitted to mingle during "proper" hours while under supervision. Even though mixed social functions were allowed to continue later on Friday and Saturday nights, they were chaperoned. Women were not allowed under any circumstance to spend the night in any male residence. These strict regulations on male and female social activities serve as an example of *in loco parentis* at the university in the 1950s and early 1960s. These rules limited greatly students' ability to express publicly their sexuality and made it difficult, but not impossible, for students to have sexual relationships privately.[16] It was these constraints that students lashed out against in the panty raids of 1952 and 1959.

Beth Bailey claims that panty raids "broke out like brushfires" in 1952, following a wave of violence on college campuses in reaction to the U.S. involvement in Korea.[17] While these riots created a culture of unrest on campus, student participation in the panty raids demonstrated sexual, as well as political, frustration. This is evident in the variety of ways each university dealt with the problems posed by the panty raids. For example, at the nearby University of Alabama, the administration only went so far as to lock women's lingerie in trunks to prevent a raid. To appease the crowd of men below their dorm windows, girls threw socks instead. Farther north at the University of Oklahoma, the administration called in the

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[15] Memorandum from the Office of the Dean of Men on Social Regulations, Student Regulations, 1950-1962, Box 5, Subseries 49c, University Archives.

[16] On *in loco parentis* in the United States, see Herman Edward Harms' *A History of the Concept of In Loco Parentis in American Education* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1970).

[17] Bailey, *Sex in the Heartland*, 45.

state police when two thousand male students descended upon the women's dorms. At the University of Kansas, the Lawrence police simply instructed women to leave their doors open and not resist.[18] Each university's response to the panty raids differed because administrators did not know how to respond to what Beth Bailey describes as "the explosive power of sexuality."[19] While the raids may have resembled the earlier riots in their scale, they had clear sexual implications that threatened the established social norms on college campuses. Panty raids were a national trend, and the University of Florida was no exception.

A few days prior to the May 7, 1952 panty raid, an article in the *Alligator*, the University of Florida student newspaper, encouraged students to "keep abreast of the times and follow the lead of the liberal, intellectual minds of our northern universities. Let's raid a girls' dorm. It's the thing to do."[20] This article shows that the University of Florida was not as conservative as other southern universities, and students wanted to make a political statement like the more liberal northern universities. On the evening of May 7, a dozen male students were relaxing across from the dormitories on University Avenue when one of them suggested a visit to the women's dormitories. After an enthusiastic response, the men decided to carry out their plan. Hundreds of students joined the group as they marched to the female dorms: Mallory, Reid, and Yulee. The raiders broke into the women's dorms, grabbed items of lingerie, and triumphantly waved them from the windows. The more cooperative women even assisted the raiders by throwing their underwear out of their windows to the cheering mob below.[21]

Dean of Women Marna V. Brady arrived on the scene while the raiders were in Grove Hall. There, she met a tall blond man coming down the hall whose eyes were glazed

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[18] Ibid., 45.

[19] Ibid., 46.

[20] Samuel Proctor and Wright Langley, *Gator History* (Gainesville, FL: South Star Publishing Company, 1986), 45.

[21] Julian Pleasants, *Gator Tales: An Oral History of the University of Florida* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida, 2006), 43.

over. Grabbing him by the shirt, she pleaded, "Will you help me get these guys out of here?" He quickly became rational and agreed to help.[22] The men moved on to the sorority houses after raiding the dormitories. Ann Jones, the assistant registrar, waved a revolver around in front of the Chi Omega House to dissuade the raiders from entering.[23] Despite all the chaos, nobody was hurt during the incident, and eventually authorities subdued the raiders and peacefully restored order to the campus.[24]

Looking back at the panty raids of the 1950s, Dean of Men Lester Hale did not consider them to be very serious.[25] Marna Brady echoed this sentiment but stated that events escalated during the 1959 panty raid. With regards to that event, she exclaimed, "It got nasty that time."[26] Roughly seven years after the first panty raid and the national panty raid trend, on May 6, 1959, another group of restless male students marched on Broward Hall and the sorority houses.[27] In an attempt to pacify the heated students, the new Dean of Men, Lester Hale, sang the "Alma Mater" to the crowd. His strategy, however, proved to be ineffective, as the students responded by throwing beer cans and rocks at him, a direct challenge to authority.[28] The riot threatened to become violent when students began doing the same to off-campus police who were called in by the administration. Fortunately, the arrival of an ambulance with its siren blaring and lights flashing dispersed the group, and the campus was quiet by midnight.[29] The escalation of the 1959 panty raid shows that the students were now willing to more directly challenge authority on the subject of sexual expression. In addition, its intensity

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[22] Proctor, Interview with Dr. Marna V. Brady, 41.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Pleasants, *Gator Tales*, 43.

[25] Lester Hale Oral History Interview with Samuel Proctor, May 22, 1982, 46, Samuel Proctor Oral History Program Collection, P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

[26] Proctor, Interview with Dr. Marna V. Brady, 42.

[27] Pleasants, *Gator Tales*, 44

[28] Ibid.

[29] Proctor and Langley, *Gator History,* 46

and violence foreshadowed those of the anti-war protests later in the 1960s and early 1970s.

The administration responded to each panty raid by punishing students involved and making changes to the Student Code of Conduct to prevent further outbreaks. After the 1952 panty raid, many parents and local citizens expressed outrage over the students' actions. The Faculty Disciplinary Committee penalized some three hundred participants in the raid.[30] In a 1960 letter, Dean of Men Lester Hale recommended that the student regulations be changed, so that "Agitating, participating in, or being a spectator at any crowd gathering [will be] officially declared to be an 'unlawful assembly.'"[31]

This recommendation was a clear response to the escalated violence of the 1959 panty raid. Hale was well respected by the male students, and their violent reaction to his attempts to pacify the raid must have affected his decision.[32] When asked why the 1959 panty raid got out of hand, Hale cited the Berkeley incident.[33] He had heard that students who had started the 1956 panty raid there were coming to the University of Florida and intended to make it the "Berkeley of the South." Preemptively, Hale created an open forum of students, faculty, and administrators to address complaints and prevent a situation similar to that of Berkeley from erupting at the University of Florida.[34] The outside influence of the students from Berkeley shows that the 1959 panty raid was more than just a testosterone-fueled affair, and on some level, students still remained discontented with their freedom to express themselves. Students were also tired of being treated like children by the administration and wanted all the responsibilities and privileges that came with being an adult.

While Hale succeeded in preventing U.F. from becoming the "Berkeley of the South," legal changes had to

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[30] Pleasants, *Gator Tales*, 43

[31] Letter to Dean D.K. Stanley, Student Orientation and Relations, 1960-1961, Box 5, Subseries 49c.

[32] Proctor, Interview with Lester Hale, 45.

[33] Ibid., 47.

[34] Ibid.

be made to the student code of conduct to prevent further riots from occurring. A memo from the Office of the Dean of Student Affairs in 1961 stated that "the University considers no student to be immune from due process of law enforcement" and that "over the past years unfortunate mass actions have occurred on the campus which have resulted in tragedy and disgrace for individual students as well as damaging publicity for the University and the State of Florida."[35] Hale wrote this memo in response to the panty raids, and it coincides with his recommendation to make participating in a crowd gathering "unlawful assembly." As administrative policies on group assemblies were amended in the 1960s, so were housing and dress code policies.

The late 1950s and 1960s marked the beginning of the gradual breakdown of *in loco parentis* policies at the University of Florida. Students challenged the dress code for the first time by wearing Bermuda shorts, as Marna Brady testified: "Dressing was not a problem until men started wearing Bermuda shorts and then women."[36] Their protests had an impact. In a letter from 1958, Brady recommended that women be allowed to wear Bermuda shorts anywhere on campus and at the discretion of each professor to his class after the Women's Student Association grew tired of dealing with issues of clothing regulations at every meeting. At the same time, Brady also stated that "such costumes be at all times neat and in good taste or the individual be reported to the WSA Hall Councils for punishment."[37] While Bermuda shorts initiated the challenge against the traditional dress code, women attending the university in the early 1960s could not wear "knit or elastic sports clothes, Jamaica shorts, or

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[35] Memorandum from the Office of the Dean of Student Affairs to All Students. Student Regulations, 1950-1962, Box 5, Subseries 49c.

[36] Proctor, Interview with Dr. Marna V. Brady, 28.

[37] Marna V. Brady to Dean Dennis K. Stanley, Student Orientation and Relations, 1957-1958, Box 5, Subseries 49c.

short shorts in any public area."[38] Hence the administration continued to limit students' freedom to not only express their sexuality, but also to choose what to wear.

By the 1960s, coed dorms allowed single male and female students to live in the same building. Men and women could reside on the same floor, but their rooms remained separated by a door that was locked at night.[39] While on-campus housing regulations weakened somewhat, off-campus housing regulations made little progress from the early 1950s to the 1960s. By 1964, single students who were under the age of twenty-one had to live in housing listed with the university except for students living at home.[40] Single students were not allowed to receive visits from the opposite sex unless the visits were allowed by the landlord, householder, or resident manager, and were made under circumstances "which raise no questions as to propriety."[41] The final part of the new regulations stated that "Single, Undergraduate women must have permission in advance from the University Housing Office for off-campus residence for any given period of school."[42] However, the off-campus housing regulations no longer stated that only upper-class women might live off campus, but any single, undergraduate woman could so long as she received permission from the housing office. Permission from women's parents was no longer required. These last two changes mark the only significant changes in off-campus housing regulations.

While some restrictions remained, *in loco parentis* was slowly breaking down by the 1960s. Julian Pleasants argues that the slow pace of change in strict off-campus student conduct regulations led to the infamous Pam Brewer incident in the late 1960s, where a student defiantly

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[38] Revision in WSA Clothing Regulations, Student Regulations 1950-1962, Box 5, Subseries 49c.

[39] Pleasants, *Gator Tales*, 43.

[40] Lester L. Hale, University Regulations Governing Student Conduct And Student Residence Off-Campus, Student Housing 1950-1963, Box 3, Subseries 49c.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

posed nude for a local off-campus magazine.[43] Lester Hale commented on this in an interview, claiming that the Pam Brewer incident as well as the 1959 panty raid both resulted from the students trying to elicit change through rebellious means.[44] He did not understand why the students acted in this way. He asserted that "the right of the University to exercise authority over students off campus is something that could have been debated in open forum or brought before the board of regents without its having been pulled through rebelliousness and the trauma that shook the University to its foundation."[45] Despite Hale's claims, the issue was not discussed in the democratic fashion that he envisioned.

Debates over the role of *in loco parentis* regulations in housing at the University of Florida continued into the early1970s. Yet, nearly twenty years after the first panty raid, the university had changed tremendously. Gone were the Offices of the Dean of Men and the Dean of Women as well as the administrative policies enforcing separation of male and female housing.[46] *In loco parentis* gradually fell out of fashion as the administration gave more rights to the students. Gender-mixed student socials were no longer chaperoned, allowing for freer sexual expression. The panty raids of the 1950s also became a thing of the past. With the Vietnam War raging on, students became more interested in protesting the violence than raiding dorms and sorority houses for undergarments.

Nevertheless, the panty raids of the 1950s embodied all of the frustrations felt by single, young, male and female students who were restricted by the social norms and sexual

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[43] Pleasants, *Gator Tales,* 44.

[44] Proctor, Interview with Lester Hale, 48.

[45] Ibid., 51.

[46] In a memo to President Stephen O'Connell, Lester Hale recommended consolidating the offices of Dean of Men, Dean of Women, and International Students into a new configuration to be known as the Office of Student Development. Lester L. Hale, Memorandum to President Stephen C. O'Connell, College Administration concerns, Box 7, Subseries 49c.

mores of their parents' generation. By participating in the panty raids, they were not only releasing their sexual frustration, they were challenging authority. U.F. students threw rocks and beer cans at Lester Hale and even at the police brought on campus to handle the situation. While the raids themselves caused problems for the university administration and did not necessarily elicit immediate change in student regulations, they marked the beginning of a gradual evolution from traditional university rules and policies to the more progressive policies still in place today.

Book Reviews

Eve Darian-Smith. *Religion, Race, Rights: Landmarks in the History of Modern Anglo-American Law*.
Portland: Hart Publishing, 2010.
Reviewed by Amanda Beyer-Purvis

The interconnected nature of race-construction and the legal system has been the subject of several scholarly studies tracing ways in which law and race are mutually constitutive. Similarly, the relationship between law and religion has been mined diligently by scholars in many disciplines. Eve Darian-Smith, in her latest book *Religion, Race, Rights: Landmarks in the History of Modern Anglo-American Law*, integrates these often distinct topics to reveal the intricately related development of race, religion, and legal rights from the Reformation to the present day. Darian-Smith draws upon the theoretical approach of Paul Kahn, arguing that law is a social practice. She outlines the contours of this practice by drawing on the theory of "intersectionality" which highlights the "interrelated, dynamic and co-constitutive" nature of rights, religion and race (3,5).

Law, for Darian-Smith, "operates as the central site of organizing power" concerning ideas of racial and religious tolerance and intolerance. Through law, claims to and

exclusion from social, political and legal rights are given "rationality, neutrality and legitimacy" and subsequently "become institutionalized through the administrative, bureaucratic and military agencies of the state" (5). Darian-Smith proves her thesis by tracing the historical development of law using what she identifies as paradigm shifting events which reoriented the legal standing of religious practice, racial identity, and claims to rights.

Her first section, "Moving Toward a Separation of Church and State," traces the origin of demands for a secular system of law through challenges to the hegemony of the Catholic Church and the rise of individual rights discourse in seventeenth century England. Darian-Smith notes that newly secularized legal systems created new classifications of religious and racial groups and did little to quell the intense religious intolerance directed at "outsiders," an intolerance that was inextricable from racial prejudices. The "consolida[tion] of oppositional frames" identified outsider religious and ethnic groups as incapable of escaping their primitive lawlessness and distinguished the "civilized from the barbaric, the Christian from the heathen, the lawful from the lawless" (79).

Her second section, "Capitalism, Colonialism and Nationalism," traces a shift toward racially discriminatory legalities based in scientific claims while retaining similar boundaries between the lawful and the lawless. She highlights the inextricable relationship between nineteenth-century economic development, racism, and rights during this era of legal change. The rise of eugenics, the destabilizing of the social hierarchy of slave societies by emancipation, and the rising demands of ethnically diverse labor groups are all examples used by Darian-Smith to demonstrate ways in which belief in the transcendent nature and universal applicability of the developing Anglo-American legal tradition came under fire.

Her final section, "Religion, Race and Rights in a Global Era" follows these developments in Anglo-American law into the global arena, beginning with the

Nuremburg Trial and the establishment of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. These events brought Anglo-American law to the world scene. This section concentrates on the global economy of the twentieth century as an agent of continuing exploitation and denial of rights based on racial and religious categorizations on a global level. Though the aftermath of World War II promised a universal respect for legal and social rights of individuals, Darian-Smith demonstrates that the same discriminatory legalities persist even today.

Arguing for law's complicity in and creation of oppression, Darian-Smith places herself within the tradition of critical legal scholarship, highlighting the role of law as a tool of oppression. One perplexing analytical choice, however, is her failure to critique the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a Western legal document. She does little to acknowledge the work done by scholars questioning the true universality of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights document and indicting that era of human rights as being steeped in Western ideology. Additionally, the scope of the book leads Darian-Smith to choose formative historical moments and representative historical actors to demonstrate shifts in conceptions of race, religion, and rights. This method greatly simplifies complex histories. The ambitious historical dimensions of her book create a sense that much is missing from this history. *Religion, Race, Rights,* however, provides a powerful challenge to the notion of law as a tool for justice and exposes the gendered, racialized, and religious discriminatory power Western law has embodied since its inception.

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Eric Jay Dolin. *When America First Met China: An Exotic History of Tea, Drugs, and Money in the Age of Sail.*
New York: Liveright, 2012.
Reviewed by Amber Lee Todoroff

Hardly a day passes without China cropping up in the news. Stories on the United States' trade relationship with China, or what new percentage of the nation's debt China owns, frequently make headlines, and one of the significant points of contention in the 2012 presidential debate revolved around the China issue. It is easy to see the China trade as a relatively new phenomenon, emerging during the Nixon administration when the president officially acknowledged the Chinese government and opened diplomatic relations after decades of anti-communist fueled sanctions. The America-China trade, however, was actually born shortly after the signing of the Declaration of Independence and coaxed into existence by one of the Founding Fathers, Robert Morris. Eric Jay Dolin's *When America First Met China: An Exotic History of Tea, Drugs, and Money in the Age of Sail* is a cogent examination of a part of America's past that is so intricately connected to its present; a history that, unfortunately, is considered far too little during contemporary debates on the America-China relationship.

Dolin's book spans decades, beginning during George Washington's presidency, and pointing out that the China trade was one of the United States' first ventures into international commerce. It ends in Abraham Lincoln's administration, when the president signed a law prohibiting Americans from participating in the coolie trade, in which Chinese were captured and sold to Latin American and Cuban plantations for slavery-like indentured servitude. The pages of the text fly by with accounts of entrepreneurs, explorers, politicians, and wars, as the reader discovers just how close America and China have always been. Unfortunately it is told almost exclusively from the

American or British perspective—Anglo first-hand sources vastly outnumber their Chinese equivalents—but a whole chapter is dedicated exclusively to the spectrum of emotions (fascination, obsession, hatred, superiority) Americans felt for the Chinese. Most of the Chinese sources cited by Dolin are official government edicts or correspondences, so the reader is left wondering what an average Chinese merchant or farmer thought about their new trading partners. Nevertheless, Dolin strives to provide a multifaceted historical account that is fair to both sides.

The narrative is helped along throughout by pictures of the persons, places, events, or goods that made up the trade, along with several pages of full-color inserts that keep the imagination of the reader moving at clipper-ship speed from America's eastern seaboard, to its wildest frontier, or to the opulence of China's royal court. Not only are readers treated to a rich and well-researched mercantile and political history, but Dolin's book also delves into the environmental devastation wrought by the early China trade. Readers can only shake their head in wonder at the number of species nearly driven to extinction at the hands of American and European traders seeking to even out the highly skewed trading distribution that always favored China (a problem that continues to plague America to this day). The devastation of the world's fur seal population is particularly poignant, and Dolin takes the opportunity to remind us of the tragedy of the commons and the ever-pressing need for environmental stewardship.

Dolin is a talented historian, who weaves eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American perceptions of China together with factual interpretations of events. He describes the opium trade and successive Opium wars with a clarity and focus often glossed over in history textbooks, and offers a frank understanding of the unfortunate and uncivil advantages western countries, especially Great Britain and America, held over China, often by force. The narrative is not all doom and deceit, however, and most of the history is enjoyable and adventurous, with epic sea

journeys around the world and back, even encompassing the discovery of Antarctica. Anecdotes of amusing cross-cultural misunderstandings also lighten the mood of the book, making the more tragic parts easier to digest.

Overall this wonderful book provides a foundational history of the modern trade that seems to have taken America (and the world) by storm. As it turns out, the American trade with China has existed for well over 200 years, and so has the resultant trade deficit. Surely, if anything the antiquity of the issue mitigates its menace. If any history books make it onto your summer reading list this year, a good place to start is this swashbuckling, culture-clashing, around-the-world-and-back-again adventure, where fortunes and wars are won and lost for the love of tea, drugs, and money.

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Jill Lepore. *The Story of America: Essays on Origins*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012.
Reviewed by Anne Carey

In *The Story of America: Essays on Origins*, Jill Lepore uses a new approach to analyze the development of the United States and the formation of its culture. With this collection of essays, previously published in the *New Yorker*, Lepore hopes to revive the study of America's origins, which she admits has become "remarkable unfashionable" (14). The story of the nation's beginnings "isn't carved in stone, or even inked on parchment; it is, instead, told, and fought over, again and again," Lepore claims (4). Her collection of essays attempts to bring clarity to well known but not always accurate stories about America.

Lepore's essays cover a period ranging from Europeans' first arrival on American soil to the inauguration of Barack Obama in 2009. While she does not cover the whole of American history, the selections explore key events within her core theme and analyze some of the most important values in American culture: democracy and the American Dream. Throughout the book, she not only uses convincing primary sources but also carefully selected secondary sources to convey her argument. Some of the most notable primary sources include letters from John Adams to his wife, arguments between Noah Webster and Benjamin Rush, and George Washington's "Farewell Address." Lepore's secondary sources are also well selected, including biographies like *Longfellow: A Rediscovered Life* by Charles C. Calhoun, which gives a contemporary view on the great poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

In the introduction, she uses quotations from prominent figures, all of whom experienced the darker aspects of America. This provides the reader with examples of disdain for the country, and supports Lepore's argument about America's distorted history by showing that those who tell its story do so from their own perspective. Thus, the opinions of certain people paint a less attractive picture of America. Charles Dickens and Frederick Douglass were among those particularly disgusted by politics and slavery, for example (9). She also clarifies the image of John Smith, presenting him as a sensationalizing teller of tall tales, revising the idealized portrait presented in Disney's adaptation of *Pocahontas* (20). Lepore does not shy away from discussing these sore spots in American history but instead explains how these events have been shaped over the years with a certain narrative that is not always entirely accurate.

Lepore's essays explore the role of literary, as well as political figures, in shaping American culture (15). In one of the most interesting chapters, she writes about the impact of Edgar Allan Poe. He influenced American culture with

his most popular works "The Gold-Bug" and "The Raven." Poe changed the genres of horror, mystery, and tragedy, and the future of American writing. His almost-overnight celebrity status only propelled his downward spiral and subsequent death. Her short and somber biography chronicles the life and demise of the great writer, and it is one example of Lepore's range and ability to write an entertaining piece on any aspect of American culture (196).

In the last chapter, Lepore covers the inauguration of Barack Obama. She compares one of our most influential presidents, Abraham Lincoln, to our current commander-in-chief. Lepore suggests that President Obama adapts Lincoln's philosophy to current times. Because of this, Lincoln's powerful first inaugural address still resonates today. The author uses this piece to illustrate the importance of history and that America's past is always part of its present.

Lepore has a rare knack for storytelling, and her work reads like a novel. It is funny, rich, and compelling. She has a humor that is subtle and plays off the facts. When referencing the horrible conditions at Jamestown, Lepore deadpans "no matter how many men [ate] their wives" England would still find the settlement bland (25). Her writing style makes the text appealing to a general audience, as well as academics. This is the work of an experienced writer who has found similar success with other books, and *The Story of America: Essays on Origins* is just as thought-provoking and enjoyable. It forces the reader to question his or her knowledge of American history. Lepore brings a strong voice to the little-known stories of America and sheds light on those stories already well known.

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Jeffrey L. Littlejohn and Charles H. Ford.
Elusive Equality: Desegregation and Resegregation in Norfolk's Public Schools.
Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012.
Reviewed by Monica Blair

    Elusive Equality tells the story of school desegregation in Norfolk, Virginia, the town that became an icon of massive resistance in 1958 when it closed down six all-white schools to protest integration. Littlejohn and Ford wrote the book as a call to action against the city's increasing educational disparities. According to the authors, "the most recent figures show that the district is more segregated today than any time since 1970" (6). To examine integration's gains and losses over time, *Elusive Equality* takes a comprehensive look at the area's desegregation history through the lens of three waves of court action.

    The unequal conditions of the Norfolk dual school system were first challenged in the 1930s when the NAACP filed suit against the school board to demand equal pay for its black employees. This move was significant because it was the first to galvanize the local community into action. Schoolchildren publicly protested the court's initial decision against the suit as they marched across the city holding banners. Over 1,000 local African Americans signed a petition asking the school board to renew plaintiff Aline Black's teaching contract. The black community was now standing up and defying the established "Virginian way."

    The next two chapters show how reactionary individuals spun the county out of control following the *Brown* decision. The 1958 Norfolk school closings would prove to be the longest integration-related closings in American history. A year later schools opened, but only because a court decision in *Beckett v. School Board of the City of Norfolk* forced the issue. However, what many hailed as a victory would prove to be short lived. The white

elite in Norfolk shifted away from massive resistance in favor of using token integration to justify the status quo. According to the authors, "Governor Almond finally realized that this seemingly measured way of declaring desegregation over and done with was the most effective strategy of blocking integration" (106).

Passive resistance proved to be an effective deterrent to desegregation until continual challenges using the *Beckett* case finally forced the school board to institute cross-town busing in the 1970s. This policy proved highly efficient until Norfolk leaders developed a strong anti-busing position in reaction to the white flight integration. In 1983 the school board officially reverted to a policy of neighborhood zoning. Henry Marsh filed a class action lawsuit in response to the decision. He stated that the school board knew that neighborhoods were racially segregated, thus the plan was meant to filter children into schools based on their skin color. The vast majority of Norfolk's African American population supported *Riddick v. School Board of the City of Norfolk*. 6,000 citizens marched from the school administration building to city hall in protest of the new policy. Unfortunately, the case was lost because the school board had not displayed "intent to discriminate." Judge Widener acknowledged that the policy would renew the color line, but implied there was nothing illegal about de facto segregation.

The primary strength of *Elusive Equality* is its rich detail and vast array of source materials. Littlejohn and Ford create highly nuanced portraits of influential persons in Norfolk history. The authors draw on court documents, oral histories, and three local newspapers to make that precision possible. They also importantly include newly available Norfolk school board minutes, ones that were previously reported destroyed. This variety of information allows the book to comprehensively cover the fierce debate over integration in Norfolk County Schools.

While it is diligently researched and detailed, the weakness of *Elusive Equality* is its failure to adequately

place Norfolk County Schools in a national context. While the county may hold the record for the longest school closing, it is hardly the only location that exemplifies massive resistance. What about the other counties across the United States that went to extreme measures to prevent integration? Furthermore, how does the Norfolk busing program and the backlash compare to other urban centers? Answers to these questions would have enhanced the book and broadened its appeal. With its narrow focus the book will primarily interest members of the local community. Yet, the authors' expressed intent is to ignite change within Norfolk's schools, so perhaps the book has accomplished all it was meant to. *Elusive Equality* makes a strong case for renewed integration efforts in the city, while simultaneously producing a valuable case study for educational and Civil Rights historians.

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Scott Reynolds Nelson. *A Nation of Deadbeats: An Uncommon History of America's Financial Disasters.* **New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012.**
Reviewed by Brenden E. Kennedy

Scott Reynolds Nelson tells us that Americans have always overextended their personal finances in pursuit of consumption, often with disastrous results. Long before adjustable-rate mortgages aided millions to gleefully enter into debt, helping fuel the 2008 fiscal meltdown, Americans borrowed on English woolen coats or railroad companies' Western land in order to sate their voracious appetite to acquire. Nelson argues that if you can find a moment of financial decline in America, "in most cases consumer debt lay at the heart of it" (viii). The author does not stigmatize the farmers, artisans, slaveholders,

shopkeepers, and wholesalers, or the "deadbeats" who refused to pay their debts. Instead, he posits that "defaulters are often dreamers" and writes the story of American financial panics from 1792 through the 1929 crash from their perspective (xiii).

This seemingly common sense approach yields great dividends. Previous works on financial panics explore the role of banks or measure economic vitality through the use of statistics; both approaches neglect actual consumers. Focusing on everyday consumers allows Nelson to highlight how the rhythms of everyday life periodically sank the American economy. The nation's citizenry did not balk at purchasing less expensive coats, taking out cheaper mortgages, or bringing railroads to town. While some may have protested these developments, many viewed them with optimism. Nelson critiques historians writing in the "Market Revolution" vein for romanticizing supposedly "pre-capitalist" farmers and views Karl Marx's seething hatred towards accumulation as "silly" (250). Historians writing in these traditions either castigate Americans' seeking to acquire more material goods or misunderstand the relationship between farming and credit. According to Nelson, only when consumers, banks, and even governments refused to pay their debts—or were incapable of paying—did America descend into financial disaster.

Americans' collective optimism about future economic prosperity created more than financial train wrecks. The author depicts American political realignment as fundamentally driven by financial panics, stating, "the story of American financial panics is the story of politics" (xii).

For example, he attributes both the rise of Jeffersonian Democrats during the 1790s and the swelling ranks of the newly formed Republican Party to the financial panics of 1793 and 1857 respectively. Nelson refers to these changing political fortunes as crash politics.

If massive amounts of consumer debt crashed the economy and reshaped the political landscape, who was naïve enough to advance the credit? Here too, Nelson

revises our understanding of the nation's economic development, as European lenders often greased the wheels of American credit. Thus, according to Nelson, "panics are always and everywhere transnational because credit is transnational" (x). After the War of 1812, for example, Britain flooded its former colony with cheap goods, especially cloth. Nelson posits that a new network of British manufacturers, American auction houses, and New York banks provided a rising generation of eastern merchants with the necessary credit to purchase England's finished clothing. Concurrently, banks began populating western states, allowing formerly cash-deprived farmers to purchase cheap foreign clothing. These new credit networks helped fuel land speculation in the west, creating an asset bubble that eventually burst during the Panic of 1819. At other times, European credit was advanced more directly. Railroad usage exploded after the Civil War and Europeans gobbled up many railroad bonds companies used to finance construction. Events originating outside of England resulted in the Bank of England raising its discount rate, increasing the price of lending and decreasing money in circulation. European investors could no longer pour money into American railroads, and the Panic of 1873 ensued.

While Nelson provides a much needed re-evaluation of America's economic and political past, some of his arguments seem misplaced. His position that America's overseas expansion during the 1890s somehow derived from "unexpected results of trade policy" instead of imperial expansion is provocative, but unconvincing (253). Scholars of empire provide too much evidence to the contrary. Moreover, while his focus on wheat exports during the nineteenth century serves as an important corrective to a focus on King Cotton, wheat's importance should not overshadow cotton prior to the Civil War.

Nelson's largest success is the book's readability. Lucid prose and clear descriptions make this book invaluable for anyone interested in learning about America's economic

past. While most economic history remains too dense for non-specialists to slog through, Nelson provides a handy "technical terms" section in which he clearly lays out how promissory notes, discount rates, bills of exchange, and other financial instruments actually worked. Writing clearly and simply allows Nelson to more easily demonstrate the connections between consumer debt, financial panics, and political change.

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Carla L. Peterson. *Black Gotham:*
A Family History of African-Americans in Nineteenth-Century New York City.
New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012.
Reviewed by Michael Edward Brandon

When English Professor Carla Peterson began genealogical research, all she had to go on was fables, false leads, and fragments of her family's origins in nineteenth-century New York City. However, Peterson's persistent research, interdisciplinary approach, and innovative use of sources stitched together a stunning tapestry of black community-building in the Big Apple. Equal parts family history and monograph, *Black Gotham* interweaves the lives of Peterson's ancestors and their contemporaries, shedding new insight on an often overlooked black elite. Peterson's creative methodology produces an intimate narrative and generates important historiographic conclusions, making *Black Gotham* appealing to both popular and academic audiences.

Since John Blassingame's *The Slave Community* (1972) and Eugene Genovese's *Roll Jordan Roll* (1974), the study of blacks in the antebellum era has been dominated by examinations of slave communities and varying patterns of

slave resistance in the South. *Black Gotham* shifts our attention northward to an elite class of free and politically active blacks, and can be considered the Yankee companion to Brenda E. Stevenson's *Life in Black and White* (1996). Despite racism and political violence, New York's black elite created many remarkable institutions that encouraged intellectual curiosity, and political and economic opportunities, while sustaining a multigenerational, collective fight for freedom and full citizenship.

Black Gotham is a fascinating window into the Big Apple's tangled web of racial and ethnic conflicts (and loyalties) in the years before the increasingly rigid patterns of residential segregation that emerged during the first waves of the Great Migration. For instance, Peterson's great-grandfather's personal fate runs contrary to generalizations about Irish indignation in response to federal conscription and the racial liberalism of the city's ruling Republican elite. Philip Augustus White was a pharmacist and businessman, who brought relief and sustenance to many whites in a community ravaged by poverty, malnutrition, and disease. White's pharmacy, where he gave away free medicine and food, became integral to his neighborhood, and emerged as a rare black establishment some poor Irishmen and whites defended during the infamous 1863 Draft Riots (247). *Black Gotham* demonstrates that the black elite's close contact with a diverse group of whites not only bred horrific hostilities and coercive patronage, but also remarkable loyalties.

Peterson shrewdly interrogates the collective black identity that emerged in the late-nineteenth century, a blackness which evolved with the nation's transition from slavery and war to a tenuous "new birth of freedom" promised by Abraham Lincoln in Gettysburg. Despite the degraded status associated with blackness in the nineteenth century, Peterson argues that *Black Gotham's* cosmopolitan elite "chose to band together, create a tight-knit community, and forge an identity for themselves as

Africans in America" (43). This understudied contingent of community leaders transcended assimilation and the mere appropriation of white, mainstream values, and possessed "a profound appreciation and respect for cultural difference" and could forge deep affiliations with more than one culture" (43). Above all, Peterson posits that this new elite valued traditional ideals of character and respectability (not skin-tone or income) which would validate their passionate demands for emancipation, suffrage, and equal justice under the law (167).

"Africa functioned as a strategy" for the elite, Peterson argues, and as a collective identity rooted in common heritage and shared suffering that bridged ideological gulfs and set the stage for the twentieth-century black freedom struggle (44). Though *Black Gotham* is fundamentally a tale of black patriarchs, Philip White and Peter Guignon, Peterson deftly analyzes the role of gender in the development of African-American identity. Echoing critical race theorist, Kimberlé Crenshaw, and political theorist, Tommie Shelby, Peterson suggests that a collective identity preserved threads of patriarchy and elitism in the black community; the particular, double-burden of black femininity remained largely unaddressed. Nevertheless, *Black Gotham* highlights the new, "race women" of the incipient progressive era, such as iconic journalist and activist, Ida B. Wells, who were often at the center of grassroots institutional development in the black community.

In *Black Gotham*, the reader travels with Peterson into the archives, and shares not only the joys of discovery, but also the pains of a finding a black past forgotten and largely undocumented. According to Peterson, scholars need to think of memory as "a dynamic process, an act of imagination," shaping how we view the present *and* the actions of future generations (9). All too often, marginalized communities lose ownership of their memorials, such as the notorious case of the Negroes Burial Ground in lower Manhattan. Peterson insists that such

"cultural trauma" has made remembering the black past in all its complexity, too painful, creating "a festering wound that will not heal, a shame that burns and scars the soul" (12).

   Black Gotham is Peterson's ambitious attempt to not only preserve memories of past oppression and resistance, but also to create new, actionable memories for future generations. Peterson emerges as the chief protagonist in *Black Gotham*, which may frustrate readers who favor a traditional academic approach that avoids first person narration. Nevertheless, Peterson comes across as a diligent historical detective journeying through the murky corridors of this nation's past in search of truth and justice, and, personally, for her own unique place in America.

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Jacob Smith. *The Thrill Makers: Celebrity, Masculinity and Stunt Performance.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.
Reviewed by Jennifer A. Lyon

   Before Felix Baumgartner became the first human to break the sound barrier by skydiving from space in 2012, before the X-Games, and even before Evel Knievel ramped a motorcycle over 50 stacked cars in 1973, there was a long-standing tradition of performers seeking glory through dangerous public spectacles in the United States. Newspapers trumpeted the feats of nineteenth-century daredevils like Sam Patch, who dove headfirst off Niagara Falls in 1829, and Steve Brodie, who jumped from atop the Brooklyn Bridge in 1886; yet, despite notoriety during their own lifetimes, Jacob Smith explains, these performers have largely been forgotten. It is his intention to recover the history of stunt performance and its impact on society in

The Thrill Makers: Celebrity, Masculinity and Stunt Performance. Far from trivial exploits, he argues that these stunts played an important role in shaping turn-of-the-century definitions of manhood, popular culture, and the construction of "modern media spectacle and celebrity" (2).

Presenting each chapter as a case study, Smith examines four types of performers: bridge jumpers, human flies, lion tamers, and stunt pilots. Arguably, Smith is at his best in the first two chapters, as he details how bridge jumpers and "human flies"—those who climbed buildings without safety devices—evolved out of earlier performance traditions. Bridge jumping, for example, represented a continuation of public spectacle alongside canals, docks, and waterfronts in industrial cities, while human flies emerged from stage and circus traditions, like that of the "ceiling walker" who performed upside down using suction-cup shoes. But while ceiling walkers were often teenage girls (the suction cups had a weight limit), human flies were men who took to the new urban landscape and performed on spaces not associated with entertainment: skyscrapers. Here theatric climbing was fused with common labor as many performers came from the ranks of those who built and repaired smokestacks, churches, and other tall monuments. As Smith explains, workmen became showmen, and labor became entertainment.

Smith goes on to draw connections between these new types of spectacle and changing notions of masculinity in the industrial city. Echoing the work of historians like Elliott Gorn and Christine Stansell, Smith explains that performers and spectators were drawn to activities that counteracted the dehumanizing aspects of the industrial workplace and urban life. "Human flies brought imposing skyscrapers down to human scale," he explains, while "bridge jumpers transformed monoliths of modern engineering into vehicles for the creation of self" (187). With regard to masculinity, Smith argues that thrill makers represented "manly independence," with their stunts

"reassuring men that meaningful and traditional masculine work could be found" (188-89).

In the second half of the book Smith specifically discusses lion tamers and aeronauts, but more broadly examines how these thrill makers were increasingly marginalized. New laws criminalized scaling buildings or jumping off bridges, reformers pursued lion tamers for animal cruelty, and industry-friendly legislation grounded trick pilots. The critical turning point, however, was the growth of modern cinema. As motion pictures became the dominant form of entertainment, stunts were repackaged for the silver screen and the performers themselves actively marginalized by the media in favor of movie stars. If they did find work in film, they were relegated to anonymous "stunt double" positions where they received little compensation and no accolades. A crowd of 45,000 gathered to see Harry Gardiner climb an Indiana courthouse in 1916, but a generation later thrill makers were anonymous and expendable. This invisibility would continue to characterize Hollywood. Indeed, we can name the actors who have played James Bond, but are less likely to know the faceless men who actually performed his stunts. In this way, Smith succeeds in his goal of making the reader "see double." That is, to "appreciate the history and labor of the unnamed stunt double" (184).

As a full-length text, *The Thrill Makers* is best suited for graduate-level seminars. Smith's research is impressive, and he maintains an engaging narrative through chapters one and two. However, the extensive use of film theory in later chapters hampers the book's readability. In certain areas it feels as though Smith overreaches to fit stunt performance within existing theoretical frameworks, rather than letting the sources and historical actors speak for themselves. Still, this reviewer would like to see Smith follow in Kathy Peiss's footsteps by extracting a chapter-length piece suitable for the undergraduate classroom. Smith's discussion of stunt performance, labor, and masculinity in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth

centuries has a high potential to engage students. Both undergraduates and popular audiences are sure to be interested in Smith's stories of "steeple flyers," who attached ropes to tall cathedral steeples, strapped boards to their chests, and then slid headfirst to the ground while shooting pistols or blowing trumpets, or that of tightrope walker Chevalier Blondin who crossed Niagara Falls in the 1850s "with a sack over his head, dressed as a monkey, pushing a wheelbarrow, carrying his manager on his back, and with baskets on his feet" (42). Fascinating vignettes like these ensure *The Thrill Makers* will reach all audiences.

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Henry Wiencek. *Master of the Mountain:*
*Thomas Jefferson and His Slaves***.**
New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012.
Reviewed by Jordan Vaal

In *Master of the Mountain: Thomas Jefferson and His Slaves*, Henry Wiencek offers new insight into the debate surrounding Thomas Jefferson and slavery. Wiencek's book examines closely Jefferson's actions between the early 1780s and the late 1790s, when he shifted away from advocating for the eradication of slavery and ceased most of his efforts towards emancipation. According to Wiencek, Jefferson justified his refusal to act by creating theories of racial inferiority and by claiming that the United States was not ready for emancipation.

Many scholars have examined Thomas Jefferson's relationship with slavery and with his own slaves, justifying his oppressive behavior by arguing that he was a product of his time. By Jefferson's era, slavery was a long-established institution, deeply connected with all aspects of

southern society. Others even portray Jefferson as a tender man who loved one of his own slaves, Sally Hemmings, with whom he fathered multiple children. However, according to Wiencek, neither of these versions gives an accurate portrayal of Thomas Jefferson.

First, after Jefferson grew silent regarding emancipation, leaders such as Thomas Paine and the Marquis de Lafayette pleaded with Jefferson to take action against slavery. Jefferson refused. Despite his politically revolutionary language, he argued firmly that the nation was not ready for abolition. Second, Wiencek contends that Jefferson's decision to keep Sally Hemmings enslaved for so long demonstrates that he was not the tender and loving man other historians portray. Exploring the reasoning behind these contradictory actions, Wiencek argues that as Jefferson grew older he decided to give up his early revolutionary dialect of emancipation in order to secure his financial place in the upper class.

To demonstrate this, the author uses new material, such as Jefferson's previously neglected financial records regarding his slaves and artifacts found during excavations of Monticello. While displaying a fake façade of anti-slavery sentiment, Jefferson secretly fought emancipation because the profit from slavery kept his plantation afloat and guaranteed his family's wealth. Deploying strong evidence, Wiencek argues that the desire for financial security explains Jefferson's peculiar involvement in slavery.

Wiencek does an excellent job establishing how Jefferson's relationship with slavery led to his waning interest in emancipation. Specifically, Wiencek argues that after marrying Martha Wayles Skelton, Jefferson had to reconcile the humanity of his slaves with their identity as property. Several of Martha's slaves were actually her own half siblings. Jefferson was reluctant to sell these slaves but did not want to lose any profit. He built secret passageways in his home, so slaves could work and move around without notice (thereby hiding his association with slavery).

He also overlooked crimes among the slaves because if they were tried and found guilty Jefferson would lose money. Most importantly, Wiencek demonstrates that Jefferson had a deep understanding of the "silent profit" from slavery. In a letter to George Washington, Jefferson explained that the children born to his slaves made him a four-percent annual profit; rising slave prices added even more. Natural increase also meant he did not have to purchase a new slave. This powerful resource argues that Jefferson was very much aware of what he was doing (8-9).

Throughout the book, Henry Wiencek's brilliant use of recently discovered artifacts and detailed financial accounts sheds new light on Thomas Jefferson's involvement with slavery and compels the reader to reconsider financial prosperity as a possible incentive for Jefferson's stance on slavery. For historians and students alike, Wiencek includes several family trees, a map of the Monticello plantation, and pictures of artifacts discussed in the book. *Master of the Mountain* is a must-read for those interested in the darker side of Thomas Jefferson's involvement with the institution of slavery in the United States.

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Notes on Contributors

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Dylan Fay graduated from the University of Florida in May 2013. An interest in medieval literature and history led him to pursue a triple major in History, English, and Classical Studies. He is also a two-time University Scholar. In the fall of 2013 he will enter Yale Law School, where he hopes to focus on constitutional and governmental law.

Jackson Loop is a senior at the University of Florida, majoring in History and German. He was chosen as a University Scholar for the academic year 2013-14.

Christopher Crenshaw graduated Summa Cum Laude in History from the University of Florida in May 2013. In the fall of 2013, he will begin the PhD program in Native American history at the Florida State University.

Carlos R. Hernández is a PhD student in Latin American history at the University of Florida, where he specializes in Mexican Independence and serves as Vice President of the History Graduate Society.

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Matthew Chambers received his M.A., with a focus on late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, from the University of Florida in December 2012. He has been accepted into a program teaching English in South Korea for the 2013-2014 academic year. In the future, he plans to pursue a Ph.D. in history.

Michael Boothby is a senior at the University of Florida, majoring in History. This summer he received the Daniel J. Koleos Undergraduate Research Award to continue thesis research on Ambassador David K. E. Bruce and the postwar period in France. After graduation, he plans to enroll in a graduate program in international relations with the eventual goal of becoming a Foreign Service Officer for the U.S. State Department.

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Become a published author in Alpata, the award-winning, student-run journal of Phi Alpha Theta History Honors Society's Gamma Eta chapter at the University of Florida. All University of Florida students are invited to submit. All historical papers will be considered.

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Book Reviews	500—750 words

All submissions must follow the Chicago Manual of Style humanities documentation system.

Submit electronically to ufalpata@gmail.com or send three hard copies, each with a cover page containing your contact information, to:

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To ensure equality in the selection process, do not include your name or contact information anywhere within your submission other than on your contact page.