ALPATA

a journal of history

UF

Cover: Unknown Artist. *The Caiman Wood Ceremony*. April 14, 1791.

ALPATA is named after the Seminole word for alligator.

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Note from the Faculty Advisor

The essays published in this journal were written by undergraduate students at the University of Florida prior to the onset of the Coronavirus pandemic, which disrupted so much of normal life in 2020. The sudden transition to online/remote instruction in March, the psychological uncertainties and economic struggles that resulted from shutdowns and stay-at-home orders in April, and the physical dislocations that occurred during the spring semester, as students were forced out of dormitories or had to relinquish off-campus housing, interrupted a post-production process that would normally have resulted in this issue appearing in May 2020.

But as this issue goes to press in the winter of 2020-21, it is possible to see the value of this scholarship in ways that would not have been evident had Covid-19 not changed how we live and work. First and foremost, is the quality and depth of research, undertaken at a time when students had physical access to libraries, archives and traditionally published books and could take advantage of regular face-to-face meetings with faculty, librarians, peers, and mentors. Most of these essays could not have been written without going to a research library, taking books off the shelves and/or examining unpublished materials in person. This is especially true of the pathbreaking essay, "Slavery and the University of Florida," since there is no published secondary source material on the topic. Indeed, most of the essays in this journal rely on specialized monographs that are only available in hard copy/book form. What working historians already know, but the general public may not yet fully appreciate, is how the nature of research has fundamentally changed in a post-Covid world, where travel and access to physical archives has been severely curtailed and may be restricted for years to come. At the very least, historians

will be forced to devise topics that can be researched using only sources available through the internet—resulting in the narrowing of the range of researchable topics and increasing the relative visibility and power of larger, wealthier institutions who have the manpower and means to digitize their collections.

Second, I want to say a word about the editorial process that was employed to produce this issue. The submission process is open-ended—any historical essay written by any current undergraduate, or by a student who has graduated within the past year, on any topic, of any length or form, may be submitted for consideration. For this issue, we received twenty-three submissions, which were read by undergraduates who volunteered to serve on the Editorial Board. The Editorial Board selected nine articles for publication and then participated in a months-long, back-and-forth with the authors, making suggestions for revision. The one exception was the Special Feature essay, which was not in the original pool of articles, but which I solicited because of the significance of the topic at a moment when University administrations around the nation are beginning to examine the impact that slavery, and in UF's case, violent displacement of indigenous peoples, had on their founding and development. The decision to organize the journal into sections came after the essays were chosen and was implemented to bring some order to the presentation of such diverse material.

Yet, I do not think it is accidental that the pieces in this issue focus on a few specific themes, notably unfree forms of labor and the impact of colonialism (Parks, Hill, Weis), ethnic genocide (Ward, Weiss, Cook) and the reassessment of women as historical subjects (White, Schmid, Perez)— in part because the faculty at the University of Florida are deeply invested in these topics and offer research seminars focused on these themes. But it is equally the case that this young generation of scholars is passionately committed to producing scholarship

that will help bring about the social changes that they want to see in the world. This commitment is at the forefront of Sheana Ward's "Everyone Watch a Different Live Feed" and Adam Weiss' "Antisemitism at Evian." In other instances, the impetus for the scholarship involves critiquing existing narratives and methods of analysis in order to make historiography more inclusive, more responsive to the telling (of) stories that for a host of reasons, not all of them insidious or intentional, have not received adequate attention. (See in particular Weis' "The Tale of Two Marias" and White's "Poète ou Sainte.") All of the articles published in this issue are beautifully crafted and intensely engaging, offering analysis that is at the cutting edge of their subfields.

Finally, I want to express my deep appreciation to several individuals, without whom this publication would not have been possible: Dr. Elizabeth Dale, the current chair of the history department, for her compassionate and wise leadership during this fraught moment in history; and Adam S. Weiss, the undergraduate managing editor of last year's issue and a contributor to this year's issue, for stepping up at the last minute to help with the tedious and time-consuming process of preparing the manuscript for publication. To all the student authors and editors who contributed their time and talents to bringing this issue to fruition, I want to say how very proud I am of what you produced and grateful for all that you have taught me.

Louise M. Newman, Associate Professor of History

December 24, 2020

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Preface

Jon Sensbach

Professor of History, University of Florida

Born into slavery in South Carolina, Samuel Small was among dozens of enslaved men, women and children who moved with planter John M. Taylor and his family to the South's new cotton frontier in Marion County, Florida, in the early 1850s. Through their unpaid labor in sweltering cotton and sugar fields, hundreds of enslaved workers in central Florida, including Small, generated profits that made possible a new, state-supported academy, founded in Ocala in 1853, called the East Florida Seminary, on whose board John Taylor served.

After the Civil War, Samuel Small went on to become one of a handful African-American representatives elected to the state Legislature during Reconstruction. The East Florida Seminary, which moved to Gainesville in 1866, merged with other small colleges to become the University of Florida in 1905. Now one of the premier public institutions of higher learning in the country, the University owes its existence to Small and many other enslaved people. This article, researched and written by a team of undergraduate History students, explores those connections.

Many colleges and universities, among them some of the most prestigious institutions in the country, have conducted such studies. One after another has found deeply entrenched ties to slavery. At the University of Virginia, for example, a report issued in 2018 noted that "slavery, in every way imaginable, was central to the project of designing, funding, building and maintaining the school." Institutions continue to struggle to square the mission of higher education with their historical complicity in racial discrimination and lasting social inequalities.[1]

In the Fall of 2018, I taught a class at the University of Florida in which students and I grappled with those issues. To our knowledge, no one had ever studied whether the University also carried such debts. At the end of the term, four students—Ahmad Brown, Javier Escoto-Garcia, Gabriella Paul and Morgan Peltier—volunteered to investigate that question as an independent study the next semester. From their research, the authors conclude that, like so many others, the University did indeed have deep economic, social, and racial ties to slavery. Many of the East Florida Seminary's students came from families who collectively owned hundreds of

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[1] President's Commission on Slavery and the University, "Report to President Teresa A. Sullivan" (Charlottesville, Va., 2018), 15. https://vpdiversity.virginia.edu/sites/vpdiversity.virginia.edu/files/PCSU%20Report%20FINAL_July%202018.pdf. On slavery and higher education, see Craig Steven Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery and the Troubled History of America's Universities* (New York, 2014); and Leslie M. Harris, James T. Campbell, and Alfred L. Brophy, eds., *Slavery and the University: Histories and Legacies* (Athens, Ga., 2019).

enslaved people, as did members of the school's Board of Education. Profits generated from slave labor kept the school running. The research also points out the link between higher education and the removal of Native Americans from their own territory. The sale of former Seminole land supported a new fund that created the East Florida Seminary. The University's history runs not only through slave-trading but through expropriation of Native land on which the campus sits. Through this project, the Samuel Smalls of the world can become visible again.

I. Seminoles and Slavery

The founding of the East Florida Seminary in 1853 was a direct product of the decades-long struggle for control over the Florida peninsula between the Seminole Indians, enslaved and free African Americans, and the United States. The Seminole Wars (1816-18, 1835-42 and 1853-58) originated in two objectives by the U.S.: to drive the Seminoles out of Florida and gain their land for cotton and slavery, and to stop the flight into Florida of enslaved African Americans from neighboring states seeking refuge among the Seminoles. The U.S. pursued war to secure property in land and enslaved workers. Seminoles and their African-American allies fought to defend territory and freedom.

The Seminoles were Lower Creek peoples who

migrated into Spanish Florida from Georgia and Alabama in the mid-eighteenth century. They allied first with the Spanish, then with the British, who colonized Florida between 1763-83, then again with the Spanish, who reclaimed Florida after the American Revolution until 1821. With both Spanish and British settlements and plantations clustered in the northeast part of the colony, Seminoles occupied the large expanse of territory from the west to north-central Florida, as far south as present-day Marion County, where they raised cattle and horses, traded in deerskins, and practiced subsistence agriculture.

Enslaved Africans and Africans Americans, meanwhile, had a long history of seeking freedom in Florida. The Spanish crown offered freedom to escaped slaves from the rival English colony of Carolina, and though that policy ended after 1783, many escapees still slipped across the border from Georgia to find sanctuary among the Seminoles and in the swamps and forests of Florida.[2]

By the early nineteenth century, American independence unleashed "an aggressive Anglo-American expansion into the Gulf South borderlands" that pressured Spain to cede Florida to the U.S. When attempts to buy the colony failed, the U.S. resorted to military force, supporting a

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[2] Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana, Ill., 1999); Larry Eugene Rivers, *Rebels and Runaways: Slave Resistance in Nineteenth-Century Florida* (Urbana, Ill., 2013).

group of frontiersmen from Georgia who invaded Florida in 1812, in a conflict known as the "Patriot War" that became folded into the larger War of 1812. While inconclusive, the Patriot War ushered in a period of warfare for the next six years that hastened the U.S. takeover of Florida. Tensions between Indians and Anglo-Americans continued to flare along the Florida-Georgia border, prompting the outbreak of the First Seminole War in 1817 and a second U.S. invasion led by Andrew Jackson in 1818. After the war, Spain ceded Florida to the U.S. in 1819, and the Seminoles, unable to stem the tide of settlers pouring into their land, signed a treaty in 1823 agreeing to withdraw to a four-million-acre reservation between Alachua and Tampa and to return enslaved runaways.[3]

Yet even this concession did not satisfy the U.S. government. As the cotton frontier pushed further south, Seminoles felt pressure to give up the rest of their land. That pressure derived from what historians call "settler colonialism," the desire by invader-settlers to drive indigenous people from their homeland and occupy it themselves. "Territoriality is settler colonialism's specific, irreducible element" that fosters a "logic of elimination" of native people, according to anthropologist Patrick Wolfe. With the election of Jackson as

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[3] William S. Belko, "Epilogue to the War of 1812: The Monroe Administration, American Anglophobia, and the First Seminole War," in Belko, ed., *America's Hundred Years' War*, 54-102; C.S. Monaco, *The Second Seminole War and the Limits of American Aggression* (Baltimore, 2018), quote 16-17.

president in 1828 and the passage by Congress two years later of the Indian Removal Act, settler colonialism became national policy, a form of ethnic cleansing which Jackson couched as benevolent concern for Indian welfare.[4]

The unrelenting demand to remove Indians sparked the Second Seminole War. One group of Seminole chiefs signed a treaty in 1832 agreeing to move to Oklahoma within three years. The treaty angered many Seminoles who refused to move. A U.S. military detachment that entered Seminole territory to enforce the Removal Act in 1835 was ambushed and destroyed by Seminole and African-American forces. Dade's Massacre, as the attack was called, put the U.S. on notice that it was facing a capable and determined resistance movement featuring younger, more militant Seminole leaders, including Osceola, who killed the U.S. agent in charge of the removal plan.[5]

The presence of so many African Americans in this opposition force reminded the military that this was a war about slavery as well as Indian removal. In addition, according to historian C.W. Monaco, "the very existence of black slaves among any Indigenous population easily fueled suspicions by the southern elites that rebellion could ensue," heightening the

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[4] Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8 (2006), 387-409. On the expanding cotton frontier, see Edward Baptist, *Creating an Old South: Middle Florida's Plantation Frontier Before the Civil War* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002).

[5] Monaco, *Second Seminole War*, 47-63.

government's desire to remove the Indians from their lands. One officer famously called the conflict a "Negro, not an Indian war."[6]

The Second Seminole War ended up as among the most sustained resistance campaigns by eastern Indians against white territorial incursion. Still, despite the opposition, some 4,000 Seminoles and their slaves had been deported to Oklahoma by 1842 and others resettled in south Florida.[7] Seminole removal opened millions of acres in central Florida to white settlers and their enslaved laborers. To attract migrants to territory that had not yet been completely secured, the federal government passed the Armed Occupation Act in 1842 making up to 200,000 acres available for land grants. The act gave 160 acres to any man aged eighteen or older able and willing to bear arms to defend his property. The act had the desired effect. Thousands of settlers from both in and outside of Florida, many of them Seminole War veterans, received permits and moved into the region, bringing slaves with them or buying them once they settled. In Marion County, the heart of former Seminole territory, 253 permits were issued by the end of 1843. In one historian's estimation, "the Armed Occupation Act of 1842 changed the face and structure of

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[6] Ibid., 33; Matthew Clavin, "'It is a negro, not an Indian war': Southampton, St. Domingo, and the Second Seminole War," in Belko., ed., *America's Hundred Years' War,* 181-208; Rivers, *Rebels and Runaways*. Some Black resisters were free people, others were enslaved by the Seminoles.
[7] Monaco, *Second Seminole War,* 95-96; Belko, *America's Hundred Years' War,* 4.

Marion County."[8]

At least some, perhaps more, land grant recipients under the act later became involved with the East Florida Seminary in the 1850s, either as board members or as parents of enrollees. One, for example, was board member John G. Reardon, who received several grants totaling 556 acres. One of those grants came later, in 1850, as the result of "An Act granting Bounty Land to certain Offices and Soldiers who have been engaged in the Military Service of the United States." Reardon, identified as a lieutenant in the Florida Volunteers during the Mexican War, received 160 acres under warrant no. 2343.[9]

By 1845, when Florida was granted statehood, years-long federal policy aimed at land occupation, population growth and capital development through slavery was working. Native inhabitants had been largely dispossessed of their land, havens for runaway slaves had been rooted out, and the state had been readied for plantation agriculture. By 1850, the state's population stood at 87,445, up from 54,477 in 1840, of whom 39,300 were enslaved. Most of the enslaved population was

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[8] Covington, James W. "The Armed Occupation Act of 1842," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 40, no. 1 (1961): 41-52; Joe Knetsch, "The Impact of the Armed Occupation Act of 1842 on Marion County, Florida," address to Marion County Historical Society, 1990, in Special Collections, Smathers Library, University of Florida.

[9] Fillmore, Millard, Pres. "Military Warrant." Digital image. US Department of Interior. https://glorecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default.aspx?accession=0597-088&docClass=MW&sid=aiyxhtj5.amb#patentDetailsTabIndex=1.

concentrated in "Middle Florida"—the Panhandle region between the Apalachicola and Suwanee rivers--but Alachua and Marion counties were poised for a large increase during the 1850s.

II. Creation of the East Florida Seminary

The history of the state seminary, like much of Florida's history more broadly, is synonymous with the history of public lands and slavery. The East Florida Seminary, which opened its doors in Marion County in 1853, owed its existence to the removal of Native Americans and the enslavement of African Americans that made possible the state's acquisition of land upon which the seminary itself was later built.

The first official mention of a university of Florida can be traced back to 1824.[10] It was an idea brought up amidst the legislative council that governed the territory of Florida, before it was granted statehood in 1845. Yet, though Florida was first established as a U.S. territory in 1821, it took three decades and a series of congressional acts, from 1823 to 1853, to establish a state-supported seminary in the state. The first, passed by the U.S. Congress, on March 3, 1823, under President James Monroe, sought to reserve 92,120 acres of land in the east and west territories of Florida to be granted to the government upon statehood. The sale of that land would support the

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[10] *University Record* Vol. VI (Gainesville: University of Florida, May 1911) p.16.

construction of a seminary of higher learning in each territory. This act proved the basis for the creation of two seminaries that would later become what are today recognized the University of Florida and Florida State University.[11]

By 1827, Congress sought to locate the townships wherein the east and west Florida seminaries would be erected. The original boundary was originally set as the Apalachicola River. In 1851, the boundary was relocated to the Suwannee: a 246-mile river separating Florida's peninsula from its panhandle. The congressional act also granted the governor and legislature of the territory authority to possess and lease the land year-to-year, stipulating that money raised would be appropriated to the use of schools, and the erection of a seminary of learning."[12] With the Armed Occupation Act of 1842, Florida attracted many migrants from Georgia and the Carolinas, and by [13] 1845, the state's Seminary Land Fund made available for sale some 92,000 acres of former Seminole land. Proceeds would fund the eventual opening, in 1853, of the East Florida Seminary. Thus, the first campus of the University of Florida was made possible by Indian removal and profits from slave-based agriculture operated upon public

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[11] Library of Congress, Sess. II, Ch. 29 (March 3. 1823), p. 756; Samuel Proctor, "The University of Florida: Its Early Years" (Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1958) p. 7.

[12] Library of Congress, Sess. II, Ch. 29 (March 3. 1823), p. 201-202.

[13] Charles L. Crow, "The East Florida Seminary While in Ocala, 1853-1866" (unpublished typescript, Federal Writers' Project, 193-?), Special Collections, Smathers Library, University of Florida, 34.

seminary land.[14]

On Nov. 30, 1850, the most consequential action toward opening the doors of the East Florida Seminary occurred, after nearly three decades of largely provisional acts passed by Congress. The legislation outlined seminary plans that would prioritize the training of teachers, offering free tuition to students studying to become teachers, but also offer courses in the mechanic arts, husbandry, agricultural chemistry, fundamental law, along with lectures in astronomy, anatomy, history, moral philosophy and the languages. Gov. Brown signed the bills into law on Jan. 24, 1851.[15] "Each seminary would be financed by gifts, donations, tuition, and one-half the interest from the Seminary Land Fund."[16] Every county was expected to report to the state legislature which lands, money or other provisions–possibly free labor–their respective towns were willing to donate toward the purpose of constructing a seminary.[17]

All that remained was to choose the seminary's location. In 1852, lawmakers considered one proposal to put the campus in Micanopy, in Alachua County, and another to put it on the existing site of the East Florida Independent Institute of Ocala, in Marion County. They chose the latter

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[14] Proctor, "University of Florida," 15-16.
[15] Ibid., 20 -22.
[16] Ibid., 23; L.M. Bristol, *Supplementary Material Accompanying Lectures on Three Focal Points in the Development of Florida State System of Higher Education* (Gainesville, Fl., 1952), 14-15.
[17] Crowe, "East Florida Seminary," 29.

option due to the persuasive influence of a man named, Gilbert G. Kingsbury, also known as S.S. Burton. Upon arriving in Marion County in 1852, Burton and his assistant Horatio Mann united five small schools to create the East Florida Independent Institute. One of the five was Hammond's school, built within a four-block square in the young town of Ocala, bound by Lime, Pine, Fourth and Sixth Streets.[18] Though private, the Institute operated like a public school, offering courses in reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, Latin and religion. Its clientele came from the elite planters of Marion County. "It was no longer an unusual sight," according to historian Samuel Proctor, "to see boys and girls being driven into town from nearby plantations in wagons and buggies and chaperoned by Negro household servants."[19]

This is the private academy Burton pitched in his 10-page speech to the state legislature to locate the East Florida Seminary at his Institute. Burton's winning argument portrayed Ocala as a state investment due to two factors: Good lands and a ready population. He predicted an influx of settlers after the Second Seminole War and promised that Native Americans would be removed to make room for them. "The number of emegrants [sic] that pass south through Ocala is not less than 150 per week. These lands will be much more rapidly sold as

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[18] Eloise Robinson Ott and Louis Hickman Chazal, *Ocali Country, Kingdom of the Sun: A History of Marion County, Florida* (Ocklawaha, Fl.: Marion Publishers, 1966), 71.
[19] Proctor, "University of Florida," 41-42.

soon as the Indians are removed. And the Indians will be. The general government will see to it that they are removed . . . If the state won't Volunteers will. They must and will be removed."[20] Burton thus made explicit the connection between Seminole dispossession and settler colonialism.

The legislature voted on Jan. 6, 1853 to adopt Burton's Institute as the East Florida State Seminary – the date represented today on the University of Florida's official seal, thereby regarded as the date of the university's founding.[21] The three buildings Burton included in his offer for the location of the seminary, which would become the campus of the seminary, were among the earliest public buildings to be constructed in Marion County. It is unknown whether enslaved labor contributed directly to building of these structures, with poor documentation of the area's rapid development between 1850 to 1860. It is reasonable to assume that slavery and infrastructure were closely related. In fact, one historian, Eloise Ott, claims, "practically every plantation was provided with its gin and sugar mill with all other necessary agricultural equipment and it is said that the slaves here were particularly well trained in the making of farming implements and in building."[22] Enslaved workers also cleared heavily forested land for agriculture and built local churches. According to

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[20] Ibid., 6.
[21] Proctor, "University of Florida," 46.
[22] Ott and Chazal, *Ocali Country,* 85

eyewitness accounts, enslaved laborers raised the first church in Ocala, the Methodist Episcopal Church, completed in 1850. Thomas Frink, owner of fourteen slaves himself by 1860, supervised the work.[23] Similarly, the first Baptist Church of Ocala, organized by the wives of prominent Marion County planters, Maria Baker Taylor and S.M.G. Gary, was erected through slave labor. As is characteristic of the time, many prominent families of the town were involved in the church and, soon, the seminary. The very slaves who built Ocala's first churches might have constructed the East Florida Seminary as well.

In 1853, the East Florida Seminary opened its doors with Burton as principal. The Seminary's first Board of Education, appointed by Gov. Thomas Brown, included many former trustees of Burton's East Florida Independent Institute, including Major Lewis C. Gaines, Rev. William Royall, William S. Harris and John M. McIntosh.[24] However, Burton did not transition well in supervising the seminary as a state institution instead of his personal academic entity. He grossly neglected to follow the Board's instructions for documentation. Therefore, the final report of the seminary's first session relied solely on Burton's estimates of 60 to 90 students in attendance paying a tuition fee of $1,000.[25] Board President L.C. Gaines also listed

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[23] Ibid., 85.
[24] Proctor, "University of Florida,"28.
[25] Crow, "East Florida Seminary," 41.

the subjects that were taught: reading, writing, arithmetic, natural philosophy, English grammar, geography, drawing, music and Latin.

Two incidents involving Burton, one the violent flogging of a student and the other an apparent romantic scandal with music teacher Anna Underwood, led to his removal, the seminary's temporary closing and replacement of the entire faculty upon its reopening in 1854. Burton's replacement, J. G. Bowman, also proved unpopular and was succeeded by Samuel Darwin McConnell around 1857, when the seminary completed its first profitable session. [26] McConnell is credited with the seminary's substantial growth in enrollment and sophistication. The Board of Education, comprised by William Royal and W. S. Harris, was replaced by prominent men in the community such as J. E. Williams and John M. Taylor. Student enrollment increased in every session over which McConnell presided, beginning with 58 students during his first term in 1857 and ending with 84 in 1860. For the first time, during this period, students came from outside Marion County and outside the state.[27]

In January 1861, Robert P. Bryce was appointed principal, the last to oversee the seminary while it stood in Marion County. Bryce, alongside the entire 1861 graduating class of seminary boys, would fight and die for the

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[26] Proctor, "University of Florida," 47, 73.
[27] Crow, "East Florida Seminary," 67.

Confederacy. Seminary land funds were reallocated for the purchase of arms in the war, racking up a debt that debilitated the East Florida Seminary and from which it would never recover in Ocala. But as the school's enthusiastic participation in the Confederate cause demonstrated, the creation, maintenance and philosophy of the Seminary were deeply intertwined with slavery.

III. Slavery and Seminarians

Although the slender documentary record about the East Florida Seminary does not indicate whether any enslaved people were owned in the institution's name, the Seminary was founded just as plantation agriculture and slavery were spreading into the deep South's new frontier in central Florida. Marion County lay at the heart of that expansion. As land was cleared, cotton production increased dramatically, and the county also led the state in sugar cane cultivation. In 1850, the county's enslaved population numbered about 550. By 1860, that figure had increased tenfold, to 5,532, or 62 percent of the total population. Thus, the school's chief connection to slavery was through its student body and board, most of whom were members of the Ocala and Marion County plantation elite and directly tied to slave ownership. The exploitation of unfree labor in enslaved-majority Marion County made it possible for students from wealthy families to attend the school while providing white male board members with the income that

elevated them to positions of leadership both locally and across the state of Florida.[28]

This conclusion is supported by compiling lists of known names of students, faculty, board members, and anyone else involved with the Seminary and comparing them against federal census records from 1850 and 1860. Many names are identified in two histories of the Seminary. One was historian Samuel Proctor's dissertation from 1958, a history of the University of Florida's early years between 1853-1906. The second was a manuscript by C.L. Crow written under the auspices of the Federal Writers' Project in the 1930s, "East Florida Seminary (1853-66)." Both works employ primary documentation from the 1850s, including congressional acts, annual Seminary reports included in the *Florida Senate Journal,* and other sources. In addition, Crow tapped into a useful vein of information through oral interviews with surviving alumni of the East Florida Seminary. These diverse sources allowed him to discuss in detail the board members, administrative staff, and state officials who were involved with the early origins of the school and to analyze the land grants and legislation responsible for its creation of the school.[29]

No board minutes, student records, instructional materials or other primary sources have been preserved from

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[28] 1850 and 1860 federal censuses, Marion County (Florida State Archives, Tallahassee); Julia Floyd Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1860* (Gainesville, Fl., 1973, 2017), 10-11.
[29] Crow, "East Florida Seminary," Proctor, "University of Florida."

the Seminary. In fact, only one document is known to have survived from the school, but it is a valuable one—a program for an "Exhibition," or commencement and closing ceremony, on July 12, 1861, three months after the Civil War started. The program lists songs and patriotic speeches honoring the Confederate cause, identifying by name the performers among students and faculty. Some twenty additional names surface in this document, eighteen of whom are students.[30] Of these 18 students, six names, when cross-referenced with the 1850 and 1860 Slave Schedules of both Marion and Alachua County, can be confirmed as either members of slaveholding families or eventual slaveholders themselves, accounting for 197 and possibly 200 slaves: A.E. Blitch, 11; Bruton/Frink 19, or 22; House, or Howse, 19; McGahagin, 76; Reardon, 7, and Pyles, 65. Though these families represent only a small percentage of the student body at the East Florida Seminary, several of them came from some of the largest slave-holding families in central Florida. Because so many names of other students at the Seminary remain unknown, the proportion of Marion County's enslaved population connected to the school through their labor is certain to have been far higher.[31]

One   of   the   first   noticeable   figures   on   the

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[30] East Florida Seminary Exhibition, 1861, in Special Collections, Smathers Library, University of Florida.

[31] These schedules do not display the individual names of the slaves themselves but instead give only the name of their owner accompanied with the enslaved person's age and gender.

commencement list was J.G. Reardon, the salutatory speaker, whose father, John G. Reardon, the Mexican War veteran, had received several land grants and became a prominent figure in the early structuring of the Ocala area during the 19th century.[32] J.G. Reardon Jr. must have been born shortly after the 1850 census was taken because he participated in the commencement ceremony in 1861, just 11 years later. Reardon's mother, Caroline M. Reardon, owned 7 slaves.

Credited for singing "Slumber Gently Falls" after J.G. Reardon's introduction, a Miss House was most likely 1 of 3 children born in the mid-19th century to Edmund D. and Cynthia House. In the 1850 slave census of Marion County, Edmund D. House owned 11 slaves, while in 1860, a Mrs. C.C. House owned 8 slaves. The commencement list also shows a Miss Pinckston, or Penkston, whose father owned 2 slaves. [33]

C.L. Crow refers to a Miss Susannah Bruton, who was a student at the East Florida Seminary and who, many years later, discussed her recollections of the school with Crow himself in an oral interview in the 1930s. "The Exhibition, or commencement exercises as it would be called now," Crow wrote, "closed with a wild demonstration of devotion to the Southern Cause, as Miss Susannah Bruton, now Mrs. Sue E. Frink, of Lutz, Florida, sang to the tune of Dixie a 'Rebel' song

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[32] David Cook, "Confederate Veterans gather in Ocala to remember Civil War years" *Ocala Star Banner*, May 25, 2013.
[33] East Florida Seminary Exhibition; 1850 Marion County Census; 1860 Slave Census.

written for the occasion by the principal of the seminary and printed on the program." Miss Bruton performed several times throughout the commencement ceremony, including a song called, "An old man would be wooing," a "prayer" and the closing song dedicated to the Confederacy, "Dixie." Susannah Bruton was the daughter of David Bruton, a 46-year-old farmer, county surveyor, and possibly slave owner. When she married Albert Frink, a Confederate soldier or veteran, she married into a slaveholding, or formerly slaveholding, family: her husband's father, Thomas E. Frink, owned 5 slaves in Marion County in 1850 and 14 in 1860.[34]

During his contribution to the commencement ceremony through his appearances in the speech, "The Crisis" and the dialogue; "Quarrel between Brutus and Cassius," Alonzo E. Blitch would have been roughly 18 years of age. He was the second oldest of 5 brothers, and was the son of Ephraim, 43 years old, and Frances, 37 years old, who owned 11 slaves in 1860. The Pyles family owned the second largest number of slaves out of all six identified slaveholding families on the commencement program. Miss Pyles sang in "Serenade

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[34] East Florida State Seminary Exhibition; 1850 Marion County Census; 1850 and 1860 Marion County Slave Schedules; Arthur Wyllie, *Florida Confederate Pensions* (2014). Evidence is uncertain, but there were 3 prominent Bruton families in Marion County in 1850, only one on which (no first name provided) was in possession of 3 slaves. Susannah's father could have owned these 3 slaves. As a farmer and county supervisor, his work would have required a lot of time and effort, leaving his land in need of attending. On Sue Burton Frink, see also Ott, "Ocala Prior to 1868," 92 n.22.

March" and "Soiree Waltz." The 1850 census contains what appears to be three generations of the Pyles family, all from the state of Georgia. A daughter, Frances, would probably have been the Miss Pyles referred to on the commencement list. The 1860 Marion County Slave census lists Mrs. F.M. Pyles with 65 slaves.[35]

In addition, the names of the early board members of the East Florida Seminary mentioned by Crow and Proctor represent another strong connection between the school and slavery. Many of these board members owned enslaved workers and large landholdings. One was John M. McIntosh, a North Carolina native and veteran of the Seminole War who was a beneficiary of the federal Armed Occupation Act and who settled in Tallahassee in the 1830s. McIntosh was a farmer near Orange Lake in Marion County after opening a store on the Suwannee River in 1839. The official secretary of the Board of Education for the East Florida Seminary, McIntosh owned 6 slaves in 1860. McIntosh's life story provides a glimpse of the

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[35] East Florida Seminary Exhibition; 1850 Marion County Census; 1860 Florida Slave Schedule. Crow also referred to first-hand information he learned from a man named "Mr. McGahagin," who is likely to have been a student at the Seminary shortly before or after the Civil War. His extensive knowledge about the administrative staff and his ability to recall exact names and the sequence of leadership suggest that he attended the school at some point. W.M. and J.L. McGahagin were the only two identifiable people with that last name at any time throughout the Seminary's existence. William McGahagin, the recipient of a 160-grant from the Armed Occupation act, owned 28 slaves, while J.L., a son or other family member, owned 48.

social mobility that existed for White Americans in 19th century Florida. McIntosh worked his way up to prosperity because of the privileges afforded by federal support, such as free land through the Armed Occupation Act.[36]

Another member, and eventual president, of the Seminary's board of education was Lewis C. Gaines, a successful editor and proprietor of two small Ocala newspapers known as "The Conservator" and "The Tropical Farmer" which was considered to be "the only agricultural paper south of the Potomac." During a time when property value was a strong symbol of wealth, Lewis C. Gaines had the highest property value in Marion County at $7,000. Gaines owned 18 slaves in 1850, of whom seven were 12 years or younger. Another prosperous businessman and planter on the board was Adin Waterman, owner of 15 slaves, who was appointed by the Governor of Florida, Madison Starke Perry, in 1857. Other board members included John E. Williams, who owned 32 slaves; John M. Taylor, a planter who moved from South Carolina to Marion County in 1852 with his family and his large enslaved workforce, which numbered 64 in 1860; and Samuel St. George Rogers, another Seminole War veteran, who owned 83 slaves, making him the largest slaveholder in the group. S.D. McConnell, the third principal of the Seminary,

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[36] Proctor, "University of Florida," 28; idem., "Reminiscences of a Florida Pioneer: John M. McIntosh," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 38 (1959), 67-70; 1860 Marion County Slave Schedule.

owned one slave. Collectively, then, the leadership structure of the East Florida Seminary, consisting of its board of education and its most influential principal, claimed ownership of at least 219 enslaved people.[37]

In sum, the sparse information that remains about the student body and leadership of the Seminary reveals tight connections between wealth, privilege, slaveholding and public education. Marion County, the site of one of two state seminaries, saw a rapid influx of white settlers and enslaved African-American workers, between 1845 and 1860. Many white newcomers received federal land grants, and others bought former Seminole land for plantation agriculture. Money from land sales went into a fund to support the Seminary, which in turn provided education almost exclusively to children of the planting elite. Therefore, the origins, operation and survival of the institution that would later become the University of Florida are inextricably bound to the fate of enslaved Americans working under the scorching Florida heat.

IV. Religion, Slavery and Resistance

Nineteenth-century Florida was a religious frontier society in which faith, education and slavery were often

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[37] Board members listed in Proctor, "University of Florida," 28, 59-60, 63; 1850 and 1860 Mary County Slave Schedules. Other board members identified by Proctor include Oliver Tomney, "an affluent merchant of Ocala," who owned one enslaved woman in 1860, as well as Rev. William Royall and William S. Harris, but any slave holdings they might have had are not reflected in the census.

intertwined. This relationship elucidates both the influence of slavery and religion on the Seminary and the ways that enslaved African Americans resisted their captivity. As we have seen, many faculty and administrators of the East Florida Seminary were both slave holders and connected to local churches. Juxtaposing these positions reveals how faith shaped the attitude of slave owners and how they, in turn, shaped the Seminary. Many slaveholders saw slavery as a necessary good. An exemplary figure was Maria Baker Taylor, wife of John M. Taylor, board member to the Seminary and owner of sixty-four slaves. Maria Baker Taylor (1813-1895) was a devout Baptist whose diary is representative of the mentality of Marion Country slaveholders. Her writings also shed light on the enslaved African-American population of the county whose labor supported the school.[38]

In 1853, the Taylors moved from South Carolina to Osceola Plantation, four miles southwest of Ocala. When John M. Taylor sought out a new plantation after a crop failure in 1848, Maria expressed a desire for a "healthy region, and where we can enjoy advantages for the education of our children."[39] It is unknown if the Seminary influenced the Taylors' decision to settle in Marion County, but in S.S. Burton's boast of

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[38] 1860 U.S. Census, Marion County, Florida, slave schedule, Ocala, page 357, John M. Taylor, slave owner, NARA microfilm publication 653, roll 110.

Kathryn Carlisle Schwartz, *Baptist Faith in Action: The Private Writings of Maria Baker Taylor, 1813-1895* (Columbia, S.C., 2003), 83-85.

[39] Ibid., 71.

"Marion's millions of dollars of slave property, its 300,000 acres of tillable land" may have appealed to the Taylors.[40] But in order to move to Florida, the Taylors had to sell eleven slaves, including "so many small ones."[41] Financed through the sale of slaves, the Taylors became "midrange members of the Florida Plantation aristocracy." The 1860 census valued John Taylor's personal property at $50,000, about $35,000 of which was invested in slaves. Maria noted that the plantation was so successful that John "will make more cotton than he can possibly pick and a superabundance of provisions."[42]

During this period, religious instruction was an essential component of standardized education, and with its focus on religious teachings, the Seminary employed at least six clergymen as faculty. The use of religion to defend slavery and teach Christian submissiveness to enslaved laborers was a popular strategy throughout the South. Maria mentioned that Pastor Old John "came to hear the little negroes their lessons" and she gave a catechism probably written by Charles Colcock Jones, a minister who wrote *The Religious Instructions of the Negroes*. Their ownership of this catechism meant that the Taylors were entrenched in the fusion between slavery, religion, and education.[43]

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[40] Ott and Chazal, *Ocali Country,* 72.
[41] Taylor to John Morgandollar Taylor, 26 February 1850, in Schwartz, ed., *Baptist Faith in Action*, 72.
[42] Schwartz, *Baptist Faith in Action*, 86.
[43] Maria Baker Taylor, *Diary*, in Schwartz, *Baptist Faith in Action,* 96;

The struggle for control between enslavers and enslaved extended to the daily demands of labor, as Maria Taylor's diary make abundantly clear. Maria noted that one woman, Phillis, was sick several times in the Spring of 1857: "Sent medicine to Phillis who is sick . . . Phillis in a critical way . . . Phillis went home sick." Maria began to suspect deception. "I am induced to believe that Phillis has been deceiving me with respect to herself…" Maria then "went down to the negro house to see her" and came away "confirmed in the opinion." Whites often levied racist accusations against Blacks of idleness and laziness, knowing that work slowdowns and stoppages were also a powerful method of resistance for slaves. But what Maria failed to note at the time she first recorded the illness was that Phillis was pregnant and several days later delivered a stillborn child. So she might not have been deceiving Taylor at all. Several months later, Taylor again accused her of idleness and even self-harm, again not taking into consideration the possible after effects of a difficult pregnancy and stillborn birth. "One of our servants [Phillis] has acted very badly & we suspect her of starving herself to keep from work," Taylor wrote in July 1857. "She was so much reduced & weak last week that we had to stimulate her." Toward the end of August, Maria noted that there was some improvement. "Phillis the

Raboteau, *Slave Religion*, 152-57. On plantation missions to slaves, see also Larry Eugene Rivers, *Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days to Emancipation* (Gainesville, Fl., 2000), 106-24; and Janet Duitsman Cornelius, *Slave Missions and the Black Church in the Antebellum South* (Columbia, S.C., 1999).

Negro who has been starving herself went out last Monday for the first time this year & picked a little cotton." The clinical notation of Phillis, her loss of child, and her work productivity is emblematic of the treatment of most slaves.[44]

The fear of slave rebellion was certainly in the thoughts of the Taylors and other white residents in Marion County in 1857 when Maria's son-in-law, Thomas Bauskett, was attacked by a neighbor's slave. Bauskett "returned home bloody & wounded having been struck down by a Negro with a heavy stick."[45] Fear increased in 1860, when Bauskett's cousin-in-law, Dr. William J. Keitt, a prominent planter and state senator, was murdered by several of his slaves.[46]

The clearest attestation of the connection of slavery to the East Florida Seminary was the vigorous support for the Confederacy by faculty and students in the Civil War. Dr. Daniel A. Vogt, the state representative and doctor who tended to Phillis, read the resolution of secession to the House. Samuel D. McConnell, third principal of the Seminary, helped

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[44] Maria Baker Taylor, *Diary,* July 13 and Aug. 24, 1857, in Schwartz, *Baptist Faith in Action*, 100-01.

[45] Ibid., Aug. 30, 1857, 102.

[46] According to a note included in Maria Taylor's diary, "Dr. Keitt was murdered by his Negroes Lewis & Allen on Sat 18th [Dec.] between 9 & 10 with a razor. A held him down & L held his beard with one hand & lavcut his throat from ear to ear, splitting his ears & cutting into the neck bone. A & L were hung. M whipped & banished the state with ol John & Hazelius. Israel banished. Keitt was ill in bed from effects of poison by his Negroes. He cried for help & begged forgiveness. Allen said we did forgive him & then beat him choked him & killed him." Letter from Bauskett, quoted in Schwartz, *Baptist Faith in Action,* 107.

draw up the resolution. Delegates from Marion County were sent to a Democratic convention in Charleston and included Summerfield M.G. Gary, William McGahagin, and James B. Owens.[47] Gary was a lawyer in Ocala who owned four slaves and his wife helped Maria Taylor in construction of the first Baptist Church. The Seminary closed in 1861 in the outbreak of the war. Once the war officially commenced, "instructors, together with every boy of the class enlisted in the army of the South."

V. Conclusion

The Civil War did not directly enter Marion County until the very end when, in March 1865, an African-American regiment of Union soldiers invaded briefly. Marching west from Palatka, the troops destroyed a sugar plantation and liberated the enslaved workers.[48] After the war, about 1,000 newly emancipated people assembled on Seminary grounds, indicating that the school also acted as a community meeting location. Word had gone out for them "to consider the new privileges devolved upon them by their enfranchisement," and by daybreak, "from all parts of the county they had begun to assemble on the Seminary grounds." Former slaves now became freedpeople with rights and privileges previously

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[47] Ott and Chazal, *Ocali Country,* 77.
[48] Maria Baker Taylor, *Diary,* March 22 and 29, Apr. 1, 1864, in Schwartz, *Baptist Faith in Action*, 172-73; Ott and Chazal, *Ocali Country,* 85-86.

denied them. The most notable speaker was Samuel Small, a former slave of the Taylor family on Osceola Plantation.[49]

The fact that Small addressed a large crowd of his fellow freedpeople on the occasion of emancipation indicates the esteem he held among them. Small would emerge as a leader among Blacks in Marion County during Reconstruction. Maria Taylor noted in her diary that Small was one of several "Radical" speakers before a Black audience in 1866. That year, 90 Black members of the Baptist Church in Ocala, who had worshiped in the biracial congregation for several years, withdrew to form the independent Mount Moriah Baptist Church under Small's leadership. The postwar period also saw the heyday of African-American electoral power. Small was elected to several local offices and to the Florida House, where he served from 1873-75, becoming one of the first Black state legislators in Florida, along with Singleton Coleman, and Scipio Jasper.[50]

These men were only a select few Blacks who rose to prominence in Marion County after the war. In reality, most freedpeople continued to face economic dependency and discrimination. Like their predecessors in the antebellum period, Blacks in Ocala during the postbellum period strove for

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[49] Ott and Chazal, *Ocali Country,* 90.
[50] Maria Baker Taylor, *Diary,* July 4, 1867, in Schwartz, *Baptist Faith in Action,* 209; Canter Brown, *Florida's Black Public Officials, 1867-1924* (Tuscaloosa, 1998), 126. Mount Moriah still exists today as a historically African American congregation.

equality, and their descendants led the Civil Rights Movement there. One such activist was Reverend Frank Pinkston, a descendent of the Pinkston's plantation slaves and, like Small, a Baptist preacher. His story is a reminder that, even though the East Florida Seminary's duration in Ocala ended after the Civil War, its aftermath and the influence of people in its orbit could be felt decades later, even to the present.[51]

In 1866, the East Florida Seminary moved to Gainesville. In 1905, under the Buckman Act, which reorganized the state university system, it merged with several other small colleges and became the University of Florida, the state's land-grant institution. The Seminary's legacy and its connection to slavery live on in the University—constituting a history that is not well known and needs to be acknowledged.

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[51] Another Civil Right activist, Bettie Blakely, described her memories of Pinkston in an interview in 2014 with the Samuel L. Proctor Oral History Program

Selected Works

The Influence of the Haitian Revolution on Slave Revolts and Slave Value in Pre-Emancipation Cuba, 1825-1875

Hayli Parks

"Revenge taken by the Black Army for the Cruelties practiced on them by the French" (1805) by Marcus Rainford, an engraving featured in his text, "An Historical Account of the Black Empire of Haiti."

Abstract

News of the events of the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804) -- its founding ideology, and the legacies of its most prominent leaders -- inspired, terrified and shocked the international community. The Haitian Revolution was both celebrated and demonized, producing an ambivalence that was especially poignant to its Caribbean neighbors. Cuba's reaction was unique in terms of its simultaneous embrace and rejection of the sociopolitical and ideological proposals of the Haitian Revolution. This article examines the social, economic, and political differences in the varying interpretation of slave revolts and slave value between the western and eastern regions in pre-emancipation Cuba over the fifty-year period from 1825 to 1875.

Introduction

The outbreak of the Haitian Revolution in 1791 led to the first former-slave republic in the history of the world. As such, the Haitian Revolution (1791-1804) spurred further sociopolitical movements, not only within the Caribbean, but also around the globe. News of the events of the Haitian Revolution-- its founding ideology, and the legacies of its most prominent leaders-- inspired, terrified, and shocked the international community. The Haitian Revolution was both celebrated and demonized, producing an ambivalence that was especially poignant to its Caribbean neighbors. Cuba's reaction

was unique in terms of its simultaneous embrace and rejection of the sociopolitical and ideological proposals of the Revolution, a phenomenon that derived from social, economic and political differences between Cuba's eastern and western regions.

The healthy survival of slavery in pre-emancipation Cuba (1825-1875) further complicated its response to the Haitian Revolution. Cuba was a slave society organized around the racial hierarchies of sugar plantations, and Cuban slaves held different interpretations of the Haitian Revolution from their white slaveowners. The tensions between these different classes within Cuba's racialized society meant that slave revolts and the treatment of slaves were increasingly affected by the seemingly ubiquitous presence of the Haitian Revolution in Cuban discourse.

Slave revolts in Cuba had been a common occurrence since the importation of Africans to the island by the Spanish in the 1500s.[1] Violent slave revolts were thus not new phenomena occurring with the rise of sugar plantations in Cuba, but rather a continuation of centuries-long struggle amongst African slaves for emancipation. However, the Cuban slave revolts that occurred in the nineteenth century are particularly interesting because of their impact on Cuban slave

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[1] Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Social Control in Slave Plantation Societies: A Comparison of St. Domingue and Cuba* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), 52.

society as a whole. I selected 1825 as the starting year for this analysis in order to examine the Great African Slave Revolt of that same year, which was the largest multiethnic slave-led revolt in Cuba up to this point in time.[2] Additional slave revolts of the 1830s and 1840s, ending with the La Escalara conspiracy of 1844, also play a significant role in my analysis.

An earlier slave revolt, known as the Aponte Rebellion of 1812, provides perhaps the most well-known example of the influence of the rhetoric of the Haitian Revolution on Cuban slave revolts.[3] The Aponte Rebellion served as the first challenge to the Cuban sugar-plantation state and provided valuable lessons for those wishing to pursue future revolts. As historian Matt Childs has argued, it was construed as an early warning to sugar plantation owners about the dangers of "expanding slavery and plantation agriculture throughout the island," adding to the paranoia that the establishment of the world's first black republic had brought to life.[4] Although this slave revolt was incredibly influential for the development and perception of subsequent slave revolts in Cuba, the Aponte Rebellion itself is not included in this examination as it lays outside my timeframe. My focus instead is on later decades,

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[2] Manuel Barcia Paz, *West African Warfare in Bahia and Cuba: Soldier Slaves in the Atlantic World, 1807-1844* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 162.

[3] Matt D. Childs, *The Aponte Rebellion of 1812 and the Transformation of Cuban Society: Race, Slavery, and Freedom in the Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006) 13.

[4] Ibid., 177-178.

the 1830s and 1840s, when subsequent events had more direct impact. The selection of the end date of 1875 constructs a timeline that allows for the inclusion of the slave insurgents of Eastern Cuba who joined the fight for independence in that year.

Background-- The Haitian Revolution

Haiti, the nation's post-revolution name, is located on the western side of the island of Hispaniola. Previously, a French colony known as Saint Domingue (1659-1804),[5] it depended heavily on the growth of lucrative cash crops, particularly sugarcane, which required large amounts of hard manual labor through every aspect of the cultivation, harvesting, and refinery process.[6] Hence, French colonists began the mass importation of African slaves into Saint Domingue, a colossal undertaking given the necessity of maintaining a large labor force.[7] Constant shipments of slaves were required to replace those who had died from exhaustion, overwork, abuse, and general poor treatment. Despite these difficulties of supplying adequate slave labor for the sugar plantation-based economy, by 1789 Saint Domingue had become fabulously wealthy.

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[5] C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1999), 4-5.

[6] Hall, *Social Control in Slave Plantation Societies*, 16-17.

[7] James, *The Black Jacobins,* 5.

It was in this economic setting that the Haitian Revolution took hold. Tensions between poor whites, rich whites (sugar plantation owners), and the socially mobilized and ambitious mulattoes (of mixed racial heritage) were sparked by intra-societal conflicts with racial and economic motivations.[8] Furthermore, colonists' frustration with the limiting economic restrictions of the French mother country, contributed to the turmoil as Saint Domingue became consumed by internal and external fighting.[9] The spread of Enlightenment rhetoric, which informed and motivated the simultaneously occurring French Revolution, had similar effects amongst the populations of Saint Domingue, especially among enslaved laborers. Identifying themselves with the revolutionary struggles for equality that the Third Estate had begun to demand in France, slaves in Saint Domingue initiated uprisings of their own, often targeting their cruel masters and nearby plantations.[10]

The Development of Cuba's Sugar Plantations

After centuries of watching from the sidelines, Cuba got an opportunity to take center stage on the global maritime market during the nineteenth century. Previously, the Spanish colony had been ignored and largely forgotten by the Spanish

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[8] Ibid., 36-41.

[9] Ibid., 57.

[10] James, The *Black Jacobins,* 81.

Empire, due to the latter's ownership of more resource-rich colonies.[11] During the 1780s, however, Spain implemented its Bourbon Reforms, increasing agricultural and mining production in its colonies. In the case of Cuba, these Reforms resulted in more investment in the growth and production of sugar, just as the Haitian Revolution was derailing the sugar economy in Saint Dominque. Eventually Cuba was able to replace Saint Dominque as the world's number-one sugar producer.[12]

However, for sugar plantations to flourish, Cuban society had to change in radical ways. The unprecedented necessity for large quantities of labor led to the importation of hundreds of thousands of slaves. Within the span of 50 years, Cuba's slave population rose from 85,900 to 436,500, with African slaves equaling roughly 43% of Cuba's total population.[13] This dramatic increase in the numbers of African slaves led to a new, rigid racialized social hierarchy. Desperate to maintain their social status among the ever increasing numbers of African slaves, white plantation owners employed violent methods to establish their dominance and maintain control.[14] The use of abhorrent methods of coercion became

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[11] Hall, *Social Control in Slave Plantation Societies,* 10.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Aisha Finch, *et al., Breaking the Chains, Forging the Nation: the Afro-Cuban Fight for Freedom and Equality, 1812-1912* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 2019), 66.

[14] Hall, *Social Control in Slave Plantation Societies,* 112.

increasingly intertwined with racist rhetoric, reinforcing the ideologies of white plantation-owning elites in their efforts to buttress and justify the already racialized structure of slavery.[15]

Cuban Slave Revolts, 1825-1844

1825-1829

The most prominent Cuban slave revolt to occur during this time period was the Great African Slave Revolt of 1825, a multi-ethnic movement of more than 200 slaves.[16] The leaders, Lorenzo Lucumí, Federico Carabalí, and Pablo Gangá, represented different African nationalities.[17] What made the Great African Slave Revolt of 1825 so significant was its potential to become an even stronger open rebellion, and it served as an example of unity among various West African nationalities.[18] The Great African Slave Revolt inspired subsequent revolutions occurring in 1826 and 1827. In particular, the method of targeting several plantation owners was replicated in three different revolts occurring in January, September, and October of 1827, all of which involved the assassination of powerful plantation owners and overseers, with support from other groups of slaves, although none of

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[15] Ibid, 102.

[16] Paz, *West African Warfare in Bahia and Cuba,* 162.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid., 102-103.

these was as large as the 1825 revolt.[19]

1830-1839

Between July 1830 and May 1839, twenty-two slave revolts were recorded in Cuba, with almost all of them being centered in Western cities and provinces.[20] The largest of these revolts occurred in August of 1833, in which 330 African slaves who had just arrived in Cuba were led to revolt by three leading Lucumí slaves. Interestingly, one revolt was not led by slaves, but rather by Creoles. In April of 1838, a conspiracy consisting of Creoles, African slaves, and free men were accused of attempting a revolt, with thirty-nine standing trial, and three executed.[21] The inclusion of Creoles and free men in African slave revolts would suggest that African slaves had begun to include other populations in their revolts, introducing a new ideology and representing even more of an opportunity to succeed in the struggle against Cuban slaveholders.

1840-1844

Between 1840 and 1844, an intensification of slave revolts occurred, with the number of total slave revolts and alleged conspiracies totaling nineteen in just four years.[22] This

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[19] Ibid.,162.

[20] Ibid., 162-164.

[21] Paz, *West African Warfare in Bahia and Cuba,* 164.

[22] Ibid., 164-165.

amount is almost equal to the amount of revolts that occurred in the period between 1830-1839, but in a halved timeframe. The most significant rebellion during this period was the conspiracy of La Escalara, in which thousands of free people of color, as well as slaves, in both urban and rural environments, stood accused of a mass conspiracy to challenge Cuban slave society, without any firm evidence.[23]

The Influence of the Haitian Revolution

According to Aisha Finch, the Haitian Revolution gave support to further ideas of black enfranchisement and empowerment: "The insurgencies of 1812 and 1843 [in Cuba] …formed part of a larger movement with clearly defined goals for black enfranchisement and sovereignty, inspired by the discourse and actions of the Haitian Revolution."[24] It was precisely the success of the Haitian Revolution in creating a black republic that made it such a valuable example to enslaved communities.

However, the success of the Haitian Revolution also led to fearful responses and demonization of its messages about equality, especially in racialized slave societies like that of Cuba. Cuban elites developed a phobia of another Haitian-inspired revolution occurring in their midst. The continuous slave revolts further alarmed elites, who feared that their family

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[23] Ibid.,165.

[24] Finch, et al., *Breaking the Chains*, 140.

or plantation would be targeted next, even if the slave revolts were devoid of Haitian influence.[25] Elites acted out with brutality on both the enslaved and freed populations, in the hopes that violence would discipline the slaves and enable them to maintain the racialized structure of Cuban sugar plantation society.

Regional Differences

The much greater prevalence of slave revolts in the Western regions of Cuba was directly correlated to the number of sugar plantations and the presence of large populations of abused slaves located in that region. Similarly, the absence of extensive slave revolts in the East was due to the much smaller populations of slaves in relation to whites and freed people of color.[26] Concern about slave revolts was much less in the East because of the distance from the sugar plantations located in the West.

Cuban Slave Value

The *Cuban Slave Insurance Collection*, housed at the University of Florida, provides documentation of the economic value of individual slaves during pre-emancipation Cuba. All of the slave insurance documents in this collection were

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[25] Ibid., 7.

[26] Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999) 19.

created and authorized in or around Havana, located within the Western half of Cuba, wherein Cuba's major sugar plantations were located, with their massive concentrations of wealth and slaves.[27] An examination of thirteen insurance policies, stemming from two companies, revealed the following commonalities. All of these insurance statements provided an indemnity for the slave based on the type of labor performed on the plantation. On average, field slaves had the highest indemnity, with the average guaranteed loss value for the insured field slave totaling 1250 pesos. (A "loss" of a slave constituted either death or disappearance.) Most of these insured slaves were male (ten out of thirteen), and the majority of insured slaves were over the age of twenty-eight. The older a slave, the less able he would have been to perform the hard labor required; this was especially true for field slaves, as the sugarcane season consisted of workdays lasting sixteen to twenty-one hours.[28]

These records also designated the slaves' African ancestry-- with half indicating "criollo" and the other half various African nationalities. Furthermore, physical descriptors of each slave were listed on the insurance document, including physical features, such as height, nose shape, beard length, and skin color. The slave master's name was always present, with several different masters being represented in the collection.

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[27] Ibid., 18-19.

[28] Ibid., 18.

It is significant that the majority of the insured slaves in these documents were field slaves (delineated by the use of the Spanish word "campo," translating literally to "field"). In Cuban slave society, field laborers who assisted in the cultivation and harvesting of sugarcane had the "worse" quality of life, with Cuban officials admitting that most slaves did not live "beyond ten years on sugar plantations."[29] In a sugar plantation society that valued productivity over life, insuring the earning potential of slaves, even in death, was to be expected.[30] Insurance policies taken out on field slaves functioned as a guaranteed economic benefit, a calculation of the labor expected of them taking into account the shortness of their predicted lifespans. The purchase price of a slave, dependent on the job they performed, was approximately 1500 pesos. The average payout in the case of death or disappearance was 1250 pesos. While the owner would have lost about 250 pesos -- based on the difference between the purchase price and guaranteed indemnity-- nonetheless, the economic productivity of the slave over his lifetime would have generated more than enough profit to make up this difference.

Cuban Slave Death Certificates and Burial Letters

The *Cuban Slave Death Certificates and Burial Letters Collection*, located at the University of Florida, consists of seven

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[29] Finch, et al., *Breaking the Chains,* 26.

[30] Hall, *Social Control in Slave Plantation Societies,* 19.

letters (four of which were sent to the same master over the four years from 1870-1874) provides additional insight into the value placed on slaves. Five of the seven letters contain the phrase "*a reserva*" (translated as reserved) written at the top. The format of each letter is standardized, using a fill-in-the-blank format, with blank lines left to write in the patient's name, the name of the patient's parent(s), the province and city of the patient, the age of the patient, the reason for the death of the patient, and the date. In the space reserved for the names of the parent(s) of the patient, six out of the seven letters had been filled in with either the name of the master or the Judicial District of Slaves. All slaves had died of illnesses described as fevers or unnamed "sicknesses." All slaves were buried in the same place, the General Cemetery.

The appearance of the master's name in the space designated for "parent" is significant, indicating the domination of masters over every aspect of their slaves' lives. Instead of the parents of dead slaves being contacted with news of their death, the master is given that right, and thus is able to control the news of the death of the slave. It is also interesting that the letters had been sent from a hospital, and that dates on some of the letters reveal extended stays of a month or more before the passing of the slave. Was an illness identified early? Was the slaveholder trying to protect an expensive asset? Was this a rare instance of a benevolent master in a society that rarely provided treatment for slave pregnancies because even these

were considered too great an expense?[31]

A more likely explanation for the quick transfer of sick slaves from plantation to hospital may well be an attempt to stop the spread of deadly infectious diseases. As historians have discovered, "Epidemics of cholera and smallpox…decimated the enslaved population."[32] The potential for the spread of contagious diseases endangered the entire workforce of a plantation, as well as the economic stability of the plantation owner. Slaves who died from disease would have had to be replaced, while the delay or halting of production from a lack of available labor would have led to the loss of more money and the possibility of crop spoilage. Thus, the decision to hospitalize slaves was likely the result of careful economic calculation, an explanation that is further supported by the fact that the slaves were buried in the General Cemetery.

Other Influences-- The Significance of African Culture and Identity

The Haitian Revolution was not the only factor influencing the occurrence of slave revolts, the perception of slave revolts, or the value of slaves in pre-emancipation Cuba. What follows is a brief mention of other influences that were important in understanding the complexities of Cuban slave society but which could not be treated in any detail here.

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[31] Hall, Social Control in Slave Plantation Societies, 24.

[32] Finch, et al., Breaking the Chains, 220.

Techniques of West African warfare were present throughout slave revolts in Cuba and were at times incredibly effective. Unfortunately, the kidnapping and relocation of millions of Africans from their homeland often takes a backseat to historical discussions of slavery in the Americas and the Caribbean. A discussion of African identities of slaves and the separation from their former lives have in the past often been overlooked or erased and deemed unimportant. However, recent scholarship has explored how West African practices influenced the techniques slaves used during revolts and has demonstrated how the presence of West African leadership in Cuban slave revolts, along with the loyalty they commanded among their fellow slaves, allowed African-led slave revolts to mount effective challenges to Cuban slave society—a first step to granting visibility and a voice to a population that has been overlooked and silenced for centuries.[33]

Conclusion

Ultimately, the celebration and demonization of the Haitian Revolution acted as a double-sided sword in terms of its influence on slave revolts and slave value in Cuba. The ideology of the Haitian Revolution that was celebrated by slaves – i.e., black empowerment, the achievement of

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[33] Ibid., 42-46, 47.

emancipation and freedom-- was used as inspiration in the creation of slave revolts that actively challenged the unfairness of Cuban slave society. However, it was precisely this inspirational aspect of the Haitian Revolution that also led to fear-mongering propaganda and justification for the abuse and dehumanization of slaves by slave owners.

"Between Slavery and Slavery, There is a Difference": Russian Exceptionalism as a Discursive International Weapon, 1800-1861

Jarett Hill

"Peter the Great with a Black Page." c. 1720
Painted by Gustav von Baron Mardefeld

Abstract

In the first half of the 19th century, the Russian nobility manufactured a racial narrative that situated the nation as anti-slavery and thereby morally superior to its Western rivals as a way to combat Russia's reputation of chronic "backwardness" and bolster its emerging presence on the international stage. Even at the time, this stance was criticized for being a facade, as the Russian nobility was holding twenty million peasants in serfdom. Although the contradiction was widely noted, the racial narrative was still effective in shifting how Westerners, particularly free black people and abolitionists, viewed Russia. Right up until the abolition of serfdom in 1861, comparisons between Russian serfdom and African slavery were censored because challenges to serfdom directly threatened the power of the Russian nobility, even as narratives about the dehumanizing effects of American slavery occupied Russian popular culture.

Introduction

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Russia claimed to be a raceless utopia: a country that had never participated in the international slave trade and had only ever treated black people with respect. While this argument held some weight, it was largely a self-serving construction intended to highlight Russia's moral superiority to the Western European and American nations still mired in the institution of slavery. As was widely noted at the time, Russia kept twenty million of its own peasants in serfdom, and while Russian serfdom and black slavery drew comparisons for their similar

cruelty and dehumanization, nonetheless Russia claimed the moral high ground. This ideological position – what I will refer to as Russia's "racial utopia" narrative-- was an extension of Russia's history of using black peoples as a means to increase its international status. Russia's anti-slavery ideology used the immorality of black enslavement to distract critics from the reality of Russian serfdom, in an effort to bolster the power of the Russian nobility and to heighten the country's international presence and prestige.

Russia, Africa, and Black Assimilation

Unlike the colonization projects of Western European and American nations, Russia's early contacts with Africa and black people were not colonial affairs. Imperial Russia would later use this distinction as a point of pride in presenting Russia as a country that had always shown respect towards black people. While some historians have argued that Russia would have become involved in the African slave trade had the country had the means to do so, early diplomatic contact with Africa centered around capitalizing on trade opportunities with the wealthy Ethiopian Empire.[1] These negotiations, however, never came to fruition, and contact with Africa consisted mostly of quasi-scientific "research expeditions" by the intelligentsia, the educated upper class of Russia who-- with the

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[1] Allison Blakely, *Russia and the Negro: Blacks in Russian History and Thought* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1986), 27.

support of the nobility-- guided scholarship and national culture.

It was on one of these expeditions in the late 17th century, bringing back black "specimens" from Africa, that Peter I established the precedent of having black peoples decorate noble courts as aesthetic oddities, a practice that became fashionable and spread among the nobility. Black people became a rare luxury good, an item of conspicuous consumption, and they were treated as such. This was how Peter I acquired his favorite black servant—Abram Petrovich Hannibal— whom he treated paternalistically and later designated as the progenitor of a new black line of Russian nobility. Hannibal became famous in Russia and occupied the national imagination of what a black person was— he embodied the association of black people with royalty.[2] One of Hannibal's descendants was the great poet Alexander Pushkin, who referred to himself as an *arap* (Russian for "Moor") and an African poet. Benefitting from the direct connection to Peter I, which his ancestry afforded him, Pushkin defined himself by his black heritage, proud to be the only black man-of-letters in Russia.[3] This reverence of blackness, which did not always translate into the equal treatment Russia claimed for it, nonetheless laid the groundwork for the nobility's creation of a

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[2] Hugh Barnes, The Stolen Prince: Gannibal, Adopted Son of Peter the Great, Great-Grandfather of Alexander Pushkin, and Europe's First Black Intellectual (New York: HarperCollins, 2006), 17.

[3] Blakely, Russia and the Negro, 53.

national racial myth of Russia as a utopia for blacks, free from the racial oppression that was present elsewhere in the world.

How Did the Russian Nobility Distinguish between the Two Labor Systems?

In order for the ideological combination of anti-slavery and pro-serfdom to coexist, the nobility needed to reframe slavery as an explicitly *black* condition, distinguishable from white Russian serfdom. Given Russia's limited contact with Africa and black people, it was possible and beneficial for Russia to articulate its criticisms of worldwide slavery in explicitly racialized terms—as Russia could not similarly be criticized for participating in this particular history of racialized slavery. As historian Peter Kolchin argues, the cultural division between the noble and peasant classes in Russia created the social conditions associated with Russian constructions of "race" and racial oppression, with the nobility being understood as "natural leaders, bringing glory to their country" and peasants being understood as "lazy, crude, and totally unfit for freedom."[4]

Moreover, the contradictions in this ideological stance-- so evident to us-- were more easily kept from view since neither institution was acknowledged as a system of labor exploitation. Instead, the nobility highlighted the relative

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[4] Peter Kolchin, Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 41.

humanity of serfdom when differentiating between the two systems. Slaves, they argued, were aliens to a country, severed from their homelands and families. Focusing on dehumanization as a constitutive element of slavery, the nobility took particular issue with the American tactic of "breeding" black slaves into a self-sustaining population, as one would with animals.[5] Serfs, in contrast, were citizens who paid taxes, owned property, worked alongside their families, and lived in villages separate from their lords. In contrast to slaves, who were under constant surveillance on plantations, serfs could organize themselves into communities. It was the sole job of the nobility, the poet Ivan Boltin argued, to "maintain their [serfs] as the duty of humanity demands."[6]

The Russian defense of serfdom as a humane system, in which the civil rights of serfs were recognized and protected, was nonetheless historically inaccurate. By the beginning of the 19th century, serfs had lost the civil rights of property and autonomy. Serf holders could break up families arbitrarily and forcibly separate serfs from the property they supposedly owned. Despite being a majority of the Russian population, serfs no longer could express their voice to the government by

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[5] Ivan Kurilla, "РАБСТВО, КРЕПОСТНОЕ ПРАВО И ВЗАИМНЫЕ ОБРАЗЫ РОССИИ И США (Slavery, Serfdom and the Shared Images of Russia and the USA)," Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie, no. 6 (2016): 426.
[6] Ivan Boltin, Primechaniia na Istoriiu drevniia I nyneshniia Rossii g. Leklerka (1788): II, 243, quoted in Peter Kolchin, Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 171.

any means other than violence. The one remaining civil right still possessed by male serfs was obligatory military service.[7] Furthermore, Russian censuses explicitly distinguished serfs as less than fully human—on the census, two male serfs equaled one non-peasant "soul." Female serfs did not equal any fraction of a non-peasant "soul."[8]

While there were genuine distinctions between serfdom and slavery, Russian discourse sometimes overlooked and obscured them. For example, in personal correspondence of the nobility, the traditional Russian word for slavery (рабство) was used to refer to both institutions and Russian nobles referred to their serfs as slaves (рабы) instead of крепостные, the proper word for "serf."[9] When the noble poet Boltin was questioned about these tendencies, he stated: "Between freedom and freedom, and between slavery and slavery, there is a difference, and this difference is great and varied; a title means nothing. There is freedom that is worse, more intolerable, than slavery."[10] The insistence that slavery, when used in the Russian context, was just a word, not indicative of true oppression-- that Russian serfs were fortunate to be oppressed in Russia-- echoes arguments that were also common in the United States-- that enslaved blacks should be

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[7] Kolchin, Unfree Labor, 42.
[8] Ibid., 52.
[9] Barnes, The Stolen Prince, 222
[10] Boltin, Primechaniia na Istoriiu, 244.

grateful for their enslavement in the south— it was worse for slaves elsewhere in the world—and the worse off were oppressed workers, who were forced to live "without the responsibilities, interests, *humanities,* and sympathies of [southern] slavery."[11]

The truth of black people's treatment in Russia was recognized by later Russian thinkers. For example, in 1964, Vladimir Nabokov wrote that blacks brought to Russia had been stripped of their identities and forced to treat their new owners as their parents-- Nabokov joked that Abram Hannibal's true name was really Pyotr Petrovich Petrov.[12] In the early nineteenth century, however, the myth of Russia as a raceless utopia was not only adopted by Russian nobles-- abolitionists from around the world used Hannibal's achievements and integration into the Russian nobility as arguments against the "simplicity" of Africans, while Russian abolitionists, such as Nicholas Chernyevsky, were cited and printed by abolition guilds around the world.[13] Refocusing discussion around the treatment of blacks in America, allowed the Russian nobility to have control over the narrative that the serfdom–slavery debate rested on. This carefully curated narrative served the ruling class and presented the supposed

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[11] Kolchin, Unfree Labor, 175.
[12] Vladimir Nabokov, Pushkin, Eugene Onegin. vol. 3 (New York: Random House, 1964), 438.
[13] Barnes, The Stolen Prince, 5.

contrast between Russia and the rest of the world (and by extension, slavery and serfdom) as a moral difference.

Russian history has traditionally been told in the framework of the country's chronic "backwardness"— a worldwide reputation that Russia was keenly aware of in the first half of the 19th century. Starting with the reign of Peter I in 1696, historians have argued, Russia attempted to westernize and modernize, but for numerous reasons—including the refusal to reform agriculture and institute wage labor-- had not been able to develop into a fully "Enlightened" nation.[14]

In the early nineteenth century, however, Russian intellectuals began to argue that Russia was not backwards at all, and that Russia's moral exceptionalism obliged the nation to correct the mistakes of Western Europe. In 1837, philosopher Pyotr Chaadayev stated that Russia must be "called upon to resolve most of the ideas which have come up in the old societies, and to decide most of the weighty questions concerning the human race."[15] At the forefront of these "weighty questions" was that of race, with Russia taking on a messianic role as protector of blacks and a model of how to treat people of color. If Russians needed to highlight their support of black people, they could point to the Hannibal line

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[14] M. L. Bush, *Serfdom and Slavery: Studies in Legal Bondage* (London: Longman Press, 1996), 13.
[15] P. Chaadayev, *Philosophical Letters & Apology of a Madman*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969), 23.

of African-descended Russians, who had intermarried and been assimilated into the nobility and had led to one of the nation's most prized artists in Alexander Pushkin. Of course, this reasoning would have been less effective if it had been pointed out that much of the Hannibal family tree was not actually of mixed race, because the spouses of black and mixed members of the nobility did not want to participate in miscegenation and would instead have children with their white lovers.[16]

This curated narrative was a powerful weapon on the international stage, especially in Russian relations with the United States. P. P. Svinin, a Russian diplomat visiting the United States beween 1811 and 1813 with his black companion from the Russian court, commented that the Americans had an unfortunate "habit" of racism and lamented that the American people "do not feel humiliation" for this shameful habit. He went on to state that his black companion, "who, in Russia, was in such abundance and honor, came here, and not one white wanted to sit with him."[17] This specific contrast drawn by Svinin in his private diary, between the black-celebrating Russians and black-hating Americans, shows how this national myth had permeated international relations and was accepted as self-evident by some members of the Russian foreign

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[16] Blakely, *Russia and the Negro*, 22.

[17] P. P. Svin'in, *Amerikanskie dnevniki i pis'ma*, (Moscow, 2005): 25, quoted in Ivan Kurilla "РАБСТВО, КРЕПОСТНОЕ ПРАВО И ВЗАИМНЫЕ ОБРАЗЫ РОССИИ И США (Trans. *Slavery, Serfdom and the Shared Images of Russia and the USA*)," *Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie*, no. 6 (2016): 426.

service.

It is also important to note that, while some Russians may have criticized this self-serving narrative, public pride in Russia as superior to the United States with regard to racial issues was widespread. Such national pride appears regularly in travel diaries of Russians visiting the American South, a form of literature that became popular among the literate Russian masses. Part of this Russian fascination came from new engagement with international cultures as Russia entered the world stage, as well as what historian Ivan Kurilla argues was Russia seeing itself "mirrored" in American narratives, but there was also genuine acceptance by the Russian masses of this emerging national myth of Russia's racial utopia.[18] Nikolai Shipov, in one of the most substantial serf autobiographies ever written, describes seeing Tsar Nicholas I in 1830 and instinctively knowing that the ruler was, and always would be, the "protector of all the oppressed."[19] This belief, that the very person who upheld the institution of serfdom in Russia was fighting to liberate all oppressed people, shows the potency of this narrative of the nobility's righteous morality.

While this racial narrative may have provided Russia with an important diplomatic tool —both in publicly shaming

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[18] Kurilla, "*РАБСТВО, КРЕПОСТНОЕ ПРАВО…*", 428.
[19] Nikolai Shipov. "The Story of My Life and Wanderings: The Tale of the Former Peasant Nikolai Shipov, 1802-62." In *Four Russian Serf Narratives*, ed. and trans. by John MacKay (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 142.

Western nations and distracting foreign critics of Russia—historian Peter Kolchin explains how such a narrative also obscured the labor oppression inherent in serfdom—and assisted the Russian nobility in maintaining a system that they would otherwise not have been able to sustain. Imperial Russia was an autocracy, so the serf-holding nobility could not develop coherent arguments for serfdom in the same way that American slaveholding plutocrats, who had considerable sway in U.S. national policy, had been able to mount a defense of slavery in the United States.[20] For the Russian nobility, serfdom was an essential part of the Russian hierarchical class system that kept the nobility wealthy; it also enabled the free poor to feel superior to unfree laborers, and both aspects helped stabilize a system that was tremendously unbalanced.[21] Given that Russia had, in 1858, a serf-to-noble ratio of 52:1, a power shift would have been an imminent and likely occurrence had the nobility lost control over their serfs and had peasants (non-serf and serf alike) gained political power.[22] Because of these ever-present threats to the existing social order, distinguishing serfdom from slavery was imperative in shielding serfdom from criticism in an attempt to prolong its lifespan.

In the early 19th century as black visitors from around the world were drawn to Russia for the chance to "gain a good

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[20] Kolchin, *Unfree Labor,* 170.
[21] Bush, *Serfdom and Slavery*, 6.
[22] Kolchin, *Unfree Labor,* 51.

and prosperous life that was singularly devoid of discrimination and humiliation because of their color," this narrative of racial utopia grew more pronounced.[23] As it did, the nation's moral superiority manifested as diplomatic support for an international abolitionist movement. Specifically, the Russian nobility and intelligentsia began to push for the abolition of slavery in the United States. Notably, at the Aix-la-Chapelle Congress of 1818, Tsar Alexander I advocated for the abolition of the international slave trade as a necessary restructuring of the world economy following the Napoleonic Wars.[24]

These actions by Russia were viewed by some, especially leftist thinkers and labor advocates, as a distraction from the oppression of serfs. Nicholas Turgenev, a Decembrist thinker living in exile, responded to Alexander I's strong stance in favor of abolition at Aix-la-Chapelle by writing: "How can we understand the great men of the world? A Russian autocrat plays the role of advocate of some thousands of Negro slaves before an all-European Congress, while he could by his sovereign word alone decide the same cause in favor of many millions of his own subjects!"[25] It is also important to note

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[23] Blakely, *Russia and the Negro*, xii.

[24] Theodore R. Schellenberg, "The Congress of Aix-La-Chapelle: 30 September to 22 November 1818," (MA diss., University of Kansas, 1928), 34.

[25] General Records of the Department of State, *Dispatches from United States Consuls in Vladivostok, 1898-1906*, Record Group 59, National Archives Microfilm Publication M486, roll 1, quoted in Allison Blakely, *Russia and the*

Russia's particular economic angle— if their traditional labor structure of serfdom could survive, while the abolition of slavery damaged the economies of Russia's international rivals, the nation's relative economic and international significance would increase.

Visitors well acquainted with both institutions drew explicit similarities between them. J. L. Stephens, an American visiting Novorossia in 1839, stated that seeing the large number of Russians trapped in serfdom struck him, and that he suddenly understood the arguments of American abolitionists. He continued that he had seen hundreds of black slaves before without feeling, but he now saw in parallel the equally revolting nature of both American slavery and "the most disgusting part of [the Russian] despotic government."[26] James Buchanan, at this time the United States' envoy to Russia, wrote that Russian criticisms of American slavery ignored serfdom and "undoubtedly, the policy of the Emperor and the nobility [was] aimed at maintaining this state of ignorance."[27]

Negro: Blacks in Russian History and Thought (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1986).

[26] J. L. Stephens, *Incidents of travel in the Russian and Turkish Empires*, vol. 1 (London: R. Bentley, 1839), 37.

[27] James Buchanan, *The Works of James Buchanan, Comprising his Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence*, vol. 2, ed. by J.B. Moore (Philadelphia: Lippincott Co., 1908), 219.

Addressing Challenges to the Two-System Ideology

The type of criticism presented by Stephens and Buchanan may have been common for international visitors and diplomats, but it was rarely heard from the Russian public due to heavy censorship and subsequent punishment. Alexander Radischev, calling America barbaric for slavery, alluded to serfdom by writing: "Tremble, my beloved ones, lest it be said of you: 'change the name and the tale speaks of you.'"[28] In 1797, after publishing the book containing this allusion, *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow*, Radischev was exiled and publication of his work halted. This was not uncommon, so regardless of social class, Russians rarely spoke out against serfdom publicly. This silence of the serf voice can be attributed to the rarity of a literate serf, but even when serfs had the ability to write their stories, as with Nikolai Smirnov's 1785 *Autobiography*, publications of these narratives were stopped until after the abolition of serfdom in 1861.[29]

Russia's pride in its "rejection" of slavery was rooted in distinguishing itself from the "philistine," materialistic culture in which slavery supposedly thrived. Because Russian culture was therefore fundamentally different from (and seen as superior to) the cultures of slave societies, anti-slavery became

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[28] A.N. Radishschev, *Puteshestvie iz Petersburga v Mosckvu* (Trans. *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow*), (Moscow: Gos. Khudozh. Lit-ry, 1966), 128-9.
[29] Nikolai Smirnov, "Autobiography," in *Four Russian Serf Narratives*, ed. and trans. by John MacKay (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 23.

tied to nationalism and Russian exceptionalism. Challenging this notion, by suggesting similarities between slavery and serfdom, threatened this idea of national superiority and, by extension, the nation.[30] If critiques of the serf system got through the heavy censors, they took the form of coded allusions to the Russian situation through the use of anti-slavery texts, such as publishing a pointed excerpt of *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* This tradition transcended print. A student at Kharkov University in 1857 recalled going to a lecture on slavery filled with hints of the presentation's true content:

> The lecture of Professor Kachenovsky, about which nothing could be said in the press, which was said with the greatest animation and gathered so many listeners that they could not fit in the hall and the adjacent corridor, made a tremendous impression. ...It is needless to explain that every listener clearly understood and felt that in speaking of the sufferings of the slaves, Kachenovsky meant the whites, and not the blacks alone.[31]

Even nobility was affected by the censors, demonstrated in Pushkin's inability to publish family histories that deviated from the national racial narrative. After Peter I's death,

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[30] Kolchin, *Unfree Labor,* 159.
[31] P. A. Zelenyj, *O poslednih pjati godah krepostnogo sostojanija,* vol. 4 (Moscow, 1911), 88.

Hannibal lost his wealth and was ushered out of the military and ruling body, despite his numerous military and engineering achievements. He described his blackness as a "badge of hell" that would always incriminate him in Russia.[32] Pushkin was aware of how his ancestor felt, writing a poem from Hannibal's perspective in which he contrasts the pure white skin and privileged life of Hannibal's French mistress with "the miserable fate of a Negro, of a pitiable creature, scarce worthy of the name of man."[33] This poem, as well as the biography of Hannibal for which it was written, was never published. Instead the poems about Hannibal that Pushkin did publish characterized Hannibal's arrival in Russia as national progress, presenting his black ancestor as Peter I's "bosom friend, not slave."[34]

Away from internal censors, it was easier for Russian exiles to publish criticism of the serf system. These Russians would turn Russian anti-slavery arguments against serfdom. Pushkin stated in 1836 that slavery had stunted Western culture and oppressed many for the comfort of a few—this same argument was used by Turgenev in 1856, publishing in the

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[32] Abram Hannibal, Abram Hannibal to Cherkasov, 8 April 1745, quoted in Hugh Barnes, *The Stolen Prince: Gannibal, Adopted Son of Peter the Great, Great-Grandfather of Alexander Pushkin, and Europe's First Black Intellectual* (New York: HarperCollins, 2006).

[33] Avrahm Yarmolinsky, ed., *The Poems, Prose, & Plays of Alexander Pushkin* (New York: Random House, 1936), 754.

[34] Alexander S. Pushkin, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, trans. *Complete collected works*, (Moscow: Academy of Sciences, 1937-1950), 55.

United States.[35] He wrote that serfs were no different than slaves, that Russian limitations on freedom of discussion about serfdom were stifling Russia and its art, and that slave emancipation in the United States would hopefully inspire the serfs to push for freedom. He identified the distinction between serfdom and slavery as arbitrary— there was no difference between the systems nor any difference between the ruling classes, because "the Russian nobleman and the planter of the South [could] cordially shake hands, the one holding his whip and the other his knout."[36]

Effects of National Mindset on Black Visitors

Though dissident exile voices spoke against Russian self-mythologizing, the national narrative continued to spread, drawing to Russia black visitors from around the world. Documenting this occurrence is difficult, however, because Russian travel narratives written by black visitors were rare, and many likely contained inaccurate depictions of Russian racial reality, such as the account of Nancy Prince, who was received as an honored guest of the tsar due to her status at the head of the largest African-American freemason group.[37] Nonetheless, an examination of the travel experiences of black Shakespearean actor Ira Aldridge reveals how the Russian

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[35] Pushkin, *Complete Collected Works*, 30.
[36] Donald W. Treadgold, *The Great Siberian Migration* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 34.
[37] Nancy Prince, *A Narrative of the Life and Travels of Mrs. Nancy Prince,* 2nd edition (Boston: pub. by the author, 1853).

history of black tokenism and exoticism followed him. When he was offered a position at a New York theater in 1858, Aldridge's wife told her husband that she would prefer he take an offer from Saint Petersburg, because there they would not have to deal with racial persecution.[38] Aldridge's 1858 visit to Russia occurred at a time when the institution of serfdom was under threat. The intelligentsia had split from the nobility and demanded reforms to serfdom, arguing that a transition to wage labor would be more profitable. Despite his hopes that Russians would ignore his skin color, Aldridge found that his visit took on symbolic meaning because of his blackness. The hosting intelligentsia held him up as a symbol of liberation from backwardness and slavery, casting him as an example of an artist who flourished once freed (however, he had not been formerly enslaved—he had been born a free black). Nonetheless, support for him became symbolic of support for the abolition of serfdom, and pro-serf-abolition journals dedicated large sections of their 1858 issues to his arrival and travels in Russia. Aldridge received a special welcome in Saint Petersburg and was paid for a single performance eight times the amount that a standard actor made in a month.[39]

While part of Aldridge's appeal in Saint Petersburg connects back to the role of human exotica that black people

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[38] Herbert Marshall and Mildred Stock, *Ira Aldridge: The Negro Tragedian* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1993), 219.
[39] Ibid., 220.

had occupied in Russian history, his reception was polarizing, and his treatment provoked a racist response that belied the racial utopian myth, so foundational to the moral exceptionalism and anti-slavery arguments that had drawn him to Russia in the first place. Aldridge, considered one of the greatest Shakespearean actors of all time, was met in Saint Petersburg with a mix of discomfort and fascination. As the first black person many Russians had the chance to see, his performances sold out, but the Moscow newspaper *Sin Otyechestva* wrote that because of Aldridge's bestial strength, they pitied "the unenviable position of Iago, when Othello [Aldridge], in a fit of jealousy, lightly [shook] him by the lapels."[40] Other reviews remarked that Aldridge was a threat to the white actress who shared the stage with him. Even the positive comments hinged on backhanded racist remarks, stating that both his ugliness and black skin were the driving forces behind his powerful performances.[41]

Conclusion

The Russian nobility manufactured a useful racial narrative that allowed them to present their nation as superior to Western rivals, in the process strengthening the nobility's power and the country's international presence. This paper has argued that Russian statements made against slavery were not

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[40] Ibid., 268.
[41] Ibid., 232.

based upon moral concerns or ideological qualms with the practice. If genuine concern had been present, the critiques of slavery would have reflected back on serfdom and inspired reform. Instead, the nobility differentiated between these two labor institutions and challenged or censored statements that identified similarities between the two systems. Furthermore, if Russian critiques of slavery had been genuinely anti-racist critiques, then a false national narrative asserting racial equality would not have had to be constructed and black visitors would not have been met with racism and tokenism. In the same way that Peter I used blacks as items of conspicuous consumption to "internationalize" the nation in the 17th century, Russia in the first half of the 19th century used blacks as moral weapons to gain footing on the international stage.

However, this tactic was also immediately challenged. Russian exiles pointed out flaws in the Russian national myth of a racial utopia, while internally, there was awareness of the ideological contradictions between anti-slavery and pro-serfdom. The national dogma only changed after Alexander II came to power in 1855 amid fears of a serf/peasant revolt, leading to the abolition of serfdom in 1861 on the grounds that it was better to strike "from above than wait until the serfs begin to liberate themselves from below."[42] Still, the Russian narrative of its racial utopia and moral superiority to the West

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[42] Ibid., 221.

outlived serfdom, assuming new form in the 20th century as the Soviet Union's relationship with Africa changed and as the country no longer desired to be seen as a mirror of the United States: the Soviet Union presented itself as morally superior to a nation that in its view arbitrarily oppressed its own citizens and killed those who spoke out against the government. The narrative did not disappear but continued to serve as a counter to the nation's reputation of "backwardness," which was such an entrenched part of Russian history. The Imperial racial narrative, built on this pre-existing foundation, was constructed to reject the presumption of Russian inferiority through displays of Russian moral and ideological supremacy.

"Everyone Watch a Different Live Feed": Modern Surveillance During the Dakota Access Pipeline Protests, 2016-2017

Sheana Ward

"Police and a water protector film each other at a peaceful protest in front of a police roadblock in St. Anthony, North Dakota." October 10, 2016.
https://www.aclund.org/en/news/surveillance-state-descends-dakota-access-pipeline-spirit-camp

Abstract

This article examines the larger trend of suppression of public activism and free speech by looking into the recent protests of indigenous peoples against the Dakota Access Pipeline between 2016-2017 to highlight how private and public entities worked together to surveil protesters using modern technology. Placing these protests in the larger context of indigenous peoples' struggle for control over water and land that has taken place in North Dakota over the last one hundred and fifty years, I argue that what was distinctive about these protests were the new technologies used by TigerSwan, a private security firm contracted by Energy Transfer Partners, and the new alliances that formed between private and public entities. Though the protestors were able to gain massive international support and sympathy using social media and livestreams (live videos that are broadcasted online in real time), these very same technologies allowed TigerSwan to assist public law enforcement and the criminal justice system of North Dakota, in prosecuting protestors. Hundreds of internal TigerSwan documents leaked in 2017 by the online newspaper, *The Intercept*, expose the collusion that took place between private security forces and public law enforcement, revealing the challenges now facing activists intent on protesting racial and environmental injustice.

During a cold November night in 2016, dark, unmarked helicopters circled above the Oceti Sakowin protest camp. Even though the paralyzing feeling of being watched spread through the camp below, hundreds of protesters continued to fortify their temporary homes for the harsh North Dakota winter. Above, TigerSwan personnel maneuvered through the air in private security helicopters,

documenting the heat signatures within the camps and livestreaming protesters' locations for state law enforcement.[1] For the employees of TigerSwan, this task was normal and commonplace. Since September 2016, they had been paid by Energy Transfer Partners, a colossal energy company, to surveil and police the coalition of indigenous and environmental activists camped next to the future route of the Dakota Access Pipeline.[2] The assignments of livestreaming protesters' locations, listening in on camp radio frequencies, and monitoring anti-DAPL social media were all in a day's work.[3]

What were considered to be mundane tasks by TigerSwan employees threatened protestors' rights of free speech and, combined with harsh anti-protest laws, could have

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[1] John Porter, "DAPL Situational Report 148," February 7, 2017, TigerSwan, *The Intercept*,
https://www.documentcloud.org/public/search/projectid:%20%2233327-TigerSwan%22/p4 (accessed December 2, 2019).

[2] Alleen Brown, et al.,"Leaked Documents Reveal Counterterrorism Tactics Used at Standing Rock To "Defeat Pipeline Insurgencies," The Intercept, May 27, 2017. https://theintercept.com/2017/05/27/leaked-documents-reveal-security-firms-counterterrorism-tactics-at-standing-rock-to-defeat-pipeline-insurgencies/ (accessed December 2, 2019); John Porter, "DAPL Situational Report 198," March 19, 2017, TigerSwan, published by *The Intercept*,
https://www.documentcloud.org/public/search/projectid:%20%2233327-TigerSwan%22/p2 (accessed December 2, 2019).; John Porter, "DAPL Situational Report 002," September 12, 2016, TigerSwan, published by the *Intercept*,
https://www.documentcloud.org/public/search/projectid:%20%2233327-TigerSwan%22/p5 (accessed December 2, 2019).

[3] John Porter, "DAPL Situational Report 004," September 14, 2016, TigerSwan, published by *The Intercept,*
https://www.documentcloud.org/public/search/projectid:%20%2233327-TigerSwan%22/p5 (accessed December 2, 2019).

landed activists in prison for years. Activists were forced to either self-censor their activities or risk TigerSwan using their output to bolster their surveillance system.[4] While the federal and state governments' and corporations' use of this private surveillance system was shocking to the anti-DAPL protesters, it was nothing new in the world of modern activism. Activists and organizers within other protest groups, such as Black Lives Matter and Students for Justice in Palestine, now expect surveillance in both the offline and online spheres.[5]

This essay examines the larger trend of suppression of activism and free speech by looking into the recent protests of indigenous people against the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) from 2016 to 2017 to highlight how private and public entities worked together to surveil protesters using modern technology. This controversy cannot be understood without situating it within the broader history of the U.S. government's disregard for tribal treaties and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineer's continuing "reclamations" of tribal land. Placing these protests in the larger context of indigenous peoples' struggle for control

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[4] John Porter, "DAPL Situational Report 151," February 10, 2017, TigerSwan, published by *The Intercept,* https://www.documentcloud.org/public/search/projectid:%20%2233327-TigerSwan%22/p4 (accessed December 2, 2019).; John Porter, "DAPL Situational Report 150," February 9, 2017, TigerSwan, published by *The Intercept,* https://www.documentcloud.org/public/search/projectid:%20%2233327-TigerSwan%22/p4 (accessed December 2, 2019).

[5] Gino Canella, "Racialized Surveillance: Activist Media and the Policing of Black Bodies," *Communication, Culture & Critique* 11 (2018): 370, doi:10.1093/ccc/tcy013 (accessed December 2, 2019).

over water and land that U.S. treaties ceded to them more than a century ago, I argue that what is distinctive in this new phase of a long history are the new technologies and collaborations used by the U.S. government to surveil and intimidate protesters.

The DAPL controversy began in January 2016, when the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE) published a draft of its plan to approve a crude oil pipeline route created by Energy Transfer Partners, an energy transportation company.[6] Energy Transfer Partners formed in 1996 in East Texas with 200 miles of natural gas pipelines, and in just 20 years, has expanded to operate more than 71,000 miles of pipeline nationwide.[7] As Energy Transfer Partners' prospects and profits grew, so did its list of environmental calamities. Since its establishment in 2002, the U.S. Pipeline and Hazardous Materials Safety Administration (PHMSA) recorded 527 hazardous liquid pipeline incidents from Energy Transfer Partners or one of their subsidiaries or joint ventures. These 527 incidents released 87,273 barrels of hazardous liquids,

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[6] U.S. Army Corps of Engineers - Omaha District, *Draft Environmental Assessment Dakota Access Pipeline Project Crossing of Flowage Easements and Federal Lands*, November, 2015, https://cdm16021.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16021coll7/id/2426 (accessed December 2, 2019).

[7] Energy Transfer Partners, "Texas Roots, National Reach," *History,* https://energytransfer.com/history/ (accessed December 2, 2019); Timothy Donaghy, Donna Lisenby, *Oil and Water: ETP & Sunoco's History of Pipeline Spills* (Washington DC: Greenpeace, 2018), 4.

66,515 of which were crude oil.[8]

In 2016, Energy Transfer Partners, with its history of environmental mishaps, was ready to expand its industry underneath the Missouri River and into the Midwest with the 1,172 mile, 30-inch diameter Dakota Access Pipeline.[9] After having wound down from the Bakken oil field in northwestern North Dakota, the original route was supposed to cross under the Missouri River above Bismarck, stretch across South Dakota and Iowa, and end in southern Illinois.[10] However, the Army Corps of Engineers later altered it, citing economic and environmental concerns, and created a new route that was to pass through disputed Sioux territory, just north of the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation, forcing the pipeline to cross underneath Lake Oahe. [11] (See Figure 1.) Lake Oahe, a Missouri River reservoir created by a previous USACE damming project, is the main source of water for the people of the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation.[12]

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[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid., 6.

[10] Gregor Aisch, K.K. Rebecca Lai, "The Conflicts Along the 1,172 miles of the Dakota Access Pipeline," The New York Times, March 20, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/11/23/us/dakota-access-pipeline-protest-map.html (Accessed December 2, 2019).
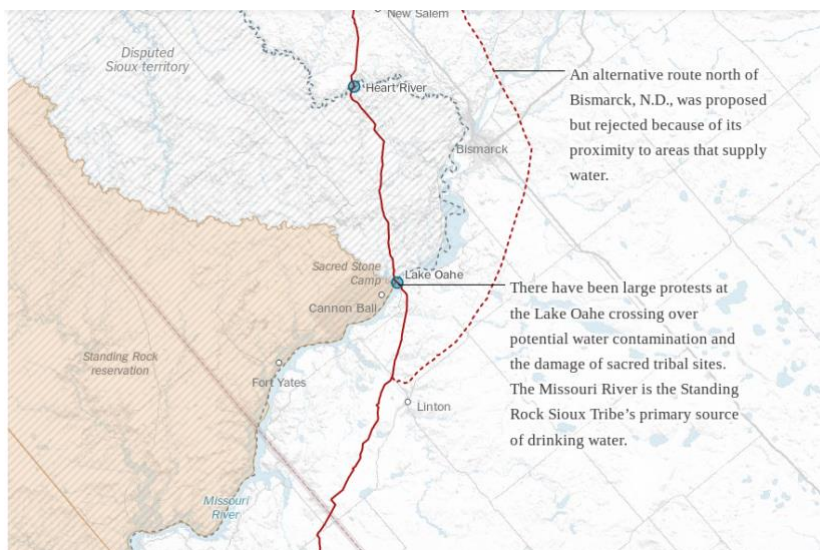
[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

Figure 1. Proposed route for Dakota Access Pipeline under Lake Oahe
https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/11/23/us/dakota-access-pipeline-protest-map.html

The Standing Rock Sioux Reservation covers approximately 1562.5 sq. miles, straddling the western side of the border between North Dakota and South Dakota.[13] The people of Standing Rock were previously a part of the Oceti Sakowin confederation, a union that spanned the northwestern U.S. and included seven different bands of indigenous peoples, before the Dawes Allotment Act of 1887 created the modern reservation system.[14] The population of Standing Rock Reservation is currently composed of three of the original

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[13] Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, "Environmental Profile," *About Us*. https://www.standingrock.org/content/environmental-profile (accessed December 2, 2019).

[14] Ariadne S. Montare, "Standing Rock: A Case in Civil Disobedience." *GP Solo* Issue 3 (2018): 32, http://search.ebscohost.com.lp.hscl.ufl.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,uid&db=edshol&AN=edshol.hein.journals.gpsolo35.69&site=eds-live (accessed December 2, 2019).

seven groups of the Oceti Sakowin.[15] While their traditions and pride remain strong, centuries of colonization have taken their toll. According to the 2010 census, the reservation had a population of about 8,217, 51.7% of whom were living below the poverty line with unemployment at 79%.[16] Access to clean water and soil is imperative for a community whose main industries and livelihood depend upon agriculture, foresting, fishing, hunting, and mining.[17] In 2016, still plagued by poverty and unemployment, the inhabitants of the reservation understood the importance of their surrounding natural environment for their future. When the news that the pipeline had been redirected to lay underneath their community's main source of income and drinking water, the reservation's tribal authorities reached out to the Army Corps of Engineers, explaining the significance of the land that the pipeline was

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[15] Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, *Environmental Profile.*

[16] U.S. Census Data, *Poverty Status in the Last Twelve Months,* American Community Survey: Standing Rock Reservation, ND-SD, 2015 ASC Five Year Estimates Subject Tables, Table S1701, https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=Standing%20Rock%20Reservation,%20SD--ND&g=2500000US3970&table=S1701&tid=ACSST5Y2015.S1701&hidePreview=false&vintage=2015&layer=aiannh&cid=B16001_001E&lastDisplayedRow=22&mode= (accessed December 2, 2019).

[17] U.S. Census Data, *Industry by Occupation For the Civilian Employed Population 16 Years and Over,* American Community Survey: Standing Rock Reservation, ND-SD, 2015 ASC Five Year Estimates Subject Tables, Table S2405, https://data.census.gov/cedsci/table?q=Standing%20Rock%20Reservation,%20SD--ND&g=2500000US3970&table=S2405&tid=ACSST5Y2015.S2405&hidePreview=false&vintage=2015&layer=aiannh&cid=B16001_001E&lastDisplayedRow=15&mode= (accessed December 2, 2019).

now designed to cut through and why they refused to consent. The Environmental Protection Agency, the U.S. Department of Interior, and the American Council of Historical Preservation all condemned the new route in letters sent to the USACE.[18] However, despite these written condemnations, the USACE stood by its approval and the Energy Transfer Partners' project continued, precipitating a protest movement that expanded out of the small reservation and into the entire nation over the course of a year.

The protest movement began in earnest in the spring of 2016 when a group of Standing Rock teenagers, disillusioned with the perceived lack of action by tribal authorities and government regulatory agencies, created a small prayer camp beside the future route of the pipeline in the northern half of the reservation.[19] The camp originally served as a space for Standing Rock youth to find refuge amidst the looming environmental degradation and enforced systemic poverty of the reservation, but it quickly transformed into a

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[18] Steven Mufson, "How the Army Corps of Engineers Wound Up in the Middle of the Fight over the Dakota Access Pipeline," *Washington Post*, February 8, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/economy/how-the-army-corps-of-engineers-wound-up-in-the-middle-of-the-fight-over-the-dakota-access-pipeline/2017/02/08/33eaedde-ed8a-11e6-9662-6eedf1627882_story.html (accessed December 2, 2019).
[19] Ariadne S. Montare, *Standing Rock: A Case in Civil Disobedience.*; Saul Elbin, "The Youth Group That Launched a Movement at Standing Rock," The New York Times, January 31, 2017, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/31/magazine/the-youth-group-that-launched-a-movement-at-standing-rock.html (accessed December 2, 2019).

massive protest camp.[20] Throughout the spring and summer, as the young people found stability and security in the camp, they publicized their community's struggle online and gained a considerable following, using their platform to urge people to support their reservation in its battle against Energy Transfer Partners. By late August, the prayer camp's population exploded.[21] Members of indigenous tribes, environmental activists, and social justice activists came from across the nation to fight the pipeline. Members of the Oceti Sakowin united once again on the Standing Rock Reservation to fight against this new iteration of colonization.

In September 2016, while the Oceti Sakowin rallied indigenous and environmental activists to their cause, Energy Transfer Partners hired a private security firm, TigerSwan, to monitor and quell the protests.[22] Formed in 2007 by retired U.S. Delta Force members, TigerSwan was created to provide security and "global risk management" to private companies, governments, and individuals around the world. They have made their presence felt globally with offices and campaigns in Iraq, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, India, Latin America,

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[20] Saul Elbein, *The Youth Group That Launched a Movement at Standing Rock.*

[21] Nick Estes, "Fighting for Our Lives: #NoDAPL in Historical Context," *Wicazo Sa Review* no. 2 (2017): 115. http://search.ebscohost.com.lp.hscl.ufl.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,uid&db=edsglr&AN=edsgcl.557705417&site=eds-live. (accessed December 2, 2019).

[22] Alleen Brown, et al., *Leaked Documents Reveal Counterterrorism Tactics Used at Standing Rock To Defeat Pipeline Insurgencies.*

and Japan.[23] After TigerSwan personnel arrived in North Dakota in September, they immediately set out to form connections with the multitude of private security firms and public law enforcement agencies deployed in Standing Rock. They connected the various hired security firms-- Silverton, Russell Group of Texas, 10 Code LLC, Per Mar, SRC, OnPoint, and Leighton-- with the tangles of public law enforcement stationed in the area, including local law enforcement, the Bureau of Indian Affairs police, and the North Dakota National Guard.[24] Furthermore, to fortify their legal battle against the anti-DAPL protesters, TigerSwan also met with the North Dakota Bureau of Criminal Investigation to identify surveillance information that might aid in the prosecution of protesters.[25]

From September 2016 to February 2017, TigerSwan, with assistance from public law enforcement and private security firms, carried out a surveillance campaign against the activists. They infiltrated informants into the camps to gather intelligence on protest plans and generate conflict between the

[23] TigerSwan, "About Us." *TigerSwan: Solutions to Uncertainty.* https://www.tigerswan.com/who-we-are/ (accessed December 2, 2019).; Alleen Brown, et al., *Leaked Documents Reveal Counterterrorism Tactics Used at Standing Rock To Defeat Pipeline Insurgencies.*

[24] John Porter, "DAPL Situational Report," September 7, 2016, TigerSwan, published by *The Intercept,* https://www.documentcloud.org/public/search/projectid:%20%2233327- TigerSwan%22/p5 (accessed December 2, 2019).

[25] John Porter, "*DAPL Situational Report 004.*"

protesters.[26] They employed FLIR technology pinned on drones and helicopters to monitor protesters' movements.[27] In addition, TigerSwan regularly monitored and harvested activists' social media for data to use in legal battles, negative public relations campaigns, and on-the-ground surveillance systems.[28] For instance, their employees used snippets of protesters' livestreams to create distorted videos about the protests under the tags "Defend Iowa" and "Netizens for Progress and Justice."[29] They further strengthened their radio-listening posts and security cameras by tracking protesters' locations through social media.[30]

Many of the protesters realized that they were being surveilled and were forced to self-censor their protest activities. One TigerSwan report details how one protester "has asked everyone to remove themselves from Facebook and to maintain a low digital footprint… Remaining protesters are

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[26] Alleen Brown, "The Infiltrator: How an Undercover Oil Industry Mercenary Tricked Pipeline Opponents Into Believing He Was One of Them," The Intercept, December 30, 2018, https://theintercept.com/2018/12/30/tigerswan-infiltrator-dakota-access-pipeline-standing-rock/ (accessed December 2, 2019).

[27] John Porter, "DAPL Situational Report 148," February 7, 2017, TigerSwan, published by *The Intercept*, https://www.documentcloud.org/public/search/projectid:%20%2233327-TigerSwan%22/p4 (accessed December 2, 2019).

[28] John Porter, "*DAPL Situational Report 004*."

[29] Alleen Brown, et al., *Leaked Documents Reveal Counterterrorism Tactics Used at Standing Rock To Defeat Pipeline Insurgencies*.

[30] John Porter, "DAPL Situational Report 061," November 12, 2016, TigerSwan, published by *The Intercept*, https://www.documentcloud.org/public/search/projectid:%20%2233327-TigerSwan%22/p4 (accessed December 2, 2019).

acutely aware of LE [law enforcement] infiltration, and the monitoring of Social Media, seeing themselves as increasingly vulnerable to prosecution."[31] Pro-bono lawyers stationed at the camp received "multiple reports of issues with cell phones, including uncharacteristically fast battery drainage, suspicious login attempts to online accounts, Facebook posts and message threads disappearing, and other applications freezing or crashing completely."[32] The Electronic Frontier Foundation sent technologists and lawyers to the Oceti Sakowin camp after reports of the possible use of Stingray devices, or cell site simulators, used to create fake cell phone towers to block signals and harvest cell phone data.[33] Chase Iron Eyes, a Standing Rock member and activist, explained that after experiencing the "surveillance industrial state… we treat it as if there's no expectation of privacy in any of our communications… we treat it as if it's all discoverable and that's not right for a functioning democracy."[34]

With information provided by social media and online surveillance, TigerSwan was able to monitor protesters on the ground with a new vigor. A leaked TigerSwan situational report contained an intelligence update on one of the protesters in

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[31] John Porter, "*DAPL Situational Report 150.*"
[32] David DeRoin and Ritchie Eppink, "Resistance is Ceremony: Legal Support at Standing Rock and beyond," *Advocate (Idaho State Bar)* 61, no. 9 (September 2018): 25-28. HeinOnline.org (accessed September 12, 2019).
[33] Ibid.
[34] Lakota Peoples Law Project, "Chase Iron Eyes Intercept Interview on DAPL," YouTube Video, 16:42, June 12, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rMVAEFXtXVQ

Iowa. It details that a protester "posted with location services on, which pinged in Lehigh, IA… significant because we now know where the protesters are camping and may be better able to track their movements."[35] By knowing exactly where protesters were located, they were able to listen in on protesters' radio channels. In another situational report, a TigerSwan employee suggested "expansion, or relocation, of a listening post at OP11 [because it] may yield increased situational awareness due to proximity of RF devices."[36] TigerSwan intelligence personnel also researched Facebook for listed anti-DAPL protest events and mined the protesters' data for any prosecuting information. They would then go to the listed protest area beforehand and establish "effective methods for camera placement and image collection database."[37]

TigerSwan also used their own livestream technology and FLIR cameras to monitor the campers' movements from above, either by drone or by helicopter, and were not held to the same standards as public law enforcement would have been. FLIR, or forward-looking infrared cameras use a thermographic camera that senses infrared radiation that is emitted from a heat source, such as body heat. TigerSwan used this technology to document the heat signatures in the camp to

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[35] John Porter, *"DAPL Situational Report 061."*
[36] John Porter, *"DAPL Situational Report 151."*
[37] John Porter, "DAPL Situational Report 054," November 5, 2016,"
TigerSwan, published by *The Intercept*,
https://www.documentcloud.org/public/search/projectid:%20%2233327-TigerSwan%22/p5 (accessed December 2, 2019).

see where protestors had gathered. They would then relay the FLIR and livestream information back to public law enforcement so the latter could conduct raids or evictions.[38] When protesters fought against the police raids and evictions, TigerSwan recorded their resistance and used the data to later aid in the prosecution of protestors. In one instance, when anti-DAPL activists fought against a raid by setting fire to a barricade in front of the camp, TigerSwan employees stationed in helicopters above the camp recorded the protesters and gave the information to public law enforcement. The data gathered was later used to sentence one of the activists involved to 36 months in prison and three years of supervision.[39] In another instance, the N.D. National Guard and U.S. Attorney's Office superiors brainstormed via email on how to handle an emerging story of a young protester who maintained that her arm was permanently disfigured by a concussion grenade during a clash with law enforcement. In that email thread, Cecily Fong, the Public Information Officer of the North Dakota National Guard, worked with the National Security Intelligence Specialist to publicize a pro-DAPL viral post

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[38] John Porter, *"DAPL Situational Report 148."*
[39] Amy Martyn, "Dakota Access Pipeline firm monitored protesters and shared intel with police," Consumer Affairs, June 1, 2017, https://www.consumeraffairs.com/news/dakota-access-pipeline-firm-monitored-protesters-and-shared-intel-with-police-060117.html (accessed December 2, 2019); Jack Dura, "Third federal defendant sentenced from DAPL protest," The Bismarck Tribune, September 27, 2018, https://bismarcktribune.com/news/local/crime-and-courts/third-federal-defendant-sentenced-from-dapl-protest/article_4cfdbc25-f1d8-56e3-b1c0-e4118ae9cf8a.html (accessed December 2, 2019).

fabricated by a TigerSwan employee, which attributed the mutilation of the young girl's arm to a protestor's home-made bomb and painted the movement as one that was steered by dangerous eco-terrorists. Afterwards, they discussed their plan to ask the FBI to subpoena the young protester's deleted Facebook profile to try and link her to bomb-making within the camp.[40]

In addition to tracking locations, recording actions, and assembling evidence to aid in prosecuting protestors, TigerSwan, in tandem with U.S. law enforcement, disseminated skewed news reports in an effort to control the image of Energy Transfer Partners. For example, during the infamous November night when DAPL security sprayed protesters with water cannons in below-freezing conditions, Lynn Wanner of the Bismarck police force ordered TigerSwan personnel and local law enforcement members to each "watch a different feed." In the same email thread, an employee of the Bureau of Indian Affairs discussed Kevin Gilbert, an anti-DAPL activist, commenting "I found Kevin Gilbert live. I will watch him, unless someone else has him?' Another employee responded "I am online from home. Let me know what feed to monitor if another goes live."[41] TigerSwan employees then used clips from the various livestreams to piece together inaccurate videos of the protestors and circulated them under false names

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[40] Amber Balken, e-mail message to Terry VanHorn, November 22, 2016.
[41] Cecily Fong, e-mail message to Ben Leingang, November 20, 2016.

on the Internet.[42] TigerSwan's footage and data collection could have taken on an even more significant role had the North Dakota State Legislature succeeded in passing new anti-protest laws in 2017, proposed laws that including the prohibition of mask wearing in any private or public forum and sentencing protesters found trespassing on private property to up to 30 days in prison.[43]

These instances mark a moment where protest and civil disobedience were becoming nearly impossible to carry out in the face of constant surveillance and prosecution and exemplifies a new trend in the methods of surveillance of the 21st century: the same modern technologies that have been lauded as the tools that would bring a new, more transparent era to activism are being used to put down activism by private security companies and U.S. government agencies. [44] While anti-DAPL protesters gained mass support through livestreaming protests and sharing protest information on

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[42] Alleen Brown, et al., *Leaked Documents Reveal Counterterrorism Tactics Used at Standing Rock To Defeat Pipeline Insurgencies.*

[43] North Dakota 65th Legislative Assembly, *North Dakota House Bill No. 1203*, January 9, 2017, https://legiscan.com/ND/bill/1203/2017 (accessed December 2, 2019); North Dakota 65th Legislative Assembly, *North Dakota House Bill No. 1304*, January 3, 2019, https://www.legis.nd.gov/assembly/65-2017/documents/17-0311-01000.pdf (accessed December 2, 2019); North Dakota 65th Legislative Assembly, *North Dakota House Bill No. 1193*, January 3, 2017, https://www.legis.nd.gov/assembly/65-2017/documents/17-0718-01000.pdf (accessed December 2, 2019).

[44] Stephen Owen, "Monitoring Social Media and Protest Movements: Ensuring Political Order through Surveillance and Surveillance Discourse," *Social Identities* 23, no. 6 (November 2017): 689. doi:10.1080/13504630.2017.1291092. (accessed December 2, 2019).

social media, they also lost their movement's security and privacy as TigerSwan was able to track their every movement and later prosecute them under anti-protest laws.

Even with the constant surveillance by TigerSwan and government agencies, by December 2016 it seemed as though the anti-DAPL protesters had won the battle. On December 4th, the USACE halted the construction of the pipeline and stated its intention to create an environmental impact statement with "full public input and analysis" before allowing any construction under Lake Oahe.[45] This promised environmental impact statement never materialized. On January 24, 2017, newly-installed President Donald Trump released a memorandum and an executive order to expedite the review and approval process for the rest of the unbuilt pipeline.[46] By February 7th, the USACE had rescinded its intention to create an environmental impact statement and instead approved an easement to allow Energy Transfer Partners to continue construction underneath Lake Oahe.

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[45] Nathan Rott and Eyder Peralta, " In Victory For Protesters, Army Halts Construction Of Dakota Pipeline," NPR, December 4, 2016, https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2016/12/04/504354503/army-corps-denies-easement-for-dakota-access-pipeline-says-tribal-organization (accessed December 2, 2019).

[46] Donald J. Trump, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Donald J. Trump*, January 24, 2017, https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/memorandum-construction-the-dakota-access-pipeline (accessed December 2, 2019).; Donald J. Trump, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Donald J. Trump*, January 24, 2017, https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/executive-order-13766-expediting-environmental-reviews-and-approvals-for-high-priority (accessed December 2, 2019).;

Construction resumed that day.[47] On February 22nd, the remaining protesters were evicted from the camp.

It is crucial to realize that Energy Transfer Partners and the U.S. governments' use of violence and surveillance to suppress protests by the Oceti Sakowin is not a new departure in indigenous history nor does it represent a rare phenomenon. Energy Transfer Partners would not have been able to access this part of the Missouri River if the U.S. government had respected and enforced the Fort Laramie Treaties of 1851 and 1868, both created after periods of warfare between the Oceti Sakowin and U.S. settlers.[48] While the 1851 treaty defined much of what would become the Dakotas and parts of Nebraska and Wyoming as Oceti Sakowin territory, it failed to stop non-indigenous settlement. Americans continued to make their homes on Indian land, leading to the Powder River War in 1865 and the eventual implementation of the second Fort Laramie treaty, which determined that only a small portion of the land allotted by the first Fort Laramie Treaty, including the sacred Black Hills (now the site of Mount Rushmore), would become part of a permanent Indian Reservation. The second Fort Laramie Treaty was as unenforceable as the first. Non-indigenous settlers and businesses found gold in the Black Hills

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[47] United States Army Corps of Engineers Omaha District, *Corps grants easement to Dakota Access, LLC,* February 8, 2017, https://www.nwo.usace.army.mil/Media/News-Releases/Article/1077134/corps-grants-easement-to-dakota-access-llc/ (accessed December 2, 2018).

[48] Nick Estes, *"Fighting For Our Lives,"* 116.

and mined it despite the treaty's prohibition. In 1875, the U.S. government decided that enforcing the second treaty would only "increase" the settlers' "desire and complicate the troubles," so in 1877, Congress ceded the Black Hills to the U.S. government without the necessary consent of ¾ of the males on the reservation. Ten years later, in 1887, Congress passed the Dawes Allotment Act, splitting up the unified reservation once again into six separate (and much smaller) reservations, opening the so-called "surplus" lands to non-indigenous settlers and creating the modern-day Standing Rock Reservation. The U.S. Supreme Court legitimized these actions in *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* (1903) by ruling that the U.S. government had the authority to amend tribal treaties without the tribe's consent and without being subjected to judicial review. Five years later, the U.S. Supreme Court established the Winters Doctrine in *Winters v. United States* stipulating that when Congress creates a federal reservation, it implicitly reserves the water necessary to sustain it and that an Indian Reservation may claim water that was included in the first treaty that established it. For Standing Rock Reservation, this ruling meant that the Missouri river and its shorelines fell within their authority as outlined in the 1851 and 1868 Fort Laramie Treaties.[49]

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[49] Robert T. Anderson, "Indigenous Rights to Water and Environmental Protection," *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review* 53, no. 2 (Fall 2018): 368. Heinonline.org (accessed September 12, 2019).

However, when the strength of the Winters Doctrine was put to the test in 1944, it was found lacking. That year, Congress again altered the borders of the Standing Rock Reservation by passing the Flood Control Act, also known as the Pick-Sloan Plan, authorizing the USACE and the Bureau of Reclamation to erect five dams on the Missouri River and giving the USACE authority over the maintenance and control of the dams, the shoreline surrounding the Missouri River and Lake Oahe. The reservations allotted by the Dawes Act had been positioned strategically along the Missouri River in order provide them with "fertile agricultural lands, timber for lumber and fuel, coal deposits, seasonal fruits, habitat for wild game, medicines, shelter for domestic animals, and plentiful supplies of clean water." [50] Beyond the tangible material benefits, the Missouri River was also an important part of the reservations' social, cultural, and religious life. The flooding of reservation territory that occurred in 1944 as a result of the dams led to the loss of 309,584 acres of vital bottom lands, ruined tribal economies, and forced the relocation of many indigenous families.

Reviewing this history, it should be clear that although the *methods* of surveillance used during the anti-DAPL protests

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[50] Peter Capossela, "Impacts of the Army Corps of Engineers' Pick-Sloan Program on the Indian Tribes of the Missouri River Basin," *Journal of Environmental Law and Litigation* 30, no. 1 (2015): 156, Heinonline.org (accessed September 12, 2019).

mark a turning point, the surveillance of native activists is simply an echo of a hundred-year history of suppression of indigenous actions and violation of Indian rights by U.S. private and public forces. If public activism in the U.S. is to have any chance of surviving in the new order that governs civil disobedience-- which is dominated by private security companies at the service of U.S. governmental entities who may refashion or ignore laws at will-- we would do well to acknowledge the DAPL controversy and the history that allowed for these events to occur.

Postscript

Energy Transfer Partners completed the part of the pipeline under Lake Oahe in Spring 2017, and oil first flowed through the pipeline on June 7, 2017. As of December 12, 2020, the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe and other allied tribes are still entangled in a legal battle to shut the pipeline down, bringing the matter to the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, for consideration. On July 6, 2020, Judge James E. Boasberg ruled in favor of the activists, calling for the pipeline to be drained of oil while an extensive environmental impact review was conducted. But a month later, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia reversed Judge Boasberg's order to drain the pipeline of oil, while also vacating the permit that allowed the pipeline to cross under Lake Oahe. On August 31, the Army Corps of Engineers weighed in on

the side of the activists, declaring in a court status report that the pipeline constituted an "encroachment on federal property" but also abdicating any responsibility to provide redress (according to Corps regulations, the Corps is not required to "cure" the encroachment in a timely manner or to "ultimately cure the encroachment at all.") The Corps began an Environmental Impact Statement on September 10, 2020, a process that could take over a year.[51]

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[51] https://earthjustice.org/sites/default/files/press/2020/3154-USACE-Status-Report-8.31.20.pdf
https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/06/us/dakota-access-pipeline.html
https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2020/08/05/dakota-access-pipeline-appeals-court-reverses-shutdown-order/3304710001/https://earthjustice.org/features/faq-standing-rock-litigation

Quakers are Inchanters: Witchcraft, Heresy, and Radical Religion in Mid-Seventeenth Century England

Catherine Perez

The Quakers Terrible Vision; Or, the Devils's Progress to the City of London,
Printed for G. Horton, in the great year of quaking, 1655.

Abstract

This article discusses fears of religious nonconformism as the basis for witchcraft accusations against the Quakers, a radical Protestant sect that formed during the English Civil War and Interregnum between 1642 and 1660. [1] In this period, publications often depict members of the Society of Friends as unnatural, demonic, and synonymous with sin and the Devil, and with the ability to bewitch their followers. In a climate torn apart by war, decentralized government, and social fracturing, it was natural for many of the English to believe they were in a world turned upside down.[2] The chaos and lack of government structure produced a flourishing of ideas within city centers and among religious groups. The status of "the outsider" was tied to the identity of these radical religious groups and represented a connection between so-called heretical Quaker teachings, witchcraft accusations, and popular persecution.

Mary White, wife of William, resided at Wickham-Skeyth in Suffolk in 1655 when her affliction began. Mary stayed with her brother-in-law, Richard White, for about ten

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[1] The English Civil War, also known as the English Revolution, refers to the wars between the Royalists and Parliament, during which Parliament triumphed over King Charles I's Royalists (1642-51). From 1651 until his death in 1658, Oliver Cromwell established the Commonwealth, which ruled over England and its territories until 1660. This period is known as the English Interregnum. Charles II was invited back to the English throne in 1660, an event referred to as the English Restoration.

[2] Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution,* (London: Penguin Books, 1991). This concept is discussed at length by Christopher Hill in his *The World Turned Upside Down.* The phrase "world turned upside down" refers to the attitude held by the English that the English Revolution and emerging radical religious sects were a sign of the end of days.

days, during which time she reluctantly attended a Society of Friends meeting led by Richard Hubberthorne, a prominent Quaker leader.[3] Afterward, Mary fell ill, and witnesses claimed she was "distracted or possessed with an evill spirit."[4] During Mary's illness, Richard White's wife, Alice, read Mary a book penned by Quakers to calm her. Overcome by "violent fits and distempers," Mary told Alice that she had been "inchanted and bewitched by the seducers" before she mysteriously died a few days later.[5]

Mary White's death was documented in the pamphlet *Quakers are Inchanters and Dangerous Seducers*, which drew from the testimony of three witnesses who claimed that Quaker influence led to Mary's illness and subsequent death. These three witnesses were Mary's husband William White; Susan Green, the servant of Richard and Alice White; and Bartholomew Lenald, a family friend. Susan Green and William White both provided a detail not included in the original testimony: Mary had attempted to kill herself twice. Susan and William also reported that Mary started making animalistic groans and claimed her "fits" required at least four men to hold her down.[6] In addition, William claimed that Mary's illness was

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[3] The Society of Friends, also known as "Friends," refers to the Quakers.
[4] *Quakers are Inchanters and Dangerous Seducers* (London: Printed by T. M. for Edward Dod and are to be sold at his shop, 1655), 4, 5.
[5] *Quakers are Inchanters*, 4, 5. Mary's brother-in-law Richard and Richard Hubberthorne were two different people, but both were involved with the Quaker movement.
[6] *Quakers are Inchanters*, 5, 6.

caused by "foure spells," but he did not explain what this meant.[7]

What can be made of Mary White and her illness? In his testimony, William stated that he believed that "in his absence his wife was there so seduced." [8] Bartholomew thought Mary to be enchanted and Susan believed her to be "possessed with a Devill." [9] Both Bartholomew and Susan also recalled Mary's exposure to Quaker teachings during her stay at Richard and Alice White's residence. The common thread in these testimonies is that before Mary became ill, she was exposed to the readings and sermons of her Quaker in-laws. Mary's illness was not thought to be caused by traditional means, but rather through enchantment or the use of occult magic.[10]

Through cases like Mary's and others, it is possible to deduce the various intentions behind anti-Quaker pamphlets, denouncements, and popular witchcraft accusations. The

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[7] *Quakers are Inchanters*, 4. "Foure spells" may refer to enchantments or spells William White thought were placed on his wife, Mary. The connection between animals and witchcraft was common in early modern English dialectic and thought. George Fox, a founder of Quakerism, was accused of witchcraft and his fox-like appearance used as a proof of his connection with the occult.

[8] *Quakers are Inchanters*, 4, 5.

[9] *Quakers are Inchanters*, 6.

[10] *Oxford English Dictionary, s.v.* "Occult," accessed February 12, 2020, https://www.oed.com. The term "occult" in this paper adheres to the definition provided by the Oxford English Dictionary. "Occult" is defined as "of or relating to magic, alchemy, astrology, theosophy, or other practical arts held to involve agencies of a secret or mysterious nature; of the nature of such an art; dealing with or versed in such matters; magical." In this context, the witnesses of Mary's illness believed her death was caused by the popular belief that Quakers were connected to the supernatural and diabolism by extension.

decentralized government and social discord in mid-seventeenth-century England allowed the Quakers and other radical religious sects to form but were also part of the reason as to why witchcraft accusations against them were common. The story of Mary White illustrates several themes that will be explored throughout this paper. First, it illuminates the connection between Quakerism and witchcraft by describing the seventeenth-century English interpretation of enchantment and bewitching. These definitions, then, are used to demonstrate the interconnections between witchcraft, enchantment, and bewitchment in seventeenth-century English discourse. Finally, examining the parallels between how Roman Catholics were treated in Elizabethan England and Quakers were treated during the English Interregnum allows us to see a historical pattern of how witchcraft accusations were used to stigmatize and marginalize these two religious groups.

Authors of anti-Quaker pamphlets explicitly accused Friends of enchanting followers to join their faith through witchcraft. Richard Blome's *The Fanatick History,* a pamphlet written in 1660, included multiple denouncements, criticisms, and various accusations of bewitching by Quakers in England during the 1650s.[11] Blome discusses the case of a maid in London who claimed that she was the victim of bewitchment

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[11] Richard Blome *The Fanatick History: or an exact relation and account of the old Anabaptists, and new Quakers* (London: Printed for J. Sims, at the Cross Keys in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1660).

by a Quaker man. He purportedly convinced the maid to drink with him, then poured a mysterious substance (likely a powder) from a piece of paper into her drink, and told her that she "should come after him, and not he after her."[12] After this event, the woman asserted that she had strong urges to attend Quaker meetings, as she was "brought into strange raptures," and her mind was "turned against the Bible."[13] Her body also experienced swelling, but after a few days of friends praying and caring for her, the maid expressed that she was "delivered from this…evil."[14]

Blome mentioned that this case was taken from the "maids own mouth," but here we run into a common difficulty in the nature of these accounts—the content is subject to the author's biases and interpretation.[15] Nevertheless, the maid's purported account shared commonalities with other narratives common in this literature: victims alleged that they were bewitched or enchanted into practicing Quakerism, having experienced an uncontrollable urge to attend meetings, and reporting instances of overwhelming bodily contortion and malady. The focus on Mary White's bodily contortions suggests

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[12] Blome, *Fanatick History,* 114. Amelia Gummere, author of *Witchcraft and Quakerism: A Study in Social History*, refers to an "English and Dutch Quaker-Powder" thought to be used by Quakers to convert new followers and induce a quaking state upon a successful conversion. It is possible that this powder was the substance the maid claims was poured into her drink by her companion. See: Amelia Mott Gummere, *Witchcraft and Quakerism: A Study in Social History* (Philadelphia: The Biddle Press, 1908), 32-33.

[13] Blome, *Fanatick History,* 114.

[14] Blome, *Fanatick History*, 114.

[15] Blome, *Fanatick History*, 114.

that women were more commonly scrutinized for the effects that quaking had on the body. Furthermore, an unusual aspect in this account was that a Quaker man seduced a non-Quaker woman. This is atypical of witchcraft cases in this period, in which the more common case was the seduction of men perpetrated by women using witchcraft. In this instance, however, the reputation of Quakerism as a religion that used enchantment to convert followers trumped gender, superseding the more common belief that the perpetrators of witchcraft were women.

Given that Blome emphasized the physical effects that Quakerism had had on the London maid, it is important to recognize more broadly the relationship of the body to spirituality and religious practice in England during this era. Historian James Sharpe argues that cases of demonic possession were linked to specific cultural contexts, with some victims "internal[izing] Protestant beliefs," resulting in the uncontrollable physical and verbal expression of their religious fervor.[16] Mary White's case provides an excellent example of the fear surrounding the "quaking" phenomenon practiced by the Society of Friends during worship (which gave rise to the nickname "Quaker" by their detractors) and how this was commonly thought to be the same as demonic possession, also known as "witchcraft fits." These witchcraft fits were thought to be a symptom of *maleficium,* or foul magic. A person

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[16] Sharpe, *Instruments*, 199.

possessed by evil would suffer "hysterical fits, wild convulsions and contortions" and "total paralysis."[17]

The accounts of the London maid and Mary White are typical in that the effects of quaking abound in mid-seventeenth-century pamphlets, which attempted to associate Quaker practices with the predominant witchcraft narrative but they also prompt us to consider how quaking had particular meaning for women. In her article, "Quaking in the Light," historian Michele Tarter describes how women were often sexually assaulted, imprisoned, openly mocked, and persecuted for physical demonstrations of faith and explains how that Mary's fits may have been a physical manifestation of her emerging Quaker faith.[18] Tarter also addresses the supposed contagious nature of Quaker meetings, claiming it was a common belief that observing a meeting would influence and potentially convert the observer.[19] Tarter's observation of contagious Quaker meetings and the fits experienced by Mary White align with what historians know about Quakers' reputation for bewitching their prospective members.[20] However, Tarter does not address the hesitation and pressure expressed by Mary White, at least according to the witnesses of

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[17] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1971), 478.

[18] Michele Lise Tarter, "Quaking in the Light" in *A Centre of Wonders: The Body in Early Modern America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 145-162.

[19] Tarter, "Quaking," 151.

[20] Tarter, "Quaking," 151.

her death, to attend Quaker gatherings or her attempts to commit suicide. If White thought she were possessed by the Devil, then she may have believed that the only option was to purge herself by committing suicide.

Samuel Austin's anti-Quaker pamphlet, *The character of a Quaker in his true and proper colours*, also discussed quaking and offered multiple critiques of Quaker ideology.[21] Though quaking was meant to represent the manifestation of God within each Friend, Austin criticized these so-called "fits" as evidence of Quakers being intoxicated by "spiritual pride" which caused the body to erupt into a "fit of shivering."[22] Austin further argued that Quakers were attention-seekers who used these fits and public preaching to "be taken notice of."[23] Austin's pamphlet makes plain that the Quaker practices of aggressively preaching and arguing theology on the streets were thought to be a disturbance of social order. Further, Austin painted a negative picture of Quakers as hypocritical perpetrators of heresy, and his pamphlet appears to have been an overt appeal to those who were in danger of conversion.

Another concern that English had of the Quaker movement had to do with social class and the fears that religious difference produced, as an anonymous advertisement

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[21] Samuel Austin, *The character of a Quaker in his true and proper colours* (London: Printed, and are to be sold by the booksellers of London and elsewhere, 1672).

[22] Austin, *The character of a Quaker,* 7.

[23] Austin, *Quaker in his true and proper colours*, 8.

in Richard Blome's *Fanatick History,* revealed. The advertisement mentioned the discovery of "diverse witches" in Dorsetshire on September 1659, Quakers and Anabaptist, three men and two women, who were thrown in jail as a result of this accusation.[24]

The connection between Quakerism and witchcraft is again emphasized—the Devil appeared to the accused Dorsetshire Quakers often and in diverse forms. However, this reportage takes on additional significance when read against Richard Bernard's *A guide to grand-jury men*, published forty years earlier.[25] In his account, Bernard claimed that the Devil had various forms dependent on the social and religious status of the person visited. To those from a lower class, the Devil appeared in various "baser forms and…abhorred shapes," sometimes non-human in nature. [26] To people of higher social status or religious standing, the Devil appeared "in a religious

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[24] Richard Blome *The Fanatick History,* 117-118. Further archival research into this topic has revealed a court order from the Dorset Assizes in 1660 that requested an investigation in Sherborne after these events. See P.R.O., Assi. 24/22 (Assizes, Western Circuit Order Book 1652-1676), fo. 76.

[25] Richard Bernard, *A guide to grand-jury men divided into two books* (London: Printed by Felix Kingston for Edw. Blackmore, and are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard, 1629). https://search.proquest.com. This pamphlet discussed the legalities of witchcraft and the implementation of a blend of scientific and theological evidence to conduct witch-hunts. Richard Bernard died before the events of the English Revolution and emergence of the Quakers, but witchcraft had been a hotly debated academic topic since King James I published his famous treatise about witches, *Daemonology*, in the late 16th century.

[26] Bernard, *A guide to grand-jury men,* 107.

habit" or as "one of some learning and wealth." [27] Those who sought to denounce Quakerism by labeling it heresy and witchcraft, found in these reports evidence that Quakerism was indicative of lower religious and social status and a further separation of the individual from God. For the poor and middling classes, the Devil's appearance reflected the "beastlike" nature that elites believed the lower classes to possess.[28]

By connecting this instance of former Quakers encountering the Devil in various forms to the belief that the lower classes were more susceptible to witchcraft, the educated elite attempted two things. First, to discourage members of the upper class from joining the Quaker movement by insinuating that such action would detract from their privileged status. Second, they attempted to frighten the lower classes by using the threat of possession and witchcraft. In other words, not only did anti-Quaker pamphleteers fear the potential appeal of the "inner light" and social leveling that the Quaker movement might bring to post-Civil War England, they were also worried that these concepts would appeal to the social and religious elite.

According to the anonymous author of *Quakers are Inchanters*, Quakers strove to "seduce others" and "communicate their Erronious Books" to the "weak or

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[27] Bernard, *A guide to grand-jury men,* 107.
[28] Bernard, *A guide to grand-jury men,* 107.

wavering in their judgements."[29] *The Quakers fiery beacon,* written by an anonymous author, explained that Quakers routinely enchanted followers to join their religion: Quakers "[used] inchanted potions, bracelets, sorcery, and witchcraft, to intoxicate their Novices, and draw them to their party." [30] The creation of anti-Quaker propaganda, meant to discourage all classes from participating in Quakerism, made use of images in order to appeal to an illiterate, lower class audience. *The Quakers Dream* from 1665 included images that mocked Quakers and their practice of public preaching while also making light of Quaker "arguments, tenets, [and] principles."[31]

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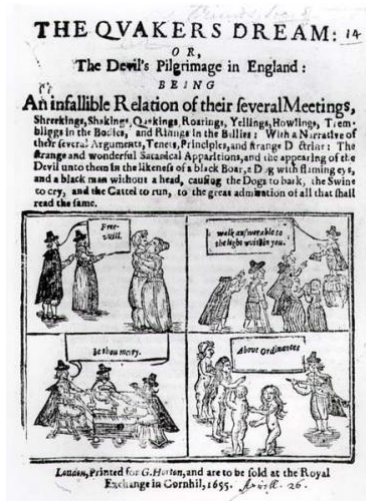
[29] *Quakers are Inchanters*, 7.

[30] *The Quakers fiery beacon or, The shaking-ranters ghost* (London: Printed for G. Horton, 1655), 8. https://search.proquest.com.

[31] *The Quakers Dream* (London: Printed for G. Horton and are to be sold at the Royal Exchange in Cornhil, 1655),
1. https://search.proquest.com.

In response to these pamphleteers, the Quaker Richard Farnworth penned a defense of witchcraft accusations in 1655. In this pamphlet, Farnworth mentioned enchantments, witchcrafts, and sorceries separately, but attributed all these to wizardry, "black artists," and necromancers collectively.[32] He connected enchantment to "silent Wizards, consulters with familiar Spirits, Charmers, black artists or Nicromancers" in "the [devil's] counsel" with "all diviners of lyes, silent Witchcraft."[33] Farnworth lumped "Inchanters…that are in the power of Witchcrafts" with other practitioners of "dark magic" and condemned their actions to an eternity in the lake of fire.[34]

Farnworth's pamphlet revealed what Quakers thought of as witchcraft and its interchangeability with the concept of enchantment. However, the prevailing intellectual discourse regarding witchcraft and sorceries, as contained in William Perkins' *A discourse of the damned art of witchcraft* (1610), defines enchantment as "the work of wonders by a charm." [35]   These

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[32] Richard Farnworth, *Witchcraft cast out from the religious seed and Israel of god* (London: Printed for Giles Calvert at the Black spread-Eagle at the west end of Pauls, 1655; Early English Books Online, 2010), 2. https://search.proquest.com.

[33] Farnworth, *Witchcraft cast out,* 3, 4. Farnworth quotes Joseph in this passage who interpreted the Pharaoh's dream without the use of enchantment. This story denounced the Pharaoh's use of wizardry and pointed out that using dark magic could not divine the revelations of God, but only the Devil.

[34] Farnworth, *Witchcraft cast out,* 10.

[35] William Perkins, *A discourse of the damned art of witchcraft* (Cambridge: Printed by Cantrel Legge, printer of the Vniuersitie of Cambridge, 1610; Early English Books Online, 2004), 123, https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A09402.0001.001?view=toc.

wonders included influencing the weather, injecting miasma into the air, the destruction of agriculture and cattle, bewitching men with unusual sexual behavior, and "casting out of devills."[36] Perkins described a charm as "a spell or verse, consisting of strange words, used as a signe or watchword of the devil, to cause him to worke wonders."[37] Perkins also noted that some charm users intended them for evil, while others used them for good.[38]

Farnworth used the term "enchantment" as an umbrella term for any type of magic used by practitioners of the occult. Perkins, however, attributed enchantment to a witch and her use of a charm and/or incantations. In this case, the effects of enchantment were also credited to the powers of the witch, such as negatively impacting fertility through an unsuccessful harvest, dying cattle, or a man's powerful and strange sexual desire. Since the prevailing seventeenth-century belief aligned with Perkins' discourse, many pamphleteers accused Quakers of enchanting their followers and equated them with witches. Accordingly, Mary White was the victim of Quaker witchcraft, at least in the minds of her husband, friends, and the anonymous author of the pamphlet describing her death.

Historian Barry Reay addresses the connections

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[36] Perkins, *Damned art of witchcraft,* 123.
[37] Perkins, *Damned art of witchcraft*, 130.
[38] Perkins, *Damned art of witchcraft*, 131.

between Quakerism and witchcraft extensively, noting a trial in which two Quaker women "confessed to having intercourse with the Devil."[39] Reay also discusses the case of Jane Holmes, a Quaker who attracted the suspicions of the townspeople of Malton. Jane purportedly carried a "wainded botle" with her which she was thought to have used on a young girl and a man to bewitch them on separate occasions.[40] Jane lured the man into the forest where she fed him the contents of her bottle, which caused him to become delirious. Jane then advised the man to fast "for forty days" so he would become as "good as Christ." [41] The man was later lured away from Jane by his friends, but still desired to "goe to her again."[42] Jane Holmes' status as a stranger in town influenced the imagination of those who observed her behavior. It is likely that Jane's identity as a societal other and a Quaker led to higher scrutinization of her actions, particularly by those who had been exposed to anti-Quaker sentiment in pamphlets.

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[39] Barry Reay, "Popular Hostility Towards Quakers in Mid-Seventeenth Century England" *Social History* 5 (October 1980): 396f.

[40] James Raine, *Depositions from the Castle of York, relating to offenses committed in the northern counties in the seventeenth century.* (Durham: Published for the Society by F. Andrews, 1861), https://archive.org/details/despotitionsfromc00grea/page/54, 54-56. A detailed account of Jane's misconduct in New Malton was printed in an anthology of depositions by James Raine in 1861. Raine wanted to understand the everyday happenings of the mid-seventeenth century, prompting him to publish select cases that emphasized the politically charged environment. Raine himself believed the Quakers were obnoxious and volatile (See pages xxi-xxiv).; "Wainded botle," according to the Oxford English Dictionary, refers to a bottle made from wicker.

[41] Barry Reay, *Popular Hostility*, 398.

[42] Barry Reay, *Popular Hostility*, 398.

Jane's reputation as a Quaker enchantress indicates a pattern observed by other historians. Historian Keith Thomas briefly addresses the connections between Quakerism and witchcraft by describing Quakers as the subjects of "numerous charges" of witchcraft, like bewitching.[43] Additionally, Thomas notes that some ex-Quakers purported these ideas and even sought litigation against the Quakers, believing themselves to be the victims of enchantment. This fed into the concept of the Quakers as outsiders, whose status linked them to demonic acts, and witchcraft accusations during the chaotic events ravaging England during the English Civil War and Interregnum.[44]

Denouncers of Friends attempted to tarnish their reputations by referring to their beliefs as similar to that of papists and likening them to atheists for not agreeing with the dominant theology of mid-seventeenth century England. For example, Samuel Austin likened Quakers to Papists, claiming that while the latter "acknowledgeth but one Pope," Quakers have "a Pope in *every Individual Breast*."[45] By linking Quakers to Catholics, the English public would be less likely to convert to

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[43] Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1971), 487.

[44] Thomas, *Religion and the Decline,* 487.

[45] Samuel Austin, *The character of a Quaker in his true and proper colours* (London: Printed, and are to be sold by the booksellers of London and elsewhere, 1672; Early English Books Online, 1996), https://search.proquest.com, 5. Samuel Austin's background as a religious poet comes through in this quote. Austin intended this pamphlet to conflate Roman Catholicism with Quakerism by criticizing the Quaker belief that God is within each person. This concept is referred to as the "inner light."

Quakerism and more likely to persecute its members. In *Quakers are Inchanters*, Quakers were accused of being "Jesuiticall" for not reading scripture and using the Bible for public preaching rather than study, and "Athiesticall" for denying Protestant tenets such as the "Trinity, Humanity of Christ, his Ascension, [and] the Resurrection of the Body."[46] The intent of these pamphlets was to shock the reader and forge the belief that Quakers were secretly masquerading as Catholics, who during the Elizabethan period, had often been accused of being witches.[47]

Historians Alan MacFarlane and Malcolm Gaskill have pointed out various parallels between how both Catholics and Quakers were condemned for their supposed witchcraft. MacFarlane notes that papists were "sometimes termed 'witches'" by Protestants, while Gaskill comments that Elizabeth I's Catholic opponents "were often conflated with the witch-menace." [48] Gaskill asserts that the increasing threat of witchcraft in Stuart England led to a battle between Protestants and Catholics over who could most effectively prevent or remove witchcraft symptoms.[49] The increased anti-

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[46] *Quakers are Inchanters and Dangerous Seducers* (London: Printed by T. M. for Edward Dod and are to be sold at his shop, 1655), 7.

[47] See: Austin, *The Character of a Quaker*, 5*; Quakers are Inchanters,* 7*; The Quakers fiery beacon* (London: Printed for G. Horton, 1655), 7, 8, https://search.proquest.com.

[48] Alan Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.), 188.

[49] Gaskill, *Witchfinders*, 29. This trend is also seen throughout the English Civil War, in which both Royalists and Parliamentarians accused each other

Catholic sentiment in England equated to increasingly blurred lines between Catholic persecution and witchcraft accusations.

In conclusion, the political and social discord that followed the English Civil War allowed an unregulated stage for both Quakers and their opponents to spread both new beliefs and hearty criticisms. This discord led to increased persecutions for those who were perceived to be part of the world turned upside down.[50] Since early Quakers were a radical religious group and lived in a social sphere outside of English society, they were often thought to be guilty of enchanting followers through witchcraft. However, this pattern of religious persecution was not unique to the Quakers. If anti-Catholic sentiment in Elizabethan England and the increased discord in Civil War England is any indication, then social turmoil led to the scapegoating of those who possessed social and religious statuses and beliefs unlike the norm. After the English Restoration in 1660, Quakerism started to lose its radical stance. However, during the Quakers' radical beginnings, pamphleteers successfully conflated Quakerism with witchcraft and heresy in the minds of the public throughout the English Revolution and beyond.

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of witchcraft to gain a political, rather than religious, edge. See: Peter Elmer, "'Saints of Sorcerers': Quakerism, demonology, and the decline of witchcraft in seventeenth-century England" in *Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe: studies in culture and belief,* eds. Jonathan Barry, Marianne Hester, and Gareth Roberts, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
[50] Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution,* (London: Penguin Books, 1991).

The Tale of Two Marias: Native Women and the Spanish Colonial World, 1700-1800

Courtney Weis

Casta Painting, 18th century, oil on canvas, 148 x 104 cm (Museo Nacional del Virreinato, Mexico).*Casta* paintings were common in the eighteenth century and served as a way to categorize people based on race.
The more European blood a person had, the closer he or she would be to the top of the painting.

Abstract

This essay explores the relationships that indigenous Nahua women of Tuluca (located in present-day Mexico) had with the Spanish Catholic systems in which they lived-- in an effort to shed light on the complexities and differences among these native women, a group that, until recently, has been regarded as homogeneous. The source materials are the last wills and testaments of María Ana de Morales (1707) and María de la Encarnación (1733), translated from their original Nahua language.   These wills are used as case studies to explore the ways in which native women fared better when they had more connections to Spaniards—not just materially in life, but also spiritually after their deaths.

In the early eighteenth century, María Ana de Morales and María de la Encarnación, two women from the Toluca valley composed their wills. Toluca, located in the southeastern part of present-day Mexico, was referred to as Matlatzinco, a Nahuatl term that translates to "place of nets" and fell under the jurisdiction of the Spanish when Hernan Cortés conquered the Aztecs in 1521.[1] It is unknown if these women ever encountered or knew of one other. María Ana de Morales, an indigenous woman from San Miguel Aticpac, was a wealthy woman: she left multiple houses and extensive landholdings, along with clothes and furniture to her heirs.   By contrast, María de la Encarnación, also a native woman from the same

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[1] The Aztecs, the largest empire in the region, conquered the area. See Brian M. Tomaszewski and Michael E. Smith, "Polities, territory and historical change in Postclassic Matlatzinco," *Journal of Historical Geography* (2010), 2.

area, had far less property and money. Although the contents of their wills varied, nonetheless they shared something very important: they were both native women living in Spanish colonial society-- comparing their wills enables us to reflect on how connections to high-ranking Spanish officials benefitted native women financially and impacted their religious practices.

The relationship between indigenous women and Europeans, both male and female, has been understood by scholars in primarily negative ways: native women were gifted to Spanish *conquistadors* and often ousted by these men when Spanish women crossed the Atlantic at the beginning of the colonial period. While there were exceptions to this norm, historiography has focused on these intense mixed-race sexual/familial interactions. This project concentrates instead on other relationships that these indigenous women had with Spanish individuals by tracing the mention of Spanish names in these two women's wills. Having a Spaniard as a witness in a will meant that either the testator had some affiliation with him (or her) or access in a public setting.[2]

Like today, wills and testaments in the eighteenth century were used by the Spanish to ensure the passage of property, money, and responsibilities from the deceased to their heirs. They also placed great emphasis on the Catholic Church. Prior to the European arrival in the Americas, the

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[2] Caterina Pizzigoni, *Testaments of Toluca* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 31.

indigenous populations of the continent held polytheistic beliefs, which were foreign to the Europeans. In order to please their gods, the Aztecs practiced human sacrifice, which did not sit well with the Catholic Spaniards, prompting a strong missionary movement to convert natives to Catholicism. Some Spaniards believed that force would be the most efficient way, while others, like the Dominican friar, Bartolome de Las Casas, thought that native Americans were good people and that a gentle approach would be best. Through both tactics, pre-conquest native religions were replaced, or hidden behind, Catholicism.

Indigenous societies had a practice similar to wills, but instead of recording the contents in writing, they were produced orally. Nonetheless, sedentary native communities, like Toluca, produced written documents from the colonial period. These indigenous wills and testaments were created in a time of forceful upheaval and change for native Americans. On a search for a path to the riches of India, the Spanish happened on the Caribbean islands and would later find the Americas. Upon their arrival, the Spanish found new climates to acclimate to, new products to be traded across the Atlantic, and most importantly, new groups of people to convert to Catholicism. Unfortunately for the natives, conversion went hand in hand with enslavement and exploitation. From the beginnings of conquest, the indigenous population of the Americas were forced into *encomiendas*. These serf-like conditions were created

to expose and convert natives to Christianity and European values, but they also functioned as a form of enslaved labor. Even after *encomiendas* were restricted by the New Laws of 1542, natives were still forced to live in Spanish-style towns where the Church and the Crown were in the center of towns. *Caciques*, the leaders of indigenous societies, lost most of their authority as they were often replaced, killed, or usurped by a Spanish official from the peninsula.

Before the conquest, native men and women lived and operated in "separate but equal spheres," a concept Karen Vieira Powers refers to as gender parallelism.[3] Men and women had different roles: men went into battle and plowed the fields while women gave birth and worked in the household. The Aztec culture did not value one more than the other. Instead, men and women's roles complemented each other in order to keep balance within the cosmos.[4] Although Aztec emperors were always male, women had high-ranking positions and supervised women's politics, like the role of the *cihuatepixqui*, or "female person in charge of the people."[5] There was no comparable autonomy for women in Spain, who lived in a highly patriarchal society. The Spanish conquistadors and colonizers brought their ideas with them, forcing native

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[3] Karen Vieira Powers, *Women in the Crucible of Conquest: The Gendered Genesis of Spanish American Society, 1500-1600* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 15.

[4] Ibid., 25.

[5] Ibid., 21.

women out of their traditional roles. They diminished the importance of women's housework as dictated by Aztec religion. Any social mobility and perks available to native women in their pre-conquest culture soon disappeared. María Ana de Morales and María de la Encarnación were effectively stuck in this new system.

In the vast territories of colonial Spain, wealthy women, whether European, indigenous, or mestizo, were governed by a series of laws that gave them more autonomy than their European counterparts. Spanish law dictated that women in the colonies had control over their estate and their dowries, even when they married. By keeping the man and wife's estates separate, women could have economic control and could increase their wealth by investing in business and trade. Those who did not have some capital to begin with, however, did not benefit as much from the separation.[6]

In 1707, María Ana de Morales composed her will in what we may assume was her native tongue, *Nahuatl*, in the *tlaxilacalli*, the equivalent of a town, of San Miguel Aticpac in Toluca. It is a long will and contains many details about her death that provide clues about her life. Morales was quite wealthy, an indicator of a close relationship to the Spanish. She gave a total of four *reals* to the Church and her family. She left a house to her daughter Josefa and another house to her

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[6] Kimberly Gauderman, *Women's Lives in Colonial Quito: Gender, Law, and Economy in Spanish America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 35-46.

daughter Brígida. She divided her ten *quahuitl* of land among her children and grandchild. She gave a small amount of land to Marcel de Morales to grow magueys, a part of the agave family, that remained important in both the pre and post-conquest eras.[7] She was owed a *huipil* of wool and a skirt of wool. Her Catholic zeal was strong; she wanted her grave to be located in a Catholic church, cathedral bells to be rung in her honor, and some of her money to go to Catholic churches, both in her *tlaxilacalli* and "Holy Jerusalem."[8]

Almost thirty years later, in 1733, in a neighboring *tlaxilacalli*, María de la Encarnación composed her will. At one-third the length of María Ana de Morales' will, María de la Encarnación's testament mentioned only one living family member, a granddaughter named Anastasia Leonor and her former husband, Mateo who had passed away.[9] She had no property to pass on and gave no money to the Church, presumably because she had none to give. She called upon her *cofradía* Sangre de Cristo of Quauhtitlan to provide for her

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[7] Ibid., 27.

[8] "María Ana de Morales, San Miguel Aticpac, 1707," in *Testaments of Toluca*, 67. Throughout the *Testaments of Toluca*, there is a strong correlation between wealth and Spanish influence. For example, the will of Elena de la Cruz shows her to be one of the wealthiest women to have lived in the Toluca valley. Upon her death, she distributed seventeen properties, animals, maguey plants, furniture, and an impressive number of pesos to her family and friends.[8] Additionally, Like Morales, the Spanish influence in her life can be seen in her last name, "de la Cruz." She mentions many Dons and Doñas. *Testaments of Toluca*, 71.

[9] "María de la Encarnación," in *Testaments of Toluca*, 55.

burial costs.[10]

Additional evidence provided in these wills and testaments, not just wealth, suggests that Morales was the more "hispanicized" of the two women. It is clear that she knew a Spaniard, Señor Marcel de Morales, well enough to have him witness her will, but it is unclear if she knew him because she had some Spanish blood in her veins. She may have been a mestizo, a person of both Spanish and native descent. Her last name, "de Morales," indicates Spanish ancestry, and she passed the name down to both of her daughters. The title of Señor indicates prestige, and it would have been unlikely for María to have gotten someone of such high social standing to witness her will without her having had some personal connection to him. She was a widow, and although she does not mention who her husband had been, it would not be unreasonable to believe he had been a mestizo or had had strong Spanish influence in his life.

Her relative poverty notwithstanding, María de la Encarnación's short will did not demonstrate the same degree of Spanish influence – she had no witnesses to her will and

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[10] "María de la Encarnación, San Juan Evangelista, 1733," in *Testaments of Toluca*, 55. Another poor woman who left a will was Juana Francisca. In 1699, she wrote her will in the *tlaxilacalli* of San Luis. Though she had more material possessions than Encarnación, she claimed that "truly before God that I have nothing," although she later mentioned a small field and a wooden vessel she bequeathed to her children. Junana used some puzzling words in her will that suggest she had little knowledge of *Nahuatl*, showing that Juana may have been farther from the Spanish in comparison to the other female wills in *Testaments of Toluca*.

mentioned no Señores. The date in her will, "Monday the 23rd day of the month of November" written mostly in *Nahuatl*, as "*Lunes ye ic Cempohualli yhuan yei tonatiu mani Metzli Nouiembre*," suggests that Encarnación did not have the same degree of Spanish connections that her counterpart Morales had had.[11] By 1733, most wills would have noted dates using Arabic numbers and Spanish words-- Encarnación's use of *Nahuatl* suggests a pre-conquest style of dating.[12]

All of the wills in *Testaments of Toluca* begin in a similar fashion, with a preamble that mentions the holy family, the Trinity, and says "amen."[13] Both Encarnación and Morales praised "God the father, God his precious son, and God the Holy Spirit …"[14] The difference between Encarnación and Morales' wills is what follows the standard preamble. Morales made many demands and donated a lot of money in the name of Catholicism, directing that she was to be buried inside the shrine of San Francisco, her "earthly body is to be shrouded and [… girt with the rope …"[15] of the aforementioned saint. She wanted bells to be rung for her, not just in her *tlaxacalli* of

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[11] "María de la Encarnación, San Juan Evangelista, 1733," in *Testaments of Toluca*, 55.

[12] Pizzigoni, *Testaments of Toluca*, 55.

[13] Pizzigoni, *Testaments of Toluca*, 10.

[14] "Maria de la Encarnación," 55.

[15] "María de la Morales," in *Testaments of Toluca*, 67. One of the most important relics in Catholicism is the Holy Shroud that the body of Jesus was buried with in the tomb of Joseph of Arimathea. See Alberta Zucchi, "Tombs and testaments: Mortuary practices during the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries in the Spanish-Venezuelan Catholic Tradition," *Historical Archaeology,* 31 (June 1997), 31-41.

San Miguel, but also in San Juan Bautista and San Bernardino. A "high mass of requiem" was to be carried out in her honor. In addition to these demands, she donated half a *real* to "Holy Jerusalem" and a half *real* to each of the churches that the bells that were to be rung in her honor. [16] The ringing of bells was common in Toluca, where both Encarnación and Morales lived; the earliest mention of bells in wills was in 1652, and the practice continued to be mentioned until the later wills of the 1750s. Many testators requested that bells be rung at multiple churches but this was only accessible to those who had the money to pay for it. By the time Morales wrote her will, the half *real* she donated to Jerusalem was practically an obligation.[17]

The money spent on the shroud, the bells, and the Jerusalem funds was considered well-spent, even though the deceased would not live to see their purchases come to fruition. All of these costs were to help one achieve salvation or reach paradise after death. Catholic doctrine divides afterlife into heaven, purgatory, and hell. Sinful behavior, or the lack thereof, determines if one is eligible for entry into heaven. The medieval and early modern Catholic Church gave opportunities to its members to increase their chances of reaching salvation. These included donations to the Church, paying for masses to

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[16] Pizzigoni, *Testaments of Toluca*, 15.

[17] In practice, the funds never left the colonies, but nevertheless, those who lived in Toluca paid half a *real*, while those in the surrounding areas paid a full *real*. *Ibid.*, 17.

be held for a specific person, and the sale of indulgences which could be purchased to erase sinful behavior. Though the Protestant Reformation, which had begun in the sixteenth century, resulted in the removal of some of these opportunities, there were still avenues to salvation that could be bought. The "hispanicized" women of Toluca who had more money could afford these things. Morales' donation to the Holy Jerusalem fund and her mass are examples of this practice. These women had connections to important Spanish officials, which included priests and bishops of the Catholic Church. Prayers from these individuals were believed to carry more weight than those of native Americans, the people with whom Encarnación spent her time.

Looking at other "hispanicized" women, more instances of buying one's salvation become apparent. Elena de la Cruz, the native woman who owned seventeen properties and was considered to be one of the richest women of Toluca, gave the standard half *real* to Jerusalem, paying also to have the bells rung for her in her local church and a high mass of requiem in her honor.[18] In addition, she donated decorations for an altar, pesos to the church, and "to the precious father San Antonio [she] gave 15 pesos…"[19]

By contrast, María de la Encarnación did not have the means to ensure her journey to heaven. She was destitute and

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[18] Ibid.
[19] "Elena de la Cruz," in *Testaments of Toluca*, 70.

could not afford to donate to the Jerusalem fund or have the bells in San Juan Evangelista rung in her honor. Yet, in her will, she placed her "spirit and soul very entirely in the hands of [her] precious revered father God …"[20] suggesting she was a devout Catholic but lacked the money to pay for religious services that richer individuals could afford. Juana Francisca, another poor woman from Toluca, did not have the economic means to pay for bells or donate to the Jerusalem fund either. However, she did have a little money for a mass.[21]

Thus, in the eighteenth century, the cliché "it is all about who you know" holds true. María Ana de Morales knew and benefitted financially from the Spanish people in her life, while María de la Encarnación had much less access and many fewer resources. Consequently, Morales was richer and had a greater chance at salvation than Encarnación. Further research into the wills and testaments of native women from areas other than Toluca would help us understand whether this finding holds more extensively-- but the evidence from Toluca proper points in this direction. For an eighteenth-century indigenous woman in the Toluca valley, such perks were few and far between. It is unclear from the existing evidence whether Morales genuinely enjoyed her Spanish connections or simply profited from them but profit she did.

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[20] "María de la Encarnación," in *Testaments of Toluca*, 55.
[21] "Juana Francisca," in *Testaments of Toluca*, 56.

Medieval Showcase

Poète ou Sainte? Medieval Illuminations of Marie de France

Ethan White

Marie de France and Male Courtiers, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
"Manuscript – Ott.lat.3064." Page 243.

Abstract

As a literary figure, Marie de France (c. 1160-1215 CE) has fascinated a great many scholars. As the subject of medieval illustrations however, she has garnered less attention. Even scholars who have addressed the artistic portrayals of Marie de France have overlooked a vital fact that is essential to understanding the medieval perception of her: illuminators rendered Marie as a mirror image of Matthew the Apostle. My analysis of seven images from illuminated manuscripts of the High to Late Middle Ages explores the artistic link between Matthew and Marie that was informed by *translatio studii*, the scholarly tradition of transferring the wisdom of Antiquity to posterity. This essay argues that medieval illuminators held Marie de France in the highest esteem and were expressly replacing old text with new, translating Classical knowledge into present wisdom.

Introduction

Marie de France (c. 1160-1215 CE) is a famous name to scholars of medieval literature. The literary works attributed to her (e.g. *Lais*, *Fables*, and *L'Espurgatoire Seint Patriz*) endure to the present and continue to foster discussion and debate. In fact, the amount of scholarly literature devoted to analyzing these texts is nothing short of remarkable. In this regard Marie is like Homer – the significance of her œuvre has transcended the importance of her identity, since even today scholars know very little about her—and may never know more.

Nonetheless, we *can* explore the identity that manuscript illuminators of the High and Late Middle Ages

bestowed upon Marie de France. Though Marie was probably at the height of her powers in the late twelfth century, the first portraits of her (according to extant manuscripts of the *Fables*) were created during the thirteenth century, and the last depictions date from the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. I will highlight two of those portraits from two different medieval manuscripts: Figure 1. Marie de France writing from the Bibliothèque nationale de France's MS. 3142 (a thirteenth-century manuscript from the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal Collection) and the portrait on the title page, Marie seated before courtiers from the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana's MS. Ott.lat.3064 (a collection of writings from the fourteenth or fifteenth century). I shall refer to those manuscripts hereafter as BNF 3142 and Ott.lat. 3064.[1]

I am concerned mostly with exploring a fact that has not drawn much commentary from scholars of Marie de France: medieval illuminators depicted Marie de France as a saint, even though she was not. To be precise, these illuminators rendered Marie as an almost mirror image of Matthew the Apostle.[2] Previous scholars have discussed the

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[1] Altogether, there are four manuscripts with portraits of Marie de France, and all feature Marie's *Fables*. The Bibliothèque Nationale de France has three (BNF 1446, BNF 2173, and BNF 3142 [Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal]) and the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana has one (Ott.lat.3064).

[2] Kurt Ringger, "Prolégomènes à l'iconographie des œuvres de Marie de France," in Orbis mediaevalis, mélanges de langue et de littérature médiévale offerts à Reto Raduolf Bezzola à l'occasion de son quatre-vingtième anniversaire (Bern: Francke, 1978), 341, mentions the artistic motif of a scribe at work being used to depict the Gospel authors, but does

portrayal of Marie de France in relation to medieval depictions of female authorship, but these commentaries have not addressed the visual links between Marie and Matthew. These visual links should not be ignored, for they greatly bolster the trend among recent scholars to perceive Marie as a serious author rather than a mere storyteller.[3] Through an analysis of seven extant images of Marie de France and Matthew—assessing the motifs and symbols the illuminators employed—I will argue that the illuminators wanted to portray Marie as a formidable translator and scholar. In other words, they crafted an image of Marie as a figure who transferred to posterity valuable knowledge, rather than a person who merely composed recreational poetry for her contemporaries' enjoyment.

The Mission of Marie de France

Though it is quite clear that illuminators made a striking connection between Marie de France and a Biblical saint, what is not so clear is *why* they did this. Before launching into the art-historical analysis of this study, it is important to first discuss the textual elements that enable us to establish the

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not expand on that concept as it relates to portraits of Marie de France and their similarities to illuminations of Matthew.

[3] For commentary on the perception of Marie as a scholar, see: Sarah Hindman, Lesley Smith, and Susan Ward, *Women and the Book: Assessing the Visual Evidence*, edited by Jane H. M. Taylor and Lesley Smith, (London/Toronto/Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1997) and Chantal Maréchal, "Marie de France as *Sapientia*: Author Portraits in the Manuscripts of the *Fables*," *Le Cygne*, no. 3 (1997).

Marie and Matthew connection.

The best-known works attributed to Marie de France are the *Lais* and *Fables*. Her *Fables* are, generally speaking, didactic narratives centered on the adventures of animal characters. The use of animals to edify readers follows a rich hermeneutical tradition steeped in the pages of *Physiologus* and bestiaries, encyclopedic texts that explained Biblical teachings through the behavior of animals.[4] Marie cites Aesop as the source of her *Fables*, although the "Aesop" to whom Marie refers is not the Greek fabulist, but an (imagined) Latin figure. In this respect, Marie situated herself in the tradition of translation and transferred knowledge.[5] In other words, she became a part of the *translatio studii*, a venerable line of scholarship beginning with the authors of Antiquity.[6] By citing

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[4] Mary Armistead, "The *Middle-English Physiologus*: A Critical Translation and Commentary," (masters diss., Virginia Polytechnic Institute and University, 2001), 3-4; Michael Curley, *Physiologus*, (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), xv, 13-14, 51, 53-54; Terence Hanbury White, *The Book of Beasts: Being a Translation of a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century*, (New York: Putnam, 1954), 231.

[5] From a medieval perspective, translation played heavily in "the notion that learning and power move from one people or one civilization to another," and "transfers the past to the present." Douglas Kelly, "*Translatio Studii*: translation, adaptation, and allegory in medieval French literature," in *The Subtle Shapes of Invention: Poetic Imagination in Medieval French Literature*, ed. Douglas Kelly (Synthema, 7), (Louvain: Peeters Publishers, 2011), 23, 29.

[6] Sarah Hindman, "Æsop's Cock and Marie's Hen: Gendered Authorship in Text and Image in Manuscripts of Marie de France's Fables," in *Women and the Book*, 47-53, argues that, the illuminators of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France's MS. 2173 (fol. 58r and fol. 93r) depicted Marie de France with the notion of *translatio studii* in mind, especially considering that they depicted Aesop first in the "Prologue" and Marie in the "Epilogue." Hindman, "Æsop's Cock," 53, also understands Marie's image to have a Christian essence: "in the textual and pictorial poetics in manuscripts of the

one such author—Aesop—as her primary source, Marie bolstered her credibility by indelibly linking herself with a learned wordsmith of the Classical age.[7]

Marie's participation in *translatio studii* rested upon her ability to interpret the messages of Antiquity (in her case, old fables) and convey those messages in the Christian world where she lived. She had to approach such a task with caution and care, steadfastly applying their knowledge of Scripture. This could be said of a medieval learned man's (or woman's) approach to virtually any text, Christian or non-Christian. The ferocity of scholastic debate among Christian theologians of the era indicates that detailed analyses of all texts and events were necessary to understand the true path to salvation – or the path to avoid hell. It was a serious task, then, to take a Classical text and to translate, interpret, and articulate it

Fables, we are confronted with a *translatio studii* that is not just feminine but Christian also, one that conveys the concept that the ultimate truth resides in the Book." According to Kelly, "*Translatio studii*," 43, the discovery of new wisdom through *translatio studii* requires the author to possess "knowledge, the capacity to use a given technique to attain the wisdom inherent in all ideas that find representation in, and thus inform substantially and formally, the still obscure, chaotic matter that one finds handed down from the past." For further commentary on *translatio studii* as it pertains specifically to Marie de France, see Keith Busby, *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript,* (Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi, 2002), 473-474, 478.

[7] As Damien-Grint, "Translation *topoi* in Old French Narrative Literature," in *Riddarasǫgur: The Translation of European Court Culture in Medieval Scandinavia*, edited by Johansson, Karl and Else Mundal, (Oslo: Novus, 2014), 58, points out, for medieval authors, claiming a text was drawn from antiquity "is regularly used as a means of emphasizing its authority; the fact that no attempt is made to justify this, or even explain it, merely underlines how much the idea was taken for granted that *ancient* means 'authoritative.'" Also see Busby, *Codex and Context*, 473-474, 478.

according to a new understanding rooted in the Word of God.[8] Therefore, while Marie de France might have used the Aesopic tradition as a framework for her *Fables*, nonetheless her *Fables* took on new meanings as she refined and replaced Aesop's.[9]

By participating in *translatio studii*, Marie was engaging in a task similar to that of the giants of French scholasticism, who had been interpreting the realms of the natural and spiritual worlds through older texts. Hugh of St. Victor, Peter Abelard, and Bernard de Clairvaux, for example, drew upon a rich intellectual tradition in the form of works by Augustine, Gregory the Great, and John Cassian.[10]Although Marie was no longer alive by the time the extant images of her were being created, the visual links to Matthew seem to have been in keeping with Marie's own vision of herself as part of a venerable tradition. In fact, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that the illuminators were simply using a common

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[8] The Christian approach to assessing events around the world was equally precise, for any occurrence could be a sign of the impending manifestation of the Apocalypse. This practice of attentively recording all that transpired on a world scale, and then considering the interrelatedness of those various happenings, helped to develop the concept of world history as it is understood today.

[9] A "translation" often encompasses something beyond the authorial intention of the original work, because the translator has his or her own intentions. Therefore, "the source may be extended to include new subjects and fields." Kelly, "*Translatio studii*," 30.

[10] Augustine discussed the differences between figurative and literal reading, Gregory set precedents for historical writing (in addition to an allegorical interpretation in his *Moralia in Job*), and John detailed the "four senses of scripture: literal, allegorical, tropological, and anagogical." David Vessey, "Medieval Hermeneutics," in *The Blackwell Companion to Hermeneutics*, edited by Niall Keane and Chris Lawn, (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2016), 41-42.

motif to portray Marie. However, the fact that the other authors of BNF 3142 do not receive quite the same treatment as Marie suggests that there is more to this story than meets the eye. Although a few of the other writers depicted in BNF 3142 scrape the parchment for a palimpsest, it is Marie who most closely resembles the Apostle Matthew.[11] This visual analogy suggests that the illuminator(s) were purposefully drawing a parallel between the author of the *Fables* and the writer of the first Gospel.

The basis for drawing that parallel was in fact a passage from Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which was translated into Latin in the late fourth century by St. Jerome: "So then Matthew wrote the oracles in the Hebrew language, and every one interpreted them as he was able."[12] The "oracles" in question might "refer either to the Gospel of Matthew (in which case the claim about a Hebrew original is

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[11] Such authors include Adenet le Roi and the Reclus de Molliens.

[12] Eusebius was at this point quoting from Papias of Hierapolis, an author that he mentions elsewhere when discussing the Gospel of Matthew. Eusebius of Caesarea, *The Church History of Eusebius*, translated with prolegomena and notes by Arthur Cushman McGiffert, accessed October 8, 2018, (quote on page 317), http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0265-0339,_Eusebius_Caesariensis,_Historia_ecclesiastica_[Schaff],_EN.pdf. It should be noted that in some translations of the passage, "everyone" is instead written as "everyone," which might alter one's understanding of who is interpreting what. For a discussion on this version of translation, see Francis Watson, "The Fourfold Gospel," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Gospels*, edited by Stephen C. Barton, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 36-37. Also see David Wallace-Hadrill, *Eusebius of Caesarea*, (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co. Ltd., 1960) 63-66.

false) or to a collection of sayings…"[13] In either case, there is an emphasis placed on language and interpretation here as it relates to the writings of Matthew. Marie echoes the passage in her *Fables*:

> He (Aesop) translated it and had it written
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> In Latin from the Greek, to wit.
>
> King Alfred, who was fond of it,
>
> Translated it to English hence,
>
> And I have rhymed it now in French
>
> As well as I was competent.[14]

She too, like Matthew, has accepted the role of translation and interpretation to the best of her ability.

Elsewhere in the *Historia*, Eusebius also refers to Matthew as having "committed his Gospel to writing in his native tongue," a statement akin to the passages of Marie de France in which the poetess discusses her mission to commit

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[13] Indeed, the original Gospel of Matthew was written in Greek rather than Hebrew. The "collection of sayings" referred to here might have eventually become a part of the Gospel. As Watson, "The Fourfold Gospel," 36-37, points out, Papias of Hierapolis has a "relative lack of interest in this written text" and possesses a "preference for reports about what Matthew (and other apostles) *said*, as opposed to what they wrote. Similarly, Maréchal, "Marie de France as Sapientia," 51, believes that oral performance is central to the images of Marie de France holding a book in BNF 3142, and Marie de France pointing (as if offering oral instruction) in BNF 1446. Logan Whalen, "Ex Libris Mariae: Courtly Book Iconography in the Illuminated Manuscripts of Marie de France," in Courtly Arts and the Art of Courtliness: *Selected Papers from the Eleventh Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 29 July–4 August 2004* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), 750, agrees with that idea regarding BNF 1446.

[14] Marie de France, *Fables*, translated by Harriet Spiegel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 259.

fables to the "Romance tongue."[15] Eusebius (quoting Papias) relates to his readers that Matthew has engaged in the process of interpretation (as opposed to original writing), while Marie directly states that she has undertaken a similarly arduous task to bring the distinguished *Fables* into vernacular for the first time.[16] The fables that she "into Romance tongue translated" had similarly been passed down in many languages but needed to be written in Anglo-Norman. More importantly for the purpose of this study, Marie did not simply take that work upon her shoulders simply for its own sake, but because she was bound by divine necessity. Marie informed her readers that her destiny as a writer was an obligation in the service of God: "Anyone who has received from God the gift of knowledge and true eloquence has a duty not to remain silent…"[17] Perhaps her readers and the illuminators had in mind Eusebius, who wrote that Matthew's task of composing a gospel was a sine qua non: "Matthew and John have left us written memorials, and they, tradition says, were led to write only under the pressure of necessity."[18]

The illuminators who portrayed Marie not only accepted her claim to be assuming a role in the august and

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[15] Eusebius, *The Church History*, 265; Marie de France, *Fables*, 257.

[16] Spiegel, Introduction to *Fables*, 3-8; Aurell, *The Lettered Knight*, 214.

[17] Marie de France, *The Lais of Marie de France*, translated and with an introduction by Glynn S. Burgess and Keith Busby (London: Penguin Books, Ltd., 2003), 41.

[18] Eusebius, *The Church History*, accessed October 8, 2018, (quote on page 256), http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/03d/0265-0339,_Eusebius_Caesariensis,_Historia_ecclesiastica_[Schaff],_EN.pdf

learned tradition of *translatio studii* – they perpetuated that claim through image. The fact that they chose in some cases to link that image to Matthew underscores just how important a job Marie had in the eyes of courtly medieval society.

The Image of Marie de France in the High Middle Ages

The illuminators who depicted Marie de France in the act of writing drew from iconography that I will refer to as the Matthew motif, which showed the apostle hard at work while hunched over a book. This motif was prevalent throughout the Christian medieval world and was found in manuscripts from as far west as the British Isles, as far east as Persia, and as far south as Ethiopia. I will examine a number of these illuminations, the earliest of which dates from the eighth and the latest from the fifteenth century. Overall, these images show the transformation of Matthew from the pensive evangelist to the esteemed scholar of later times. Intriguingly, the image of Marie de France follows the same path of transformation, most likely because the Marie illuminators took cues from the transforming Matthew motif.

Perhaps the most famous depiction of Marie de France is the one that is featured in Manuscript 3142 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France's Arsenal Collection (Figure 1). BNF 3142 is a fully illuminated compilation of moralistic poetry and religious writings; it was created in thirteenth-century Paris and was probably commissioned by the Queen of

France, Marie de Brabant.[19] The manuscript contains hundreds of illuminations and initials, many of which can likewise be found in the *Fables* of Marie de France. Figure 1, the only image from BNF 3142 (fol. 256r) I will be discussing here, shows her writing.[20]

Moving in from the red, blue and gold borders with floral corner patterns, one sees the poetess hard at work. The author wears – along with her furrowed brow and pensive countenance – a veil-like head covering that partially conceals her hair, but leaves her forehead exposed. She also dons a grey dress with blue sleeves. Chantal Maréchal, Marie scholar and President of the International Marie de France Society, argues that Marie's loosely draped gown is evocative of female regality and authority, as religious figures—such as the Virgin Mary— were represented in the same manner.[21]

Unlike the Virgin Mary however, who is sometimes shown reading or holding a book, Marie de France is in the act of *writing* a book, which generally distinguishes her from the visual traditions in the depictions of women and the book until

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[19] Sarah Hindman, "Æsop's Cock," 46.

[20] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS. 3142 (vue 523 – folio 256r), viewed in: Bibliothèque nationale de France, "Receuil d'anciennes poesies françaises," accessed February 15, http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55003999w/f523.item.

[21] Chantal Maréchal, "Marie de France as *Sapientia*," 50. Aurell, *The Lettered Knight*, 217, suggests that Marie's clothing is secular, but her veil gives her the appearance of a pious widow.

Figure 1. Marie de France Writing, BNF 3142 (fol. 256r)

that point.[22] She engages her task with an intensely focused expression that suggests she lets no detail escape the precision of her sharp mind and pen. However, the diligent poetess not only wields a pen; she also holds a knife (or razor) in her left hand. A medieval writer would have used a knife to scrape away the old text from a parchment in times when animal hide was scarce or when acquiring new parchment was too costly, enabling the author to reuse the manuscript pages. This modified parchment was called a palimpsest.

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[22] For a typical image of Mary reading or holding a book, see the fold from a Parisian book of hours created circa 1440-50) "Egerton 2019, Book of Hours, Use of Paris," British Library, accessed February 15, 2020, http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/results.asp.

The presence of the tools for scraping the parchment in the illumination is of course symbolic, the implication being that Marie replaces the old text of Aesop with her own.[23] The poetess herself indicated in the "Prologue" of the *Fables* that her work was in the tradition of Aesop, and that like her predecessor, she had been commissioned to recount the fables of old. The symbolism of the palimpsest indicates that Marie is doing more than recounting fables, however; she is producing new versions that encapsulate the knowledge of both the past and present. The notion that the palimpsest was used here symbolically is an idea that gains strength when one notes that the illuminator's intention was to render Marie like Matthew.[24]

The Image of Matthew in the Early Middle Ages

One of the earliest known illuminations of the Matthew motif is Figure 2, from the eighth century Lindisfarne Gospels, one of the most remarkable extant manuscripts from Anglo-

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[23] Lesley Smith, "Scriba Femina: Medieval Depictions of Women Writing," in *Women and the Book*, 31, refers to the implement in Marie's hand as a blade. Susan Ward, "Fables for the Court," 195, sees in that an inkhorn. Though the shape is somewhat odd for the blade of a knife, Marie grasps the tool more like a knife than an inkhorn. This conclusion is substantiated by the examination of illuminations of Matthew holding inkhorns. Meanwhile, Aurell, *The Lettered Knight*, 217, refers to the object as a wand.

[24] It is also worth noting that in the BNF 3142 image of Marie de France, she works alone like Matthew does in some versions of the Matthew motif (albeit Matthew is often accompanied by an angel, who dictates the word of God). A female writer such as Hildegard of Bingen, as Aurell, *The Lettered Knight*, 217, points out, is accompanied by a monk.

Saxon England.[25] Therein the apostle sits while writing into a large book that rests upon his lap. Behind Matthew an angel emerges behind him. Angels often appear in illuminations of Matthew, for they have an important role in dictating the Word of God that the disciple recorded. The appearance of the angel thus has a great role in the composition, to which I shall return when addressing the similarities between Marie and Matthew illuminations of the Late Middle Ages.

Figure 2: Matthew Writing, Lindisfarne Gospels (fol. 25v)

On the European mainland, the motif appears in the context of the so-called "Carolingian Renaissance." Matthew is now given a podium on which to write, instead of holding the

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[25] The British Library, "Lindisfarne Gospels," accessed February 15, 2020, https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/lindisfarne-gospels.

book on his lap. Particularly significant in that respect is the image of Matthew from the Ebbo Gospels (so-called for Ebbo, Archbishop of Reims), written in the ninth century (Figure 3). The vivacious chain lines that adorn Matthew's clothes are a far cry from the more stagnant portrayal of Marie, but there are nonetheless a number of important comparisons to be made when approaching the two illuminations. Both Marie and Matthew sit hunched over a desk, working with focused gaze, and are clearly engrossed in their tasks. A small angel appears to bring Matthew the Word of God in the top, right-hand corner of the picture.[26] An angel may not be visiting Marie, but she is clearly inspired to write with the same intensity; the overall resemblance to Matthew is remarkable.

Figure 3: Matthew Writing, Ebbo Gospels

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[26] For a concise commentary on the Ebbo Gospels Matthew, see: Marilyn Stokstad and Michael W. Cothern, *Art History. Volume 1* (Boston: Pearson, 2014), 450.

The Image of Matthew in the High Middle Ages

Over two centuries after the Ebbo Gospels were created, the Matthew appears in Queen Margaret of Scotland's most cherished Gospel book (Figure 4).[27] This time, Matthew's book rests atop a flowery lectern just like the one Marie utilizes in BNF 3142.

Figure 4: Matthew Writing, St. Margaret's Gospels (fol. 3v).

By the twelfth-century, during the time that Marie de France was alive and active, a subtle yet significant change had developed in the Matthew motif; while Matthew holds an

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[27] According to a legend, the book fell into a river but was miraculously unscathed. Richard Gameson, "The Gospels of Margaret of Scotland and the Literacy of an Eleventh-Century Queen," in *Women and the Book*, 149-171. For a reproduction of the manuscript available online, see William Forbes Leith, *The Gospel Book of St. Margaret, Being a Facsimile Reproduction of St. Margaret's Copy of the Gospels Preserved in the Bodleian Library Oxford* (Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1896), accessed October 8, 2018, https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=gri.ark:/13960/t4xh26719;view=1up;seq=34.

inkhorn in his left hand in Carolingian manuscripts, he now holds a *knife*, as in a Benedictine Gospel book from Helmarshausen, Germany (Figure 5).[28] As discussed previously, Marie de France wields a razor-like, bladed implement in order to scrape parchment. Matthew too scrapes away the old text so that he can write a new text – the New Testament. The apostolic allusion connecting Marie de France to St. Matthew might be fully realized in this notion of the palimpsest, for just as Matthew replaced the Old Testament with the New Testament, Marie has replaced the old fables of Aesop with fables of her own.[29] Before searching for the crux of that comparison, however, more images must be consulted.

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[28] For manuscript provenance and bibliographical information, see: The J. Paul Getty Museum, "Saint Matthew," Collection, accessed October 8, 2018, http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/2981/unknown-maker-saint-matthew-german-about-1120-1140/. For further information, see: J. Paul Getty Museum, *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: Illuminated Manuscripts* (Los Angeles: Getty Museum, 1997), 21-22.

[29] As Hindman, "Æsop's Cock," 51, argues, Marie "hands down the ancient fables with her own morals appended to them." Several other authors in BNF 3142 are depicted scraping manuscripts as well, so the pen-and-knife motif might indicate the reinterpretation of precedent knowledge in general. This might be associated with the concept of the "Ancients and the moderns," as we see in the twelfth-century text of John of Salisbury, *The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury: A Twelfth Century Defense of the Verbal and Logical arts of the Trivium*, translated with notes and introduction by Daniel McGarry, (Berkley: University of California Press, 1955), 167, "We frequently know more, not because we have moved ahead by our own natural ability, but because we are supported by the [mental] strength of others… Bernard of Chartres used to compare us to [puny] dwarfs perched on the shoulders of giants." Because Marie appears so much like Matthew, however, the subtle nod to the creation of a palimpsest might have reminded medieval readers of a more Biblical dichotomy, as in the transition from the Old to the New Law.

Figure 5: Matthew Writing, Helmarshausen Gospels (fol. 9v).

The Image of Matthew in the Late Middle Ages

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries yielded a new kind of way to portray Matthew, as we can see from Figure 6 from the Koberger Gospels, the ninth version of the Bible to have been printed in the German vernacular.[30] The Apostle sits in an imposingly large chair with a podium in front of it, and he greets an entourage of people, and two of them are labeled as the Biblical characters Abraham and David. An angel stands close to Matthew and consults him regarding the task at hand, which is almost certainly the composition of the gospel.[31]

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[30] World Digital Library, "Koberger Bible," (see p. 950 for Matthew image) accessed October 8, 2018, https://www.wdl.org/en/item/18183/.

[31] Matthew can be seen working in a similarly big chair while an angel speaks to him in several other manuscripts from the Late Middle Ages, including one created by the Flemish Master of the Lee Hours, who was based in Ghent. For Ghent manuscript image and information, see: J. Paul Getty Museum, "Saint Matthew," Collection, accessed October 8, 2018, http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/2693/master-of-the-lee-hours-saint-matthew-flemish-about-1450-1455/.

Figure 6: Matthew with Angel, Abraham, and David, Koberger Gospel (p. 950)

The Image of Marie de France in the Late Middle Ages

A similar scene to Matthew from the Koberger manuscript can be viewed in Figure 7 (same image appears on the title page) from the Vatican's Ott.lat.3064 manuscript, a late fourteenth or fifteenth century compilation of miscellaneous texts, penned by multiple hands in multiple languages. The last section of the manuscript contains the *Fables*, which opens with a beautifully rendered illumination that takes up about one-third of the fold. Marie, depicted on the left, appears to be writing and carving out her place in the tradition of *translatio studii*.

A peculiar shelf filled with books is situated in the middle of the image, separating Marie from the male courtiers pictured on the right. Logan E. Whalen believes that the books

Figure 7: Marie de France and Male Courtiers, Vatican Manuscript (page 243).

are in the illumination because of their centrality and considers that to be an indication that Marie is represented here as secondary to the books that she (perhaps) used as source material.[32] The books undoubtedly function as an emblem of scholarship, but they are meant to convey Marie's position as an authority of intellect. Whalen has in fact underestimated the significance of Marie, who is positioned much like Matthew in the Koberger Gospels (Figure 6).[33] As Chantal Maréchal put it,

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[32] Logan Whalen, "Ex Libris Mariae," 752.

[33] The positioning of Matthew to the left side is also present in the Ghent Manuscript. British Library's Royal 20 CV manuscript, which is a 15th-century copy of Giovanni Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus* (known in French as *Le Livre de Femmes Nobles et Renomées* and in English as *Concerning Famous Women*), also provides notable visual parallels to Marie de France's Ott.lat.3064 depiction. Boccaccio himself is pictured near the beginning of the book, seated in a high-backed chair and outstretching his hand to the book-laden shelf before him. It is with two other images from this manuscript, however, that one can assess the more feminine elements of Marie's late medieval depiction in Ott.lat.3064. The first to address is the miniature of the Erithrean Sybil, who sits in the familiar tall chair with the folding desk. The prophetess faintly smiles as she scribbles away at a long

Marie sits "enthroned" while an audience of reverent male courtiers is situated before her.[34] One man is even kneeling, which is evocative of the angel that often kneels before Matthew in the fourteenth or fifteenth century versions of the motif.

In terms of hierarchical scale, Marie is certainly the most prominent figure in the illumination despite (or, in fact, because of) being seated. The color purple is also very prevalent in the illumination (especially regarding Marie's dress), imbuing the scene with a very regal and affluent tone that distinguishes Marie from the blue that is commonly associated with the Virgin Mary.[35] It is furthermore important to contrast Marie's image to that of female muses from the

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parchment that unfurls over the edge of the desk. Her relaxed posture, uncovered head, gentle expression, and long dress are all evocative of Marie's attire and composure. The Roman poetess Faltonia Proba is also shown in much the same pose later in the manuscript, albeit she sports an orange dress. The British Library actually has another manuscript of *De claris mulieribus* labeled as Royal 16 GV, which was produced maybe 20 years after Royal 20 CV. The Sybil and Proba look almost exactly the same – despite slight variations –as the ones in the earlier manuscripts. The Royal 16 GV manuscript:
http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8359; the Royal 20 CV:
http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8355. Additionally, these copies of *De claris mulieribus* have noteworthy images of other women such as Amalthea and Sappho in similar positions as Marie in Ott.lat.3064, but they seem to be reading or offering instruction instead of writing. For commentary on the aforementioned parallels between Marie and the figures in *De claris mulieribus*, see Maréchal, "Marie de France as Sapientia," 52.

[34] Maréchal, "Marie de France as Sapientia," 52.
[35] Blue became the color of the Virgin Mary in the twelfth century, most often as the color of her cloak. Michel Pastoureau, *Blue: The History of a Color*, (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001) 50-55.

Renaissance *studiolo* paintings.[36] Marie is more than a muse here, as she is a specific scholar with a particular set of tasks; her translating, writing, and instructing place her within the *translatio studii* tradition.[37]

Judging by the aforementioned images, one can see that a new way of depicting scholarly, prophetic, and authorial figures emerged sometime in the fourteenth century. This motif was generally composed of a writer seated in a throne-like chair, enclosed in this space by a desk or a lectern. The author thus became inextricably linked with his or her craft as a wordsmith. In several cases, angels or human figures dwell in the presence of the seated scholar, and often these attendees kneel as if they approach royalty. The old adage "knowledge is power" is certainly manifested in these cases.[38]

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[36] For a detailed study of a *studiolo* featuring the depictions of muses, see Luciano Cheles, *The Studiolo of Urbino: An Iconographic Investigation*, (Wiesbaden, Ludwig Reichert, 1986).

[37] Keith Busby, *Codex and Context*, 473-474. Hindman, "Æsop's Cock," 52-54. Whalen, "Ex Libris Mariae," 750. Maréchal, "Marie de France as Sapientia," 53, also points to a parallel between this Marie image and a motif of St. Catherine of Alexandria debating the scholars.

[38] The "old school" way of depicting writers as hunched-over scribes had not crept into obscurity because of this new development, however; the traditional, familiar style of rendering Matthew continued during the thirteenth-century and carried well into the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth-centuries, as manuscripts from Ethiopia, Turkey, and Persia indicate. The fact that these "exotic" locations produced manuscripts with this imagery also serves as evidence that the Matthew motif was very widespread. These illuminations can be found in the J. Paul Getty Museum's digitized collection; items of that collection (including the aforementioned manuscript images) pertaining to Matthew can be viewed through the following link (accessed October 8, 2018): http://search.getty.edu/gateway/search?q=matthew&cat=highlight&highli

Conclusion

It was the business of scholars to interpret and translate the work of their predecessors for the sake of distilling and disseminating knowledge. This practice was for the sake of spiritual edification, so that one might convert and convey the message of God into the vernacular and/or into the form of a moralistic story. Modern scholars should consider Marie de France and her *Fables* in this vein, particularly as a part of *translatio studii.* The images that I have consulted here demonstrate that medieval illuminators and readers perceived Marie as a part of this tradition, and such perceptions should inform future studies on the literary, historical, and art-historical facets of Marie de France.

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Marian Cult and Motherhood: Guibert De Nogent's Reflections on His Mother and The Virgin in his *Monodiae*

Dorothea Schmid
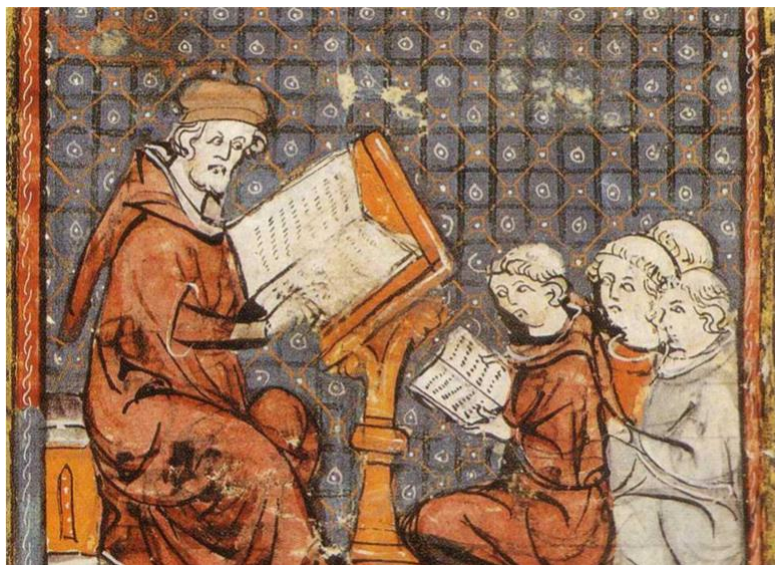
This is a late 14th-century manuscript of the Grandes Chroniques de France illustrating the teaching of philosophy at Sorbonne, in Paris. The manuscript is in Castres (southern France).

Abstract

Among the very few medieval autobiographies still in existence, the *Monodiae* (1115 CE) of Guibert de Nogent (c. 1055-1124) stands out due to its vivid description of personal experience set against the background of historical events in eleventh- and twelfth-century France. Past scholars have studied the *Monodiae* using psychoanalytical approaches to speculate about medieval understandings of the self, arguing that Guibert's mother and the Virgin Mary impacted him profoundly, but without giving adequate consideration to the fundamental tropological and didactic nature of the work. Scholars have yet to link Guibert's depiction of his mother/motherhood to the rise of Marian devotional practices during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Drawing inspiration from historians Rachel Fulton Brown and Miri Rubin, this essay argues that Guibert used his mother and the Virgin Mary as archetypal tropes to elaborate on the moral teachings of the Bible in terms that could be easily understood by religious and learned men of his era.

Introduction

"For the composition and writing of this or my other

works, I did not prepare a draft on the wax tablets, but

committed them to the written page in their final form

as I thought them out."

- Guibert de Nogent, *Monodiae,* (1115 CE)

The *Monodiae*, written in 1115 CE, by Guibert de Nogent (c. 1055-1124) a mid-level Benedictine monk, have caught the attention of historians ever since Dom Luc d'Archery first

published the manuscript in Latin in 1651; others have since translated it into French and English for study. Their autobiographical structure has prompted historians to analyze it both as autobiographical—a representation of Guibert's interior self-- and as a precursor to modern historical thought. For example, historian Nancy F. Partner, adopting a psychoanalytical approach, has used the *Monodiae* to analyze the relationship between Guibert and his mother.[1] In doing so, she assumed that the text could be read as a window into Guibert's innermost thoughts, underplaying the significance of certain truths that were crucial for Guibert-- for example, his overarching belief in God and active divine presence in the world.[2] Recognizing the limitations of Partner's psychoanalytical approach, Jay Rubenstein has observed that the *Monodiae* are far too curated to be treated as a documentation of unconscious thoughts.[3] Instead, Rubenstein's treatment explores Guibert's mind models-- comprised of Affection, Will, Reason, and sometimes Intellect—arguing that they serve as a means of teaching monks about proper religious life.[4]

Nonetheless, both Partner and Rubenstein recognize

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[1] Nancy F. Partner, "The Family Romance of Guibert of Nogent: his story, her story," in *Medieval Mothering*, eds. John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (New York: Garland Pub., 1999) 359-368.

[2] Benton, *Self and Society*, 35-37.

[3] Jay Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent: Portrait of a Medieval Mind* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 13.

[4] Ibid., 5.

Guibert's *Mondiae* as the first medieval form of autobiography, much like St. Augustine's fourth-century *Confessions*, both of which open with the *Confiteor* ("I confess…"). Due to its informal (although still highly exegetical) narrative style of writing, the *Monodiae* differ from other life-documenting writings of men in his era, who chose to record their lives using letters. Thus it is easy for modern readers to be misled by the *Monodiae's* informal and autobiographical qualities—and by Guibert's own explanation that he wrote it in single draft—and conclude that this is a prideful autobiography. Another possibility is that the author understood the *Monodiae* to be divinely ordained. A prideful autobiography would have been entirely self-absorbed. Instead, the *Monodiae* is more concerned with the consequences of good and evil actions rather than the personal events of Guibert's own life. The unfolding of events in a nonlinear fashion emphasize the divine consequences of his failures and successes. Despite Guibert's proclamation that he wrote without revision, nonetheless the *Monodiae* display a deep purpose and clear planning that may not be immediately apparent to the modern reader.[5]

Moreover*,* the third book of the *Monodiae*, with its impersonal stories from the commune of Laon, resists being read as autobiography.[6] Consequently, this section of the

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[5] John F. Benton, *Self and Society in Medieval France: The Memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent* (Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 91.

[6] Benton, *Self and Society,* 145.

Monodiae has been treated as a medieval predecessor to modern history and as an aberration from the otherwise overarching autobiographical structure of the work. Few, if any, historians have noted that the thread linking the earlier autobiographical sections of the *Monodiae* to the third book is Guibert's concern with religious teaching. He explicitly mentions having no intention to be "writing their travel book …or what happened to each person," but instead wants to highlight "examples useful for sermons."[7] This complicated work, then, was very clearly not history for the sake of history, but history with a purpose, namely to examine divine powers at work in the world.

Once we focus on the tropological nature of the *Monodiae*, it becomes evident that moral teachings appear throughout the work-- in Guibert's own conversion story, in other conversion stories, and in moral tales like those of the sinful commune of Laon. The tone of these sermons vacillates between condescension towards all sin, including his own failings, and a subtle pride in his learnedness. The one earthly being safe from his biting criticism is his mother. In his treatment of her, scathing commentary is replaced with a tender regard towards her pious life. He relates her conversion story at length by drawing parallels between her and the Virgin Mary, despite his mother's obvious lack of virginity. The

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[7] Ibid., 195.

insights that emerge from his comparing these two figures deserves examination, yet no study has been explicitly devoted to this purpose.

In my analysis of Guibert's *Monodiae,* I draw inspiration from the work of historian Rachel Fulton Brown, who explains the importance of approaching devotion and liturgy as medieval monks did, using the emic categories of the past rather than the etic categories of modern scholarship to understand Guibert's world view.[8] Guibert's treatment of his mother and the Virgin Mary stems from a desire to explain the tropological teachings of the Bible in terms that monks (and other readers of the text at the time) would have understood. If exegesis and moral teaching were indeed Guibert's primary purpose, then we must approach his writing using the same lens through which he wrote, examining the *Monodiae* not only with Guibert's monasticism in mind but also by considering the specifics of his rendering of the experience of motherhood and the devotional practices he used to honor God, including his personal devotion to the Virgin. Guibert's Mary assumes the nobility of a Lady, the omnipotence of a Queen, the chastity of a Virgin, and the mercy of a Mother. Because Guibert's primary goal was to lead his monks down the path to conversion, he drew their attention to Mary's power of

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[8] Rachel Fulton Brown, "Three-in-One: Making God in Twelfth-Century Liturgy, Theology and Devotion," in *European Transformations: The Long Twelfth Century*, eds. Thomas F.X. Noble and John Van Engen (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), 468-97.

intervention through her different roles in his contemporary world.

Guibert's Mother in his Moral Tales

In the midst of his own story in Book 1, Guibert turns to the "conversion of that good woman," meaning his mother.[9] Although he initially introduces her within the narrative of his life, her life is explained outside the context of his own—an unusual occurrence in medieval writings. Guibert explains her conversion to illustrate the primacy of following the Lord, as his mother chooses devotion to God over caring for her son by entering the monastery of Fly.[10] Guibert never even uses her proper name, defining her solely by her motherhood. In other words, her narrative value is derived not from being his mother, per se, but rather from universalizing her, making her the embodiment of archetypal motherhood to which his audience of monks could then relate. One must initially ask why Guibert decided to use his mother to instruct others about piety, given that women were often not respected in the medieval period.[11] The answer it seems is that Guibert appears to have had no other option. His father died when he was a baby, so his mother was the only authority figure he held in

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[9] Benton, *Self and Society,* 63.

[10] Ibid., 74.

[11] Felice Lifshitz, "Is Mother Superior? Towards a History of Feminine Amtcharisma," in *Medieval Mothering*, eds. John Carmi Parsons and Bonnie Wheeler (New York: Garland Pub., 1999), 119.

high esteem as he was growing up.[12]

During the medieval period, women did not gain authority or status through traditional womanly attributes or roles. Motherhood was necessary yet not respected; the act of nurturing was considered a sign of weakness and malleablility. Even abbesses, who had the physical and spiritual responsibility for the many women under them, did not draw their authority from the traditional female role of mother. They were de-feminized by the name *abbatissa*, the female form of the Latin word for father, *abba*.[13] It was this defeminization, coupled with the abstinence of monastic life, which made up a virginal asceticism that could command authority. Guibert compensated for his mother's lack of religious authority by use of this trope.[14]

Thus in Guibert's narrative, his mother strives towards a credible virginal asceticism via her conversion, but falls short several times as she slips back into motherhood. At the outset of her story, she "conceived" a fear of God. [15] Physical conception, by ideological definition for Guibert, necessarily

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[12] Guibert had a tutor, but he didn't respect him, saying, "he was forcing me to learn what he could not teach." Ibid, 47.

[13] Lifshitz, "Is Mother Superior," 122.

[14] Other women also make appearances in Guibert's narrative, but most have evil characteristics or are used as simple models of repentance in moral stories. Sybille, for example, embodies the worthlessness of beauty devoid of morality, the opposite of his mother. Guibert parallels her to the Roman deity Venus to show her wanton sexuality, in contrast to his mother's purity. Ibid, 199.

[15] Benton, *Self and Society*, 64.

involves the loss of purity, yet Guibert uses "conceived" figuratively here to characterize her relationship to God. This first conception—a decidedly spiritual one-- gives primacy to her fear of God and subsequent desire to remain pure. Only later does she physically conceive Guibert, when "she submitted to the duties of a wife."[16] Guibert uses this type of analysis later in the *Monodiae*, saying his mother "ruled" her body in "spirit" and "modesty" and later "ruled" her household with "great fear of God."[17] The concept of ruling calls up the image of a king or prince whose power derives from both royal status and the patriarchal society of the medieval era. But instead of ruling in secular realms dominated by men, she rules in religious realms-- places filled with the spirit of God. This theme of acting in the spiritual world continues throughout Guibert's telling of her conversion story; she "strove," "endured," and "abstained" to serve the Lord. When she does act in the world by ruling her household, Guibert notes that she does so with pious intention.[18]

In addition to those carefully chosen verbs to describe his mother's actions and motivations, Guibert's mention of clothing and appearance also reinforces his mother's piety. In

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[16] Ibid., 67.

[17] Ibid., 70, 72.

[18] Guibert's stories about his mother 's conversion follow the typical female and male models during that time period: women's follow linear patterns, while men's often revolve around transformative changes. See Karl F. Morrison, *Understanding Conversion* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 50, 51.

the beginning of the *Monodiae*, he explains his affirmation of his mother's beauty by declaring that beauty without virtue means nothing.[19] His mother's clothing displays her struggle between piety and worldliness, which is most obvious in the hair shirt she wears under fine silk.[20] This contrast displays her penitential asceticism masked by noble status, as she is still living in the secular world. The Virgin's physical appearance shifts as Guibert describes her in separate stories. Her appearance and clothing serves as an indication of her Queenliness; she is described as regal, stately, and exquisitely dressed. Because her status demands fine dress, Mary's beautiful clothing underlines her significance rather than indicates vanity.

Guibert uses clothing to characterize others in his work as well. Improper clothing often displays inward sin. Immodest women make vain clothing choices, such as Cordovan leather shoes.[21] Cowardly men dress in nun's habits to escape a city under siege.[22] An untruthful man is described as wearing fine, effeminate clothing.[23] The Bible explicitly denounces crossdressing, but the *Monodiae* goes further, using it as an indication of cowardice, wantonness, or treason. Because

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[19] Benton, *Self and Society,* 39.

[20] Ibid., 72.

[21] Ibid., 65.

[22] Ibid., 128.

[23] Ibid., 56.

Guibert repeatedly uses clothing to illustrate a larger point of character, one can assume he uses his mother's clothing for the same purpose.

Although Guibert makes note of his mother's sins, both as a parent and a widow, he emphasizes how she steadily follows God's will throughout her life. He gives his mother an aura of holiness in his work, which is modeled after the Virgin Mary's goodness and mercy. Mothers and the Virgin Mary were frequently associated in the minds of medieval people; many monks would have been aware of that, particularly at a time (the twelfth century) of a burgeoning cult of the Virgin Mary. Although female figures had much less authority in the monastery than men, Guibert drew upon his mother's piety and image of virginal asceticism to illustrate the only personal experience he had of proper devotion to God.

The Virgin's role in the *Monodiae's* Moral Stories

Recent scholarship has highlighted the explosion in popularity that the cult of the Virgin Mary experienced during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[24] The four feasts of the Virgin made their debut in the midst of the millennium after the birth of Christ, Marian references in liturgy and commentary appeared at a greater rate, and Marian devotion

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[24] Miri Rubin refers to this phenomenon as "Mary's hegemony" in *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 119.

developed, as seen in the prayers of monks like Bernard of Clairvaux and Anselm of Canterbury.[25] Guibert de Nogent's *Monodiae* took part in these developments, using common knowledge of the Virgin's attributes to elaborate upon his stories of conversion.

To many in the twelfth century, the Virgin was not simply a historical figure referenced in holy texts, but also a real and present person, much like Jesus Christ Himself. Her accessibility surpassed even Christ's because of her intercessory role: she had the power to argue the case of a sinner to her loving son. Guibert's life was tied up with Mary's to a greater degree than most, for he believed she had saved him at birth for a life of spiritual work. The Virgin makes her first appearance in the *Monodiae* at Guibert's birth when his father and the household flee to the "altar of the Lady" to beg for the life of the unborn child and his mother, both about to perish in childbirth. His life, pledged to Mary "in service" before he came out of the womb, recalls the language of the feudal relationship between knights and nobility.[26] In another instance, Guibert displays Mary's merciful authority through the story of a clerk fallen into sin. The clerk calls on Mary in fright while practicing sorcery; the Devil flees upon hearing the name of that "powerful Lady," saving the clerk from his sin

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[25] M. B. Pranger, "The Virgin Mary and the complexities of love-language in the works of Bernard of Clairvaux," *Cîteaux* 40, no. 1-4 (1989), 112-138.
[26] Benton, *Self and Society,* 42.

rather than condemning him.[27] Guibert later tells of a man's resurrection by Mary after being led by a disguised devil to commit suicide. Because the man had pious intentions, that "Blessed Lady" pronounced his pardon before God.[28] These accounts show Mary's nobility as a "Lady" when she uses her power over earth and heaven for the dispensation of tender mercy rather than the distribution of harsh justice.

Yet when Guibert refers to Mary as Queen, a less forgiving side to her power sometimes takes center stage. In these instances, her tender, merciful gaze is replaced by an angry, vengeful stare. For example, after speaking of the "Lady" Mary in his birth story, he calls her "Queen of all next to God" and elaborates upon his insignificance in creation.[29] Although he cannot comprehend the Virgin's might, he offers all his insignificant power to serve her and God the Father. The other notable references to Mary as Queen occur in the third book, where Guibert explains how she exercises wrath on evil doers, punishing them for their evil deeds. Mary the "Queen of all" avenges the Church against criminals who steal from her. Mary's methods include hanging, driving a blasphemer to madness, and avenging a martyr, thus allowing her "wrath in the end to be assuaged."[30]

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[27] Ibid., 117.

[28] Ibid., 220.

[29] Ibid., 42.

[30] Ibid., 215.

These two distinct roles—of Lady and Queen-- correlate to the roles of noble woman and Queen in medieval society. Noblewoman could show mercy, plead the case of others among their male counterparts. Queens could use force and command others, although they did so infrequently. As "Lady," Mary exercises the benevolent influence of a noble woman, her power visible through mercy. As Queen, she deals in justice. She may grant pardon or take revenge, but the decision is hers.

The intersection of the Virgin Mother and Guibert's earthly mother

Guibert emphasizes the relationship between the two women who were the most important spiritual models in his life in the way he recounts his mother's death. His mother desires the "Lady" who enabled her to "take the veil" to be present at her death; not even her son was wanted, only the Virgin.[31] Guibert then explains how a dream sent from the Lady signaled the divine acceptance of her vows in the absence of complete earthly acceptance. The abbot at Fly had previously barred his mother from fully committing to the nunnery, citing the decision to ban widows from being veiled, although she was allowed to participate in daily life at Fly.[32] Guibert's mother fulfills the final step of conversion with help

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[31] Ibid., 133.

[32] Pope Gelasius decreed, "Let no prelate attempt to veil widows." Ibid., 133.

from the Virgin. In her dream, his mother was given a "costly robe" for safekeeping, which Guibert and the abbot took to signify the veil of consecration.[33] This dream is indicative of the relationship that Guibert crafts between his mother and the Virgin. Despite her lifelong struggles, she has remained pure of heart. Her purity culminates in taking the veil, which brings Guibert's mother as close to the perfection of Mary that a sinful human can get.

Guibert's mother looks to the Virgin Mary for spiritual guidance and taught Guibert to do the same. But while unveiling the many intricacies of these two women, Guibert made the Virgin into more than an icon that his mother strives to emulate. She is higher, holy and without sin, yet he can still reach her in prayer. She is spotless, but more important is her very presence on earth, walking among the monks and saintly humans as if still living. Her perfection is made wonderful in her accessibility and holiness. Guibert's mother understands these things about Mary as she walks the path to conversion. Like Mary's ideal balance of her active and contemplative lives, his mother strives to emulate her by acting mostly in the spiritual world. Guibert's depictions of his mother and the Virgin complement each other and ultimately show a proper conversion. Because the archetypes of mother and the Virgin would have been supremely familiar to monks of Guibert's

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[33] Ibid., 134.

time, he used them to show an imitable relationship between a divine being and a devoted follower.

Conclusion

When examined as a modern document, Guibert de Nogent's *Monodiae* fit the criteria of an autobiography, but upon further examination the supposed autobiographical intent appears secondary. The writings detail Guibert's life story to the time of composition, contain reflections on his life, and record current events of the time, which has drawn attention to the historical qualities of the work. Previous historical examinations of the *Monodiae* include these aspects of the work in their analysis yet miss that the purpose of the *Monodiae* extends far beyond writing "what happened to each person."[34] Recording Guibert's own life or the lives of others was incomparable to showing divine forces at work in the world. Importance was placed on uncovering the tropological teachings of the Bible; Guibert displayed these teachings by showing the Virgin's divine action in his life, the lives of those close to him, and the lives of other contemporary actors.

The teachings that Guibert sought to convey are often put in the context of conversion narratives, which are naturally "examples useful for sermons."[35] But even though Guibert explained his own conversion narrative, he could not tell his

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[34] Ibid., 195.

[35] Ibid., 195.

monks to emulate his many self-serving mistakes. Instead, he used the admirable narrative of the only human role model close to him, his mother. Her purity and humility were worthy of praise, giving her a measure of authority available only to those women who chose to deny themselves in the monastery. He shaped her into an embodiment of the ideal mother, Mary, the Mother of God, whom the monks of Nogent would have seen as a prime intercessor because of the way in which the Marian cult blossomed in the twelfth century. By crafting his conversion narratives in this way, he taught his monks about divine power in their contemporary age and the way in which they should respond.

Holocaust Showcase

Antisemitism at Evian: The Jewish Refugee Crisis Through the Lens of the 1938 Inter-Governmental Conference on Jewish Immigration

Adam S. Weiss

Jewish Refugees from Austria crossing the border into Switzerland near Diepoldsau, August 20, 1938. *The New York Times, Paris Office/National Archives, College Park, MD*

Abstract

Following the German annexation of Austria on March 12, 1938, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt took action to address the dire circumstances facing Austrian Jews by calling European and Latin/South American nations to a conference convened in Evian-les-Bains, France in July 1938. While the initial intent was to formulate a plan for Jewish resettlement, the Evian Conference concluded with no solution for Jewish rescue. This essay uses the Evian Conference as a lens through which to view the underlying anti-Jewish sentiment in global and domestic policies in the years leading up to World War 2 and the Holocaust. Focusing on the arguments put forth by nations attending the conference, I explore how antisemitism played a pivotal role in the inaction of world leaders at Evian, setting a grim precedent for the future of European Jewry.

On March 12, 1938, Nazi forces swiftly occupied and annexed Austria, exacerbating an already complicated Jewish refugee problem. Now, along with 500,000 German Jews facing persecution under the Nazi regime, an additional 181,000 Austrian Jews found themselves facing the same threat. Motivated partly by international responsibility, but mostly by fears concerning the liberalization of American immigration policy, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt found himself forced to address the Jewish immigration crisis that was now imminent.[1] That same month, Roosevelt sent out

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[1] Paul R. Bartrop, *The Evian Conference of 1938 and the Jewish Refugee Crisis* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 13.

an invitation to thirty-three countries to meet in a French spa town near the Swiss border, in what would come to be known as the Evian Conference of 1938. This essay focuses on the discussions held by the participating delegations to explore the various ways that antisemitism informed international immigration policy in the years leading up to World War II and the Holocaust.

In retrospect, the official invitation issued by the U.S. State Department has been seen as a foreshadowing of the doomed conference, setting a "hypocritical tone" that formed a "basis for inaction."[2] The opening paragraph of the proposal assured invitees that "no country would be expected or asked to receive a greater number of immigrants than is permitted by its existing legislation." The invitation specifically called for a committee to facilitate the emigration of "political refugees" from Germany and Austria—the choice of words reflecting Roosevelt's attempt to avoid having to explicitly state that the problem at hand concerned *Jewish* immigrants. Furthermore, the invitation established several "hard principles" for the conference, most notably that "no particular ethnic, political, or religious group should be identified with the refugee problem or the calling of the conference."[3]

These purposefully vague and seemingly obfuscating

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[2] Dennis R. Laffer, "The Jewish Trail of Tears: The Evian Conference of July 1938," Graduate Dissertation, University of South Florida, 2011), 62.
[3] Bartrop, *Evian Conference*, 15.

statements were part of an intentional political strategy. By narrowing the scope of the conference to the non-religiously specified group of German and Austrian refugees (ninety percent of whom were Jewish),[4] Roosevelt was trying to address only the Jewish problem created by Nazi aggression. These limits meant that the conference could omit any discussion regarding the ongoing immigration of Eastern European Jews, a group that was already facing heightened hostility from much of the world. The decision not to include a specified Jewish agenda was intended to alleviate fears that Eastern European countries (Poland especially) would demand "assistance with their own Jewish problems."[5]

The invitees to the Evian Conference consisted of those nations who were considered to be "receiving" states, that is, countries who had accepted, or had the capability of accepting, large numbers of immigrants. This meant the invitation has been limited mostly to nations of the Western Hemisphere, notably nations in Latin America and Western Europe although Australia and New Zealand were also included (as part of the British Commonwealth). The list of countries who did not make the cut reveal the grim reality and lack of viable options facing Jewish migration in the years leading up to World War II. Countries with a strong record of

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[4] Laffer, "Jewish Trail of Tears," 60.
[5] Tara Zahra, *The Great Departure: Mass Migration from Eastern Europe and the Making of the Free World* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2016), 155.

antisemitism, including Poland, Romania, and Hungary, were obviously excluded. Greece and Turkey were omitted because of their own immigration troubles as a result of World War 1, as was Spain for reasons deriving from its ongoing Civil War. In what was perhaps a "serious oversight," the failure to include Portugal-- due to the political distrust of Antonio Salazar's fascist government-- would present a major hurdle in the efforts to re-settle Jews in Angola, then a Portuguese colony.[6]

The Soviet Union represents another notable absence from the conference, for both political and antisemitic reasons. Soviets shied away from any talks of receiving immigrants, as they had managed to get away with accepting almost no Jews in the 1930s, except for "a handful of ranking Jewish communists."[7] Had they participated in the conference, the Russians were concerned that they would have been pressured into allowing large numbers of White Russian émigrés, who had been forced out during the Russian Revolution, to return.[8] Moreover, Soviets held firm beliefs that Western European Jews were unfit to live in their socialist society, attributing the plight of the Jews to "capitalist quarreling."[9] In a telling paradoxical irony, the Soviets' Jewish immigration policy at the

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[6] Henry L. Feingold, *The Politics of Rescue: The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust, 1938-1945* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1970), 27.

[7] Bartrop, *Evian Conference,* 23.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

time required that applicants demonstrate both agricultural ability and "possession of substantial amounts of money."[10]

Surprisingly, there was considerable debate on whether to include Germany in the proceedings. U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull ultimately urged against negotiating with the Nazis about their own crimes. However, on March 25, just days after the proposal for Evian was released, Hitler expressed his willingness to allow Jews to leave, "even if on luxury ships" and to "let these countries [at Evian] do with them what they will."[11] Ironically, Hitler's apparent enthusiastic openness to Jewish emigration ended up hurting the efforts at Evian, as some critics of the conference feared that Germany would "intensify its persecution of Jews" to coerce a favorable immigration scheme.[12] Similar concerns in regards to Poland were more well-founded, as remarks to the State Department from the Polish government suggested that violence against Polish Jews could be initiated to "impress the powers with urgency of its situation."[13]

Many invitees promptly and cordially responded to Roosevelt's invitation. However, there were some notable exceptions. Italy declined to participate, the only country to do so, on vague grounds. Never directly expressing antisemitic reasons, Italian Foreign Minister Count Galeazoo Ciano simply

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[10] Ibid.
[11] Adolf Hitler, speech, Koenigsberg, March 25, 1938.
[12] Bartrop, *Evian Conference,* 22.
[13] Feingold, *The Politics of Rescue,* 34.

asserted that "political refugees from Austria would be likely to be opposed to the Italian fascist regime,"[14] alluding to Italy's increasingly racialized policies and allegiance to Nazi Germany under Mussolini. As it turned out, inviting Italy would prove to be a political stunt, as Roosevelt later revealed, "I had an invitation sent to [Italy] with malice a forethought. I knew she would refuse, but I wanted it on record."[15] The countries who did accept often did not mask their hesitancy and apprehension. Switzerland accepted on the grounds that the conference not be held within its borders, citing concerns over undermining the Geneva-based League of Nations High Commission.[16] The Swiss also "feared drawing attention to their own increasingly restrictive refugee policies," which included collusion with Germany after the Anschluss to cancel Jewish passports and replace them with documents that included a red "J", making it easier for Swiss border guards to identify and reject Jewish refugees.[17] Even France, perhaps the most enthusiastic European nation about the conference's prospects, sought to protect itself from accepting more refugees, and requested an executive session to discuss matters privately with the U.S. and Britain before the conference

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[14] Bartrop, *Evian Conference,* 24.
[15] Breitman et. al., *Refugees and Rescue: The Diaries and Papers of James G. McDonald 1935-1945* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 126.
[16] Bartrop, *Evian Conference,* 25.
[17] Laffer, "Jewish Trail of Tears," 233.

officially opened.[18]

      Of all the major powers to be included at Evian, Britain expressed the most wariness, and its lack of cooperation was noted by Roosevelt. After a delayed British response, Roosevelt confided to a colleague that "I'm having a lot of difficulty with [Britain]. The trouble is that England is not really a democracy. We make a great mistake in thinking it is."[19] Roosevelt was justified in his frustration, as Britain demonstrated a complete reluctance to embrace the goals of the conference, especially in regards to further re-settlement of Jews in Palestine, where British policies had been "evolving in an anti-Jewish direction."[20] Lord Winterton, who was chosen to lead the British delegation at Evian, was known to be hostile towards Zionist efforts and had formed a Pro-Arab group in the British House of Commons.[21] Thus, it was no surprise that the Winterton-led delegation only agreed to participate in the conference on the condition that Palestine was off-limits for immigration discussions. The British even went so far as to request that Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, be banned from addressing the delegations.[22] Britain also asserted that its territories in the

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[18] Feingold, *The Politics of Rescue,* 26.

[19] Breitman et al, *Refugees and Rescue*, 126.

[20] Michael R. Marrus, *The Unwanted: European Refugees from the First World War Through the Cold War* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press, 2002), 170.

[21] Bartrop, *Evian Conference,* 40.

[22] Ibid.*,* 26.

West Indies be off-limits, as there was no room for "town dwellers engaged in commerce," further demonstrating deep concerns about the Jewish nature of the refugees.[23]

The British Dominions of Australia, New Zealand, and Canada followed suit, basing their decisions to participate on the condition that Britain agree to attend. However, the common anxieties amongst the Dominion states was not that of managing an existing immigration crisis-- which was a uniquely European condition-- but their desire to avoid such a crisis in the future. Untouched by an influx of recent immigrants, the Australian delegation (overlooking its conflict with its indigenous inhabitants) declared that it "did not have a real racial problem" and that it did not plan on importing one.[24] Canada mistrusted Roosevelt's intentions, fearing that he was "baiting a trap" to bully Canada into taking in refugees.[25] Canadian official Frederick Charles Blair even went on record to claim that Canada believed that no real refugee crisis existed, and that the Jews themselves were the only problem.[26] Nonetheless Canada reluctantly joined the conference to appease the U.S. and Britain and to avoid any form of condemnation. Unlike Canada, the British Dominion of South Africa openly declined to participate. Despite (or because of) having taken in over 3,600 German Jews between 1933 and

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[23] Ibid.
[24] Laffer, "Jewish Trail of Tears", 178.
[25] Bartrop, *Evian Conference,* 28.
[26] Ibid.

1936, South African immigration policy became increasingly "Hitlerised," in part due to the influence of the German population that had been absorbed into South Africa after Britain took control of German South West Africa following the First World War.[27]

As the myriad responses flooded in and the conference was becoming a reality, Roosevelt was also receiving mixed responses from within the United States. Jewish organizations and leaders responded enthusiastically, and rather naively, to the invitation, despite the strict parameters set in regard to altering current immigration quotas. Regardless, the conference provided momentum for the efforts of Jewish New York Congressman Samuel Dickstein, who proposed to increase the German immigration quotas for 1938 and 1939 by consolidating numbers from, and therefore decreasing, the future quotas for 1939-1941.[28] As promising as this was as a potential strategy for accepting larger numbers of Jewish refugees into the U.S., it only provided "a clear threat against which restrictionists would mobilize."[29] Congressman Thomas A. Jenkins, a leading isolationist, denounced Roosevelt's involvement with the refugee crisis and charged him with

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[27] Kenneth B. Moss, "Thinking with Restriction: Immigration Restriction and Polish Jewish Accounts of the Post-Liberal State, Empire, Race, and Political Reason 1926–39." *East European Jewish Affairs* 44, no. 2/3 (2014). 205–24.

[28] Feingold, *The Politics of Rescue*, 24.

[29] Ibid., 25.

ignoring the "cold winds of poverty and penury"[30] within the U.S. Aware of such opposition, Roosevelt formed an advisory committee of a group of private organizations, hoping to keep the U.S. government out of actual refugee work and serving only as a liaison through which private organizations could communicate with other countries. The committee, however, proved troublesome, as Jewish leadership was heavily underrepresented in favor of Christian organizations and former diplomats who were not eager to take on a refugee problem that was now almost entirely a Jewish problem. After just two meetings, the President's Advisory Committee on Political Refugees faded from Roosevelt's agenda. Instead, the president subsequently worked exclusively with the isolationist-minded State Department, which made it clear that the U.S. would only serve as a figurehead at the conference. Although there were suggestions that Roosevelt himself lead the delegation at Evian, along with his Secretary of State and Secretary of Labor, Roosevelt declined, fearing that too powerful a delegation would put additional pressure on the U.S. to receive refugees. Instead, he appointed former U.S. Steel executive and close friend Myron C. Taylor to head the American delegation.[31]

Finally, on July 6, 1938, representatives of thirty-two countries assembled at the luxurious Hotel Royal in the resort

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[30] Ibid., 24.
[31] Feingold, The Politics of Rescue, 28.

town of Evian-les-Bains, France. In addition to the official delegates, hordes of observers, journalists, and members of Jewish aid organizations arrived on scene, much to the dismay of the State Department, which had hoped to avoid publicity. In the nine days that would take up the conference's proceedings, the hopes of hundreds of thousands of German and Austrian Jews were slowly extinguished, as the conference turned into a circus of countries demonstrating why they were unable to assist, with one observer calling it a "façade behind which the civilized governments could hide their inability to act."[32] The delegates also became "distracted by the attractions of the resort," including its golf course, gambling casino, and nearby skiing in Chamonix, suggesting no real interest in the crisis from the beginning.[33]

Prior to the commencement of the conference, the U.S. and Britain met privately with France, as promised, over the course of two informal meetings. During these sessions, Britain re-affirmed its stance on Palestine, and Myron Taylor went back-and-forth with French delegate Henry Berenger on who should chair the conference-- Taylor would end up assuming that responsibility. More importantly, they addressed what was to be done with the many private refugee and Jewish organizations who had showed up in Evian as observers but who were now demanding a chance to plead their case to the

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[32] Laffer, "Jewish Trail of Tears," 285.
[33] Marrus, *The Unwanted*, 171.

delegations. Initially Taylor, Winterton and Berenger supported giving them a platform, but then Berenger conveyed the troublesome news that he had received intelligence informing him that Berlin had forcibly sent a group of German Jews to create trouble at the conference. Despite the dubious nature of this claim, but also fearing a "hijacking by a Nazi agenda," the three delegates decided on an "ears-only" policy towards private organizations and did not permit them to speak publicly, further isolating Jewish leadership from the Jewish refugee conversation.[34]

As the conference commenced, the three principal delegates presented their opening statements, yet had little to offer besides empty sympathetic commentary on the refugee crisis. Winterton, who was already "poorly disposed to Jews" could only offer condolences to "the unfortunate people who wish to emigrate."[35] He went on to assert that Britain was already "thickly populated" and that it had enough to deal with in its colonial lands, in which climate, race, and political developments made considering further immigration a difficult prospect.[36] Berenger, in his opening statement, declared France's commitment to its "long-standing tradition of universal hospitality" and pointed to its history of taking in refugees, yet claimed that immigration into France had already

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[34] Bartrop, *Evian Conference*, 46.

[35] Ibid., 49.

[36] Ibid.

reached "the extreme point of saturation."[37] Likewise, Taylor lauded the U.S. government and the "liberality of its existing laws and practices." However, in a calculated manipulation of statistics, Taylor also claimed the U.S. had "taken steps to consolidate the German and former Austrian quota so that a total of 27,370 immigrants [might] enter the U.S. on the German quota." This ruse was intended to suggest the possibility of further direct American action, but in reality, it just combined the two quotas without creating any increase in admissions. It failed, as "such sleight of hand deceived no one," and damaged the bargaining power that the U.S. hoped to use to bring other countries to action.[38]

On the second of the six sessions that would take place at Evian, a formal structure was established. The creation of two sub-committees was introduced with the intent that they would carry out the true work of the conference. The first of these committees, dubbed the Technical Sub-Committee and chaired by Judge Michael Hansson of Norway, was tasked with investigating and documenting the immigration laws and regulations of the participating countries in an attempt to find ways to circumvent them. While useful in creating a general overview of policy, the work of the Technical Sub-Committee did "very little other than summarize what was already well known." By the second meeting, Hansson had to send out an

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[37] Ibid., 51.
[38] Feingold, The Politics of Rescue, 31.

official plea for the participating countries to "be good enough" to send a representative to future sub-committee meetings,[39] and the official report essentially served as a "mandate for doing nothing." [40]

The second and more important sub-committee was named the Sub-Committee on the Reception of Those Concerned with the Relief of Political Refugees from Germany (including Austria); this committee would prove to be as unwieldy as its title. Despite the early concerns about Nazi meddling, this sub-committee, chaired by Lt. Colonel Thomas W. White of the staunchly anti-immigrant Australian delegation, was tasked with hearing the testimony of twenty-four private organizations, albeit confidentially in executive session. Jewish organizations, who were heavily represented, attempted to coordinate their efforts and draft one cohesive longer statement, but sensing a "tendency toward disunity" amongst the Jewish refugee authorities, White insisted that each organization present individually.[41] What followed was a chaotic procedure in which Jewish representatives were "marched in one at a time," given five minutes to speak, and then expeditiously dismissed.[42] Norman Bentwich, a British Zionist who was present during the proceeding, suggests that

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[39] Laffer, "Jewish Trail of Tears," 155.

[40] Bartrop, *Evian Conference*, 90.

[41] Bartrop, Evian Conference, 85.

[42] White initially allocated ten-minute time slots but the speaking time was quickly slashed to five minutes due to alleged time constraints. Laffer, "Jewish Trail of Tears," 156.

the Jewish organizations' insistence that the refugee crisis at-hand was "an essentially Jewish problem" led White to treat the representatives with disrespectful haste. He also observed that the delegates were so agitated by the Jewish testimony that the former mocked their pleas by calling the meeting chamber a "modern wailing wall."[43]

Outside of the sub-committee proceedings, each country was able to publicly address the entire conference. Aside from the French and the English, who had pleaded their cases in their opening statements, six other European delegations presented speeches. The smaller nations of Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, and the Netherlands all raised similar logistic-based concerns, emphasizing the physical inabilities of their nations to admit large numbers of refugees. However, they did agree to accept "transitory immigrants" on the condition that they be prepared for further resettlement.[44] Michael Hansson of Norway, who was also serving as President of the League of Nation's Nansen International Office for Refugees, expressed concerns about Evian undermining the efforts of the League of Nations, a sentiment that had been widespread when the conference was being formed. He even took a jab at the U.S. by suggesting that it look to the liberal policies of France as an example. It was

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[43] Bartrop, Evian Conference, 86.
[44] Eric Estoric, "The Evian Conference and the Intergovernmental Committee," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 203 (1939): 136-41.

evident at this point, at least to the Europeans, that the conference was a means for the U.S. to usurp authority from the League of Nations. Even Berenger proclaimed that "we are simply a body which the President of the United States desired to create between America and the other continents."[45]

For Roosevelt and the world, European inaction was not a surprise. The true wild card was the majority bloc of nineteen Latin/South American delegations, ranging from large countries such as Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico to small island nations such as Haiti and the Dominican Republic. Due to its diplomatic and geographical relationship with the Latin/South American republics, the U.S. had considered its decision to include these nations as perhaps its main contribution to the Evian Conference, thinking that "past acceptance of large number of immigrants, especially in Argentina and in Brazil, meant a willingness to take in [additional] refugees" and that it could easily pressure these underpopulated countries to accept more immigrants.[46] Roosevelt could not have been more wrong, as one Brazilian official observed: "the South American Republics made it clear at Evian that they were repulsed by Jewish immigration."[47]

The speeches that arose from the Latin and South American delegations were far more explicitly antisemitic and

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[45] Feingold, The Politics of Rescue, 29.
[46] Ibid., 31.
[47] Jeff Lesser, *Welcoming the Undesirables: Brazil and the Jewish Question* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 111.

racially biased than those of the Europeans and British Dominions (with the exception of Australia). The first South American countries to address the conference were the two in which the U.S. had placed the most hope: Brazil and Argentina. Brazil, which had accumulated a Jewish population of 40,000 by the 1930s, was "targeted as the prime area of refugee settlement" at Evian.[48] However, the rise of Getúlio Vargas' *Estado Novo* regime in 1937 and a growing pro-Nazi movement within Brazil had been severely underestimated. Brazil had shown a willingness to take in immigrants during the turn of the twentieth century as a means to populate its vast interior. But as the "traditional racial background [of immigrants] showed a certain tendency to change," race became a central factor driving immigration policy. The Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Relations had already been secretly advised to reduce the issuance of visas to those of "Semitic origin" a year prior, slashing Jewish immigration by seventy-five percent.[49] Additionally, the Vargas regime had also threatened to crack down on expired tourist visas, affecting thousands of Jews. Jewish aid organizations were already scrambling to help keep Jews in Brazil who were already there, rendering the emigration of post-Anschluss German and Austrian Jews nearly impossible.[50]

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[48] Ibid.*,* 112.
[49] Ibid., 92.
[50] Ibid., 95.

Argentina was also once a go-to destination for European Jewish immigrants, and by 1930 it harbored over 200,000 Jews. The tide began to turn in the 1930s as economic recession rattled the country and right-wing and Catholic nationalists spearheaded antisemitic movements.[51] Accusations of Jews being communists, anarchists, and strike leaders became rampant, and one right-wing Argentine newspaper warned that "the waters of Evian bring Typhus."[52] Careful not to directly associate with such groups, while also appeasing their concerns, Argentina defaulted to arguing that due to economic considerations, immigration would have to be "directed towards agricultural work."[53] Considering that only 1% of German Jews engaged in agriculture, with a majority involved in trade, industry, public service, and transportation,[54] the argument for agriculturally-oriented immigrants became the *de facto* means by which the Latin American nations could repel Jewish immigration. In such a framework, the Jew took on the role as the "intellectual" or the "trader," playing into historical tropes that portrayed Jews as both un-patriotic provocateurs and nationless misers-- the moral opposite of the humble agrarian. These euphemistic depictions of Jews would become prevalent in the Latin and South American pleas—although in

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[51] Norman J. Goda, *The Holocaust: Europe, the World, and the Jews 1918-1945* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Pearson Education, Inc., 2013), 41.
[52] Laffer, "Jewish Trail of Tears," 143.
[53] Bartrop, Evian Conference, 63.
[54] Laffer, "Jewish Trail of Tears," 57.

an irony worth mentioning, one of the most overlooked factors in these discussions were trade deals that made Germany "one of Latin America's best customers," forcing them to tread lightly at Evian so as not to provoke German economic retaliation.[55]

In the following days, the rest of the Latin/South American delegations would follow suit in a "Spanish-speaking procession." Colombia embraced the agricultural argument and discouraged any "intellectuals or traders [or] middle-men of all-kinds" who might compete for the jobs of Colombian workers. [56] Ecuador assumed an identical stance. Dr. Alfredo Carbonell Debali of Uruguay took the position a step further, suggesting that those not accustomed to farming and stock-breeding have tendencies towards "physical, mental, or moral defects," while Venezuela contributed the perplexing claim that it was unwilling to accept more immigrants as a means to maintain racial diversity.[57] Peru's Francisco Calderon offered the most blatant antisemitic testimony against Jewish immigration, claiming an influx of the "intellectual proletariat" would be dangerous and threaten the "social growth" of Peru, a land "which is Catholic and Latin."[58]

The rest of Latin America, while superficially sympathetic to the intent of the conference, refused to offer

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[55] Feingold, The Politics of Rescue, 32.
[56] Bartrop, Evian Conference, 64.
[57] Ibid., 66.
[58] Ibid., 67.

themselves for the mission. By the end of the speeches, the Latin Americans had "shattered any illusion on the possibility of resettlement in their areas,"[59] with the exception of one unique case. In a complete reversal of narrative, dictator Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic became the only representative of a Latin American nation at Evian to agree to take in Jewish immigrants. Under the guise of a humanitarian effort, Trujillo sought Jewish immigrants as political pawns to bolster his international standing. While he hoped that the acceptance of Jews would promote his nation's economic ties with the U.S., his more underhanded goal was to redeem his reputation with the West after having just ordered the massacre of fifteen thousand Haitians only a year prior. However, Trujillo's agreement to receive 100,000 Jews never came to full fruition, as only fifty Jewish immigrants were able to settle on the island nation before the Nazis tightened their grip on European borders.[60]

On July 14, 1938, a final resolution was drafted and approved at Evian. In the true spirit of the conference, the recommendations put forth lacked any concrete course of action and "to a large degree let the governments off the hook."[61] Included in the resolution were the reassertions that governments should not be financially liable when taking in

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[59] Feingold, The Politics of Rescue, 32.
[60] Zahra, The Great Departure, 166.
[61] Bartrop, Evian Conference, 96.

immigrants and that the facilitation of immigration be "coordinated within the existing migration laws," the same migration laws that had been proven inadequate throughout the entire conference. Even more concerning were the second and third articles of the resolution, which simply asserted that the conference had brought awareness that countries of refugee settlement would be "faced with problems of public order" and that forced emigrants "render racial and religious problems more acute."[62] Additionally, the resolution lacked any direct condemnation of the Nazi regime as many Latin American nations "threatened to vote against the resolution if it adopted any overt criticism of Germany," hoping not to sever economic ties. [63] In fact, the resolution was so lackluster that the *SD*, the intelligence agency of Nazi Germany, stated in its report on Evian that "The resolutions show that a practical and concrete result that would ease the question of Jewish emigration is not possible at the moment."[64]

Other than providing for the formation of a continuing Inter-Governmental Committee of the Evian representatives in London, the resolution served as an unremarkable conclusion to an ineffective conference. Intended to accomplish the opposite, the Evian conference only helped to solidify the arguments against international responsibility towards Jewish

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[62] Bartrop, Evian Conference, 114.
[63] Laffer, "Jewish Trail of Tears," 278.
[64] Yad Vashem, "The SD on the Outcome of the Evian Conference Report of SD II 112"

refugees, and even served to validate, in the eyes of the Nazis, their looming war on European Jewry. As the *SD* report on Evian stated, "there is an extensive aversion to a significant flow of emigrants either out of social considerations or out of an unexpressed racial abhorrence against Jewish emigrants."[65]

Thus, from its conception to its ultimate conclusion, the Evian conference was bound to fall short on formulating any effective approach towards Jewish rescue. The conditions of the conference minimized Jewish voices and limited the participation of Jewish aid organizations, who were expected to financially support any successful resettlement plans. Citing economic and logistics-based arguments against the acceptance of Jewish immigrants, some of the European delegations sought to deflect attention away from the anti-Jewish sentiment in their domestic and foreign policies but the extent of their antisemitism is evident nonetheless. While the underwhelming efforts of the European delegations were to be expected, the scheme to pressure Latin and South American nations to receive Jewish refugees backfired tremendously, making visible their antisemitic arguments with much more clarity. In short, the legal and economic hurdles outlined in the conference's resolutions simply were not adequate cover for the antisemitism that played such a central role in the inaction of the leaders of the world at Evian-les-Bains, France in 1938.

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[65] Ibid.

"Lost in the Gray Zone": Re-examining the Jewish Rescue Narratives of Oskar Schindler and Rezső Kasztner

Kayla M. Cook

Hungarian Jews Arriving at Auschwitz. Jenni Frazer, "On quest to clear Kasztner, historian 'shocked' to prove Nazi collaboration," *The Times of Israel* (November 15, 2016).

Abstract

This essay compares the lives and legacies of two men, Oskar Schindler (1908-1974) and Rezső Kasztner (1907-1957), each of whom was responsible for saving more than a thousand people's lives during the Holocaust. Yet, paradoxically, Oskar Schindler, a German member of the Nazi party, who hired Jews to work in his Polish factory, thereby saving them from the camps, is hailed a hero, while Rezső Kasztner, a Hungarian-Jewish diplomat, is deemed a villain because he negotiated with Nazis to trade Jewish lives for war goods. I argue that neither of these men should be considered hero or villain, but men who fell into what legal historian and philosopher David Luban calls the "gray zone," as they dealt as best they could with the horrific circumstances in which they found themselves.

Introduction

"Anyone who saves a life is as if he saved an entire world."
--Mishnah Sanhedrin 4:5[1]

Today the name Oskar Schindler evokes respect, love, pride, and perhaps most of all gratitude. Seventy-five years after the end of the Second World War and forty-six years after his death, Schindler is still remembered as the larger-than-life hero who saved some 1,200 Jews during the Holocaust. The

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[1] Sefaria, "Mishnah Sanhedrin 4," accessed December 10, 2020, https://www.sefaria.org/Mishnah_Sanhedrin.4.5?ven=Open_Mishnah&lang=bi. This quote from the Talmud is quoted in variation in both *Schindler's List* (Spielberg, 1993) and *Killing Kasztner: The Jew Who Dealt With Nazis* (Ross, 2009).

novel by Thomas Keneally and film adaptation by Steven Spielberg immortalized Schindler for Jews and Gentiles alike. The last scene of *Schindler's List* (1993) shows actual survivors paying tribute to Schindler at his gravesite. The memoirs of the many *Schindlerjuden* (German for "Schindler Jews") offer further evidence of the deep gratitude that survivors feel for the "righteous Gentile," as they describe how he had given them the possibility of observing Jewish holidays and visiting one another—precious gifts that only became more precious over time. Both the novel and the film versions of *Schindler's List* depict Schindler as a transcendent heroic figure, who by the end of the story, has turned away from his former profligate lifestyle, wishing he had not been so selfish and so wasteful, and deeply regretful that he had not saved more Jews.

Although perhaps the most celebrated of the saviors, Schindler is just one of many "heroes" of the Holocaust. Others are not as well known, despite the fact that some rescued more people that Schindler and risked more to do so. One such forgotten figure is Rezső Kasztner, a Romanian-born, Hungarian-Jewish diplomat who negotiated for the transportation of "Europe's last Jews" from Hungary to Switzerland, thus saving the lives of over 1,685 people. Yet, despite rescuing so many and risking his own safety by negotiating with Nazi leaders like Adolf Eichmann, many have never heard of Kasztner's name. More poignantly, among those who do remember him, Kasztner is often considered a

Nazi collaborator, who withheld information from over 800,000 Jews in Hungary in order to save a select few, leaving the rest to die.

Gaylen Ross, maker of the theatrical documentary, *Killing Kasztner: The Jew Who Dealt With Nazis* (2008) said in an interview with Mark Golub of *L'Chayim* that when examining the stories of Jewish rescue, we would do well to remove the word "hero" from our vocabulary and try to move forward objectively.[2] She makes a good point, and yet writing history is often much more difficult than simply trying to reconstruct what happened. This article navigates the problems that arise as we try to sort through "facts" and memories, keeping these two narratives of Jewish rescue at the center of our focus.

Oskar Schindler (1908-1974), the "Righteous Gentile"

"In all these things, his behavior bore no relation to the usual image of a Nazi industrialist running a satellite concentration camp. Although Schindler was not without his faults, in my opinion one should speak only of his good side."

--Mietek Pemper, The Road to Rescue[3]

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[2] JBS, "L'Chayim: Gaylen Ross, 'Killing Kasztner,'" YouTube video, 59:26, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y3cT1CCR0cM (accessed March 3, 2020).

[3] Mietek Pemper, "Oskar Schindler, One of the Righteous Among Nations," in *The Road to Rescue: The Untold Story of Schindler's List* (New York: Other Press, 2011), 131.

The most popular narratives of Jewish rescue during the Holocaust feature Gentiles scooping up a few, or even a few hundred Jews, and using their own status as non-Jews to protect the defenseless victims from the wrath and destruction of the Nazis. Probably the most famous of these stories is that of Oskar Schindler, a German factory owner who saved some 1,200 Polish Jews from certain death. Schindler was immortalized in Thomas Keneally's novel *Schindler's List* (1982), a fictionalized retelling of how he turned against his Party to become the savior of over a thousand Jews, and a 1993 film by the same name, directed by Steven Spielberg. There are also many real-life accounts of Schindler's story, revealing a complex man who most memoirists agree was an unqualified hero.

The most emphatically grateful of the *Schindlerjuden* memoirs is Abraham Zuckerman's *A Voice in the Choir: Memories of a Teenager Saved by Schindler*.[4] Zuckerman explains early on that he neither knew who Schindler was nor why he was chosen to be on the list when he first came to the factory.[5] Certainly, he had no idea that Schindler had bought a formerly Jewish-owned factory in Kraków, and hired Jews (not Poles, because Jews cost less to employ), later converting his factory into a "safe" and "humane" concentration camp. In his book,

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[4] Abraham Zuckerman, "Herr Oskar Schindler: February 1943," in *A Voice in the Chorus: Memories of a Teenager Saved by Schindler* (Stamford, CT: Longmeadow Press, 1994).
[5] Ibid., 73, 78.

Zuckerman calls Schindler a "righteous Gentile among the nations," a "courageous, decent, and brilliant man," and a "living saint," whom everyone loved and respected, including, obviously, Zuckerman himself.[6] He also quotes Schindler as saying to a group of workers after the war, "I hated the brutality, the sadism and the insanity of Nazism. I just couldn't stand by and see people destroyed. I did what I could, what I had to do, what my conscience told me to do. That's all there is to it. Really. Nothing more."[7] Zuckerman also attested that at Emalia, Schindler's factory, where he always felt safe, Schindler allowed for the celebration of the "High Holidays and the observance of the Sabbath, and that if a worker happened to die of illness, Schindler saw to it that they had a proper Jewish burial."[8]

Zuckerman's account reflects the Schindler we see at the end of Spielberg's film: a good man who did what he could and was reluctant to accept any credit for the things that he did. Most every other *Schindlerjuden* memoir and autobiography offers this same image-- even the ones that barely mention him, like Joseph Bau's *Dear God, Have You Ever Gone Hungry?* [9] Bau and his wife Rebecca are the young couple depicted in the film as marrying secretly in the women's barracks of the

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[6] Ibid., 73-82.
[7] Ibid., 77.
[8] Ibid., 76-77.
[9] Bau, *Dear God, Have You Ever Gone Hungry*? (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1998).

Plaszow concentration camp, and they do not reappear until they join Schindler's workforce. The real story is more complicated than that. In the film, Schindler and his accountant Itzhak Stern are the only ones involved in the creation of the list, with Schindler dictating the names orally and Stern typing them on a typewriter, miraculously in alphabetical order. The film all but erases the person who actually recorded many of the names—Mietek Pemper, the secretary to S.S. officer Amon Goeth. Bau's wife Rebecca was Goeth's personal manicurist, and according to a popular account, she confronted an S.S. officer and stopped him from shooting Pemper's mother. To repay Rebecca, Pemper offered her a spot on the list. Rebecca asked that her husband's name be put on the list instead. Thus, Joseph went to Emalia, while Rebecca was sent to Auschwitz, where she somehow managed to talk her way out of the gas chambers not once, but three times. Joseph never knew this part of his own family history until after the release of Spielberg's film when the couple was interviewed about their secret marriage and then this account was added to Joseph's memoir after its translation into English in 1998.[10]

Bau voices his thanks to Schindler, but only mentions his name a handful of times, and only mentions his time at Emalia in a single paragraph, significantly less than Zuckerman. For Bau, it seems, Schindler paved the way, but Rebecca did

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[10] Ibid.,158.

the saving. Even Itzhak Stern, Schindler's accountant, gets more credit, being named as "the man who forced me to go on living" after Bau was separated from his wife.[11] Nevertheless, Schindler came to see Bau several years later, "with a large bag of food and a big smile," when Bau was hospitalized in Germany during the post-war trials, and visited him twice a week until he recovered, informing Bau's family in Israel of his whereabouts.[12] Bau's story certainly attests to the kindness of Oskar and Emilie Schindler, but it is nonetheless obvious that he does not believe Schindler was his sole, or even his most significant, savior.

Zuckerman and Bau's representations of Schindler are typical of the genre and present an image of Schindler that accords with Spiegelman's in the film, minus the extreme guilt and remorse that Schindler expresses in the final scene. Oskar is remembered as a kindhearted and affectionate savior; his wife, though mentioned less frequently and described in much less depth, is generally remembered much like her husband. Bau refers to them both as "the legendary couple who saved eleven hundred men and women...from the claws of Goeth and the ovens of Gröss-Rosen," and "an extreme rarity in the Nazi empire."[13]

However, Emilie Schindler, Oskar's wife, gives a

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[11] Ibid., 202.
[12] Ibid., 214.
[13] Bau, *Dear God*, 145.

different account, and one worth reflecting on because it tempers this construction of Schindler as a hero. In her 1996 memoir, *Where Light and Shadow Meet*, published two years after the release of Spielberg's film, Emilie has this to say:

> Oskar Schindler was bathed in all the light that history accorded him, and I feel that is not entirely fair. I am doing this not for him but for the sake of truth…. Steven Spielberg's film, Thomas Keneally's book, and all the rivers of ink spilled fifty years after the facts depict my husband as a hero for this century. This is not true. He was not a hero, and neither was I. We only did what we had to do.[14]

She goes to great lengths to point out over and over again not only the mistakes made in the film about her husband's character, but also the mistakes made about her own. Alongside these corrections, she reveals her and Oskar's biases and prejudices, sometimes without seeming to realize that this is what she is doing-- as though what she is saying is natural, and for her it must have been so. Although they cared deeply for the people they saw brutalized on a daily basis, the Schindlers were members of the Nazi party and retained antisemitic views.   More than once Emilie refers to her

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[14] Emilie Schindler and Erika Rosenberg, "Prologue" in *Where Light and Shadow Meet* (Sidney: Allen and Unwin, 1997), ix.

husband's workers as "my Jews," though the first time she does so apologetically, noting that she does not know if it would still be proper to call them such.[15] Oskar, too, was reported by Rezső Kasztner as referring to his office employees as "my Jew."[16] Most likely, this was not done out of contempt, and may have even been said with affection, though that does not excuse the implications of that phrasing: despite protecting these people, the Schindlers still condescendingly viewed them as property.

In recent decades, the Schindlers' reputation has continued to grow, especially as the stories told by Schindlers' Jews gain increasing exposure—particularly among Holocaust survivors and their offspring. Since the release of *Schindler's List*, Spielberg has continued to disseminate survivors' stories through the Shoah Foundation, a digital database of testimonies from survivors of genocides worldwide. His main focus is the Holocaust, of course, since he feels an emotional, ethnic, and religious tie to that moment in history, but he also archives the stories of people affected by similar catastrophes in places like Nanjing and Rwanda. In an interview with *TODAY*, Spielberg explained that the purpose of the foundation is to "overcome prejudice, intolerance and bigotry,"

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[15] Ibid*,* xii.

[16] David M. Crowe, "Schindler's Emalia Subcamp" in *Oskar Schindler: The Untold Account of His Life, Wartime Activities, and the True Story Behind the List* (New York: Basic Books, 2007), 304.

through a visual archive.[17] In one of the archive's testimonies, Celina Biniaz says this: "Oskar Schindler gave me life, but Steven Spielberg gave me a voice…he's my second Schindler."[18]

Thus, the image of Schindler as a hero "righteous among nations" was created by the survivors (literate, influential ones at that) and extended by those who had access to their stories and could afford to make them into films or books. If the narrative had been written by those who had not been saved by Schindler, or by those who had later been taken from him and died, *Schindler's List* might be a very different story: one in which Schindler's moral grayness would be remembered alongside his heroism.

Rezső Kasztner (1906-1957): Traitor or Savior?

"At the end of the day, I still find myself unable to answer the two basic questions, Who is Kastner? and How shall we judge what he did?"

--David Luban, "A Man Lost in the Gray Zone"[19]

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[17] Ree Hines, "Steven Spielberg: I 'was put on this earth to' tell story of the Holocaust," *TODAY* https://www.today.com/popculture/steven-spielberg-i-was-put-earth-tell-story-holocaust-2D79619816 (accessed March 5, 2019).

[18] USC Shoah Foundation, "Jewish Survivor Celina Biniaz Testimony" YouTube video, 1:29:23, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sUeSkFcTNgg (accessed March 3, 2020).

[19] David Luban, "A Man Lost in the Gray Zone," *Law and History Review* 19.1 (2001), 161.

Legal historian and philosopher David Luban, describes Rezső Kasztner as a man "lost in the gray zone," a phrase coined by Primo Levi, an Italian-Jewish survivor of the Holocaust, which Luban explains refers to the select group of Jews who "imitated, collaborated with, or assisted the Nazis in return for marginally better treatment for themselves or others."[20] Kasztner was a Hungarian Jewish diplomat, originally from Romania, who worked for a small Zionist organization out of Budapest called the *Vaada*, which worked to aid and relocate Hungarian Jews. According to Professor Dina Porat of Tel Aviv University, who was interviewed for Gaylen Ross's documentary *Killing Kasztner* (2008), Kasztner disseminated warnings and secret information to the public when he could via various Zionist youth groups.[21]

Despite these acts of resistance, Kasztner has been accused of withholding information, and of only warning people he was close to, about the atrocities that would befall them if they did not leave Hungary. The deal he made with Adolf Eichmann in the summer of 1944 to save over 1,685 Hungarian Jews, by sending them on trains to Switzerland, has been labeled a "deal with the devil" fashioned to save Kasztner's friends and family while others were left to die.[22] People today who know the name of Kasztner will still often

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[20] Ibid., 162.
[21] Ross, *Killing Kasztner,* 2008.
[22] Ibid.

say that he could have done more but chose not to, pinning the fate of over 800,000 people on this one man.[23]

But to hold Katztner accountable for lives he did not save, as Dina Porat argues, one would have to ignore a lot of other information, starting with the fact that Kasztner was not an important person among the Nazis or the Hungarian elite. At the time of the Second World War, Kasztner was not wealthy, he did not have a lot of influence, and he was not in a position in which he could gain significant influence. He was a member of a small Zionist organization with no foothold in the community, let alone in all of Hungary. To place the blame on him for not having done more, Porat says, would be "giving him importance and power that he never had."[24]

This may be true. The *Vaada* was a small, non-influential organization, and Kasztner did not appear to hold any significant standing within this group, but to say that he had held no position of influence would be quite far from the truth. He was able to meet face-to-face on multiple occasions with such high-up Nazi officials as Eichmann and influence their decisions—an indication that he was able to wield power at the highest levels of German political decision-making.

And Kasztner certainly was not indiscriminate in

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[23] Ross gives the estimate of 800,000 Jews left out of Kasztner's plan. While there were in fact just over 800,000 Jews living in Hungary in the period just before WWII, closer to 400,000 Hungarian Jews actually died as a result of the Holocaust, while many were displaced.
[24] Ross, *Killing Kasztner*.

deciding whom to inform regarding Nazi plans and intentions. As has been mentioned, he gave his information primarily to Zionist youth groups—young, relatively healthy people who would be essential to populating a strong Israeli state after the war. In her film, Ross fails to acknowledge the fact that Kasztner picked and chose specifically the individuals he wanted to save. Ross claims to present Kasztner's story objectively, but for the most part she tells the story in black-and-white, leaving lots of gaps but no mention of gray areas. The majority of her sources are oral accounts from individuals who were saved by Kasztner or from members of Kasztner's own family. Very few of these survivors understood why they had been chosen to give their accounts, but they have certain traits in common: they were all very young at the time, with Zionist connections, and most of them followed Kasztner to Israel after the war.

Another perspective on this story comes from Ze'ev Eckstein, Kasztner's assassin, who was also interviewed in Ross's documentary. During World War 2, Eckstein was a child living in Israel, and so had no personal experience of the Holocaust. At only twenty years of age, Eckstein, had been sent into the *Sulam*, part of the alt-right underground, to obtain information for the Shin Bet, Israel's security agency, then in its infancy. Instead he was indoctrinated by the *Sulam*—making it his mission to "kill the bastard [and] clear the Holy Land of

this atrocity." [25]

However, the judgement of Kasztner as a traitor and a collaborator can be traced back several years earlier to Israeli journalist Malchiel Gruenwald, who in 1953 published a pamphlet in which he accused Kasztner of being a "German collaborator" who only saved his own family and close relations.[26] Kasztner took Gruenwald to court for slander, with the Israeli government planning to sue Gruenwald on Kasztner's behalf.[27] Schmuel Tamir, Gruenwald's attorney, was able to flip the way the case proceeded: transforming a case about Gruenwald's slanders into a case to prove Kasztner guilty of collaboration with the Nazis, as Gruenwald had initially charged. After eighteen months, Judge Benjamin Halevi ruled that Kasztner had "made a deal with the devil" when he agreed to trade "Goods for Blood, and Blood for Goods" with Eichmann.[28] Essentially, as journalist Uri Avnery argues, this ruling sealed Kasztner's fate.[29] Eckstein, at barely twenty-two years of age, saw Kasztner's trial on television and decided it was his duty to kill him, and thus his plan was set.

According to the story Eckstein gave to Ross for her film, he and a friend from *Sulam*, Dan Shemer, acting under the

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[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Kasztner was a member of the Mapai party, which took power after Israel gained independence from Britain in 1948. It was known for dominating Israeli politics and excluding non-members from holding or gaining influence or power.

[28] Ross, *Killing Kasztner*.

[29] Ibid.

direction of *Sulam* leader Joseph Menkes, went to Kasztner's house, Eckstein as the assassin and Shemer as the getaway driver. Eckstein spoke outside with Kasztner for several minutes before pulling out a gun. He said that Kasztner ran into the shadows and Eckstein fired twice. There was a third, unidentified shot, which Eckstein claims was not his, followed by a scream. Eckstein got back in the car and left. Although Eckstein took responsibility for Kasztner's death and even stood trial for the crime, he was later pardoned by Kasztner's daughter Zsuzsi, a child at the time the assassination occurred, because she did not believe it was Eckstein's shot that killed her father.[30] Only after Kasztner's death was Kasztner pardoned for having been identified as a Nazi collaborator, and even then the media buried the news. According to Zsuzsi and her daughters (Kasztner's granddaughters), the information was printed in a small article on the third page in the newspaper-- a reader would have had to have been looking for the article in order to see it.[31]

Looking back further, though, the contempt surrounding Kasztner started before his case came to trial in the 1950s. Near the end of the war, his friends and colleagues began to abandon him. First Samuel Springmann, a fellow *Vaada* member who went with him on several important missions and meetings (including Kasztner's meeting with

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[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.

Schindler); then Joel Brand, another Zionist activist. Brand's wife Hansi purportedly stood by Kasztner a little while longer. Paul Bogdanor posits that Hansi was a driving force behind the positive side of Kasztner's memory, possibly because he and Hansi were having an affair.[32]

After the war, in the eyes of the Israeli Jews who were almost entirely unaffected by the Holocaust, Kasztner was viewed as someone who could not have been a victim of Nazi persecution. Nor did it seem possible to laud him as a savior, a status reserved for Gentiles. How could he have gone untouched if he had not somehow collaborated with the Nazis? Just what might he have done to survive? Zsuzsi told Ross, "My father couldn't ride a bus or buy a newspaper without being spat at….Once, they pushed him off the bus."[33]

After his case was closed, Kasztner was eventually almost completely erased from history. Israeli museums, including Yad Vashem, did not include photographs of Kasztner in their exhibits, even if they knew who he was. As one museum manager explained, although he had put up a picture of Kasztner, visitors constantly were asking him to take it down. Rehabilitating Kasztner was going to be a slow, arduous process. As the curator explained, there was so little

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[32] "Hansi Brand (Hartmann), 1912-1995" *Jewish Women's Archive* https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/brand-hansi (accessed March 8, 2019); and Jenni Frazer, "On a quest to clear Kasztner," *Times of Israel* https://www.timesofisrael.com/on-quest-to-clear-kasztner-historian-shocked-to-prove-nazi-collaboration/ (accessed February 21, 2019).
[33] Ross, *Killing Kasztner.*

mention of him in the museum because the public must be "spoon-fed" such controversial information slowly over a long period of time.[34]

The Meeting of Schindler and Kasztner, 1943

In November of 1943, according to historian David Crowe, Schindler met with two members of the *Vaada*, presumably Kasztner and his colleague Samuel Springman, in a Budapest hotel.[35] The two men hoped to gain insider information about the mistreatment of European Jews. Schindler told them all they wanted to know—that some 4.5 million Jews were thought to have already been executed and that his S.S. friends liked to brag about their body counts, but that he did not believe these estimates.[36] He also gave them information about the numbers of people occupying various camps, and talked genially of atrocities, like "primitive" and "bestial" S.S. men stepping on infants' skulls.[37] *Jerusalem Post* journalist Colin Shindler, referring to scholarship by historian Paul Bogdanor, says that this meeting offers sufficient evidence to incriminate Kasztner: he knew of the mass killings and therefore should have told the Jews in Hungary while there was

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[34] Ibid.
[35] David M. Crowe, *Oskar Schindler: The Untold Account of His Life, Wartime Activities, and the True Story Behind the List* (Cambridge, MA: Westview Press, 2004), 299-301.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.

still time to warn them.[38] Kasztner and Springmann, as two lower-level members of a small Zionist organization, were no doubt frightened by this encounter, so for Kasztner not to have acted at this moment makes sense. On the other hand, he was already putting his life on the line meeting with Nazis, so perhaps taking another step would not have been so great a feat.

Disagreeing with Crowe's details of the meeting, scholar Herbert Steinhouse counters that Itzhak Stern told him this meeting occurred in August and that the men with whom Schindler met had merely been sent by Kasztner.[39] Perhaps Steinhouse misunderstood Stern, or maybe Stern had gotten the story wrong, whether accidentally or deliberately. Information presented by Viktoria Hertling suggests that Stern commonly altered official information, making him an unreliable source.[40] If Stern's account is correct and Schindler and Kasztner never met, that might lessen the blame historians like Bogdanor place on Kasztner for not warning the public about the extent of the Nazis' atrocities.

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[38] Colin Shindler, "Holocaust Hero or Villain Who Collaborated With Nazis?" https://www.jpost.com/Israel-News/Culture/Holocaust-Hero-or-villain-who-collaborated-with-Nazis-472886 (accessed March 5, 2019).

[39] Herbert Steinhouse, "The Real Oskar Schindler," *University of Pennsylvania's Representations of the Holocaust,* http://writing.upenn.edu/~afilreis/holocaust_new/steinhouse.php (accessed March 5, 2019).

[40] Mietek Pemper, "Appendix 1: Izak Stern's Report: An Excursus by Viktoria Hertling," in *The Road to Rescue,* 201-203.

Conclusion

> "What I learned is it's not only who writes history—it's what story they choose to tell."
>
> --Gaylen Ross, Killing Kasztner[41]

Schindler's List, Kasztner's train. Each a man of his time and circumstance who took on something bigger than himself for the good of others. Deeply flawed and very human, neither one the perfect hero, both existing in a sort of gray area. One dealt with Nazis, the other was a reformed Nazi—numbers aside, that seems to be the main difference. As Ross said, studying the heroes and villains of history reveals more about the writers of history, what they value and the information they choose to relate—rather than about the historical actors themselves.

Spielberg and Keneally cast a story that made Schindler into a hero, but if one were to read the book by the person who knew him best, his wife Emilie, one would see that this was not the whole story. Conversely, Gruenwald and Tamir depicted Kasztner as a villain, a view that persisted, largely unchallenged, until 2007 when Yad Vashem drew on the advocacy of survivors and family members to offer another assessment. Heroes and villains—how important are these constructions in the telling and remembering of history? How

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[41] Ross, *Killing Kasztner.*

important is it to examine such constructions, analyzing how and why they came into existence, and in the process uncovering other perspectives? Rather than pick a side—hero or villain—we might do better to look for the truth in the gray zones.

Book Reviews
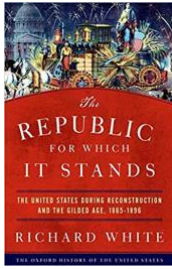
Richard White
The Republic for Which It Stands: The United States
During Reconstruction and the Gilded Age, 1865-1896
New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. Pp. 941.

Reviewed by Timothy Blanton, Ph.D. candidate in History

On April 21st, 1865, thousands of mourners lined the streets as Abraham Lincoln's funeral train began the long, meandering trip from Washington D.C. to Springfield, Illinois. With slavery over, the rights of free labor secured, and the question of secession settled, these mourners, perhaps even in their grief, felt a spark of hope: a world of equal economic opportunity and federally protected political rights seemed possible. But as Richard White claims in *The Republic for Which It Stands*, the most recent volume in *The Oxford History of the United States*, "Americans had, unknowingly, conceived twins in 1865. The first twin embodied the world they anticipated emerging from the Civil War, and it died before ever being born. The second, unexpected, twin lived, forever haunted by its sibling" (White, 1).

White's story of this second sibling, the Gilded Age, is a remarkable scholarly synthesis that unites this era with Reconstruction under the central themes of failure and corruption. Lincoln, believing that all Americans should have an equal opportunity to pursue their own economic fortunes, had imagined wage labor as the first rung on the ladder of social mobility. But the influx of European and Asian immigrants, economic booms and busts, and the "friendship" between politicians and corporate interests sealed the creation of a permanent working class, while government policy, especially judicial decisions, served the interests of business and bondholders, not the people. Moreover, from the ideological foundation of the Protestant home and white domestic responsibility, as White attests, Grant formulated an Indian policy of coercive assimilation; the Ku Klux Klan rationalized the murder of black men to protect Southern white women; and Frances Willard's temperance movement helped transform domesticity into a mechanism of social control.

The only redemptive element in this story is found in the rise of anti-monopolism, an ideological catch-all that includes Greenbackers and Georgists, the Knights of Labor and the People's Party. Despite their individual differences, anti-monopolists shared a class-based vision of American society but believed in the possibility of class reconciliation through cooperation. Gilded Age anti-monopolism, White argues, incubated a new kind of liberalism—one that eschewed the

shibboleths of laissez-faire and a minimal state—agreeing with an idea articulated in the People's Party platform of 1892: "the power of government—in other words, of the people—-should be *expanded* ... to the end that oppression, injustice, and poverty shall eventually cease in the land" (emphasis added). In reading anti-monopolism as a vector for a new kind of liberalism, White sees significant ideological continuity between Gilded Age reformers and early twentieth-century progressivism.

White's most fascinating and frustrating chapter, "Dying for Progress," defends the thesis that economic growth in the nineteenth century and rising per capita income did not translate into better health outcomes. For most of the century, Americans were shorter in stature and lived briefer lives compared to their eighteenth-century counterparts, and rapid urbanization during the Gilded Age exacerbated these problems, creating festering working-class tenements. But other trends suggest that improvements did begin in the Gilded Age. As Charles Rosenberg argues in *The Cholera Years* (a book White cites), early nineteenth-century Americans tended to distrust doctors and scientific precepts, but such attitudes began to change as scientific and medical knowledge advanced. As early as the 1860s, improved medical standards and practices were shaping better public health policies in New York, Chicago, and Cincinnati, as city governments became better prepared to confront health crises. At least in the public health arena, the Gilded- Age glass is more half-full than half-empty.

While most of *The Republic for Which It Stands* is compelling, its narrative dreariness and occasional polemics are not selling points. Nonetheless, *The Republic for Which It Stands* still meets the high standard of the Oxford series, serving both specialists and non-specialists well in grappling with this tumultuous and enthralling period of American history.
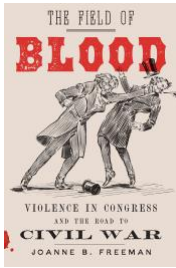
Joanne B. Freeman
The Field of Blood: Violence in Congress and the Road to Civil War
New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 2018. Pp. 480.

Reviewed by Tyler Carawan Cline, Ph.D. candidate in History

Joanne B. Freeman's *The Field of Blood: Violence in Congress and the Road to Civil War* argues that shocking events, such as the caning of Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner in 1856, were not isolated incidents as commonly understood, but part and parcel of the endemic violence and intimidation that marked congressional debates over slavery in the mid nineteenth century. Freeman sees this bloodshed as reflective of the nation-at-large, which she claims "had a passion for violent clashes of principle and purpose" that was reproduced by elected officials in Congress (43) during the 1850s. Freeman emphasizes that it was Southerners who served as the instigators, engaging in bullying and intimidation that included threats, physical violence, and challenges to duels, while Republicans in Congress differed from their antislavery predecessors by their willingness to engage with the aggression of their Southern counterparts,

indicating a more strident opposition to the power of the South in American society across the North and West. She thus notes that the emergence of an opposition party rooted in the North and dedicated to an aggressive defense of antislavery "marked the start of a death struggle" within the halls of Congress that foretold the outbreak of Civil War (211).

The Field of Blood is built upon the prolific diaries of Benjamin Brown French, a New Hampshire politico prominent in Congressional circles. French recorded his daily interactions with many of the major political figures of the antebellum period, as well as day-to-day gossip and happenings in the halls of power. As effective as this framing is in highlighting the personal animosities and political frenzies of the period, the book's biographical orientation also opens it up to the assessment that it is overly subjective. Freeman seems to understand this potential criticism and includes an appendix to her work describing her methodology and ensuring that every conflict she presents is confirmed by other sources: newspapers, personal correspondence, and the *Congressional Record,* exploiting this seemingly dry documentation of the House and Senate to both uncover and confirm the violence and the emotional disputes that were "hiding in plain sight" (290).

Freeman's work reminds us that Congress, for all its power and prestige, was "a human institution with very human failings" (4). Observing that it is "one thing to note a pattern of behavior in the past and quite another to grasp how people

understood and experienced it" (289), Freeman effectively connects the daily experience of blood, sweat, and tears within Congress to the exercise of power and the movement towards the outbreak of war. Deeply researched and skillfully written, Freeman's book should reach a broad audience. Anyone interested in a new perspective on the political culture of Congress would be well served to read *The Field of Blood*.

Notes on Contributors

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Gabriella Paul graduated from the University of Florida in May 2020, with a major in journalism and a minor in history. Currently, she is an Investigative Fellow at UF's College of Journalism and Communication's Brechner Center for Freedom of Information. President Fuchs has appointed her to serve on the University's Anti-Racism task force, which is charged with further documenting the history that Paul and her co-authors began exposing in 2019.

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Submission Guidelines

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 submissions must follow the Chicago Manual of Style humanities documentation system. *To ensure anonymity in the selection process, do not include your name or contact information anywhere within your submission other than on the contact page.*

Recommended Submission Length

Undergraduate Papers: 2,500 — 4,000 words
Graduate Papers: 5,000 — 10,000 words
Book Reviews: 500 — 750 words

Papers may be submitted electronically to:
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