

**Selected
Annual Proceeding
of the**



Annual Meeting

**March 16-17, 2007
Orlando, Florida**

**Volume 15
March 2008**

Editors of

*Selected Annual Proceedings
of the
Florida Conference of Historians*

Anthony D. Atwood, Editor

Richard Smith and Amanda Snyder, Associate Editors

PRINTING OF THE VOLUME COURTESY OF
THE FLORIDA CONFERENCE OF HISTORIANS

ISSN 1076-4585

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From the Pen of the President

The publication of the Florida Conference of Historian Proceedings represents the culmination of hard work from a number of people. I want to thank all those long time FCH supporters that offered encouraging words and helpful insights to make the Orlando meeting a success. The conference could not have happened without the support of my interns: Dakota Mulheren, Andrew Ike and Timothy Russell. Their tireless effort kept me on track and I appreciated all their hard work. My connection to the FCH began as a graduate student eager to find a regional conference where I could share my work. I believe that FCH remains a welcoming venue that supports scholars from all fields interested in historical study.

Indeed, the special service our conference offers scholars in the region and those eager to visit our state is our openness. The FCH offers a forum that encourages scholars interested in *every* historical subfield and place to present, discuss, and share. The FCH is not a "Florida" conference; it is a conference that benefits from being in Florida. The future of the FCH is bright as scholars from across the country and around the world have chosen to present their work at our annual meeting. The scope of this year's proceedings attests to the quality of the scholarship at the FCH. I know that everyone attending the 2008 meeting

will become a regular participant and help continue the Florida Conference of Historians tradition of scholarship.

Julian Chambliss
Rollins College, Florida
February, 2008

Letter from the Editor

This year's volume commences my effort as Editor of the series. Previously I was involved as an Associate Editor for Volumes 12 and 13, and co-Editor for Volume 14. I have learned a lot about the responsibilities of editors and thank the officers of the FCH for this rare opportunity. I want to thank the FIU UTS, and especially this year's FIU doctoral candidate volunteer editors Richard Smith and Amanda Snyder. Blessings be on them.

This year's volume showcases the contributions and successes of the Florida Conference of Historians 2007, held in Orlando, Florida and hosted by Julian Chambliss and Rollins College. Those who were there know the conference was packed with presenters and attendees and was a moveable feast for the historian. The papers have been of an ever increasing caliber and selection for publication by the FCH Referees was often challenging. They reflect the ongoing interest of FCH Historians in both ancient themes and in modern history. Included are papers with recipes for rationing-driven World War II meals, considerations of the economic and social dimensions of the French Revolution, and examinations of Aztec theology and of the Persian mystic Mani. The keynote paper, "Paradise Lost: Reflections on Florida's Environmental History," provides both a capstone paper for the edition, and a springboard to the future. Nowhere is stewardship more vital and concerned than in Florida.

May I also invite you to browse our expanding website at www.fiu.fch. With the hopes that you enjoy this offering;

Anthony D. Atwood
Florida International University
February 2008

Thomas M. Campbell Award

Beginning with Volumes 6/7 in 1999, the Florida Conference of Historians has presented the Thomas M. Campbell Award for the best paper published in the Annual Proceedings of that year.

Thomas M. (Tom) Campbell was the driving force behind the creation of the Florida Conference of Historians, at that time called The Florida College Teachers of History, over 40 years ago. It was his personality and hard work that kept the conference moving forward. Simply put, in those early years he *was* the conference.

Tom was a professor of US Diplomatic History at Florida State University. The Thomas M. Campbell Award is in his name so that we may recognize and remember his efforts on behalf of the Florida Conference of Historians.

Recipients

Volume 15: Vincent Intondi, American University
Volume 14: Steve MacIsaac, Jacksonville University
Volume 13: Dennis P. Halpin and Jared G. Toney, University of South Florida
Volume 12: David Michael, Chicago Theological Seminary
Volume 10/11: Robert L. Shearer, Florida Institute of Technology
Volume 7/8: J. Calvitt Clarke, III, Jacksonville University
Volume 6/7: J. Calvitt Clarke, III, Jacksonville University

Florida Conference of Historians 2007 Program

Friday, March 16th

Morning Session I: 8:30-10:00

Meeting Room 1	Meeting Room 2	Meeting Room 3
<p>Title: Rethinking Conflict and Government Action Chair: Joseph Patrouch Participant 1: "Arab State Peace Overtures Since 1949 and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," Dr. John J. McTague Participant 2: "The Phantom in Bosnia Herzegovina Revolt 1875," Dr. Azlizan Binti Mat Enh Participant 3: "The Holy Roman Empire Two Hundred Years After: Model for European Integration?" Joseph F. Patrouch</p>	<p>Title: Florida Environmental History from 19th century to the Present Chair: TBA Participant 1: "South Florida, International Circulations, Technology, and Expansion of Empire in the Late 19th Century," Martha L. Reiner Participant 2: "Take Me to the River: Pollution and Reform in Jacksonville, Florida, 1945 to 1995," Charles E. Closmann Participant 3: "Preserving Paradise – Reefs and Human Policy," Jeanie Clark Discussant: TBA</p>	<p>Title: Violence and Race in Twentieth Century America Chair: Alan Petigny Participant 1: "White Community Reaction to White-on-Black Rape In Mid-20th Century America," Heather Bryson Participant 2: "Black Self-Defense in the Era of Jim Crow," Andrew Ameron Participant 3: "Black Militancy in the Postwar Era," Andrew Baer Discussant: Robert Cassanello & Robert Fleegler</p>

Morning Session II: 10:15-11:45

Meeting Room 1	Meeting Room 2	Meeting Room 3
<p>Title: Re-thinking Political and Labor Movements in the Americas Chair: Jesse Hingson Participant 1: "'A Political Exile Has No Definite Plans': Jacobo Arbenz, Leftist Movements, and Inter-American Relations after Guatemala, 1954-1971," Trey Bernard Participant 2: "Cigars, Revolution, Labor, Race, and Gender: The Rise of Tampa's Cuban Cultural Heritage 1868-1969," Richard A. Ramos Participant 3: "Nonviolent Indigenous Political Movements and the Guatemalan Peace Process," Ryan Boyer Discussant: Nicola Foote</p>	<p>Title: Popular Culture and Community development Chair: Denise Cummings Participant 1: "Exploring Context & Crafting Perception: Selling the Consumption Ethos in Winter Park's Colony Theatre," Julian C. Chambliss Participant 2: "Behind the Box Office: The Function of Archiving in the Revelation of a Forgotten Historical Past," Hilary Serra Participant 3: "Migrant Chewa Identities and Their Construction Through Gule Wamkulu Dances in Zimbabwe," Anusa Daimon Discussant: Jay Clarke</p>	<p>Title: Civil Right Activism in the 20th Century Chair: Daniel R. Vogel Participant 1: "The "Jewel" of the South? The Miami Chapter of the NAACP's Struggle for Civil Rights in America's Vacation Paradise," Chanelle Rose Participant 2: "'More Negotiation and Less Demonstrations': The NAACP, SCLC, and Racial Conflict in Pensacola, 1970-1978," Mike Butler Participant 3: 20th Century Civil Rights, (?) Henry James Butler Discussant: Alan Petigny</p>

Afternoon Session I: 2:30-4:00

Meeting Room 1	Meeting Room 2	Meeting Room 3
<p>Title: Shaping Identity: Education and Traditions Across Boundaries Chair: TBA Participant 1: "The 1960s as a Period of Political (In)activity in the Black Education," Quintin T. Koetaan & Chitja Twala Participant 2: "New Florida, Old Florida: School Segregation, Desegregation, Resegregation in Florida, 1959-2000," Caroline Emmons Participant 3: "Trials on the Trail: Maintaining Tradition During the Cherokee's Forced Removal," Dawn Hutchins Discussant: Heather Parker</p>	<p>Title: ORPHANS Chair: TBA Participant 1: "A NGO and the Birth of a Nation: American Labor's Assistance in the Establishment of the State of Israel, 1923-194," Adam Howard Participant 2: Anthony Atwood Participant 3: "Second Seminole Indian War," Kevin Kokomoor Discussant: TBA</p>	<p>Title: Cold War Fallout: Race, Public Policy, and the Bomb Chair: TBA Participant 1: "From Harlem to Hiroshima: The African American Response to the Atomic Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki," Vincent Intondi Participant 2: "'Modern Man is Obsolete': Norman Cousins, World Federalism and the Movement to Ban the Bomb," Blaine T. Brown Participant: "Red Scare in the Sunshine State: Anti-Communism and Academic Freedom in Florida Public Schools 1945-1960," Bob Dahlgren Discussant: Jack McTague</p>

Afternoon Session II: 4:15-5:45

Meeting Room 1	Meeting Room 2	Meeting Room 3
<p>Title: Re-imagined Floridian Identity Chair: TBA Participant 1: "The Seminoles in Florida Between 1881 and 1917: White Perception and Indian Reality," Albert D. Gonzalez Participant 2: "From Romantic Paradise to Tourist Destination: Representations of the Florida Indian," Wendy Adams King Participant 3: "Through the Eyes of a Mouse: Disney's Influence on American Self Image and Historical Perspective," Daniel R. Vogel Discussant: TBA</p>	<p>Title: Cross Creek: An Ethical Guide for Seeing and Restoring Florida's Natural Environment Chair: TBA Participant 1: <i>Cross Creek</i>, Bill Belleville Participant 2: Leslie Poole Participant 3: Dr. Bruce Stephenson Discussant: TBA</p>	<p>Title: The "other" in World War II Discourse Chair: Jay Clarke Participant 1: "A Japanese Scoundrel's Skin Game in Ethiopia and Diplomatic Complications Before the Italo-Ethiopian War," Jay Clarke Participant 2: "The Empire Mica: A Study of the Sinking of the British Tanker by a German U-Boat Near Cape San Blas, Florida," Betty Sample Participant 3: "The Question of Nazi Modernity," Alexander Mosca Discussant: TBA</p>

Friday Night Dinner: 8:00pm
Jack Davis, "Paradise Lost?" Reflection on Florida's
Environmental History

Saturday, March 17th
Morning Session I: 8:30-10:00

Meeting Room 1	Meeting Room 2	Meeting Room 3
<p>Title: Outside the Text: Moving Beyond the Written Word in Modern European History Chair: Rebecca Bates Participant 1: "Temptation for Innovation: Exploring Relationships in German and English Trade in Brewing and Pottery," Brenda Hornsby Participant 2: "Threads in a Fabric: A Documentary of World War I," Sarah Ramsey Participant 3: "Condemned to Repeat It?: A Documentary Exploring the Memorials of Victory and Loss at Omaha Beach and Auschwitz-Birkenau," Sara Eileen Rhatican Discussant: Rebecca Bates</p>	<p>Title: Politic and Power in the New South Chair: TBA Participant 1: "The Day is Past and Gone': Thomas Van Renssalaer Gibbs and the Struggle for Equality in Post-Reconstructed Florida, 1874-1899," Lee Williams, Jr. Participant 2: "The Rise of the Republican Party in Bibb County, Georgia," Justin Krautkremer Participant 3: "In the Spirit of the Games: Money, Power, and the Politics of the 1980 Olympic Boycott," Wade Berstler</p>	<p>Title: TBA Chair: TBA Participant 1: "The Upper Amazonian Rubber Boom and Indigenous Rights 1900-1925," Ingrid Fernandez Participant 2: "Intellectual Debates about the Chilean State's Occupation and Incorporation of Mapuche Territory," Joanna Crow Participant 3: "Revisiting the 'Cycle of Resistance': Indigenous Protest in Andean Ecuador 1920-1940," Nicola Foote Discussant: TBA</p>

Morning Session II: 10:15-11:45

Meeting Room 1	Meeting Room 2	Meeting Room 3
<p>Title: Redefining the Framework for Women's Role in 20th Century Chair: TBA Participant 1: "Use It Up. Wear It Out. Make It Do, or Do Without!" Kelly Cantrell Participant 2: "Deconstructing the Binary Interpretation of the First Women's Movement," Patricia L. Farless Discussant: TBA</p>	<p>Title: Politics, Religion, and Power on the Borderlands Chair: TBA Participant 1: "Generation Plantation or Charter?: A Comparison of South Carolina from 1670-1776," Ginny Jones Participant 2: "Calusa Indians and Spanish Missionaries," Carmen Lopez-Jordan Participant 3: "The Church in the Wilderness: William Miller's Sectarian Ideal in the Second Great Awakening," Matt McCook Participant 4: "First Son of Colonial British St. Augustine: The Life and Times of Colonel James Grant Forbes," Deborah L. Bauer</p>	<p>Title: Religion and Ancient Society Chair: TBA Participant 1: "Adornments in the Ancient Greco-Roman World and Yorubaland," Dr. Olakunbi Olasope Participant 2: "Christianity and the Pagan: Comparisons of Religious Dogma in Late Roman Antiquity and New World Spanish Colonialism," Rhianna C. Rogers & Jennifer L. Blank Participant 3: "History of Nestorian Christianity in Central Asia," Ulugbek Temirov Discussant: TBA</p>

Saturday, March 17th
Afternoon Session I: 2:30-4:00

Meeting Room 1	Meeting Room 2	Meeting Room 3
<p>Title: Understanding Monuments: Race, Class, and Gender through the Built Environment Chair: Patricia L. Farless Participant 1: Reading Thomas Jefferson's Heads," M. M. Lovell Participant 2: "Hollywood Forever: Situating History and Memory in the Cemetery," Linda Levitt Participant 3: "The Effect of Segregation on Funerals," Kathy Parry Discussant: TBA</p>	<p>Title: The Postwar Political Landscape Chair: William Link Participant 1: "A Nation of Morons: The Rhetorical Dimensions of Republican Factionalism, 1944-1953," Michael Bowen Participant 2: "Texas Two-Step: Anti-Liberalism, Scandal, and the Demise of Lone Star State Partisan Loyalties, 1971-1974," Sean Cunningham Participant 3: "Deep In the Heart: The Failure of Liberalism in Postwar Texas," Steve Gallagher Discussant: William Link</p>	<p>Title: Pirates, Rebels, and Revolutionaries: Conflict and Conviction around the World Chair: TBA Participant 1: "Pirates Rajas?: The East India Company's Perception of the Angres 1700-1756," Neel Amin Participant 2: "For Such a Time as This: John Dury, Jean-Baptiste Stoupe, and Cromwellian Diplomacy," Ronald A. Johnson Participant 3: "Social Aspects in Interpreting French Revolution, 1789," Dr. Abha Trivedi Discussant: TBA</p>

**Use It Up. Wear It Out.
Make It Do, or Do Without!
American Women and Wartime Food Rationing**

*Kelly Cantrell
University of Mississippi*

Women in the 1940s met a demanding challenge from the United States government during World War II. American women fought World War II from their own kitchens by rationing and tailoring meals in order to provide nutrition. Women viewed rationing as both a patriotic duty and a war job. The American government and advertisement campaigns told women a combination of rationing and nutrition would supply the allies and ultimately end the war. Rationing succeeded largely because women adhered to and embraced the program.

Although Rosie the Riveter serves as the archetype for American women during World War II, housewives formed a much larger majority of the population. Generally American culture and society expected all women, even Rosie, to go home and cook dinner after work. Over fifty three million women ran households in 1944 with 58% working outside of the home.¹ Although this seems like a high percent of women in the workforce these statistics include all types of work and women whose socio- economic status forced them to work in order to survive. These statistics also hide a large shift; many women in domestic service simply left these jobs for wartime jobs, which paid more money. In short most of the women working in 1944 were already a part of the workforce before the beginning of World War II, and a very small percent of women from the middle or better classes entered the war industries. The majority of these women simply continued as housewives, only now housewifery constituted a patriotic duty. Middle class and upper class women who voluntarily participated in rationing programs made up the group, which the government and advertisements targeted most.

These upper and especially middle class women acted as the base of consumer power, as they went to the market and actually purchased goods. An advisory committee to the National Academy of Sciences Committee on Food Habits pegged women as the ones in the family through which the government could influence and alter civilian eating and shopping habits as necessary during

¹ D'Ann Campbell *Women at War with America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1884), 167

wartime.² At the onset of American involvement in World War II the government instituted a voluntary rationing program similar to the program used during World War I, but by 1942 all that changed. In 1942 local ration boards began issuing ration book number two and rationing became mandatory. Sugar was the first food rationed in May of 1942, and by the end of that same year both coffee and red meat were also rationed. A bit later on due to severe shortages canned goods also joined the list of rationed foods.

The government's mandatory rationing took plenty of getting used to as the system was very complicated and symbolic. Each person in a home received a certain allotment of rationed food coupons either for the week or the month. In addition to the amount of a rationed food a housewife could purchase there were stamps controlling the quality of the rationed foods. The government also set price ceilings on some foods, in order to discourage price gouging and black market activities. Thus a woman at the grocery store not only needed to budget family funds, but also budget coupons, and remember the set prices of food staples. On top of everything else a wartime woman had to keep in mind ration points actually expired after a certain number of days. Some newspapers offered assistance to housewives in the form of regular columns, which listed expiration dates and other important ration dates.³ All this thinking did not stop at the grocery store, but continued in a woman's own kitchen in the form of meal planning.

In the midst of the confusion caused by rationing and its accompanying coupons, the government launched a campaign to bolster nutrition in the United States. Between 1918 and 1940 advances in science led to the discovery of vitamins as important to a balanced healthful diet in addition to the accepted proteins, fats, and carbohydrates already present in the American diet and vocabulary.⁴ In an effort to increase general knowledge of nutrition in the United States the Food and Nutrition Board released a guide to daily eating and nutrition called the Basic Seven. The original food groups included:

1. Green and yellow vegetables
2. Oranges, tomatoes, grapefruit or raw cabbage and salad greens
3. Potatoes and other vegetables and fruits

² Emily Yellin. Our Mothers' War: American Women at Home and at the Front During World War II. (New York; Free Press, 2004), 20

³ Mary Martha Thomas. Riveting and Rationing in Dixie: Alabama Women and the Second World War. (Tuscaloosa; The University of Alabama Press, 1987), 101

⁴ Amy Bentley. Eating for Victory: Food Rationing and the Politics of Domesticity. (Urbana; The University of Illinois Press, 1998), 67

4. Milk and milk products
5. Meat, poultry, fish, eggs, or dried beans, peas, nuts, or peanut butter
6. Bread, flour, and cereals
7. Butter and fortified margarine ⁵

The Basic Seven also suggested caloric intake for different levels of activity, as well as becoming the basis for the construction of an ordered meal, which added up to the suggested intake from each group.⁶ Understandably, if every bite counted toward the nutritious meal the government expected women to provide, meal planning took on a new significance for the housewife. In order to spread nutritional knowledge and better the American diet the government launched the "US needs us strong- eat the basic 7 every day" advertisement campaign. Food producing companies displayed a small emblem with this slogan on their ads usually along with a blurb describing which food group the company's product fell into. Kellogg's Corn Flakes proudly proclaimed that cereals were not only a "real wartime winner" but they also made up group six of the basic seven.⁷ The government and advertisers stressed that a woman's primary war job consisted of serving healthy meals and saving food to send to overseas servicemen. Grocery shopping, recipes, meal planning and kitchen conservation all added up to patriotic duty for World War II era women.

At the end of both the war years and the need for rationing, scholarly journals unanimously decided that the success of rationing depended on the willingness of the public to abide by the rules. In the arena of food, the rationing depended entirely on women since shopping and food preparation were seen as women's work in the 1940s. Luckily American women saw rationing, with the assistance of some masterful propaganda, as a patriotic duty. Although rationing and food shortages meant changes in recipes, cooking, and shopping, most women willingly accepted the program. As one magazine article phrased it "to achieve real war machine status women had to take on this war as their own- to conserve fats and tin and to just remember that everything a family consumes retards the war effort".⁸

Many advertisements placed the American housewife's actions in the middle of the war effort, going so far as to suggest that rationing would end the war sooner so that more American boys could return home alive. American

⁵ Bentley. Eating for Victory, 68

⁶ Bentley. Eating for Victory, 67-69

⁷ Kellogg's Corn Flake "Cool- Quick- Nutritious" advertisement (Good Housekeeping, July 1943), 144

⁸ Doris Weatherford. American Women and World War II. (New York; Facts on File, 1990), 218

women truly believed rationing and conservation held the answer to preserving American service men's lives, and many women whose husbands, sons, or brothers were overseas thought their contribution to or noncompliance with war efforts might personally affect their loved one. One Rhode Island mother, Saidee Leach, wrote "no, I am not envious of your eating steak for we want you men to have the best".⁹ Housewives became well versed in the language of self-sacrifice during the war years, but their war job required more than just sacrifices; it required real thought and planning.

Even as women learned the rationing system and began to understand the new nutritional charts large shifts had already been made in the patterns of their lives. Housewives in the period before the depression, much like women today, were seen as excessive shoppers. Common knowledge and rumors convicted women of buying too many extras, from extra stockings to extra foodstuffs. Rationing required women to carefully consider exactly which foods the family could afford in relation to both ration stamps and actual greenbacks. In response women tightened their belts and started to look at shopping in a different light.

Before the war many women shopped either every day or every few days. Wartime shortages and rationing combined with the ability to store food for longer periods of time in refrigerators pushed women to shop less frequently. Fewer shopping trips meant less gas used, less wear on rubber tires, and it was easier for the housewife to apportion ration stamps. Meal planning was virtually required if a woman only traveled to the store once a week, and by planning meals women could also assure that her family received all the nutrients recommended by the Basic Seven. In effect meal planning guaranteed that a woman was fulfilling her war job by both making a concerned effort to provide optimum nutrition and to save as much "grade A" food as possible for service men.

Advertisement campaigns fully recognized the American woman's new shopping habits and offer helpful suggestions and tips in order to simplify meal planning. The Del Monte food company offered a free wartime meal planner complete with a "US needs us strong" nutritional chart. The campaign stressed that women needed the "buy for a week habit- save time, save work, save gas, and tires too", the advertisement also promised that Del Monte foods provided "easier, better, and more healthful wartime meals".¹⁰ *Good Housekeeping* magazine, much like many other women's magazines, published hints for easier meal planning. They recommend the housewife put out a sheet of

⁹ Emily Yellin. *Our Mothers' War*, 22

¹⁰ Del Monte "Buy for a Week" advertisement (*Good Housekeeping Magazine*, January 1945), 75

paper in the kitchen in order to jot down meal ideas and to formulate weekly Basic Seven adherent meals and calculate the ration points needed to purchase the food for those meals. *Good Housekeeping* also suggested the housewife keep a file of favorite recipes that met rationing standards.¹¹

In spite of all the recipes for non-rationed goods women found in magazines, women discovered a much larger problem on their grocer's shelves. Wartime women expected to see less red meat, sugar, coffee, and canned goods. Unfortunately, across America grocers were also out of dairy products, fresh produce, frozen vegetables, baby food, and any foodstuffs included in military rations such as Jello gelatin or Hershey bars. Moreover, shortages meant that even if a housewife possessed enough points and money for a good cut of red meat many times the butcher did not have any meat. In May of 1943 the problem became so severe that one fourth of all consumers could not acquire beef, one tenth could not find steaks or lamb, and seven percent could not buy pork or bacon.¹² These statistics are quite telling since overall during the war years American pig farmers maintained a good supply of pork, and lamb served as a substitute for beef.

Many shortages of non-rationed or low ration point foods originated because women were encouraged to use these foods as high point substitutes. For example, since canned fruits were scarce many women began incorporating non-rationed baby food into their family's meals. This practice in conjunction with the beginnings of a baby boom soon precipitated empty grocery shelves. Likewise, women unable to find fresh milk because of distribution problems bought canned milk causing a shortage of that product since the tin used to produce cans was rationed. The government proposed the victory garden in response to the shortages of fresh fruits and vegetables. Victory gardens ideally contained enough food to feed one's own family and provided extra for canning.

Housewives, especially rural and suburban housewives, were encouraged to can food from victory gardens so that it could be preserved for later use and perhaps prevent or relieve the acute shortages of fresh produce in markets. This plan contained one fatal flaw. While glass jars and tops could be obtained, both pressure cookers and sugar were nearly impossible to find in many areas and on top of shortages sugar was too tightly rationed!¹³ Although American women encountered hardships in participating in the canning program three fourths of housewives were canning vegetables, fruits, jams, jellies, and

¹¹ "Good Meals for Wintry Weather: Quick to Prepare and Easy on Points" (*Good Housekeeping Magazine*, January 1944), 88

¹² Campbell *Women at War with America*, 180

¹³ Thomas. *Riveting and Rationing in Dixie*, 104

meats.¹⁴ Catherine Cole wrote to her husband about the tiresome work of canning tomatoes with her mother and sister all day, but inserted that “it’s a good thing to can though for if you get them in the stores by the can you have to use so many ration points”.¹⁵

Out of all the shortages facing the World War II housewife butter ranked supreme. Not only was butter a staple in most recipes and on every table, Americans did not take to eating oleo-margarine. One of the most obvious reasons women exhibited dislike for margarine stemmed from aesthetic reasons, butter producers convinced the government to forbid grocers to sell colored margarine to the public. Instead of a soft yellow butter color margarine arrived in the kitchen white with a small packet of food coloring.¹⁶ But as with many other products margarine soon became a staple in American homes since other imported cooking oils like palm or olive oil were unavailable to the housewife.¹⁷ As cooking oils grew more scant Americans began using more shortening in their frying and baking. Spry pure vegetable shortening advertised that although their product might be a tad difficult to find, it made such “fine biscuits and gravy that a man doesn’t mind getting less chicken”.¹⁸ In a related field Kraft Miracle Whip salad dressing opted to fill the vacancy left by traditional salad oils and emphasized not only the good flavor of the product but the healthy benefits of regularly eating salads.¹⁹

At the onset of rationing and all throughout the war years women hoarded goods and kept the black market busy in response to the difficulties they experienced in acquiring goods. The practice of hoarding became so wide spread it became the fodder for jokes. One such joke has a young child proudly explaining to the teacher, after a lesson on the value of saving, that her mother had saved coffee for a long time and now had over one hundred pounds worth of the rationed commodity.²⁰ Hoarding, while being a sort of guilty pleasure for women, created some of the very shortages housewives felt they were insuring against. Hoarding meant the routine of owning more of a rationed food than one admitted to possessing, not simply stocking up on those products before the beginning of the ration program. Hoarders would simply not declare their full

¹⁴ Campbell Women at War with America, 181

¹⁵ Judy Barrett Litoff and David C. Smith, editors. Since You Went Away: World War II Letters from American Women on the Home Front. (New York; Oxford University Press, 1991), 76

¹⁶ Joanne Lamb Hayes. Grandma’s Wartime Kitchen: World War II and the Way We Cooked. (New York; St. Martin’s Press, 2000), 151

¹⁷ Weatherford. American Women and World War II, 205

¹⁸ Spry Pure Vegetable Shortening advertisement (Good Housekeeping, April 1943)

¹⁹ Kraft “Watch ‘em go for nutritious salads with Miracle Whip” advertisement (Good Housekeeping, July 1943), 126

²⁰ Thomas. Riveting and Rationing in Dixie, 102

supply of sugar or butter or meat when called for an accounting by the ration board, thus insuring they would receive a full booklet of ration stamps and benefit from their secreted surplus.²¹

Many women got involved with the black market. On the black market a housewife would either pay more for a rationed item than was legal, supplementing extra money for stamps or buy in stores which obtained food dishonestly. These practices obviously hindered the "to each person a share" ideology, and on the surface seemed an unpatriotic response to a patriotic duty. Not true, or at least World War II housewives did not think a little hoarding or black marketing hurt the war effort. One third of the public admitted that they would pay a little extra for a scarce item, a fifth admitted to paying over ceiling prices for groceries or meat, and many more in the joy of finding a scarce item simply forgot to check ceiling prices and participated in the black market almost by accident.²² The black market for most housewives served as a backdoor way of either providing the nutrients the family needed or of preparing a special dish. Hoarding and black market activities while publicly denounced by both the government and popular publications amounted to little more than a small cheat to most housewives.

As the war went on so too did the shortages facing housewives. But in the patriotic spirit with which American women undertook rationing, they mastered the art of substitution and alteration within the confines of the family kitchen. Some products like butter, although tightly rationed, seemed almost impossible to replace and shortages truly challenged the housewife's creativity. In order to assist the housewife companies like French's mustard offered recipes for spreads to stretch butter. This type of spread usually called for mixing equal parts butter and mustard, unflavored gelatin, or margarine until smooth. Good Housekeeping suggested women provide homemade victory garden jelly, peanut butter, honey, or gravy on the table instead of butter to accompany bread. The magazine also realized that many people just could not stomach these spreads or substitutes so the magazines simply advised women to cut the butter into smaller slices and to spread it thinner.²³

The rationing program called for meat to be rationed not only by amount but also by quality. The program allotted two and a half pounds of meat per person each week, but housewives would receive few high point red stamps needed to buy the best cuts of meat. In reality this meant housewives experienced great difficulty in obtaining grade A beef, and instead bought more

²¹ Thomas. *Riveting and Rationing in Dixie*, 102

²² Campbell. *Women at War with America*, 181

²³ Dorothy Marsh. "If Butter is Scarce Here are New Ideas for Saving It" (Good Housekeeping, January 1944), 81-83.

low point, less desirable cuts of not only beef but all varieties of meats. Meat rationing, perhaps more than any other foodstuff, seemed more patriotic to World War II era women since they were told that every pound of good meat they did not buy arrived in the quartermaster's kitchens overseas. Saidee Leach wrote her son about buying Utility Grade meat "which is so far below Grade A that no points were required" but she cheerfully added that her recipe made that meat the best they had eaten.²⁴ Saidee Leach had plenty of company in the search for way to dress up undesirable meat, or stretch the good meat they found.

The most popular trick for stretching meat called for the housewife to add a cereal to the raw meat before cooking. Kellogg's Corn Flakes advertised that women could add the flakes to meat loaves and hamburgers²⁵, while Betty Crocker suggested Wheaties and a bit of water for "light fluffy patties".²⁶ Women also found that in addition to cereals, vegetables, gravies, sauces, noodles, spaghetti, macaroni, oatmeal, cornmeal, breadcrumbs, bread dressing, crackers, rice, dumplings, biscuits, bread, and toast could all be added to meat when a small amount of meat needed to provide dinner for empty stomachs.²⁷

Stews took on a greater significance in the American diet as they used little meat and cheaper cuts of meat could be easily masked. Armour and Company offered three stew recipes with the recommendation that every woman learn to make a hearty stew since stews allowed more meat to be sent to the armed forces.²⁸ The absence of beef roasts and other 1940s American staple cuts of meat created a large market for other varieties of meat, which required few or no ration points. Home economist Jane Giesler suggested women utilize brains, tripe, liver sausage, pig's feet, bacon squares, oxtails, liver, and heart. Giesler went on to praise these organ meats for not only being good sources of protein but for also supplying iron, vitamin A, B- complex vitamins, and copper.²⁹ In a similar article Frank Ashbrook touted the all-white delicately flavored domestic rabbit meat, which could conveniently and "patriotically be raised in the backyard to help supplement short supplies of other meats".³⁰

²⁴ Emily Yellin. Our Mothers' War, 23

²⁵ Kellogg's Corn Flake "Cool- Quick- Nutritious" advertisement (Good Housekeeping, July 1943), 144

²⁶ Betty Crocker "Suggests a Practical Way to Extend Sausage Meat" advertisement (Good Housekeeping, July 1943), 169

²⁷ Hayes. Grandma's Wartime Kitchen: World War II and the Way We Cooked, 142

²⁸ Armour and Company "Stews Take a Little Meat- Make Wonderful Meals" advertisement (Good Housekeeping, April 1943), 138

²⁹ Jane Giesler "Don't Forget These Meats" (Good Housekeeping, July 1943), 88

³⁰ Frank G. Ashbrook "Why Not Rabbit for Dinner?" (Good Housekeeping, February 1944), 88-89

Women also found new and better used for less exotic meat sources. Martha Luyster told women about the high protein benefits of fish and provided some interesting recipes, such as fish and cabbage chowder or seafood macaroni.³¹ Bacon also underwent a transformation during World War II, The lowly pork product progressed from being a breakfast item to a main course meat anytime of the day. Both Swift and Company and Armour and Company meat packers offered recipes for burgers formed from various meats wrapped in bacon.

Another trick to maintain protein in the wartime diet was to serve eggs, since they contained valuable nutrients and were cheaper than poultry or fish. Byron MacFadyen offered up recipes in his article *Don't Put All Your Eggs in the Same Old Recipe* for hamburgers with fried eggs, Spanish chili with scrambled eggs, and egg foo yeung.³² Logically cheese would have made a perfect protein substitute, but cheese supplies were limited since cheese shipped overseas so well. Regardless, Velveeta provided recipes that utilized the product as a meat replacement. Velveeta offered recipes for rice and cheese main dishes along with the brand's ever-popular macaroni and cheese dinner.³³ American women felt great pressure to both conform to rationing standards and provide healthy balanced meals.

In the quest to provide ever more healthy meals, and with three of the seven basic food groups devoted to vegetables, women attempted to make up for the lack of meat by serving meatless meals. Good Housekeeping suggested vegetable plates, and even soy alternatives to meat.³⁴ Since meat happened to be so difficult to acquire from the grocer, many women began serving meatless meals and using all their red points for the week to buy one good cut of meat. One woman, Melisse Faulds Meeth, living in the war boomtown of Mobile Alabama said, "There was no meat. If you found any it looked so bad that its source was questionable and you were afraid to buy it".³⁵

Although canned and frozen vegetables required precious ration points, women living in the city had to purchase store bought vegetables. City life presented few opportunities to plant large victory gardens as were more common outside of the cities. Birds Eye Brand frosted foods advertised not only the freshness and quality of their vegetables but that one package contained

³¹ Martha Luyster "Cooked this Way- FISH Spells Good Eating" (Good Housekeeping March 1944), 86-87

³² Byron MacFadyen "Don't Put All Your Eggs in the Same Old Recipe" (Good Housekeeping, April 1944), 84

³³ Kraft Foods "1/2 Pound of Velveeta Puts Fine Nutrition in a Main Dish Fast" advertisement (Good Housekeeping, March 1943), 82

³⁴ Dorothy Marsh. "Making the Meat go Farther" (Good Housekeeping, May 1944), 81

³⁵ Emily Yellin. Our Mothers' War, 29-30.

more product than a canned competitor's product.³⁶ Frozen foods did offer one further complication; freezers were rare in home kitchens- so rare that Good Housekeeping published an article called "What are Frozen Foods" in July 1943. Stokely's canned vegetables also emphasized that one can of peas could be used to make two meals, such as peas and patties in chili gravy and hot potato pea salad.³⁷

Even though rationing made meal preparation and shopping a challenge to the housewife, women did find some real values. In the spring of 1943 the government and the Office of Price Administration declared citrus fruit a victory special. Victory specials simply meant that the country possessed a surplus of one good and ask the public to buy that good instead of other goods.³⁸ In February of 1944, Good Housekeeping publicized the many varied uses for the vitamin rich potato in the article "There are Plenty of Potatoes", including recipes for potato rolls and lamb potato hot pot.³⁹ Another strategy approved by the government involved canning summer vegetables as relishes, which was a wonderful way to inject some green veggies into winter diets.⁴⁰

While women busily searched for appetizing meats, and preserved fruits and vegetables, housewives continually worried over the shortages of sugar. The yearly wartime allotment of sugar amounted to twenty-four pounds, two-thirds less than the pre-war years consumption of seventy-two pounds.⁴¹ Sugar rationing formed an important worry for housewives since most women needed the product for canning as well as baking, two very patriotic duties for the kitchen warrior. In addition to baking for the family, women often sent cookies overseas to servicemen. American women depended heavily upon sugar. Women would not be conquered by this shortage any more than the annoyances rationing meat and coffee precipitated. Women found sugar substitutes, cut the amount of sugar in recipes or just did without the sweet stuff.

Housewives altered fruit from being a healthy snack to an elegant accompaniment to simple dessert. Fruit juices also added a bit of sweetness to dishes. Catherine Renne Young wrote her husband about dreaming of bananas, saying that she didn't "think anyone in America has seen a banana for over six

³⁶ Birds Eye brand Frosted Foods "You Get More than you Think When you Buy Birds Eye" advertisement (Good Housekeeping, August 1943), 126

³⁷ Stokely's Finest Foods "2 Smacking Good Meals with this One Can of Peas" advertisement (Good Housekeeping, October 1943), 149

³⁸ Dorothy Marsh. "Fruit for Breakfast, Lunch, or Dinner" (Good Housekeeping, March 1943), 84

³⁹ Margaret Ball. "There are Plenty of Potatoes" (Good Housekeeping, February 1944), 84-86

⁴⁰ Jane Giesler. "Relishes For Next Winter" (Good Housekeeping, August 1943), 81

⁴¹ Bentley. Eating for Victory, 102

months".⁴² Mrs. Young brought up a good point. America lost many of its overseas fruit plantations as well as the sugar plantations. Loss of fields and crops to the war combined with the steady diversion of canned fruits for military use resulted in fruit, especially tropical fruit, becoming a treat. In her article, "Little Sugar –Much Dessert," Margaret Ball publicized the already known benefits of corn syrup, honey, and molasses.⁴³ Women living in the South had been using these sweeteners for generations and due to sugar rationing their secret became popular throughout the United States.

Most wartime dessert recipes simply reduced the amount of sugar needed to achieve the desired results. Betty Crocker's frozen lemon dessert used one half cup of sugar⁴⁴ and Aunt Jenny's homemade devil's food cake calls for only seven eighths of a cup of sugar⁴⁵. These recipes truly cut down on sugar since a pre-war and post war cake could use as much as two cups of sugar. Jell-O pudding offered three flavors during World War II and in 1943 offered an ice cream recipe, which used only four tablespoons of sugar.⁴⁶ Likewise Minute Tapioca rose in popularity since it could be used as both a meat stretcher and with the addition of a little milk and four tablespoons of sugar a "nourishing dessert".⁴⁷

Of course some recipes called for no sugar at all and instead relied on other sweeteners. Spice cakes enjoyed new popularity for the duration since most used molasses instead of white sugar. Brer Rabbit Green Label New Orleans Molasses advertised that it was not only sixty percent sugar, but also the best -known source of iron. The advertisement also included a recipe for gingerbread, which used no sugar and no butter.⁴⁸ Borden's Eagle Brand Sweetened Condensed Milk supplied yet another alternative in the form of magic recipes for the woman searching for a sweet treat to serve after the meal. Borden advertised that their sweetened condensed milk took none of a woman's

⁴² Litoff and Smith. Since You Went Away: World War II Letters from American Women on the Home Front, 84

⁴³ Margaret Ball. "Little Sugar—Much Dessert" (Good Housekeeping, May 1943), 81-82

⁴⁴ General Mill's "Betty Crocker Suggests a Frothy Frozen Dessert Crisp-Coated with Wheaties" advertisement (Good Housekeeping, August 1943), 167

⁴⁵ Spry Pure Vegetable Shortening "Here's Ration Magic- Try these Wonder-Working Spry Recipes says Aunt Jenny" (Good Housekeeping, October 1943), 151

⁴⁶ Jell-O puddings "Like Grandma's- Only More So" advertisement (Good Housekeeping, August 1943), 78

⁴⁷ Minute Tapioca. "Kid's Shout Swell! – While the Sugar Bowl Yells Hooray" advertisement (Good Housekeeping, February 1943), 136

⁴⁸ Brer Rabbit Green Label Molasses. "Brer Rabbit's Best Gingerbread- and It Takes No Sugar!" advertisement (Good Housekeeping, October 1945), 156

sugar, and nearly guaranteed perfect ice creams, cookies, fudge, and frostings.⁴⁹ Wartime women succeeded in surviving sugar rationing, while providing for the American sweet tooth both around the dinner table and overseas.

Women truly enlisted in World War II as home front warriors. Many picked up jobs outside of the home, but all dealt with rationing at one time or another. Women responded quickly to government edicts, which recognized the importance of women in the war effort. Without these housewives' assistance the United States government felt unsure that the country could survive the war, and luckily women took up the banner and made rationing a success. The housewife's mantra of "Use it up. Wear it out. Make it do, or do without!" went from being a catchy slogan to being a way of life for American women. Faced with shortages, and few ration coupons women learned not only to navigate a maze of red tape but to also provide healthier meals. Substitutions and using altogether new or unusual goods meant women accomplished their patriotic duty with flying colors. World War II housewives' recipes did not disappear after the end of rationing, instead they form the basis of what many American's today think of as comfort foods.

⁴⁹ Borden's Eagle Brand Sweetened Condensed Milk "Eagle Brand Saves You Time! Insures Perfect, Luscious Results Always!" advertisement. (Good Housekeeping, February 1946), 80

A Japanese Scoundrel's Skin Game: Japanese Economic Penetration of Ethiopia and Diplomatic Complications Before the Second Italo-Ethiopian War

*J. Calvitt Clarke III
Jacksonville University*

Kitagawa Takashi and the Nagasaki Association for Economic Investigation of Ethiopia (Nikkei-sha), 1932-34

As Italy girded for war against Ethiopia in the first half of the 1930s, Emperor Haile Sellase desperately searched for allies to help defend his country. The Japanese seemed an attractive, potential source of aid. After all, many Ethiopians saw Japan as a non-Western, non-white model for modernization, and Ethiopia's Japanizers had long encouraged closer relations with the Japanese Empire. Many Japanese, especially the ultra-nationalists who wished Japan would lead an alliance of the world's "colored" peoples, favorably responded. Between 1927 and 1935, many governmental representatives and private entrepreneurs visited Ethiopia to explore possibilities for expanding commercial and political ties.¹

Among the latter visitors were several con men promoting get-rich-quick schemes, and among these hustlers was Kitagawa Takashi, the director of the Nagasaki Association for Economic Investigation of Ethiopia. Founded in 1932 in Nagasaki to conduct import and export trade, it was more commonly known as Nikkei-sha. A businessman of an "adventurous and speculative type,"² Kitagawa's scams caused a notable international scandal for Addis Ababa and Tokyo, and these diplomatic complications constrained Ethiopia's ability in 1935 to rally international support against an Italy bent on war.

With three companions, he arrived to a warm welcome in Ethiopia on September 24, 1932. After studying the economic conditions in Addis Ababa for Nikkei-sha, Kitagawa with perhaps four other Japanese ventured into the

¹ See J. Calvitt Clarke: "Dashed Hopes for Support: Daba Birrou's and Shoji Yunosuke's Trip to Japan, 1935," *Proceedings of the XVth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies* (Hamburg: Aethiopistische Forschungen, 2006), 224-32; "Seeking a Model for Modernization: The Japanizers of Ethiopia," *Selected Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference of Historians* 11 (2004): 35-51; and "Mutual Interests: Japan and Ethiopia Before the Italo-Ethiopian War, 1935-36," *Selected Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference of Historians* 9 (2002): 83-97.

² To Ethiopia, 1/18/34: National Archives (College Park, MD), Record Group 59, Decimal File [hereafter cited as NARA] 784.94/3a.

hinterland by mule caravan carrying samples, including cotton fabrics, patent medicines, sundry goods, and agricultural implements. Hoping to sell this cheap merchandise, Kitagawa also explored the market potential for a permanent business. Although this extra adventure into the interior had nothing to do with Nikkei-sha's plans, Addis Ababa put an escort of twenty natives at Kitagawa's disposal. Wherever the caravan visited, local chiefs warmly received it. The trip proved disappointing, however, because the provincial Ethiopians had little cash purchasing power. The group returned to Addis Ababa more-or-less destitute.³

A glib-talking and unscrupulous fixer, Kitagawa negotiated with Ethiopia's foreign minister, Heruy Welde Sellase, for authorization for Nikkei-sha on the rights to lease more than 12,300,000 acres of land in Ethiopia. They also discussed a permit to grow cotton, tobacco, tea, green tea, rice, wheat, fruit trees, vegetables, and medicinal plants. Nikkei-sha wanted the exclusive right to cultivate some plants, including opium, to make medicines for sale in Ethiopia and for export. Kitagawa, on September 18, likely telegraphed the governor of Nagasaki Prefecture and the Nagasaki Chamber of Commerce reporting that Nikkei-sha had secured a concession of almost 1,500,000 acres with a monopoly for poppy cultivation. He pointed out that if Nagasaki set up an emigration company and provided each man with two and one-half acres, 650,000 Japanese could go to Ethiopia. If the company could open direct trade with Ethiopia and end the existing system of indirect trade mostly through Indian merchants, Japan could increase its business with Ethiopia.⁴

In September 1933, Tokyo asked Ethiopia to authorize Nikkei-sha to send a survey party in 1934 to search out 12,355,000 acres of wasteland for reclamation. Nikkei-sha proposed that for every thirty-seven acres, Ethiopia allow one Japanese family to immigrate. Finally, Nikkei-sha asked for almost 2,500 acres near Addis Ababa as an experimental farm to discover what would grow well. Ethiopia agreed to approve lands to grow medicinal plants—apart from prohibited plants—and to discuss later contractual details with permission contingent on final signature of the contracts. Toward the end of September,

³ Hirota, 9/4/33, 9/28/33: Japan, Gaimusho Gaiko Shiryo-kan [Record Office, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Tokyo), hereafter cited as GSK] E424 1-3-1; Grene, 1/17/34: NARA 784.94/6; To Ethiopia, 1/18/34: NARA 784.94/3a; Southard, 11/25/33: NARA 784.94/3; Hidéko Faëber-Ishihara, *Les premiers contacts entre l'Éthiopie et le Japon* (Paris: Aresae, 1998), 14-15. My thanks to Mariko Clarke for translating the Japanese material in this paper.

⁴ Grene, 1/17/34: NARA 784.94/6; To Ethiopia, 1/18/34: NARA 784.94/3a. Because of the many rumors flying around, this is a difficult story to unravel. Grene, the American military attaché in Tokyo, thought that Kitagawa physically visited the governor in mid-September. Kitagawa did not return until November 4, but it is likely that this communication, which Grene described, was by telegram.

Japan's foreign ministry granted the application to rent land in name of Nikkei-sha to cultivate medicinal plants—contingent on a negotiated agreement with Ethiopia.⁵

Rumors and International Controversy

Kitagawa presented his simple negotiations to the public as though Nikkei-sha and Ethiopia had already signed the contract. Taking the bait, under a provocative title, as was usual for the third page of Japanese newspapers, the *Osaka Asahi* on September 21, first wrote about rumored concessions for the Japanese to grow opium. This short, fifteen-line story set off a huge, international contretemps.⁶

That same day, the *London Daily Herald* published a short article by its Tokyo correspondent, who repeated the *Osaka Asahi* story. The correspondent claimed that Japan had secured the “sensational capture of land for thousands of emigrants and new markets for her traders in Abyssinia. . . .” He added that Japanese newspapers were celebrating Kitagawa's triumph in getting Ethiopia to grant Japan concessions on immigration and commerce, 1,600,000 acres of lands suitable for cotton planting, and a monopoly for opium cultivation. The Japanese were forming an emigration organization to populate these lands, and soon there would be “a stream of Japanese moving west.” Exaggerating Kitagawa's success, the correspondent lamented that Japanese salesmen were finding it easy to open new markets for their products in Ethiopia and that official escorts protected them as they moved around the country selling their goods. The stakes were high. Ethiopia served as a buffer between the vast colonial interests controlled by Britain, France, and Italy, and each held important interests within Ethiopia itself. Japan was challenging all three.⁷

The *Daily Herald* article snowballed around the world's press, which denounced Japan's economic and political invasion of Ethiopia. The French newspaper *Le Temps*, as one example, from September through December published many articles, especially reprinting Italian stories and comments, chiefly those published in *Azione Coloniale*. Europeans worried about the

⁵ Hirota, 9/4/33, 9/28/33: GSK E424 1-3-1; Grene, 1/17/34: NARA 784.94/6; Faëber-Ishihara, *Les premiers contacts*, 14-15.

⁶ To Ethiopia, 1/18/34: NARA 784.94/3a.

⁷ *London Daily Herald*, Sept. 21, 1933; Military Intelligence, 10/5/33: NARA 784.94/1; To Ethiopia, 1/18/34: NARA 784.94/3a; “Africa Beware!”: GSK E424 1-3-1; Taura Masanori, “Nihon-Echiopia kankei ni miru 1930 nen tsusho gaiko no iso,” *Seifu to Minkan, Nenpo Kindai Nihon Kenkyu*, 17 (1995): 151-52; Henriette Celarié, *Ethiopie XXe Siècle* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1934), 126.

possibility for Japanese economic and political hegemony in Ethiopia and Ethiopia's attitude favoring the Japanese.⁸

Tokyo Investigates and Ethiopia Responds

Fearing diplomatic repercussions, Tokyo took action. The foreign minister sent a telegram on October 4, 1933, to the chargé d'affaires at Port Said, Harada Chuichiro, ordering him to look into Nikkei-sha. Harada spoke about it with Heruy who was passing through Port Said on his way to Greece. Ethiopia's foreign minister explained that Ethiopia had not yet signed any contract with Nikkei-sha and, until then, the concession would not come into effect. The contract, he stressed, did not include opium growing, and Ethiopia was waiting for Nikkei-sha to clarify its conditions. Heruy added that his dearest wish was that commerce and friendship between Japan and Ethiopia would grow. And while he confessed he had underestimated the reaction of third countries, he was taking no notice of how they were choosing to interpret the affair.⁹

Meanwhile, Heruy spoke with the Cairo correspondent for the Naples newspaper, *Mattino*. The foreign minister admitted that a few months earlier several Japanese industrialists in a "private capacity and without any mandate from their Government" had arrived to study commercial possibilities in Ethiopia. Heruy said that Ethiopia was willing to grant 1000 acres for Japan to develop for growing cotton plus more land to cultivate other industrial and commercial plants. Ethiopia wanted, within reasonable limits, the Japanese to build industrial and commercial enterprises on its territory. While admitting that Japanese competition would displace India's cotton trade with Ethiopia, Heruy wondered why conversations "with our Far Eastern Friends" disturbed Europe. Noting that "Abyssinia is not the enemy of any Power, but wishes to maintain cordial relations with everybody," Heruy added that diverse discussions were developing that did "not exclude the probability of a new situation in favor of Japan."¹⁰ This statement could not have eased worried Italian minds.

Tokyo continued to examine Kitagawa. A journalist active in Japan's contacts with Ethiopia, Shoji Yunosuke, reported to the foreign ministry on

⁸ See, e.g., *Le Temps*, Sept. 25; Nov. 7, 30; and Dec. 25, 1933; Faëber-Ishihara, *Les premiers contacts*, 15; Taura, "Nihon-Ethiopia kankei ni miru 1930," 152.

⁹ Faëber-Ishihara, *Les premiers contacts*, 15-16; Hidéko Faëber-Ishihara, "Heruy, le Japon et les 'japonisants'," *Les orientalistes sont des aventuriers. Guirlande offerte à Joseph Tubiana par ses élèves et ses amis* (Paris: Sépia, 1999), 143-44; Taura, *Nihon-Ethiopia kankei ni miru 1930*, 152.

¹⁰ *Il Mattino*, Nov. 1, 1933; *Asahi Shinbun*, Nov. 3, 1933; *Japan Times*, Feb. 13, 1934; *Morning Post*, Nov. 2, 1933; London, 11/17/33: Italy, Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Direzione Generale degli Affari Politici, Ethiopia (Rome) [hereafter cited as AP Ethiopia] b14 f9; Faëber-Ishihara, *Les premiers contacts*, 16.

several scandals surrounding Kitagawa. The ministry asked Suzuki Shintaro, governor of Nagasaki Prefecture, to look into Nikkei-sha. Harada also interviewed Kitagawa in Port Said while on his way back to Japan. According to Harada's report, Kitagawa said he had gotten from Ethiopia the right to rent 12,355,000 acres. Further, Japanese immigrants would receive almost 370,650 acres, and Japan would receive a monopoly for cultivating cotton, coffee, and other crops and herbs. The potential deal did not include opium cultivation. Governor Suzuki, on the other hand, reported that the deal included a monopoly of opium cultivation as well as almost 1,600,000 acres for rent.¹¹

Unsurprisingly, Harada's report did not settle the issue. Kuroki Tokitaro, the acting consul in Colombo, Ceylon, also reported on several newspaper articles describing Japanese advances into Ethiopia. In Japan, based on information from Nagasaki, the *Tokyo Nichi Nichi* predicted that with Japanese aid Ethiopia would become a new Brazil. On October 25, 1933, the foreign ministry again ordered Harada to investigate. Harada's reply came several days later, on the 29th. The day before, Heruy had told him that the issues of cotton and medicinal herb cultivation and the land rent were as reported, but Ethiopia had not yet signed a contract. Heruy assured Harada that he had told Kitagawa that he would study the possibility of granting a lease, if Kitagawa would add to his petition a statement detailing conditions and a draft of the proposed lease. Harada noted that Europeans were condemning Japan's advance into world markets, and he feared that opinion would harden. Heruy took a slightly different tack. He said he placed friendship between Japan and Ethiopia on a high level: "How anyone else interprets these issues does not concern me, because I long to develop commerce between Japan and Ethiopia and I pray for improved friendship between the two countries."¹²

On November 7, Japan's representative to the 17th Session of the Opium Advisory Committee in Geneva denied rumors of an Ethiopian concession to Japan to cultivate poppies. These rumors, he admitted, must have alarmed the committee's members, and he had asked Tokyo to investigate. The representative presented the results to the committee. The problem had begun with the "tendentious" article in the *Daily Herald*, which had repeated the story from the *Asahi*. Yokoyama quoted from Harada's report on Heruy's negotiations with Kitagawa. Since then, the negotiations had made no progress.

¹¹ Taura, "Nihon-Echiopia kankei ni miru 1930," 152-53. Harada actually gave a figure of 150,000 chobu and Suzuki 650,000 chobu. One chobu equals about .9830 hectares. Faëber-Ishihara, *Les premiers contacts*, 15. For more on Shoji, see Clarke, "Dashed Hopes, 224-32 and J. Calvitt Clarke III, "Marriage Alliance: The Union of Two Imperiums: Japan and Ethiopia?" *Selected Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference of Historians* 7 (1999): 105-16.

¹² Taura, "Nihon-Echiopia kankei ni miru 1930," 153; To Ethiopia, 1/18/34: NARA 784.94/3a.

Ethiopia, a League member, could not allow poppy cultivation, and the manufacture of opium in the empire was illegal. Because of his unsuccessful ventures, Kitagawa found himself without capital, and upset by his complete failure, he wanted "to restore his personal credit." Having broached the possibility of getting agricultural concessions, Kitagawa had received a "somewhat" favorable welcome. Based on this thin reed, he had sent his telegram of September 18 to pave "the way for a triumphant return to Japan" by securing financial support from the Nagasaki Chamber of Commerce. In other words, Kitagawa's telegram "was only a fraudulent move by a member of the mission, a young man." Japan's representative regretted that "a mere intrigue by an adventurer" had led to unfriendly rumors about Japan, and he hoped he had reassured the committee and had removed any misunderstanding. He asked the Secretariat to make known this official Japanese denial to the international press.¹³

Putting together the results of its inquiries, Japan's foreign ministry concluded that Ethiopia had not made any concessions, that Nikkei-sha lacked both funding and credit, and that Kitagawa had some personal problems. The ministry proved the actual contract differed from the content of the translation made by Nikkei-sha. Further, the lease and the right of cultivation would be effective only after signing the contract, and there was no contract. On November 27, the foreign ministry sent telegrams relaying these conclusions to Japanese ambassadors in England, France, Italy, Germany, and other states having diplomatic establishments in Ethiopia.¹⁴

The Controversy Widens

In the middle of the brewing controversy, Kitagawa had returned to Japan on November 4, 1933. Arriving at Port Moji at night, Kitagawa proudly talked to newspaper reporters about the contract as if Ethiopia had already confirmed it. The next day Kitagawa received a warm welcome in Nagasaki. On November 8, the Nagasaki Chamber of Commerce and Industry and 130 people welcomed him.¹⁵

Confirming Harada's fears and justifying Italy's concerns, on November 6 and 7, the *Morning Post* of London launched a campaign denouncing Japan's commercial machinations in Africa. Specifically, the newspaper reported that Ethiopia had granted a cotton concession to a Japanese consortium. The paper feared that the effects of Ethiopia's treating with the Japanese might "have far-reaching consequences" and warned that a "long

¹³ To Ethiopia, 1/18/34: NARA 784.94/3a.

¹⁴ Taura, "Nihon-Echiopia kankei ni miru 1930," 153-54.

¹⁵ Taura, "Nihon-Echiopia kankei ni miru 1930," 153.

contemplated and carefully planned project of industrial and commercial penetration is now in sight.”¹⁶ The newspaper worried that in moving into Ethiopia, Japan would apply the same energy and ability shown when invading other markets. Japanese advances threatened not just Italy, but Great Britain and France as well. The *Azione Coloniale*, “a vigorous Fascist newspaper devoted to Italy’s Africa problem,”¹⁷ was emphatically recommending anti-Japanese collaboration among the three. Ethiopia was modernizing, and Haile Sellase was suspicious of Europeans. Therefore, he was turning to Japan. Italy was already upset that Ethiopia had refused invitations to take part in Italy’s annual International Tripoli Fair, and now Ethiopia was refusing to work with Italy as obligated by treaty. Ethiopia had sent a mission to Germany to buy airplanes, light artillery, and machine guns, “without staying to inquire about Italian aircraft prices.”¹⁸

Toward the end of November, the United States’ representative in Addis Ababa, Addison Southard, responded to the State Department’s plea for information on the accuracy of the *Daily Herald* article of September 21. Southard recognized that similar reports, coming mainly from foreign newspapers, had been circulating in Ethiopia for several weeks. His legation had been unable to confirm from either Ethiopian or diplomatic sources that the Japanese had received any such land concessions. He believed the Japanese had applied to Addis Ababa some months before for a concession of about 495 acres for experimentally growing medicinal plants for sale in Japan. When the Ethiopians discovered the Japanese had proposed to grow opium poppies, however, they deferred action on the application. Southard thought the Ethiopians might eventually grant this small plot of land, but informal inquiry at the foreign ministry had elicited only that the concession was pending. Without mentioning Kitagawa by name, he dismissed his efforts as a “good old ‘skin’ game.”¹⁹

Then why were the British, French, and Italians competing so hard in Ethiopia against the Japanese? Southard thought national pride and jealousy motivated them more than any conviction of great profits in the offing. Southard added, “The crafty Ethiopian plays on the gullibility of one foreigner or another and thus gets an exaggerated amount of international advertising as to

¹⁶ *Morning Post*, Nov. 7, 1933.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Nov. 6, 1933.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Also see To Ethiopia, 11/21/33: NARA 765.94/2; To Ethiopia, 11/21/33: NARA 784.94/1a; To Ethiopia, 11/27/33: NARA 784.94/1b; To Ethiopia, 11/21/33: NARA 884.602/41; Cox, 11/13/33: NARA 841.00/310; Atherton, 12/18/33: NARA 841.00/315; Atherton, 12/18/33: NARA 884.61321/5; Southard, 12/26/33: NARA 784.94/5; and London: 11/9/33: AP Ethiopia b14 f 9.

¹⁹ Southard, 11/25/33: NARA 784.94/3.

this country's business potentialities."²⁰ Southard noted that poor trade statistics made it difficult to appraise the true extent of Japanese inroads into Ethiopia, although recently they had won most of the local market for cotton piece goods especially of the coarser varieties. In past eighteen months, he added, a few minor Japanese had come to Ethiopia to explore opportunities, but they had found only disappointment. One had opened a little shop in Addis Ababa for selling samples "of the cheapest kinds of merchandise including mainly cottons, artificial silks, notions, and related knickknack. We hear that the business done to date has been unimportant."²¹

Southard thought it possible that other enterprises might be pending, but outside the few Ethiopian towns, there were few business opportunities. Undeveloped roads, ineffectual government and courts, an impoverished peasantry, and limited economic development restricted the potential for profit, "unless the Ethiopians offer inducements and liberty of operation which we think improbable." He estimated the average per capita purchasing power for foreign goods was not more than \$1.00 a year and was unlikely to increase soon. Any concessions of the size rumors were discussing were too large for the limited Ethiopian market to absorb. Further, the French, Germans, and Belgians had earlier wasted money on cotton-growing experiments. With a "paucity of water and amenable labor," they had not been able to grow first-class fiber. All foreigners—and Southard confessed he had fallen prey too—for their first few years in country entertained delusions about Ethiopia's economic potential. Finally, the "arrogance, obstinacy, and grasping of provincial officials" made running any foreign agricultural enterprise "unduly costly." Not optimistic about Ethiopia's economic development, Southard concluded that Japan inevitably would find disillusionment.²²

Southard elaborated on the difficulties the Japanese would face by adding three anecdotes. The enthusiasm developed by Heruy's 1931 visit to Japan and his exaggerations of Ethiopia's economic potential had resulted in a Japanese dentist going to Ethiopia.²³ After only a few months, he went broke. He reportedly had said that it was hopeless to expect to make a living in Ethiopia as there were too few who could afford dental attention—and many of those who could, would not pay their bills. Southard editorialized,

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*; Phillips, 1/23/34: NARA 884.61321/6. Southard held fast to his skepticism. See, e.g., Southard, 2/14/34: NARA 784.94/7.

²³ For Heruy's trip to Japan, see J. Calvitt Clarke III, "Foreign Minister Heruy's Mission to Japan in 1931: Ethiopia's Effort to Find a Non-Western Model for Modernization," *Selected Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference of Historians* 14 (2007): 17-28.

"Procrastination in paying just financial obligations appears to be a national characteristic of the Ethiopians."²⁴ Heruy loaned this dentist enough to pay his steamer fare back to Singapore. Southard turned to salacious gossip for his second anecdote. The Emperor had a Japanese cook, Enomoto Seisaku, at the Imperial Palace. The cook's wife worked as a masseuse and perhaps rendered as well "more intimate services, to certain Ethiopians."²⁵ Finally, Southard had heard that Ethiopia's emperor was considering employing a Japanese jujitsu expert for his palace soldiers.

Southard had evidence that there were then fewer than eight or ten Japanese in Ethiopia, and none of these were important. Given Ethiopian suspiciousness of any foreign immigration, Southard doubted there was or would be any significant numbers of Japanese going to Ethiopia. Even more, reports in the international press of a "Japanese invasion," had upset the Ethiopians. He doubted they would either make important concessions or allow many to come. They, however, did want a Japanese Legation "to enhance the pride and prestige of their Emperor." Haile Selassie felt the public kowtowing of light-skinned foreign diplomats before him raised his position in eyes of his own people: "It is not difficult to imagine the Dejasmatches pridefully remarking, 'See how even the great Emperor of Japan sends an important representative to bend the knee to our even greater Haile Selassie!'"²⁶

Despite Tokyo's efforts and press protests,²⁷ more sensational and exaggerated newspaper articles warning of Japan's economic advance into Ethiopia came out from Germany and Italy. French and British colonial circles expressed concern. *Le Temps* on December 18, published a telegram from its Rome correspondent describing Italian anxieties. Ethiopia, the paper said, intended to favor Japanese enterprises while showing "deliberate hostility toward European economic penetration." The French paper predicted that Italy would ask for cooperation with Paris and London.²⁸

Despite the denials, false rumors continued to fly. America's embassy in Tokyo initially had reported that Nikkei-sha hoped to send 650,000 emigrants to Ethiopia.²⁹ In mid-January 1934, America's military attaché in Tokyo joined in the extravagant descriptions of Japanese inroads into Ethiopia. He also thought, however, that the *Daily Herald* had exaggerated the economic importance of any concessions, monopolies, and any rights and privileges the

²⁴ Southard, 11/25/33: NARA 784.94/3.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Taura, "Nihon-Echiopia kankei ni miru 1930," 153.

²⁸ *Le Temps*, Dec. 18, 1933; Dawson, 12/20/33: NARA 784.94/2.

²⁹ Grew, 10/3/33: NARA 894.00/70.

Japanese may have gotten in Ethiopia. If the concessions had any substance, their importance was political, he added. He described Kitagawa's mission as one to exploit economic resources, to develop trade, and to open an outlet for Japan's overflowing population. Mistakenly, the attaché declared that sometime in the summer of 1933, the Ethiopian government had leased to Kitagawa 1,600,000 acres of farmland, suitable for growing Arabian Mocha coffee and cotton. Even at this late date, he argued that the Ethiopian government had also agreed to grant Kitagawa monopoly rights to raise opium poppies.³⁰

Substance to Italian Fears?

Thought exaggerated, Italian fears were not entirely fatuous. In January 1934, Count Luigi Vinci, Italian Minister to Ethiopia, got hold of a letter in English from Dr. Yamauchi Masao to Haile Sellase. Yamauchi had been in Ethiopia for a couple of years and became a special correspondent of the *Osaka Mainichi*. In the letter, he proposed that the Japanese offer help and loans to Ethiopia to electrify industries and to build iron works, which would also make weapons. Doubtless putting into focus many Italian fears, Yamauchi wrote: "If your Imperial Majesty may be willing to extend necessary permissions to afford me of an audience on matters of great importance for the 'Lift up of Ethiopia', I shall esteem it a great favour." It continued that, by developing iron works, Ethiopia, "the cradle of civilisation," would sow the seeds for future greatness. Yamauchi wanted to return to Japan as soon as possible to procure loans. He expected to get this loan "without any difficulty, on the understanding that Your Imperial Majesty may be willing you give a warrant of security in any manner desired. As Your Imperial Majesty is quite aware, I am always trying to cultivate a good link and existing friendship between Japan and Ethiopia." Japan, Yamauchi explained, had refused Ethiopia a loan during Heruy's visit, because the Japanese did not appreciate "the greatness and wealth of Ethiopia." Now, he promised, things had changed. He closed by asking for a personal audience in which he could talk details.³¹

Vinci also forwarded to Rome a copy of an even more ominous letter, this one from Wolde Giorgis, secretary-general of Ethiopia's foreign ministry, to Toda Masaharu. Dated December 6, 1933, Wolde Giorgis wrote that, after

³⁰ Grene, 1/17/34: NARA 784.94/6.

³¹ Rome, 1/17/34: AP Etiopia b24 f3. For more on Italian concerns in the month of November 1933, see AP Etiopia b14 f9: Rome, 11/11/33; Istituto Nazionale per L'Esportazione, 11/13/33; Guaranschelli, 11/15/33; To Istituto Nazionale per L'Esportazione, 11/17/33; Buti, 11/18/33; Vinci, 11/20/33; Vinci, 11/21/33; de Bono, 11/23/33; Vinci, 11/24/33; Guaranschelli, 11/27/33; Astuto, 11/27/33; and "Documenti sulla penetrazione giapponese in Etiopia," *L'Azione Coloniale*, Nov. 16, 1933.

agreeing on the price and quality, Ethiopia would offer its products in exchange for weapons, including heavy and light machine guns, and long and short rifles. Ethiopia would be grateful if, "on your arrival in Japan and after having discussed the matter with the appropriate authorities, you would communicate to us in detail the conditions necessary for properly concluding this matter."³²

Vinci also warned of the imminent arrival in Ethiopia of 170 Japanese, destined for a concession. Further, on January 14, a Japanese journalist, Nanjo Shinichi, arrived. He was to remain in Ethiopia for one month and then continue to London.³³

Vinci was wrong on the arrival of Japanese settlers and on the implied threat Nanjo represented. In mid-March, the *Osaka Mainichi & Tokyo Nichi Nichi* published his story on a three-week hunt into Ethiopia's hinterland, close to the border with Kenya. Most of the article described "skirmishes" with hippopotamuses. "Little Masao Yamauchi, the only Japanese residing in Ethiopia" accompanied Nanjo on the expedition. Their caravan, proudly displaying the Japanese flag, returned to Addis Ababa on March 6. Nanjo noted that Ethiopians along the route in the capital saluted the flag. Before leaving for his hunt, he had "invited royalties, cabinet ministers, and prominent citizens to a banquet."³⁴

Meanwhile, Kitagawa was finding less success than the Italians feared. In mid-January 1934, the foreign ministry received a report from Governor Suzuki that Kitagawa and others had been planning to set up an immigration company with capital investment of about one million yen. They, however, had temporarily suspended plans because of financial problems. On January 20, 1934, Kitagawa went to the International Trade section of the foreign ministry and tried to explain Nikkei-sha's plan to send twenty technicians with capital of about ¥130,000 to manage an agricultural experimental station of almost 2,500-leased acres. The International Trade section opposed this plan because Ethiopia had not yet confirmed the land concession. Besides, the plan merely provided for an experiment on agricultural management. It was more realistic, said the International Trade section, to send a few people to conduct field tests.³⁵

The International Trade section explained to Governor Suzuki the importance Japan placed on the Nikkei-sha issue. This was Japan's first effort to advance agriculturally in Ethiopia, and its success or failure would influence Japanese development there. The foreign ministry feared "any negative impression in Ethiopia," which would reflect on the plan itself as well as the

³² Rome, 1/17/34: AP Etiopia b24 f3.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Osaka Manichi & Tokyo Nichi Nichi*, Mar. 11, 1934.

³⁵ Taura, "Nihon-Echiopia kankei ni miru 1930," 154.

total relationship between Japan and Ethiopia. Ultimately, financially strapped, Nikkei-sha went out of business after only six months.³⁶

Italy's ambassador on May 9, 1934 called on Japan's foreign minister. During their fifty-minute conversation, the ambassador emphatically denied press reports that Rome strongly opposed the Nikkei-sha deal, and that Italy, cooperating with other countries, planned to expel Japanese goods from Ethiopia. He also objected to the anti-Italian implications in earlier reports in Japanese newspapers that a "certain power" opposed Japanese investments in Africa.³⁷

Other Japanese Visitors, Business Failures, and an Ethiopian Proposal

Doubtless following up on the promise of Heruy's visit to Japan, a few Japanese businessmen made their way to Ethiopia. A representative of the Kanegafuchi Spinning Company visited Ethiopia for about a week to look into the demand for cotton piece goods. He also wanted to discuss possibilities for growing cotton in Ethiopia and for building a local spinning mill, but probably entered no negotiations with Ethiopia's government. On December 22, 1933, another Japanese arrived. A submanaging partner and general inspector of the Chukyo Trading Company of Nagoya, he tried to run a retail shop in Addis Ababa for distributing Japanese goods. Discouraged, however, by the limited trade, he soon liquidated the business and left.³⁸

Another visitor was Hanyu Chotaro, a businessman from Kamakura. In mid-April 1934 after five-months in Ethiopia, Hanyu publicly praised Ethiopia as a promising market for Japanese goods, but he was more circumspect in private. Having received an "enthusiastic welcome," he spoke with the emperor, the foreign minister, and other high government officials. He also negotiated "with influential French and Indian businessmen" in Ethiopia. Hanyu granted that Italy, France, and Great Britain had extensive interests in Ethiopia and that despite an agreement between them providing for noninterference in Ethiopia's domestic affairs, their influence was strong. He noted that Ethiopia's principal exports were coffee and hides, and their main imports were cotton piece goods. The nation's purchasing power, however, was low. The five-hundred-mile, French-controlled railway from Djibouti supplied Addis Ababa, where there

³⁶ *Ibid.*; Faëber-Ishihara, *Les premiers contacts*, 14; Adrien Zervos, *L'Empire d'Ethiopie: Le Miroir de L'Ethiopie Moderne 1906-1935* (Alexandria, Egypt: Impr. de l'Ecole professionnelle des frères, 1936), 483.

³⁷ *Japan Times*, May 9, 1934.

³⁸ Okakura Takashi and Kitagawa Katsuhiko, *Nihon-Afurika Koryu-shi: Meiji-ki kara Dainiji Sekai Taisen-ki made* (Tokyo: Dobun-kan, 1993), 35-36.

Southard, 2/14/34: NARA 784.94/7; Engert, 8/24/35: NARA 784.94/23; George, 3/22/35: NARA 784.94/17; Rome, 1/17/34: AP Ethiopia b24 f3.

were no electric lights. Hanyu noted that Ethiopia imported most of its cotton piece goods from Japan, and he suggested that it would be better to market Japanese cotton piece goods through foreign businessmen in Ethiopia than to market the goods themselves. This would "avoid unnecessary competition with the foreign firms." He continued, "Ethiopia, I believe, promises to be a potential market for Japan, and I will advise the Foreign Office to establish either a legation or a consulate in Ethiopia." He closed by insisting that Ethiopia had not granted 1,200,000 acres to a Japanese. This false report had perplexed both Addis Ababa and Tokyo, and the Ethiopians had asked him to report truthfully on things "as they are."³⁹

Hanyu was correct. Contrary to what the European press was asserting, Japanese activities in Ethiopia were modest. In 1932, fifteen Japanese settled in Ethiopia, and in 1933, seven more arrived. In the summer of 1934, there were only five. By autumn, there were only three Japanese in Addis Ababa, one of whom was in the American Seventh-Day Adventist Hospital where doctors had removed his appendix. The emperor and Heruy had assured Southard that they had granted no concessions to Japanese interests, although they expected the Japanese to open a legation in 1935. Southard concluded that there was no Japanese penetration that his legation could "see, imagine, or hear about."⁴⁰ In 1935, there were only three Japanese in Ethiopia. The others had left Ethiopia after their enterprises had failed. In August 1935, no Japanese shipping company included Djibouti in its list of port calls.⁴¹

Presumably inspired by Hanyu's visit, in what appears to be a semi-official letter of early March 1934, Jacob Adol Mar, self-proclaimed friend of Ethiopia's foreign minister, wrote to Hanyu. He asserted that all "logical thinking" Ethiopians wanted to see the Japanese come to Ethiopia for industrial and commercial purposes. Ethiopia, he wrote, felt squeezed between the colonies of Britain, France, and Italy. He added, "In this critical situation we all hope that the presence of many Japanese may encourage Your Government to give us a political help in difficult circumstances." He lamented the "regrettable faults" by those in both Ethiopia and Japan, which allowed European powers to oppose mutually friendly relations. The Ethiopians feared that Japanese journalists, manufacturers, and traders knew so little about Ethiopia that new blunders might again trouble relations between Ethiopia and Japan.⁴²

³⁹ *Japan Times*, Apr. 22, 1934; Southard, 2/14/34: NARA 784.94/7.

⁴⁰ Southard, 10/22/34: NARA 784.94/13.

⁴¹ Zervos, *L'Empire d'Ethiopie*, 484; *Osaka Mainichi & Tokyo Nichi Nichi*, Aug. 18, 1935; Tsuchida Yutaka, "Echiopia o Miru," *Chuo Koron* 50 (1935): 308-15. Tsuchida (1935: 312).

⁴² Mar, 3/4/34: GSK M130 1-1-2.

Therefore, continued Mar, his friends had suggested that he go to Japan to deliver speeches to build sympathy for Ethiopia. He proposed that he would explain to the foreign ministry the best way to open political relations with Ethiopia and how Japan's bankers, exporters, and manufacturers could set up successful enterprises. The necessary first step would be to set up an imperial legation in Addis Ababa. Japan could do this cheaply. Detailing a comprehensive economic and commercial plan, Mar wrote that Ethiopia's government would let him act officially as an adviser for Japan's legation.⁴³

In 1935, Heruy condemned rumors that Japan was settling 200,000 peasants to work on cotton plantations and to become soldiers in case of war. He said there was no Japanese legation and were only four Japanese in all the country. "[O]ur four Japanese guests are little merchants who have built a small shop where they sell Japanese goods to compete with the cheap Czech glassware that the Galli and Somali women like so much. As far as I can tell, this outpost of the Japanese invasion is not doing well, and its owners are thinking of leaving the country."⁴⁴

Southard agreed. In October 1934, he argued the Ethiopians would let, in a restricted way, the Japanese set up commercial enterprises in Ethiopia—should they offer substantial financial and other inducements. The legation, however, did not see much in Ethiopia the Japanese would find commercially or economically attractive. Southard added an important understanding. He insisted the Italians knew through their efficient, local legation that there was no real Japanese penetration and there was no chance there would be in the immediate future. He added that in pursuing its political and economic designs on Ethiopia, Italy needed a foil, an imaginary Japanese penetration based on the flirtations of the last several years between Addis Ababa and Tokyo.⁴⁵

Italian Manipulations of Fears of Japanese Incursions into Ethiopia

As Southard pointed out, the Italians were making good use of the flirtations between Ethiopia and Japan. At the Rome Opera House on March 18, 1934, Mussolini proclaimed Italy's destiny for expansion. "Italy's historical objectives," he said, "have two names: Asia and Africa . . . justified by geography and history." Italy, after all, could not expand either to the north or to the west. The Duce added that of Europe's powers, Italy lay the closest to Africa and Asia. He then set before himself and future Italians the completion of Italy's centuries-old task, territorial expansion, not for its own sake, "but a natural expansion that should lead to collaboration between Italy and the Near

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Ladislav Farago, *Abyssinia on the Eve* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1935), 128.

⁴⁵ Southard, 10/22/34: NARA 784.94/13.

East and the Middle East." This would bring civilization to Asia and Africa. Mussolini declared, "We do not intend to claim either monopolies or privileges," but, he warned, the satisfied colonial powers "should not try to block on every side the spiritual, political and economic expansion of Fascist Italy." He then justified his military buildup in Eritrea and Somaliland by denouncing Japanese penetration into Ethiopia and the modernization of Ethiopia's military with airplanes, howitzers, machine guns, tanks, field artillery. Italy, the Duce claimed, had to arm its colonies enough so they could defend themselves in case Italy should become preoccupied in Europe.⁴⁶

Explaining from a commercial view why Italy recently had militarily reinforced its colonies of Eritrea and Somaliland, Alessandro Lessona, Under-Secretary of Colonies, in late 1934 clarified Italy's position in a speech at Naples. Noting the worsening political situation in the Far East, Lessona saw Japan's danger to Europe in its "birth rate, energy and spirit of sacrifice of the Japanese, the imperious necessity for always seeking new markets. . . . Her pretensions and her force are the axle around which turns all Oriental policy." He went on, "The more one restrains the Japanese expansion in the East, the more she will try to expand in other sectors and in other continents, as is proved already by Japan's activity in Ethiopia." Lessona ominously added that Africa could represent the final objective of Japanese expansion. "To draw the Dark Continent into her own orbit would signify for Japan not so much in acquisition of power, as a means of depriving Europe of the possibility of using Africa for the defense of her civilization."⁴⁷

What were the chances for success of such an ambitious proposal? Foreign Minister Heruy had a more realistic sense of the possibilities. When a journalist asked him if Ethiopia had common interests with Japan, the foreign minister replied, "We shall never have an important exchange of trade with Japan, for we have hardly anything that they can buy from us." Heruy explained that Ethiopia's main export was coffee, "but the Japanese drink tea. . . ." Japan had no need for Ethiopia's agricultural goods and skins. "We only buy from

⁴⁶ *Popolo d'Italia*, Mar. 20, 1934; Benito Mussolini, *Opera Omnia di Benito Mussolini*, 26: *Dal Patto a Quattro all'inaugurazione della Provincia di Littoria (8 Giugno 1933-18 Dicembre 1934)* (Florence: La Fenice, 1958), 185-93; Long, 3/23/34; NARA 865.00F/218. Italians continued Mussolini's themes into the Autumn, as the Japanese noted. See *Japan Times*, Oct. 3, 1934. Contrary to Italy's fears, Japan did not supply Ethiopia with weapons or munitions. See J. Calvitt Clarke III, "The Politics of Arms Not Given: Japan, Ethiopia, and Italy in the 1930s," *Girding for Battle: The Arms Trade in a Global Perspective, 1815-1940* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), 135-53.

⁴⁷ *New York Times*, Dec. 2, 1934. See Mario dei Gaslini, "Il Giappone nell'economia Etiopica," *Corso di Preparazione politica per i giovani* (Milan: Tipografia del "Popolo d'Italia," 1935), 99-107.

Japan because her goods are cheap and we have not enough money to pay for the perhaps superior but considerably dearer European and American products."⁴⁸

The supposed agricultural concession to Kitagawa and other rumored deals between Ethiopia and Japan, despite many denials and obvious facts, continued to rankle the Italians throughout the summer of 1935.⁴⁹ One book, published only months before the outbreak of the Italo-Ethiopian War, complained about Japan's extensive penetration of Ethiopia. In four short years, the author asserted, Japan had gotten in the highlands extending between the valley of the Nile, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean, almost 750,000 acres of fertile land for cultivating cotton. The first contingent of Japanese cotton farmers had already set themselves up. Provocatively, the author asserted that they were young but had brought no women with them, because they were to marry Ethiopian women.⁵⁰

In his memoirs, Emperor Haile Sellase declared that the Italians were spreading these rumors to rile up fears among the British and French who held neighboring colonies. The Italians knew, the emperor insisted, that Ethiopia had made no such secret treaty or concession.⁵¹ These rumors, nonetheless, seduced not just the London and Paris to violate their national and colonial interests, but even the Soviet Russians to forsake their communist, anti-imperialist ideology to support Italy against an Ethiopia helped by Japan.⁵² Without this presumed Japanese threat, it is unlikely that the world's reaction to Italy's preparations for war in 1934 and 1935 would have been so muted. Nor would the League of Nations' response to war begun in October 1935 have been so ineffectual.

⁴⁸ Farago, *Abyssinia on the Eve*, 128.

⁴⁹ J. Calvitt Clarke III, "Japan and Italy Squabble Over Ethiopia: The Sugimura Affair of July 1935," *Selected Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference of Historians* 6 (1999): 9-20.

⁵⁰ Giulio Cesare Baravelli, *The Last Stronghold of Slavery: What Abyssinia Is* (Rome: Società Editrice di "Novissima," 1935), 63-64. For the story of one proposed marriage that did provoke international complications for Ethiopia and Japan, see Clarke, "Marriage Alliance," 105-16.

⁵¹ Haile Selassie, *My Life and Ethiopia's Progress, 1892-1937* (Glasgow: Oxford University Press, 1976), 208-09.

⁵² J. Calvitt Clarke III, "Periphery and Crossroads: Ethiopia and World Diplomacy, 1934-36," *Ethiopia in Broader Perspective: Papers of the XIIIth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, 3 vols. (Kyoto: Shokado Book Sellers), 1: 699-712. For more on Italo-Soviet relations before and during the Italo-Ethiopian War, see J. Calvitt Clarke III, "Italo-Soviet Cooperation in the 1930s," *Girding for Battle: The Arms Trade in a Global Perspective* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), 177-99 and J. Calvitt Clarke III, *Russia and Italy Against Hitler: The Bolshevik-Fascist Rapprochement of the 1930s* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1991).

Paradise Lost: Reflections on Florida's Environmental History

Jack E. Davis
University of Florida

We all probably know that grand old American proverb: If a tree falls in the woods when no one is around to hear, it will make no sound. This idea was first introduced to me by one of my grade-school teachers. I don't recall her name but I recall her presenting this idea like a law of nature. Although I lacked much of an analytical mind, the idea just didn't mesh with my black-and-white, pre-adolescent logic.

I wondered about it for some years, in fact. Did this law of nature mean that when no person was around, frogs in a swamp would not hear themselves when they sang their frog songs? When the birds awoke in the morning, were there no sounds coming out of the trees until you raised your windows or walked outside? Did all the earnest rustling and crackling noises of the woods and rushes wait to arise until some human came tromping along? Did the winds of a hurricane out in the middle of the Atlantic blow silent until the hurricane approached land where people lived and listened?

I have since figured this: while there was much that my teacher knew and of value that she could pass along to her students, there were some things she got wrong, and she got some things wrong because society got them wrong. The noises of nature don't depend on a human presence. The idea of silent nature sans humans reflects the artificial stratification of culture over nature, a stratification that has roots reaching back to the rise of Christianity and fortified by the subsequent rise of anthropocentric science. This human construction of the order of things remains as strong today as ever, I would argue, but with a greater danger to the non-human world since we have technologies that allow us more easily to fulfill the divine instruction as recited in the Old Testament verse in Genesis 1:28: "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth."

If you think people long ago stopped subscribing to this belief consider this: When the Dade County Port Authority was determined to build the biggest airport in the world in the middle of the Everglades in the late 1960s, the deputy director of the Authority, Richard Judy, cited the scripture, saying he had pledged the Port Authority to fulfilling "the responsibilities of all men to

exercise dominion over the land, sea, and air above us as the Higher Order of Man intends.”¹

As a result of this dominion, within our national borders, 500 of those living things no longer moveth upon the earth. Since the U.S. was duly constituted in 1791, they have become extinct, and today 20,000 more are endangered.²

We who know the history of Florida—where the state’s list of endangered, threatened, and commercially exploited species is well over 500—more than our fair share—know that domination has been the rule rather than the exception, that millions of trees have fallen within the earshot of humans, for it was humans who felled those trees.³

And since Florida became a U.S. territory in 1821, humans have not only cleared Florida’s woodlands; they have drained and filled and dried up Florida’s wetlands. Wetlands, to use the words of Harriet Beecher Stowe, who was writing from Florida in the 1870s, were “the most gorgeous of improprieties.” And yet they are not simply habitat essential to indigenous creatures who break the silence with grunting and bellowing and busy little noises for all to hear—humans or no humans—they are the source of vital sustenance for the human population—and as we have recently been reminded with Hurricane Katrina, they are sometimes buffers against extreme weather.⁴

This latter fact is actually not a new revelation. When Congress was debating what became the 1850 Swampland Act, the act that put all of Florida’s wetlands, once belonging to the federal government, in the hands of the state for the purpose of developing them, lawmakers talked about the flood-control benefits of wetlands. They knew that wetlands were buffers; they knew that wetlands were recharging areas for ground water. Yet, a swamp was a swamp and worthless—hideous, desolate were the words commonly used—until it was drained and converted into productive land.⁵

¹. Claude Kirk, “The Everglades,” *Natural History* 80 (January 1971): 78; “Jetport Comes Before Glades,” undated newspaper clipping, David O. True Collection, Everglades folder, box 25, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville; *New York Times*, 9, 16 March 1969 John Edwin Leaird, “The Politics of Arrogance: A Case Study of the Controversy Over the Proposed Everglades Jetport, 1967-1970,” (master’s thesis, University of Florida, 1972), 111.

². U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Endangered Species Program <<http://www.fws.gov/endangered/>>.

³. Florida Fish and Wildlife Conservation Commission, “Florida’s Endangered Species, Threatened Species, and Species of Special Concern,” 19 January 2004 (electronic document) <<http://myfwc.com/imperiledspecies/pdf/Endangered-Threatened-Special-Concern-2004.pdf>>.

⁴. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Palmetto Leaves* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida reprint, 1999), 139.

⁵. *Act of Congress (1850) to Enable States to Reclaim “Swamp Lands,”* 9 U.S. Statute L., 519, 520, 1850; “Florida,” *Commercial Review* 7 (October 1849): 297-304.

Not long before, John James Audubon, who spent his winters in Key West--and incidentally killed thousands of Florida birds for sport or to render them in ink--said, "A true conservationist is a man who knows that the world is not given by his fathers, but borrowed from his children." Past generations in Florida borrowed heavily against future generations. Earlier generations believed that nature needed to be improved upon, needed the human touch, and historically it was a heavy one, so heavy that Everglades environmentalist Marjory Stoneman Douglas decreed in 1982 that "conservation is a dead word."⁶

And the news today is grim. Until the 1970s, Florida's aggregate 49 percent wetland loss roughly paralleled the country's loss--a mere 53 percent. Yet since then, since the passage of the 1976 Clean Water Act, which was intended in part to protect wetlands, Florida has lost another one million acres, outpacing the national trend. As the *St. Petersburg Times* reported, the Army Corps of Engineers in 2003 rejected not a single permit to destroy Florida wetland; it in fact approves more permits in Florida than in any other state.⁷

Forty-eight percent of the Everglades has been lost to development and agriculture; Ninety percent of the Everglades bird population has disappeared. Forty percent of Florida's inland bodies of water are too polluted to be safe for swimming or fishing. Florida's unsurpassed collection of 720 freshwater springs are one by one silting up because they are overcharged with nitrates from lawn fertilizer; the Floridan and Biscayne aquifers are losing water; Florida's coral reefs are bleaching out from warming ocean temperatures and dying from freshwater run-off carrying high loads of sewage and nitrogen and phosphorous. Out in the Gulf of Mexico is a dead zone, where virtually no sea life can live, the size of the state of Massachusetts, caused by the toxins and waste that come down the Mississippi and other rivers dumping into the Gulf. Florida has 49 Superfund sites, Florida's own Love Canals, areas contaminated by extreme amounts of hazardous or toxic waste that endangers public health. Sulfur-dioxide emissions from power plants has increased since the beginning of the 21st century rather than decreased. According to the Florida Public Interest Research Group, in 2003 in Tampa, which has the worst air quality of all Florida cities, 265 deaths, 380 heart attacks, and 26,000 lost work days were associated with soot pollution from power plants. Our state has more golf courses than parks; we have 8.3 state parks per 1M people, but 26 shopping malls per 1M

⁶ Guy Dauncy, *Stormy Weather: 101 Solutions to Global Climate Change* (Gabriola Island, British Columbia: New Society Publishers, 2001), 160; *Sarasota Herald-Tribune*, 28 November 1982.

⁷ Christopher F. Meindl, "Water, Water Everywhere," *Paradise Lost: The Environmental History of Florida*, Jack E. Davis and Raymond Arsenault eds. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 122-23; *St. Petersburg Times*, 22 May 2005.

people, the third highest ratio in the country. We're losing twenty acres an hour to development. And because of this development, 74,000 gopher tortoises, by state approval, have been buried alive since 1990.⁸

In fact, these sorts of historical developments in Florida, accelerated after World War II, produced what is acknowledged as the first ecological novel, the late John D. McDonald's *A Flash of Green*. McDonald was a fiction writer, but he was writing the truth about development in Florida trumping preservation. And he captured it all in one poignant sentence: "As the quiet and primitive mystery of the broad tidal bays disappeared, as the mangroves and the rookeries and the oak hammocks were uprooted with such industriousness, the morning sound of construction equipment became more familiar than the mockingbird." What's particularly remarkable about his book is that it was published in 1962, the same year that Rachel Carson published *Silent Spring*, the book everybody says kick started the modern environmental movement. But when McDonald was writing, and about that movement, it was already in gear in Florida. And he also was very clear about what his adopted state, of only 5 million residences at the time, was leaving for future generations.⁹

Today's young people, and newcomers to the state, know the concrete Florida better than the green Florida, the Disney-artificial better than the Silver Spring natural. Plant Florida's young people in a place committed to nature conservancy, such as the Mount Monadnock region in southern New Hampshire, which is desperate not to know changes that Florida has known, and they will long for the artificial things. This is not surprising; they know Florida by its built environment; their Florida is defined not by nature, but by plastic franchises with plastic pastel signs, theme parks, air-conditioned shopping malls, treeless parking lots, car-stuffed streets, and cookie-cutter houses in sprawl developments where the architectural inspiration is as barren as the bulldozed landscape.

As early as 1929, naturalist John Kunkel Small warned that Florida's "Eden" was becoming a "Sarah." "Tragedy" was another word John Kunkel Small used to describe the fate of Florida's natural endowments. Tragedy and irony are the stuff of powerful drama and of great works of art. And so I've often wondered why Florida doesn't have a literary tradition that compares with

⁸. Carole C. McIvor, Janey A. Ley, and Robin D. Bjork, "Changes in Freshwater Inflow from the Everglades to Florida Bay Including Effects on Biota and Biotic Processes: A Review," *Everglades: The Ecosystem and Its Restoration*, (Delray Beach, Fla." St. Lucie Press, 1994) Steven M. Davis and John C. Ogden eds., 117-46; *Florida Public Interest Research Group and Florida PIRG Education Fund: Annual Report* (fiscal year 2004), 6
<<http://static.floridapirg.org/annreports/FY05annreport.pdf>>.

⁹. Jim Harrison, *Just Before Dark: Collected Nonfiction* (Livingston, Montana: Clark City Press, 1991), 248; John D. MacDonald, *A Flash of Green* (New York: Fawcett Gold Medal, 1962), 23-34.

Mississippi's, at least in popular recognition, since tragedy and irony have been so much a part of Florida's environmental history. Perhaps this is because Faulkner, Welty, Richard Wright, and others were inspired by a sense of place bound to human events in Mississippi's tortured past. Although Florida's past is replete with human calamity, and although Florida produced the likes of Zora Neale Hurston and Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, it has lacked Mississippi's feel of changelessness in both the social and physical settings. A sense of place is hard to come by in a state where change is so rapid, whether we're talking about Florida's ever-expanding population or its metamorphosing landscape. How can a cultural tradition burrow roots and thrive when the physical setting is disturbed so frequently, when there is little permanence in the land?¹⁰

But Florida's landscape was not always so artificial or so homogenized; there was a time when it wasn't looking more and more like the national-franchise landscape that is gobbling up the rest of the country. Interestingly, it was the birds, the trees, the rivers, and even the scrub land, not the beaches or theme parks that drew the first tourists here in the 19th century. Nature also captured the imagination of the first American writers to take an interest in Florida.

Among the first to leave behind a literary record of wild Florida was naturalist William Bartram. He arrived on the eve of the Revolutionary War (1774), coming from Philadelphia and traveling to remote parts of what was then known as British East Florida. To Bartram, whom Florida had previously broken financially and psychologically when he tried to wrest a plantation-living out of the land, Florida was an Elysium, as he put it, an enchanting living natural museum of the most amazing specimens of plants and animals. He ultimately published the journal of his excursion in 1791 in a fat book with a cumbersome 50-word title that we now refer to as simply *The Travels*. Eighteenth-century readers, including other naturalists, of *The Travels* believed he was engaging in fiction writing rather than developing a taxonomy because he recorded such incredible things in Florida: 25- to 30-pound large-mouth bass; 10- to 12-foot diamondback rattlers; live oaks 12 to 18 feet in girth and with horizontal bows that reached out as far as the tree was high; grape vines a foot in diameter; bald cypress with trunks 8 to 12 feet in diameter and with straight shafts shooting up to 50 feet; and alligators, a primordial creature unknown to most of his fellow colonists, so thick in the waters that he said a man could walk across their heads from bank to bank if he weren't likely to be eaten. Bartram recorded zoological firsts: 125 species of flora not known to whites, three snakes, six frogs, two

¹⁰ John Kunkel Small, *From Eden to Sahara: Florida's Tragedy* (Lancaster, Penn.: Science Press, 1929).

lizards, several scores of birds, three fishes, the gopher tortoise, and the black-and-white Florida wolf. He saw springs and caverns and sinks. He encountered so much and had not even ventured into the subtropical zone of southern Florida, where there was even more to see.¹¹

Despite the critics who complained about fanciful observations, his recordings in the *Travels* in fact anticipated and inspired the Romantic writers and poets of the next century—Coleridge, Wordsworth, Emerson, Thoreau, and James Fenimore Cooper. Some took images and settings directly from Bartram's depictions of Florida places.¹²

Some came to Florida, too. A century after Bartram came Harriet Beecher Stowe, Sidney Lanier, Stephen Crane, Henry James, John Muir, the former slave turned poet Albery Allson Whitman, and painters Winslow Homer and Martin Johnson Heade. Florida evoked visions of nature's paradise. "Nature," I have written elsewhere, "was Florida's living aesthetic—the indigenous and distinct flora, fauna, and climate that brought life and color to the landscape and gave the state its character apart from human creations."¹³

Few in her day were as keen an observer of this living aesthetic as Stowe, whom of course we better know as the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. When she looked out from her winter cottage in Mandarin on the St. Johns River, she reveled, as she wrote, in the "flowers and arabesque and brilliant coloring. . . . Nature has raptures and frenzies of growth, and conducts herself like a crazy, drunken, but beautiful *bacchante*."¹⁴

Not long after, the habitually dour Henry James said a trip to Florida in the 1880s made him "Byronically foolish about the St. Johns River." He wrote, with "the velvet air, the extravagant plants, the palms, the oranges, the cacti . . . —one might also have been in a corner of Naples or Genoa." And James ventured no farther than Jacksonville.¹⁵

Typically, Florida tourists got out of Jacksonville, the principal Florida city at the time, and took a steamer up the St. Johns and the Ocklawaha rivers to visit Silver Springs. Over 50,000 tourists a year did this. Silver Springs was the Magic Kingdom of its day. It was one that charmed visitors not with a brigade of costume-version cartoon characters but with a flush of butterflies, wading birds, otters, turtles, and alligators. Travel writer Edward King called Silver Springs

¹¹. William Bartram, *The Travels of William Bartram*, Naturalist Edition, edited by Francis Harper (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998), *pasim*.

¹². Thomas P. Slaughter, *The Natures of John and William Bartram* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), xv, back cover.

¹³. Jack E. Davis, "Alligators and Plume Birds: The Despoliation of Florida's Living Aesthetic," *Paradise Lost?*, 235-54.

¹⁴. Stowe, *Palmetto Leaves*, 138.

¹⁵. Davis, "Alligators and Plume Birds," 237.

Ponce de Leon's Fountain of Youth and "one of the wonders of the world." And the Ocklawaha impressed him with its "sylvan peace and perfect beauty." Sidney Lanier delighted in the Ocklawaha. It was "the sweetest water-lane in the world," he said.¹⁶

One particular interesting writer who came to Florida in the late 19th century was John Muir. When he was twenty-nine, Muir set out on a thousand-mile walk from Indiana to the Gulf, ending his overland journey at Cedar Key. Florida gave him his last intimate look at the continent's eastern environment before he took passage to California, via Cuba and New York City, to become eventually the long-bearded mountain man of the Yosemite and the country's foremost guardian of nature. Upon first arriving in Florida at the port of Fernandina in October 1867, he found, as he said, "a dry spot on some broken heaps of grass and roots" where he rested on his elbow and proceeded "eating my bread, gazing, and listening to the profound strangeness." It was indeed the strangeness of the Florida wild that pulled him without delay on his walk across the peninsula. He confined himself mainly to the corridor of David Levy Yulee's Florida Railroad, for the state, he said, was "so watery and vine-tied that pathless wanderings are not easily possible in any direction." Despite this observation, he could not keep himself from wanderings into Florida's garden of anonymous plants and birds and sounds. Not long before this trip, he had abandoned his father's Calvinist faith for Transcendentalism, and when he sauntered away from the railroad tracks, he was entering the temple of his God, a transcendent world of green beauty and curiosities that heightened the senses to near collapse. His trek not surprisingly was slow. He explored pine and wiregrass flatwoods, hardwood and palm hammocks, and scrub land where for miles the saw-palmettoes stretched. He called them "dazzling sun-children."¹⁷

Seven days after leaving Fernandina, he arrived in what was then called Cedar Keys. After emerging from the wooded enclosure of his journey, he was immediately struck by the contrasting vastness of the Gulf. Whether he realized it, he was looking out on the rich deltaic estuary system of the Suwannee River. His view took in a cluster of small islands. They were thickly studded with live oaks, junipers, longleaf pines, and of course cedar trees.

But Muir was not simply gazing out at a pristine seascape. He was witnessing Genesis 1:28 in action; he was witnessing the fulfillment of the nation's perceived manifest destiny. Florida was still a frontier in 1867, and Americans had always believed that it was their divine and patriotic duty to spread civilization across the continent, to unventured places like Florida, and

¹⁶ Ibid., 237-38.

¹⁷ John Muir, *A Thousand-Mile Walk to the Gulf* (Boston: Mariner Books, 1996), 88-89, 114.

part of that meant making good use of the country's magnificent natural resources. Not doing so meant wasting them. So when Americans looked out upon a forest, they saw merchantable timber; when they scanned a prairie, they saw farmland; when they looked into the water of a river, they saw an avenue of transportation or a source of industrial power, and in later years a dumping place for their industrial waste. In other words, they commodified nature.

Cedar Key's reason for being had always been associated with nature—or more accurately in the US experience with marketable natural resources. No more than 400 people were living in the area, but nature made theirs the busiest port on the peninsula's west coast. Fishes, crabs, green turtles, and eventually oysters were the basis of a vibrant seafood industry. Down the Suwannee River came millions of board feet of timber—cypress, cedar, and pine—from Florida's Gothic-like interior forests to be milled locally or shipped to ports elsewhere. The prized among the pines was the stout, termite resistant heart pine of the longleaf. It was the monarch of the pine species and once ranged across 92 million acres from Virginia across to Texas and down to Lake Okeechobee. A traveler couldn't avoid the longleaf. Bartram admired how they towered in perfect posture and not too closely, and he liked to listen sounding from their flattened crowns from 50 to 75 feet above “the solemn symphony of the steady Western breezes,” as he put it, “playing incessantly, rising and falling through the thick and wavy foliage.”¹⁸

The most important wood for the people of Cedar Keys came from their namesake tree. There were several lumber mills, employing over a hundred people, which milled local red cedar into pencil blanks and pen holders that were shipped to New York and other pencil factories in Europe. By 1890, Cedar Keys' four pencil factories were consuming 100,000 logs a year, and producing enough pencil blanks to circle the globe nearly five times.¹⁹

Muir saw the factories in action, and he saw the beauty of the region. But to his misfortune, he was struck with typhoid fever, which to fellow humans reflected the dark side of the Florida paradise. Muir took a slightly different view, however. He was forced to convalesce until January, and took the opportunity to get to know the natural characteristics of the area. He also began to reassess the human place on earth, that is, the stratification of culture over nature. His bout with typhoid fever convinced him that, as he wrote in his journal, “certain parts of the earth prove that the whole world was not made for” humans. He went on for pages challenging religious claims to the earth and indeed the cosmos, at one point concluding that “it never seems to occur to . . .

¹⁸. Bartram, *The Travels of William Bartram*, 155.

¹⁹. Mark Derr, *Some Kind of Paradise: A Chronicle of Man and the Land in Florida* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1989), 116, 144.

farseeing teachers that Nature's object in making animals and plants might possibly be first of all [for] the happiness of each one of them, not the creation of all for the happiness of one. Why should man value himself as more than a small part of the one great unit of creation?"²⁰

Muir's question was not one that most people who came to Florida asked. His was not the insight that shaped Florida history. What few people understood, and many don't today, is that humans are themselves a component of nature, that the health of wildlife populations is a barometer of the health of human habitation. Cities are not disconnected from the countryside, ecologically. You kill the fish in the river with toxic chemicals or nitrogen-enriched fertilizer run-off from farms or kill the marine life in open-water estuaries with partially treated sewage and you affect your quality of life, your health--no matter where you are--and you affect someone's livelihood..

This is not to say that Florida's past has been all about despoliation and exploitation. Florida was home to the first state Audubon Society in the Deep South, organized in 1900, and it was the men and women, mostly women, of the society who were instrumental in the creation of the first federal wildlife refuge, the Pelican Island National Wildlife Refuge (1903). Florida was one of the first states, if not the first, to employ an ecological study to try to protect nature, doing so in the 1950s, nearly 20 years before the federal Environmental Protection Agency's adoption of environmental impact statements, when Gov. LeRoy Collins tried to stop a dredge-and-fill project in Boca Ciega Bay in St. Pete. And it was men, women, teenagers, Seminoles, Miccosukees, and sportsmen who organized to stop Richard Judy and the construction of the Everglades jetport.²¹

Florida seems to be shifting ever so slowly to what has the potential to be a new historical course. In recent years, agriculture has taken great strides to protect the aquifer and rivers and bays by developing elaborate filtration systems for run-off. Restoration of fourteen miles of the natural ox-bow flow of the Kissimmee River, which was channelized in the 1970s to drain central Florida, has shown how vibrant ecosystems can come back to life. Lake Apopka, once Florida's second largest lake shrunken down to its fourth largest because of agricultural encroachment, and rendered a dead body of water because of run-off, is being restored and is now a reincarnated body of water. Power companies have converted their power-line right of ways into wildlife habitat and corridors, and Progress Energy of Florida has teamed up with the Florida Department of Environmental Protection to develop a sustainable hydrogen generator and fuel

²⁰ Muir, *A Thousand-Mile Walk*, 138-39.

²¹ Bruce Stephenson, "A 'Monstrous Desecration': Dredge and Fille in Boca Ciega Bay," *Paradise Lost?*, 326-49.

cell for the Homosassa Springs Wildlife State Park. In-fill is the new buzz word in development these days as an alternative to sprawl. The new Republican governor, Charlie Crist, has made appointments applauded by the environmental community, and the Republican senate president is a multi-generation Floridian who wants to get serious about growth management. Geometrically, Florida has more protected land and water than any other of the contiguous United States, and Florida has both politically red and blue counties that are as green as can be.

Such an admixture of colors—red, blue, and green together—as well as Florida's history, shows that environmental protection is not a special interest; it's a vital interest, one that makes a difference in the lives of everyone—even those who take dominion over the rest.

Here is my point. We might think of history for young people and newcomers as the memory they never had. Memory is an invaluable resource in a state where change, often unhealthy and problem-plagued change, comes in an eye-blink of time. Why not create for young people historical references to Florida unlike say WDW or the Rodman dam on the Ocklawaha River, mere shrines to the built environment, but references that point to a healthier Florida with a better quality of life for us all, a Florida that is still within our grasp; references such as the longleaf pine, the standard bearer of a unique ecosystem that includes the gopher tortoise and when healthy means we're doing something right; references such as Florida's unsurpassed collection of freshwater springs or its ecologically flush wetlands, which when clean and well charged means our aquifer is well charged and our drinking water is clean; references such as the Big Cypress Swamp, whose founding as a national preserve is a reminder of a big picture that once was, the picture in the 1970s of a public that was vocal about environmental protection and of a Republican presidential administration that took bold initiatives, to outdo its Democratic rivals, and did more for the advancement of ecological protection than any administration since, Democratic or Republican.

Give these young people, who at the moment are expected to see Florida's population of 18 million double in 50 years, in historical knowledge the power to make informed decisions about whether their Florida should stay the course followed in the past or whether they should chart for themselves a new course, glimpses of which we are seeing now.

Nature has become a rare commodity in a state where it was once so common, and consequently an expensive one. Lets teach young people what my teacher failed to teach my generation: to listen when the tree falls.

The Upper Amazonian Rubber Boom and Indigenous Rights 1900-1925

Ingrid Fernandez
Florida Gulf Coast University

*Introduction*¹

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, Western powers invested in the newly created rubber industry in the upper Amazon. American, English, and Dutch companies needed rubber for their automobile products and invested in South American countries, such as Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. This was presented as a civilizing endeavor, which would bring economic development while improving and transforming the indigenous inhabitants of the region, and thus they were fervently supported by national states and local elites. However, the idea of civilization proved to be an ironic tragedy. The “civilizing companies” put the Indians in a system of debt peonage, treated them as slaves, tortured them, and massacred them.

By looking at the records and the testimonies of people who directly experienced the business environment of the Amazonian jungle, this paper will explore the impact of the development of the rubber industry in Peru and Ecuador in the early twentieth century. It will focus on the impact on indigenous communities that lived in the Amazon, and will analyze the complicity – and powerlessness – of the state in the genocide which occurred.

Setting the Scene

Economy

In the 1880s, South American countries, such as Ecuador and Peru sent examples of their best rubber to the U.S. and England to get the attention of foreign companies to invest in the South American rubber. The rubber was a very popular raw material at the time since it was in demand for use in multiple products.

Therefore, the foreign companies became interested in the South American wild rubber that grew in the Amazonian region. They sent financial representatives to establish a trade system between the countries. Elite *mestizos* (people of Spanish-Indians descent) from the Amazonian region became very involved with the business and became traders and *caucheros* (rubber barons). Ecuadorians, Peruvians, Colombian, French, and Italians became traders and

¹ All translations from Spanish to English are the author's own.

established the rubber station in the Upper Amazonian region. They used popular financial transaction methods to rapidly make money on their investments: they received foreign money on credit for the rubber, which was shipped overseas once it was harvested.

Location

Location played one of the most important roles in the rubber industry boom. The Amazonian region where the rubber trees grew was a pure region with very few outside influences. There were many diverse ethnicities among the indigenous groups who lived in the area as nomads, each with their own customs and dialects. Therefore, the indigenous communities were not united, did not communicate with each other, and as result were not aware of the menace posed by the *caucheros* until they were confronted with their enslavement plans. Nevertheless, some indigenous groups were familiar with the missionaries who had entered the Amazon previously and these groups were the first to be in contact with rubber traders.

Governments

The governments from Ecuador, Peru, and Colombia received the foreign companies and expected an improvement in their economy. For example, in 1896, Eloy Alfaro expelled the missionaries and replaced them with foreign companies, which he believed were going to make the *Oriente* (the Ecuadorian term for the Amazon) progress. The president also granted citizenship to the Indians of the Ecuadorian Amazonian region to be a bountiful labor supply for the rubber companies. In the area of the Mainas, two rubber houses were extended into an area of dispute between Peru and Ecuador, due to an old boundary controversy.² The people in this area, therefore, were not Ecuadorian citizens. Ecuadorian politicians in Guayaquil and Quito claimed, with pride, the Amazonian region in dispute; this did little to resolve the problems of the indigenous people in this *Oriente* province. Peru did not claim the people as citizens either. Roger Casement was the British consul who investigated the rubber trade slavery issue in the early 1910s. In his investigation, he found that, "Peru has many inhabitants but very few citizens."

² The boundary conflict between the two countries started in 1830, after Ecuador's independence. Ecuador claimed the territory of the Amazonian province Mainas, which was previously part of the Spanish colony. The conflict did not end until 1998.

Ecuador, Peru, and Colombia had neither effective governments nor state institutions that would protect the large population of Indigenous groups.³

The Rubber Industry and the Indians

The rubber industry in the Upper Amazonian became notorious for the violation of human rights experienced by its workers. In order for the rubber industry to be successful, there was a need for a large, cheap labor force, to get the rubber from the trees. The members of the elite, who owned the businesses and the traders, were not going to work the caucho directly. The *mestizos* from the area were not willing to do the job either. The elite and the *mestizos* had the racist belief that the manual labor was not honorably and, consequently, only lower class people like Indians or blacks were intended to do that kind of job. The owners of the rubber houses realized that the Indians were the cheapest and most convenient source of labor they could find to work the *caucho*. They were the cheapest because they did not ask for a large remuneration for their work, since they had no idea of how much the *caucheros* and the foreign companies made for the *caucho*. They were the most convenient because they knew the area well. They lived and worked in the jungle, were adapted to the tropical and rainy weather of the Amazon, and knew how to get food and shelter even better than the *caucheros*. They knew traditional methods to extract the *caucho* because the Indians used it for medicinal purposes. They were perfect to do the job – the only problem was motivating them to work.⁴

The question of how to make them work the *caucho* has been analyzed by many. For example, Michael Taussig, who studied the writings of Casement, reached the conclusion that there was not a shortage of either rubber or labor. Instead, it was the capitalistic system that made labor a problem. The best way for the *cauchero* to find low wage workers and produce more income from the *caucho* was to make them work through terror, since few of the indigenous communities were familiar with a system of working for something in return. The missionaries, therefore, helped the rubber barons by showing them a system

³ Blanca Muratorio, *The Life and Times of Grandfather Alonso. Culture and History in the Upper Amazon* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1991), 87, 99, 102; Kenneth George Grubb, *Amazon and Andes* (New York: L. MacVeagh, The Dial Press, 1930), 31; Michael Edward Stanfield, *Red Rubber, Bleeding Trees: Violence, Slavery, and Empire in Northwest Amazonia, 1850-1933* (Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 81; Great Britain Foreign Office, *Correspondence Respecting to the Treatment of British Colonial Subjects and Native Indians Employed in the Collection of Rubber in the Putumayo District. Presented to both houses of Parliament by Command of H. M., July 1912* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1912), 2-3; and Sir Roger Casement, *The Amazon journal of Roger Casement*, edited and with an introduction by Angus Mitchell (Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1997), 295.

⁴ Muratorio, *The Life and Times of Grandfather Alonso*, 100, 107.

of free wageworkers. Some indigenous groups from Ecuador and Brazil were a little more familiar than the Indians from Peru, since they had worked with Jesuit missionaries. The missionaries also tried to civilize the Indians by making them work for the church and, in return, the Indians received knives, cloths, cups, hammocks, etc. The missionaries disciplined the Indians by using them to build houses, convents, churches, and schools and transformed them from their wild and useless status. Ironically, the same rubber barons became one of the causes of missionary displacement from the Amazonian region.⁵

The Enslavement of the Indians

Ecuadorian and Peruvian indigenous people were kidnapped by the *caucheros* to make them work for their companies. The Indians were seen as grown-up children by the *caucheros*; therefore, the rubber barons found it easy to take advantage of the docile and obedient temperament of the Indians and forced them into rubber slaves.

Most of the time, the rubber companies did not get their workers through traders and merchants; instead, the Indians were captured from their regions by the *muchachos*, (the foremen who worked for the *caucheros*). The *muchachos* were men of African descent who were brought by the *caucheros* from the British Caribbean islands of Barbados or Trinidad. These men were not intended to work the *caucho*, but instead to supervise and discipline the Indians. The *muchachos* were expensive for the *caucheros*, but they were believed to be necessary. There existed the racist mentality that only black men were savage and strong enough to do the cruel jobs. They punished the Indians and made them work through the use of terror and force. The West Indian men traveled to South America with the idea that they would gain enough money to go back home to improve their lives. Nevertheless, the West Indian men were also caught in the debt-peonage system. Their trip to South America, clothes, and food were given to them in advance. Therefore, they had to work for a long time for the rubber houses in order to pay the debt and they received very little money to save for their trip home.⁶

The Barbadians captured the Indians from their wilderness, supervised their work, as well as punished them if they did not work to the demands. There were also a few Indians, who were born in the Rubber houses and understood the system well, who were also *muchachos*. These were usually pure Indians or *mestizos* and did the same jobs as the West Indian men. There were more

⁵ Michael T. Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 53.

⁶ "Statement of Everlyn Ratson Made to his Majesty's Consul General At La Chorrera on October 31, 1910," in *Slavery in Peru*, 354-363.

muchachos than white *caucheros*, and more Indians than *muchachos*. The *muchachos* were always armed with guns and behaved as if they were in a constant war. The *muchachos* were believed to be semi-civilized by the white *caucheros*. The white *caucheros* believed that they were semi-civilized because they were used to wearing clothes, working for money, and they spoke English and Spanish. However, the Indians and the consuls who witnessed their crimes realized how evil they really were.⁷

The *muchachos* were the connection between the *caucheros* and the Indians. The *caucheros* never did the dirty jobs, such as gathering the *caucho*, or forcing the workers to gather the *caucho*. The *caucheros* regularly sent the *muchachos* out to capture more Indians. They went to the areas where they Indians lived. The Indians normally lived close to the rivers. Then, the *muchachos*, with their guns, captured several of the Indians, chained them up, and brought them back to the rubber houses. These capturing expeditions were very violent; sometimes the *muchachos* killed more people than they captured. They captured everyone they found: men, women, and children⁸

The Indians were kept in the houses in order to civilize them. While they were being civilized they were put in chains or in *cepos* (stocks). The Indians were given clothes, *machetes*, and guns to make them ready to work. The Indians did not have a monetary system; therefore, the *caucheros* used the Indians in a system of debt-peonage to pay them for their work. The Indians were forced to sign employment contracts that they did not fully understand, but which forced them to work for long period of time until they had gathered enough money to pay for the few things they had received. Sometimes the contracts were made for two years, in which the Indian was expected to work for the rubber company and gives all that he collected to the employer. After the Indian had been told of the requirements, he was told how much they owed the employer. The Indians usually received a small item for their pay; the rest of the money was kept to pay for the original debt. As a result, they were kept in a system of debt-peonage, which forced them to work for the *caucheros* for the rest of their lives. In other words, they became slaves of the *caucheros*.⁹

⁷ Ibid; Roberto Pineda Camacho, *Holocausto en el Amazonas: Una Historia Social de la Casa Arana* (Santafé de Bogotá, Colombia: Planeta Colombiana Editorial, 2000), 82; *Slavery in Peru*, 382; and Taussig, *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man*, 48.

⁸ "Précis of the Statement of Westernman Leavine made to His Majesty's Consul General at Matanzas on October 18, 1910, and Subsequently," in *Correspondence Respecting to the Treatment*, 96; "Statement of John Brown, a Native of Montserrat, Made to His Majesty's Consul General at Iquitos on December 3, 1910," in *Slavery in Peru*, 407; and Gianotti, *Viajes por el Napo*, 56.

⁹ Pineda, *Holocausto en el Amazonas*, 55; "Employment Contract of a Rubber Laborer, 1909 (AGN)," in *The Life and Times of Grandfather Alonso*, by Muratorio, 237-238; Fritz W Up de Graff, *Head Hunters of the Amazon: Seven years of Exploration and Adventure* (New York:

The Indians were expected to work through the year in three or four expeditions. They were asked, every four months, to bring a *fabrico* of fifty to sixty kilograms of *caucho*. In twelve months they had to bring at least three *fabricos* of *caucho* in order to be paid. Their pay was minimal and, in most of the cases, they were given very few things so their debt would grow larger, and the opportunity of freedom would be farther away. For a *fabrico*, the Indians received a *machete*, a cup, pants, or a hammock. If they brought two *fabricos* they might have received a gun; however, with very few munitions, so it would be useless after the munitions were fired.¹⁰

The Indians went to work in a territory which was divided into sections, with one chief, several *muchachos*, and the Indians. The Indians, armed with machetes, penetrated deep in the Amazonian forest and gashed every rubber tree they saw. They cut the trees deep to get the last drop of milk, thus killing the tree forever. The rubber milk ran down the tree and after a few days, it became hard and ready to be taken to the rubber houses. Then, they cleaned the surface of the rubber and made it into balls by wrapping it with ropes. And in this form of crude "*caucho* balls," the rubber was sold and shipped to the markets. Then the rubber was weighted in the rubber houses and later was sent in the steamers to New York or London.¹¹

The *muchachos* received the orders from the white *caucheros*, and the Indians received the orders of the *muchachos*. The *caucheros* ordered the *muchachos* to keep a list of the *caucho* each Indian collected every ten days and made sure it fits with the required amount of *caucho*. If the work did not fit with what the *caucheros* expected, the Indians were punished by the *muchachos*. The *caucheros*, however, were never fair to the Indians. The Indians, for example, did not get any food from the *caucheros*; they had to procure their own food. The Indians brought women and children to help them carry the food, as well as the *caucho*, back to the *caucheros*. After they arrived with *caucho* they were

Duffield and Co, 1923), 55; "Précis of the Statement of Westernman Leavine," in *Correspondence Respecting to the Treatment*, 96; and "Statement of August Walcott Made to His Majesty's Consul-General at La Chorrera on November 1, 1910," in *Correspondence Respecting to the Treatment*, 112.

¹⁰ "Statement of Everlyn Ratson," in *Slavery in Peru*, 356; Up de Graff, *Head Hunters of the Amazon*, 55; "Précis of the Statement of Stanley Scaley, a Native of Barbados, Made to his Majesty's Consul General on September 23, 1910, at La Chorrera, and on Subsequent Occasions," in *Slavery in Peru*, 328; and Pineda, *Holocausto en el Amazonas*, 69.

¹¹ "Précis of the Statement of Westernman Leavine," in *Correspondence Respecting to the Treatment*, 96; W. E. Hardenburg, *The Putumayo: The Devil's Paradise. Travel in the Peruvian Amazon Region and An Account of the Atrocities Committed Upon the Indians Therein* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1912), 202-203, 182; and John C. Yungjohann, *White Gold: The Diary of A Rubber Cutter in the Amazon 1906-1916*, edited by Ghilleen T. Prance, epilogue by Yungjohann Hillman (Oracle, Arizona: Synergetic Press, 1989), 47.

confronted with many difficulties, such as punishment or terror instead of payment. Hardenburg experienced the cruelties of the *caucheros* when he was kidnapped in the Amazon and wrote *The Putumayo* (1912), a reminiscence of his experiences. In his observations, "the civilizing company" apparently did not believe in paying for what it can be obtained otherwise. The rule of terror had been adopted. The *caucheros* asked the Indians for an amount of *caucho* that was impossible to get. If the rubber barons were angry because the prices of the *caucho* were decreased in the foreign market, they inflicted their anger on the *muchachos* and the Indians.¹²

Punishments

One of the ways the *caucheros* inflicted their anger was by punishing the Indians and the *muchachos*. When the Indians brought the *caucho* to the houses they reacted in relation to how the *cauchero* felt. If the *cauchero* was happy with the *caucho* amount brought, the Indian leapt about and laughed with pleasure. However, when the *cauchero* was not satisfied with the amount of *caucho* brought, the Indians threw themselves face downwards on the ground and awaited their punishment.¹³

The Indians were punished by the *muchachos* through many cruel ways, such as by flogging, hanging, or putting them in *cepo*. The *cepo* were stocks, where the Indians were held in painful positions without food or water. Some Indians survived the flogging and the *cepo*, but many died from these punishments. The Indians were also shot by the *muchachos* and the *caucheros*, if they became sick while carrying the *caucho*, or if they tried to escape. The *muchachos* cut off the arms and legs an Indian and lit him on fire while he was still alive for bigger crimes such as not bringing enough *caucho*, trying to escape, or killing a *muchacho*. The *muchachos* not only punished the male Indians who worked for the "civilizing company," but they also punished the families of the Indians in order to hurt the worker because he did not bring enough *caucho*. The children and women were flogged and put in chains. The majority of the time, the *muchachos* were ordered by the *caucheros* to commit these horrible crimes, but sometimes the *muchachos* also abused their own power. They sexually abused the Indians, male and female by raping them or by beating them on their genitals. After they were raped, they killed them or flogged them and sent them back to their villages. The young girls were also given to the West Indian men as concubines. The *muchachos* claimed that they did not want to inflict cruelty on the Indians: however, they were forced by the

¹² Hardenburg, *The Putumayo: The Devil's Paradise*, 184; Up de Graff, *Head Hunters of the Amazon*, 91; *Slavery in Peru*, 332-337; and Stanfield, *Red Rubber, Bleeding Trees*, 48.

¹³ Hardenburg, *The Putumayo: The Devil's Paradise*, 183.

caucheros. If they disobeyed the orders of the boss, they were penalized by the same cruel punishments. The irony was that these men were mostly blacks and had experienced slavery in their own history.¹⁴

Indifference and Unconcern **Missionaries**

The missionaries witnessed the cruel treatment of the *caucheros* to the Indians. They wrote about how cruel life was for the indigenous people under the hands of the brutal rubber barons. Yet, they did not publicly denounce the abuses committed by the *caucheros* because they had complicated relationships with the anti-clerical, liberal politicians and the rubber barons, because they were seen as a competition for both of them. The missionaries had a casual relationship with the *caucheros*, since they went to the rubber houses to perform communions, baptisms, confirmations, and confessions. The missionaries also felt that the *caucheros*, who were also, European descendants like themselves, were superior to the poor "indiecitos" (little Indians). There were also the missionaries, like Bartolomé Gevara, who acted liked the *caucheros* and kept the Indians in slavery. Guevara was one of the most noted of the Putumayo "missionaries," yet was making money by being the chief of one of the rubber houses. In general, most of the missionaries felt that the treatment of the Indians was wrong; however, there was not very much they could do because of their political situation and economic situation. Their writings are an important source of evidence. The missionaries also formed an important part in the abuses of the human rights of the Indians, since they set the model for the *caucheros* follow-to get free labor from the Indians. The only difference was that the missionaries did not make large profits with the Indians works, as the *caucheros* did.¹⁵

The Government officials

The South American governments did not stop the violation of the indigenous rights, since the rubber companies monopolized the Amazonian

¹⁴ "Statement of John Brown," in *Slavery in Peru*, 409; "Précis of the Statement of Westernman Leavine," in *Correspondence Respecting to the Treatment*, 96; "Statement of August Walcott," in *Correspondence Respecting to the Treatment*, 113, 115; Hardenburg, *The Putumayo: The Devil's Paradise*, 181; and "Précis of the Statement of Joshua Dyll Made to His Majesty's Consul General in the Presence of Mr. Lous H. Barnes, the Chief of the Company's Commission, and Then Repeated Before Señor Tizon and all the Remaining Members of the Commission the Same Day, September 24, 1910, at La Chorrera; also Subsequently Examined at La Chorrera by Mr. Casement in November," in *Slavery in Peru*, 332-333.

¹⁵ Gianotti, *Viajes por el Napo*, 38, 46-47, 51, 59; "How the Missionary Subsists - Ominous Servitude - Freedom there from the Only Way to Progress," in *Slavery in Peru*, 204; and Hardenburg, *The Putumayo: The Devil's Paradise*, 190.

region. Peru could not stop the abuses of the company because it was established in an area that Colombia and Ecuador claimed as their own. In addition, the Indigenous groups of the Upper Amazon lacked of citizenship because they were nomads and consequently were not using effectively the land. For that reason, the governments excluded them from citizenship and consequently the governments were not in the obligation to look for the welfare of the Indians. The land, however, was always present in the mind of the politicians. As a result, the borders were carefully protected by the militaries of the different countries.¹⁶

Local Officials

The local officials were also responsible for the abuses committed against the human rights of the Indigenous people. According to Hardenburg, the rubber company made the lives of the indigenous a "living hell," and the countries' governments were not able to stop them. The provincial governments were also aware of what happened and did little to stop the abuses. For example, officials from Peru, Colombia, and Ecuador claimed they were unable to stop the *caucheros* because they did not have enough information, such as names, nationalities, or the dates of the crimes. They also protested that they lacked a strong police station, manpower, and money to investigate. They needed money to buy canoes to penetrate the remote areas of the Amazon where the crimes were committed. The lack of money for local officials was a critical problem because the wealthy *caucheros* bribed the officials to turn a blind eye. When the local officials were not paid, they forced payment by robbing the Indians of their food or intercepting the *caucheros* and asking them for bribes. Casement interviewed a prominent Peruvian functionary, who told him that there was nothing he could do to stop the crimes against the Indians. Casement later concluded that the official, like many other public functionaries, cared only for business and ignored the rest. The lack of accurate maps was another problem that caused chaos for the local governments and officials and benefited the *caucheros*.¹⁷

The local officials also claimed that since they were a weak group, they could easily be attacked by the free angry Indians that could believe they were *caucheros*. Nevertheless, the Indians were not completely wrong because there were some officials who worked for the rubber houses. For example, César Lurquin, the Peruvian *Comisario* of the Putumayo visited the area four or five

¹⁶ Ibid, 186; and Jorge Trujillo, "La Amazonia: Región Imaginaria," *Ecuador Debate* 3 (1983): 154-160.

¹⁷ Stanfield, *Red Rubber, Bleeding Trees*, 58, 81; Casement, *The Amazon journal*, 471; and Muratorio, *The Life and Times of Grandfather Alonso*, 104.

times a year and captured children to sell them later as servants to the caucheros instead of punishing the rubber barons.¹⁸

The local officials were also justified in their fears because there were rebellious Indians, who made their justice and killed every white person they encountered. An article from the Ecuadorian Newspaper *El Imparcial*, described how a white man, probably a *cauchero*, was killed by rubber Indian workers on his way back from Iquitos with merchandise. He was the first victim of a plan to kill every single white person from the Ecuadorian Amazonian province of Napo. The plan was not completely executed because Indigenous women threatened to denounce the plan.¹⁹

Conclusion

After analyzing the content of the rubber boom in the Amazon, it is clear that the rubber industry tremendously affected the lives of the indigenous population of the Upper Amazonian region the rubber houses and the *caucheros* were responsible for the infringement of the human rights of the indigenous population. The native populations were victims of the debt peonage system, forced labor, and the genocide of a large part of their community because of several factors such as location, corrupt leaders, and missionary indifference. These factors however, had a much deeper cause, which was the combination of racism and economical interest. This idea of racism, together with economical interests, became a mortal weapon, which the rubber boom- indigenous tragedy strongly demonstrated.

End of the Rubber Boom and the Abuses in the Upper Amazon

The abuses committed against the Indians in the Amazon came to an end simultaneous with the end of the rubber boom. In the early 1910s, several reports were published about the abuses committed against the Indians and brought international attention to the Upper Amazonian. The first one was the journal of W. E. Hardenburg, who narrated all the difficulties he had experienced while being kidnapped by the *caucheros* from the Arana Company and all the tortures and crimes committed against the Indians he had witnessed in the Amazon. Later, the journal of the British consul Roger Casement, confirmed the abuses that Hardenburg had written about, when he investigated the situation in the rubber houses and interviewed the British colonial subjects who worked for the rubber companies, and the local officials. *The Lord of the*

¹⁸ Hardenburg, *The Putumayo: The Devil's Paradise*, 191.

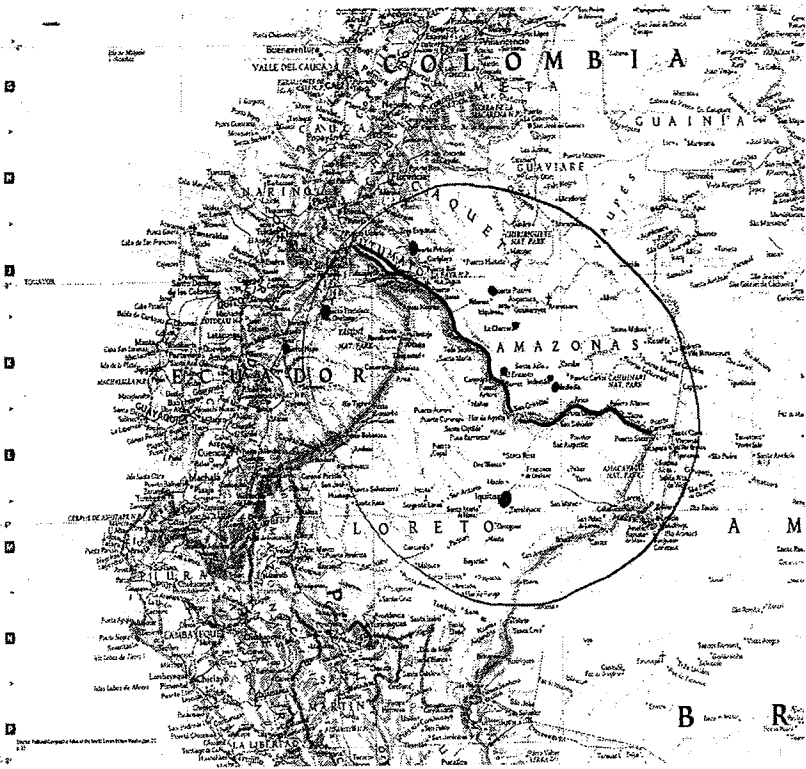
¹⁹ Stanfield, *Red Rubber, Bleeding Trees*, 58; and "Correspondencia de el Oriente" *El Imparcial*, (Ecuador) 3 October 1908, no. 425. In possession of Professor Nicola Foote, Florida Gulf Coast University.

Devil's Paradise, written by Sidney Paternoster, also confirmed the atrocities committed by the *caucheros*. Then the British, as well as the American governments became concerned with the allegations that there was slavery in the Upper Amazon region at the beginning of the twentieth century. They also published reports on the issue and used the interviews of the Casement journal as their main source of evidence. The American report as well as the book *The Lord of the Devil's Paradise* agreed that England should share the responsibility for the crimes committed in Peru since the executer criminals were British subjects employed by British companies, which made profits from the labor of the Indians. The rubber was shipped to British markets and carried by British vessels, and the future of the region depended upon British capital. These arguments and the investigations produced international pressure which forced the local governments of Ecuador, Peru, and Colombia to increase the control in the rubber industry. This control improved the conditions in the region considerably; however, it was not enough since the abuses were still part of the industry. For example, some *caucheros* were arrested and the corrupt authorities in the region were replaced, but the new authorities were ignorant and were paid low wages.²⁰

Therefore, neither the international pressure nor the control in the local areas stopped the abuses against the Indians in the Upper Amazon. Instead the end of the abuses was related to the crises of the rubber prices. The prices of wild rubber from the Amazon started to decrease beginning 1911 and by 1920, the rubber prices finally collapsed. The East Indian plantations of rubber ended the Amazonian rubber boom and at the same time put a stop to the crimes committed by the *caucheros*. "*Muerto el perro se acaba la rabia.*" (When the dog died, the disease died with him.)²¹

²⁰ "Britain Guilty as Peru in Rubber Atrocities - Government Insists that England Share Responsibility for Crimes Committed- Easy to Escape Arrest - Sir Roger Casement's Witnesses Fled the Country- Many Were Criminals," in *Slavery in Peru*, 182; Sidney Paternoster, *The Lords of the Devil's Paradise* (London: Stanley Paul and Co, 1913), 304; "Consul General Sir. R. Casement to Sir Edward Grey, London, February 5, 1912" in *Slavery in Peru*, 429- 431; "La Esclavitud en el Putumayo: Informe del Cónsul de los Estados Unidos - La Pro-Indigena de Lima," *El Guante* (Guayaquil - Ecuador) 25 June 1913. In possession of Professor Nicola Foote, Florida Gulf Coast University.

²¹ Charles E. Stokes, *The Amazon Bubble: World Rubber Monopoly* (Fort McKavett, Texas: C.E. Stokes, Jr., 2000), 298-299; and Weinstein, *The Amazon Rubber Boom*, 266-267.



Source: National Geographic Society (U. S.), *Atlas of the World*, 7th ed. (Washington, D.C. : National Geographic Society, 1999), 63.

Oriente – Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru.

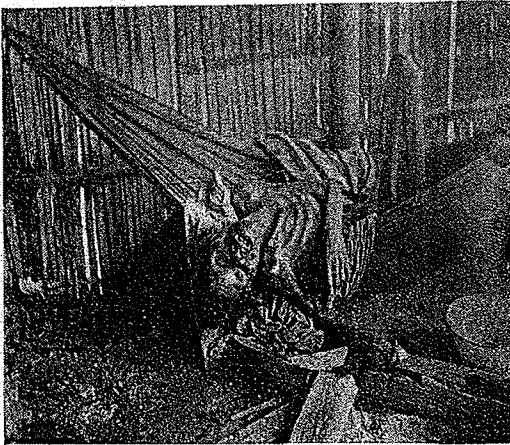
Notations of the rubber stations and the Putumayo river. Notations added by author.



WRINGING THE RUBBER.

Source: Sidney Patemoster, *The Lords of the Devil's Paradise* (London: Stanley Paul and Co, 1913), 288

Source: Sidney Patemoster, *The Lords of the Devil's Paradise* (London: Stanley Paul and Co, 1913), 288.



AN INCIDENT OF THE PUTUMAYO.

INDIAN WOMAN CONSIDERED TO DROWN BY HUNGER: IN THE UPPER PUTUMAYO.

(The Peruvians state that this was the work of Colombian bandits.)

Photo reproduced from "Foribolala" of Lima Peru

The Year 1912

Source: W. E. Hardenburg, *The Putumayo: The Devil's Paradise. Travel in the Peruvian Amazon Region and An Account of the Atrocities Committed Upon the Indians Therein.* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1912), 52.

Indigenous Protest in Andean Ecuador: Chimborazo, 1921

*Nicola Foote
Florida Gulf Coast University*

Indigenous uprisings have been perennial occurrences in Ecuador since the colonial period, with major rebellions occurring in 1777, 1803 and 1871. However, during the 1920's and 30's, there was a rapid spate of indigenous insurgency that occurred on a wider scale and with more politically destabilizing effects than any seen until the recent ethnic mobilizations of the past two decades. Despite the importance of these movements, there has been little effective scholarly analysis of the causes of this wave of protest, or its significance in terms of understanding the relationship between race and citizenship in Ecuador, in stark contrast to the wealth of studies on simultaneous movements in neighbouring Peru and Bolivia. Interpretations of rural resistance in the liberal period have been partial, isolationist and at times reactionary, with no long-term, cohesive view emerging of the nature of peon grievances and demands.¹ This paper will begin to rethink these exclusions by examining closely one of the most significant of these rebellions: that which occurred in the central highland province of Chimborazo in 1921. It will chart the factors which caused this rebellion, and analyze the response of local and national authorities to indigenous resistance. In particular, it will examine the concept of "race war" which was raised by many elite observers at the time, and explore the racial assumptions that lay behind such proclamations. It will compare elite and subaltern ideas about state formation and community, and argue that the study of indigenous resistance can tell us much about the contested nature of nationhood and citizenship.

The Liberal Revolution and Indigenous Communities

Ecuador is a small, ethnically diverse, country in the Northern Andes that borders Peru and Colombia. During the 19th century it was perhaps the most conservative and religious of Latin American nations. Thus it was a major shift when in 1895, somewhat belatedly in the Latin American context, a Liberal

¹A rare exception is Michiel Baud's analysis of the Azuay rebellion of 1920. "Campesinos indígenas contra el Estado: la huelga de los indígenas de Azuay, 1920/21," *Procesos: Revista Ecuatoriana de historia* 4 (1993): 41-73.

Revolution came to power. From this point until 1944 Liberalism ruled as the dominant ideology, and the power of the Church and of conservative political interests such as highland landowners came under sustained attack. Central to this Liberal project was the issue of indigenous people. Representing approximately 40% of the population, Indians played a key role in the military struggle that brought the Liberal Revolution to power, and recognition of the decisive nature of their support put rights for indigenous people onto the Liberal agenda from its very early stages. The status of indigenous people was also considered to be central to the wider Liberal project, which aimed at integrating Ecuador more fully into the world economy, secularisation, and at shifting regional power from the highlands to the coast.

Indians were perceived to be under the control of landowners and the Church, while the institution of debt peonage which confined many of them to the highland *haciendas* was understood to be a check to the development of a mobile, wage labor force. Liberal policy centred around reshaping the indigenous population, at fitting them for citizenship at some point in the unspecified future by policies of education, hygiene, and economic reform. While indigenous people at first supported the Liberal party, out of a belief in the possibilities of radical liberalism to be genuinely transformative, they—along with other subaltern groups—quickly became disillusioned as it became apparent that Liberalism had become a predominately elite project, riddled with exclusionary contradictions.² The indigenous rebellions to be discussed here must be viewed in this context.

While legal reforms were made post-1895 which improved indigenous rights on paper, most notably the abolition of debt peonage in 1918, the state had limited power to put this legislation into practice, and in the countryside the power of the *hacienda*-owning elite remained largely unchecked. Many of the infrastructural projects advanced by the central state, such as the creation of a national railway linking the highland capital of Quito and the main port of Guayaquil had increased the pressure on indigenous land and labor. The opening of so-called 'empty lands' (*tierras baldias*, often those customarily occupied by the peasantry, but to which they held no title) for development had also encouraged the spread of the *hacienda* in many cases. Attacks on Church landownership had also increased the strength of the landowning class, as Church land confiscated by the state in 1908 was rented to local landowners, rather than being redistributed to the peasantry. However, Liberal discourse, with its focus both legal equality, citizenship and the need for indigenous rights

²For a more detailed discussion of the relationship between subaltern groups and the Liberal project see Nicola Foote, "Race, State and Nation in Early Twentieth Century Ecuador," *Nations and Nationalism* 12 (2006): 261-278.

to be protected had created a space for Indians to mobilize, and in the early decades of the twentieth century indigenous people used petitions and legal action to challenge their continued exploitation.³ After these legal efforts met with continued state inaction, indigenous discontent exploded into a series of rebellions which rocked the highlands during the 1920's and 30's.

Indian Unification and the Chimborazo Uprising

Indian rebellions occurred sporadically throughout the early years of Liberal rule, most commonly in opposition to perceived incursions of the state, such as efforts to undertake agrarian censuses and the imposition of new taxes or labour programmes. However, these movements were typically restricted to single communities, and were quickly extinguished by the use of state force. From the mid-1910's, the isolation of Indian movements began to give way to a degree of inter-community cooperation in the organisation of resistance and the articulation of demands. This shift was embodied in the rebellion of 1921 which saw indigenous mobilisation spread beyond a single community or parish and embrace more wide-reaching goals.

Chimborazo, located in the Central Andean highlands, is the heartland of indigenous Ecuador, and the province with the largest concentration of indigenous inhabitants.⁴ It is also the province where the *hacienda* system has historically been most dominant, with agriculture geared towards commercial food production, and based on relations of service tenure. Under the system of *huasipungo* and *yanapa*, an Indian man would be given access to a subsistence plot of land (the *huasipungo*) and the right to use pastures, water and firewood within the hacienda boundaries. In exchange, he was required to provide his own and his family's labor to the hacienda five or six days per week. 'Free' indigenous communities were also typically tied to the *hacienda* through the *yanapa* system, in which peasants with their own lands worked two days per week on the *hacienda* in exchange for access to water, pasture and firewood.⁵ As the region with the highest levels of *hacienda*-based exploitation, Chimborazo was also the province with the most pronounced history of indigenous rebellion. Most notably, the Daquilema rebellion of 1871 brought the

³ See Marc Becker and A. Kim Clark, eds., *Highland Indians and the State in Modern Ecuador* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007).

⁴ Leon Zamosc, *Estadística de las áreas de predominio étnico de la sierra ecuatoriana: Población Rural, Indicadores Cantonales y Organizaciones de Base* (Quito: Abya-Yala, 1995).

⁵ For a more detailed examination of the *hacienda* system see Andres Guerrero, *La semántica de la dominación: el concertaje de indios* (Quito: Libri Mundi, 1991).

province to a standstill for an entire week in an uprising over taxation and labor abuses.⁶

The rebellion of 1921 shadowed that of Daquilema in that it unified indigenous groups across the region. The insurrection broke out in early May 1921 in the canton of Otavalo, and quickly spread throughout the province as the movement became more generalized. At the earliest moment of the uprising newspaper reports placed the number of rebels at more than 5000, and this number only continued to grow as the movement progressed.⁷ The most striking feature of the uprising was the co-operation between members of different indigenous communities, as well as its carefully planned and coordinated implementation. The Quito newspaper *El Comercio* painted a vivid picture of how the rebellion spread, describing Indians responding to the call of the bugles, the sound guiding them through the mountains to new meeting places ahead of the arrival of government forces. New groups seemed to join the uprising by the day, and three weeks into the insurrection it was reported that Indians throughout the province had stopped work and were planning a full-scale uprising for Corpus Christi.⁸ On 21 May a highly coordinated group of Indian rebels attacked the important town of Guano while the majority of its non-Indian inhabitants were attending the local market outside of its boundaries, showing a significant degree of foresight and planning.⁹ *Hacienda* overseers throughout the province reported Indians talking back and disobeying orders, outrightly threatening a general uprising, while those from free communities had abandoned their houses and were roaming the hills.¹⁰ On 26 May, the day scheduled for the general uprising, it was reported that the uprising was acquiring serious proportions and that the Indians had surrounded four separate towns.

Elites were certainly panicking. *El Comercio* described a general climate of white-*mestizo* fear in the province over the "drunken Indians [who] are threatening to take the whole province."¹¹ The employees of the Quito-Guayaquil Railway Company asked for state intervention, fearing the disruption of traffic with key station of Riobamaba.¹² However, it is impossible to know what actually happened on Corpus Christi, as the rising was immediately pushed off the pages of the newspapers by the arrival of US President Warren G.

⁶See Kinto Lucas, *Rebeliones Indígenas y Negras En América Latina: Entre Viento y Fuego* (Quito: Abya-Yala, 1999).

⁷*El Comercio*, 3 May, 1921.

⁸*El Comercio*, 25 May, 1921.

⁹*El Comercio*, 23 May, 1921.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹*El Comercio*, 26 May, 1921.

¹²*Ibid.*

Harding and his Secretary of State. Half of the paper was turned over to a newly created "English section"—general descriptions of the city, and welcomes and salutations from various organizations—while the rebellious Indians who would present such a backward, unprogressive and embarrassing face to the visiting president were pushed off the pages. Government officials simply sought to pretend the event had never happened, denying the scale of the rising in their official reports, and accusing the press of exaggerating the movement in order to destabilize the government.

War, Taxes and the Indian King: Interpretations of the Rebellion

For these same reasons, it is very difficult to ascertain the causes of the Chimborazo uprising. The Minister of the Interior argued that the uprising occurred in response to a legislative decree of 1920 enacting obligatory military service for all Ecuadorians, which made no distinction of race, and specifically included Indians for the first time. He asserted that in Chimborazo Indians were convinced that the object of the new law was to take them directly to the military barracks and enroll them in the army, to fight in a war they imagined Ecuador to be waging.¹³ The US consul presented a different argument, stating that the cause of the indigenous rising was the tax registration ordered by the government, insisting that they believed registration was to be the first step in depriving them of all their property.¹⁴ *El Comercio*, however, argued that "the difference between this and the uprisings that from time to time occur in the other provinces, is that this one in Chimborazo has been produced without any apparent cause," insisting that no new taxes had been imposed on them, and that suggestions of opposition to the new military law made no sense.¹⁵ It is clear, however, that there was already deep resentment harbored by indigenous groups towards the parish authorities. The Minister of the Interior admitted that abuses had taken place in the valuation of indigenous holdings by the rural census takers and the representatives of the Junta of Agricultural Development, with their holdings being over-valued by as much as four or five times, in addition to rights of civil registry being illegally charged.¹⁶ Moreover, this province was at the centre of tensions between indigenous communities and *haciendas* regarding the boundaries of indigenous land.

¹³Informe del Ministro de lo Interior, 1921. *Mensajes e Informes 1921*, Archivo Biblioteca de la Función Legislativa, Quito, Ecuador. [ABFL]. There was no such war, and if true this underlines the extent of indigenous isolation and distrust.

¹⁴Harman to State Department, 3 June, 1921, no. 544.

¹⁵*El Comercio*, 22 May, 1921.

¹⁶Informe del Ministro de lo Interior, 1921. *Mensajes e Informes 1921*, ABFL.

Accounts of the movement as it spread make clear that the uprising may have had deeper ideological roots, and been embroiled in more complex ethnic and religious issues, than government reports would suggest. It seems that the indigenous rebels sought to establish an Indian army and to name an Indian president, in an apparent parallel with the Inca revivalist movements that were occurring in Bolivia and Peru at this time.¹⁷ Manuel Moncayo, a telegraph operator who was injured in the Indian attack on Guano, reported that the insurgents carried out their strike shouting "Long live General Morocho, death to the government."¹⁸ Morocho was a colonel in the Conservative party who was suspected by Liberal elites of plotting rebellions against the government. Apparently he had persuaded the Indians that he was a general and had made several indigenous leaders colonels of "his" army. But it appears that rather than acting in support of a conservative military movement, the Indians sought to use his rank to establish their own army. Reports were made of a "*Generalissimo*" Esteban Paguay, an Indian from Riobamba who had apparently organized the uprising.¹⁹ There were also frequent references to an indigenous "President," Andres Llamuca; indeed, his recognition was one of the key demands issued by indigenous leaders in the build-up to the Corpus Christi general uprising.²⁰ Indigenous prisoners gave testimony that Llamuca had told them to go to Quito and return with the "golden baton" which would allow the Indian army to gain its victory.²¹

This idea of a magical "golden baton" looks like it might have been based on some kind of indigenous mythology, paralleling in many ways descriptions of indigenous rebels searches for Tupac Katari's arm during the Bolivian uprisings of the 1920's.²² This should not be surprising since it is understood from studies of Indian uprisings throughout the Andes that indigenous struggles are informed by elements of the distant past found in popular myths and stories which allowed insurgents to transcend the local character of their conflict, and make them intelligible to a wider group.

¹⁷Alberto Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca, identidad y utopia en los Andes* (Lima, Peru: Instituto de Apoyo Agrario, 1987), 308-343; Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, "Oppressed but not defeated": Peasant struggles among the Aymara and Quechua in Bolivia, 1900-1980 (Geneva: UN Research Institute for Social Development, 1987), 36-7.

¹⁸*El Comercio*, 18 May, 1921.

¹⁹*El Comercio*, 19 May, 1921.

²⁰*El Comercio*, 24 May, 1921.

²¹*El Comercio*, 20 May, 1921.

²²Tupac Katari was the leader of the messianic Bolivian indigenous rebellion against the Spanish Crown in 1780's. He has iconic status within contemporary indigenous politics in Bolivia. For discussion of his symbolic use in the 1920's and 30's uprisings, see Rivera Cusicanqui, "Oppressed but not defeated": 36-37.

However, so little is known about the dynamics of memory of pre-Colombian society among Ecuadorian indigenous communities that it is impossible to imagine the exact form or content of these mythological beliefs, legends and memories. It is to be assumed that the Incaism which resurged in Peru and Bolivia during this period was not a factor in an Ecuadorian indigenous society which had very little experience of direct Inca rule. However, it is not clear what kinds of memories informed popular struggle in its place, and with oral histories already a scarcely viable source for this period, it is possible that the specific details will prove impossible to uncover. However, the very fact of a specifically indigenous mythology and cosmology as an informative factor in Indian resistance is in itself extremely significant, allowing a more direct comparison with events in Peru and Bolivia during this period.

The Phantom of Race War

Ethnohistorian Tristan Platt has interpreted Incaism in Bolivia not as a “messianic dream” but as a natural mirror to white-*mestizo* hegemony within a common Republican model, in which the subaltern Indian groups sought to reverse their positions and dominate the whites. Thus Platt sees both Indian and Liberal projects in the late nineteenth century as ethnocidal, arguing that the Inca version of racism simply held a mirror up to the Liberal version.²³ In his analysis of Peruvian resistance in this period, Alberto Flores Galindo has argued that although there is no evidence that indigenous peasants in Peru truly believed that the restoration of the Inca was possible in the 1920’s, landowners were definitely convinced that they were dealing with a real “race war” or caste struggle.²⁴ Both of these positions have relevance for Ecuador. In the uprising at Chimborazo there is evidence that Indians sought to overturn the existing racial order, while elites panicked amid fears that a “race war” was imminent. Despite his dismissal of the uprisings as exaggerated by the newspapers, later in his report the Minister of the Interior effectively argued for the rebellions as a form of race war, emerging from the hatred found in the Indian’s souls: “At the bottom of the spirit of this unfortunate race, there exists, latent and perennial, sentiments of ill-will, antagonism and vengeance, which can quickly be converted into acts of blood and extermination when scarcely presented with a pretext or opportunity to exercise them in this form.” Elsewhere in the report he

²³Tristan Platt, “The Andean Experience of Bolivian Liberalism, 1825-1900: Roots of Rebellion in 19th Century Chayanta (Potosi)” in *Resistance, Rebellion and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th through 20th Centuries*, Steve Stern, ed., 280-326 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 315; 320.

²⁴Flores Galindo, *Buscando un Inca*, 266.

argued for the uprisings as being "nourished by ... the cruel instinct of the indigenous race."²⁵

This was an interpretation shared by the mainstream press. The lead article in the Sunday edition of *El Comercio* in late May, 1921 was headlined "*Lucha de razas*" (Race War). The newspaper stated "at the end of the day, the Indian problem is at present, with extremely light variations, the same as it was during the colonial period, and has left a sentiment of insurmountable hatred, of cruel vengeance, in the soul of the pariah-Indian, once the owner and master of America."²⁶ It also stated that the indigenous uprising was aimed at restoring indigenous dominion of the country, and establishing their power over the white-*mestizo* population:

The evident fact is that the Indians today do not demonstrate any sign of being open to conciliation—we have seen that efforts at this have failed—but have no other intention than to continue their struggle, in the illusion that they are going to emerge the victors, in this foolish campaign of reconquest, that, in the primitiveness of their brain, they believe to be holy, noble, and above all, viable.

The paper argued that the Indians saw violence, and in particular, overturning white rule, as the only way to win their demands. They had tried peaceful methods, they had come to Quito with petitions, only to be met with empty promises.

The Indian knows how to guard, in the deepest part of his heart, the good actions which have been made to him, along with the evils that produce in him resentment. They did not return satisfied in their petitions, they understood that the authorities thought them stupid, fools, whatever, and waited patiently for the opportunity to demonstrate that they preferred death to perpetual slavery In our understanding, this and no other is the cause of the uprising that is taking on ever greater proportions in the province of Chimborazo, and that presents a terrible threatening shade over society that could be the victim of the cruelty manifested by these primitive beings,

²⁵Informe del Ministro de lo Interior, 1921. *Mensajes e Informes 1921*, ABFL.

²⁶*El Comercio*, 22 May, 1921.

whose reprisals are always terrorizing, bloody and unspeakable.²⁷

This conviction on the part of elites that the mobilization of ethnic subalterns necessarily equated to "race war" was a common pattern throughout Latin America, dating back to the mobilizations of the black *llaneros* of Venezuela in the 1840's, through the Afro-Cuban Independent party of color in 1912, to the Zapatista peasants of Morelos in 1910 and in 1990. As soon as it became clear that marginalized ethnic groups were seeking to follow and impose their own agenda elites would cry race war.²⁸ This reflects the extent to which these societies were divided along racial lines, and the fear of revolution that haunted the white-*mestizo* elites. An interchange described by a US traveler sheds an illuminating light on the deep-rooted fear among the white population of indigenous rebellion even in the 1940's. He describes how an Indian servant who was guiding him to the *hacienda* where he was staying

began to show his teeth again in the moonlight in a broad Indian smile, that smile that has somehow always seemed so threatening to landholders, that smile they call the '*mueca de indio*', the Indian grimace.... It is not a grimace. It is a smile. Only latent fear gives it a quality a little frightening to a man holding a whip—as if there were someone behind him.²⁹

A focus on the innate hatred in the hearts of the indigenous population enabled white elites to avoid some of the blame for the uprisings.

However, rather than a race war with its connotations of being aimed at whites in general, indigenous anger was expressed most fervently against those they felt to be most responsible for their abuses. Thus the wives and children of *hacienda* owners and employees were kidnapped and assaulted, highlighting how theories of the gendered nature of the spoils of warfare can also be applied to Indian rebellions. Moreover, during the course of the uprising Indians inflicted on whites the punishments that had previously been used against them. In the attack on Guano, for example, the Indians cut off the ears of one of the watchmen, before "clubbing him cruelly."³⁰

²⁷*Ibid.*

²⁸This accusation is still made today. Fears that the indigenous rights movements of the 1990's would lead to the "Balkanization" of Latin America republics can be read as thinly veiled assertions of race war.

²⁹Albert Franklin, *Ecuador: Portrait of a People* (NY: Doubleday, 1943), 193.

³⁰*El Comercio*, 18 May, 1921.

Significantly, the Minister of the Interior recognized the role of elite behavior and attitudes as contributing factors to the uprisings. He insisted that the landowners who were calling for the deployment of military forces were effectively calling for the extermination of the Indians. This could not be a solution. Rather, what was required was the improvement of indigenous conditions. He insisted that it was time that law and state intervened with sufficient energy to prevent Indians from continuing to be the victims of

patrons who exploit their person and property, of bailiffs and officials that rob their money in the form of fabricated judicial rights, of such authorities who oblige them to lend their services for free in works of private interest, or to decree taxes that are too onerous for the scarce resources of their contributors, of *tinterillos* and practitioners of bad law that live on the expenses of Indians, and finally parish priests who persist in benefiting from the religious credulity of Indians to oblige them to undertake unnecessary religious fiestas.³¹

Some concessions to indigenous demands were also offered. The Minister insisted that the question of whether Indians should pay taxes on their land should be put before the legislature, suggesting that a compromise in which holdings valued under 2000 *suces* were exempted from taxation should be installed nationwide. He also demanded that municipal authorities and provincial governors take greater care in the naming of civil judges, bailiffs and local political officials, insisting that those named to such posts be respectable, honorable people, that, "besides not directly abusing and taking advantage of the ignorance of the Indians support them energetically against the abuses of their enemies." This represented a request for a significant shift in the role of public officials, and shows the extent to which the Indian agenda was being taken seriously by authorities in the face of the desire to subdue them and the fear of further uprisings. However, the Minister of the Interior noted that although many political officials had already been discharged following earlier complaints from the Indians their replacements, "far from exercising their duties did not delay in imitating the bad arts of their antecedents and in returning to oppress the same victims as always."³² The failure of the Ministry to impose this agenda reflects the ideological distance between local and national authorities.

³¹Informe del Ministro de lo Interior, 1921. *Mensajes e Informes, 1921*. ABFL.

³²*Ibid.*

Contested Citizenship and the Meaning of Indigenous Mobilisation

Despite elite recognition of the scale of this movement, and acknowledgement of its deep-rooted causes, efforts were made to undermine both its importance and the autonomy of Indians within it. The Minister of the Interior repeatedly insisted that indigenous insurgency was provoked by “unscrupulous lawyers and *tinterillos* [unqualified country lawyers and scribes] who swarm through the city and countryside sowing discord and bringing misery and intransquillity to homes.”³³ The British consul explained that the Conservative party accused the government of having created the trouble in order that constitutional guarantees might be suspended and the president granted extraordinary powers, which would allow them to control the situation at the up-coming congressional elections; while the Liberals accused the Conservatives of having stirred up the Indians to try the temper of the government and their ability to deal with such a movement, in order to see what probabilities of success they might themselves have in a revolutionary movement.³⁴ The depth and consistency of the Indian position make it unlikely that these mobilizations can be wholly attributed to “manipulations” from above. Rather, the accusations and counter-accusations highlight the extent to which Indians were always seen as the pawns of other people and political interests, and that their own aims and desires and their ability to organize movements to pursue these were rarely taken seriously.

The rebellions also highlight the distance between town and country. The uprising featured the powerful symbolism of Indians trying to enter the provincial cities in order to press their demands. Accounts by government ministers of these efforts make clear the extent to which Indians were feared and seen as alien by urban residents. A letter from the Governor of Chimborazo to the Minister of the Interior demonstrated the perceptions and prejudices of highland elites. The letter stated that the “peaceful inhabitants” of Riobamba live in a state of constant alarm, like “residents of incipient colonies faced with semi-savage tribes,” fearing from one minute to the next, a “savage attack” on person and property.³⁵ The classic dualism of “civilization versus barbarism” is clearly in play here in this imagery of a civilized urban center being threatened by

³³ Informe que presenta a la Nación el Dr. Francisco Ochoa Ortiz, Ministro de lo Interior, Policía, Municipalidades, Obras Publicas, Correos, Telégrafos, Teléfonos etc., 1924. *Mensajes e Informes*, 1924. ABFL.

³⁴ Wilson to Foreign Office, 25 May, 1921, FO371/4467/A3799. British National Archives, London, UK.

³⁵ Carta del Gobernador del Chimborazo al Ministro de lo Interior, 23-8-1921, Anexos al Informe del Ministro de lo Interior, 1921. *Mensajes e Informes*, 1921. ABFL.

barbarian peasant hordes. The very dynamics of town resistance to Indian rebellion serve to underline this, defined as it was by ethnic polarization, with Indian uprisings effectively pitting Indian peasants against the white-*mestizo* townspeople who joined forces with the police and army in order to fend them off.

It is likely that in arriving at the city gates Indians sought not to raze and vanquish, but simply to make their demands heard through the force of their presence. It is notable that, as even government ministers acknowledged, Indians had sought to make their voices heard through judicial cases and legal petitioning prior to the uprising. This is significant in that this armed resistance to Indian penetration into the public spheres of urban centers occurred simultaneously with efforts to create modern, progressive towns by physically clearing away the indigenous presence through attacks on Indian hygiene practices and efforts to remove indigenous markets from central spaces, thus denying Indians the possibility of participating as citizens in urban political life.³⁶

Indian conviction that they had the right to express these demands—that, in short, they had the right to citizenship—can be seen in the fact that popular anger was directed at the closest representatives of state justice; those who represented the state at the level of the countryside. Local political officials in particular became a primary target. Andrés Guerrero has argued that the local political officials in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century operated as a “battering ram” that expanded the sovereignty of the national state over the indigenous population.³⁷ Certainly, for the rural population these groups were converted into symbols of state oppression. It is not surprising that in many places the uprising operated as an opportunity for rural populations to settle their accounts with these officials.

It is also significant that indigenous participation in the uprising was most marked on the *haciendas* owned by the Juntas of Public Assistance, which had been created to administer Church land confiscated by the state. In January, 1925 *El Comercio* published an article musing on the root causes of the recent spate of rebellions. It noted that the vast majority had emerged on state-run *haciendas*, and suggested that this was a result of defects in the way in which these were run. It argued that the key issue was the greed of the renters, who, not content with having access to *hacienda* resources, were seeking to take

³⁶See A. Kim Clark, *The Redemptive Work: Railway and Nation in Ecuador, 1895-1930* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1998).

³⁷Andrés Guerrero, “Curagas y teneineté políticos: la ley de costumbre y la ley del estado (Otavalo, 1830-1875),” *Revista Andina* 7 (1989): 328.

possession of the land of neighboring indigenous communities, and to force them into dependence on the *hacienda*.³⁸

It was certainly the case that although in reality renters typically held land for between 24 and 32 years, the illusion of renting as a short-term economic strategy meant that renters were concerned with maximizing their profits as quickly as possible. They did not take a long term view of the management of land, livestock, construction of buildings and relations with workers. In many cases, this led to worse exploitation for workers. Renters recapitalized holdings, and wages were cut. Customs of work were violated, and a vacuum was left at the social and ideological level, since the paternalism characteristic of the patron-peasant relationship was eroded by this new system.³⁹ In oral testimonies gathered from Indians on the Pesillo *hacienda* in a neighboring highland province, informants described the renter who took over from the Conception monks as having "a bad attitude," and of treating the Indians rudely; refusing to give them personalized aid. "He told us 'You are *huasipungeros*, you have your *huasipungos*, your labors, your food, and for this you must work, and for this I pay you.'"⁴⁰ He did not see their relationship as extending any further to the consternation and disgust of the indigenous workers. This disintegration of the patron-client system decreased the forms of domination exercised by the patron and his functionaries, reducing his authority and creating a space for peasant action.

Most importantly, the confiscation of Church land without any kind of redistribution towards the indigenous population led to Indian bitterness and resentment at the way in which the transfer of land had been handled. At Pesillo, Indians refused to accept the transfer, convinced that the *hacienda* must have either belonged to the *padres* or been passed to them: they could conceive of no middle ground.

In Chimborazo, then, indigenous uprising in this period represented a protest against a parasitic state, and the gap between the favorable legislation passed on behalf of the Indians, and the absence of any real reform. It is clear that Liberal rhetoric in favor of the Indians had changed the manner of thinking within the indigenous population about their own social position. Ideas about equality and social justice helped them to formulate their protests and made them more combative vis-à-vis the political elite. The rebellion of 1921, like others in the same period, represented the violent culmination of the indigenous

³⁸*El Comercio*, 25 Jan., 1925.

³⁹Mercedes Prieto, "Haciendas estatales: un caso de ofensiva campesina 1926-1948" in Miguel Murmis, ed., *Ecuador: Cambios en el agro serrano* (Quito: FLACSO, 1980), 109-110.

⁴⁰Testimony of José Juan Balladares in José Yanez del Pozo, *Yo declaro con franqueza: Memoria Oral del Pesillo-Cayambe* (Quito: Abya-Yala, 1988), 77.

community's long process of resistance and organization in defense of their land, their own forms of organization, and ways of life, which latifundismo threatened to eradicate. Rather than the parochial reactors, engaged only by manipulations from above, that contemporary elites tried to present, indigenous peasants were effective collective actors with clearly defined goals and means.

From Harlem to Hiroshima: The African American Response to the Atomic Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki

Vincent Intondi
American University

"What will be the ultimate value of having established social justice in a context where all people, Negro and White, are merely free to face destruction by strontium 90 or atomic war?"

-Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

On June 6, 1964 three Japanese writers and atomic bomb survivors (*Hibakusha*) arrived in Harlem as part of the Hiroshima/Nagasaki World Peace Study Mission. Speaking out against nuclear proliferation, the group traveled to at least five other countries before reaching the United States. However traveling to Harlem was perhaps the trip they most eagerly anticipated because the *Hibakusha* wanted to meet Malcolm X most.¹

Yuri Kochiyama, a Japanese-American activist, organized a reception for the *Hibakusha* at her home in the Harlem Manhattanville Projects. In an effort to make the *Hibakusha's* wish come true, Kochiyama contacted Malcolm's office months before their arrival but received no response and remained doubtful that Malcolm would attend the reception. Throughout the day, the *Hibakusha* walked around Harlem visiting a black school and church, ate lunch at a restaurant Malcolm X frequently visited, passed by the "World's Worst Fair,"² and finally made their way to Kochiyama's apartment. Little did they know who they were about to meet.

¹ Yuri Kochiyama, *Passing It On—A Memoir* (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center Press, 2004), 67.

² The "World's Worst Fair" was taking place while the regular tourist-attraction fair was held at Flushing Meadows in Queens. Harlem activists thought of the idea of opening up a "Fair" in one of the most impoverished blocks in Harlem so that tourists could see how some people in Harlem had

Shortly after the reception began, there was a knock at the door. Kochiyama opened the door and there stood Malcolm X. Upon entering the house, Malcolm first apologized to Kochiyama for not responding, explaining he did not have her address. He further remarked that if he traveled again he would remember to write. (He did, and wrote to Kochiyama eleven times from nine different countries). Malcolm thanked the *Hibakusha* for taking the time to go to the "World's Worst Fair." He said, "You have been scarred by the atom bomb. You just saw that we have also been scarred. The bomb that hit us was racism."³ He went on to discuss his years in prison, education, and Asian history. Turning to Vietnam, Malcolm said, "If America sends troops to Vietnam, you progressives should protest. America is already sending American advisors."⁴ He continued arguing that "the struggle of Vietnam is the struggle of the whole Third World: the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, and imperialism."⁵ Like so many before him, Malcolm X connected civil rights with human rights. He saw the connection between colonialism, racism, and the black freedom struggle. And like those before him, Malcolm saw the atomic bomb as a critical link in that chain.

Malcolm X joined a long list of African Americans who spoke out against the atomic bomb. Just a few days after the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki W.E.B. DuBois and Langston Hughes voiced their criticism over the decision to drop the bombs. Paul Robeson, Bayard Rustin, Martin Luther King, and the Black Panther Party were just a few of the many African Americans who spoke out against the atomic bomb.

This paper examines the African American community's response to the nuclear threat. Beginning with the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, I intend to trace the shifting response of African American leaders and organizations and of the broader African American public to the evolving nuclear arms race and general nuclear threat throughout the postwar period. It is my contention that, African Americans not only participated in the anti-nuclear movement but were often among the leaders in the campaign against nuclear weapons. Understanding the nexus of colonialism, racism, and the atomic bomb, many in the African American community kept the issue of nuclear weapons alive and vital even when it was abandoned by other groups during the era of McCarthyism, allowing the fight to abolish nuclear weapons to reemerge

to live under the supervision of uncaring landlords and the sanitation department. The "World's Worst Fair" highlighted living quarters with broken windows, broken-down staircases, toilets that would not flush, clogged-up bathtubs, and garbage piled high on the streets. *Ibid.*, 68.

³ Malcolm X, quoted in Yuri Kochiyama, *Passing It On*, 69.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁵ *Ibid.*

powerfully in the 1960s and beyond. African American leaders never gave the nuclear issue up or failed to see its importance. And opposition to the bomb kept a host of other interrelated issues on the front burner.

By analyzing the African American response to the atomic bombings, I will attempt to further historians' growing effort to integrate African Americans more fully into the historical narrative, looking beyond the often narrowly defined social concerns that uniquely effected the African American community. Because of the understandable focus on African Americans' unique oppression, historians have often entirely ignored them when addressing other important issues, such as the nuclear threat that imperils all human beings. This omission comes despite the fact that African Americans, as part of the larger human community, have as great a stake as any other group of American citizens.⁶ In fact, given the increasing urban concentration of African Americans, they face a greater risk when it comes to nuclear war and terrorism than do most Americans.

⁶ For too long historians have failed to appreciate the black freedom struggle's international dimensions, viewing slavery, Jim Crow, and the Civil Rights Movement as national phenomena. Recently, however, historians have begun to correct this. Brenda Gayle Plummer's *Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs 1945-1988* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), Penny Von Eschen's *Race Against Empire Black Americans and Anticolonialism, 1937-1957* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997), Gerald Horne's, *Black & Red: W.E.B. DuBois and the Afro-American Response to the Cold War 1944-1963* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1986), Carol Anderson's, *Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1955* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), and Mary Dudziak's *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), all discuss the connection between the black freedom struggle and foreign affairs. Absent, though, from these texts is an in-depth study of African American communities and their influence on the fight for nuclear disarmament. Paul Boyer's *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985) and *Fallout: A Historian Reflects on America's Half-Century Encounter with Nuclear Weapons* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1998), include brief descriptions of how African Americans' opinions differed from or aligned with the broader public. However, Boyer's abbreviated analysis implies that outside of a few headlines in the black press African Americans remained largely silent about the atomic bomb. Lawrence Wittner's three book series *The Struggle Against the Bomb*, offers more insight on African Americans than those previously mentioned. However, while Wittner sheds light on specific events that included African American participation, his analysis of the anti-nuclear movement remains broad with limited discussion of African American participation. Ronald Takaki's *Hiroshima: Why America Dropped the Bomb* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1995) and *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in World War II* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 2000), both focuses on the role racism played in the decision to drop the bomb, but Takaki only briefly mentions the African American response. John Dower's *War Without Mercy: Race & Power in the Pacific War*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986) specifically explores the role of race in World War II. However, Dower dedicates a majority of his book to the Pacific War as a whole rather than the atomic bombings or the reaction that followed. Dower looks at African Americans' attitudes, reactions, and feelings towards the Japanese and the Pacific War.

Hence the question of how African Americans have responded to nuclear issues is of great historical consequence.

The Initial Response to the Atomic Bombings

As word spread that President Truman had instructed Emperor Hirohito to surrender, the Southside of Chicago erupted in approval. "I'm the happiest woman in the world," exclaimed Mary Johnson, an African American resident of the Southside.⁷ The *Chicago Defender* on August 18, 1945 read "America Hails End of War!" Throughout the country it appeared that African Americans shared the same joyous response as most of the American public upon hearing the news that Truman dropped two atomic bombs.⁸ However, most Americans approved of the bombing in large part because of racism and revenge for Pearl Harbor.⁹ This was not the case for African Americans. African Americans were anxious to highlight their role in the war in hopes of winning equality. The war offered African Americans a chance to demonstrate their patriotism and serve their country. They were proud of their involvement with the atomic bomb. In short African Americans' apparent celebratory attitude was less about defeating the Japanese and more about gaining civil rights.

Rather than praising the decision to drop the bomb, the black press initially celebrated African Americans' involvement in *creating* the bomb. On August 18, 1945 the *Pittsburgh Courier's* headline read, "Negro Scientists Played Important Role in Atomic Bomb Development." The *Chicago Defender* also headlined on the same day with "Negro Scientists Help Produce 1st Atom Bomb." The *Washington Afro-American* announced seven thousand black workers at Oak Ridge, Tennessee helped making the bomb. Pictures of black men and women working and photos of the plants filled the newspaper pages.¹⁰

In each story though, the writers reserved praise for the workers not the bomb. The *Courier* included two columns featuring biographies of two black scientists that helped make the bomb. Again, instead of discussing the atomic

⁷ "America Hails End of War!" *Chicago Defender*, August 18, 1945, p. 1.

⁸ According to an August 16, 1945, Gallup poll, 85 percent of respondents approved of the use of the bomb. By October, 53.5 percent endorsed the bombing of both cities and an additional 22.7 percent regretted that the United States had not quickly used atomic weapons to bomb other cities. Sadao Asada, "The Mushroom Cloud and National Psyches: Japanese and American Perceptions of the Atomic-Bomb Decision, 1945-1995," in Laura Hein and Mark Selden, ed. *Living With the Bomb: American and Japanese Cultural Conflicts in the Nuclear Age* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), 177.

⁹ See John Dower, *War Without Mercy*. Dower describes American's genocidal rage towards the Japanese after Pearl Harbor; Laura Hein and Mark Selden, ed. *Living With the Bomb*, 42, 55.

¹⁰ "Negro Scientists Played Important Role in Atomic Bomb Development," *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 18, 1945, p. 1; "Negro Scientists Help Produce 1st Atom Bomb," *Chicago Defender*, August 18, 1945, p. 1; "7,000 Employed at Atomic Bomb Plant," *Washington Afro-American*, August 18, 1945, 1.

bomb, the writers stressed the scientists' levels of education and ability to work side by side with white scientists. Similar articles referred to the scientists as "wizards" and "great mathematicians." Black scientists gave writers a chance to highlight African Americans' education, ability to perform the same jobs as whites, and get along with whites when given the chance. In short, many in the black press hoped that highlighting the black scientists would eventually lead to respect and ultimately civil rights. Private First Class Jimmy Williams expressed this sentiment best in a letter to the editor: "We can truthfully say that the making of it (atomic bomb) was in the hands of the Negro. In other things that we have accomplished why are we so still denied our advantages?"¹¹

The Criticism Begins-1945

Many African Americans did not wait to condemn the atomic bombings and raise awareness about nuclear weapons. Inside black communities, pastors, poets, intellectuals, artists, and musicians immediately began to protest the atomic bomb. African Americans were among the first Americans to envision what historian Peter Kuznick refers to as the "apocalyptic narrative."¹² A few days after the bombings, an article in the *Defender* warned, "When the frightful horror and devastation of the new atomic bomb was unleashed on Japan, that shock was not only felt in Hiroshima but in every city and hamlet throughout the world. A tremor of foreboding fear must have shaken the spirits of men everywhere—an awesome dread lest this most formidable weapon of destruction turn out to be a Frankenstein to be turned against its democratic creators at some future date."¹³ Articles of the same nature appeared in the *Courier* and *Washington Afro-American*. In between articles and pictures showing blacks who worked on the bomb an editorial in the *Afro-American* explained, "Each time a new weapon of offense is developed it becomes necessary to develop a new instrument of defense. All efforts are then bent toward the development of an even more lethal offensive weapon and so the vicious circle is perpetuated."¹⁴ A month later, a columnist in the *Courier*

¹¹ Ted Coleman, "Young Dr. Wilkins Among Chicago U. Laboratory Heroes," *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 18, 1945; George Schuyler, "Dr. William J. Knox Headed Group at Columbia University," *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 18, 1945; Letter to the Editor-Jimmy Williams, "Atom Bomb in the Hands of the Negro," *Chicago Defender*, October 20, 1945.

¹² Peter Kuznick, "The Decision to Risk the Future: Harry Truman, the Atomic Bomb, and the Apocalyptic Narrative." *Japan Focus*, July 28, 2007. <http://www.zmag.org/>. Kuznick's apocalyptic narrative argues that U.S. actions have even a greater relevance to citizens living in the aftermath of the atomic bombings who must continually grapple with the long-term ramifications, particularly the threat of extinction.

¹³ "Splitting the Atom of Race Hate," *Chicago Defender*, August 18, 1945.

¹⁴ "Are We Prepared for Peace?" *Washington Afro-American*, August 18, 1945, p. 4.

argued that the atomic bomb showed humanity acted more destructive than constructive. And in November 1945, another contributor to the *Defender* warned that the U.S. would become the most vulnerable country as other countries obtained the bomb concluding that larger cities with populations of over 100,000 were most in danger.¹⁵

The August 18th edition of the *Baltimore Afro-American* printed statements from ordinary citizens. Out of the thirteen statements nine were highly critical of the atomic bomb. This was unlike the rest of the American public who, at the same time overwhelmingly approved of the bombing.¹⁶ Those interviewed stated they were “terrified” of the thought of what would be created next or who had the power to use the bomb. Some of the interviewees warned the atomic bomb could destroy civilization and force people to live underground. Even those who showed minor support for the bomb stressed the importance of controlling and monitoring its use.¹⁷

Writer George Schuyler was one of the first to connect the issues of racism and colonialism to the bomb. In a scathing critique of U.S. foreign policy, Schuyler warned that the atomic bomb “will put the Anglo-Saxon definitely on top where they will remain for decades” calling the bombing the “murder of men wholesale.” He maintained that killing people by the thousand no longer satisfied the United States and that now the country “achieved the supreme triumph of being able to slaughter whole cities at a time.” Written only a few days after the bombings, Schuyler made sure to mention that those killed were civilians—mothers, fathers, and children. His criticism did not end there. Four months later, Schuyler referred to the bombing as the “supreme atrocity of all time.” Along the same lines, an editorial in the *Washington Afro-American* questioned why the bomb was not dropped on Germany concluding that “we apparently saved our most devastating weapon for the hated yellow men of the Pacific.” For many of these black writers, the atomic bomb quickly became related to race and colonialism.¹⁸

¹⁵ J.A. Rogers, “Roger Says: Atomic Bomb May Disclose that Civilized Man is Headed Back to the Caves,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, September 1, 1945; S.I.Hayakawa, “Defense Against Atomic Bomb,” *Chicago Defender*, November 24, 1945.

¹⁶ According to an August 16, 1945, Gallup poll, 85 percent of respondents approved of the use of the bomb. By October, 53.5 percent endorsed the bombing of both cities and an additional 22.7 percent regretted that the United States had not quickly used atomic weapons to bomb other cities. Sadao Asada, “The Mushroom Cloud,” in *Living With the Bomb*, 177.

¹⁷ “Atomic Bomb Brings Fear of Cave Life, Joblessness,” *Baltimore Afro-American*, August 18, 1945, p. 17.

¹⁸ George Schuyler, “Views and Reviews,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 18, 1945; “Views and Reviews,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, December 15, 1945; “The World Today,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, August 18, 1945, p. 1; “Are We Prepared for Peace?” *Washington Afro-American*, August 18, 1945, p.4.

Perhaps the most far reaching criticism came from W.E.B. DuBois. For DuBois, opposing war was synonymous with opposing racism and colonialism. In his view the three were inextricably intertwined. He wrote about the connection with the "colored and colonial world" explaining Jawaharlal Nehru was the only one who had spoken out against the atomic bomb and European imperialism.¹⁹ A few weeks after the bombings DuBois referred to Japan as "the greatest colored nation which has risen to leadership in modern times" explaining that the bombing would ultimately set back the progress for darker skinned peoples throughout the world.²⁰ The intellectual likened Truman to Adolph Hitler, calling him "one of the greatest killers of our day."²¹ In a letter to his granddaughter, DuBois also showed his concern for the bomb writing, "It is a great calamity that today we think of using the atom as a weapon of war."²²

Poet and playwrights Langston Hughes and Zora Neale Hurston also joined the chorus of African Americans who protested the bomb. In the *Defender*, Hughes argued that the bomb would destroy all human life. He implied racism played a large part of the decision to drop the bomb. Hughes also connected African Americans and the bomb explaining how poor black communities could have benefited from money used to make the bomb. Hughes's one-time colleague, Zora Neale Hurston, who many argue, was apolitical, did not remain silent on the issue of the atomic bomb. In a letter to Claude Barnett, Hurston demonstrated her outrage at Truman and the complacency in the African American community: "Thrumen (sic) is a monster. I can think of him as nothing else but the BUTCHER OF ASIA. Of his grin of triumph on giving the order to drop the Atom bombs on Japan. Of his maintaining troops in China who are shooting the starving Chinese for stealing a handful of food....Is it that we are so devoted to a "good Massa" that we feel that we ought not to even protest such crimes?"²³

While the initial response to the atomic bombings was not monolithic it is important to note that many African Americans did not wait to condemn the atomic bombings and raise awareness about nuclear weapons. Many African

¹⁹ Zhang Juguo, *W.E.B. DuBois: The Quest for the Abolition of the Color Line* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 149; Gerald Horne, *Black & Red*, 277.

²⁰ W.E.B. DuBois, "The Winds of Time: Negro's War Gains and Losses," *Chicago Defender*, September 15, 1945.

²¹ W.E.B. DuBois, quoted in Zhang Juguo, *W.E.B. DuBois*, 151.

²² W.E.B. DuBois, Letter to DuBois Williams, October 8, 1946, reprinted in Herbert Aptheker, ed. *W.E.B. DuBois: The Correspondence of W.E.B. DuBois Volume III Selections, 1944-1963* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1978), 117.

²³ Langston Hughes, "Here to Yonder: Simple and the Atom Bomb," *Chicago Defender*, August 18, 1945; Zora Neale Hurston, Letter to Claude Barnett, July 21-26, 1946, reprinted in Carla Kaplan, ed. *Zora Neale Hurston: A Life in Letters* (New York: Doubleday, 2002), 545-546.

Americans jumped out in the forefront of the anti-nuclear movement that was to follow. Those African Americans who protested, some well known, some ordinary citizens, did not need an organized movement. Contrary to those scholars who summarize this criticism as one or two articles by popular intellectuals lasting but a few short months I contend that this activism continued throughout the Cold War, Civil Rights Movement, and into the era of Black Power.

The Path to Peace is Through Disarmament

With the early 1950s came the rise of McCarthyism and a decline of anti-nuclear activism in America. However, while others kowtowed to McCarthy, many African Americans refused to conform. The combination of the Korean War (1950-53) and testing of hydrogen bombs (1952-53) motivated many African Americans to become active in the anti-nuclear movement. African Americans envisioned another Hiroshima in Korea. The racial component of dropping the bomb on Japan, along with the emphasis on solidarity with other non-Caucasians around the world, prompted African American leaders to increase their efforts to ban nuclear weapons.

The Peace Information Center (PIC), an outgrowth from the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace in Paris, included among its members Paul Robeson and was chaired by DuBois. The group set out to supply information on peace actions to the press, issue fact sheets, arrange for American delegations to attend peace conferences abroad, and supply information on peace actions in the United States to peace groups abroad. The PIC quickly became notorious for its sponsoring of the Stockholm Peace Appeal, or as it was commonly known as the "the bomb petition."²⁴ The appeal read:

We demand the outlawing of atomic weapons as instruments of intimidation and mass murder of peoples.

We demand strict international control to enforce this measure.

We believe than any other government which first uses atomic weapons against any other country whatsoever will be committing a crime against humanity and should be dealt with as a war criminal.

²⁴ On March 15, 1950, the meeting of the World Partisans of Peace was held in Stockholm, and 150 delegates from eighteen countries attended the meeting. At the meeting the Appeal was adopted unanimously. Gerald Horne, *Black & Red*, 126; Zhang Juguo, *W.E.B. DuBois*, 154.

We call on all men and women of goodwill throughout the world to sign the appeal.²⁵

By the summer of 1950, over 1.5 million people in the United States affixed their signatures to the document. Moreover, the African American community became a conscious and special target of the Appeal and they responded with overwhelming support. Signers of the Appeal ranged from artists such as Charlie Parker, Marian Anderson, and Pearl Primus, to various labor unions and organizations.²⁶

The religious community joined the growing list of supporters. The 131st Annual Conference of the Methodist Church called for banning the bomb, along with the 162nd General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. There were ten million signatories in France, 60 million in China, 115 million in the Soviet Union. In Brazil, the nation with the largest black community in the Western hemisphere, where there were 3.75 million signers, 2,000 illiterate peasants signed by making thumb prints with the juice of crushed poppy leaves.²⁷

However, not all African Americans supported the Appeal or DuBois. McCarthyism created a dangerous atmosphere and some feared supporting it would result in harsh punishment. Employers often fired people who signed the Appeal. On July 13, 1950, the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) issued a stinging condemnation of the peace campaign. Violent opposition surfaced against the campaign for disarmament. In Houston, the police harassed the petitioners with jail, beatings, or both. On September 15, A. Philip Randolph's Sleeping Car Porters came out against the Appeal.²⁸ The NAACP went after suspected black communists with a vengeance. Walter White, the association's executive secretary, and Roy Wilkins, its chief administrator, vowed to be "utterly ruthless in clean[ing] out the NAACP, and make[ing] sure that the Communists were not running it." In the early 1950s the NAACP leadership was determined to put its resources, expertise, and valued

²⁵ Gerald Horne, *Black & Red*, 126.

²⁶ The Baker and Confectionary Workers, Local 13, American Federation of Labor all voted to support the Appeal and to get 3,000 signatures in New York City. The International Longshore and Warehousemen's Union, District 2 of the International Woodworkers, Ship Scalers and Dry Dock Workers, Cannery Workers 7-C, Hope Lodge 79 of the International Association of Machinists, Marine Cooks and Stewards, and the Office of Professional Workers Union all supported the Appeal. Gerald Horne, *Black & Red*, 127.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 128.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 134.

name in the hands of the Truman administration and State Department to beat back damaging Soviet charges of racial discrimination in the United States.²⁹

Secretary of State Dean Acheson went after DuBois and the PIC vigorously in the press, specifically the *New York Times*. Acheson and the government argued that communists could care less about peace or disarmament and used this issue as a front to spread their ideology. Numerous articles on the PIC and Peace Appeal appeared in the *New York Times* throughout the summer of 1950. Most however, remained negative and labeled the PIC “communist propaganda” and the Appeal a “Soviet trick.”³⁰

DuBois responded to all the charges, specifically from Acheson. The activist asserted in the *New York Times* that Acheson’s statements might be interpreted “as foreshadowing American use of the atom bomb in Korea.” He challenged the Secretary of State saying “While there is yet time, Mr. Acheson, let the world know that in the future the Government of the United States will never be the first to use the atom bomb, whether in Korea or in any other part of the earth.”³¹ On September 23, 1950, DuBois announced that 2.5 million people in the United States had signed the Stockholm Appeal—more than 2 million since the start of the Korean War despite a campaign of intimidation that had begun in several communities. Gerald Horne contends the document may have been signed by more people than any other appeal ever devised by human hand and brain.³²

The PIC operated from April 3, 1950 to October 12, 1950, when, in response to financial and governmental pressures, it ceased functioning. However, on February 9, 1951, DuBois was indicted, along with others at the center, as an unregistered foreign agent. The trial began on November 18, 1951.³³ At the time of his arraignment, DuBois read a statement. In part, it read, “In a world which has barely emerged from the horrors of the Second World War and which trembles on the brink of an atomic catastrophe, can it be criminal to hope and work for peace?...I am confident that every American who

²⁹ Carol Anderson, “Bleached Souls and Red Negroes: The NAACP and Black Communists in the Early Cold War, 1948-1952,” in *Window of Freedom*, 93.

³⁰ “World Peace Plea Is Circulated Here,” *New York Times*, July 14, 1950, p. 7; “Peace Proponent Asks Atom Pledge,” *New York Times*, July 17, 1950, p. 5; “600 More Peace Signers,” *New York Times*, August 14, 1950, p. 15; Allan Taylor, “Story of the Stockholm Petition,” *New York Times*, August 13, 1950, E6; Walter H. Waggoner, “Acheson Derides Soviet Peace Bids,” *New York Times*, July 13, 1950, p. 1.

³¹ Part of DuBois’s letter to Dean Acheson on July 14, 1950 was published in the *New York Times*, July 17, 1950, p. 5, with the headline: “Dr. DuBois Calls on Acheson to Promise U.S. Will ‘Never Be First to Use Bomb.’” The text of the full letter can be found in *The Correspondence of W.E.B. DuBois*, 303-306.

³² Gerald Horne, *Black & Red*, 126.

³³ *Ibid.*, 131, 151.

desires peace, Negro and white, Catholic, Jew and Protestant, the three million signers of the World Peace Appeal and the tens of millions more will join us in our fight to vindicate our right to speak for peace."³⁴

DuBois continued to defy McCarthyites when on April 29, 1951 he sent a paper to a conference held under the auspices of the National Cultural Commission of the Communist Party of Great Britain. In the paper, DuBois applauded the Soviets for calling for world peace and for union against the atom bomb. He continued asking the questions: Of what are we in such deathly fear? Have we been invaded? Has anyone dropped an atom bomb on us? Have we been impoverished or enslaved by foreigners?³⁵

Support for DuBois and the PIC came in from all over the world. Besides the international community, the support base for DuBois rested among African Americans. In his 1952 book, *In Battle for Peace*, DuBois discussed his supporters:

The response of Negroes in general was at first slow and not united, but it gradually gained momentum. At first, many Negroes were puzzled. They did not understand the indictment and assumed that I had let myself be drawn into some treasonable acts or movements in retaliation for continued discrimination in this land, which I had long fought. They understood this and forgave it, but thought my action ill-advised. Support came in tied directly to Pan-Africanism and anticolonialist activists, specifically George Padmore and South Africa, West Africa, Nigeria, World Federation of Scientific Workers, French West Indies, British Guiana, British West Indies, China, Southeast Asia Committee, Indonesian students, Vietnamese students.³⁶

DuBois and the PIC were acquitted because of insufficient evidence. Of the trial the *National Guardian* stated: "For the first time since Harry S. Truman set off the greatest witch-hunt of modern times with his loyalty purge in March 1947, the government last week took a stunning defeat."³⁷ The *Daily Compass*

³⁴ *The Correspondence of W.E.B. DuBois*, 311.

³⁵ W.E.B. DuBois, "I Take My Stand," April 29, 1951, in Philip S. Foner, ed. *W.E.B. DuBois Speaks: Speeches and Addresses 1920-1963* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970), 243-245.

³⁶ W.E. B. DuBois, *In Battle for Peace* (Millwood: Kraus-Thomson Organization Limited, 1976), 74-80.

³⁷ Quoted in, *Black & Red*, 179.

also covered the trial and termed the acquittal, “(the) biggest victory for peace and civil liberties to be seen around these United States in many months.”³⁸

DuBois’s activism against the bomb was not just a public political stunt with the Soviets. Shown in a private letter to his granddaughter in 1950, DuBois commented that with the Korean War, the United States is at the beginning of a third world war, with the terrible weapon of the atom bomb.³⁹ In *In Battle for Peace*, DuBois again brought up the issue of Korea and Hiroshima saying, “the statement was French in origin and stemmed from the horror of Hiroshima and the shudder of apprehension over the world when Truman casually stated the possible renewed use of the atom bomb in Korea.”⁴⁰ DuBois explained that the people who signed the Appeal were moved “not by the thought of defending the Soviet Union so much as by the desire to prevent modern culture from relapsing into primitive barbarism.”⁴¹

But connecting the black freedom struggle with foreign affairs was not new for DuBois. DuBois recognized the global range of this problem and asserted over 100 years ago that “the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line.”⁴² He did not limit this formulation to “black-white” relations as understood in the United States. He wrote in 1903 that the dilemma of color “included the relation of the darker to the lighter races of men (sic) in Asia and Africa, in America and the islands of the sea.”⁴³ DuBois’s tireless efforts working within the Civil Rights Movement and with foreign affair led some to label him a “prophet in limbo.” But he was not in limbo. He knew how it all related. Von Eschen explains that DuBois linked African Americans with Africa and the Caribbean, not because of biological blood ties but because their differing experiences of slavery and colonialism were all seen as part of the history of the expansion of Europe and the development of capitalism.⁴⁴

Anti-colonialism, Civil Rights, and the Bomb

During the Easter week in 1958, Bayard Rustin took his place at the microphone at a rally in Britain. His speech was one of the events for a planned march from the British nuclear facility at Aldermaston, Berkshire, to London’s Trafalgar Square. Rustin, the only American speaker, told the assembly:

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ W.E.B. DuBois, Letter to DuBois Williams, July 17, 1950, reprinted in *The Correspondence of W.E.B. DuBois*, 288.

⁴⁰ W.E.B. DuBois, *In Battle for Peace*, 37.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² W.E. B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Bantam Books, 1989), 29.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Penny Von Eschen, *Race Against Empire*, 4-5.

There must be unilateral [disarmament] action by a single nation, come what may. There must be no strings attached. We must be prepared to absorb the danger. We must use our bodies in direct action, noncooperation, whatever is required to bring our government to its senses. In the United States, the black people of Montgomery said, 'We will not cooperate with discrimination.' And the action of those people achieved tremendous results. They are now riding the buses with dignity, because they were prepared to make a sacrifice of walking for their rights.⁴⁵

British Direct Action Committee member Michael Randle later recalled that "Bayard Rustin delivered what many regarded as the most powerful speech of that Good Friday afternoon, linking the struggle against weapons of mass destruction with the struggle of blacks for their basic rights in America."⁴⁶

By the late 1950s, the link between the black freedom struggle in America, the larger battle against colonialism in the Third World, and the campaign to abolish nuclear weapons appeared strikingly clear to many African American activists. In the summer of 1959, when France announced plans to test its first nuclear device in the Sahara, the news alarmed supporters of the international peace movement as well as citizens of a number of countries in West Africa, particularly Ghana. The Ghanaian government and people feared that nuclear fallout would devastate their cocoa industry, a vital source of national revenue. They felt, moreover, that nuclear testing on African soil was a new form of European colonialism. So the Government was grateful when the British and American peace movements collaborated in organizing protest demonstrations at the nuclear site. The Sahara Project was made up of activists in both Britain's Direct Action Committee (DAC) and America's Committee for Non-Violent Action (CNVA).⁴⁷ CNVA leader Bayard Rustin was one of the main organizers of the Sahara Project, whose goal was to place a team of pacifists inside or near the test site to try to prevent the French test. The Sahara Project offered a direct link between the anti-nuclear movement and the African struggle for independence.⁴⁸ Traveling after the march in London, Rustin reached Paris just as the French government was overthrown and the Fourth

⁴⁵ Rustin, quoted in Brenda Gayle Plummer, *Window of Freedom*, 1; Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen* (New York: HarperCollins, 1997), 215.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 219-220.

⁴⁸ Scott H. Bennett, *Radical Pacifism: The War Resisters League and Gandhian Nonviolence in America, 1915-1963* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 231.

Republic was collapsing. Among everyone, Rustin found, "all political discussion led to Algeria," where the French were struggling against a fiercely determined independent movement. The right, the center, and even elements of the left believed France had to develop a nuclear arsenal to be considered a major power; it needed the Sahara to test weapons. "This means that Algeria must be held at all costs," Rustin wrote. The connection between the arms race and colonialism had never seemed clearer.⁴⁹ From the outset organizers stressed that the project was intended to involve direct action and not merely a purely symbolic protest against the tests. There was concern, too, that the project should be seen as a linked protest against nuclear weapons and colonialism rather than solely against French colonialism and its nuclear policies.⁵⁰ Discussing the project War Resisters League (WRL) member Bill Sutherland recalled, "It was so exciting because we felt that this joining up of the European anti-nuclear forces, the African liberation forces, and U.S. civil rights movements could help each group feed and reinforce the other. Then, to be sponsored by a majority political party in government clearly marked a unique moment in progressive history."⁵¹

The team of activists left Accra on December 6, 1959, on the first attempt to reach the testing site. Officers intercepted the team at Bitton, sixteen miles inside Upper Volta. The team refused to leave, and after some delay the French brought in troops and sealed off the town from the locals to prevent the distribution of propaganda. After five days the team returned to Bolgatanga to reconsider the position. After two more attempts to stop the testing, the French carried out the test at El Hammoudia on February 13, 1960, at 6 a.m.⁵²

The teams' attempts to stop the French received a lot of publicity, which motivated others to demonstrate at the French Embassies in London and Lagos. After the test, protests broke out all over the African continent. Gamal Abdel Nasser, the Arab League Council, Julius Nyerere, and most North and West African States issued statements deploring the test and its effects. While the effort to stop the French testing may appear as a failure, others such as Richard Taylor argue the project achieved considerable success. There can be no doubt, Taylor explains, "that because of Kwame Nkrumah's support, the protest against the French test and, to a lesser extent, the NVDA principles underlying the action, gained real mass public support in Ghana. This exceeded the popular

⁴⁹ John D'Emelio, *Lost Prophet*, 257.

⁵⁰ Richard Taylor, *Against the Bomb: The British Peace Movement 1958-1965* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 158.

⁵¹ Scott H. Bennett, *Radical Pacifism*, 235.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 160-161.

support for such actions or ideas in either Britain or the USA at any time during the peace movement's history."⁵³

Civil Rights and the Bomb

Writing about Martin Luther King, Jr. historians tend to focus on his role in the Civil Rights Movement. Rarely do scholars examine King's criticism of U.S. foreign policy and anti-nuclear activism. However, throughout his career King consistently spoke out on nuclear weapons. Dr. King's actions against nuclear weapons began in the late 1950s. From 1957 until his death, in speeches, sermons, interviews, and marches, Dr King protested the use of nuclear weapons and war. King had the ear of African Americans as well as the mainstream press. Asked in December 1957, about the future of nuclear weapons, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. replied, "I definitely feel that the development and use of nuclear weapons should be banned...War must be finally eliminated or the whole of mankind will be plunged into the abyss of annihilation."⁵⁴

King's anti-nuclear activism continued throughout the Civil Rights Movement. In 1959, King made time to address the War Resisters League at their thirty-sixth annual dinner in which he praised the league's work and linked the domestic struggle for racial justice with the campaign for global disarmament: "What will be the ultimate value of having established social justice in a context where all people, Negro and White, are merely free to face destruction by strontium 90 or atomic war?"⁵⁵ A month later, giving his farewell statement for All India Radio, King stated, "The peace-loving peoples of the world have not yet succeeded in persuading my own country, American, and Soviet Russia to eliminate fear and disarm themselves...It may be that just as India had to take the lead and show the world that national independence could be achieved nonviolently, so India may have to take the lead and call for universal disarmament. And if no other nation will join her immediately, India may declare itself for disarmament unilaterally."⁵⁶

When King had the attention of African American parishioners, he often stood on the pulpit and demanded an end to the nuclear arms race while

⁵³ Ibid., 165-166.

⁵⁴ Martin Luther King, Jr., "Advice for Living," *Ebony*, December 1957, reprinted in Clayborne Carson, ed. *The Papers of Martin Luther King Jr., Volume IV: Symbol of the Movement January 1957-December 1958* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 327.

⁵⁵ Martin Luther King, Jr., "Address at the Thirty-sixth Annual Dinner of the War Resister's League," February 2, 1959, reprinted in Clayborne Carson, ed. *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr., Volume V: Threshold of a New Decade January 1959-December 1960* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 122.

⁵⁶ Martin Luther King, Jr. "Farewell Statement for All India Radio," March 9, 1959, reprinted in *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr. Volume V*, 135-136.

connecting it to civil rights.⁵⁷ King explained in "Pilgrimage to Nonviolence," that "the church cannot remain silent while mankind faces the threat of being plunged into the abyss of nuclear annihilation. If the church is true to its mission it must call for an end to the arms race."⁵⁸ By 1960, King's feelings towards the nuclear abolition deepened. Addressing Spelman College, King pleaded that together they must bring an end to the arms race and bring about universal disarmament. He called this "a matter of survival" and said, "Talk about love and nonviolence may have been merely a pious injunction a few years ago; today it is an absolute necessity for the survival of our civilization."⁵⁹

Conclusion

In 1974, African American spoken word poet Gil Scott-Heron made famous the phrase "the revolution will not be televised." His poem and song by the same title became an anthem for radicals and anti-war activists throughout the United States. However, a year later Heron wrote another song that brought national attention to the issue of nuclear weapons. In 1975, Heron released an album titled, *From South Africa to South Carolina*, which included the song "South Carolina (Barnwell)." In the liner notes of the compact disc Heron discusses why he felt the need for such an album:

By 1975 President Nelson Mandela had been in prison for 12 years. He was yet to become the international symbol of the black South African people's struggle for some semblance of equity in their own country. In 1990 I was approached by a fan whose stated belief was that the initial release of this album was "too soon"; that I should wait until Mandela was better known. That way I could have sold more records. My response was that I had not done it for me and that Brother Mandela had probably not thought that 1975 was "too soon." In my opinion 1975 might have been late for "South Carolina". I considered this song important for a couple of reasons. It was our first song to state our concern about nuclear power: we questioned the safety of plutonium creating

⁵⁷ Martin Luther King, Jr. "A Walk Through the Holy Land," Easter Sunday Sermon Delivered at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, March 29, 1959, reprinted in *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr. Volume V*, 173.

⁵⁸ Martin Luther King, Jr. "Pilgrimage to Nonviolence," April 13, 1960, reprinted in *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr. Volume V*, 424.

⁵⁹ Martin Luther King, Jr. "Keep Moving form this Mountain," Address at Spelman College, April 10, 1960, reprinted in *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr., Volume V*, 416.

plants. (The Barnwell plant was proposed as a "fast breeder reactor" site) and certain information surrounding the Savannah River Plant indicated that there might be construction problems. (Testimony submitted to the Senate in 1983 included an admission that substandard material was used by the contractor.)⁶⁰

While "The Revolution Will Not Be Televised" became a catchphrase and probably the most lucrative of all songs for Heron, one should not dismiss the impact of "South Carolina." Unfortunately "Revolution" overshadowed much of Heron's other work causing songs like "South Carolina" to fade into obscurity. Like "South Carolina" African Americans' impact on the nuclear issue continues to get missed as historians view African American history with tunnel vision focusing mainly on local studies and civil rights. Mary Dudziak explains that studying the international perspective of African American history is not a substitute for the rich body of civil rights scholarship but another dimension that sheds light on those important and well-told stories.⁶¹ With this paper I have attempted to show the relationship between the struggle for civil rights, anticolonialism, and the atomic bomb. Hence, historians need to reevaluate how they look at African American history and nuclear studies. The two can no longer be separated. The atomic bomb is part of African American history and African Americans now have to be included in the history of not just the Cold War and foreign affairs but also the atomic bomb.

The activism against the atomic bomb went to the heart of U.S. relations with the Soviet Union, Asia, and Africa, with the emerging global political economy. African American leaders advocated for the abolition of nuclear weapons, warning that all of humankind risked annihilation if the arms

⁶⁰ Gil Scott Heron, *From South Africa to South Carolina*, liner notes, re-released April 7, 1998. (Original release date 1976.); It was an evolution of events in the 1970s that led to the first massive Savannah River protest beginning September 29, 1979. Environmental awareness and protests elsewhere raised concerns about Department of Energy facilities such SRS. Plans to recycle plutonium in spent nuclear fuel at Allied General Nuclear Services in Barnwell near SRS attracted activists in 1976 to try to prevent the facility from being licensed. Eventually, the Carter administration blocked funds for Allied General, but the seed was planted for future protests against SRS. The growing nuclear freeze movement also swept up people into protesting SRS, for a time the nation's sole producer of weapons-grade plutonium. There were scattered demonstrations and arrests in the mid-to late '70s at SRS and at two nearby facilities, Allied General and Chem-Nuclear low-level radioactive waste dump. Gil Scott-Heron brought national attention to SRS with the song "South Carolina (Barnwell)." Tom Corwin, "War Against Weapons: Activists Mount Protests Against SRS Nuclear Projects." *The Augusta Chronicle* (November 28, 2000), <http://chronicle.augusta.com>.

⁶¹ Mary Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 14.

race did not stop. They knew what this meant to the future of mankind. In many ways these black activists articulated a world view that differed from that of a majority of the American public. They argued that the way to peace was through disarmament and kept their focus on nuclear abolition while fighting for civil rights. They realized that colonialism, racism, and nuclear weapons were all links in the same chain.

"For Such a Time as This": John Dury, Jean-Baptiste Stoupepe, and Cromwellian Diplomacy"

*Ronald A. Johnson
Purdue University*

Who knoweth whether thou art come to the kingdom for such a time as this?
Esther 4:14 (KJV)

In 1654, Presbyterian John Dury and Huguenot Jean-Baptiste Stoupepe departed England under orders from Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell. Minister Dury moved throughout Switzerland and Germany. Reverend Stoupepe's mission targeted southern France. Their political objective was the same: to assess the openness of continental Protestants to cooperating with Cromwellian diplomatic strategy vis-à-vis France. Dury and Stoupepe understood that 1650s England was a divinely-appointed time for Cromwellian diplomacy to assist European Protestants, yet they each held different religious and diplomatic expectations for the Protectorate. Each man used governmental support to advance his version of the Protestant cause.

Within the relative few historical works focusing on Cromwellian foreign policy from 1654-1658, some contemporary observers and historians view Interregnum foreign relations as guided either by Providentialism or by political pragmatism.¹ The government-funded efforts of Dury and Stoupepe can provide valuable insight into the complex and sometimes puzzling mélange of Cromwellian Protestantism and diplomacy. Religious and political determinants of English foreign policy do not necessarily represent a zero-sum game. This paper demonstrates that an examination of the motivations and actions of these

¹Twentieth-century debates surrounding English diplomacy during the 1650s center on the allocation of religion in Cromwell's political strategy. Wilbur C. Abbot viewed his religious belief as a cloak for political expediency, while Christopher Hill allotted faith a much more central and formative role in Cromwell's life and political theory. Robert S. Paul steered a mediating course between Abbot and Hill. Recent works by Peter Gaunt, Steven C.A. Pincus, and Timothy Venning provide a more balanced view. Christopher Hill, *God's Englishman: Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution* (New York: Dial Press, 1970); Wilbur Cortez Abbott, *Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945); Robert S. Paul, *The Lord Protector: Religion and Politics in the Life of Oliver Cromwell* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1955); Peter Gaunt, *Oliver Cromwell* (New York: New York University Press, 2004); Steven C.A. Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the making of English Foreign Policy, 1650-1668* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Timothy Venning, *Cromwellian Foreign Policy* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995).

two Protestant ministers on behalf of the Protectorate provide a reasonable means to identify and appreciate the relationship between religious objectives and political interests within Cromwellian diplomacy.

John Dury: Champion of Practical Divinity

Long before Cromwell came to power, John Dury had established a reputation as an international ecumenist. For over 30 years, he sustained a narrowly focused theological objective of a European Protestant union founded upon a doctrine of practical divinity, intended to halt the schisms that plagued seventeenth-century Protestantism. Dury proposed teaching practical Christian tenets over controversial theologies. He published his *Body of Practical Divinity* as "an orderly disposition of all divine truths" to instruct Christians "not only to make [them] wise unto salvation, but able also to work all [their] works in God."² Within his lengthy, and oftentimes trite, treatise, Dury suggested that church leaders could continue their doctrinal debates while the laity focused on evangelization.³ He argued that European Protestants could achieve harmony if coreligionists would "reflect upon the Interest of the Cause."⁴

Dury championed this doctrine of practical divinity in Protestant camps across Europe as early as the 1620s, when he accompanied the English ambassador to Sweden. The Anglican-Arminian turmoil that permeated England in the 1630s stalled Dury's overtures at cross-channel religious ties. Dury spent the decade of the English civil wars publishing treatises on the Protestant Cause and petitioning Parliament for public funds.

Following Cromwell's accession to Lord Protector, Dury reasoned that God had presented a "seasonable time" to rejuvenate his efforts for a Protestant league.⁵ He expected the Protectorate to lead a European alliance of Reformed churches. In March 1654, Cromwell gave the minister quasi-diplomatic status and government financial backing to seek support for the Protestant cause and his doctrine of practical divinity. He appointed Dury to accompany Ambassador

²John Dury, *An earnest plea for Gospel-Communion in the way of godliness, which is sued for by the Protestant Churches of Germanie, unto the churches of Great Brittain and Ireland* (London: Printed for Richard Wodnothe in Leaden-hall-Market, next door to the Golden Hart, 1654), 6. James Ussher (1581-1656), Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, after advising Dury not to make *Body of Practical Divinity* "too large and voluminous," published a summary that condensed Dury's 89-page book into a 7-page pamphlet. James Ussher, *A Summarie Platform of the heads of a Body of Practical Divinity* (London: Printed for Richard Wodcrothe in Leaden-hall-Market, 1654).

³*Ibid.*, 13-31.

⁴*Ibid.*, 73-74.

⁵Spelling as original. John Dury, *Earnest Plea*, A-A2.

John Pell to Switzerland.⁶ Historian Wilbur Abbott argues that this Cromwellian-Swiss strategy followed two tracks. Pell, from Zurich, "endeavored to detach Swiss Protestant cantons from France" and Dury, "visiting churches, synods and courts...from Switzerland to Amsterdam...strove to build up along the eastern border of France a league of Protestant states headed by England."⁷

Dury's mission on the Continent resulted in failure. Despite discussions of a Protestant alliance in dozens of cities and cantons across Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands, after three years, Dury returned to England in 1657 "with empty hands." Historian Ruth Kleinman suggests that "wherever he went churches received him with respect and dismissed him with professions of goodwill: no one offered him any firm commitments."⁸ Abbott also notes that the political and economic rivalries between Evangelical states precluded any theological union around a Protestant Interest.⁹ The failed mission ended any Cromwellian hope of a Protestant alliance and Cromwell ceased funding for Dury's Protestant union built upon "A Body of Practical Divinity."

Jean-Baptiste Stoupe: Huguenot spy-minister

Unlike John Dury's life-long commitment to the Protestant Cause, Jean-Baptiste Stoupe displayed no traceable theological commitment to a Protestant union prior to his Cromwellian service.¹⁰ While still a novice minister in London, Stoupe entered the murky arena of Cromwellian intelligence gathering. In 1654, as Anglo-Dutch tensions subsided, England's foreign interests oscillated between allying with Spain or with France.

⁶Though both Pell and Dury received letters of credence and safe passage, Dury's letters but did not infer official status: "It is his purpose to devote again some labor towards renewing at this opportune time those devout efforts which he undertook several years ago among the Evangelical Churches of procuring among them harmony." Cromwell to Consuls, Mayors, Senators of Switzerland, 27 March 1654, Cromwell to Senate of Geneva, 27 March 1654, in Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, vol. 3, 234-235; Cromwell to Senate of Basel, 27 March 1654, Cromwell to Princes, Dukes, Counts, etc., 28 March 1654, in Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, vol. 3, 235-237.

⁷*Ibid.*, 237.

⁸Ruth Kleinman, "Belated Crusaders: Religious Fears in Anglo-French Diplomacy, 1654-1655," *Church History* 44 no. 1 (Mar. 1975), 43.

⁹Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, vol. 4, 427.

¹⁰Valuable explanatory information on Jean-Baptiste Stoupe before and after his Cromwellian service is explored by Giorgio Vola, "The Revd J.B. Stoupe's Travels in France in 1654 as Cromwell's Secret Agent," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* 27 No. 4 (2001), 509-526, and Elisabeth Labrousse, *Conscience et Conviction: Etudes sur le XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Universitas, 1996), 60-68.

Historians Barbara Kleinman and Robert Paul propose that Cromwell felt a special obligation to help the Huguenot minority in France.¹¹

During the early 1650s, talk of disaffection and rebellion against French Prime Minister Cardinal Mazarin circulated among French Protestants. A London agent of a French Protestant rebel suggested to Cromwell the possibility of an English-financed revolt in France and nominated Stoupe for the clandestine mission to ascertain the Huguenots' revolutionary fervor.¹² Despite Stoupe having no previous government experience, historian Giorgio Vola describes Stoupe as "the man who could put Cromwell in touch with the turbulent, hot-brained Huguenot circles in the South of France."¹³

In February 1654, Cromwell summoned Stoupe to discuss English diplomatic objectives vis-à-vis France, and in April, Stoupe set out on his first espionage mission. Anglican Bishop Gilbert Burnet, a friend of Stoupe, recorded that Stoupe went throughout southern France from Paris talking to French Protestants in the guise of a tourist.¹⁴ Mazarin's agents, however, knew of Stoupe's mission.¹⁵ Cromwell had indicated to Mazarin that French toleration for Huguenots would help facilitate an Anglo-French treaty, yet historian Robert Paul maintains that if Cromwell could have improved "the position of the Huguenots by going to war with France, he would have probably done so."¹⁶ Mazarin, likewise, believed Cromwell's primary interest to foment a Protestant revolt. To offset Cromwell's design, Mazarin granted Huguenots religious and political liberties over and above those guaranteed by the Edict of Nantes in 1598.

When Stoupe arrived in southern France, he found that Mazarin's plan had softened the Huguenots' will to rebel. After several arrests by French authorities and consultations with Pell and Dury in Zurich, Stoupe returned to London in July 1654 through Germany and Flanders.¹⁷ Stoupe's proposal to French Huguenots of a Cromwellian-financed Protestant league was received similarly to that of Dury's proposition to Swiss and German coreligionists in

¹¹Kleinman, "Belated Crusaders," 35; Paul, *Lord Protector*, 344.

¹²This agent was Barrière, who was in London on behalf of leader Fronde leader Prince de Condé.

¹³Vola, 513.

¹⁴Stoupe was one of "a number of agents sent by Cromwell to determine if rebels were ready to fight. Gilbert Burnet, *History of His Own Time: With Notes by the Earls of Dartmouth and Hardwicke, Speaker Onslow, and Dean Swift*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1833), vol. 1, 133; Kleinman, "Belated Crusaders," 35.

¹⁵Burnet, *His Own Time*, 134.

¹⁶Paul, *Lord Protector*, 344.

¹⁷Vola, using letters of Barrière and Pell and memoirs of Prince de Tarente, writes that Stoupe traveled to the Loire, Bordeaux, Montauban, the Languedoc, the Cévennes, Lyon, Dauphiné, Geneva, Basel, Zurich, Frankfurt, Spa, Brussels, Amsterdam, Dunkirk, and finally, back to London between April and July 1654. Vola, 516, 519.

that their work was appreciated, but not acted upon. Stoupe reported to Cromwell "of the ease [Huguenots] were then in, and of their resolution to be quiet."¹⁸ Cromwell evaluated Stoupe's assessment and decided against pushing further for a Protestant revolt in France.

The summer of 1655 found Stoupe in the position of minister to a Huguenot church in St. Martin, Switzerland. During this same time, the Catholic Duke of Savoy attacked Protestants in nearby towns.¹⁹ In what is probably his most important written contribution to international Protestant cooperation, Stoupe reveals his theological expectations for Cromwellian diplomacy. He wrote a series of reports on the persecutions in which he appealed to Cromwell to assist the Savoy Protestants.

According to Stoupe's reporting, the Duke of Savoy ordered reformed adherents to attend Catholic mass under threat of deportation. Thousands of Protestants fled to the mountains and, in April 1655, Roman clergy, armed Catholic laymen, and French and Irish troops hunted down the Protestant exiles. Stoupe put the number of Protestants "barbarously murdered, or that dyed [sic] since by cold, famine or other accidents" at 6,000 and estimated the number of refugees in neighboring Switzerland to be over 15,000.²⁰

In his published account, entitled *A Collection of Papers*, Stoupe, for effect, likely exaggerated the level of violence in order to advocate English assistance for the Savoy Protestants by connecting Cromwell's religious self-identity with international expectations of Cromwell's Christian responsibilities.²¹ He wrote that:

"Providence hath rais'd your Highness to this great dignity...[as] the Protector of the people of God in all Nations...*The whole Christendome have their eyes fixed on his Highness...*and they will say that the *Protector of Great Britain*, is become the Protector of all those that are persecuted for righteousness sake."²²

¹⁸Burnet, *His Own Time*, 133-134.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 120n.

²⁰Jean-Baptiste Stoupe, *A Collection of the Several Papers Sent to his Highness the Lord Protector of the Common-Wealth of England, Scotland, & Ireland, Concerning The Bloody and Barbarous Massacres, Murthers, and other Cruelties, committed on many thousands of Reformed, or Protestants dwelling in the Vallies of Piedmont, by the Duke of Savoy's Forces* (London: Printed for H. Robinson at the three Pigeons in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1655), A2-A4.

²¹Robert Paul wrote, "The Lord Protector saw himself as the ordained Instrument of Almighty God." Paul, *Lord Protector*, 341.

²²Italics and spelling as original. Stoupe, *Collection of Papers*, 3-4, 42-43.

Stoupe's narrative referenced appointed kings of the Bible and employed millenarian beliefs to underscore the significance of the moment. "This all the *Israel* of God expects from [you] upon this occasion, looking upon your Highness as a *Zerubbabel*, whom God hath sent for the repairing of his *Heirusalem*...And who knoweth whether thou art come to such a high dignity for such a time as this?"²³ If historian Peter Gaunt's analysis is correct, Stoupe's suggestions would have resonated with Cromwell's religious self-understanding. According to Gaunt, "Cromwell believed that he had been chosen by God for a special duty and...that the biblical story of the Israelites was being replayed."²⁴

Cromwell approved Stoupe's requests, "with a vigour that astonished Europe."²⁵ He declared June 14, 1655, "a day of humiliation and fasting" for the Protestant refugees in Switzerland and ordered preachers "to stir the people to a free and liberal collection for their relief."²⁶ Cromwell wrote to Protestants in Geneva that while churches across England collected offerings on behalf of Savoy Protestants, he would send 2,000 pounds of his own money for immediate assistance.²⁷ In addition, at Stoupe's recommendation, Cromwell leveraged treaty negotiations to press Mazarin for French restraint on the Duke of Savoy's punitive actions against persecuted Protestants.²⁸ Mazarin complied with Cromwell's request and the two governments signed a commercial treaty in autumn 1655.

Dury and Stoupe: After Cromwellian Diplomacy

Cromwell's death in 1658 and the Restoration in 1660 of the Stuart monarchy ended seventeenth-century era of English republicanism. John Dury did not fare well in the post-Cromwell environment. He published several treatises, including *A Declaration of John Durie*, which reads as an apologetic to Charles II against allegations of treason. In this piece, Dury accused Cromwell of sending him on his continental missions "to gain some reputation amongst the Protestant churches to be a zealot for their interest."²⁹ However, under threat of imprisonment, Dury left England and continued to traverse Europe championing his doctrine of practical divinity and the Protestant cause. Dury's message gained polite audience but had little resonance. Thus, in the end, John Dury is

²³Italics and spellings as original. *Ibid.*, 3-4, 42.

²⁴ Gaunt, *Oliver Cromwell*, 130.

²⁵Paul, *Lord Protector*, 336.

²⁶*Calendar of State Papers*, vol. 8, 182-185.

²⁷Cromwell to Consuls and Senators of Geneva, 7 June 1655, in Abbott, *Writings and Speeches*, vol. 3, 741-742.

²⁸Stoupe, *A Collection of Papers*, A4, 41; Kleinman, "Belated Crusaders," 45.

²⁹John Dury, *A Declaration of John Durie*, London, 1660, 26.

best described as a religious opportunist who welcomed state support for his doctrinal efforts but ultimately misunderstood the political realities of the 1650s. He wanted to be *in* the state for financial patronage but not *of* the state to achieve political objectives.

In contrast to Dury, Jean-Baptiste Stoupe changed his vocational focus in the post-Cromwell period. His intelligence service made it implausible for him to remain in England under Charles II. He translated books of the popular minister Richard Baxter into French. In 1672, as a colonel in the French army, Stoupe assisted a successful military campaign against the Netherlands and became commander of Utrecht. From this post in 1673, Stoupe wrote his last major religious treatise, *The Religion of the Dutch*.³⁰

Stoupe's writings as a Cromwellian agent disclosed expectations that the Protectorate would assist continental coreligionists. His on-the-ground analysis influenced Cromwell's decisions to act on behalf of European Protestants. Nonetheless, Stoupe's political acuteness checked his religious aspirations when the Protectorate did not possess the means to obtain strategic objectives.

Conclusion

As stated before, this examination of writings and actions of John Dury and Jean-Baptiste Stoupe reveals that the two ministers viewed the 1650s as a divinely-appointed time for Cromwellian diplomacy to assist European Protestants. The ministers, however, held different religious and diplomatic expectations for the Protectorate. Dury expected Cromwell's government to sanction a theological Protestant unity with little regard for shifting political alliances. Stoupe encouraged Cromwell to assist continental Protestants where the state held a clear interest and capacity to achieve diplomatic objectives.

Furthermore, the analysis of the two ministers' motivations and actions provide another means to understanding the Protectorate's balance of religious objectives and political interests. It is not enough to view Cromwellian diplomacy as strictly a plan of religious zeal or a political strategy cloaked in religion. The appointed time of the Protectorate was short-lived. Many religious activists in England, besides Dury and Stoupe, including Cromwell himself, possessed religious desires to assist continental Protestants, however, the political path to achieve such an objective was never well-defined. Stoupe seemed to accept that within the turbulent political reality of the 1650s, the Protectorate could win some religious objectives while jettisoning others. Dury did not.

³⁰Jean-Baptiste Stoupe, *The Religion of the Dutch*, J.D. of Kidwelly, trans, 2nd edition (London: Printed for Samuel Heyrick at Gray's-Inn Gate in Holbourn, 1681).

The Question of Nazi Modernity

Alexander Mosca
University of Florida

Germany was burning. By late 1944, the British and American air forces had achieved air superiority over the heart of the Third Reich.¹ One by one, Germany's major cities were subject to massive bombardments from huge numbers of heavy, four-engine bombers. City centers were gutted, and millions left homeless, while strategic targets such as factories, transportation centers, and oil production sites were repeatedly hammered. The once vaunted Luftwaffe, which had ushered in a new age of aerial terror with their bombing of Guernica, had been slowly ground away. Earlier in the war, they had been able to successfully defend much of Germany from the allied bombers, but years of fighting had sapped its strength and wiped out its experienced pilots. They were but a shadow of their former power, helpless to halt the streams of bombers nightly setting the fatherland aflame.

The thousand-year Reich, with its dreams of the ascendancy of blood and soil, was collapsing from all sides. In this hour of increasing desperation Adolf Hitler still clung to hope; he believed that advanced new technologies would turn the tide of war, while the alliance between the western capitalists and eastern communists would crumble in the face of renewed German offensives. The Type XXI submarine would renew the Battle of the Atlantic, while the V2 Rocket would burn London or Antwerp to the ground.² The skies would need to be retaken, and new fighters, such as the jet-powered ME-262, were built to bring down the British Lancasters and American Flying Fortresses. One fighter design was the Zeppelin Rammer, a diminutive rocket powered glider.³ After firing its small payload of anti-air rockets, the Rammer's true design was to come into play: with its high speed and the leading edges of its wings reinforced and sharpened, it was supposed

¹ For a general survey of the bombing of Germany in World War II see the chapter "The Crescendo of Bombing" in Hart, B. H. Liddell. *History of the Second World War*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1970. For a more comprehensive analysis, read Knell, Herman. *To Destroy a City: Strategic Bombing and its Consequences in World War II*. New York: Da Capo Press, 2003.

² Weinberg, Gerhard L. *A World at Arms: A Global History of World War II*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, 763-764

³ The Rammer is briefly mentioned in Albrecht, Ulrich. "Military Technology and National Socialist Ideology" in *Science, Technology, and National Socialism*, ed Monika Renneberg and Mark Walker. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. For technical specifications see Johnson, Dan. luft46.com <http://www.luft46.com/misc/zrammer.html>

to physically attack the tails of enemy aircraft - the Rammer was a rocket-powered sword-plane.

This bizarre design, though never put into production, can serve as a personification of the Nazi regime. Equipped with advanced technology, in the form of high-powered propulsion and attack rockets, the plane was on the cutting edge of design. Nevertheless, with its sharpened sword-wings, the plane harkens back to an age of blades and bayonet charges. This marriage between technology and anachronism, between modernity and romanticism, is one of the most confusing aspects of the Nazi philosophy. Though the Nazis may have had futuristic technology, highways, and automobiles, though Hitler spoke to the German people using the airplane and the radio, the Nazis also called for a return to blood and soil, to the pastoral romanticism of the pre-modern world. Though a simple question can be phrased - "was the Nazi regime modernist or anti-modernist?" - there is no simple answer to satisfy it. After over half a century of debate among historians and sociologists, this question is still open and has yet to be fully settled, though a general trend towards a more modernist interpretation can be found.

One of the first books to broach the subject was Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer's *Dialectic of Modern Enlightenment*. Written during the Second World War, and published shortly thereafter, the book is the fundamental work of the Frankfurt School of critical theory. Adorno and Horkheimer explore what they perceive as the failure of the enlightenment: how is it that societies that internalized the values of the enlightenment could somehow arrive at Auschwitz? They argue that from the very beginning of the enlightenment, from the inception of modernity, forces inherent to the enlightenment began to reverse its changes, leading in time to its destruction. Though the modern age was supposed to be the apogee of reason, it would instead lead to its nadir. This was due to the irrational roots of the enlightenment, which can be traced back to man's mythical past - "Myth is already enlightenment, and enlightenment reverts to mythology."⁴ The brutal, anti-intellectual, and anti-rational Nazi Regime was the culmination of the modern era, with the furnaces of Auschwitz at its summit - "The wholly enlightened earth is radiant with triumphant calamity."⁵ Though Adorno and Horkheimer make a powerful argument, *Dialectic* does not substantiate its claims; is a work of philosophy rather than history. Nevertheless, it did establish the perception of the Nazi regime as highly modernist. Adorno and Horkheimer did present a plausible answer to the question of Nazi modernity, yet it was a deeply upsetting one, for it

⁴ Adorno, Theodore and Max Horkheimer. *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002, xvi

⁵ *Ibid*, 1

directly blamed the modern world that stemmed from the enlightenment for the Holocaust, seemingly discrediting hundreds of years of human advancement.

An entirely different picture of the Nazi regime is painted by Hugh Trevor-Roper in *The Last Days of Hitler*. Written shortly after the war and published in 1947, the book is now generally considered quite dated, as Trevor-Roper did not have access to numerous sources and archives that are now available. Nevertheless, the work still stands as a source of much common knowledge about the dying days of the Third Reich.

Unlike Adorno and Horkheimer, Trevor-Roper argues that the Nazi regime was decidedly anti-modern. Rather than being the culmination of the enlightenment, Hitler and his thugs were a throwback to a more barbaric time. Hitler did not attempt to create a new German order or usher in the dawn of modern age, instead “his ultimate purpose was indeed clear to those who did not willingly deceive themselves: he aimed at the destruction of European civilization by a barbarian empire in central Europe, - the terrible hegemony of a new, more permanent Genghiz Khan.”⁶ Throughout *Last Days*, Trevor-Roper uses anachronistic terms to describe the Nazi regime: Hitler did not rule with a government, but with the court of an “oriental sultanate;”⁷ Nazism is not a philosophy or political platform, but rather “the religion of the German revolution,” a “vast system of bestial Nordic nonsense;”⁸ Himmler was not a general or administrator, but rather “the high priest of the S.S;”⁹ Hitler’s whole court was “a set of monkeys.”¹⁰

The few possible elements of modernity that may have existed were but figments in Trevor-Roper’s eyes. Although Hitler may have used “perverted science” to help achieve his goals, his regime was specifically anti-technocratic: “the decline of German science under the Nazis has become apparent.”¹¹ Even military science suffered due to the overwhelming authority of a single Fuhrer – “Hitler began the war the a group of generals trained to uniform efficiency in the greatest military tradition in the world; he ended it with a handful of obedient nonentities, and himself.”¹² The German nation had become led by a group of barbarians, who pillaged and burned their way across Europe before being themselves crushed.

⁶ Trevor-Roper, Hugh. *The Last Days of Hitler*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947, 231

⁷ *Ibid*, 1

⁸ *Ibid*, 3

⁹ *Ibid*, 6

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 237

¹¹ *Ibid*, 234

¹² *Ibid*, 234

Clearly there is a sharp contrast between Adorno and Horkheimer's belief in Nazism as enlightenment ascendant, and Trevor-Roper's view of Nazism as resurgent barbarism, yet the dissimilarity of these two arguments was not seriously considered for almost two decades. The publication of *Society and Democracy in Germany* quickly led to a revolution in conceptualization of Nazi modernity. Written in 1964 by Ralf Dahrendorf, the work is an attempt to answer the "German Question" which he views as "why is it that so few in Germany embraced the principle of liberal democracy?"¹³ Dahrendorf argues that the peculiar nature of German industrialization caused the nation to have an industrial revolution without developing associated liberal political and social institutions. Thus, when the Third Reich arose, Germany was still predominantly pre-modern in character. Rather than viewing the Nazis as a step backwards, he instead argues: "National Socialism completed for Germany the social revolution that was lost in the faultings of Imperial Germany and held up by the contradictions of the Weimar Republic. The substance of this Revolution is modernity."¹⁴

However, the social revolution towards modernity was not the original intent of the Nazis, and the push to modernity was a reluctant one. It grew out of the need for the party to secure their power base. Only by destroying the traditional authorities of Germany could the Nazi party affirm their existence. The Nazi party had to "break the traditional and in effect anti-liberal loyalties for region and religion, family and corporation, in order to realize their claim to total power. Hitler needed modernity, little as he liked it."¹⁵ Though the National Socialist revolution was totalitarian, it had to "create the basis for liberal modernity"¹⁶ in order to succeed. Commensurately, resistance to National Socialism constituted a reactionary counter-revolution. Thus, the regime was neither directly modern nor anti-modern, but rather included aspects of both. However, Dahrendorf's analysis, though groundbreaking, was brief, only a single chapter in a larger work. He himself declared that "the social history of National Socialist Germany had not yet been written."¹⁷

David Schoenbaum's *Hitler's Social Revolution: Class and Status in Nazi Germany 1933-1939*, published in 1966, fulfilled Dahrendorf's request for a more comprehensive work. Schoenbaum sought to explore the "impact of National Socialism not on German thought or statecraft, but on German society."¹⁸ Rather

¹³ Dahrendorf, Ralf. *Society and Democracy in Germany*. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc, 1967, 14

¹⁴ Ibid, 402

¹⁵ Ibid, 404

¹⁶ Ibid, 412

¹⁷ Ibid, 402

¹⁸ Schoenbaum, David. *Hitler's Social Revolution: Class and Status in Nazi Germany, 1933-1939*. Garden City, Doubleday & Company, Inc, 1966, xcii

than perceiving the National Socialist revolution as being modern or anti-modern, Schoenbaum's thesis built on Dahrendorf's more nuanced approach by advocating a "double revolution." He perceived the Nazi revolution as having two disparate pieces:

It was at the same time a revolution of means and ends. The revolution of ends was ideological – war against bourgeois and industrial society. The revolution of means was its reciprocal. It was bourgeois since, in an industrial age, even a war against industrial society must be fought with industrial means and bourgeois are necessary to fight the bourgeoisies.¹⁹

Schoenbaum highlights the socialist aspects of National Socialism, arguing that the Nazi regime did initially advocate for the elimination of class divisions and the creation of a *volks-gemeinschaft* (people's community). It did so by attempting to return to a romanticized past, one that would "make the German speaking world safe for small business, small farmers, and small-townners."²⁰ But, the Nazi regime was not only concerned with social aspirations; political goals, such as overturning the Treaty of Versailles and securing *Lebensraum* were paramount. According to Schoenbaum, herein lies the contradiction: "the threat of force in an industrial age presupposed industry."²¹ If the Nazi regime was able to turn back the clock and return Germany to some sort of utopian, pre-modern age, they would not have the military and technological might to carry out their crusade in the east. The Nazi regime was thus schizophrenic, looking backwards and forwards at the same time. Each half of the double revolution followed one of these two paths. Their social revolution against industrialized society was clearly anti-modern, but the end result, the revolution of means, was increased modernization. Thus, although the Nazi regime initially called for the "revision of the tyranny of big industry, big cities, big unions, big banks,"²² "in 1939 the cities were larger, not smaller; the concentration of capital greater than before; the rural population reduced, not increased."²³ Nazi Germany attempted to use the tools of industrialized society to destroy industrialized society, and in the end, "destruction was all that was left."²⁴

¹⁹ Ibid, xxii

²⁰ Ibid, 276

²¹ Ibid, 276

²² Ibid, 276

²³ Ibid, 285

²⁴ Ibid, 288

Schoenbaum's double revolution hypothesis is able to at last present a plausible answer to the question of Nazi modernity, as it incorporates both the technological and reactionary aspects of the regime's character. Yet rather than stifle debate on the subject, *Hitler's Social Revolution* served to increase the amount of discourse. Written in 1971 Richard Grunberger's the *Twelve-Year Reich: A Social History of Nazi Germany 1933-1943*, covers the same field of information as Schoenbaum's work, and is presented in the same format, with each chapter dedicated to one particular facet of life in the Third Reich. However, Grunberger's book presents yet another theory of modernity.

The Nazi regime was simply a continuation of many of the anti-enlightenment and pro-authoritarian trends that had already been present in German society. There was no social revolution, only the appearance of one, specifically crafted to dupe the masses; "they used the slogan of revolution to divert attention from the realities of political continuity and slacked anti-capitalist yearnings with a diet of pseudo-social change: Jews were attacked as the embodiment of capitalism."²⁵ However, actual capitalist structures were never destroyed and no anti-capitalist policy ever implemented, as this would have undermined the capacity of the regime to exercise international power, which was its true goal. Though the Nazis had preached about the necessity of blood and soil, "schemes of rural resettlement...accorded ill with the Nazis' overriding aim, which was to revise the Versailles Treaty."²⁶ The same process that took place in the field was occurring in the factories. The demands and needs of big business won out over those of the small business or the workers. Though the Nazis had preached about a return to the pre-industrial good old days, they were more than willing to discard the artisan for the heavy industrialist.

Though this argument appears to be similar to Schoenbaum's thesis, there are two critical differences. Firstly, Grunberger rejects the notion that there was any sort of revolution associated with the Nazi rise to power. Secondly, while Schoenbaum wrote that there was a conflict between modernism and anti-modernism within the Nazi regime, Grunberger sees only the trappings of anti-modernism, rather than a serious attempt at anti-modernist policy that had a paradoxical effect. Nazism was not a break with the continuity of gradual modernization within German history, but rather a continuation of it.

The impact of Schoenbaum's double revolution theory continued to influence historians examining the Nazi regime. A direct line of effect can be drawn between *Hitler's Social Revolution* and the next influential work in the development of the question of modernity. Detlev Peukert's 1982 book *Inside Nazi*

²⁵ Grunberger, Richard. *The 12-Year Reich: A Social History of Nazi Germany 1933-1945*. New York: Da Capo Press, 45

²⁶ *Ibid*, 151

Germany: Conformity, Opposition, and Racism in Everyday Life, had a profound impact on the study of the Third Reich. Rather than focusing on political or economic questions, or the lives of the Nazi elite, Peukert instead examined the everyday experiences of life within the Nazi regime. This approach, which was novel at the time, afforded him new opportunities and angles with which to study the regime.

Schoenbaum's influence is visible throughout the work, as Peukert takes every opportunity to explore the modernity or anti-modernity of the regime. Peukert argues that the Nazi system exhibited elements of both fields, oftentimes conflicting with its own goals and rhetoric. Though the Nazis claimed to support the interests of small farmers, championing the importance of blood and soil, they also desired to increase crop yields. Their agricultural policy was conflicted between the "ideological promotion of the peasantry and soil, as reflected particularly in the Reich Hereditary Farm Property Law of 1933, and campaigns to increase agricultural output (such as the annual battles for production), which inevitably led to preferential treatment being given to efficient concerns."²⁷ Meanwhile, white-collar workers were affected by their own set of conflicting facts; though the regime railed about the evil of cities, they "sketched a plan for society in which industry and technology, and hence engineers and other technical workers, would play a central role."²⁸ The conflict inherent in this position is apparent, yet somehow the regime was able to embrace modernity and romanticism concurrently.

Though the Nazis advocated a return to the pre-modern world, the end result of much of their social policy was to erode preexisting structures and replace them with nazified equivalents. Peukert identifies this trend as actually speeding the modernization of Germany rather than halting or reversing it, giving "further impetus to the secular modernizing trend."²⁹ For example, the Hitler Youth was supposed to "enforce the restoration of the system of order and authority threatened by modern mass society,"³⁰ but this new source of authority conflicted with the traditional role of parents and their influence over their children, and thus served to begin destabilizing it.

Peukert does not advocate the idea that the Third Reich was a "brown revolution" or a "thrust towards modernization."³¹ Rather, the regime merely continued the existing trends within industry and science towards increasing

²⁷ Peukert, Detlev J. K., *Inside Nazi Germany: Conformity, Opposition, and Racism in Everyday Life*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987, 92

²⁸ *Ibid*, 94

²⁹ *Ibid*, 179

³⁰ *Ibid*, 99

³¹ *Ibid*, 180

production and rationalization. Yet, their social policy was ostensibly highly reactionary, calling for a return to a romanticized past. Here Peukert cites Schoenbaum directly, arguing that the regime was "reactionary in its goals, but revolutionary in its methods."³² These revolutionary methods served to work against the desired outcome, as the method is - in part - the message.

Peukert, however, is quick to point out that there were still some aspects of the regime that were decidedly anti-modern and not affected by the more general trend towards modernization. Notably, the use of slave labor, racism, and outright terror anchor parts of the regime in a pre-modern world:

The social realities of the Third Reich, then involved these two aspects simultaneously: the dawning of the new achievement-oriented consumer society based on the nuclear family, upward mobility, mass media, leisure and an interventionist welfare state (though much of this still lay in the realms of propaganda and had not yet come into being); and the encroaching shadows cast by a project of social order based on racialist doctrines and terror.³³

Thus, in addition to Schoenbaum's double revolution, there also existed elements of Trevor-Roper's barbarity in Peukert's answer to the question of Nazi modernity.

As more historians developed theories on Nazi modernity, the answers have become increasingly complex. From simple modern or anti-modern, the status quo shifted to a double revolution of modern and anti-modern simultaneously and then to Peukert's perception of a double revolution with attached elements of anti-modernism from another source. If this trend continued, the historical debate would have collapsed under the sheer weight of increasingly nuanced descriptions that moved farther and farther away from any readability or usefulness. Fortunately, a new theory was presented that combined the disparate elements into one single idea: reactionary modernism.

This theory was first promulgated by Jeffrey Herf in his aptly titled 1984 book, *Reactionary Modernism*. From the very first pages of the book he clearly states his thesis: "an important current within conservative and subsequently Nazi ideology was a reconciliation between the antimodernist, romantic, and irrationalist ideas present in German nationalism and the most obvious manifestation of means-

³² Ibid, 179

³³ Ibid, 180

ends rationality, that is, modern technology."³⁴ Rather than perceiving the modernist and anti-modernist behaviors and values of the conservatives and the Nazis as stemming from two disparate sources that competed with one another, as Schoenbaum did, Herf argues that these two forces became enmeshed within one another. The technology of the modern world was separated from modernist, enlightenment values and became associated, not with western *Zivilisation*, but with German *Kultur*.

To support this thesis, Herf relies on the theories of intellectual writers from Weimar and Nazi Germany, as well as essays in technical and engineering journals. He identifies the reactionary modernist trend within their work that sought to teach "the German Right to speak of technology *and* culture,"³⁵ rather than technology *or* culture. Again, this rejection of enlightenment values but embrace of modern technology is paradoxical. However, as a rejection of technology would only lead to "national impotence," the nationalist and conservative forces within Germany engaged in a rapprochement with modern technology. It was to be, in the words of Joseph Goebbels "the century of *stählernde Romantik*, steellike romanticism."³⁶

In contrast to Schoenbaum, who argued that the double revolution saw no value in technology and was only using it to overthrow modern society, Herf believes that the conservative nationalists became ideologically enamored with technology. There was a "strong push to modernity or at least to certain aspects of modern society... but not at the expense of Nazi ideology."³⁷ Similarly, Herf also rejected Adorno and Horkheimer's belief in Auschwitz as the pinnacle of modernity, instead arguing that National Socialism grew out of the lack of enlightenment values rather than their fulfillment: "the unique combination of industrial development and a weak liberal tradition was the social background for reactionary modernism."³⁸

Reactionary modernism can be characterized by several elements: the importance of technology and technical innovation; rejection of natural science; the centrality of *Volk*, community, and blood, that is nationalism; irrationalism; and a rejection of both capitalism and Marxism. To this idea the Nazis welded anti-Semitism, and commensurately Jews were attacked as both dangerous elements of the future and the past, as both bolsheviks and bankers. To the reactionary modernist, the *Autobahnen* was not a symbol of the destruction of the nature, but

³⁴ Herf, Jeffrey. *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture, and politics in Weimar and the Third Reich*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, 1

³⁵ *Ibid*, 2

³⁶ *Ibid*, 3

³⁷ *Ibid*, 7

³⁸ *Ibid*, 10

rather coexistent with it; as the roads wove through the German countryside they united a *Volk* and preserved the beauty of the landscape. "Building these 'highways bound to the land' (*landschaftsverbundene Strassen*) and saving the German soul were mutually reinforcing projects."³⁹ The Nazi embrace of technology was a third path, one that rejected both the capitalist and Marxist views of the modern world. By uniting technology with *Volk* and blood, the reactionary modernists were able to create the idea that "technology was a biological rather than an economic phenomenon."⁴⁰ Thus the Nazi approach to modernity and technology "built on German racial foundations to ward off the threats from both capitalism and socialism."⁴¹

This new emphasis on technological salvation would display its full effect during the second half of World War II. Hitler and some members of his court still believed that German technology - filled with the spirit of the *Volk* - would reverse the course of the war, even as Soviet artillery shells were bursting around them. Herf identifies this as symbolic of the irrationalism inherent in the reactionary modernist ideology: "Reactionary modernists contributed...to the primacy of Nazi ideology and politics over technical rationality and means-end calculation of the national interest up to the end of the Hitler regime."⁴² Though the regime embraced the power of technology, the irrationalism inherent within reactionary modernism led to a breakdown within the creation of new technological power. Huge amounts of resources were poured into the V1 and V2 rocket programs, despite their negligible ability to affect either strategic or tactical concerns, while real theoretical advancements, such as atomic weapons, were relegated to the sideshow. The V1 and V2 "were to be the wonder-weapons that would reverse the course of the war and demonstrate that the German racial soul could compensate for quantitative (an in many cases qualitative) inferiorities."⁴³

By 1945, the notion that any technological advance could stop the Red Army, the British and American forces, or the bomber streams is simply ludicrous. "Had the Nazis been committed Luddites, they would not have been able to start World War II. Had they been cynical, calculating technocrats, they might have won a more limited victory, or at the very least avoided catastrophic defeat."⁴⁴ Instead, they were reactionary modernists, and Germany burned because of it.

Although significant research has been performed into the nature of Nazi modernity, some historians have begun questioning the validity of the entire

³⁹ Ibid, 205

⁴⁰ Ibid, 213

⁴¹ Ibid, 208

⁴² Ibid, 17

⁴³ Ibid, 214

⁴⁴ Ibid, 215

endeavor. No less an authority than Ian Kershaw, perhaps the foremost scholar on Adolf Hitler, has refuted the entire field. In *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems & Perspectives of Interpretation*, first published in 1985, Kershaw directly challenges the previously held interpretations. He rejects Dahrendorf's and Schoenbaum's analysis of the regime, arguing that there was no social revolution to speak of, and interpretations that led to that conclusion are "largely attributable to an over-ready acceptance of the regime's own pseudo-egalitarian propaganda and exaggerated claims, and partly too, to actual social changes of the post-war era which were often projected backwards into the

Third Reich, though they had little to do with Nazism, even indirectly."⁴⁵ The regime was not attempting to reshape German society beyond the creation of a new racial identity, which was, in part, used to blunt disappointment at the failure to fulfill the promised social revolution that was halted by the murder of Ernst Röhm, the leader of the SA, during the Night of the Long Knives.

According to Kershaw, the character of the regime was not revolutionary: "Hitler was uninterested in tampering with the social order."⁴⁶ Kershaw argues the Nazi social policy was not attempting to reshape German society: "the idea of the national community was not a basis for changing social structures, but a symbol of transformed consciousness."⁴⁷ Attempts to reshape the social fabric of Germany by destroying industry or capitalist structures were simply nonexistent; these would have been tantamount to international suicide. There was no double revolution of romanticism that led to modernity. Family, church, and class structures were not broken down or significantly changed. Thus, Kershaw argues, "it seems clear then, that Nazism did not produce a social revolution in Germany during the Third Reich."⁴⁸ Similarly, he argues against the notion of Nazism representing a backwards and reactionary movement seeking to overthrow the modern world. While Nazism may have included some forms of romanticism, they "served as propagandistic symbols or ideological cover for wholly modern types of appeal."⁴⁹

Kershaw's interpretation of the Nazi regime emphasizes continuity over change. There was no dramatic shift either in attempted behavior or outcome that led to either a backwards or futurist stance. Any social change that did occur "was simply that of an advanced capitalist economy, if one with an unusual degree of state intervention."⁵⁰ Kershaw rejected the entire notion of using modernity to

⁴⁵ Kershaw, Ian. *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, 174

⁴⁶ Ibid, 173

⁴⁷ Ibid, 174

⁴⁸ Ibid, 179

⁴⁹ Ibid, 181

⁵⁰ Ibid, 176

explore the Nazi regime, stating, "in evaluating the brief era of the Dictatorship itself, the modernization concept is unhelpful."⁵¹ The twelve year period of Nazi rule was but "a flash in time,"⁵² one part of Germany's long and gradual shift towards modernity, which had already begun before the Nazis came to power and continued on after they were defeated.

Despite Kershaw's protests, the use of modernity to study the Nazi regime has not abated. Rather, new works are still being written about the phenomenon and old theories revisited. One of these, Zygmunt Bauman's *Modernity and the Holocaust*, published in 1989, returns to one of the first studies in the field. Bauman, a sociologist having written at length about the nature of modern and post-modern society, echoes the words of Adorno and Horkheimer four decades prior, as he explores the relationship between Auschwitz and the modern world. Like his predecessors, Bauman argues that "the Holocaust was not the antithesis of modern civilization,"⁵³ but rather it was "fully in keeping with everything we know about our civilization."⁵⁴

In his examination, Bauman finds the necessary elements for the Holocaust stemming from the modern world. Auschwitz was literally a factory of death, taking in raw materials and producing a product in a mechanized fashion. Only a bureaucratic state could attempt to organize and carry out such a massive endeavor, and in the end the Holocaust was administered as any other state project. Rather than being barbarous, the destruction of the European Jews was carried out in a highly rational fashion. It was a calculated program designed to achieve a set goal, the removal of the Jews from Europe, with the highest chance of success and lowest cost. The Holocaust was carried out with "co-operation between various departments of state bureaucracy; of careful planning, designing proper technology and technical equipment, budgeting, calculating and mobilizing necessary resources: indeed the matter of dull bureaucratic routine."⁵⁵ Simply put, "the Holocaust...was clearly unthinkable without such bureaucracy."⁵⁶

Bauman does break with Adorno and Horkheimer in one important manner. He does not view modern society as necessarily leading to the Holocaust; his words are not meant to suggest that bureaucracy inevitably leads to Auschwitz. Unlike the prior authors, Bauman's modern world is not "radiant with triumphant calamity,"⁵⁷ rather it is but a necessary factor in allowing the Holocaust to occur.

⁵¹ Ibid, 181

⁵² Ibid, 180

⁵³ Bauman, Zygmunt. *Modernity and the Holocaust*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989, 7

⁵⁴ Ibid, 8

⁵⁵ Ibid, 17

⁵⁶ Ibid, 17

⁵⁷ Adorno, 1

Nevertheless, both groups of authors clearly associate the Nazi regime with a high degree of modernity.

This general trend towards a more modernist view of Nazism is mirrored in research that investigates the links between the Third Reich and technology. *Science, Technology and National Socialism*, published in 1994, is one of the foremost works in the field. Rather than focusing on narrow topics, such as the oft-studied German atomic bomb project, the authors cover a wide swath of subjects relating to the area of study. Through their research, they are able to show that technology and technocracy were increasingly important sections of the Third Reich: “by the end of the war and the ‘Thousand Year Reich,’ technocracy – and with it science and engineering – was emerging as one of the most powerful and last pillars of the National Socialist State.”⁵⁸ This is not to say that the Nazi regime was directly modernist, but rather their embrace of technology was a continuation of the “growing trend towards technocracy, both before and after 1933.”⁵⁹ However, there was one particularly novel interaction between technology and Nazism: “the use of rational means and technocratic principles to achieve both rational and irrational ends. In other words, technocratic methods were decoupled from technocratic goals.”⁶⁰ This argument falls squarely in line with Herf’s reactionary modernism – technology itself was embraced, but not the values that normally coexist with it.

In recent years, a new angle of research had begun exploring modern or anti-modern aspects of the Third Reich. *How Green Were the Nazis? Nature, Environment, and Nation in the Third Reich*, published in 2005, explores the complicated field of Nazi environmentalism. Green movements are in themselves an amalgam of modernist and anti-modernist tendencies – from desires to “return to nature” and regress back to a pastoral existence to scientific and rational arguments for conservation and resource management. Thus, they provide an excellent opportunity to explore these forces at work in the Third Reich. The authors examine the paradox between Nazi rhetoric, which championed the national landscape as synonymous with the German soul and Nazi policy, which in actuality did little to preserve the national landscape. If in the Nazi mindset “Germany’s mountains, meadows, and rivers bore the peculiar imprint of German history, German culture, and German tastes”⁶¹, if “Blood and Soil” was central to Nazi

⁵⁸ Renneberg, Monika & Mark Walter. “Scientists, Engineers, and National Socialism” in *Science, Technology, and National Socialism*, ed Monika Renneberg and Mark Walker. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, 9

⁵⁹ Ibid, 7-8

⁶⁰ Ibid, 6

⁶¹ Bruggemeier, Franz-Josef, & Mark Cioc & Thomas Zeller, eds. *How Green Were the Nazis? Nature Environment, and Nation in the Third Reich*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005, 5

policy, then how is it that they chopped down significant portions of Germany's sacred forests?

The conservationist movement within Nazi Germany at no time overshadowed the regime's international goals. Although the "eternal forest" was seen as a source of the German *Volk*, "Hitler's military-industrial machine...consumed Germany's timber reserves just as it consumed those elsewhere in Europe."⁶² Even though the Nazis may have enacted conservationist legislation, notably the Reich Nature Protection law of 1935, it was "mostly honored in the breach once war preparations came to dominate policy."⁶³ Like much of the party's anti-modernist rhetoric, romantic attachment to Germany's landscape was but another tool of propaganda to be used or ignored as more important situations demanded.

Significant amounts of research have investigated the question of Nazi modernity. While a satisfying conclusion has yet to be reached, a broad research trend can be found within the past half-century of study. Generally, it appears that the conception of the Nazi movement has moved away from an anti-modernist stance and towards a more modernist perspective. However, Nazism was not a push to modernity, but rather a continuation of more general modernizing trends inherent in industrialized society, perhaps accelerated by the potential power of modern technology in both propaganda and warfare. Thus, there is a progression from Trevor-Roper's Nazi barbarity to Schoenbaum's double revolution, to Herf's reactionary modernism, to Kershaw's focus on continuity over change.

One powerful example of this shift in perspective can be seen through the attitudes towards Nazi technology. Trevor-Roper described the "decline of German science under the Nazis,"⁶⁴ Herf spoke of a technocratic but irrational regime, and *Science, Technology, and National Socialism* argued that sections of the regime were indeed quite advanced – "the German Army rocket program was one of the first examples of state mobilization of massive engineering and scientific resources for the forced invention of a radical, new military technology."⁶⁵ Though the Nazis (thankfully) never constructed an atomic weapon, many of their advances were groundbreaking. They developed wire-guided, anti-ship missiles (famously used to cripple the battleship HMS *Warspite*), infrared night vision systems for tanks, flying wing aircraft, and a multitude of other advances. Many of these were never

⁶² *Ibid*, 9

⁶³ *Ibid*, 9

⁶⁴ Trevor-Roper, 234

⁶⁵ Neufled, Michael J. "The Guided Missile and the Third Reich: Peenemunde and the Forging of a Technological Revolution" in *Science, Technology, and National Socialism*, ed Monika Renneberg and Mark Walker. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, 51

successfully deployed or were still in the testing stages in 1945, but they nevertheless represent an incredible achievement of engineering and science.⁶⁶

Fundamentally, the question of Nazi modernity will likely never be fully satisfied. It is an impossible question, for the terms themselves are ill defined. Modernity is a highly complex topic that contains within itself numerous potential debates and disagreements. Similarly, what exactly is Nazism? Should the term refer to the Hitler's original designs; Nazi policy and laws; the dreams and aspirations of Nazi officials; or should it examine end results? Nazism was not a single concept nor single event; rather, it was millions of individual events and people, changing over time and adapting to new situations. Depending on how one defines the terms Nazi and modernity, different answers to the question can be reached. Historians must remember, "Theory construction must not fly in the face of the empirical historical facts."⁶⁷ No matter what answer, if any, is reached regarding the question of modernity, the Nazis spoke of blood and soil and built guided missiles, while Germany and the rest of Europe burned.

⁶⁶ For a humorous but still rational examination of some Nazi weapons see Parsons, Zack. *My Tank is Fight*. New York: Citadel Press Books, 2006.

⁶⁷ Peukert, 180.

The Holy Roman Empire Two Hundred Years After: Model for European Integration?

Joseph F. Patrouch
Florida International University

In a recent Call for Papers for the 2007 national conference of the German Studies Association to be held in San Diego, UCLA historian David Sabean declared “[t]he Holy Roman Empire is very much an ‘in’ subject” and announced his intention to organize multiple panels on the topic.¹ 2006 was the 200th anniversary of the last Holy Roman emperor, Franz II’s (r. 1792-1806) public renunciation of his title. His renunciation was proclaimed on a city square in Vienna on 6 August 1806, in the midst of the wars against Napoleon and his allies. The anniversary became the occasion for heated discussion in various European media outlets, political pronouncements, historical publications, and a row of exhibitions.² What was the legacy of this set of institutions—institutions which by various reckonings lasted somewhere between 844 and a thousand years? Could it be considered a model for European integration? Does it have lessons to teach the people of the European Union (EU) today? Such broader consideration of the EU is particularly appropriate at that set of institutions’ 50th anniversary which was celebrated in March 2007 in Berlin.

This topic is related to a new research project I am beginning which seeks to better understand the Empire through a detailed description and analysis of a trip which members of the Imperial family took from their primary residence city of Vienna to an Imperial Diet (or Assembly, *Reichstag*) in the Imperial Free City of Speyer on the Rhine River. The trip began in November 1569 and lasted until December 1570. A brief discussion of the emperor’s August 1569 journey to the Hungarian capital of Bratislava for a meeting of that kingdom’s parliament will also set the scene, allowing some discussion of the tense international situation, particularly the precarious peace with the Ottoman

¹CFP posted to the electronic discussion group H-HRE on 27 Nov 2006. Sabean also mentioned the Sept 2006 conference on the Holy Roman Empire which was held at New College, Oxford and sponsored by the Modern European History Research Center, the German Historical Institute, and the Austrian Cultural Forum.

²Holy Roman Emperor Franz II would then be known as Austrian Emperor Franz I. He reigned until his death in 1835. Brigitte Hamann, ed., *Die Habsburger. Ein biographisches Lexikon* (Munich: Piper, 1988), 130-134 (with bibliography).

Empire, which controlled a large section of Hungary at the time. The trip allows a discussion of many of the Empire's central institutions in a way which includes the specifics of the lived experience of them instead of a static, institutional analysis.³ The Empire's institutions include the office of the Executive (the indirectly-elected Emperor) and his related staff positions such as his court and the courts of his wife and children.⁴

The important judicial instance of the Imperial Aulic Council (*Reichshofrat*) based in Vienna can be discussed in this project, as can the officials of the Imperial Vice Chancellery, which similarly occupied offices in the Danubian metropolis. After the court left Vienna, they traveled to Prague, the capital of one of the Empire's most important sub-units, the complicated set of jurisdictions known collectively as the Kingdom of Bohemia. There, negotiations with that kingdom's parliament ensued, as did festivals and celebrations marking the marriage of the Imperial couple's eldest daughter, Archduchess Anna (1549-1580), to her uncle King Philip II of Spain (1527-1598; r. 1556-1598).⁵ Here, public relations and dynastic considerations all come into play.

The trip from Prague to Speyer took the court through a number of important and not-so-important principalities and city-states in the south-central parts of the Empire. These included the important city of Nuremberg. That city held the right to keep and protect the Imperial regalia, the symbols of office which were used at elections and coronations of the executive branch. The deep significances of these items of clothing, relics such as the Holy Lance, and, of course, the Imperial Crown attributed to Emperor Charlemagne, will all be discussed in this project as incorporating the rich hundreds of years of tradition and history in which the Empire was embedded and which gave it much of its significance. Some discussion of the various levels of authority in the Empire such as Free Cities, subject cities, duchies, prince-bishoprics, Free Knights, the Electors, and the so-called Circles (as well as federations among these) will also be important components adding to the overall understanding of a set of

³For a good, brief such survey, see Peter H. Wilson, *The Holy Roman Empire 1495-1806* (NY: St. Martin's, 1999).

⁴I delivered FCH papers in Jacksonville in 2003, Lake City in 2004, and Tampa in 2005 on various aspects of the life of one of these children, the archduchess Elizabeth, who lived from 1554-1592. "A Queen's Piety: Elizabeth of Habsburg and the Veneration of Saints," in *Selected Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference of Historians*, 13 (2006), 105-111; "A Woman's Space: Rule, Place and Ysabel of Habsburg, 1570-1592," in *Selected Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference of Historians* 12 (2005), 113-121; "Pearls in a Portrait: François Clouet's 1571 Depiction of the Archduchess Elizabeth of Habsburg," in *Selected Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference of Historians*, 10-11 (2004), 109-112.

⁵Hamann, *Habsburger*, 55-56 (Anna), 385-390 (Philip).

institutions, the Empire, which has been estimated to have had over 300 separate bits and pieces.

The trip's destination was Speyer, an Imperial Free City and bishop's seat on a hill by the Rhine River. Here, some discussion of the physical characteristics of the Empire will be given. These include a sketch of its basic transportation infrastructure, particularly the river communication routes. The role of the Rhine cannot be underestimated. The role of the Imperial Church (*Reichskirche*) will also be analyzed in reference to the cathedral in Speyer, site of the graves of a number of emperors and therefore important symbolically to the Empire as a whole.

Finally, the second great Imperial judicial institution, the Imperial Cameral Court (*Reichskammergericht*), which, at the time, was seated in Speyer will be discussed, as will the Imperial Assemblies themselves. These two branches of Imperial government, the judicial and the legislative, were here in Speyer in Fall 1570. (Although it must be noted there was no fixed location for the assemblies. They were held intermittently and in various locations throughout the center of the Empire.) The legislative agenda of the assembly will be discussed in detail, pointing particularly to the financial aspects of the session such as taxes and monetary policies. Another wedding, this time between Archduchess Elizabeth and King Charles IX of France (b. 1550, r. 1560, d. 1574), was also held here in Speyer at this time, again underlining the parallel importance of dynasty and international affairs to the Empire.⁶

So how does all this relate to the European Union of today? Of course, the scale of today's enterprise is much larger than the old Empire ever was. With an estimated 480 million people living in 27 different countries, today's EU dwarfs its predecessor. All, or parts, of thirteen of today's EU member countries were within the historical boundaries of the Empire, as were today's Switzerland, Liechtenstein, and part of Russia.⁷

The EU is also much more ethnically, linguistically, and religiously diverse than the Empire ever was. However, the linguistic diversity of the Empire should not be overlooked. Like today in the EU, German was the most spoken language, but significant numbers of speakers of other languages such as Italian, Czech, French, Dutch, and Polish lived within the Empire's rather

⁶Joseph F. Patrouch, "Reichstag und Hochzeit (Speyer 1570)," in Václav Bůžek and Pavel Král, eds., *Slavnosti a zábavy na dvorech a v rezidenčních městech raného novověku*, (České Budějovice: Editio Universitatis Bohemiae Meridionalis, 2000), 265-280; Maximilian Lanzinner, ed. *Der Reichstag zu Speyer 1570*, (Göttingen: V&R, 1988); Emmanuel Bourassin, *Charles IX*, (Paris: Arthand, 1986).

⁷These 13 are France, Italy, Luxembourg, Belgium, Netherlands, Germany, Austria, Slovenia, Czech Republic, Poland, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

unclear borders. By 1570, the Empire had two legally-recognized Christian denominations (Catholic and Lutheran) and Jews were tolerated in many regions. Members of other Christian denominations such as Calvinists or Ultraquists lived with varying degrees of legal recognition.

It is in the realm of institutions that many people see marked similarities between the old Empire and the new EU. Both were or are characterized by a welter of jurisdictions, often with unclear relationships to each other. Both had or have legislatures limited in their purview and granted significant autonomy to their constituent political parts. Both had, or have, legal codes of a bewildering variety along with multiple court systems. Both had, or have, complex monetary systems. (Right now, fewer than half—thirteen of 27—EU countries share a common currency in the Euro. The others have national currencies.⁸) Both the Empire and the EU were, or are, decentralized geographically, with the legislative, judicial, executive, and administrative offices located in different places and both had, or have, limited collective military capabilities in addition to those of their individual component political pieces.

In an interview in August, 2006, just weeks after the 200th anniversary of the end of the Empire, the head of the History Department of the University of Innsbruck in Austria was quoted as saying, “[t]he Holy Roman Empire is the foundation of our common European history ... It’s almost as if the EU picks up where things left off in 1806.”⁹ In an article published not long after in one of Germany’s leading newspapers, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, Hans Riebsamen wrote, “[i]t is no wonder that present-day constitutional and national law specialists who are looking for a model for a supranational European constitutional state are concerning themselves intensively with the Old Empire.”¹⁰

It is not surprising that the topic of the “Old Empire” has again gained popularity in Germany. Its leaders have often seen their country as the heir to the Imperial traditions (the German flag, for example, still proudly displays the Imperial black and gold), and Germany held the presidency of the European Union (January-June, 2007) as well as the chair of the G-8 group of industrial nations—two of the most important political groupings in the world. Austria, another country closely tied to the Empire, held the presidency of the EU in the first half of 2006. Two of the three EU president states between January, 2006

⁸Two non-EU territories, Montenegro and Kosovo, also use the Euro as their official currency.

⁹Brigitte Mazohl-Wallnig quoted in *Deutsche Welle*, 28 Aug 2006. Accessed 27 Feb 2007. dw-world.de/dw. Translation by author.

¹⁰Author’s translation. Hans Riebsamen, “‘Die Kaisermacher.’ Neu-Monarchisten stürmen die Museen,” *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 1 Oct 2006. Accessed 27 Feb 2006. www.faz.net.

and June, 2007 were and are states tied closely to the Holy Roman Empire. One of the primary goals of the German EU presidency is the reinvigoration of the discussion of the EU constitution, a constitution whose final consideration has now been postponed until 2008. Mazohl-Wallnig of Innsbruck believes that “[o]ne can learn from this [the history of the Holy Roman Empire] that Europe definitely needs a common basic law and a common constitution.”¹¹

In public pronouncements various German national politicians have explicitly evoked the Holy Roman Empire as a model for the EU. One of the most detailed of these pronouncements was a lecture given by the German Minister of the Interior, Wolfgang Schäuble, three months ago as part of a series accompanying the blockbuster exhibition on the early modern Holy Roman Empire which was held at the German Historical Museum in Berlin.¹² In his historically-oriented discussion, Schäuble explicitly compared the Empire, particularly in its last two centuries of existence, to the European Union, underlining similarities such as the variety of legal foundations, the multiple centers of authority, and the difficulties encountered by legislative and judicial practice.¹³

The exhibition at which Minister Schäuble spoke was part of a double exhibition sponsored by the Council of Europe and centered on the history of the Holy Roman Empire from 962 to its end in 1806. The Council of Europe was established in 1949, and currently has 46 member states. It started sponsoring national and international art exhibitions in 1954, with an exhibition in Brussels held on Humanism. One on Mannerism held in Amsterdam followed in 1955. The 1956 Rome European Council exhibition had as its theme “Realism, Classicism and Baroque.” In 1958, the theme in Munich was Rococo and the 1959 exhibition was on Romanticism. The aim of these exhibitions, according to the Council’s website, is “to increase knowledge and appreciation of European Art as one of the highest expressions of Europe’s culture and common values.”¹⁴

By 1965, more explicitly political themes and values were addressed in Aachen, West Germany with that year’s exhibition on Charlemagne, an eighth-century figure often pointed to as the founder of the Holy Roman Empire.¹⁵

¹¹Mazohl-Wallnig, *op. cit.*

¹²“Altes Reich und neue Staaten, 1495-1806,” Deutsches Historisches Museum Berlin, 28 Aug-10 Dec 2006. See www.dh.de.

¹³“Das Irreguläre am Reich im Lichte der regulären Europäischen Union.” Full text of lecture available from www.bmi.bund.de.

¹⁴www.coe.int/T/E/Cultural_Co-operation/Culture/Action/Exhibitions/. Accessed on 27 Feb 2007.

¹⁵Joseph F. Patrouch, “Charlemagne,” in Mary Ellen Brown and Bruce A. Rosenberg, eds., *Encyclopedia of Folklore and Literature*, (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 1998), 112-114. On the scholarship concerning the Empire, see Joseph F. Patrouch, “Holy Roman Empire,” in Kelly Boyd,

Another exhibition on a medieval emperor, this one on Otto I (“the Great”), was held in 2001 in the former East German city of Magdeburg. Its success led to the recasting and reopening of the exhibition as part of last year’s hugely successful exhibition there on the Holy Roman Empire which was held simultaneously with the previously-mentioned Berlin exhibition at which Minister Schäuble held his lecture.¹⁶

The Magdeburg exhibition was opened by a speech by the German State Secretary for Culture Bernd Neumann where he, too, reportedly chose to highlight the Holy Roman Empire’s possible role as a model for the EU. This idea, according to an article reporting on the event in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, has found support in the Christian Democrat and Christian Social parties represented in the national government by Chancellor Angela Merkel. Her government is said to have extended an invitation to Pope Benedict XVI, another German who reportedly has shown sympathy with the concept, to the “EuropaFest” and informal summit meeting which was held in Berlin in March, 2007 celebrating the 50th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Rome which established the predecessor institutions to today’s EU.¹⁷

The Magdeburg exhibition, an exhibition sponsored not just by the Council of Europe but by the German province of Saxony-Anhalt as its official “provincial exhibition” (*Landesausstellung*) exceeded expectations concerning the number of visitors. Expecting perhaps 100,000 people, the conference organizers had to expand opening hours to midnight in the show’s final days to accommodate the crowds which reached over the 200,000 mark.¹⁸

Other exhibitions in Germany last year relating to the Holy Roman Empire and its demise were similarly well received. In Frankfurt am Main, for example, the historical election and eventual coronation site of the Holy Roman

ed., *Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing*, (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1999), vol. I, 257-258.

¹⁶“Heiliges Römisches Reich. Von Otto dem Grossen bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters,” Kulturhistorisches Museum Magdeburg, 28 Aug-10 Dec 2006. See www.dasheiligereich.de.

¹⁷ www.nrhz.de/flyer. 5 Sept 2006. Accessed on 27 Feb 2007. Pope Benedict has repeatedly stressed the importance of attention to Europe’s roots and history with particular emphasis on the Christian past of the continent when discussing the EU and European integration generally. See, for example, his address to Ambassador Pekka Ojanen of Finland in December 2005, where he stated that the EU “must ... aim specifically to develop a European initiative through constant, dynamic endeavor, drawing from its age-old history and its cultural, philosophical and religious roots.” In his address to representatives of the European People’s Party visiting the Vatican on 30 March 2006, Pope Benedict said, “[b]y valuing its Christian roots, Europe will be able to give a secure direction to the choices of its citizens and peoples.” Text available from www.vatican.va. Accessed on 9 March, 2007.

¹⁸According to reports on the exhibition’s website, Playmobil also created a special limited-edition toy figure supposedly representing a medieval emperor for sale at the exhibition gift shop.

Emperors, four simultaneous exhibitions packed in the visitors with opening-night crowds the likes of which had not been seen for a long time, according to one local newspaper report.¹⁹ These exhibitions had as one of their themes the importance of the co-called "Golden Bull" of Emperor Charles IV (r. 1346-1378). Issued in 1356 the "Golden Bull" is often considered the constitution of the Holy Roman Empire in its last 450 years of existence.

Clearly, some people, particularly it seems in Germany and to some extent in Austria, have chosen to find parallels and perhaps models for the present EU in the long history of one of its predecessor institutions, the Holy Roman Empire. There have been skeptical responses inside Germany and in other countries. Many in Germany, the Czech Republic, and Poland, for example, recall the WWII-era uses of the images of previous empires to justify German aggression in that period.²⁰ There are also significant differences between the Empire of 800-1800 and the EU of the last fifty years.

To return to my research project on the Holy Roman Empire in 1570, while the institutional and legal parallels between the Empire and the EU seem valid enough to spur discussion and thought, one area that appears significantly different relates to foreign policy and defense. Unlike the EU of today, the Holy Roman Empire in 1570, and for much of its history, had no standing military force. This was a problem in 1570 when increasingly-violent revolts in parts of the Habsburg family's holdings in the Burgundian Circle of the Empire, the so-called Low Countries, were causing waves of refugees to flee into neighboring parts of the Empire and the secularizations of the Teutonic Knights' lands in the far eastern reaches of the Empire had been followed by chaos and invasions there as the Swedish, Polish-Lithuanian, and Danish-Norwegian rulers moved in, followed closely by the Muscovites. The various break-away cantons and cities in the western Alps had been all but lost to the Empire, constituting the kernel of what would later be known as the Helvetic Confederation (or Switzerland). The French crown had annexed rights over the key bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun in the Empire's southwest which the Empire proved unable to recover peacefully. The fighting on the southern front on the Italian peninsula had died down and relations with the papacy there had improved, but territorial and jurisdiction conflicts continued (over rights over Florence, for example,) and could at any time flare into warfare as they had just a decade before when Habsburg troops again had marched on Rome.

Outside of the Empire, the religious sectarian violence in France was appealing to mercenary captains within the Empire's borders as a rich

¹⁹Riebsamen, "Kaisermacher."

²⁰*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, *op. cit.* These were pointed out in an article in the influential German weekly *Der Spiegel* 32 (2006).

employment opportunity for their troops. This led to internal disruptions in the Empire as bands of ill-paid soldiers wandered in and out of the war zones to the west. There was also the eastern front in greater Hungary-Croatia, where, even though since the last major campaign four years before in 1566, there was an uneasy truce between the emperors and their counterparts in Constantinople, the Ottoman sultans, the costs of maintaining the massive military frontier with its dozens of fortresses and thousands of garrison troops was staggering. Some of this cost was born by the Empire, even though the troops were stationed outside of the Empire's borders. (Vienna's new state-of-the-art defenses, for example, were paid for largely through Imperial taxes.)

Today's world is at one time larger and smaller than the world of 1570. The early 2007 President of the EU, Germany, also chaired the G-8 group of industrial nations and these states' environmental ministers met in Potsdam in March of that year. Potsdam was the old summer residence of the Empire's Electors of Brandenburg, one of the seven or nine most important local rulers in the Empire. The Electors of Brandenburg held the right to participate in the election of the emperors. Representatives of the up-and-coming industrial states Brazil, China, India, Mexico, and South Africa were invited to this meeting. On its agenda was a discussion of issues concerning how countries interact on the level of global standards relating to pollution and other environmental issues. The G-8 summit was held in June 2007 in the Baltic Sea resort town of Heiligendamm, the old retreat of one of the Empire's most important princes, the Duke of Mecklenburg. That summit's agenda concentrated on, among other issues, debt relief and the troubled economies of Africa—themes far from the minds of politicians in the Holy Roman Empire of 1570.

Germany's foreign policy is marked by ties to various international alliances and allegiances and the European Union is only one of them. In addition to supporting the EU military formation in the EU proper, Germany also participates, along with troops from five other countries, in the "Salamander" Task Force in the EU's joint military unit in Bosnia/Herzegovina (EUFOR) trying to stabilize that state, enforce the Dayton Accords and later agreements, and bring war criminals to justice. As President of the EU, Germany presided over that organization's spring summit held in March 2007 in Brussels. That summit's agenda was dominated by discussion of issues relating to climate change and energy policies, particularly as they relate to the EU's primary energy supplier, Russia. These are issues far from the agenda of any Holy Roman Empire meetings. In March, EU foreign ministers met in the old Imperial Free City of Nuremberg for two days of talks with the foreign ministers of the ten member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), an organization representing 500 million people—a population larger

than that of the EU.²¹ These talks reveal the wide expanse of EU diplomatic concerns and connections in this globalizing world.

As part of its obligations to the United Nations (UN), another political organization, like the G-8, separate from the EU, Germany continues to participate in UN peacekeeping activities in Lebanon as Germany and its predecessor state West Germany have for 30 years. Germany also sends observers to participate in the newer UN missions in Sudan, Georgia, Afghanistan, and Ethiopia. The UN-sanctioned Kosovo Force (KFOR) consists of a brigade jointly led by Germany and Italy (and with troops from nine other countries) as they try to keep the peace and regulate affairs in that section of Serbia. Outside of UN-sanctioned activities, as part of the international anti-terrorist campaign "Enduring Freedom," Germany supports the stationing of its naval units off the Horn of Africa.

Perhaps one of the most significant examples of how different the EU of today is from the Holy Roman Empire of 1570 is the role that the EU president, Germany, plays in yet another international organization, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). This alliance of two North American and 24 European countries (nine of which were at least partially in the Old Empire) includes five countries not in the EU.²² NATO has active military forces stationed in Kosovo, Bosnia/Herzegovina, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Albania, Iraq, Serbia, and Sudan, in addition to its most important and numerically significant military campaign, one in which Germany participates along with troops from 36 other countries, the intervention in Afghanistan. The German troops are part of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) and participate in two Provincial Reconstruction Teams in the northern part of that country.

The scale of international engagement represented in this paper by reference to the thousands of German soldiers, sailors, and airmen now on active duty around the world and the multiplicity of allegiances and alliances in which Germany is currently embedded, provide evidence that the politically-supported parallel between the EU and the Holy Roman Empire, which has clear relevance to the internal and constitutional issues facing the EU, runs into problems when the present international contexts of the EU are taken into account. The example of the current president of the EU, Germany, shows that while the past (say of 1570?) is an appealing place, it is not the place of the EU in the first decade of the 21st century.

²¹The current ASEAN members are Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam.

²²Iceland, Norway, Turkey, US, Canada.

Christianity and the Pagan: Religious Transformation and Resilience in Late Roman Antiquity and New World Spanish Colonialism

*Rhianna C. Rogers and Jennifer L. Blank
Florida Atlantic University*

Introduction

Historically speaking, ethnocentric interpretations of history have tended to promote a marginalized view of non-European, “pagan” peoples. Plagued by an engrained sense of cultural and religious superiority, both Late Antiquity and Colonial theologians promoted negative idyllic interpretations of religions they deemed outside of the Christian ethos. As a result, religious ideologies that were not considered “to be the word of God” by the Christian, white, male, Northern European aristocracy were considered to be barbaric, pagan, and irrational. In essence, one can argue that scholars in these eras intentionally propagated Eurocentric ideas of cultural supremacy in order to promote imperialistic notions of “proper” religious, theological, and social customs. However, history has tended to overlook the ways in which groups resisted religious reformation. Looking at both periods in conjunction, the authors of this paper attempt to illustrate the tactics used by religious theologians to eradicate paganism as well as illustrate the forms of religious resistance employed by non-Christian groups in order to retain aspects of their proto-Christian beliefs.

Specifically looking at the biases of prominent documents used in Late Antiquity Roman scholarship and the rhetoric used by fifteenth and century sixteenth Spanish theologians, the authors of this text will attempt to deconstruct the negative connotations in early religious dogma by placing non-Europeans¹ (i.e., New World natives, Old World barbarians) into a more objective historical framework. By applying Christian theology to early Aztec and Manichean scholarship, the authors of this document will attempt to address the central

¹ It is important to note that within Late Antiquity (c.a., A.D.200-600), and prior to the collapse of the Western Roman Empire (c.a., A.D. 470), that people within this region were not viewed as Europeans. Based on the power of the empire and the prominence of the Holy Roman Emperor, people of this period considered themselves to be Roman. This is not to say that they did not define themselves as individual groups or cultures, rather their general affiliation resided with the dominant power of the time, that being the Romans. See Judith Herrin, The Formation of Christendom (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987), 19-20.

themes impacting the transformation and resilience of both social groups. More specifically, answer the questions: In what way did the Late Antiquity Roman and fifteenth and sixteenth century Spanish Catholic theologians attempt to demonize Manichean and Aztec religious practices in order to promote their own religious interpretations? Second, did both groups resist this occurrence? Overall, it is the aim of the writers of this paper to address these questions from a more objective and inclusive perspective of the past, one which addresses the ramifications of Christianity on pagan cultures in both New World and Old World contexts.

The Manichean Ethos and Christian Dogma

To begin with, a major selling point for non-Christians to take part in pagan, Gnostic religious practices was based on the inherent dualistic tendencies presented in their proto-Christian traditions.² Generally speaking, people searching for answers to the complexities of life were drawn to the rationalizations presented in Manichean religious thought. Based on the pluralist principles present in Manichaeism, non-Christians were given a logical explanation for the presence of good and evil, one which explained both the philosophical justifications for dualistic tendencies in life and the spiritual explanations of the non-physical world. Stemming from the fact that the majority of the concepts in Christian doctrine were easily adapted to pagan traditions (i.e., the concept of salvation, the Trinity, and the concept of an all-powerful God), Manicheans were able to reasonably maneuver pluralistic views into a traditionally monotheistic context.

However, in the eyes of the Manicheans, Christianity contained a major flaw, that is, the illogical rationalization of evil. Manicheans did not understand how an omnipotent, all encompassing being could choose to let the presence of evil exist in the world and give it the power to corrupt the universe. As such, they believed the only logical explanation was that evil itself was another

² Manichaeism, begun by Mani (A.D., 215- 276), was a dualist religion that caused several problems for the Christian hierarchy in Late Antiquity Rome. Namely by offering an alternative to traditional, orthodox Christianity, Manichaeism was able to effectively influence the creation of other Gnostic sects and the transformation of Christian practices in the early Roman Empire. In addition, this faith spanned several centuries and several geographic areas which increased its number of followers and its role as a perceived threat to traditional Christian conversion. Based on the tradition of manipulating Christian doctrine to fit Old World polytheistic beliefs, many religious sects, including the Manicheans, were allowed to persist in order to encourage a generalized conversion to Christianity. Resulting from their popularity, these unorthodox peoples threatened the Roman Church by hindering the church's ability to truly control the populace. See Jal Dastur C. Pavry, "Manichaeism—A Rival of Zoroastrianism and Christianity," in *The Journal of Religion* XVII, 2 (April, 1937): 166. (161-169).

omnipotent being, one that was outside the control of the former. Therefore, the Manicheans' felt that Christianity provided neither a justification nor an explanation for the existence of evil; thus, the religion failed to provide a logical reason for the negative qualities present in society, which they felt needed to be rectified. This is not to say that Christianity did not contain physical representations of evil (e.g., Satan and demons), rather Manicheans believed that Christianity contained an inherent contradiction in its theological makeup. According to the Christology of Late Antiquity Rome, the prevailing doctrine argued that God was not responsible for the existence of evil. In the context of Manichean thought, this seemed irrational because they felt a benevolent God would not allow for or wish evil upon His followers.

The Manicheans believed that this theological flaw, coupled with the idea of an independently functioning evil entity (i.e., Satan), allowed both pagans and Gnostic sects two logical explanations for evil: (1) it gave them the ability to actively take part in defeating evil and overcoming its control, and (2) it allowed them to justify a dualistic representation of two, equally all-powerful gods that existed outside the realm of human control (i.e., God and Satan). As such, Manichean beliefs allowed for the incorporation of pagan dualism as a rationalization for good and evil. In essence, Mani was able to link his dualist theology to Christianity as a result of the presence of Satan in Christian dogma and the lack of its clarity in an orthodox religious context. As such, his interpretation of evil coupled with the omission of a clearly defined framework for it in Christian orthodoxy provided Mani and his followers with a more logical foundation for the presence of two, all-powerful gods. As a result, Manichean thought garnered a more substantial following during the foundational period of Christianity and continued its influence well into the Middle Ages.³

Although Manichean doctrine differs drastically from Christian dogma, the Manicheans were able to effectively manipulate both theologies into a dualistic religion. One example can be seen in the Manichean interpretation of asceticism. In Manichaeism, followers believed that physical pleasures should be avoided, in life, at all costs. More specifically, they argued that all things in the physical world, (e.g., food, clothing, marriage, plants, animals), were inherently evil and, as such, taking part in activities that promoted the preservation or advancement of this world would help the all-powerful evil being (Angra-Mainyu, the god of evil and darkness) to succeed in defeating the all-powerful good being (Ahura-Mazda, the god of good and light). According

³ Joseph R. Strayer, *The Albigensian Crusades* (Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1992), Preface & 26-27.

to their religious cosmology, in order to achieve salvation, one must strive to decrease the power and influence of Angra-Mainyu (i.e., evil) in a worldly context. This is done solely by adhering to the tenants of Ahura-Mazda (i.e., good). However, this idea was more complicated by the fact that within this faith, evil was directly correlated to humanities' connection to matter. Meaning, humans exist in this world as a result of evil taking good (i.e., the soul and spirit) and combining it with evil (i.e., matter). As a result, humans, in a physical context, are inherently evil and prone to sin and morally corrupt behavior; conversely, humans are inherently good, in a spiritual context, based on the soul's connection to Ahura-Mazda.

In addition, Manicheans viewed evil, Angra-Mainyu, as an existing counterpart to good, Ahura-Mazda, thus making life a continual struggle between good and evil. As such, humanity's purpose in the physical world was to separate the spirit from both matter and darkness and restore it back to its purist form. This is not to say that the Manicheans did not believe in an engrained necessity for evil, rather they felt that both good and evil should exist in separate realms in order to prevent the perpetuation of evil in this world. Manicheans believed that the presence of evil in the world was a direct result of Angra-Mainyu's creation of the physical world. Therefore, the only way to prevent evil in Manichean thought was for this world to end and good and evil to return to their separate realms, never to mix again. In essence, Manichaeism encompassed the essence of dualistic thought, that is, in order for the religion to properly function there needed to exist two, independently functional realms (darkness and light) with equally important and powerful gods (Ahura-Mazda and Angra-Mainyu) who were able to exist throughout eternity together in mutual autonomy.

An interesting comparison that can be used to illustrate the incorporation of Christian and pagan thought lies in Augustine's conscience and unconscious links between Manichaeism, and Late Antiquity Roman Christianity. It is important to note the differentiation between Augustine's unconscious incorporation of Manichaeism and his conscience incorporation of Neo-Platonic thought into Christianity. As previously mentioned, prior to his conversion in A.D. 384, Augustine practiced Manichaeism. Although he later denounced his Manichean beliefs, many of Augustine's writings incorporated dualistic aspects in Manichean philosophy. As footnoted in an earlier section, Augustinian works, such as *Confessions* and *City of God*, incorporated pluralistic views of Christianity in order to appeal to potential pagan converts and unify the Church.

In addition, Augustine used the Manichean thought of asceticism to prevent non-traditional pagan and Christian people from sinning. As mentioned

earlier, followers of Manichaeism believed that asceticism was the idea that physical pleasures should be avoided, in life, at all costs. Augustine believed that refraining from the physical world and its pleasures would provide believers with deeper spiritual fulfillment and create a stronger bond with God. Based on Manichean principles of the evil, one can argue that Augustine used Satan as a powerful being who had the ability to manipulate and tempt human beings to commit evil acts; that his unintentional elevation of Satan to the role of evil incarnate was due to the dualistic nature of gods in his Manichean background. In addition, the evaluation of Satan allowed Augustine to partially explain the existence of evil and justify the foundations of Christian doctrine. Building on a general crusading mindset in the Late Antiquity Christian religious hierarchy, Augustine's theology promoted the conversion of pagan followers and recognized the necessity for controlling the populace and converting them to the orthodox view of "proper" Christianity. In the process, Augustine's unintentional incorporation of Manicheanist doctrine (i.e., the concepts of dualism, asceticism, and evil) combined with his evangelical goals to inadvertently promote a pluralistic interpretation of Christianity.

Another interesting connection to pluralistic views of Christian theology, and one that will later be expounded upon in Aztec religious context, is the Manichean interpretation of Adam and Eve. In the orthodox, biblical account of Adam and Eve, God states, "You may freely eat any fruit in the Garden except fruit from the Tree of Knowledge of good and evil. If you eat of its fruit, you will surely die."⁴ As this quote implies, God gave humans free-will and the capacity for good and evil (i.e., sin). An interesting point one can surmise from this quote is that even within the orthodox context, dualistic tendencies were inherent in the scriptures. In Manichaeism, the incorporation of "good and evil" in the context of knowledge illustrates a subconscious balance between the two and an inherent understanding that knowledge brings intelligent rationality. Furthermore, Satan, the protagonist of evil and sin in the physical world, was able to convince both Adam and Eve to eat from the forbidden Tree of Knowledge, thus breaking the covenant placed on them by God. As stated in Genesis 3:22-24:

Then the Lord God said, the people have become as we are, knowing everything, both good and evil ... So the Lord God banished Adam and his wife from the Garden of Eden and he

⁴ Genesis. 2. 16-17. New Living Translation.

sent Adam out to cultivate the ground from which he had been made.⁵

Based on their failure to uphold the covenant, Adam and Eve were subsequently cast out of Paradise and thrust into a world of evil and sin. As this quote further illustrates, "good and evil," as separate entities were an intrinsic part of the orthodox Christian cosmology. Mani expounded upon the dualistic tendencies in this account by reversing the roles of God and the serpent (Satan). In the Manichean version of original sin, the Creator God was equivalent to evil and Jesus was, in fact, the serpent. The serpent successfully convinced Adam and Eve to eat from the Tree of Knowledge and enlighten themselves about both the existence of and the reciprocal nature of good and evil. In doing so, the serpent, in this case Jesus, acted as the facilitator of knowledge for Adam and Eve. In Manichean thought, this action was viewed positively, making the serpent the representation of good and "God" the representation of evil. As a result of the serpent's action, Adam and Eve learned the process necessary to separate the soul from matter and the innate evil present in their bodies.

Generally speaking, the Manichean creation story argued that light and dark particles blended together to form the universe. This commingling of light and dark particles, the essence of good and evil, perpetuated the dualistic nature within the physical world. As mentioned earlier, the combination of dark and light was never supposed to occur, and, in order for the balance of the cosmos to return to its rightful state, dark and light particles needed to be separated permanently. An interesting comparison between Manichean thought and Christian thought can be expressed through this theory. In orthodox Christianity, biblical scripture argues that one day evil will be permanently destroyed and good will reign supreme. In the Manichean schematic, Christianity lacked a clear explanation for this occurrence and the reason for its necessity. For most pagans, the balance in the universe, that is, the need for both good and evil, was crucial for a balanced, well-functioning world.

Manichaeism offered the best resolution for this dilemma, rather than promote an incomplete understanding for evil, they argued for a logical framework that explained both the blending of different faiths and appealed to those trained in the classical and pagan religions. Thus, Manichaeism argued that their views were less contradictory, making it easier to convert pagans. As Pavry explains "The westward spread of Manichaeism was certainly rapid. It penetrated as far as Gaul and Spain, and at Rome its influence was

⁵ Ibid, 3. 22-24.

considerable.” In the context of Late Antiquity Rome, the appeal of Manichaeism appeared much stronger than that of orthodox Christianity.

The Aztec Ethos and the process of Christian Hispanization

Like the Manicheans, Aztec religiosity was a combination of previously constructed pagan religious traditions and Christian rhetoric. To begin with, it is important to understand pre-Columbian Aztec religion in order to understand its later incorporation of Christianity. In the process of assuming control over Mesoamerica and the religious authority of their pre-Columbian ancestors, the Aztecs used both cosmic dualism and polytheistic religious beliefs to establish dominance in the region.

In general, the Aztecs believed that the world was constructed around the physical and spiritual characteristics of the environment. Plants, animals, humans, and gods all coexisted within the cosmos in order to form a celestial plane which embodied all actions in life and society. As such, humans were expected to interact with spiritual and physical objects in order to maintain the balance between life, the spirit world, and nature. Like the pluralistic nature of Manichaeism, Aztec religion believed in the need to rationalize the unknown. As did the Manicheans, the Aztecs searched for answers to the complexities of life through their religious beliefs. Based on the pluralist principles present in Aztec religion, natives created logical explanations for the presence of good and evil which explained both the physical justifications for pluralistic tendencies in life and the spiritual explanations of the physical and non-physical worlds.

In the context of Aztec cosmology and creation, the concept of the world is organized into a complex cyclical interpretation of life, death, destruction, and rebirth. Based on the acculturation of Mesoamerican myths, the Aztecs believed that the world (known as *Tlaltecuhli*) had past through three previous creations, all of which ended with the angering of the gods and the destruction of the world and its inhabitants. According to pre-Columbian Aztec sources, the last Creation of the world, prior to the world of the pre-Columbian Aztecs, ended with a great flood, the falling of the sky, and creation of an all-encompassing darkness.⁶ As scholar Franke Neumann states:

[In Aztec cosmology,] there were several successive worlds or “suns,” each possessing its own span of time, and each ending inevitably in catastrophe. Miguel Leon Portilla has pointed out that the story of the “suns” clearly demonstrates the existence of five cosmological categories: (1) the search for a universal

⁶ Michael Coe, *The Maya*, 6th ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 1999 [1966]) 201-202.

foundation, (2) the division of cosmic history into ages or cycles, (3) the notion of the existence of primordial elements, (4) the division of the cosmos into quadrants, and (5) the understanding of cosmic events within a framework of perpetual struggle.⁷

Modern research suggests that this perpetual struggle ended only when a balance was created between man, life, and the gods. In addition, the Aztecs believed that the pre-Columbian world in which they existed relied primarily on their ability to: (1) please the gods, (2) ritualistically worship them, and (3) preserve their world in its original form. Believing the world was a gift from the gods, the Aztecs believed it their duty to maintain it through a process of reciprocity (i.e., cosmic dualism⁸) and religious balance between the gods and man. Displeasing the gods, in any way, would result in the destruction of their world and themselves.

As the previous paragraph suggested, the Aztecs considered themselves an integral part of the cosmos. The gods bequeathed the world to natives, providing they maintain the balance of nature (i.e., caring for, protecting, and keeping world sacred). As such, man interacted with the world both spiritually and physically in order to ensure its longevity. As the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* suggests, the Aztecs believed that the cosmological balance of the world resided in man's ability to protect and worship the earth as well as the gods who watch over it. Therefore, in order for life to properly function, there needed to be a spiritual and physical balance between the environment, humans, and the spirit world.⁹ This dualistic balance focused on a hierarchical view of life, which reflected the reciprocating nature of the world and the creatures who occupied it. This concept was personified through the great bisexual creator deity, Omteotl or "Dual Divinity."¹⁰ As archaeologist Michael Coe states:

The bewildering multiplicity of Mexican gods was to these thinkers [the Aztecs] but an embodiment of one comic principle of duality: the unity of opposites, as personified in the great

⁷ Franke J. Neumann, "The Experience of Time in Nahuatl Religion", in *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 44, no.2 (1976): 256. (255-263)

⁸ The term cosmic dualism in the context of the Aztecs can be defined and the reciprocating nature between the spiritual and natural worlds. Humans, as the major participant in the process, are required to interact with the environment in a constructive way, ensuring the longevity of the culture in the area.

⁹ Eloise Quiñones Keber, *Codex Telleriano-Remensis: Ritual, Divination, and History in a Pictorial Aztec Manuscript*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995) 107-115; 116-201.

¹⁰ Michael Coe and Rex Koontz, *Mexico: From the Olmecs to the Aztec*, 5th ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002) 205.

bisexual deity, Ometeotl or "Dual Divinity"...In Aztec philosophy...Ometeotl presided over [all aspects of the] layered universe...¹¹

Although at first glance, a bisexual god does not seem comparable to Manichean dualistic thought; in the Aztec reality, dualism functioned as the basis for all life in much the same way as the Manicheans. The existence of a dualistic god, which contained both male and female traits, illustrated that the embodiment of dualism lay at the very foundations of a reciprocating and harmonious universe. In both contexts, each group believed that in order to function properly, there needed to be a balance in life that accounted for both the actions in the physical and spiritual realms. Thus, cosmic dualism in both the Aztec and Manichean contexts illustrated a general need for plurality and a shared emphasis on a reciprocating system of balance.

In addition, the Aztecs used cosmic dualism to justify the construction of their capital Tenochtitlan and the development and expansion of their empire. As the *Codex Mendoza* explains, the Aztecs believed the universe was divided into four quarters, each quarter representing the four directions of the world. More specifically, the *Codex* illustrated the relationship between four reciprocating concepts of life, death, war, and peace. Following this rationale, Tenochtitlan was divided into four equal parts, each representing a cardinal direction and the four direct offspring of Ometeotl. Known as the Tezcatlipocas, these quarters represented all that was good and bad in the physical and spiritual worlds; in the north was the Black Tezcatlipoca (the god "Smoking Mirror" who represented war, death, evil and sorcery), in the south was the Blue Tezcatlipoca (the god Huitzilopochtli who represent warriors, honor, and the sun), in the east was the Red Tezcatlipoca (the god Xipe Totec who represented the spring season, blood, and renewal) and in the west was White Tezcatlipoca (the god Quetzalcoatl who represented life, the priesthood and peace). As such, each direction was associated with a spiritual deity as well as various social concepts, illustrating the need for social balances in Aztec life and religion.

Following this generalized concept of cosmic dualism, the Aztecs aspired to create a symbiotic society which incorporated mutual reciprocity and the gendered deities. For example, through the acculturation of the Mesoamerican god Huitzilopochtli, the Aztecs, as a warrior-based society, were able to substantiate their claims to authority in the region. Building all aspects of their society on militarism, Huitzilopochtli functioned as the principle deity of Aztec warriors and an integral figure in their pantheon of gods. Archaeologist Ross Hassig has argued that continual shifts in alliances and incessant warring

¹¹ *Ibid*, 206.

between communities turned the Mexican Valley into an area of chaos and corruption.¹² As the Aztecs emerged as a new social group in the vast Mesoamerican region, territorial claims to rule continued and social chaos ensued. As such, the Aztecs needed a source of validation to reinforced their ability to control and pacify the region. Using the acculturated Mexican god Huitzilopochtli as their guide, the Aztecs were able to gain political control of the region based on visions given by their tribal deities and their ancestral claims to the Toltecs and Teotihuacanos. In doing so, the Aztecs embodied themselves as the supreme rulers of the Mexican region and the inheritors of Mesoamerican religiosity. During the process of pacification, the Aztecs incorporated acculturated notions of good and evil to justify their conquests. Attempting to unite its peoples under one, universal religion, the Aztecs manipulated religion into a tool for political gain.

Arguably, one example can be seen through the personifications of Coatlicue, Mother Earth, and her son Huitzilopochtli, the Aztec god of warriors. As the personification of both good and evil, Coatlicue represented the principle manifestation of Mother Earth (e.g., life, birth, and happiness) and the Underworld (e.g., death, pain, and sacrifice). In addition, Coatlicue also represented the female aspect of the creator god Ometeotl, thus illustrating the balance needed between genders. Both the god of warriors and the physical manifestation of the sun, Huitzilopochtli acted as the physical and spiritual guide for both life (as the giver of light) and death (as one of the enforcers of his mother's Underworld and human mortality). In the overall context of duality, the importance of Coatlicue and Huitzilopochtli resides in the pluralistic attributes they represented in Aztec cosmology. Based on the fact that both gods are inherently dualistic in and of themselves, their presence in the Aztec pantheon of gods represented a necessary balance between two polar opposites; exemplifying the overall personification of a harmonious Mesoamerican universe. In essence, the Aztecs were able to build a vast empire in less than two centuries and to rise as a religiously syncretic culture with acculturated values, centuries of Mesoamerican beliefs, and dualistic social and religious practices.

Like the Manicheans, Aztecs attempted to justify and explain environmental factors through the creation of complex stories, religious beliefs, and rituals. This contributed further to the importance of good and evil in the Aztec religious context. Generally speaking, in order to understand the everyday occurrences in the world, Aztec peoples dedicated a large amount of time to deciphering "unexplainable" environmental factors around them. In essence,

¹² Ross Hassig, *War and Society in Ancient Mesoamerica* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 82-93.

natives believed their actions triggered either satisfaction or displeasure from the gods. As a result, the Aztecs created complex stories about the environment in order to explain the physical and spiritual manifestations of good and evil. For example, the Aztecs placed specific emphasis on the birthing process and its relation to the creation of humans and the world.¹³

The Aztecs believed that the emergence of humans and the world were represented as a “birthing” process as well as a religious function; in both cases, they emerge from the inside of a larger entity (i.e., humans emerged from the earth, and the earth from the universe) and both were expected to conduct religious ceremonies in honor of other gods and/or themselves. As mentioned earlier, within the Aztec cosmology, failure to honor the gods would result in dire consequences and probably death. One could argue that adverse reactions from the gods were a direct result of the failure of humans to maintain good actions and the harmonious balance needed in life; conversely, good actions were the avoidance of failure and were associated with acceptance of the gift of life through ritualistic worship. Thus, the Aztecs ascribed a human process to both spiritual and physical contexts in order to better understand and interpret their environment around them. In sum, both the Manicheans and Aztecs believed that both good and bad actions in the physical world influenced the godly actions in the spiritual world, which resulted in consequences for both the physical and spiritual world.

However, with the coming of the Spanish, Eurocentric justifications for the condemnation of non-Christian beliefs and foreign religious ideas caused the transformation of these pre-Columbian Aztec religious traditions. In addition, Spanish imperial policy and law actively promoted the destruction of traditional Aztec religious and social practices, causing the marginalization of the natives as well as the reduction, and, in many cases, the elimination of native religious roles. For example, included in papal interpretations of the Bible were the notions of male dominance and female submission. Resulting from theological Christian understandings of the biblical account of Adam and Eve, women were seen as corrupters of the world and the originators of sin. The church interpreted male dominance as a necessity for controlling women’s misdoings. Man, being God’s first human and the antecedent of female creation, were chosen to lead

¹³ Noting that humans created new life by giving birth, the Aztecs deduced that the creation or “birth” of the world must have come from the birthing process of a large, pre-existing entity or being. As such, the Aztecs believed that the creation of the world was a process initiated by the gods. Thus, the earth, considered a powerful being by the Aztecs, was given human traits in order to explain and justify the birthing of humans into the world. In essence, the creation of the world was a direct result of a “divine conception.” The Aztecs believed that in order for the world to exist it needed to be born or “conceived” by a divine entity.

and handle worldly affairs.¹⁴ Women were subservient to men and expected to be their companions throughout life. Resulting from the domination of church in European life and society, submissive roles for women were considered as socially acceptable and God-ordained. Combining church limitations on social, religious, and political roles, along with its ability to effectively manipulate European thoughts about the world around them, the papacy was able to exclude alternate interpretations of religion, culture, and gender-based roles on the sole basis of preventing abominations against God. In essence, Spanish law and religious practice restricted the dualistic principles reflected in traditional Aztec religion in order to promote andocentric views of proper European societal roles (i.e., constrained roles for female). However, the Aztecs were able to combat this ideal, as a later section will discuss (e.g. Our Lady of Guadalupe).

A major factor triggering the transformation of Aztec religion and gender roles was the European adaptation of Aristotle's idea of natural slavery.¹⁵ The idea that some humans, in this case the Aztecs, were incapable of rational and moral choices was a revised version of the Greek philosopher's thought that had been incorporated in medieval and Renaissance philosophies. The Spanish believed that the barbarous patterns present in Aztec social structures and belief systems illustrated the Aristotelian implications of an irrational 'natural' man, and justified the destruction of Aztec culture.¹⁶

Therefore, the mistreatment and disregard of traditional Aztecs beliefs and gender relations became acceptable measures in the overall process of Hispanizing the Aztecs. Christianity became a central factor in the destruction of traditional Aztec societal constructs and helped impose the predominantly patriarchal Spanish institutions on the Aztec nation. The destruction of the Aztec religious tradition enabled Spanish conquerors to achieve their goals of native domination and territorial expansion. Without the removal of Aztec dualistic religious beliefs, cultural dominion over the native peoples would have been exceedingly problematic, if not impossible. The destruction of dualism coupled with the disease and warfare helped the Spanish to implement Eurocentric views of proper social and religious practices (i.e., Christianity)

Overall, the introduction of dominant Christian beliefs in colonial religious, social, and political settings forced the overall transformation of

¹⁴ In the Bible, God created Adam, and upon causing him to fall into a deep sleep He forged Eve out of one of Adam's ribs and called her woman because she came out of man. Genesis 2. 21-23 King James Version.

¹⁵ It is important to note that natural, in the sense of Aristotle's theory, was in reference to barbarous activities, i.e. ritualistic killings, human sacrifice, and pagan mentalities. Any group manifesting characteristics of a barbarous nature was included in various subcategories of natural man.

¹⁶ Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989 [1982]), 3.

dualistic and pluralistic religious interpretations in Aztec society. Resulting from the forced Hispanization of Aztecs and the destruction of pagan customs in the Spanish New World, Aztec roles were drastically diminished in the colonial Mexican world. In sum, the culmination of Spanish thought, and the justifiable elements of societal domination dictated by European imperialistic tactics of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, transformed the Aztecs into a socially exploitable society and created enterprises for Spanish religious domination.

Conclusion

As the authors of this paper intended to argue, Church rhetoric in both Late Roman Antiquity and New World Spanish Colonialism promoted idealized interpretations of non-Christian religious practices and their destruction in the European context. In addition, this paper has shown the paralleling tactics used by non-Christian religious to manipulate, both physically and mentally, Christian rhetoric in order to meet their own societal needs. At the same time, this paper has shown that the same engrained sense of cultural and religious superiority in Christianity both manipulated and condemned pagan groups also enabled them to retain aspects of their proto-Christian paganism. Although scholars in both Late Antiquity Rome and Colonial New Spain argued that Christian theologians and intellectuals used religio-centric determinants to undermine and transform pagan and Gnostic religious beliefs, many of these groups were able to resist complete eradication and maintain power in both eras.

In the process, this text has also shed light on some factors which contributed to the representation, or lack of, in non-Christian cultures in both New World and Old World contexts. Specifically, it illustrated the way in which Late Antiquity Roman theologians demonized Manichean practices in order to promote their own religious interpretations; and it showed how religious and intellectual rhetoric of fifteenth and sixteenth century Spanish Catholicism promoted the transformation of Aztec culture. In both instances, Manichean and Aztec religious practices were deemed by the Christian faith as weak, flawed, and incapable of true Christian salvation. More specifically, this text demonstrated how the church intentionally propagated Eurocentric ideas of cultural and religious superiority in order to promote imperialistic notions of "proper" religious beliefs, and to destroy the practice of paganism.

In both cases, Manichean and Aztec resilience, overtime, enabled both groups to retain certain aspects of their pagan systems of dualistic reciprocity. Obtaining control over economic, political, and religious practices at certain levels (e.g., the Aztecs were able to reinstate their traditional religious practices at the local level and the Manichean dualistic practices persisted well into the Middle Ages) both groups were able to re-implement aspects of cosmic dualism,

despite the creation of various Christian institutions of control. Based on the fact that the Aztecs existed as both an imperialistic empire and a facilitator of syncretic Mesoamerican religious views, they were more capable of manipulating Christianity into their cultural framework (e.g., Our Lady of Guadalupe). In the Manichean case, the acculturation of different religious traditions (i.e., Zoroastrianism and Buddhism) allowed them to function outside of traditional orthodoxy of the Catholic Church. In essence, both groups combined traditional pagan mythological beliefs with Christian interpretations of the spiritual and physical worlds to once again bring about the manifestation of pagan, polytheistic practices in an orthodox, monotheistic Christian setting. (With further research, these ideas will be expounded upon in a subsequent text, which will include both Manichean and Aztec religious resilience.)

Hoping to clarify certain misconceptions within the field of Aztec and Manichean historical studies, the authors of this document identified specific factors causing the transformation and resilience of both groups. In doing so, it sheds light on the importance of pagan religious prior to and following their manipulation under Christian orthodoxy. Based on the implementation of more objective interpretations of the past, modern works, such as the ones quoted in this text, have expressed the malleability of Christian law and theology and the way in which pagans manipulated it, thus, retaining aspects of their proto-Christian religious authority. Only recently have historians begun revising the idealized Christian, white, male, Northern European interpretation of history and the facts surrounding marginalized groups (e.g., Manicheans and Aztecs).

Examining both the Christology of the time and socially constructed aspects of European life influencing the transformation of both the Aztec and Manichean worlds, this text has shed light on an aspect of history typically ignored by mainstream historical scholarship. The overall aim of this paper was to aid in the understanding of both groups in a non-traditional, historical context. Rather than perpetuate the biased histories previously associated with them, the authors of this text attempted to discuss two specific groups from different eras in history in order to illustrate the value of comparative works. In the process, this text will hopefully contribute to an ongoing discussion of the importance of marginalized groups in a globalized, comparative framework. It is the hope of both authors that this text has helped deconstruct previously subjective historical interpretations of these eras and has shed light on the actualities of religious resistance in these cultures.

Social Aspects in Interpreting French Revolution, 1789

Abha Trivedi
University of Lucknow

During the reign of Louis XVI monarchy failed to maintain a careful balance between different social forces. The monarchy tried to reform itself but it was prevented from doing so by the selfish obstruction of the aristocracy. In the eighteenth century there was a gradual deterioration in relations between the Second Estate and Third Estate which particularly widened during 1770s and 1780s due to the severe economic depression after a long period of prosperity. The bourgeoisie especially resented the growing gap between their aspirations and their achievements. The peasantry found the seigniorial dues particularly exacting. For a while the Estates formed an alliance against the absolute power of the monarchy. The king had to yield to the combined demands of the different classes and agreed to summon the Estates General. Freed from the necessity of having to co-operate against the regime, the original antagonism between the Second and Third Estate reasserted itself violently.

The nobility gave the first blow to the monarchy as part of their reactionary posture. This act of political defiance encouraged the different constituents of the Third Estate to bring about the destruction of the ancient regime. The ultimate cause of the French Revolution was the rise of the bourgeoisie. The eighteenth century had enormously enlarged the middle class. Large sections of the bourgeoisie had enriched themselves by the expansion of industry, international or colonial trade. Strengthened by skill, wealth, and a new ideology put forth by the philosophers, the enlightened middle class overturned the French monarchy. The nobility lost all its privileges and in 1789 the middle class took power in France and became the master in the French society for a whole century.

Social Aspects in Interpreting French revolution, 1789

In eighteenth-century France the privileges enjoyed by clergy and the feudal nobles were but sorry survivals of their early wealth and power. One of these privileges consisted in immunity from taxation. In the Middle Ages this privilege had been justified because the clergy served the King by praying to God for his prosperity and the nobles provided him free military aid. But in the eighteenth century the feudal levies were no longer called upon for service and the nobles who served in the standing army, received regular pay like any other

servant of the state. All over Europe an uneasy relationship existed among monarch, nobility and middle class which was reflected in mutual mistrust and uncertainty. There are many current theories about the social issues involved in the French Revolution. This paper attempts to provide some of the more important interpretations of the social aspects of the French Revolution of 1789.

The fabric of French society was in danger of being torn apart by the exertion of certain internal factors which had existed during much of the eighteenth century and were now greatly accentuated by the economic crisis. One important factor was the hostility between the Second Estate and the Third Estate i.e. between aristocracy on the one hand and bourgeoisie, peasantry and urban proletariat on the other. The opposition of these two Estates to the power of the monarchy and the implications of absolutism provided another factor. The two Estates formed an alliance against the central power of the monarchy for some time. Placed in a difficult situation, the king yielded to the combined demands of the different classes, and agreed to summon the Estates General. After the collapse of the central authority the original antagonism between the Estates asserted itself so violently that it pierced through the fabric of the ancient regime. The influence of the nobility was now overwhelmed as the bourgeoisie, urban proletariat and peasantry successively tried to achieve their aspirations. The bourgeoisie and peasantry particularly resented the growing gap between their aspirations and their achievements. The social classes looked with increasing suspicion at each other and at the regime itself. The resentment greatly increased after 1776.

After a long period of prosperity, France witnessed serious economic depression in the 1770s and 1780s which caused resentment and bitterness as all classes faced a decline in their status. Production declined, unemployment increased and the recession soon reached to the agricultural sector. Severe drought in 1785 worsened the situation as the yields were short. Furthermore, in 1788 the harvest was ruined by an abnormally wet summer and conditions became even worse in 1789. Alexis de Tocqueville disagreed with Carl Marx's contention that worsening conditions create a situation favorable to revolution. Tocqueville noted: 'It is not always by going from bad to worse that a country falls into a revolution and that the French Revolution broke out when conditions were improving.' He further noted, 'the state of things destroyed by a revolution is almost always somewhat better than that which immediately precedes it.'¹ In 1962 J. C. Davies supported Tocqueville as he observed, "revolutions are most likely to occur when a prolonged period of objective economic and social

¹ Alexis de Tocqueville, *The Ancien Regime* (Fontana ed., 1966)

development is followed by a short period of sharp reversal."² This seems to be borne out by the general economic trends of the eighteenth century.

The nobility had managed to reassert its influence over the administration and local government as Talleyrand put it, "the highest positions of authority within the Church had become the preserve 'presque exclusive de la classe noble.'"³ This was because the nobles had united against the crown on the one side and the commoners on the other. Franklin Ford's work 'Robe and Sword' published in the early 1950s, analyzed the reasons for the aristocratic reaction in the later eighteenth century.⁴ He maintained that by 1748 the robe nobility had captured the leadership of the nobility as a whole. In his work 'a social and economic study of the nobility of Toulouse' published in 1960, Robert Forster noted that their economic position was to be found in adherence to the so-called bourgeois virtues of thrift, discipline and strict management of the family fortune. However, the nobility feared the ambitions of the wealthy sections of the bourgeoisie and resisted fiercely any attempts by them to break the monopoly of the noblesse de robe over the administrative offices and the Parliaments. The bourgeoisie regarded their ultimate aim as becoming the noblesse de robe by the traditional method of ennoblement. The nobility increasingly tightened up their exactions in order to solve their own difficulties. While under the impact of the recession, the peasantry found the seigniorial dues particularly burdensome. The burden of the depression was thus passed downwards to the section of society least able to bear and the peasantry had to suffer several hardships.

Franklin Ford wrote a series of articles which suggested that in economic outlook the nobility and the bourgeoisie had much in common.⁵ According to Voltaire, "The middle-class has enriched itself through industry, and commercial profits have increased; there is less luxury amongst the nobility than formerly, and more in middle-class life, so that the contrast between them is not so marked."⁶ The bourgeois accused the nobility of resisting any rationalization of the economic and financial structure. In the eighteenth century, differences between bourgeoisie and the nobles in wealth, culture and tastes tended more and more to disappear. Nevertheless, differences in legal status between the classes remained clearly defined. The nobles occupied the more

² J.C. Davies, *Toward a theory of Revolution*, in J.C. Davies (ed.), *When Men Revolt and Why*.

³ J. Lough, *An Introduction To Eighteenth Century France*, Ch. III

⁴ *The Regrouping of the French Aristocracy after Louis XIV* (Cambridge, 1953).

⁵ *The Nobility of Toulouse in the Eighteenth Century* (Baltimore, Md., 1960), 177.

⁶ Gaetano Salvemini, *The French Revolution, 1788-1792*, Translated From The Italian, I. M. Rawson, Jonathan Cape Thirty Bedford Square (London, 1954), 35.

honorable and lucrative offices and nobility still regarded itself as superior to the commons in every way.

Yet tension between the social classes did not result in immediate conflict. For some time they were somewhat restrained by a temporary alliance against the absolute power of the monarch. Though their motives greatly differed, each believed that changes must be made in the *ancient regime*. The banning of the parliaments in 1771 was taken by the nobility as an attack on its power. As the financial crisis worsened after 1787, the nobility demanded the convocation of the Estates General as it was sure that the Estates General would naturally confirm its powers, since the First and Second Estates would outnumber the Third Estate on the traditional voting method. But the desire for 'equality before the law' had become almost an obsession with the bourgeoisie and that is why the French revolutionaries wanted to completely destroy the privileges of the nobility.

Georges Lefebvre's classic study of the beginnings of the French Revolution from the summer of 1788 to October 1789 was published in 1939 to mark the 150th anniversary of the French Revolution. It analyzed the causes which destroyed the old order in France. Lefebvre maintained that the ultimate cause of the French Revolution was the rise of the bourgeoisie.⁷ His work was translated into English in 1947 by the American scholar, Robert R. Palmer under the title *The Coming of the French Revolution*. Lefebvre argued that in 1789 bourgeoisie took power in France after their numbers and wealth had increased over the centuries. Land being the only form of wealth, the medieval society was obviously dominated and ruled by a landed aristocracy, but by the eighteenth century the bourgeoisie had come to acquire economic power and personal abilities. In 1789, the bourgeoisie overthrew the remnants of the aristocratic landed order which had until then retained social predominance notwithstanding its economic decline, and established a regime which reflected the new distribution of economic power.

Lefebvre maintained that there were four revolutionary movements between 1787 and 1789. First to come was the revolt of the aristocracy, which marked the climax of a century-long aristocratic reaction finally destroying the monarchy. The nobility had taken the support of the bourgeoisie in order to bring about that revolution. The second revolution, according to him, began in September 1788, as the bourgeoisie burst in anger when the Parliament of Paris declared that the Estates-General, promised by the government for 1789, should be constituted as it had been in 1614, ensuring aristocratic predominance.

⁷ G. Lefebvre, *The Coming of the French Revolution*, paperback edn, (New York, 1957), Introduction.

This second revolution was a class struggle against the aristocracy in which the bourgeois aimed to destroy the privileges of the nobility and the clergy. It lasted until the creation of the bourgeois-dominated National Assembly in June 1789. The bourgeois wanted to establish a regime which ensured equality before the law, equal opportunities for job and levied taxes on the same basis.

The third revolution took place when workers intervened in October 1789, when the Estates-General was threatened by a royal-aristocratic counter-coup. The urban workers hoped that the new order would resolve their growing economic problems. It was a popular revolution. However, before that happened, the economic crisis of 1788-89 had produced a fourth revolution, the peasant's revolution. It was a nation-wide uprising caused by fears for the safety of crops against the exaction of seigniorial dues and labor services by aristocratic landlords. It resulted in the abolition of feudalism, the last bastion of the old aristocratic order. His interpretation of the origins of the revolution had taken account of the researches of Ernest Labrousse into the economic origins of the revolution.

The debates about the revolution showed strong political biases in the earlier part of the century. Leftist historians believed that the revolution was desirable and inevitable. While those of the right, considered it as detestable. Both sides however, agreed that the rise of the bourgeoisie was the fundamental cause of the revolution and that the monarchy tried to reform itself, but it could not do so due to the obstruction by the aristocracy. Further, they believed that the Enlightenment had undermined faith in traditional values. Lefebvre's views on what caused the revolution were broadly accepted. However, the disagreement between left and right-wing historians was largely about the revolution's consequences. The first major post-war work was Albert Goodwin's analysis of the origins of the movement and it owed a good deal to Lefebvre.⁸ The French historian, Albert Soboul also praised his position.⁹ In 1965 François Furet and Denis Richer disagreed with their views over the course of the revolution rather than its origins.¹⁰

However, the first effective challenge to Lefebvre's position came from Alfred Cobban, Professor of French History at the University of London. In his work *Myth of the French Revolution*, Cobban explained that this myth was that the revolution was "the substitution of a capitalist bourgeois order for

⁸A. Goodwin, *The French Revolution*, (London, 1953), chs I-V.

⁹A. Soboul, *Précis d'histoire de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1962), English Translation, 2 vols (London, 1975).

¹⁰F. Furet and D. Richet, *La Révolution française*, 2 vols (Paris, 1965), English translation (London, 1970).

feudalism.”¹¹ His contention was that anything that might possibly be called feudal had ended long before 1789. In *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution*, Cobban suggested that ‘the revolutionary bourgeoisie was primarily the declining class of officers and the lawyers and other professional men, and not the men of commerce and industry.’¹² Further, instead of promoting capitalism the Revolution retarded it. And this was the fundamental aim of the various revolutionary groups in 1789. Cobban analyzed the social and professional background of the bourgeois elected to the Estates-General in 1789 and held that the revolutionary bourgeoisie were not the representatives of industrial and commercial wealth as Lefebvre had contended. According to him “the bourgeois of the theory are a class of capitalists, industrial entrepreneurs and financiers of big business; those of the French Revolution were landowners, rentiers, and officials”.¹³ He showed that only 13 per cent of them were associated with commerce and 43 per cent were lawyers, petty officeholders and government servants.

The discontent of these people provided the reforming zeal of the revolutionary bourgeoisie. Moreover, he argued that feudalism wasn’t destroyed by revolutionaries of 1789 but by the peasants.¹⁴ However, W. Doyle’s later research demonstrated that evidence given by Cobban for a declining class of office-holders does not hold good.¹⁵ — In his reaction to Cobban’s criticism, Lefebvre said that Cobban’s aim was to belittle the significance of the revolution. He maintained that even if the men of 1789 were not capitalists, their actions supported capitalism’s future development and that was what mattered. Lefebvre argued that even if a ‘myth’, it was a necessary one.

Regarding the nobility, Cobban believed that it was a selfish, increasingly exclusive caste which exercised its political power through the parliaments to prevent the crown from attacking its privileges. Subsequently the noble obstruction brought down the old order.¹⁶ Cobban also tended to undermine the role of the Enlightenment in the origins of the Revolution. Norman Hampson in his 1963 general survey emphasized the importance of intellectual belief in bourgeois hostility to the old order.¹⁷ In his opinion Cobban simply produced a non-Marxist economic interpretation of the Revolution. Hampson believed that there was a fundamental opposition between

¹¹ A Cobban, *The Myth of the French Revolution* (London, 1955), reprinted in his *Aspects of the French Revolution* (London, 1968), 106.

¹² Cobban, *The Social Interpretation of French Revolution*, (Cambridge, 1964), 67.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 172-3

¹⁴ Cobban, *A History of Modern France* (London, 1957), 140-153.

¹⁵ W. Doyle, *Venality. The Sale of Offices in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1996), ch. 7, 227.

¹⁶ The Parliament of France in the Eighteenth Century, in Cobban, *History of Modern France*, 253-4.

¹⁷ *A Social History of the French Revolution* (London, 1963), 20-2.

the 'privileged orders' and their interests on one side, and the bourgeoisie and its interests on the other.

Albert Soboul stressed the development of modern forms of industrial capitalism and concluded that 'the sight of this economic activity made the men of the bourgeoisie conscious of their class and made them understand that their interests were irreparably opposed to those of the aristocracy.'¹⁸ From the revisionist camp, Guy Chaussinand-Nogaret refutes the idea that there was a relationship between development of industrial capitalism and the 'rise of the bourgeoisie'. For the latter, it was the aristocracy, not the bourgeoisie who was in the vanguard of a modern capitalist revolution. Over a whole range of activities and enterprises nobles, either alone or in association with members of the greater business bourgeoisie, showed their dynamism, their taste for invention and innovation, and their ability as economic leaders.¹⁹ Analyzing the types of capitalism that existed in France before the Revolution, G. V. Taylor contended that they had but little resemblance to the industrial capitalism of the future. In an article published in 1967, Taylor argued that the wealth of all social groups in pre-revolutionary France was overwhelmingly non-capitalist in nature. It was held that before 1789 capitalism had not become the dominant mode of production in the French economy. These works challenged the traditional view point regarding the pre-revolutionary nobility and suggested that the nobility was more and more like the bourgeoisie.

The debates on the Revolution's social origins which took place in early 1960s, led to the conclusions that it was not possible to draw any clear contrast between the nobility and the bourgeoisie. Taylor's contention that the wealth of the bourgeoisie was as overwhelmingly proprietary as that of the nobility was not challenged. It was also not denied that the most of commercial and industrial wealth was in bourgeois hands, but it was also held that there was extensive noble investment in these fields. A recent research showed that between 1725 and 1789 about 40,000 people entered the French nobility which came to two persons per day.²⁰ Therefore, it seems quite indisputable that the nobility was an open elite rather than an isolated hereditary caste. Most evidence suggests that institutions that were largely noble in composition in the 1780s had been so a century earlier, and that apparent attempts to discriminate against non-nobles were really signs of antagonism between different types of nobles.²¹

¹⁸ Soboul, *The French Revolution, 1787-1799*, London, Unwin Hyman, 1989, 48-9.

¹⁹ *The French Nobility in the Eighteenth-Century*, trans. W. Doyle, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985), 87.

²⁰ W. Doyle, *Venality. The Sale of Offices in Eighteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1996), 165.

²¹ W. Doyle, "Was There an Aristocratic Reaction in Pre-Revolutionary France?" 57 (1972), reprinted in D. Johnson (ed.), *French Society and the revolution* (Cambridge, 1976), 3-20.

Researches carried on different aspects of the bourgeoisie lent support to suggestions of Cobban and Taylor that there was a lack of contact or sense of common interest between the bourgeoisie of the professions and that of trade.²² Despite Franklin Ford's contention robe and sword nobles were still attacking each other in the 1780s. An analysis of the cahiers of the nobility in 1789 showed that they were very much divided ideologically. A large number of them were even influenced by the political liberalism like the bourgeoisie.

Colin Luca's work published in English in 1973 suggested that, 'the middle class of the later Ancien Régime displayed no significant difference in accepted values and above all no consciousness of belonging to a class whose economic and social characteristics were antithetical to the nobility.'²³ Bourgeoisie and nobles were all part of a single propertied élite. And yet they did not unite in 1788-9. This may be explained by the declaration of the Parliament of Paris in September 1788 that the Estates-General should meet according to the forms of 1614. As soon as the bourgeoisie saw that its interests were largely at odds with those of the nobility, the bourgeois campaign set off to capture control of the Estates.²⁴ However, Elizabeth A. Eisenstein criticized this position in 1965 on the grounds that the mysterious 'Committee of Thirty' had many noble members and therefore could hardly be considered the voice of the bourgeoisie alone. In 1980 Daniel Wick also argued that the 'Committee of Thirty' was largely driven in its attack on the old order by the resentment of Court nobles who had lost political influence over the reign of Louis XVI.²⁵

Marxian historians reacted sharply to Alfred Cobban's book *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution*. Cobban's attack was directed mainly against the imposition of Marxist laws of development. The revisionist historians did not agree with Soboul that revolutionary action advances the cause of 'progress'. The French Revolution certainly did not produce an urban, industrialized society. Nevertheless, to deny the importance of the abolition of feudalism and the legal changes introduced by Revolution demonstrates ideological biases. It would be anachronistic to identify 'socialism' with the French Revolution as the term was not employed widely until well into the nineteenth century. The population of France rose from 21 million in 1700 to 28 million by 1790s.

²² L. R. Berlanstein, *The Barristers of Toulouse in the Eighteenth Century (1740-1793)* (Baltimore, Md., 1975), 34-5.

²³ "Nobles, Bourgeois and the Origins of the French Revolution", 1973, reprinted in Johnson (ed.) *French Society and the Revolution*, 88-131.

²⁴ Lefebvre, *The Coming of The French Revolution*, 30-34.

²⁵ D. L. Wick, *A Conspiracy of Well-Intentioned Men. The Society of Thirty and the French Revolution* (New York, 1987).

The rate of demographic growth slowed significantly during the last decades of the ancien régime due to recession as well as to other factors. Birth-rates fell from 38.8 per thousand during the 1780s to 32.9 per thousand by the early 1800s; death-rates also fell from 35.5 per thousand during the period 1785-9 to 29.5 per thousand during the years 1795-99. The most striking feature was a great fall in infant mortality which reduced from 252 per thousand in the 1780s, to 195 per thousand during the 1800s. Notwithstanding the social upheavals of the Revolution and about half million deaths in internal and external wars, during the 1790s, the population of France increased by about one million during the same period.²⁶ Figures suggest that throughout France a social 'evolution' was afoot leading to increased demand for land to feed more people.

The French peasant paid to his lord, the seigniorial taxes and dues and the tithe (*dîme*) levied by his local church. He also paid direct and indirect taxes to the government. According to an estimate given by Annie Moulin if we add up all these it would range 'between one-quarter and one-half of the revenue of the peasant household'.²⁷ Not only feudalism was cast aside on the night of 4 August, privilege, the fundamental principle of social and institutional life since time immemorial was renounced. For three centuries French social mobility had largely been channeled through the sale of offices²⁸ but nobility now blocked the access to political positions and this was resented by the bourgeoisie.

The argument that the Revolution was, fundamentally a political event with social consequences is not likely to hold. It is obvious that the social conflict constituted the chief factor of the Revolution which had cast peasant against the seigniorial system for over a century. In quarrel over the rich spoils after 4 August, the peasants were not to go away empty-handed. This explained why Albert Soboul, talked of the French Revolution as a 'peasant-bourgeois' Revolution rather than a 'capitalist bourgeois' Revolution towards the close of his career.²⁹ The success achieved by French peasantry in four years showed that there existed a massive peasant force in French society, which played a significant role in determining the future character of French society. The revolution effected a major redistribution of land. By 1815, the nobility had lost perhaps half of its property while the Church had ceased to be a major landowner.

²⁶ C. Jones, *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution* (London, Longman, 1988), 287-8.

²⁷ *Peasantry and Society in France since 1789*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991), 15.

²⁸ *The Oxford History of the French Revolution* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1989), 117.

²⁹ Doyle's introduction to Soboul's *The French Revolution, 1787-1799*, (London, Unwin Hyman, 1989), xi-xxviii.

Through the Eyes of a Mouse: Disney's Influence on American Self Image and Historical Perspective

*Daniel R. Vogel
Edinboro University of Pennsylvania*

While standing in line at the Magic Kingdom recently, a guest behind us said to my fiancé, "It is sad that the line to meet Jack Sparrow is over twice as long as Mickey Mouse's." This statement has important meaning for those who enjoy the study of Disney and the study of the representation of history in general. On the one hand, the iconic titan that is Mickey Mouse is being eclipsed by an upstart pirate captain and anti-hero from the Disney Company's much more recent Pirates of the Caribbean movie franchise. There is a bit of irony thrown in; the Pirates of the Caribbean franchise was derived from an attraction built at Disneyland in 1967. Disneyland and the Walt Disney Company itself was started on the back of Walt Disney's original Mickey Mouse cartoons; therefore, this is almost as a grandson striking down his grandfather.

On the other hand, one should be asking: why were so many people lining up to see a pirate? History has been good to pirates, The Disney representation is not an abnormality; their interpretation is just the most recent painting of a pirate's life as one of adventure and glory. However; it is Walt Disney's institutions that have helped shape the most recent adaptation of piracy. And again, this is not an abnormality in procedure for the people at Disney; it is just merely one in a line of many instances where Disney has reinvented something historical for mass cultural acceptance.

The problem of the first hand can be satisfactorily explained away with a look at how Jack Sparrow and Mickey Mouse are currently marketed, and an inquiry into the comparison of frequencies at which Disney allows guests to interact with the captain and the commander in cheese. Sparrow ends up with much more publicity than Mickey Mouse, and much less time and fewer locations within the Disney theme parks to interact with guests. These explanations can not really solve the problem of the second hand, and this problem leads to a more striking question; what impact does Disney have on the perception of history? This is the subject that this essay will start to crack.

Along with his influence on history, it would be hard to argue that Walt Disney and his company have not affected the cultural perspective of the American people. Over the last century Disney and Company has had a

profound impact on how the world views American history, and within his projects his cultural ideals appear to manifest themselves in entertainment form. Disney enjoyed history and used it as an influence for many of his works. By examining his career and later the Walt Disney Company's projects, one can get a sense of how this cultural father examined and interpreted history for the masses. One can also find the influence his company had on the American public, if not the world. In such projects as Disney's rendition of Davy Crockett, Disney revitalized interests in areas of history to the public. Even though fictionalized, Disney's ventures in history were entertainment and provided a perspective for younger generations of Americans to come. By examining this history starting with Disney's animation and continuing today in the theme parks and multimedia endeavors, one can see the definite impact Walt Disney has had on American self image.¹

First a note about Disney history in general; most credible historians break up Walter Elias Disney and his company, now the Walt Disney Company, into two sections by period. The first covers the lifetime of Walt Disney, and the second covers the period after his death. Disney was a heavy handed manager, so one can easily see how the corporate entity took its own shape after his death. Still the institution that Walt built – the company during his time and the company after his passing can never truly be separated; but, they can be compared and recognized by researchers as different entities.

This is especially important when trying to look into the historical representations Disney had provided us with over the last eighty years. Walt Disney the person and the company he controlled interpreted and presented history different than his successor company did. Disney provided ideology behind his interpretations; whereas, the corporate version, or "Corporate Walt" as Mike Wallace terms it, seems to shift between capital grossing intentions and political correctness in the form of appeasement.² As the Walt Disney Company is one of the major players in twentieth century cultural history, there is too much to squeeze into an essay of this size; therefore, this paper will present a few cases where the institution of Disney has influenced American culture and sum it up with some thoughts on the uses of Disney's versions of history.

Walt Disney at the Reigns

¹ For more on Disney's interests in history one should consult some of the biographies of Disney. Neil Gabler's *Walt Disney: The Triumph of American Imagination* is the latest biography which had access to the closely guarded Disney Archives. For a historian's take on Disney and his influences, Steven Watt's *The Magic Kingdom: Walt Disney and the American Way of Life* is an excellent book.

² Mike Wallace, *Mickey Mouse History and Other Essays on American Memory* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1996) 134.

Disney grew up in multiple locations, but none as memorable to him as Marceline, Missouri. It was a brief couple of years on the family farm there that set the tone for all of Walt Disney's future productions, including his views on history. Disney's father had bounced around the county with a multitude of failed businesses. He had also become sentimental to the populist ideal in the 1890's and became attuned to socialist ideals later in life. Disney ended up sharing his father's populist vision, but any hint of socialism was eradicated with the worker's strike at his studios in 1940.³

Disney's early works in animation lead to the creation of Mickey Mouse. Mickey's personality included the morals that Disney envisioned the average American to have. America took so well to Mickey Mouse, that Walt later claimed that the studio was too restricted with Mickey Mouse, and that it was hard to find comical situations for them to put their star in. Mickey was a role model for a good American, and what parents wanted their children to be.⁴ Mickey had wholesome values rooted in Disney's populist ideals. For example, in 1936's *Mickey's Rival* Disney's hero squared off against his nemesis Mortimer Mouse for Minnie Mouse's affection. This is a classic example of Disney's love for the underdog. Mickey was a common mouse with common possessions. Mortimer had a fast car, good looks, and apparent class.⁵ Mortimer picks on Mickey when not in the view of Minnie; in one scene he plucked Mickey's famous buttons off to taunt him. Mickey is plainly dressed, an ideal middle class mouse, while Mortimer has the air of old money about him. Of course, Mickey wins in the end when Mortimer is confronted by an angry bull and runs away; meanwhile, Mickey saves Minnie. The little guy showed what he is in the end, honest and willing to stand up for what he believed in; and Mortimer, the bully which stood for all that Disney was against, fled.

Hard work was always one of Disney's favorite themes. In 1933's *The Three Little Pigs*, Disney ensured the country that hard work would lead to success. It was only by the hard work of the everyday man that America would raise from the Great Depression. This motif is revisited once again in 1937's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarves*, where Disney shows us that the seven dwarves are free individuals who make their own way in life because of hard work.⁶ Disney's war effort during World War II also showed the importance of

³ Steven Watts, *The Magic Kingdom: Walt Disney and the American Way of Life* (Columbia Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1997), 348

⁴ Ronald E. Ostman, "Disney and its Conservative Critics," *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 24, no. 2 (1996): 84.

⁵ *Mickey's Rival*, Disney Studios, 1936. Interestingly, the way Mortimer looked was modeled after Walt Disney's actual appearance.

⁶ *The Three Little Pigs*, Disney Studios, 1933. *Snow White and the Seven Dwarves*, Disney Studios, 1937.

the ordinary citizen. In a series of shorts, Disney used Donald Duck to show Americans who the Nazis were, teach Americans how to be citizen soldiers, and to encourage Americans to pay taxes and make sacrifices at home for the boys over seas.

Up until after the Second World War, Disney's film excursions were influencing upon America's character but had yet to make a vast impression on the way Americans viewed history. It was really the Baby Boom generation that finally crowned "Uncle" Walt as one of America's cultural fathers. It would be this generation that would watch Disney's Davy Crockett in 1954 and then have their parents buy \$300 million dollars in merchandise.⁷ This fan base created the leverage Disney needed to make the leap from entertainer to engineer and educator. Baby Boomers ate up Disney's ideals in his programs, further making him an institution with credibility and not just a man.⁸ Davy Crockett was important for another reason; it was also where Disney really began to influence perceptions of history. While other westerns were out killing off Native Americans, Disney continued a long tradition of defending the American Indian as an equal.⁹ Disney's Crockett fought Indians when he had to, but he also defended their rights against land grabbing white men. This perception of equality for all that Disney helped implant would continue with the generation into more turbulent times.

The crowning achievement of Walt Disney was Disneyland, and its extension Walt Disney World. Not only did it cement Disney as one of the most powerful cultural figures in American history, but it also allowed him to codify his ideals into a physical form for all time. It is in Disneyland and the Magic Kingdom that Disney's concept of history can most easily be identified. Disneyland and the Magic Kingdom in Walt Disney World are identical in format; though vary slightly, for this paper I will refer mostly to the Magic Kingdom which is the last theme park Disney had a direct hand in planning.

The Magic Kingdom is divided into themed lands; all of these themes revolve around historical time periods. More importantly, they revolve around popular ideals of the time periods they represent. A white-washed history per say, one that is the way people may feel it ought to have been. Disney relied on nostalgia to connect his guests to his ideals within the parks. Disney provided his guests with a safe history. Notably, the last war that is portrayed anywhere in

⁷ J.G. O'Boyle, "Be Sure Your're Right, Then Go Ahead," *Journal of Popular Film & Television* 24, no. 2 (1996): 73. O'Boyle recounts the Davy Crockett craze in more detail in this article. It also analyzes the baby boom generation and the teaching of morality through television.

⁸ Watts, 363.

⁹ For more on Native American portrayal in Disney westerns see Douglass Brode. *Multiculturalism and the Mouse: Race and Sex in Disney Entertainment*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2005.

the Magic Kingdom is the American Civil War. Twentieth Century conflicts are mostly missing from the park; this would most likely coincide with Disney's want for guests to totally remove themselves from the outside world when they entered the gates.

Guests enter the Magic Kingdom via Main Street U.S.A., a mock up of a late Victorian age main street in the heartland. Ideally modeled after Disney's own memories of Marceline, Main Street U.S.A. is the embodiment of what we look back on as a nation – a time when things were simple, clean, and safe. It is this elaboration on the past that allows guests to flourish in Disney's history, they obtain enjoyment from the world he created because it is the way their value sets believe things should be. They may not want to go back to a period which lacks the marvels of the present, (and indeed this would be against Disney's strong personal theme of progress) but the guests are comfortable within the theme; as it acts as a safety net from the outside world.

As noted above, Disney's interest in the American as an equal individual in society was a driving part of his ethos. This is evident in the Magic Kingdom in the lands of Liberty Square and Frontierland. The former is made up to look like a town during the American Revolution. The later covers 19th century American expansionism as popular culture has perceived it over the 20th century. Both lands embody the "American Spirit" that Disney glorified in his films and projects. Within Liberty Square there are important icons of Disney's History of American Independence. A liberty bell, a liberty tree like the one the Sons of Liberty reportedly met under, and most importantly the Hall of Presidents.

The Hall is home of 43 audio-animatronic presidents, a marvel descending from a 1964 New York World's Fair exhibit for the state of Illinois. In its earliest form, the exhibit called Great Moments with Mr. Lincoln featured the 16th president as a state of the art robot, one that apparently impressed greatly at the 1964 World's Fair. Disney was a bit of a Lincolnophile, and after his death his pet project morphed into the Hall of Presidents once the Magic Kingdom opened in Orlando.¹⁰ If it was the robots that people came to see, it was Disney's message about the Constitution that they would have to hear first. The slide show before the presentation of the presidential automatons was and still is about the greatness of the American form of government. It covers three uprisings in American history; the often forgotten Whiskey Rebellion, the Nullification Crisis, and the Civil War. It is made very clear that the president must stick to the Constitution in order for this country to remain great. The period after the Civil War was dedicated to progress of the American People,

¹⁰ Watts, 414.

with no real mention of the 20th century. The Hall of Presidents takes a white washed version of American history and presents it to the public in the form of hero worship. This is not necessarily a negative however, as it would be hard to name a society that did not employ hero worship in their national identity.

Frontierland brings back the ideas of Fredrick Jackson Turner, and his reasoning behind the greatness of the American People. This land was dedicated to the hard working men and women who went out and tamed the wilderness of the American frontier. Those people who embodied Disney's "American Spirit" seemed to fuel the creation of Frontierland, or perhaps it could be the success of Davy Crockett that led to the building of a frontier town setting. As in the case of Main Street U.S.A. and Liberty Square, the replica buildings in Frontierland represent something that only exists in the population's mind as history. There are many instances of Disney influenced history in Frontierland, but other than the basic concept, most of the major examples evolve from corporate Disney after Walt's time, rather than his own influence.¹¹

Another major historically themed land is Adventureland, which includes the Pirates of the Caribbean and the Jungle Cruise amongst other attractions. Adventureland is set to cover the period of empire and deals with exploration and exploitation by the far flung arms of European nations. Even Fantasyland and Mickey's Toontown Fair have time periods they represent. The former takes much of its element from medieval architecture and influence. Dark Age tales comes to life within the buildings of Fantasyland. Meanwhile, Toon Town Fair represents Disney's characters acting out his own lineage, a Midwestern county fair. The last land of the Magic Kingdom represents the future, or at least the popular cultures idea of what the future holds. Ironically, Disney presents us with one more gem of Disney History within the bounds of a land dedicated to the future. The Carousel of Progress shows the audience what it was like for the American family in the years 1900, 1920, 1940 and "tomorrow" in terms of household technology. The Carousel of Progress deserves a whole essay on historical representation itself, so for space limitations this paper will move on to Corporate Disney; however, like the Hall of Presidents the Carousel of Progress is one of the true monuments to the Disney version of History.¹²

¹¹ The Turner Thesis can be found in his work: Turner, Fredrick Jackson, "The Significance of the American Frontier," 1893. Which is published in multiple forms, and online form can be found at <<http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/TURNER/chapter1.html>>.

¹² For a wonderful article on the plight of women in the Carousel of Progress, read: Weiner, Lynn Y. "There's a Great Big Beautiful Tomorrow": Historic Memory and Gender in Walt Disney's 'Carousel of Progress,'" *Journal of American Culture* 20, no. 1 (1997):111-120.

After Walt

Corporate Disney has a different take on the presentation of history and in running the business itself. While Walt supposedly only made movies he wanted to see, the corporation after him seemed to eventually erode from its moral core. Thus today one can see that Corporate Disney is more like Walt's capitalistic ideals for American society than the authoritarian company Walt ran. Without the patriarch, shareholders and individual's inhibitions began to surface; making the Walt Disney Company more like other large companies of this era. However, despite the multiple attempts to tear the institution apart there emerged a centralized power that attempted to stick to Walt's values, for his reputation was the most valuable asset of the company. At the same time they took actions to pursue bigger ventures that would allow them to gain more income. Hence the side projects of the company, for example the purchasing of brands like Miramax to release more adult orientated entertainment to expand the company's markets.¹³

The largest example in the change of historical representation and cultural identification was the creation of EPCOT. Epcot, which was originally Walt Disney's idea for the city of tomorrow, morphed into a permanent World's Fair by the company after his death; one which showcased countries of the world and modern marvels at the same time. It was the company's attempt to capture the older more sophisticated audiences, rather than mostly families as the Magic Kingdom attracted. Epcot was divided into two lands, Future World and the World Showcase. In Future World, corporate sponsors helped build attractions that would entertain and educate guests; while in the World Showcase guests would be treated by the tourism boards of various countries to a glimpse of foreign life.

Future World's original attractions were mostly paid for by large corporations like AT&T and General Motors. Each one had a ride through a pavilion which educated guests on the history of their field and the possible futures for mankind in that field, primarily by advertising what they were working on or had done. For Example, AT&T's Spaceship Earth went through the history of human communication. In the world's largest geodesic sphere, the guests were transported in a slow vehicle up the sphere while being shown scenes from history starring audio-animatronics. The scenes each showed how man evolved from cave paintings to AT&T's global network. On the descent, the guests are shown glimpses of possible future achievements of mankind, almost all happening in space.

¹³ Wallace, 160 – 162.

The World Showcase featured pavilions by multiple countries; each presented their county's heritage differently. This like the future world pavilions were a step away from Walt's heavily influenced attractions. Whereas Disney had done sponsored exhibits like the ones at the 1964 worlds fair, it was always Walt's way or nothing. In these new pavilions corporations and tourist boards were aloud input into the attractions. This of course makes Future World seem like a commercial at some points.

Notably, it is in the World Showcase at the United State's pavilion that one is presented with a new version of Disney History. In the American Adventure, the tones of history are no longer reminiscent of the absolutist statements of Abraham Lincoln and the Hall of Presidents. Disney History becomes more flawed. Guests learn that there are many struggles in American History. Disney bills the conflicts of American history as struggles in a long road to freedom. Interestingly enough, the Company has seemed to taken a step back from "Uncle" Walt's appreciation of Native Americans. Although Chief Joseph of the Nez Pierce does make an appearance in the show, it is only to surrender to the might of the American empire moving west. Women and African Americans find their way into this version of American History, if only for a brief moment. The whole presentation seems to be an attempt to give a nod to everyone while still telling a story of the Great American Culture, which of course is impossible to do. As the show ends, one is left in awe at this Cold War era propaganda piece.

A final example of the Disney Company's rendering of history can be seen in their latest franchise, Pirates of the Caribbean. This glorification of some of the most ruthless villains and terrorists of history stems back to the ride of the same name. However, Walt's version of the ride did not put names onto the pirates faces, audiences were distanced from their entertainment by the stream of water their boat floated upon. Even though piratical themes were as popular as westerns as topics for fiction novels and movies at the time, in the end Walt's pirates were robots that sung funny songs while performing stereotypical piratical duties. The movie version puts names to pirates, and makes them out to be not such a bad bunch of hooligans. The theme at Walt Disney World in the spring of 2007 was Pirates and Princesses; it encourages children and adults to dress up and act as pirates, but leaves out the part that pirates were actually quite nasty. The pirate would not be a logical hero for Walt Disney as they do not meet the standards of his ethos. This is just another example of how different the Walt Disney Company treats historical subjects compared to their founder. Of course, perhaps the exploitation of history for fun is not such a bad thing.

Conclusions

There are positives to Disney and company being sub-par historians. Perhaps the fact that many of these attractions are relics and are outdated today makes them important to the study of American Culture and History. Even though the American Adventure feels like a Cold War propaganda exhibit, historians can take from it a few things. First, historians have an example of how the subject was treated in 1982. It can be studied in context with other exhibits, and we can look into how such themes in American history are represented to mass audiences over time. This can be done with a number of attractions at Walt Disney World, spanning more than 35 years, there is a good deal of cultural representation data available to the researcher. It is a mirror into ourselves, how our youth has learned and played over the years. It is the earliest forms of edutainment.

More importantly, it is edutainment. With arguably more tourists visiting Walt Disney World than the Smithsonian each year, perhaps one must look at the overall advantages of Disney at least attempting to present history. If Disney's presentations spark interest in new students, then presumably those students will go out and learn more on their own. As a gateway to learning, Disney serves as a beginning for some children. Perhaps it should not be called learning at all, but a form of discovery. In an age where people can sit in the comfort of their own home and Google something they see on TV for more information, is Disney's discovery process not a good thing to get these people interested in events of American history? By no means is it higher education, or even high school education, but the Disney version of history can be used as a tool for children to begin to learn new themes.

Finally, as the history being written has come from a non historian in some cases, we may be critical. However, our history is written every day by non-historians on TV by the media, or on the internet via social groups; and even when a historian has the pen in hand they may take a slanted or bias view on things. For examples one just has to pick up any three books on Walt Disney; there is a good chance that they will cover the whole spectrum; from overly bias for to extremely against the man. Just because edutainment is the process does not mean that there is no value in Disney's presentation.

This essay has just scratched the surface of how Disney has influenced our perceptions of history. When it comes to cultural impact and historical presentation, there are also many other examples in the realm of Disney that can and need to be explored further; some scholars have touched on a few, but still many open opportunities await.