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## Thomas M. Campbell Award

*Beginning with Volumes 6/7, the Florida Conference of Historians has presented the Thomas M. Campbell Award for the best paper published in the Annual Proceedings (now Annals) 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 U.S. 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

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## **Blaine T. Browne Award**

*Beginning with the current volume, the Florida Conference of Historians will present the Blaine T. Browne Award, given to the best paper written by a graduate student who presents at the annual meeting and publishes in the Annals.*

Dr. Browne earned a doctorate in American history at the University of Oklahoma in 1985. He subsequently taught at several universities and colleges before joining the faculty at Broward College in 1988. An active participant in the Florida Conference of Historians since 1994, Dr. Browne has presented at annual meetings and published in the *Selected Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference of Historians*, the predecessor of the *Annals*. Now retired from Broward College, in 2014 Dr. Browne generously provided the seed money for this award.

### *Recipients*

2017: Brad Massey, Polk State College and University of Florida

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## **J. Calvitt Clarke III Award**

*Beginning with volume 20, the Florida Conference of Historians has presented the J. Calvitt Clarke III Award for the best undergraduate research paper published in the Annals.*

In 2012, Dr. Clarke, Professor Emeritus at Jacksonville University and a strong supporter of undergraduate research, graciously provided the seed funding for this important award. He is a frequent contributor and the founding editor of the predecessor to the *Annals*, the *Selected Annual Proceedings of the Florida Conference of Historians*.

### *Recipients*

2017: Frankie Bauer, Middle Georgia State University

2016: Nicole Kana Hummel, New College of Florida

2015: Tyler Campbell, University of Central Florida

2014: Michael Rodriguez, Florida Gulf Coast University

2013: Amy Denise Jackson, Wesleyan College

## **A Note from the Editor**

The present volume (24) of the *FCH Annals*, features selected papers presented at the 56th Annual Meeting of the Florida Conference of Historians, which was held at the University of Central Florida in Orlando, Florida, February 18-20, 2016. As always the call for submissions was open to all fields and topics in history, and in addition to the United States, the articles that follow also touch on the history of Europe, Latin America, and the Caribbean. Unlike past volumes, delays in the editorial process led to an unavoidable lapse of over two years between the meeting and the publication of this volume. Another, less regrettable departure from previous volumes is the omission of the meeting program, which until now was always included as an appendix. For a number of years now, the FCH Webmaster, Jesse Hingson, has been making programs from past meetings available on the FCH website, and will continue to do so in the future. The program for the 56th, and all past annual meetings, are available at <http://www.floridaconferenceofhistorians.org/>.

Michael S. Cole  
8 June 2018

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## Reaction to the Cuban Missile Crisis as Reported by Florida Newspapers

Michael Epple  
*Florida Gulf Coast University*

Since the Cold War ended in the 1990s, historians have been investigating the culture of the Cold War.<sup>1</sup> One area that has not received much study is how major Cold War events such as the Cuban Missile crisis affected local areas in the United States. The 1962 confrontation over Cuba is considered to be the point in the Cold War when the United States and the Soviet Union came closest to nuclear war. With their proximity to Cuba, how did the population of South Florida react to the Crisis? Did most of the population support the president's policies toward Cuba? Were they worried about the possibility of nuclear-armed missiles being launched in their direction? How did the local newspapers cover the crisis? This article will attempt to answer these questions for the south Florida cities of Miami, St. Petersburg and Fort Myers and will utilize the *Miami Herald*, the *St. Petersburg Times* and the *Fort Myers News Press* in this effort.

The background to the Cuban missile crisis began when Fidel Castro seized power in Cuba in 1959. At first some Americans viewed him somewhat favorably but once Castro began to take over American properties on the island, the Eisenhower administration hardened its attitude toward him and the CIA began to help train Cuban exiles to invade the island. This planning continued into the Kennedy administration and on 15 April 1961, the Bay of Pigs invasion began with disastrous results, when Kennedy at the last moment decided to withdraw American air support the attempt failed and many of the exiles were taken prisoner. The Castro regime which had already been cultivating close relations with the Soviet Union accelerated that process with the result that by 1962, the Soviets had agreed to install nuclear missiles in Cuba. They were first suspected in September 1962 when United States U-2 planes detected the building of military installations. The Kennedy administration began more flights and found evidence of construction of missile sites on the island. President Kennedy after consulting with various officials in his administration, including his brother Robert, announced to the American nation on the night of 22 October that the Soviets were building missile

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<sup>1</sup> Several books have been written on the subject including: Stephen Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996); Larry May, *Recasting America: Culture and Politics in the Age of the Cold War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

bases in Cuba and that he was declaring a quarantine around the island and would stop any ship bringing military supplies to Cuba.<sup>2</sup>

Kennedy's announcement was not a complete surprise in Florida. Prior to the 22 October broadcast all three papers had noted increased military activity in Florida. The *Miami Herald* reported on 20 October that a ship had unloaded "tons of shrouded military equipment at Key West headed for the Boca Chica Naval Air Station."<sup>3</sup> The article went on to say that the movement of troops and supplies led to local speculation that they might be headed for Cuba, but this was denied by the defense department. The next morning the headline at the top of page one read, "IS Major Move in Store for Cuba Next?"<sup>4</sup> The story written by an associated press writer continued the speculation about the United States making a move toward Cuba and repeated a *New York Times* assertion that Kennedy would address the nation in a day or two about Cuba.

The *St. Petersburg Times* headline on 22 October informed its readers that the so-called "Drill in the Caribbean" was more than just an ordinary military exercise.<sup>5</sup> The article referred to several rumors: unusual movement of planes at MacDill Air force Base near Tampa; all leaves canceled at Key West Naval Air station; and the possibility that intermediate range missiles could have been installed in Cuba. A map just below the article showed the location of Macdill, the Key West base, Guantanamo Naval Base on Cuba, and the site of United States Naval Maneuvers just east of Puerto Rico.<sup>6</sup>

The *News Press* headline on 22 October mentioned the speculation about a move on Cuba and concentrated on the naval build up in the Caribbean as the "only hard fact available"<sup>7</sup> They then quoted Arthur B. Sylvester, assistant secretary of defense for public affairs, who said that the speculation about hitting Cuba was "just eyewash" and that if the United States was going to attack someone it would not be exercising its troops. The article also noted that President Kennedy seemed to have recovered very quickly from a cold that had prevented him from continuing a campaign tour on the 21st.<sup>8</sup> His quick return to Washington was tied to the speculation about Cuba.

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<sup>2</sup> There have been many books written on the crisis. Some of the books consulted for this paper include: Aleksandr Fursenko, Timothy Naftali, *"One Hell of a Gamble": The Secret History of the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1998); David Detzer, *The Brink* (New York: Thomas Crowell, 1970); Jutta Weldes, *Constructing National Interests: The United States and the Cuban Missile Crisis* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999) Lawrence Freedman, *Kennedy's Wars: Berlin, Cuba, Laos, and Vietnam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

<sup>3</sup> "Buildup in Keys Just 'Routine'," *Miami Herald*, 20 October 1962, 1.

<sup>4</sup> "Is Major U.S. Move in Store for Cuba Next?" *Miami Herald*, 22 October 1962, 1.

<sup>5</sup> "Tight Secrecy Veils 'Drill' in Caribbean" *St. Petersburg Times*, 22 October 1962, 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> "Secrecy Cloaks Speculation of Major U.S. Move on Cuba: Naval Buildup in Caribbean Stirs Reports," *Fort Myers News Press*, 22 October 1962, A-1.

<sup>8</sup> All three newspapers had reported on the 21st that Kennedy in Chicago was discontinuing a campaign trip for Democrats to return to Washington because of a cold. *Fort Myers News Press*, 21 October 1962, A-19, *Miami Herald*, 21 October 1962, 1. *St. Petersburg Times*, 21 October 1962, 1.

The front pages of all three newspapers on 23 October contained numerous stories about Kennedy's speech on the crisis. The *Miami Herald* condensed the speech into "JFK's 7-point Program on Cuba."<sup>9</sup> The first point noted that the United States was imposing "a strict quarantine on all offensive military equipment coming into Cuba." An article next to the points noted that food and medicine would be the only things allowed to pass the quarantine.<sup>10</sup> The headline of the *St. Petersburg Times* read "President Quarantines Cuba: U.S. Forces Guard Caribbean."<sup>11</sup> Just below was a map titled "Red Menace to Hemisphere" which showed how far the missiles in Cuba might reach into the United States and South America. A bulletin below the map noted that Florida Governor Farris Bryant had put the Florida National Guard and civil defense on alert status and that the governor approved of the president's action against Cuba.<sup>12</sup> The *News Press* emphasized that the Soviets were shipping atomic weapons to Cuba and noted that a defense department spokesman said that the United States was ready to "sink every Communist bloc ship headed for Cuba."<sup>13</sup> Another page one article reported that citizens in the Fort Myers area backed the action, including the mayor of Fort Myers and the Chairman of the County Commissioners.<sup>14</sup>

All three papers continued extensive coverage of the crisis throughout the remainder of October and into the first two weeks of November. The reports included what was happening in Washington as well as what was going on in the cities themselves. Florida Senator George Smathers and Congressman Danet Fascell held a press conference in Miami in which Smathers was quoted as saying that he did not think "Miami was in any greater danger than Kansas City, Washington, New York or other cities." Congressman Dante Fascell, who was speaking with Smathers in Miami, wanted to assure his constituents in Miami that South Florida was not a valuable military target, so "there is no reason to panic."<sup>15</sup> On that same day the *Miami Herald* referred to the reactions of the large Cuban exile community in Miami.<sup>16</sup> The paper reported that the refugees felt the United States had finally passed from words about Castro to action. Large numbers of young Cuban men volunteered for the United States armed forces. However, some exiles expressed concern about what might happen to family members still in Cuba. Still another article talked about the many skills that the Cubans had brought to Miami that would benefit the area.<sup>17</sup> On 25 October, Gene Miller, a

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<sup>9</sup> "JFK's 7-Point Program on Cuba," *Miami Herald*, 23 October 1962, 1.

<sup>10</sup> "Food, Medicine Only Commodities Allowed to Pass," *Miami Herald*, 23 October 1962, 1.

<sup>11</sup> "President Quarantines Cuba: U.S. Forces Guard Caribbean," *St. Petersburg Times*, 23 October 1962, 1.

<sup>12</sup> "Bulletin: Bryant Alerts Guard," *St. Petersburg Times*, 23 October 1962, 1.

<sup>13</sup> "Asserts Soviets Shipping Atomic Weapons to Isle," *Fort Myers News Press*, 23 October 1962, A-1.

<sup>14</sup> "Resolute Action on Cuba Backed by Citizens Here," *Fort Myers News Press*, 23 October 1962, 1.

<sup>15</sup> "No Need to Fret, Florida Assured," *Miami Herald*, 24 October 1962, 1.

<sup>16</sup> "Refuges' Hopes Get a Big Boost," *Miami Herald*, 24 October 1962, 2.

<sup>17</sup> "What the Cubans 'Have Done' To--And For--Miami," *Miami Herald*, 24 October 1962, 7.

*Miami Herald* writer, recorded a personal encounter with United States forces near Cuba.<sup>18</sup> Miller had chartered a plane to fly south of Key West, where it found itself in the gun sights of a United States destroyer. He emphasized that no boat or plane was allowed south of 24th Parallel.

The *Times* on 24 October reported that MacDill Air Force Base would play a major role in the United States build up against Cuba and showed a photograph of a plane ready for action.<sup>19</sup> The paper on that same day wrote about the activation of Pinellas County Civil Defense and assured readers that the office would be open 24 hours a day throughout the crisis.<sup>20</sup> An article on the 25th reported how local residents were dealing with the crisis.<sup>21</sup> Housewives and mothers polled by the paper had spent the previous day stocking up on supplies and telling their children what to expect in an attack. However, several respondents reported that events would go as planned, including a Halloween dance and a PTA card party. During the crisis the paper also carried two articles about Governor Bryant's messages to the people of Florida. One on the 26th he urged the people of Florida not to panic and on the 30th, as the crisis eased, he urged that the strong civil defense program was necessary in Florida in case of "a possible sneak air attack from Cuba."<sup>22</sup>

The *News Press* reported on local issues such as civil defense operations in the area. On the 26th, a front-page article advised that the Civil Defense leaders in Lee and Collier Counties were evaluating their state of preparedness.<sup>23</sup> On the 27th, it was reported that the Lee County Commission was ordering \$25,000 worth of medical supplies at the urging of the County Civil Defense for use in an emergency. The article also reported brisk flashlight sales at local stores.<sup>24</sup> Beneath this information was a short news item about a large explosion heard in East Naples the previous day, which brought numerous calls to the Civil Defense, but it turned out to be blasting for a new canal.

The *Herald's* first editorial dealing with the crisis was supportive of the President's actions and offered the thought that the Monroe Doctrine had been replaced with the Kennedy Doctrine, which would lead to "a Cuba free to decide how its people shall live in freedom."<sup>25</sup> The *St. Petersburg Times* in its first editorial praised the president for speaking out and the editorial concluded with the thought that "the greatest danger of all would be to do nothing."<sup>26</sup> The *Fort Myers News Press* was more critical of the president in its first editorial on Cuba following Kennedy's speech. It suggested, 'President Kennedy's policy on Cuba has been

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<sup>18</sup> "I Got Navy Guns' Pointed Message: Don't Try to Fly South of Key West," *Miami Herald*, 25 October 1962, 1.

<sup>19</sup> "Ready for Crisis Action: F 100 Checked at MacDill," *St. Petersburg Times*, 24 October 1962, 1.

<sup>20</sup> "Pinellas Civil Defense Units Active," *St. Petersburg Times*, 24 October 1962, 12-A.

<sup>21</sup> "A Day Like Every Other Day, Except—" *St. Petersburg Times*, 25 October 1962, 1-D.

<sup>22</sup> "Gov. Bryant Asks Calm," *St. Petersburg Times*, 26 October 1962, 1-A; "Bryant Urges Strong Civil Defense Program," *St. Petersburg Times*, 30 October 1962, 7-A.

<sup>23</sup> "CD Officials Push Preparedness Plan," *Fort Myers News Press*, 26 October 1962, 1-A.

<sup>24</sup> "Civil Defense Quarters Active: Plan: School Plans Set," *Fort Myers News Press*, 27 October 1962, 1-A.

<sup>25</sup> Editorial, "It's Up to Kremlin Now" *Miami Herald*, 23 October 1962, 6-A.

<sup>26</sup> Editorial, *St. Petersburg Times*, 23 October 1962, 12-A.

so wishy-washy up to now that his order for a naval blockade seems bold and courageous, . . . yet it still seems a half-way measure.”<sup>27</sup> The editorial went on to explain that the blockade was coming too late as the missiles were already there and the only way to remove them would be by invasion. A short statement under the editorial stated that if the missiles had a range of one thousand miles, Floridians should hope that they work. For the next three days of the crisis the *Herald* continued to praise the president, however it insisted that the United States must keep a hard line until Cuba was redeemed from “its Communist slavemasters” and returned to “the hands of Cuban Patriots.”<sup>28</sup> Both the *Herald* and the *Times* referred to the vote by the Organization of American States (OAS) on 23 October to support the United States during the crisis and the *Herald* offered the optimistic opinion that after the crisis, with a free Cuba the “door would be opened for new vigor in inter-American relations.” The *News Press* did not mention the OAS vote until 5 November, when the editor argued that the support of this organization showed that Castro would no longer inspire hope for other communists in Latin America.<sup>29</sup> On the 25th, the *Times* editorial offered this somewhat dubious encouragement to its readers who might worry about their personal safety that the people of Florida were in no more danger of missile attack than any other Americans and that there were far more strategic targets in the country than in Florida.<sup>30</sup> On the 27th the *Times* editor wrote about how surprised the Soviet Ambassador to the United Nations and most Americans were when normally polite Adlai Stevenson, United States Ambassador to the United Nations, hammered the ambassador for an answer and promised to wait “till Hell freezes over.”<sup>31</sup>

The *News Press* editorials throughout the remainder of the crisis continued to be critical of the Kennedy administration and question Soviet intentions. The editor on the 26th wrote that the crisis was a political one, not military, as Khrushchev had put the missiles in Cuba “to test the determination of the United States to resist Communist encroachment, to see just how far he could go and get away with it.”<sup>32</sup> The Soviet’s secondary motivation was to encourage communists throughout Latin America to resist cooperation with the United States. On the 29th, the *News Press* editorial claimed that Khrushchev’s promise to dismantle the missiles tied the hands of the United States into accepting the status quo of a communist nation ninety miles from the United States.<sup>33</sup> On 1 November, an editorial suggested that the resistance of Castro to United Nations inspection of the missile sites stemmed

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<sup>27</sup> Editorial, *Fort Myers News Press*, 24 October 1962, 4-A.

<sup>28</sup> “Our Hard Line Stays Hard,” *Miami Herald* 27 October 1962, 6-A.

<sup>29</sup> Editorial, *Fort Myers News Press*, 5 November 1962, 4-A.

<sup>30</sup> Editorial, *St. Petersburg Times*, 25 October 1962, 12-A.

<sup>31</sup> Editorial, *St. Petersburg Times*, 27 October 1962, 12-A.

<sup>32</sup> Editorial, *Fort Myers News Press*, 26 October 1962, 4-A.

<sup>33</sup> Editorial, *Fort Myers News Press*, 29 October 1962, 4-A.

from his resentment that the Kremlin had agreed to the inspections without informing him.<sup>34</sup>

On October 29 after the Soviets agreed to cease construction of the bases, the *Herald* wondered if the Soviets' word could be trusted. It also had this to say about Castro:

Fidel Castor's effort to put himself back on the map was laughable. Washington And Moscow are talking over his head, reducing him to his true size as an inconsequential midget. His days are numbered. No attempt by his puppet-master in the Kremlin can save Castro from the vengeance of the Cuban people.<sup>35</sup>

The *Times* editorial that same day looked for positives that had come out of the crisis, including the fact that there had been no casualties caused by an invasion and the threat of a war escalating to include other areas such as Berlin was prevented.<sup>36</sup> The editorial finished by predicting that the Castro regime could soon be disposed of with support of the OAS and the likelihood that the Soviets would send less economic aid. As tensions eased the paper took the administration to task for giving the Soviets and Castro a no-invasion guarantee and it wondered, "so how is Cuba to be liberated?"<sup>37</sup> The editorial did praise the administration for the decisive action that it took once the missiles were discovered, but argued that too many questions about the removal of the missiles remained to become complacent about Cuba.

On the 2nd a *Times* editorial said the revealing of the fact that the Kennedy administration had used the news as part of its weaponry against the Soviets was "a shocking revelation."<sup>38</sup> The fact that it was revealed by the assistant secretary of defense must mean that Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara and the president must have approved of lying to the press. The paper conceded that in time of war, military secrets must be kept, but thought that deliberately misrepresenting the news to the press and the American people went beyond that.

Of the three papers, the *Herald* had the most letters to the editor during the crisis. The letters were almost evenly divided between those who wholeheartedly supported the president and those who questioned U.S. policies. On 24 October, the first letter to the editor after Kennedy's speech suggested, "John F. Kennedy will go down in history as one of this country's greatest presidents—or its last—as a

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<sup>34</sup> Editorial, *Fort Myers News Press*, 2 November 1962, 4-A.

<sup>35</sup> "The Beginning of the End," *Miami Herald*, 29 October 1962, 6-A.

<sup>36</sup> Editorial, *St. Petersburg Times*, 29 October 1962, 10-A.

<sup>37</sup> "A Crisis in Slow Motion," *Miami Herald*, 1 November 1962, 6-A.

<sup>38</sup> Editorial, *St. Petersburg Times*, 2 November 1962, 14-A.

result of the speech.”<sup>39</sup> However the next day, one writer questioned the president’s decision by pointing out some inconsistencies in United States policies:

- 1-That NATO missile bases ringing the Soviet Union are defensive but that a Soviet base in the Caribbean would be offensive.
- 2-That our installations in Turkey (from which the U-2 operated) and elsewhere were created openly, but the Communist installations in Cuba are being established covertly.
- 3-That the United States can insist on the right to maintain a military installation inside of Cuba and can justifiably deny Cuba the right to import munitions.
- 4-That a naval blockade an act of war in international law or any preventive form of warfare promotes international peace.<sup>40</sup>

The writer acknowledged that he would be criticized for raising the questions but argued that until actual war began he should have the right to debate the administration. On the 27th a letter replied to this criticism of American policies by arguing that the previous letter had overlooked all of the violations of international law by the Soviet Union.<sup>41</sup> Another critical letter on the 25th accused the president of using a “marshmallow whip” against Cuba and a third argued that the president should be supported even if he should have taken steps against Cuba much earlier. On the 26th two letters appeared supporting the president and two criticizing him.<sup>42</sup> One writer argued that the United States, in using force, was reverting to the law of the jungle where “might makes right.” Another writer suggested that the crisis was meant to impress the voters for the upcoming elections in November. On the 29th a writer offered reasons on why the United States should not invade Cuba, including the fact that an invasion would make sure that the missiles were fired against the United States. Three other letters on the same day offered support for the president.<sup>43</sup> A letter on the last day of October questioned whether Khrushchev had laid a trap for the United States, as he had given in too quickly to the quarantine, and perhaps he hoped to have West Berlin removed from western control in exchange.<sup>44</sup> Other letters that same day urged the president to continue to remain tough with Cuba.

Several letters appeared throughout the first week of November. On the 2nd one reader suggested that President Kennedy stop reading the *New York Times* and take out a subscription to the *Miami Herald*, and at the same time remove all appeasers from his advisors and surround himself with “get-tough” men.<sup>45</sup> One writer claimed that even though the United States was not in a shooting war, it was at war nevertheless, and defense secretary Robert McNamara had every right to

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<sup>39</sup> Letter to Editor, *Miami Herald*, 24 October 1962, 6-A.

<sup>40</sup> Letter to Editor, *Miami Herald*, 25 October 1962, 6-A.

<sup>41</sup> Letter to Editor, *Miami Herald*, 27 October 1962, 6-A.

<sup>42</sup> Letters to Editor, *Miami Herald*, 26 October 1962, 6-A.

<sup>43</sup> Letter to Editor, *Miami Herald*, 29 October 1962, 6-A.

<sup>44</sup> Letter to Editor, *Miami Herald*, 31 October 1962, 6-A.

<sup>45</sup> Letter to Editor, *Miami Herald*, 2 November 1962, 6-A.



limit information to the press.<sup>46</sup> Another letter rejected any type of censorship from the government, despite the situation.

The first letter to the editor in the *St. Petersburg Times* argued that the president's actions in regard to Cuba would show Khrushchev "as no words could that we mean to stand and fight whenever we promise to."<sup>47</sup> A senior from Seminole High School wrote on the 28th that he hoped the nations of the world would be "too smart to risk war," but if they were not, citizens of Pinellas County should be prepared with canned goods, extra gas in the car, and plenty of fresh water.<sup>48</sup> He also claimed that the Civil Defense Handbook could help save lives. On the 29th two letters criticized the civil defense plans in St. Petersburg.<sup>49</sup> One letter complained that all shelters for the area were in downtown St. Petersburg and most people in the area would not have access to them. The other mentioned a picture of the governor in a fallout shelter that had recently appeared in the paper, and lamented the lack of shelters for regular people. On 2 November, a writer replied to people who wanted more shelters that they should take advantage of civil defense shelters that were offered in the city and county.<sup>50</sup> An irate writer on 15 November wrote that the whole crisis was "phony," and that it had been given to the public to build up the Pentagon, which actually ran the country.<sup>51</sup>

The *News Press* had the least number of letters to the editor on the crisis. Most letters during the period dealt with local issues. The first letter regarding the crisis appeared in the Fort Myers News Press on 26 October when a writer commended the newspaper for an editorial on the situation that had suggested the Kennedy Administration had moved to late and with too little action on Cuba.<sup>52</sup> On the 29th a letter writer referred to seventeen years of negotiating with the Soviet Union while it expanded, and worried that the blockade, no matter how effective, could not stop all missiles from coming to Cuba.<sup>53</sup> On 4 November one writer worried that the country "may pay a heavy price for the carelessness and inadequate supervision of the missile bases in Cuba," since no one knew exactly how many missiles had been brought to the island.<sup>54</sup> Another letter on 9 November expressed similar skepticism about the adequacy of the UN inspection, and feared that Khrushchev had some more traps in store for the United States.<sup>55</sup> On the 12th another writer expressed much the same sentiments about the Soviets, while a different writer wanted Castro shipped out with the missiles to allow free elections.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Letter to Editor, *Miami Herald*, 6 November 1962, 6-A.

<sup>47</sup> Letter to Editor, *St. Petersburg Times*, 24 October 1962, 14-A.

<sup>48</sup> Letter to Editor, *St. Petersburg Times*, 28 October 1962, 2-D.

<sup>49</sup> Letter to Editor, *St. Petersburg Times*, 29 October 1962 10-A.

<sup>50</sup> Letter to Editor, *St. Petersburg Times*, 2 November 1962, 14-A.

<sup>51</sup> Letter to Editor, *St. Petersburg Times*, 15 November 1962, 16-A.

<sup>52</sup> Letter to Editor, *Fort Myers News Press*, 26 October 1962, 4-A.

<sup>53</sup> Letter to Editor, *Fort Myers News Press*, 29 October 1962, 4-A.

<sup>54</sup> Letter to Editor, *Fort Myers News Press*, 4 November 1962, 4-A.

<sup>55</sup> Letter to Editor, *Fort Myers News Press*, 9 November 1962, 4-A.

<sup>56</sup> Letter to Editor, *Fort Myers News Press*, 12 November 1962, 4-A.



The newspapers demonstrate that all three communities were affected by the Cuban missile crisis. The *Herald* had the most extensive news coverage, editorials, and letters to the editor of the three papers. This is most likely due to several factors, including Miami being the largest of the three cities, and located closer to Cuba. Miami also had a large Cuban population that the *Herald* appeared mindful of during the crisis, particularly in their editorials calling for a free Cuba. Shortly before the crisis began, the *Herald* had created a full time Latin American Department.<sup>57</sup> The newspaper was also a part of a larger organization created by the Knight brothers of Akron, Ohio, who owned several major newspapers in the country.<sup>58</sup> This allowed the *Herald* to draw its information from wider resources, such the Washington bureau of the newspaper chain.

The *St. Petersburg Times* and *Fort Myers News Press* were not members of larger organizations at that time, which affected the resources they could devote to the crisis. The *Times*, located near MacDill, a major base, and in a large metropolitan area, devoted a lot of its coverage to the Air Force base and other military issues. Both the *Press* and the *Times* devoted space to local civil defense units, and the *Times* received more letters to the editor dealing with this local issue than any other part of the crisis. The *News Press* was published in the smallest of the three cities and was not close to a major armed forces installation, which may in part explain why it had the least extensive coverage of the three papers. The *News Press* had the least number of editorials on the crisis. The number of letters to the editor published in the *Press* on the crisis was small, and may show a lack of concern by the citizens, or perhaps an unwillingness to make their concerns known. Most letters dealt with local matters, which the readers must have felt more important at the time.

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<sup>57</sup> Nixon Smiley, *Knights of the Fourth Estate: The Story of the Miami Herald* (Miami: E. A. Seaman Publisher, 1974), 314.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 11-19.



# Ruskin, Florida - An Arts and Crafts Movement Architecture and Social Philosophy Experiment: Analysis and Perspectives

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## Ruskin and the Notions of Utopian Socialism

John Ruskin was a self-professed critic of British aristocracy and its tendency to discount the rising bourgeoisie and working class in the developing Industrial Age of the mid-1800s.<sup>1</sup> In this context, Ruskin sought to generate revolutionary ideas (for the time) that challenged the aristocratic, conservative thought of the day – using art and architecture as interpretations of his social democratic philosophy. As a friend and admirer of Thomas Carlyle, whose writings (including *French Revolution* and *Chartism* promoted the idea of the oxymoronic “peaceful revolution” based on Christian principles, including the Ten Commandments),<sup>2</sup> Ruskin worked to actively promote the notion of incorporating nature and simplicity of structure – as well as the rise of the common man to create such virtuous art in painting, pottery, glassworks, buildings and architecture, and furniture design – often referred to as *craftsman*, *artisan*, and/or *arts and crafts*. Working in tandem with fellow artist, writer, and socialist promoter John Morris, Ruskin and others became the early leaders of this revolution in decorative and fine arts design that became known as the Arts and Crafts Movement.

Ruskin’s writings centered on the development of working-class British art and design, which had its origins in Gothic fifteenth-century Venice.<sup>3</sup> Ruskin viewed this as a rejection of the Renaissance ideas that led to the rise of Classicism, the adoption of rationalism, and the rapid decline of religious thought. Ruskin’s five-volume *Modern Painters* as well as his *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* actively sought to incorporate the elements of simple design, vibrant color, and natural elements as a commentary on the rise of social revolution and its intended God-driven objectives as a means of rationalization for political uprisings that took place in France, Germany, and Italy.<sup>4</sup> These uprisings promoted “social utopian” elements (including the conscious and the unconscious, the individual in society,

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\* Special thanks to Kathy Wiles, Ruskin Woman’s Club, and Arthur McA. (Mac) Miller, grandson of Dr. George M. Miller) for their thoughtful individual contributions – both content and editorial-wise. The final product would not have been possible without the inclusion of important details which they identified and their subsequent editing and proofing outputs.

<sup>1</sup> Paul Mitchell, “The Contradictory Legacy of John Ruskin’s Artistic and Social Critique,” World Socialist Web Site, International Committee of the Fourth International, 23 Sept. 2000, <https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2000/09/rusk-s23.html>.

<sup>2</sup> R. Patten, *Charles Dickens and Boz: The Birth of the Industrial Age Author* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 211, [https://books.google.com/books?id=s5kgAwAAQBAJ&dq=social+contract+definition+carlyle&source=gbs\\_navlinks\\_s](https://books.google.com/books?id=s5kgAwAAQBAJ&dq=social+contract+definition+carlyle&source=gbs_navlinks_s).

<sup>3</sup> Mitchell, “Contradictory Legacy of John Ruskin’s Artistic and Social Critique.”

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

the truthfulness in art, its emphasis on nature)<sup>5</sup> – elements which became hallmarks of Ruskin’s later writings as well as tenets of the Arts and Crafts Movement as it moved west to North America.

It is important to recognize Ruskin’s basic social utopian, religious, and art/architecture philosophies, as they form the basis of the development of Ruskin, Florida, as well as the rationale behind the architectural designs and related elements (both physical and philosophical) of the structures built there, most of which were based on some interpretation of the Arts and Crafts Movement and its related tenets. Through this analysis, one can better understand what motivated those involved in the projects to build them, how they accomplished the tasks at hand, and the significance of their efforts as they impacted future generations of Ruskin’s residents and visitors alike.

As the Arts and Crafts Movement moved across the ocean to North America, many of the same architectural and handicrafts-based characteristics of the movement were preserved; however, as we will see through an examination of the development of one United States-based social utopian community – Ruskin, Florida (and, specifically several Ruskin dwellings whose provenance is connected to the short-lived Ruskin College), the Arts and Crafts Movement in the United States developed a slightly different view of the role of craftsman-style architecture and handicrafts in the industrial, Victorian landscape of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century America.

### **Ruskin, Florida – The Beginnings of the Ruskin College Experiment and the Southern Arts and Crafts Movement**

It is on the eastern shore of Southwest Florida’s Tampa Bay that one of the most interesting and idealistic utopian communities in the United States began to form shortly after the start of the twentieth century. Founded as a partnership between in-laws from Missouri – Dr. George McAnelly (McA.) Miller and Albert Peter (A. P.) “Paul” Dickman – Ruskin was a combination of capitalistic ingenuity and socialistic idealism. As we will discover through this profile, the capitalistic portion of the equation proved to be highly successful, while the socialistic portion (including the development of Ruskin College, an industrial and agricultural school based on the Ruskinian idea of education for all as a means of eradicating the ills created by the Industrial Revolution), was doomed for failure – as profiled in Lori Robinson and Bill DeYoung’s “Socialism in the Sunshine: The Roots of Ruskin, Florida.”<sup>6</sup>

According to Kathy Wiles, local historian and member of the Ruskin Woman’s Club, there were, in 1880, 112 families residing in the 7th election precinct,

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Lori Robinson and Bill DeYoung, “Socialism in the Sunshine: The Roots of Ruskin, Florida,” *Tampa Bay History Journal* 4, no. 1 (1982): 5-20.

encompassing what is now Ruskin, Florida. The Miller and Dickman families arrived in 1906.<sup>7</sup>

Miller and his wife, Adaline, were greatly involved in two Ruskin College experiments in Missouri and Illinois, respectively. Both failed after several years due to both internal and external community problems.<sup>8</sup> Seeking a “virgin landscape” void of the aforementioned difficulties, Miller and Dickman, following a tip from a traveler who operated a Hillsborough County-based turpentine mill, negotiated to purchase, in 1907, 12,000 acres of land in the area bound by the Little Manatee River to the south, and present-day Apollo Beach to the north.<sup>9</sup>

There, plots of land were sold by the Ruskin Homemakers, a land holding company formed to administer property transactions, for \$50 to \$90 for single lots and \$35 to \$50 per acre.<sup>10</sup> While several buildings existed from the original land purchase, including cottages and a commissary which were originally part of an abandoned turpentine mill where convicts performed prison labor, plans were developed by Miller to construct various properties, though he had little money available initially to construct them Miller also sought to establish a town newspaper, to which he would frequently supply editorials promoting Ruskinian philosophies – including the educational foundations of Ruskin College to require students to interact directly with nature as natural artist and strive to become “beneficent and effective citizen[s] of the community.”<sup>11</sup>

During this time period, as Ruskin College grew (using a ten-percent tax from all land sales), the campus infrastructure began to take shape, including crude dormitory buildings, a main classroom building (which simultaneously functioned as Miller’s residence and will be profiled in greater detail here) and a music studio which also served as the home of Miller’s daughter.<sup>12</sup> Several artisan buildings, a laundry, and a commissary/co-op store rounded out the initial campus structure. According to Arthur McA. (Mac) Miller, grandson of the Millers, the dormitories were a “true Ruskinian construct – growing out of their setting, as they were made of slat pine with bark-covered parts of the trees. As they were highly flammable, an errant Ruskinite knocked down a smoking pipe and burned them to the ground (smoking was forbidden by the RCS).”<sup>13</sup>

A significant contributor to the Ruskin educational community was Harriet E. Orcutt, who, according to Wiles, arrived in 1910, along with the Leonard Wheeler Family of Chicago, Illinois.<sup>14</sup> Orcutt taught elementary age children and “occupied

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<sup>7</sup> Kathy Wiles, email message to author, 30 January 2016.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

<sup>13</sup> Arthur Miller, email message to author, 30 January 2016.

<sup>14</sup> Kathy Wiles, email message to author, 30 January 2016.

the children's days with song and stories from her many books that she brought."<sup>15</sup> Wheeler, also a major contributor to the development of Ruskin and the Ruskin College campus, had previously worked as the superintendent of the Burlington-Quincy Suburban Railroad and had extensive knowledge of electricity and related infrastructures. He was responsible for installing the first electric lighting system, wired the first buildings and residences for electricity, and installed the first phone system, which served eighteen users. The switchboard, which resided in the living room of the Wheeler home, was maintained by Wheeler's daughters and levied charges of \$.20 per call.<sup>16</sup>

Student recruitment literature (found in socialist-based publications) promoted the Ruskinian ideology of "the will to work and a desire for leadership in the liberal thinking field."<sup>17</sup> Prospective students were often young parents who had toiled in Industrial Age industries looking for a better life for themselves and their children, as children would also be taught Ruskinian tenets of "the ideal relationship of head, heart, and hand."<sup>18</sup>

These efforts to encourage both men and women to work and contribute to society were reinforced by Orcutt and Adaline Miller's belief in freedom for women, woman's suffrage, progressivism, repeal of child labor laws, and literacy. As a result, Orcutt and Adaline Miller formed the Woman's Club of Ruskin to promote women's issues, progressive ideas, and civic contributions.<sup>19</sup> Thus, Ruskin women were enfranchised and able to vote in local elections before passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, which gave women the right to vote nationally.<sup>20</sup>

Simultaneously, Dickman's son, Paul B. was creating his own institutions of learning – including how to create thriving agricultural operations in a challenging soil and climactic environment that surrounded the Ruskin area (sandy soil, hot summers, humid conditions). There were also the marshes and mangroves to contend with relative to creating usable and livable conditions for both vegetation and humans. According to Norma D. Sheffield of the Ruskin Commongood Society, who observed following the demise of Ruskin College:

After this time . . . the people who had bought plots were having trouble raising produce. On his return from the war [World War I], Paul B. Dickman, graduate of Ruskin College tried once more to sell Ruskin property and convince farmers that Ruskin, with its sandy soil, flowing artesian wells, and protection from the cold by Tampa Bay was an ideal farming area . . . The machine he needed and wanted couldn't be bought. So he invented and

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Robinson and DeYoung, "Socialism in the Sunshine," 11.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Kathy Wiles, email message to author, 30 January 2016.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

built the farm equipment and put approximately 1,500 acres under cultivation. He used the crop rotation plan and was able to grow a bountiful variety of vegetables throughout three seasons of the year.<sup>21</sup>

The Ruskin Commongood Society (RCS) was the group that plotted Ruskin in 1910 and maintained Ruskin's infrastructure via a fund financed by a percentage of land sales. Additionally, the RCS set aside lots for prospective college students to purchase, for parks, for the downtown business district, and for members of the founding families to build homes and related structures. RCS also managed percentages of land Dickman donated to the community for the "commongood" (hence, the name). These parcels could be purchased by providing community service or as collateral for a Ruskinian community currency that Dickman and Miller had developed.<sup>22</sup> Paul A. Dickman continued to use this currency following the demise of Ruskin College and, in particular, during the economic downturn following the Florida Land Boom of the 1920s. According to Mac Miller, Paul A. Dickman later used U.S. currency to purchase additional farming land during the Great Depression and also operated what was known as "The Coffee Cup Restaurant," both as a means of economic and nutritional sustenance: "People have to eat," according to Paul A. Dickman, and the profits from the restaurant were used to subsidize truck farmers who purchased land and sold produce exclusively to Paul A. Dickman to process in his processing plants and ship to retail outlets in the North.<sup>23</sup>

RCS also managed many of the policy and administrative functions for Ruskin (similar to the municipal government structures of today). However, with respect to including philosophical interpretations of Ruskinian philosophy into public policy, the RCS often took actions to a higher level, as evidenced by their effort to create a network of "manufactories" for students, as part of Ruskin's social democratic and social utopia philosophies to provide meaningful employment opportunities for all:

Resolution offered by Mr. Miller as follows:

Resolved that the agent of the Ruskin Commongood Society is hereby empowered to execute an instrument authorizing Ruskin College to establish, maintain, and operate manufactories sufficient to furnish employment to the students of said college and giving full permission to carry on mercantile operations for marketing the products of the same on any of the lands of

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<sup>21</sup> Paul B. Dickman Quotes, The Millers & Dickmans [collection] Ruskin History Collections, Hillsborough Community College, <http://hccfl.digital.flvc.org/islandora/object/islandora%3A1543>.

<sup>22</sup> United States Department of the Interior, National Parks Service, 1974, George McA. Miller House [National Register of Historic Places Inventory, Nomination Form No. PH0002194], <http://focus.nps.gov/nrhp/GetAsset?assetID=1aac1a8c-2ef9-44e5-8521-87e89aa8cadb>.

<sup>23</sup> Arthur Miller, email message to author, 30 January 2016.

the Ruskin Colony tract reserved for said colony for a period of 99 years. Resolution carried.<sup>24</sup>

Commongood administration and funds management are examples of Paul B. Dickman and Miller's convergent, yet, at the same time, divergent views on the development of Ruskin, both economically and as a community. Even though Sheffield referred to Dickman as a Ruskin College graduate, the truth is that Paul B. Dickman did not fully endorse the Ruskinian social utopian lifestyle.<sup>25</sup> While the Ruskinian philosophy (as applied to the RCS and started by A. P. Dickman and Miller) enabled seven thousand acres to be sold and a thriving business community to develop, including a general store generating \$25,000 in revenue yearly, a canning factory, telephone system, electric plant, public and private downtown buildings, and weekly water transportation service to Tampa,<sup>26</sup> it was, ultimately, Paul B. Dickman's capitalistic activities that led to the rapid growth of Ruskin as an agricultural center, particularly with respect to the growth of tomatoes. Ruskin became known as the "Salad Bowl of America," was the first to pre-pack tomatoes in cellophane, and was the first to fresh freeze vegetables for shipment. Paul B. Dickman and his marketing and development efforts were well orchestrated and methodical in nature:

[While his first land sales efforts were through the Ruskin Homemakers], he made many sales to ex-soldiers [from World War I] who were drawing pensions.

Profits cannot be made, obviously, on produce which is not sold. To be sure that everything grown would be marketed, [Paul B.] Dickman developed a sales organization for the cooperative, called the Ruskin Vegetable Distributors and established trade names for Ruskin-grown vegetables.

Paul [Paul B. Dickman] had the long vision – he planned years and years ahead....Paul never gave up...he made his money and then told the Commongood [the Ruskin Commongood Society] that he would dredge the inlet for land.<sup>28</sup>

Additionally, according to Mac Miller, Paul B. Dickman ordered the clearing of land to produce lumber as well as the draining of surrounding mangroves and

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<sup>24</sup> Ruskin Commongood Society, Minutes, Book #1, 11/6/1909 to 11/26/1910 [Hamilton College Special Collections], <http://contentdm6.hamilton.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/rus-man/id/1407/rec/4>.

<sup>25</sup> N. D. Sheffield, "Ruskin Commongood Society," 13 March 1963, vertical files, Ruskin Public Library, P. 10; "The Early History of Ruskin," p. 5; Gloria Jahoda, *River of the Golden Ibis* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1973), 352.

<sup>26</sup> United States Department of the Interior, National Parks Service, Dickman, A. P. House [National Register of Historic Places Inventory. Nomination Form No. 0000784] (2000), <http://focus.nps.gov/pdfhost/docs/NRHP/Text/00000786.pdf>.

<sup>27</sup> Kathy Wiles, email message to author, 30 January 2016.

<sup>28</sup> Paul B. Dickman Quotes, The Millers & Dickmans [collection], Ruskin History Collections, Hillsborough Community College.



marshes to create infrastructure for farmland (i.e. drainage ditches) and home-building opportunities. These events occurred in the 1960s, prior to the drafting of environmental protection laws by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) prohibiting such activities. Land modification included the “dredging of the black-point needlegrass,” which “destroyed fiscally and ecologically-valuable breeding grounds for wildlife. The effort was used to “build land for houses to stoke the local economy.”<sup>29</sup>

Thus, it can be said that most of the commercial success of Ruskin, Florida came after Ruskin College’s demise in the late teens of the twentieth century as both an institution and a communal experiment. The Florida Land Boom of the early 1920s help to propagate growth and encourage locals to forget about the failed Ruskin College utopian exercise. In 1928, the Ruskin Chamber of Commerce was formed and could be joined by “anyone of good character over the age of 16.”<sup>30</sup> Membership was \$.50, and dues were \$1.00 per year. The Ruskin Chamber, along with the Ruskin Woman’s Club, worked to increase the number of teachers, build permanent brick school buildings, organize a volunteer fire department, and institute trash removal services.<sup>31</sup> While these are all examples of capitalistic outgrowths of Ruskin’s economic development over the years, credence can be given to the argument that, without the employment and educational structure established by Miller and the policies of the Ruskin Commongood Society, the eventual success of the capitalistic activities, as propagated and promoted by Paul B. Dickman and others, would probably not have come to fruition.

Ironically, Ruskin, Florida was not the first Ruskinian community; others were founded in Tennessee and Georgia, with the Ruskin Co-Operative Association managing the financial and administrative portions of the Tennessee community.<sup>32</sup> In these communities, confrontations arose with natives who did not welcome the newcomers and their socialistic practices. For example, in the Tennessee community, the efforts to promote women wearing pants, a symbolic demonstration of equality, according to socialist doctrine, were met with indifference from the locals: “The women wore their pants over to make the occasion more pronounced. They succeeded. It astonished the natives.”<sup>33</sup> Similar uprisings with the locals took place in Ruskin, Florida. For example, the attempt to establish a public school in Ruskin, Florida by Aurora Miller was met with fires set by area locals that destroyed the school and surrounding timber on land owned by newcomers intended for turpentine production.<sup>34</sup> Ironically, even though cigarette smoking

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<sup>29</sup> Arthur Miller, email message to author, 30 January 2016.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Isaac Broome, *The Last Days of the Ruskin Co-Operative Association* (Chicago: C. H. Kerr, 1902), 15, <https://play.google.com/books/reader?printsec=frontcover&output=reader&id=zD8VAAAAYAAJ&pg=GBS.PA15>.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 134.

<sup>34</sup> Robinson and DeYoung, “Socialism in the Sunshine,” 12.

was banned by the society (again, corresponding to Ruskinian philosophies and Arts and Crafts Movement characteristics), pipe smoking was not; a pipe caused the massive fire that destroyed Ruskin College in 1918.<sup>35</sup>

However, it is clear that the Ruskinian philosophies/Arts and Crafts Movement characteristics and the efforts of Miller and A. P. Dickman to establish a utopian landscape in Ruskin had lasting effects on both the look and feel of Ruskin as a vibrant community today. Evidence for this stems from several of the structures, now to be profiled, that have both their architectural and handicraft structural foundations in the Arts and Crafts Movement/Ruskinian philosophies as well as their individual provenances.

### **Significant Arts and Crafts Homes of Ruskin, Florida**

As Ruskin, Florida began to develop, particularly with respect to the early years and growth of Ruskin College, the need for housing grew exponentially. Of course, some of the first housing was built for Miller and Dickman. These significant structures will serve not only to represent both Ruskinian values and designs akin to the Arts and Crafts Movement in general, but they also represent many of the philosophical ideas promoted by Ruskin in the *Lamps*. Throughout the review of these properties, references will be made to various relevant connections to the *Lamps* as well as any references to Arts and Crafts Movement practices and concepts that may have been incorporated both into the basic architectural designs themselves as well as any of the handicrafts contained within or incorporated into the structures.

#### **George McA. Miller House**

The George McA. Miller House is an enduring tribute to the Arts and Crafts Movement, Ruskinian culture, and the ability to preserve significant structures and their contents for future generations to study and enjoy. The home serves as a symbol of the both the Ruskin Utopian experiment and the beginnings of Ruskin's role as a nationally-recognized leading producer of tomatoes and other produce – an empire, as mentioned earlier, started and promoted by Paul B. Dickman which continues to be successful to this day.

It was Adaline Dickman Miller, George McA. Miller's wife, who was the driving force in the design of the home. According to Arthur McA. (Mac) Miller, George and Adaline's grandson, the original motivation for the design originated from the description of a "Swiss Bungalow" residence as depicted in his "Poetry of Architecture," written while Ruskin was an undergraduate in 1830.<sup>36</sup> According to the physical description submitted to the National Park Service to apply for National Registry of Historic Places designation:

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<sup>35</sup> Kathy Wiles, email message to author, 30 January 2016.

<sup>36</sup> Arthur Miller, email message to author, 30 January 2016.

Constructed in 1914, this building served as the residence for the President of Ruskin College, McA. Miller. The President's wife, Adaline- Miller, designed the house as a conscious attempt at a "Swiss-style chalet;" it also seems to have been influenced by the Bungalowoid mode, but the result remains original. The plan of the three-story main mass is a large square with two two-story wings projecting from the rear. Of wood frame construction, the exterior walls are stuccoed and punctuated by masonry accents. The main facade is an asymmetrical composition, three bays wide. The bay at the left projects, slightly, forming a pavilion; at the second floor level of this pavilion there is a balustraded balcony in antis, open on two sides. The middle bay also carries a balcony in antis, but this time at the third floor level. A masonry string course supported by plain pilasters surrounds the entire building. Seven risers of masonry steps ascend to the entrance at the right of the main facade; the entrance has French doors, a transom and is flanked by masonry pilasters. The main mass is covered by a gently pitched roof with extremely broad eaves and sturdy wood brackets.<sup>37</sup>

Obviously, the home's multiple levels are an anomaly in Florida design. However, the incorporation of both Swiss chalet and Craftsman Bungalow/Arts and Crafts Movement design characteristics, was not, as evidence in comparisons to other structures, particularly those found in the West at the time.<sup>38</sup> Additionally, the overall structure has the benefit of being built at an advantageous elevation as well as having a solid masonry foundation, as described:

A two-story, semi-detached pavilion projects from the rear and to the right side of the house. On the first floor, each of its four walls is pierced by a single central window. The stuccoed wall continues half way up the second story; above this the pavilion is screened on all sides and is topped by a hipped roof. A two-story veranda, covered by a subsidiary pitched roof extends from the left rear of the building. The first floor veranda is enclosed by lattice work, while the veranda at the second floor is open. All openings in the structure have heavy masonry surrounds. Windows are a mixture of double-hung sash and casement with transoms over some, and fenestration is irregular. Two tall, brick chimneys are visible.<sup>39</sup>

In comparison to other hybrid Craftsman/Arts and Crafts Movement designs, architectural experts agreed that the design exhibited an overall "solidity," even though the combination of two distinct styles might be considered somewhat unfocused or disjointed:

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<sup>37</sup> United States Department of the Interior, National Parks Service, George McA. Miller House.

<sup>38</sup> C. B. Duncan, "Craftsman Style Guide," Martinez Home Tour, accessed 18 January 2016, <http://www.martinezhometour.com/site/images/craftsman%20style%20guide-pdf%20version.pdf>

<sup>39</sup> United States Department of the Interior, National Parks Service, George McA. Miller House.

The asymmetrical plan and elevations are given coherence in a number of ways. The weight and solidity of the structure overshadow what might otherwise be an erratic and rambling impression. This solidity is relieved in various points by frequent interpenetration of interior and exterior space. The overall order of the house derives more from exterior expression of interior spaces and functions than from formal conceptions of balance and symmetry.<sup>40</sup>

### George McA. Miller House and Lamps References

There are several strong references indicating that Ruskin's Seven Lamps of Architecture have been clearly represented in the Miller House. The main, dominant reference is the asymmetric interpretation of the interior and exterior spaces as a symbol of the Lamp of Life's imperfect expression of architectural life, whether that architectural life be the one associated with the particular structure being referenced, or whether it be the structure's architectural style or genre. In the case of the Miller House, both the individual structure and general architectural style Lamp of Life comparisons apply, particularly in the context of the juxtaposition of the three stories of the front façade and the two stories of the rear façade.

Similarly Adaline Miller's use of past designs interpreted in a new way (the blending of Swiss Chalet and Bungalow/Craftsman/Arts and Crafts Movement styles) prompts direct comparisons to Ruskin's comments to several Lamps:

- The Lamp of Beauty for her use of natural materials and finishes
- The Lamp of Memory with respect to her incorporation of past designs
- The Lamp of Obedience for maintaining proper proportions; the Lamp of Truth in the presentation of an honest interpretation of both the Swiss Chalet and Bungalow/Craftsman/Arts and Crafts Movement style
- The Lamp of Power which is illustrated by Adaline Miller's desire to project a weight/solidity to the structure (even in the presence of asymmetrical characteristics)

It could also be said that the asymmetrical characteristics of the design were a direct correlation of the Millers and A. P. Dickman's belief in inter or non-denominational interpretations of faith, also referred to as spiritualism or theosophy, according to Mac Miller.<sup>41</sup> Mac Miller also references the Mary Baker Eddy doctrines and Christian Scientist beliefs – hallmarks of the second-generation Ruskinites who interpreted traditional Christian Protestant theology differently.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, Mac Miller refers to his grandfather's book *The New Order of Jesus*, which viewed the strict Christian Protestant translations of the King James Bible as flawed and, thus, felt that modifications of traditional styles and structures (i.e.

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Arthur Miller, email message to author, 30 January 2016.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

asymmetrical) were permissible and considered acts of obedience by Ruskinites – both first and second generation.<sup>43</sup>

An additional Lamp of Memory symbol is that of the rich family history of the Millers' life in the home that was passed on to others, particularly members of the Ruskin Woman's Club, who work diligently to preserve the home's history for over seventy years. According to member Kathy Wiles, two notable George McA. Miller House stories stand out:

One month, during the Depression years, Adaline Miller found the light bill to be exceptionally higher than it should have been in the President's house [the George McA. Miller House]. She talked it over with neighbor Harriet Orcutt, and they decided to check things around the house. The two ladies found an extension cord that went from the back porch to under the house. The two ladies then proceeded to crawl under the house to see where the wire ended. What they found was a light bulb hanging from the end of the cord. It seems a hobo or two had set up housekeeping down under the house.

Also another quick story:

One evening, Adaline Miller was cooking supper while her children were out playing. Suddenly she heard screams for her to come quickly. She ran to door to see what it was and saw an alligator had come up from the river. Quickly she turned to the kitchen counter picked up a heavy iron skillet went out and hit the gator on the head. I assume it died because as the story goes, she went back in and finished cooking.<sup>44</sup>

### **A. P. Dickman House**

Another significant property developed by Ruskin's founders (specifically A. P. Dickman) is the A. P. Dickman House.<sup>45</sup> Not only is the home noted for its asymmetrical configuration and integration of nineteenth- and twentieth century Revival architectural styles (including Queen Anne and Colonial Revival), it has the distinction of being bordered by two water inlets – the Ruskin Inlet to the north, and the College Inlet to the west.<sup>46</sup>

Because the design incorporates several wings, the Dickman House is covered with a hip and gable roof, with a similar roof configuration used for the three-story tower. The presence of the tower gives an added effect of elevation and affords great views of out into Ruskin Inlet.<sup>47</sup> Other unique aspects of the Dickman House are the irregular placements of the windows and ornate transom doorways with an encarpus on the main door in place of the transom. Similarly, a corpus supporting

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Kathy Wiles, email message to author, 30 January 2016.

<sup>45</sup> United States Department of the Interior, National Parks Service, Dickman, A. P. House.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

a mantle on the exposed brick chimney and fireplace, as well as oversized fascias and soffits, provide added dimension and reinforce the irregularity of the overall effect of the structure.<sup>48</sup>

Interestingly, the three-story tower was a feature added by Dickman to symbolize the growing success of the Ruskin community and coincide with perceptions of wealth, as indicated by Maio and Shiver:

Also typical of the Queen Anne style is the projecting corner tower along the front (north) elevation. W. D. Miller, George Miller's son who acquired the house in 1955, recounted that the tower was a symbol of prestige derived from the widow's walk of coastal New World settlers' homes. In the Midwest, the feature allowed a landowner to look over his land holdings. According to Miller, "A. P. said a house wasn't a house, and that it didn't reflect that you had any money or prestige, unless you had a tower on it." To some extent this was true since this style of architecture was popular among the upper middle class.<sup>49</sup>

Of course, this coincides with both traditional and non-traditional use of the Queen Anne (i.e. its status as a popular design for large estates of the era) and Colonial Revival styles (incorporation of more classical, Arts and Crafts Movement-based components). However, the Dickman House is said to have adopted a "free classic" or "free style" version of the Queen Anne style, whereby the architects deviate from the strict vernacular to incorporate more straightforward, honest design elements. For example, the Dickman House uses Tuscan columns, a simple balustrade structure, and the paring/symmetry of windows – all traditional Colonial Revival characteristics. It is also one of the first buildings constructed in Hillsborough County of finished lumber (positioned in a lapboard pattern – typically used in Florida cottage-style construction).<sup>50</sup>

In contrast, the interior features (moldings and designs, entrance hall placement, room configurations, etc.) tend to favor the irregularity of the Queen Anne style, as described by Maio and Shiver:

The irregular massing of the exterior is reflected in the spatial arrangement of the interior. On the first floor, the rooms radiate from the entrance hall, which retains its original finishes. These include a quarter-turn stair, wood paneled walls and trim, wide floor boards and brick fireplace. Beyond the entrance hall is a parlor joined with a dining room that leads into the kitchen located at the back of the house. The first floor of the tower is used as a guest room, and an enclosed porch on the east side now serves as a bathroom. On the second floor there are three bedrooms and two bathrooms. A fourth bedroom is located in

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

the tower along with a narrow staircase leading up to the third-story tower room. Original finishes throughout the house include wood flooring, wood panel doors and door surrounds, picture molding, and baseboards.<sup>51</sup>

### **A. P. Dickman House and Lamps References**

As with the Miller House, the A. P. Dickman House has numerous direct and indirect references to the Seven Lamps of Architecture, including the same asymmetric interpretation of the interior and exterior spaces as a symbol of the Lamp of Life's imperfect expression of architectural life, whether that architectural life be the one associated with the particular structure being referenced or whether it be the structure's architectural style or genre. This comparison can be taken to a heightened level with respect to the Dickman House due to the fact that not only were two architectural styles used irregularly (Queen Anne and Colonial Revival), but the interpretation was taken a step farther to include aspects of Florida cottage home design (the use finished lumber positioned in a lapboard pattern) and the interpretation of free classic/free style characteristics (both Queen Anne and Colonial Revival-based).

Another dominant Lamp reference is the emphasis on natural appearance and finishes that integrate with the coastal inlet surroundings of Ruskin and Hillsborough County. Both the Lamp of Truth and the Lamp of Power pay homage to the incorporation of natural elements into the design. Another Lamp of Power reference exists in the three-story tower and its use as a symbol of wealth and business success.

As noted earlier, the Lamp of Life promotes the craftsman as an artisan who adds individuality to architecture and building trades. In the Dickman House, this is represented by the overall free-style/free classic Queen Anne – Colonial Revival-based design of the interior. For example, while great attention was paid to include classical stair and balustrade details in the design, in place of more ornate spindle and baluster details, the decision to do this coincides with the attempt to adhere to Ruskin's view that the honesty of function and materials should be maintained. The same line of thinking can be applied to the use of finished lapboard lumber as the primary exterior building material, rather than more ornate or complex finishes. This simplicity, again, also conforms with Arts and Crafts Movement philosophy to incorporate the simple and the natural into an overall design, in this case, to pay homage to the Florida coastal cottage design and its integration into the coastal inlet landscape of the area.

When viewing the Dickman House from the context of the Lamp of Obedience, there is evidence that the overall design, though unique, did retain the integrity of the basic characteristics of its genre or school of origin – whether it be the Queen

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid.



Anne, Colonial Revival, or the free/style and free/classic hybrids. The same can be said for the Miller house to an extent, but in a much more subtle and indirect manner.

Of course, the role of the craftsman (architect), tenets of Ruskin's Lamp of Memory and the Lamp of Life, as well as to a great extent, the Lamp of Truth, is evident in the incorporation of simple, natural design elements made by the craftsman himself. One can conclude this simplicity can also apply to the Lamp of Sacrifice and is most evident in the A. P. Dickman House, particularly the substitution of the simple Colonial Revival characteristics in place of the more ornate Queen Anne designs. Again, the Dickman House demonstrates the Lamp of Sacrifice much more directly than does the Miller House.

As with the George McA. Miller House, another Lamp of Memory tenet, as represented in the A. P. Dickman House, is the depiction of a family's story or history through its furnishings and notable features. As described by Mac Miller, the Dickman family transported their farm bell from Missouri to Florida and used it to summon Ruskin College students and community members to meetings, among other purposes. The bell survived the 1918 fire that destroyed most of the college buildings on the Ruskin College campus and remains part of the home's infrastructure as it sits atop a small building at the rear of the home.<sup>52</sup> It is this effort to pay homage to personal provenance as expressed in a family's home history that Ruskin encouraged and locals continue to recognize and honor.

### **L. L. Dickman House**

There is a third home that is part of the original triumvirate of homes associated with Ruskin founders. The L. L. Dickman House is located at 416 U.S. Highway 41 South, and while significant in design provenance, it has not received historical preservation status. According to the description supplied by The Historic Tampa/Hillsborough County Preservation Board:

The L. L. Dickman House was erected in 1910 for the Ruskin founder and is one of three major structures associated with the utopian community to survive. The generously proportioned house shows the stylistic influence of Charles A. F. Voysey, the English architect who popularized a revival of English vernacular architecture. The sweeping gable roof, simple, uncluttered lines, ranges of casement windows, and substantial massing are all hallmarks of Voysey's Arts and Crafts style. The house is a remarkably mature local expression of the Craftsman Bungalow mode considering its early construction date.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Arthur Miller, email message to author, 30 January 2016.

<sup>53</sup> Ruskin History Project, L. L. Dickman House, <http://www.ruskinhistory.org/L-L-Dickman-House.htm>.



Voysey's designs were noted for their clean-cut forms and his dramatic use of color (the L. L. Dickman House is a bright peach color). This coincides with the Arts and Crafts theme for what were known as "gentleman's houses," which featured simplicity and informality as part of the overall design, reinforcing the references to English vernacular design.<sup>54</sup>

Additionally, Capeda describes the L. L. Dickman House's Craftsman Bungalow component as "an all-American house style . . . [with] its roof coming off the building with boarders holding it up."<sup>55</sup> Also, the currently home serves as the meeting location of the Redlands Christian Migrant Association (RCMA) and has thirty-six windows encompassing the total structure.<sup>56</sup>

Since the L. L. Dickman House is very similar to the A. P. Dickman House (sans the tower), according to Mac Miller, many of the same Lamps references and structural summations can be applied to the former.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, the lack of historical preservation efforts has placed the home in danger of demolition to replace it with a fast-food establishment, due to its main thoroughfare location, according to Miller.<sup>58</sup>

### **Concluding Thoughts and Future Directions**

When one considers the main focus of the Arts and Crafts Movement as a celebration of the craftsman and her or his attempt to emphasize simplicity, nature, and Christian values in both design and creation, the by-products of the Social Utopian experiment in Ruskin, Florida are quite impressive. Not only are the Miller House and the A. P. Dickman House fine examples of their respective architectural styles, the many efforts to maintain and promote their continued use and respect are to be admired and commended. Both the Ruskin Woman's Club and the current owners of the A. P. Dickman House recognize the benefits of property maintenance, property promotion, and property utilization so that future generations may enjoy and learn from the symbols they provide; structurally, economically, and socially.

Unfortunately, the same cannot be said for the L. L. Dickman House. One can only hope that its intended demise is either delayed or cancelled, with efforts toward historic preservation pursued as a viable alternative.

Furthermore, Miller and A. P. Dickman, as founders and leaders of the Ruskin Commongood Society, Ruskin College, and the economic concerns which emerged from the Social Utopian experiment in Ruskin, have the distinction of providing others with a synopsis of what is required to build a community from concept to reality, and the challenges which accompany such a large, complex task.

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<sup>54</sup> "Charles Voysey (architect)," Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, [https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Charles\\_Voysey\\_\(architect\)&oldid=706284448](https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Charles_Voysey_(architect)&oldid=706284448).

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>57</sup> Arthur Miller, email message to author, 30 January 2016.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

An interesting course for future study would be to compare the Social Utopian Experiment in Ruskin, Florida with other similar communities in the U.S. in three areas: community development and governance; economic development; and structural sustainability, to examine how the communities compare to one another and what vestiges of each community contribute to current, daily life, in relation to the success and/or failure of the respective community in one or all of the criteria categories. Any connections to either social democratic or pure socialist doctrine could also be identified at this point, in addition to the comparisons with current free market and capitalism theories, to see if these relationships provide any insights into current and future trends in these areas, as well as political and social implications.

Another interesting study would be to identify structures associated with the Social Utopian Experiment communities, classify them in their relationship to the Arts and Crafts Movement, and examine provenance and architectural design features to identify common factors and characteristics. Of course, references to Ruskin's *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* would be a natural outcome of this portion of the study.

It can be said that the celebration of the artisan along with the opportunity for these talented individuals to contribute to the simple, natural interpretations of the decorative and fine arts symbolizes the spirit of the Arts and Crafts Movement. As efforts continue to honor the designs, traditions, and philosophies associated with this notable sector of the arts, the Arts and Crafts Movement will continue to grow in popularity as an art form and as a lifestyle, now and in the future.

# A Spanish Entrepreneur in Early Colonial Mexico

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In 1958 the historian France V. Scholes published an essay in which he outlined the wide variety of business interests held by Hernán Cortés in post-conquest Mexico. Scholes noted that in addition to a fortune in spoils from the conquest itself, Cortés continued to collect enormous revenues in tribute payments from the Indian populations that were under his jurisdiction in Mexico, beginning in the early 1520s, until his death in 1547.<sup>1</sup> Cortés used a good part of this revenue to invest in a variety of business ventures in Mexico and elsewhere that are best characterized as entrepreneurial. Principal among these business interests were gold panning and silver mining, agriculture and livestock, sugar production, silk (mulberry) cultivation, and shipping and shipbuilding.<sup>2</sup> Scholes spent several years making what he called a “preliminary survey”<sup>3</sup> of some 100,000 manuscript pages of the records of Cortés’s business interests in both Seville and Mexico City, and concluded that the archival record was nevertheless insufficiently complete to make an accurate estimate of Cortés’s great wealth at the time of his death.<sup>4</sup>

The essay by Scholes focused on Cortés’s business activities only after the conquest of Mexico; but both before and after the publication of his article, historians have noted in passing the entrepreneurial qualities of both the Spanish expeditions of conquest in the Americas, and of the conquistadors themselves. For example, in 2003 Matthew Restall observed that “the spirit of commercialism . . . infused conquest expeditions from start to finish, with participants selling services and trading goods with each other throughout the endeavor. In other words, the conquerors were armed entrepreneurs.”<sup>5</sup> Restall, who made the point very directly when he described Spanish conquistadors as “armed entrepreneurs,” did so in order to bolster his argument that the expeditions were not armies in the modern sense.<sup>6</sup> “A typical conquistador,” he concluded, “would not in any sense be a soldier

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<sup>1</sup> France V. Scholes, “The Spanish Conqueror as a Business Man: A Chapter in the History of Fernando Cortés,” *New Mexico Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (Spring 1958): 11-16.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 20-27.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 16-17, 27-28; “Testamento de Hernando Cortés,” *Cartas y documentos*, ed. Mario Hernández Sánchez-Barba (Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, 1963), 554-574; “Codicilo,” *Cartas y documentos*, 574-577.

<sup>5</sup> Matthew Restall, *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 35. Other examples that use the word entrepreneur to describe Spanish conquistadors include J. H. Elliott, “The Mental World of Hernán Cortés,” in *Spain and its World, 1500-1700, Selected Essays* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 27; Patricia de Fuentes, *The Conquistadors: First-Person Accounts of the Conquest of Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993), xvi, 4; Paul E. Hoffman, *Florida’s Frontiers* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002), 24. Henry Kamen noted “the almost total dependence of the ‘conquest’ period on private enterprise,” in *Empire: How Spain Became a World Power, 1492-1763* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2004), 96; and James Lockhart and Enrique Otte described the conquistadors as “unsalaried and ununiformed earners of *encomiendas* and shares of treasure,” in *Letters and People of the Spanish Indies: The Sixteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 3. Many similar observations by other authors can be found.

<sup>6</sup> Restall, *Seven Myths*, 28-33.

in the armies of the king of Spain.”<sup>7</sup> Thus, the entrepreneurial characteristics of the Spanish expeditions of conquest has often been noted by historians, but the analysis has not been developed to its fullest potential; this article will present such an analysis using Cortés’s expedition of conquest in the dominions of Tenochtitlan as a case study.

Relatively little is known about the early years of Cortés’s life before he left Castile for the Indies. Most of what we know comes from the writings of his personal confessor and biographer, Francisco López de Gómara. Gómara had access to Cortés’s papers while writing his *History of Mexico*, and presumably discussed the details with the conquistador as well. Therefore, his work reflects a clear bias favoring Cortés. Bernal Díaz del Castillo, who was present throughout the conquest of Mexico, certainly judged the work of Gómara to be excessively favorable to Cortés. One of the reasons Díaz emphasized for writing his own *True History of the Conquest of Mexico* was to correct the inaccuracies of Gómara that too often, in Díaz’s estimation, were overly favorable to Cortés.<sup>8</sup> Bartolomé de las Casas, the sixteenth-century Dominican defender of the rights of Indians, also commented on Gómara’s History, noting that Gómara “lived with Cortés in Castile . . . and never saw anything, nor was he ever in the Indies, and he did not write anything other than that which Cortés himself told him.”<sup>9</sup> Thus, Gómara was biased in favor of Cortés, and Cortés probably approved of Gómara’s characterization of him as an astute businessman,<sup>10</sup> or at least would not have objected to it. But he had no great incentive to press Gómara to dwell on such matters. Cortés aspired to the status of titled nobility (he was eventually granted the title *marques*), and had little reason to draw too much attention to his more plebian commercial activities. In short, if Gómara, biased as he was, portrayed Cortés as having an entrepreneurial spirit, there may be a measure of truth in this depiction.

There is a quotation, greatly-overused in the historiography of the conquest, that is frequently attributed to Cortés and that probably originated with Gómara, but is more directly attributable to William H. Prescott, who wrote the quintessential romanticized nineteenth-century history of the conquest of Mexico. Prescott described a conversation between the secretary of the governor of Santo Domingo (Hispaniola) and Cortés, the latter having just arrived at the island: “The young man was kindly received by the secretary, who assured him there would be no doubt of his obtaining a liberal grant of land to settle on. ‘But I came to get gold,’ replied

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>8</sup> Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1998), 25-26, 29-31, 34, 37, and passim.

<sup>9</sup> Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, libro III, cap. XXVII.

<sup>10</sup> Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia de Mexico: con el descubrimiento de la Nueva España, conquistada por el muy ilustre y valeroso principe don Fernando Cortés, marques del Valle* (1554), caps. 1, 3-5, 7-9. According to Gómara, Cortés’s parents were both hidalgos, meaning that Cortés was born into the minor nobility (cap. 1). Las Casas also notes that “they say he is a *hidalgo*,” but he seems to be following the lead of Gómara in this passage (*Historia de las Indias*, libro III, cap. XXVII).

Cortés, ‘not to till the soil, like a peasant.’”<sup>11</sup> Prescott’s work is heavily footnoted, but he provided no citation for the quotation from Cortés, probably because the true source was his own imagination prompted by Gómara’s description of the meeting described in chapter three of his own *History* of the conquest:

When Cortés arrived at Santo Domingo Governor Ovando was not in the city, but one of his secretaries . . . gave him a piece of advice: that Cortés should register as a citizen, by which he would acquire a *caballería*, that is, a building lot and certain lands for cultivation. But Cortés, whose notion was that he had only to arrive in order to be weighed down with gold, scorned the advice, saying he preferred mining.<sup>12</sup>

Both versions are intriguing, but even the slightly less colorful version reported by Gómara nevertheless makes the point about Cortés’s desire to prosper in the Indies.

One more example will suffice to provide Gómara’s perspective on the matter. In chapter one he describes Cortés’s early thinking on what to do with his life, at a point when

two ways were open to him at the time, both of which suited his purpose and his inclination: one, to go to Naples; . . . the other to go to the Indies. . . . Considering which of the two would be best for him, he finally decided on the Indies, because . . . it struck him as the more promising on account of the quantity of gold that was being brought in from there.<sup>13</sup>

The governor of Santo Domingo gave Cortés an *encomienda* (grant of Indian labor and tribute) and “appointed him notary of the town council of Azúa . . . where Cortés engaged in trade for five or six years.”<sup>14</sup> From there he went to Cuba during the conquest of that island with Diego Velázquez in 1511, where Velázquez later granted him an interest in an *encomienda*, and where Cortés served in several government posts.<sup>15</sup> According to Gómara, “he raised cattle, sheep, and mares, and was the first to own a herd and a house. He extracted a great deal of gold with the labor of his Indians and soon was rich enough to put 2,000 *castellanos* into a partnership with Andrés de Duero, a trader.”<sup>16</sup> Las Casas also commented on his early years in Cuba, noting that Cortés “ensured that the Indians Diego Velázquez

<sup>11</sup> William Hickling Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Mexico and History of the Conquest of Peru* (New York: Random House, Inc., no date), 130.

<sup>12</sup> López de Gómara, *Historia*, cap. 3, trans. in Lesley Byrd Simpson, *Cortés: the Life of the Conqueror by His secretary Francisco López de Gómara* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 10. With the exception of this passage, Gómara figures heavily in Prescott’s footnotes.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, cap. 1, trans. in Simpson, *Cortés*, 8.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, cap. 3, trans. in Simpson, *Cortés*, 10.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, cap. 4; Anthony Pagden, “Introduction,” in Hernán Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*, trans. and ed. by Anthony Pagden, with an essay by J. H. Elliott (New Haven: Yale Nota Bene, 2001), xlv-xlvi; Richard Konetzke, “Hernán Cortés como poblador de la Nueva España,” in Instituto Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Estudios cortesianos: recopilados con motivo del IV centenario de la muerte de Hernán Cortés (1547-1947)* [Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1948], 342-342.

<sup>16</sup> López de Gómara, *Historia*, cap. 4, trans. in Simpson, *Cortés*, 11.

had granted him produced a lot of gold for him . . . and thus they provided him two or three thousand pesos in gold, which in those times was great wealth.”<sup>17</sup>

Cortés spent the next seven-plus years in Cuba profiting from his grants of labor, his interests in livestock, placer mining, trade, and collecting fees as a minor official in the royal service. He probably knew about the trading and slave-raiding expedition that Governor Velázquez sent to Yucatan in 1517 under the command of Francisco Hernández de Córdoba, although the expedition might have held little interest for Cortés because of the limited scope of its purpose. None of the sources indicate that Hernández de Córdoba was authorized to found a settlement, or to do anything more than trade with Indians. Toward that end, the expedition brought back little of value, other than some indications of the potential for further trade for gold with the Indians who lived there.<sup>18</sup> The possibility of gold in Yucatan motivated Governor Velázquez to authorize a follow-up expedition, for which he provided two of the four ships, this time under the command of Juan de Grijalva, and they left Cuba in April of 1518 with some 240 men. Like Hernández de Córdoba before him, Grijalva only had authorization to trade, not to found a settlement.<sup>19</sup>

The question as to whether or not Velázquez had any expectation that either the Hernández de Córdoba expedition or the Grijalva expedition might try to found a settlement in Yucatan will be of some consequence for evaluating the intentions evident in the preparations Cortés would later make for his own expedition. Bernal Díaz said of the orders given to Grijalva, “it seemed that the instruction given by the governor was, as I understood it, to trade for all the gold and silver he could, and to see if it seemed a good idea, or if he dared to do so, to found a settlement.” But Díaz, who was also present at the founding of Veracruz, had a stake in maintaining the fiction that Cortés had done nothing out of the ordinary by founding a settlement in the absence of any specific instructions to do so, and that particular bias is evident in the hesitant quality in his explanation of the matter.<sup>20</sup> Gómara was more direct, and thought that if Grijalva

had been aware of his good fortune he would have planted a colony in that land, as his companions begged him to do, and would have become what Cortés became. But this great good was not for one who could not recognize it, although he excused himself by saying that he had not gone there to found a colony, but to trade and to discover whether the land of Yucatan was an island or not.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, libro III, cap. XXVII.

<sup>18</sup> López de Gómara, *Historia*, cap. 5; Díaz, *Historia verdadera*, 4; Pagden, “Introduction,” xlvii; Hernán Cortés and Angel Delgado Gómez, ed., *Cartas de relación* (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1993), 107-109.

<sup>19</sup> Díaz, *Historia verdadera*, 15-17; López de Gómara, *Historia*, cap. 5; Cortés, and Delgado Gómez, ed., *Cartas*, 110-116. Gómara said they had 200 men, Cortés said they had 170.

<sup>20</sup> Díaz, *Historia verdadera*, 16, 81-81.

<sup>21</sup> López de Gómara, *Historia*, cap. 5, trans. in Simpson, *Cortés*, 14.

On this matter Gómara is likely subject to the same bias as Díaz in favor of the potential to found a settlement. Las Casas, who presumably would have less of a personal interest in demonstrating that the governor expected Grijalva to found such a settlement, wrote that “Diego Velázquez gave instructions to the captain general Juan de Grijalva that in no way was he to found a settlement in any of the lands discovered by Francisco Hernández, nor explore there any further, but rather, that he only trade.”<sup>22</sup> Anthony Pagden, who has examined the documentary evidence in detail, concluded that “the expeditions of 1517 and 1518 were trading ones with no license to settle.”<sup>23</sup>

Governor Velázquez did not want either Hernández de Córdoba or Grijalva to found a settlement because he was waiting for permission from the Crown to do so himself, and he had a request pending to be appointed governor of the new colony.<sup>24</sup> In fact he had already sent two agents to Spain to lobby at court “to urge the Crown to grant him the title of *adelenatado* of Yucatan, with the right to conquer and settle the newly discovered lands.”<sup>25</sup> Therefore, just as he had with Hernández de Córdoba and Grijalva, in the orders he issued authorizing Cortés’s expedition, he instructed Cortés “to go in search of Grijalva’s fleet (of whose return Velázquez was still unaware) and of any Christians held captive in Yucatan. Cortés was also authorized to explore and to trade, but had no permission to colonize.”<sup>26</sup> Cortés, however, was prepared to take advantage of a clause in the orders for his expedition that “gave him a certain amount of latitude” to act as he saw fit in the case of unforeseen circumstances.<sup>27</sup> Armed with this provision that gave him grounds to act in Mexico independently of the orders from Velázquez (with just cause), Cortés immediately set out to make preparations for an expedition of conquest and colonization, completely at odds with the intentions Velázquez expressed in his orders.<sup>28</sup>

That Cortés from the beginning, in an entrepreneurial spirit, had no intention of adhering to the provisions of the governor’s orders is evident in the nature and extent of the preparations he made for the expedition. By the time he had his authorization he was financially well positioned to outfit a major undertaking, and he intended to leverage all his resources. In a letter to Charles V dated 10 July 1519, the town council of the newly-founded municipality of the Villa Rica de la Veracruz, the first town established by Cortés in Mexico, explained that in

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<sup>22</sup> Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, libro III, cap. CIX.

<sup>23</sup> Pagden, “Introduction,” xlvii.

<sup>24</sup> J. H. Elliott, “Cortés, Velázquez, and Charles V,” in Cortés and Pagden, *Letters from Mexico*, xii-xiv; Restall, *Seven Myths*, 33.

<sup>25</sup> Elliott, “Cortés, Velázquez, and Charles V,” xiii. An adelantado was a military governor whose appointment was usually granted as part of his compensation, offered in advance of conquest and settlement.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, xiii; “Capítulos e instrucciones que dió a Hernán Cortés, Diego Velázquez, cuando fué a las tierras descubiertas por Juan de Grijalva. Santiago de Cuba, 23 de octubre de 1518,” in Beatriz Arteaga Garza y Guadalupe Pérez San Vicente, *Cedulario cortesiano* (México: Editorial Jus, 1949), 3-33.

<sup>27</sup> Elliott, “Cortés, Velázquez, and Charles V,” xiv.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, xiv-xv.



negotiation with Governor Velázquez over the details of the expedition, Cortés “proposed to spend everything he had and outfit nearly the entire fleet at his own expense, from ships to stores, above and beyond sharing his money with the men who were needed to sail on the fleet,” and that Velázquez had not covered even a third of the costs.<sup>29</sup> The letter was almost certainly written under the close direction of Cortés, if not by Cortés himself, and it is not far out of line with what either Díaz or Gómara wrote about these matters.<sup>30</sup>

Gómara gives a more detailed description of how Cortés used his resources and connections. Cortés, he explained,

had two thousand castellanos in gold in the company of Andrés de Duero, a trader. . . . He bought a caravel and a brigantine; he already had the caravel in which Pedro de Alvarado had returned, as well as another brigantine belonging to Diego Velázquez, all of which he stocked with arms, artillery, and munitions. He bought wine, oil, beans, chickpeas, and other things; he acquired, on credit, from Diego Sanz, a shopkeeper, a store of merchandise, for six hundred pesos gold; Diego Velázquez gave him a thousand castellanos from the estate of Pánfilo de Narváez, for whom he held power-of-attorney during the latter’s absence, . . . and he [Cortés] gave money, joint notes, and securities to many soldiers who were to go with the fleet.<sup>31</sup>

Gómara continued, noting that once Cortés “spoke with his friends and certain influential persons who were preparing to go on the expedition . . . he began to collect money. He borrowed four thousand pesos in gold from Andrés de Duero, Pedro de Jerez, and Antonio de Santa Clara, merchants, as well as from certain others, and with it he bought two ships, six horses, and a great deal of clothing.”<sup>32</sup> He continued purchasing ships’ stores (occasionally by force) including bread, pigs, salt pork, hens, maize, yucca, and chile, as well as horses and feed,<sup>33</sup> in quantities sufficient to provision 550 Spaniards, 200 Indians from Cuba, several blacks, “a few Indian women, and 16 horses and mares,” on a “flagship [that] was a *nao* of 100 tons; three others ranged from 70 to 80 tons; the rest were [seven] small open vessels and brigantines.”<sup>34</sup> As Bernal Díaz recalled the preparations,

once Cortés was selected as general . . . he began to search for all types of arms, such as guns, powder, and crossbows, and all the stores and ammunition that could be found. . . . And when some merchant friends of his . . . found out he had been made captain general, they loaned him four thousand gold pesos

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<sup>29</sup> Cortés, and Delgado Gómez, ed., *Cartas*, 117-118.

<sup>30</sup> Elliott, “Cortés, Velázquez, and Charles V,” xx.

<sup>31</sup> López de Gómara, *Historia*, cap. 7, trans. in Simpson, *Cortés*, 19-20.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 21-22.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.



and they gave him another four thousand worth of merchandise on credit, with his Indians and estate as collateral.”<sup>35</sup>

This was not an expedition outfitted merely for trade and exploration. Rather, in the true spirit of an entrepreneur, Cortés had mustered all the resources he could manage in order to prepare the expedition for conquest, in full defiance of the intentions expressed in the orders from Velázquez.

The true intentions of Cortés and his company were clear to Governor Velázquez. As Gómara explained it, the governor was “worried because Cortés was going there with such a great force but he was unable to stop him, because everyone was going along, not only the men of Santiago, but also Grijava’s men. Indeed, if he had pursued the matter rigorously there would have been an uprising in the city, and even killings.”<sup>36</sup> Díaz, who is more detailed and equally blunt, has a somewhat different version of the governor’s response to Cortés’s preparations: he said that once Velázquez had considered these matters he

quickly sent two trusted messengers with orders and provisions for the commander of Trinidad, named Francisco Verdugo, who was the governor’s brother in law, and he wrote letters to other friends and relatives that under no circumstances should they allow the fleet to leave, because in these orders it said they should detain him or take him to jail, because he was no longer captain and they had revoked his authority.<sup>37</sup>

Cortés would have expected this, and by that time had probably already started formulating his plan to make a final break with all ties to Velázquez by founding a town on the Mexican mainland.

Castilian law and traditions dating back to the Middle Ages recognized a great deal of political authority that accrued to a town council in the absence of the king. Cortés used his knowledge of this legal tradition to devise a justification for breaking away from Governor Velázquez. In the middle of 1519 Cortés founded the town of Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz near the center of the Gulf coast, appointing the members of a town council from among followers he was confident would support his plan. He then resigned his commission as captain of the expedition, and the newly-constituted town council promptly appointed him military commander, chief justice, and governor of Vera Cruz. Under Castilian law, the municipality of Vera Cruz was now the highest legal authority in the land, and the town council wrote the king requesting confirmation of its actions. Thus, Cortés had both confirmed the support of a substantial portion of his company and acquired the authority to act in the king’s name in Mexico, pending royal orders to the

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<sup>35</sup> Díaz, *Historia verdadera*, 33.

<sup>36</sup> López de Gómara, *Historia*, cap. 7, trans. in Simpson, *Cortés*, 21.

<sup>37</sup> Díaz, *Historia verdadera*, 36.

contrary, which as it turned out were not forthcoming. These actions would not go unchallenged by Velázquez, but at least for the next few years, Charles V chose to recognize the claims of Cortés over those of the governor.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Elliott, "Cortés, Velázquez, and Charles V," xviii-xx; John F. Schwaller with Helen Nader, *The First Letter from New Spain: The Lost Petition of Cortés and his Company, June 20, 1519* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), 25-27; José Valero Silva, *El legalismo de Hernán Cortés como instrumento de su conquista* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1965); Victor Frankl, "Hernán Cortés y la tradición de las siete partidas," *Revista de Historia de América* (1962): 9-74.

# **“Ubi apostolica forma et vita quam iactatis?”: Evaluating Textual Representations of Cathar Asceticism, c. 1100-1300**

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Texts are crucial in the shaping of ideas. They determine how historical events, groups, and individuals are perceived by contemporaries and remembered by future generations. The motivations and biases that shade their creation and give them form are critical components of understanding both their subjects and their authors. Such is the case for the study of medieval heresy. Over the twelfth through fourteenth centuries, there was a proliferation of texts aimed at describing and dismantling various heresies, the most prominent of which is traditionally known as Catharism. This heretical group emerged out of a religious movement which propounded the necessity of living in the image of the Apostles of Christ. Emerging in the wake of the Gregorian reforms, this *vita apostolica* movement attracted many individuals and groups that would fall on either side of the divide between orthodoxy and heresy. Asceticism was at the center of the *vita apostolica*. Withdrawing from the secular world and abstaining from its perceived sinful elements was the goal of asceticism. Proponents of ascetic practices would place limitations on their behavior and certain social interactions. This included such things as fasting, sexual abstinence, and possessing no property or wealth. Based on extant sources, these practices were highly popular amongst those the Catholic Church labeled adherents of Catharism.

The primary purpose of this project is to analyze textual representations of the ascetic practices ascribed to the heretical groups known as the Cathars. Focusing on ecclesiastical texts originating from southern France, northern Italy, and the Rhineland between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, this analysis' aim is to explore and gauge the reasons for portraying the asceticism of the Cathars as lacking the legitimacy of orthodox asceticism. Whether they were called *perfecti* or *boni homines*, *pauperes Christi* or *amici Dei*, *credentes* or *Cathari*, determining the veracity of this heresy's beliefs or whether they were an actual counter religion is outside the scope of this analysis. Instead, the focus of this study will be assessing how the Catholic Church perceived and portrayed this group's asceticism over time, why they portrayed it as such, and what was gained from it. For simplicity's sake, “Cathar” will be the term used predominantly throughout this analysis. Utilizing this term is not an acknowledgement of the existence of a counter religion or an anti-Church. This term is representative of how the Catholic Church perceived them. The Church chose to understand the Cathars as signifying an organized and hierarchical entity that stood in opposition to it.

As asceticism was a legitimate orthodox practice within the Catholic Church, it was necessary for medieval writers to characterize the ascetical practices of this heretical group negatively. This was done with an explicit purpose. It was in the interest of Christian writers in the central and late Middle Ages to portray the ascetical practices of the Cathars as they did in order to maintain Church hegemony, safeguard political authority, and preserve sociocultural norms in Western Europe. These ascetical practices were seen as – or deliberately portrayed as being – antithetical to the social, cultural, political, and religious boundaries that characterized the Middle Ages, and therefore warranted negative textual framing. The characterization of these ascetical practices served the purpose of reinforcing boundaries. The analysis of this selection of polemical texts will demonstrate that regardless of the real or imagined threat the Cathars posed to the hegemony of the Church or the stability of medieval culture and society, the preservation of contemporary religious, cultural, political, and social boundaries was deemed a necessary endeavor. By rejecting the viability of Cathar asceticism, the authors of these texts ventured to delegitimize the individuals and groups they categorized within the framework of Catharism.

The historiographical development of Cathar asceticism parallels that of medieval heresy in general and Catharism in particular. The 1930s saw the publication of Herbert Grundmann's immensely influential study of religious movements in the High Middle Ages. His research explored how the heretical groups of the central medieval period were part of a broader religious movement that stressed the value of asceticism in the form of living an apostolic life.<sup>1</sup> Personal poverty became an increasingly popular way to express one's sanctity and devotion to Christ. The *vita apostolica* created a religious framework in which groups and individuals like the Cathars could emerge and express their spirituality by challenging the perceived flaws of orthodoxy. Regarding the Cathar heresy specifically, Grundmann saw the dualistic principles ascribed to them as originating amongst the Bogomils of the Balkan region.<sup>2</sup> He based this argument on the apparent Greek origin of the term. Grundmann's ideas left their mark on the scholarship of many others, a noteworthy example being Ernest McDonnell. Also focusing on the *vita apostolica*, McDonnell made the argument that this religious movement was not motivated by religious factors alone, noting how the religious changes it brought about were predicated on the contemporary sociopolitical atmosphere.<sup>3</sup> Similarly to Grundmann, McDonnell also argued in favor of the idea that the Cathars originated as an offshoot of the dualist Bogomils.<sup>4</sup> The Cathars were seen as a foreign entity that took hold as a

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<sup>1</sup> Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 215.

<sup>3</sup> Ernest W. McDonnell, "The *Vita Apostolica*: Diversity or Dissent," *Church History* 24, no. 1 (Mar. 1955): 16-7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

result of increasing anti-ecclesiastical sentiment that accompanied the growth of the *vita apostolica*.

This conception of the Cathars as dualists who rejected the physical world because of its inherent wickedness persisted in the research of many other scholars over the latter half of the twentieth century. For many scholars, Catharism and dualism became synonymous terms for what many medieval theologians recognized as a unified and coherent counter religion. This is reflected in the research of Steven Runciman, whose assessment of the Cathars conformed to how they were frequently portrayed in many extant primary sources as well. Runciman contended that the Cathars were the direct spiritual descendants of an ancient dualist heresy that originated amongst groups like the Gnostics and the Manichaeans.<sup>5</sup> Much like the primary sources he relied upon, Runciman saw the Cathars as an evolution of a heretical dualist religious tradition that emerged during Christianity's formative years.

Scholarship on the Cathar heresy became increasingly refined during the final quarter of the twentieth century. The vast majority of scholars continued to argue that the Cathars were a counter religion that stood opposed to the Latin Church and the perceived sinfulness of its practices. This is evident in the research of Malcolm Lambert, who reaffirmed Catharism's place as part of the *vita apostolica* religious movement. Much like McDonnell, Lambert argued that the success of Catharism as a counter religion was predicated on regional factors, the appeal of their religious conviction taking root and enjoying longevity thanks to the influence of region politics and social conditions.<sup>6</sup> Likewise, Lester Little saw the Cathars as a dualist counter religion. Little also ventured to argue that the appeal and popularity of the Cathars and their asceticism was partially attributable to the volatility of contemporary economics and the social instability that accompanied it.<sup>7</sup> Walter Wakefield's analysis of the inquisitional trials at Le Mas-Saintes-Puelles in the mid thirteenth century is noteworthy as well. His exploration of the content of these inquisitional depositions led him to conclude that the Cathars were recognized by Le Mas' Catholic residents as a legitimate part of the community due to their apparent sanctity, as demonstrated in their acetic practices.<sup>8</sup>

The twenty-first century has thus far seen both an expansion upon previously established ideas about the Cathar heresy as well as major challenges to some of the assumptions that scholars have made concerning the heresy's nature. Malcolm Barber's research further reinforced the conclusions drawn by many of his

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<sup>5</sup> Steven Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee: A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy* (Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press, 1969), vii.

<sup>6</sup> Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 6-7.

<sup>7</sup> Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978), 145.

<sup>8</sup> Walter L. Wakefield, "Heretics and Inquisitors: The Case of Le Mas-Saintes-Puelles," *The Catholic Historical Review* 69, no. 2 (Apr. 1983): 224-5.

predecessors, stressing that this heresy was a dualist counter religion that appealed to the laity of all social stations due to the level of their devotion exhibited in their asceticism.<sup>9</sup> The level to which practitioners of Catharism adhered to the ascetical tenants of their belief system is the focus of Peter Biller's research on the heresy. Biller concluded that the pastoral care of Cathar perfecti frequently centered on the resolution of personal disputes, which he argued was paradoxical given that their asceticism propounded the renunciation of the world.<sup>10</sup> A major shift in the historiographical development of this heresy came in the form of Mark Gregory Pegg's research. Forgoing conclusions about Cathar beliefs and practices altogether, Pegg stressed the problems inherent in inquisitorial methodology and argued against the existence of a Cathar Church in southern France, noting the invalidity of the term "Cathar" and the lack of evidence for a cohesive theology.<sup>11</sup> The problems inherent in the texts themselves have become a greater concern for many contemporary scholars, notably John Arnold, who also addressed the need to properly contextualize extant sources and the essentiality of appropriately framing them within the circumstances of their creation.<sup>12</sup>

The historiographical evolution of medieval heresy and Catharism shows a clear trend ranging from relative acceptance of the contents of extant primary sources to an increasing level of skepticism. Recent scholarship has demonstrated the many difficulties of assessing the beliefs and practices of the Cathars given the limitations of extant primary documentation. These sources reveal more about the Catholic Church and their concerns than they necessarily do about the genuine beliefs and practices of these religious groups and individuals. Therefore, when analyzing the asceticism of those labeled as Cathars, it is necessary to approach primary sources with great care, acknowledging the purpose of these sources as well as the motivations and prejudices that inspired their authors to create them.

Cathar asceticism, as depicted in these sources, must be understood as a construct that reaffirmed the beliefs, biases, and motivations of those writing about it. It was in the interest of these authors to negatively frame these individuals and groups in ways that expanded beyond a purely religious context. Reinforcing the preeminence of orthodoxy and orthopraxy certainly influenced their portrayals of Cathar asceticism. Yet these were not the only factors that shaded textual representations of these ascetical practices. The Cathars were – or the Church thought they were,

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<sup>9</sup> Malcolm Barber, *The Cathars: Dualist Heretics in Languedoc in the High Middle Ages* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2000), 6-7, 105-6.

<sup>10</sup> Peter Biller, "Cathar Peacemaking," in *Christianity and Community in the West*, ed. Simon Ditchfield (Burlington: Ashgate, 2001), 2, 12-3.

<sup>11</sup> Mark Gregory Pegg, *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245-1246* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 15-8.

<sup>12</sup> John H. Arnold, "Inquisition, Texts and Discourse," in *Texts and the Repression of Medieval Heresy*, ed. Caterina Bruschi and Peter Biller (Suffolk: York University Press, 2003), 61-2.

or the Church sought to portray them as being – a major existential threat to the maintenance of established sociocultural, political, and religious boundaries. For this reason, the textual representations of Cathar asceticism are characterized as chipping away at the foundations of medieval Christian society.

Early evidence for this can be found in the *Monodiae*, an autobiographical work written by the Benedictine abbot Guibert of Nogent. Writing in the early twelfth century, Guibert discussed the trial and condemnation of heretics from Soissons named Clement and Evrard. Guibert concluded that these heretics possessed many similarities with the Manichaeans depicted in the works of Augustine.<sup>13</sup> Guibert's acknowledgment of the similarities between these heretics and the ancient heresy of Manichaeism is reflective of how many contemporaries interpreted this heresy. The Cathars were frequently described in medieval texts as the descendants, successors, or a continuation of the Manichaeans.<sup>14</sup> In his description of the beliefs and practices of these individuals, Guibert portrayed them as being the antithesis of those attributed to the Manichaeans. While Guibert noted some of the ascetical practices frequently linked to the Cathars – namely, limitations placed on eating as well as the condemnation of marriage, sexual intercourse, and procreation – he also described practices that were contrary to any form of asceticism. Guibert explained how these heretics challenged social norms by engaging in ritualized extramarital sexual activity, homosexual activity, and the murder of children.<sup>15</sup> He argued that such practices revealed that these heretics were indeed similar to the Manichaeans, as both claimed to be proponents of living the apostolic life.<sup>16</sup>

By representing their asceticism in this manner, Guibert emphasized its illegitimacy. Theirs was a false asceticism, one used as a guise to hide their true intentions and actions. Guibert's characterization of the asceticism of these individuals stressed the danger they posed in ways both religious and secular. Guibert saw them – or willfully portrayed them – as an aberration of both Church teachings and contemporary social mores. While portrayals of inappropriate sexual activities are in no way an innovative feature in the polemical discourses of the medieval period,<sup>17</sup> their inclusion in such texts served a valuable purpose. This purpose was to construct an image of these heretics as existing outside the bounds of social normalcy in terms of sexuality. Their purported sexual asceticism was a ruse, used to conceal debaucheries that ventured beyond socially prescribed sexual practices and values. It is in this way that Guibert expressed to the readers of his *Monodiae* how these heretics were representative of a false asceticism that

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<sup>13</sup> Guibert of Nogent, *A Monk's Confession: The Memoirs of Guibert of Nogent*, trans. Paul J. Archambault (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), 196-7.

<sup>14</sup> Malcolm Lambert, *The Cathars* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 20-1.

<sup>15</sup> Guibert, 196.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 197.

<sup>17</sup> Jennifer Kolpacoff Deane, *A History of Medieval Heresy and Inquisition* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), 98.

undermined socially acceptable sexual practices. While the Catholic Church was incapable of effectively enforcing the sorts of sexual boundaries it sought to instill in people,<sup>18</sup> this does not mean these ideas about proper sexual expression were not widely disseminated and observed by many. By characterizing the asceticism of these heretics as false and sexually deviant, Guibert effectively undermined its legitimacy as well as the viability of their beliefs and practices within the context of medieval society.

The notion that Cathar asceticism was a ruse for hiding sexual deviance is also found in the writings of Bernard of Clairvaux. A contemporary of Guibert, Bernard was a Cistercian abbot and a prolific author. In 1144, Bernard wrote a *sermo* in reply to Eberwin of Steinfeld, who requested in the previous year that he preach against the heretics in the city of Cologne.<sup>19</sup> The sixty-fifth edition to his *Sermones super Cantica Cantorum*, this sermo characterized the followers of this heresy as foxes who were “more malicious and cunning than other heresies,” and that they “feed on other people’s loss, disregard of [their] own fame.”<sup>20</sup> Bernard was emphasizing the hidden and secretive nature of this heresy, propounding its ulterior motive of deliberately harming those choosing to participate in it. The abbot then questioned the extent of the heresy’s adherence to the apostolic ideal and the various forms of ascetic practices it engaged in. Rhetorically, Bernard asked the heretics, “where is the apostolic appearance and life of which you boast? They cry out in public, you mutter in a corner . . . what do you exhibit in yourselves similar to them?”<sup>21</sup> Bernard called into question the veracity of their dedication to the *vita apostolica* and their ascetical practices, undermining the supposed spiritual superiority of this group’s adherents. This was done in order to demonstrate that the asceticism followers of this heresy engaged in was asceticism in name only.

Bernard then discussed his primary evidence for concluding that the Cathars practiced an insincere form of asceticism. He described how unmarried male and female believers would live together. Bernard argued that their supposed asceticism – that is, living in close quarters with a member of the opposite sex and not engaging in sexual activity of any sort – was a façade. In describing the unusual living and working arrangements of the followers of this heresy, Bernard remarked, “every day you are side by side with a young girl at the table, your bed is near her bed in the bedroom, your eyes [look] to her eyes in conversation, your hands are on her hands in work; and you wish to be thought temperate?”<sup>22</sup> Unlike

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<sup>18</sup> Ruth Mazo Karras, *Sexuality in Medieval Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 2, 26.

<sup>19</sup> Deane, *Medieval Heresy*, 25-8.

<sup>20</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, “Sermo LXV,” in *Sermones super Cantica Cantorum*: 36-86, ed. J. Leclercq, C.H. Talbot, and H.M. Rochais (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1958), 173. “Sola ista malignior ceteris versutiorque haeresibus, damnis pascitur alienis, propriae gloriae negligens.”

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 174. “Ubi apostolica forma et vita quam iactatis? Illi clamant, vos susurratis; illi in publico, vos in angulo . . . Quod simile illis in vobis ostenditis?”

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 175. “Quotidie latus tuum ad latus iuvenulae est in mensa, lectus tuus ad lectum eius in camera, oculi tui ad illius oculos in colloquio, manus tuae ad manus ipsius in opera; et continens vis putari?”



Guibert, who sought to characterize the sexual practices of Cathars as socially and morally obscene, Bernard's portrayal was more balanced, as his concerns were much less outlandish. Bernard's critique of their living arrangements was rooted in notions of not only the *vita apostolica*, but *religio* as well.

As a member of the Cistercians, an austere and disciplined monastic order, Bernard of Clairvaux knew the challenges of religious life and the difficulties of following an order's rule properly. This is one of the reasons the Cistercians employed *conversi* as laborers, in an effort to further remove themselves from the influence of secular life and devote themselves to an austere contemplative life.<sup>23</sup> Bernard was concerned that while the Cathars appeared austere and chaste publically, their refusal to be cloistered and secluded within a proper religious order undermined any legitimacy they may have otherwise possessed. To Bernard, the Cathar heresy represented a challenge to both social and religious boundaries. His *sermo* was a venture to expound how these heretics transgressed the norms of medieval society in terms of sexual activity and appropriate interactions between the sexes. Moreover, Bernard's text was an effort to show how the Cathars were a challenge to the orthodox practice of *religio* and living in a regulated monastic community.

Subsequently, Bernard provided an explanation of what the asceticism of these heretics looked like. "Now consider his life and behaviors, he intimidates no one, he assails no one, he surpasses no one. Additionally, his face is pale from fasting, he does not consume bread at leisure, he toils with his hands, whence he endures life."<sup>24</sup> Bernard stressed the ease with which the unrefined eye might perceive the asceticism practiced by these individuals and groups as orthodox. Theirs was an asceticism that was not only false, but intentionally deceiving as well. Bernard asserted that orthodox asceticism – such as what manifested in religious communities like his own Cistercian order – did not only look real, it was real. Bernard endeavored to demonstrate that the ascetical practices engaged in by proponents of this heresy were a confluence of religious and social transgressions. As depicted in Bernard's *sermo*, textual representations of Cathar asceticism could be used to demarcate this heresy from the rest of medieval society. Bernard wanted his readers to understand that this heresy was an entity that threatened not only religious boundaries. This text propounded the idea that the Cathars posed just as grave a threat to social boundaries as well. Bernard's *sermo* constructed the image of an entity which transcended morality and moral decency, making it a genuine threat to the social fabric that held medieval society together just as much as it was a threat to the Catholic Church itself.

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<sup>23</sup> Clifford Backman, *The Worlds of Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 286-7.

<sup>24</sup> Bernard, 175-6. "Iam quod ad vitam moresque spectat, neminem concutit, neminem circumvenit, neminem supergreditur. Pallent insuper ora ieiunius, panem non comedit otiosus, operatur minibus unde vitam sustentat."

By the early thirteenth century, the Cathar heresy and its proponents had grown to a substantial enough threat to warrant an armed response. This manifested as the Albigensian Crusade, a twenty-year conflict called by Innocent III that intended to destroy the threat of heresy in southern France as well as punishing those nobleman complicit in allowing it to spread throughout the region. A contemporary chronicler of this crusade was the Cistercian monk Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay. When Simon of Montfort became the leader of the crusading forces in 1209, Peter accompanied his army and functioned as the crusade's historian, which resulted in the creation of his *Hystoria albigensis* a few years later.<sup>25</sup> As is made clear by the title of this work, its explicit purpose was to recount the events of this war. In doing so, Peter did not challenge the conflict's lawfulness or necessity; he reinforced it. Writing this history of the Albigensian Crusade was a venture in augmenting the legitimacy of the war against the Cathars. This was a just war, and Peter aimed to prove it by showing the Cathars' many faults and vices.

He began his history by describing the city of Toulouse. Peter depicted this city as the heart of Catharism, from which its dangerous and deceitful ideas spread. Toulouse was the city "from which a treacherous poison primarily emanated, infecting the people and thus causing them to rebel from their knowledge of Christ, from his truthful splendor, from his divine clarity."<sup>26</sup> Peter's rendering of Toulouse was a justification for engaging in this crusade. Validating this excursion necessitated portraying Toulouse as the center of heresy in France, from which egregious social and spiritual ills spread to contaminate all of Christian society. Heresy was a problem innate to this city and region. The people of Toulouse did not fall into heretical deviance; they were corrupted from birth due to the infectiousness of heretical blood and the transmission of heresy through familial lines.<sup>27</sup> By representing the city of Toulouse in this way, Peter legitimated the military actions taken against the people of Toulouse and the Albigois.

To further establish the legitimacy of this crusade, Peter detailed the sorts of beliefs and practices in which followers of this heresy engaged. He noted how this heresy distorted Scripture by adopting dualist notions and attacked the Catholic Church for being a wicked institution, which made the Cathars the "limbs of the Antichrist, [and] the first born of Satan."<sup>28</sup> While descriptions like this demonstrated how and why the Cathars were misguided in terms of their theology, Peter found it necessary to undermine the validity of their social structure as well, which was

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<sup>25</sup> Barber, *Cathars*, 34-5.

<sup>26</sup> Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay, *Petri Vallium Sarnaii monachi Hystoria albigensis*, ed. Pascal Guébin and Ernest Lyon (Paris: Société de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Age, H. Champion, 1939), 6. "A qua venenum perfidie principaliter emanabat, plebes inficiens sicque deficere faciens a Christi cognitione, a veridico splendore, a deifica claritate."

<sup>27</sup> Megan Cassidy-Welch, "Images of Blood in the *Hystoria Albigensis* of Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay," *Journal of Religious History* 35, no. 4 (Dec. 2011): 481-2.

<sup>28</sup> Peter, *Hystoria albigensis*, 12. "Hii omnes, membra Antichristi, primogeniti Sathane."

centered on the leadership and sanctity of the perfecti and the faithfulness of the credentes. The perfecti were understood to be the heart of the Cathar's anti-Church. It was within these individuals that Cathar asceticism manifested, as their purity made them a link to the divine and the only means to salvation.<sup>29</sup> Peter differentiated the forms of asceticism practiced by the perfecti and the credentes. The guile and deceitfulness of the perfecti is evident in Peter's account of their asceticism. Peter remarked that these perfecti "feigned to keep themselves chaste, they detested the eating of meat, eggs, and cheese entirely; they wanted to appear like they did not lie, when they were constantly lying, especially about God; and they also asserted that no one ought to ever swear by account."<sup>30</sup> Peter saw the perfecti as only taking on the outward appearance of sanctity, that their asceticism was intentionally dishonest to credentes. The perfecti of Toulouse and the Albigeois were portrayed by Peter as compromising the ability of the credentes from being saved and it undermined the clergy's capacity to tend to their flocks effectively.

Peter then discussed the asceticism of the credentes. He pointed out that while the credentes venerated the perfecti, they did not adhere to the same strictures of personal conduct and sanctity, and made no attempt to hide it either. Peter regarded how the credentes were

devoted to usuries, robberies, homicide, enticements of the flesh, perjuries, and all perversities: indeed, for that reason they were more secure and unrestrained sinning, because they believed they would be saved, without the reinstatement of stolen goods, without confession and penance, provided that they had been able to say the *Pater Noster* and receive the application of hands by their masters in the last moment of death.<sup>31</sup>

Most unlike the perfecti, who according to Peter, at least made the effort to publically appear ascetical, the credentes were the antithesis of ascetic in what they believed and in how they acted. Peter wanted to convince the readers of his *Hystoria albigensis* that the credentes were not just theologically misguided, licentious, and hypocritical; they were genuinely dangerous individuals. The cunning of the perfecti led the faithful astray, transforming them into perverse credentes whose willingness commit atrocities against their fellow man meant that their deaths were requisite. By delegitimizing the Cathars and the ascetical practices which defined their existence, Peter justified the war waged against them. The many examples of heretical depravity proffered by Peter served to illustrate to

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<sup>29</sup> Lambert, *The Cathars*, 141-5.

<sup>30</sup> Peter, *Hystoria albigensis*, 14. "Castitatem se tenere mentiebantur, esum carniū, ovorum, casei omnino detestabantur; non mentientes videri volebant, cum ipsi maxime de Deo quasi continui mentirentur; dicebant etiam quod nulla unquam ratione debebant jurare."

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 15. "Credentes hereticorum dediti erant usuries, rapinis, homicidiis et carnis illecebris, perjuriis et perversitatibus universis: isti quidem ideo securius et effrenatius peccabant, quia credebant sine restitutione ablatorum, sine confessione et penitentia, se esse salvandos, dummodo in supremo mortis articulo "Pater noster" dicere et manuum impositionem a magistris suis recipere potuissent."

contemporaries why the Albigensian Crusade was a necessary endeavor and could even be called a beneficent act. Engaging in a just war required righteous soldiers to destroy heretics to please God and correct their sins, after having exhausted all nonviolent alternative measures.<sup>32</sup>

By revealing to his readers the ways the Cathars' perfecti and credentes subverted social and religious boundaries, Peter provided the evidence necessary to convince contemporaries why this crusade was a just war. Yet this conflict marked more than just the transgression of the aforementioned boundaries, it reflected an undermining of political boundaries as well. It was sparked by the murder of the papal legate and inquisitor Pierre de Castelnau in 1208, who had excommunicated Count Raymond VI of Toulouse the previous year on behalf of Innocent III for not adequately quelling the spread of Catharism in the Languedoc region.<sup>33</sup> This conflict was clearly linked to regional politics, as it functioned to bring to heel Languedocian nobles. The Albigensian Crusade served the dual purpose of coercing the region to submit to the theological and ecclesiastical authority of the papacy as well as the political authority of the French monarchy.<sup>34</sup> In achieving these ends, Peter's *Hystoria albigensis* was crucial. The forces that waged this war not only had to vanquish the Cathars militarily, they had to demonstrate to contemporaries and to posterity why this endeavor was obligatory. Peter's characterization of the Cathars' ascetical practices legitimated this conflict in terms of their supposed violation of religious and social norms. Regardless of whether the nobles of Languedoc were complicit in protecting the Cathar heresy, or were followers of it themselves, the Catholic Church and the Crown of France were compelled to bring the nobles of Toulouse and the Albigeois under their authority, and Peter's negative framing of Cathar asceticism was the tool that authorized waging war against them.

A valuable and unique source on the Cathar heresy is the *Summa* of Rainerius Sacconi. Rainerius was a Cathar perfecti from Piacenza who converted to orthodoxy in the 1240s, becoming a Dominican friar and writing a *Summa* against his former brethren in the year 1250.<sup>35</sup> There are two chief modes of thought concerning the contextualization of Rainerius' *Summa*. It could be argued that as a former adherent of Catharism, Rainerius provides his new Dominican brethren with critical insight into the beliefs, practices, and organization of this heresy. Rainerius could be understood as a defector, providing valuable information and knowledge about his former spiritual enemies. This is the primary reason why Rainerius allowed continued access to his heretical texts after he converted to Catholicism.<sup>36</sup> Conversely, Rainerius' depiction of the Cathars in this *Summa* may

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<sup>32</sup> Mark Gregory Pegg, *A Most Holy War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 56-7.

<sup>33</sup> Deane, *Medieval Heresy*, 52-4.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 31, 102-3.

<sup>36</sup> Alexander Murray, "The Burning of Heretical Books," in *Heresy and the Making of European Culture*, ed. Andrew Roach and James Simpson (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 81.

have been influenced by his new Dominican brothers. Wishing to prove that he was thoroughly orthodox, Rainerius' assessment of the Cathars may just conform to the preconceptions the Dominicans and the Church already held about the heresy. Therefore, it can be argued that Rainerius engaged in a balancing act of sorts, simultaneously revealing information about his own experiences with an Italian Cathar group while reaffirming the prejudices of his new order as well.

Rainerius first described how there were three main subgroups of Italian Cathars, all of which adhered to a belief system that featured many similarities. He pointed out how all of these Cathar groups held dualist beliefs and denounced the sacraments, calling them "not true sacraments of Christ and his Church, but deceptive and diabolical and of the church of the wicked."<sup>37</sup> Rainerius' framing of the Catholic Church's beliefs and practices paralleled the language frequently used by other authors to describe the Cathars, which was as a false entity bent on deceiving the faithful by engaging in practices that were not truly Christian. The heretic turned Dominican, thoroughly familiar with the arguments used by the orthodox and the unorthodox, was in the unique position of being able to accurately characterize how each side interpreted the other. Whether the aforementioned statement reflected the monk's own experiences with the Cathars or the views of his fellow Dominicans, Rainerius chose to portray the Cathars' understanding of the Catholic Church in the same manner as the Church typically depicted the heresy. Each saw the same evils in the other: a cunning and depraved institution with a propensity for distorting the truth of Christianity for illicit reasons.

Moving on to the matter of matrimony, Rainerius elucidated how the Cathars were opposed to the practice. He identified how the Cathars held to the aberrant notion that marriage was just as sinful as other perversities. Rainerius remarked that "a common belief of the Cathars is that all carnal marriage has always been a mortal sin, and that in the future one will not be punished heavier on account of adultery and incest, than because of lawful wedlock."<sup>38</sup> Much like Guibert and Bernard, Rainerius considered the Cathars' understanding of proper sexual practices abnormal. With matters of sexual abstinence, Rainerius emphasized how the Cathars propounded the strictest observance, not only for the heresy's elite, but for all of its followers as well. The sexual asceticism of orthodox clergy was deemed insufficient, as salvation was predicated on the abstinence of all. Rainerius expanded on this further in discussing children, stating that "all young children, even baptized children, will not be punished more gently in the afterlife than robbers and murderers."<sup>39</sup> The Cathars – as Rainerius knew them or at least as

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<sup>37</sup> Rainerius Sacconi, "Summa de Catharis et Pauperibus de Lugduno," in *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, ed. Edmund Martene and Ursin Durand (Lutetiae Parisorum: F. Delaulne, et al., 1717), 1761. "non sunt vera sacramenta Christi & ejus Ecclesiae, sed deceptorum & diabolica, & ecclesiae malignantium."

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. "Communis opinio Cathorum est omnium quod matrimonium carnale fuit semper mortale peccatum, & quod non punietur quis gravius in futuro propter adulterium vel incestum, quam propter legitimum conjugium."

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 1762. "Omnes parvuli etiam baptizati non lenius aeternaliter punientur, quam latrones & homicidae."

he sought to portray them – believed that sexual activity of any sort was an evil, and children were the byproduct of that evil. The sin of procreation was equated with the sins of murder and theft. The asceticism of the Cathars in terms of sexual abstinence expanded beyond the realm of possibility in any society, medieval or otherwise. Rainerius advocated to his readers the notion that Cathar asceticism was alien, misguided, unnecessarily strict, and completely impossible.

To further drive home the inadequacy of Cathar asceticism, Rainerius expounded his own experiences as a former adherent of the heresy, weighing them against the experiences and learning he gained through conversion. The monk focused on the forms of penance the Cathars engaged in. Rainerius maligned their penance as lacking the necessary components of “grief of the heart, confession of the mouth, and reparation by works,” all of which he stressed were essential for the effective remission of sins.<sup>40</sup> Rainerius went on to clarify the implications of the Cathars’ refusal to acknowledge the necessity of proper penance. He recalled how his former brethren would “often grieve when they contemplate[d] that they did not satisfy their lusts more often,” before they had converted to the heresy.<sup>41</sup> Penance was fundamental to the abrogation of sins, and the intent of the sinner was crucial in determining the legitimacy of the penitential act.<sup>42</sup> This makes Rainerius’ remarks about the Cathars’ willingness to do penance noteworthy. Not only did Rainerius portray the Cathars as inadequate in terms of their engagement in penitential acts, their lamentation for the liberties they had previously enjoyed undermined any sanctity they may have otherwise possessed. The strictures of Cathar asceticism were not celebrated as the means of achieving salvation, they were characterized as an unfortunate hindrance on one’s capacity to engage in various debaucherous behaviors. The textual representations of Cathar asceticism embodied in this *Summa* were an amalgamation of the sorts of religious and social deviance that pushed at the boundaries of respectable and acceptable belief and behavior. Rainerius’ text was made all the more reputable due to his unique position as a former heretic turned back to orthodoxy.

Inquisitional handbooks were a valuable resource for rooting out heretics. They explicated the different heretical groups, how to accurately recognize them and their ideas, and the best methods for ensuring the guilty were proven as such. An important example was the *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*. Written by the Dominican friar Bernard Gui in the early fourteenth century, the *Practica* was a tool made to guide inquisitors in their efforts to quash the influence of heresy in an effective manner. Bernard was an experienced inquisitor in the Languedoc region. The friar wrote this volume in order to share with his brethren the best methods

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 1763. “ciliat cordis contritio, oris confellio, & operis satisfactio.”

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. “Iaape dolent cum recolunt quod non impleverunt faepius libidinem.”

<sup>42</sup> Little, *Religious Poverty*, 188.

for effectively questioning suspected heretics.<sup>43</sup> In the final part of his handbook, Bernard discussed this methodology and the nature of different heretical groups. The term Bernard used to describe the Cathar heresy was Manichaeism.<sup>44</sup> The use of this term indicates how the Cathars continued to be understood as the successors of the ancient heresy of Manichaeism, which made the beliefs and ascetical practices they espoused a continuation of those practiced by their supposed forebears. The process by which an inquisitor determined one's guilt was founded on established conceptions of this medieval heresy being linked to an ancient one. Consequently, the Cathar heresy and its ascetical practices were framed by Bernard within the context of dualism and the rejection of the physical world, and the evidence an inquisitor obtained conformed to this mental framework. Whether those on trial genuinely adhered to these notions, or any other associated with Catharism or its asceticism, was irrelevant. So long as the evidence of guilt reached a substantial enough level, the individual on trial was condemned as the adherent of the medieval successors of the Manichaeans.

After discussing the process of acquiring information from those on trial, Bernard ventured to dissect the practices and beliefs of the Cathars on behalf of his inquisitorial readership. Regarding how these heretics lived their daily lives, the inquisitor made note of the excessive level of fasting they engaged in. Bernard chronicled how followers of this heresy would “fast [for] three forty-day periods in a year . . . and during all the remaining year they fast three days a week on bread and water anyway, unless they are traveling or unwell. Also, they never eat meat nor touch it, neither cheese nor eggs, nor anything that is born from the body of procreation or coitus.”<sup>45</sup> Bernard's explication of these ascetic practices is consistent in content with those proffered by the aforementioned authors of heretical tracts. Yet Bernard's portrayal served a particular purpose. In terms of how they represented Cathar asceticism textually, the works of Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter des Vaux-de-Cernay were primarily polemical in their orientation. Bernard Gui's *Practica*, however, was an instructional work. This volume was geared toward educating novice inquisitors and served as a reference source for others. While the friar did engage in similar polemical invectives in the *Practica* – calling the Cathars “apes” for rejecting Catholic sacraments being a notable example<sup>46</sup> – Bernard's intended audience must be considered.

This was not a sermo like Bernard of Clairvaux's text, nor was it a history of war like Peter's volume. This was an educational tool meant for an orthodox inquisitor

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<sup>43</sup> Lambert, *The Cathars*, 256-7.

<sup>44</sup> Bernard Gui, *Practica inquisitionis heretice pravitatis*, ed. Célestin Douais (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1886), 235.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 239-40. “Jejunant tres quadragesimas in anno . . . et per totum annum residuum tribus diebus jejunant in pane et aqua in qualibet septimana, nisi sint itinerantes aut infirmi. Item, nunquam comedunt carnes nec etiam tangent eas, nec caseum nec ova, nec aliquid quod nascatur ex carne per viam generationis seu cohitus.”

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 238. “Et confingunt, tanquam simie, quedam alia loco ipsorum que quasi similia videantur.”



to better understand and more effectively root out heretical depravity. In writing the *Practica*, Bernard Gui knew his audience did not need convincing as to the heretical nature of the Cathars and other heretical groups. What was needed was a detailed explanation of the beliefs and practices that characterized the Cathar heresy. This would allow inquisitors to efficaciously question suspected heretics and negate the threat Catharism posed to the Catholic Church and to society at large. By framing the Cathar heresy and its ascetical practices as already having transgressed religious, social, and political boundaries, Bernard's *Practica* served the purpose of explaining how to best redress those transgressions. As portrayed by Bernard, the *pravitas* of Cathar asceticism was a given. His objective was to ensure that their depravity was ended before the threat of heresy grew untenable and the stability of Christian society eroded.

This analysis has centered on the importance of texts. These texts were each constructed with a particular purpose. Ensuring that the Cathar heresy and the ascetical practices that attracted people to it were delegitimized was the primary goal of these authors. Framing Cathar asceticism negatively was deemed a necessary endeavor on the part of the Catholic Church, as they believed that this heresy and its proponents posed a grave threat to its continued spiritual hegemony, as well as the continued existence of medieval society as they knew it. Therefore, authors like Guibert, Bernard, Peter, Rainerius, and Bernard Gui took it upon themselves to characterize the Cathars as jeopardizing the stability of every facet of Christian society. Regardless of whether the Cathars were an organized counter religion that believed and practiced what these authors attributed to them, this heresy was deemed a substantial enough threat to the status quo that they warranted condemnation.

These authors characterized Cathar asceticism as a menace to maintaining contemporary religious, sociocultural, and political boundaries. Guibert argued that their ascetical practices were entirely false, simply subterfuge for hiding their sexual depravity, making the Cathars the antithesis of ascetics. Bernard was equally concerned with the veracity of their claims and the problem of uncontrolled sexuality, yet he also touched on the importance of religio in living a proper life of asceticism, something the Cathars refused to do. Peter touched on similar issues, but his work was shaped by the war that made it, shaded by regional political concerns as much as it was influenced by religious and social matters. Rainerius' unique voice makes his account an insightful look into what Cathar asceticism may have actually looked like, but this must be tempered by the likely influence that his Dominican brothers had in shaping how he portrayed Cathar beliefs and practices. The notion of *pravitas* was the baseline of Bernard Gui's work, and convincing his particular readership was not as crucial as providing them with the knowledge and tools necessary to counteract the spread of Catharism and repair the various boundaries it broke.



Given the nature and limitations of extant primary sources, understanding the substance of Cathar asceticism is predicated on acknowledging that it must be approached as a textual construct. Its portrayal in these sources may, to a degree, reflect the beliefs and practices of an ascetic religious group that did not conform to the Christianity practiced by the Roman Church. Yet arguments about their beliefs and practices are limited by sources deliberately crafted to frame them negatively. Framing Cathar asceticism in this way was vital to the preservation of recognized religious, social, cultural, and political boundaries. Whether the Cathars and the appeal of their asceticism genuinely threatened these boundaries in the ways they are depicted by these authors cannot be adequately assessed. However, it is clear that the Cathars and their ascetic practices were considered perilous enough to justify the creation of texts that expounded their hazardous nature, characterizing them as a great evil that chipped away at the foundations of medieval life. These texts were the weapons with which these authors fought an enemy they believed endangered life and society as they knew it. Words became swords as asceticism became a menace in a world rocked by the threat of change.



# **"The Pure Lava of Anti-Masonry": The First Congregational Church of Thetford, Vermont and the Anti-Masonic Struggle, 1829-1833**

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On 7 April 1829, Dr. Jonathan Allen addressed a state Masonic convention in Middlebury, Vermont. "The recent excitement against [Masonry] has been but slightly felt in the section of country in which we live. The last four months, however, have seen it burst upon us like the sudden explosion of a volcano." Anti-Masons in the region were delighted by Allen's metaphor and embraced it as their own. The *Anti-Masonic Review* of New York replied to Allen: "Yes, and on the 5th of August [1829] we saw the pure lava of Anti-Masonry pouring out upon the Green-mountains from the very capitol of Vermont." Allen and his fellow Masons had ample reason to fear the power of Vermont Anti-Masonry. As with the larger American republic, Freemasonry had been at the heart of the foundation of Vermont. Ethan Allan, among others, had been a lodge brother. But within a few years of the younger (no relation) Allen's speech, Anti-Masons were swept to power in Vermont. Driven by fears of the market revolution then spreading through Vermont towns, the fossilized nature of "Good Feelings" politics in the state, and the spread of evangelical reform politics, anti-Masonry would enjoy a power in Vermont unmatched in the rest of the nation. No place in Vermont escaped the anti-Masonic tide, not even isolated Thetford in the middle of Orange County.<sup>1</sup>

The present work will examine the story of Thetford anti-Masonry through the lens of the 1829-1831 battle in the Thetford First Congregational Church over the admission of Masons and anti-Masons. Thetford's records are useful because they are original, exhaustive handwritten records of the culture war over Masonry on a small scale. Microhistories of the anti-Masonic moment are very rare – even the most small-scale histories of anti-Masonic sentiment have generally been on the regional scale (as in Goodman's work on New England) or the state scale (as with Roth's work on Vermont). Working at the micro level lets us "ask large questions in small places," facilitating the exploration of big historical moments by looking at how they played out "on the ground." In the tension between the Congregationalist anti-Masons and their erstwhile co-religionists of St. John's Lodge No. 41, historians can get a look at what the anti-Masonic movement meant at the local level. The struggle over anti-Masonry in Thetford was one of neighbor

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<sup>1</sup> Jonathan Allen, "An Appeal to the Inhabitants of the State of Vermont," (Middlebury, Vt., 1829), 7-8, [http://catalog.vermonthistory.org/vhsweb2/tramp2.exe/do\\_ccl\\_search/guest?SETTING\\_KEY=vhs&servers=1home&index=&query=ocn140114605](http://catalog.vermonthistory.org/vhsweb2/tramp2.exe/do_ccl_search/guest?SETTING_KEY=vhs&servers=1home&index=&query=ocn140114605); *Anti-Masonic Review*, Nov. 1828, 326; Kenneth A. Degree, "Anticipating Anti-Masonry: The Vermont Gubernatorial Election of 1826," *Vermont History* (Winter-Spring 2004): 5; William R. Denslow, "Ethan Allen," in *10,000 Famous Freemasons, A-J* (NY: Masonic Press, 1957), 15-16.

against neighbor, played out not through political dimensions but religious and cultural ones. There were no ambitious office seekers in Thetford, or for that matter “sinisterly designing” Masons: anti-Masons believed they were defending Christianity and freedom of speech in the public square and battling an anti-American institution in the name of public virtue, while Masons believed they were defending their homes and businesses from an attack that struck at the very heart of what it meant to be an American and a Christian. The fight in Thetford was in many ways a fight for Thetford’s soul.<sup>2</sup>

In 1830, the Thetford area was at its peak, a prosperous town of mills and sheep farms attracting immigrants from across the state. Abutting the Connecticut River and straddling the Ompompanoosuc, the town was well-placed to take advantage of the bustling New England river trade. Thetford’s first three steam boats: the Barnet, Adam Duncan, and John Ledyard would reach the waters of the upper Connecticut that same year. Saw and grist mills were opening in nearby Union Village and in Thetford proper. Hundreds of people were flooding into the tiny town to take advantage of the new opportunities, seeking a better life than subsistence farming in Orange County’s poor soil. The First Congregational Church meetinghouse had recently been transported out of the town proper and onto the green at nearby Thetford Hill; with citizenship no longer directly tied to Congregationalist membership, the town had sold its share of the church and it was no longer an openly political institution. Nearby stood Thetford Academy, center of the region’s educational life and an institution closely associated with the town’s Congregationalists, men like Asa Burton and Asa Bond who had made this center of New England juvenile education possible. The Hill was a fast-growing neighborhood in those years, holding the homes of not only Burton, his successor Elisha Babcock, church leaders Orange Heaton and William Layton, but their future antagonists in the anti-Masonic battle Thomas Merrill, William Thayer, and Silas Follett. Elsewhere on the Hill lived the extended family of Moses Cadwell, lead mine owners who would later to turn against Moses Sr’s former Revolutionary War commander William Heaton by joining the anti-Masons. To the north, Post Mills, at the edge of Thetford proper and close on Lake Fairlee, held the home of merchant David Bruce who would later nearly tear the church apart with his application for admission, along with many of the region’s new small factories

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<sup>2</sup> C. W. Joyner, *Shared Traditions: Southern History and Folk Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1999), 1; Henry Dana Ward, *Anti-Masonic Review*, May 1828, 135; Lilla Willey, “First Congregational Church of Thetford Records,” Nov. 2006, Thetford Historical Society, <http://www.thetfordhistoricalsociety.org/THS%20Web%20PDF/FirstCongregationalChurchM71.pdf>; Paul Goodman, *Towards a Christian Republic: Antimasonry and the Great Transition in New England, 1826-1836* (UK: Oxford University Press, 1988), 20-24; Drew McCoy, *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 12–17.

and mills. In the heart of Thetford proper, the Methodists, newly-granted the same legal rights as Congregationalists, would erect their own church a few years later.<sup>3</sup>

The agricultural and industrial transformation of Thetford in the 1830s deserves a closer examination. Brought to Vermont by diplomat William Jarvis, Merino sheep from Portugal had come to Vermont just before the War of 1812 and had spread like wildfire through the region. Poor farmers who had once traded pork and grain in cities could transform themselves into prosperous sheeprun managers and wool factory investors by turning their fields over to sheep. The growing wool economy spurred the development of specialized labor in small towns like Thetford. Men who had previously been subsistence farmers now could go into town, sell their sheep or the wool they had harvested to the growing mills and wool factories, and buy what they needed from merchants in the town. (Anti-Mason Bartholomew Fullington's family raised sheep, as did his antagonist Abiah Howard and his brother Truman.) This also meant that, as farms shrank and sheepruns grew, more and more farmers and their families were settling in town looking for work. The growing power of the towns and of the "village aristocracy" there made many who for whatever reason were unable to benefit from the growing economy of the region uneasy, providing an economic beginning to the local anti-Masonic movement.<sup>4</sup>

When he assumed his post as pastor of the First Congregational Church of Thetford in February of 1831, Elisha G. Babcock could have considered himself a lucky man. Born to an artisanal background in Milton, Massachusetts, the thirty-two-year old Babcock was an Amherst graduate and veteran of a rural pastorate in the backwoods of Wiscasset, Maine. In Thetford, he had inherited one of the most significant Congregational churches in New England. Asa Burton, the titan of Vermont Congregationalism, had made the Thetford church a center of religious education for Vermont; some sixty New England Congregationalist pastors had studied there under Burton's care. They were New Divinity Congregationalists, levelers, a growing movement in the period. Thus, though small and isolated Thetford was, it had played a leading role in missionizing the West, sending pastors, missionaries, and college presidents all over the Old Northwest. However, Babcock found a troubled pastorate: the elderly Burton had been forced into de facto retirement in 1825 thanks to his opium addiction and had (via complaints about how much better he was paid, as well as heckling him during sermons) forced his successor (and stepson) Charles White to take up a missionary post in

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<sup>3</sup> Charles Latham Jr, *A Short History of Thetford, Vermont, 1761-1870* (Thetford HS, 1972), 34-35; Charlotte McCartney, *Once Upon A Town: A Romantic and Factual Chronicle of The Early Families and Houses of Thetford, Vermont, 1761-1830* (Vermont, 1985), 100-111; Zadock Thompson, *History of Vermont* (Montpelier, 1842) 130-132.

<sup>4</sup> Latham, 40-41; Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, "Wheels, Looms, and the Gender Division of Labor in Eighteenth-Century New England," *William and Mary Quarterly* (Jan., 1998): 3-38. The Howards, in fact, were still farming in the area as of the mid-1990s. Noel Perrin, "Eight Generations: One Farm," *Dartmouth College Library Bulletin* (Apr. 1994).

Indiana at Wabash College in 1829. Newly-married and new to Thetford, Babcock was supposed to provide the church leadership Thetford's Congregationalists had been missing since the onset of Burton's illness and with White's departure. In fact, given the weakness of his position, the new pastor found himself almost completely beholden to church leaders like Timothy P. Bartholomew, Jared Hosford, and Orange Heaton, among the leading figures in Thetford town, the newly-rebuilt church, and not incidentally member of St. Johns Lodge No. 41, the center of Thetford Masonry.<sup>5</sup>

Freemasonry came to Vermont in the early 1780s and reached Thetford itself in 1815 with the charter of the Lodge. Asa Burton himself had come out to speak at its dedication, delivering a sermon on the "benevolent love" of Freemasonry. York Rite Freemasonry enjoyed a powerful influence in the Congregationalist Church in Thetford. Burton's orthodox Calvinism was not the sort to cause trouble with such a powerful organization in town. It had been left, in the years before the 1820s, to Thetford's Baptists to have any criticism to make of Freemasonry. But Vermont and Thetford both were changing. Congregationalist churches of New England had long-practiced Calvinist self-policing among congregants, and Thetford had certainly been no exception. In 1827, one Amelia Sweetland had been outright excommunicated for "neglecting communion a long time, for dancing and other vain amusements," while in 1830, Edward Meader faced church discipline for "encouraging Diodate Newcomb to drink in a public house." In 1827, the congregation had held that as a rule "this church views attending Balls and Dancing by professors of religion, highly criminal and censurable." The Church had never hesitated to investigate the private lives of its congregation, with swift excommunication for those who would not repent and confess their sins.<sup>6</sup>

But by the late 1820s, sin was changing for New England Congregationalists. Revivals that had swept Vermont and Orange County in 1827-1828 had helped spread the evangelical ideals of the Second Great Awakening throughout the region. Faith was changing in this era as ideas of the New Divinity and its liberal successor New Haven theology swept through New England: the idea that the world itself could be improved through faith. With its evangelical tradition and strong interest in the reform project through years of support for philanthropic practices and religious education, Thetford was a natural place for a new kind of

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<sup>5</sup> Erdix Tenny, . . . *At the Internment of Rev. Elisha G. Babcock* (Hanover, Dartmouth, 1848) 10-12; David G. Vanderstel, "'To Outfit Destitute Young Men for the Ministry,': Thetford's Response to the Call to Evangelism" *Vermont History* 69: 80-83; Charlotte McCartney, 57, 101-102; Vanderstel, 88.

<sup>6</sup> Lee S. Tillotson, *Ancient Craft Masonry in Vermont (Montpelier: Capital City Press, 1920), x-1; Asa Burton, A Sermon, Delivered at the Installation of St. John's Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, in Thetford, Vermont, July 4, 1816* (Concord: George Hough, 1816). Burton would later be sympathetic to the anti-Masonic crusade, but there is no evidence he had any reservations about Masonry earlier in his career, unlike more evangelical pastors of the period; McCartney, 45-46; William Thayer, 5 Jan. 1827, 21 Mar. 1831, 15 Mar. 1832, Thetford Church Records, National Heritage Museum. The unhappy Diodate, whose troubles with "strong spirits" make up their own file in the church records, would be pitted against the two publicans in the congregation, Hezekiah Porter and George O. Strong, when he joined the anti-Masonic group in 1832.

religious faith to spread, even to what had previously been relatively conservative congregations like Asa Burton's former flock. The new breed of religion was interested in social reforms like the anti-slavery crusade, temperance, an end to domestic violence, and the growing crusade against Masonry. This is not to say that social reform was limited only to anti-Masons. After all, Middlebury's Jonathan Allen was a leading anti-slavery and temperance man in antebellum Vermont as well as being a leading Mason. But Vermont was particularly suited to become a center of anti-Masonic sentiment thanks to its second-tier frontier setting, small size, and heavily religious civic life. The still-extant *Danville North Star* was the leading anti-Masonic newspaper in Vermont, and the *North Star's* Danville was the leading trading metropolis for small towns like Thetford. It is no wonder that the "pure lava" flowed so well as it did in Orange County.<sup>7</sup>

Thetford's anti-Masonic eruption began with Masons on the defensive. On 18 February 1829, Doctor David Palmer of Thetford, Master of St. John's Lodge, addressed the town and his lodge brothers at the opening of the new "Masonick" lodge in town. Palmer was speaking before the great anti-Masonic struggles hit Thetford and addressing a generally friendly audience, but even with such a crowd the town physician was clearly on the defensive. Palmer's speech constitutes the best evidence for the Masonic state of mind in Thetford just before the crisis reached the town. Palmer reassures his listeners that Masonry is a "society . . . unpretending and simple in its character." Indeed, charges of Masonic aristocracy are the first anti-Masonic charges he seeks to rebut. At the time, men like Palmer were working across the region to reassure non-Masons that Masons were both American and republican. Palmer went on to connect anti-Masonry to foreigners, particularly foreign kings: "the monarchs of Spain and Russia, the Grand Turk of Constantinople, and the Pope of Rome," all appear as the enemies of Masonry in Palmer's narrative. He goes on to say that "it has been reserved to our own country, and to the present period, to exhibit the curious spectacle of people living under a free government, commencing a barbarous, unprovoked attack on the society of freemasons." Palmer then connects American Masonry with members of the Revolutionary tradition like Washington, Marshall, and Jefferson, before closing with a look at the "absurd and unprincipled crusade against the peace of society" that was anti-Masonry. Palmer is clearly writing in a context of established anti-Masonic discourse in America, as well as Masonic apologetics: no surprise, given that this was three years after the murder of Morgan.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Randolph A Roth, *The Democratic Dilemma: Religion, Reform, and the Social Order in the Connecticut River Valley of Vermont, 1791-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 188-190. These revivals were deeply unsettling for traditional Congregationalist ministers in Thetford. Roth, "Can Faith Change The World?: Religion and Society in Vermont's Age of Reform," *Vermont History* 69 (2001): 7-18; Charles McCarthy, *The Anti-Masonic Party: A Study in Political Anti-Masonry in the United States* (Washington, GPO, 1903), 504.

<sup>8</sup> David Palmer, reprinted in the Albany Anti-Masonic Record, 8 Aug. 1829.

Thetford Masons had reason to be concerned about the growth of anti-Masonry in their region. In addition to the anti-Masonic newspaper just across the border in Caledonia County, Thetford's Fifth Congressional District would soon elect an anti-Masonic Congressman to office. On 10 March 1829, fifteen Masonic members of the Thetford First Congregational Church signed a document assuring their neighbors that Freemasonry and Christianity (and Congregationalism in particular) were perfectly compatible. The manifesto of 10 March reads like the Congregationalist public document it was intended to be: Masons were "desirous of giving their testimony to the perfect harmony of the two institutions [Christianity and Freemasonry]. . . . [Masonry was] not equal to Christianity in importance, but we do regard it as a charitable and moral institution of which a Christian man may avail himself to very great advantage." The signers of the manifesto could certainly all personally attest to the "very great advantage of Masonry;" they included William Latham, who had served as town treasurer and selectman, prosperous business owners like George O. Strong and Hezekiah Porter, and Constable Orange Heaton. These men were pew holders and church members, among both the most powerful men in the congregation and in the town of Thetford proper.<sup>9</sup>

Given the political realities of the era, what should be notable is not that Thetford's Masons felt the urge to defend themselves, but rather the language in which they did so. Palmer in particular focuses on the anti-Masonic controversy then brewing in Vermont, arguing that anti-Masonry there was influenced by the local political situation. In Palmer's version of history, anti-Jackson forces had seized on the anti-Masonic movement as a potential gateway to political success with the then-ongoing demise of Adams Republicanism. Thetford Masons had no need in 1829-1830, a quiet year in Thetford, to engage rhetoric that they were part of an "Illuminatio plot organized by Voltaire," or even to join larger appeals then organized in the state against the "artful agitators" of anti-Masonry. That denial would come later, when Thetford Masons joined the state lodges in general in issuing denials of any guilt in the murder of William Morgan. Rather, Thetford Masons were specifically assuring their neighbors that Masonry was compatible with Christianity, a dichotomy deeply threatening in that time and place.<sup>10</sup>

Some of the nineteenth-century competition between church and lodge was simply one of organization. In an era when wealthy people and families bought

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<sup>9</sup> The *North Star*, 27 Oct. 1829, 10 Nov. 1829; *North Star*, "Manifesto of Freemasons," 10 Mar. 1829; Thetford Church Papers, National Heritage Museum. Three members of Thetford's new Baptist Church also signed the manifesto; given nascent Baptist hostility towards Masonry, these men were taking more of a risk than their Congregationalist lodge brothers. Latham, 50-51.

<sup>10</sup> *York Republican*, 31 Jan. 1831; *Boston Anti-Masonic Christian Herald*, 12 Mar. 1829; McCarthy, 509; *Brief Report of the Anti-Masonic Convention at Fanueil Hall, December 1829-January 1830* (Boston, 1830, n.p.), 30-31; *Appeal*, 1-5; Palmer, 1829. It is true that the 'one-party' system of Democratic-Republicanism in Vermont did give way very quickly to a thriving two-party system once the anti-Masonic movement gained its start. But while Palmer's theory might explain the rise of national and even state-wide anti-Masonry, it has little to say about the origins of anti-Masonry in a town like Thetford. *The Proceedings of the United States Anti-Masonic Convention Held at Philadelphia, September 11, 1830, Embracing The Journal of Proceedings, The Reports, the Debates, and the Address to the People* (Philadelphia: I. P. Trimble, 1830), 10-11.



church pews and at the tail end of an age when church membership gave Vermont citizens the right to vote, Masonic lodges were drains on both the time and money of the wealthy men church leaders hoped would cultivate membership in their churches both for Calvinist reasons of public success and simple desire to protect their own investment. But for the most part, evangelical Christianity of the nineteenth century had serious criticisms to make of Masonry: “the power of money, and mystery, and secret organization, and gaudy parade to subvert our principles and convert our hearts,” that “Masonry and intemperance go hand in hand,” and in general that all the cultural sins of populist nineteenth-century New England Christianity could be found in Masonic lodges. Beginning in the fall of 1831, conflict over those sins would play out across Thetford and the rest of Orange County.<sup>11</sup>

In October 1831, Presbury West Jr., Eben Cummings, and King Heaton applied for membership in the Thetford Congregationalist Church. The importance of Thetford’s Congregationalists in the bustling mill town meant that Congregationalist membership was a key prize for men of distinction. And West, Cummings, and Heaton were all in their own ways men of distinction: Presbury West Jr. was an attorney and son of a justice of the peace, Eben Cummings a wealthy farmer and future railroad investor who had once owned most of the land in what is now North Thetford, and King Heaton a tavern owner from East Thetford. These were some of the most prominent, powerful men in Greater Thetford and their admission to the Thetford church would not have been particularly controversial in previous eras.<sup>12</sup>

But by 1831, with anti-Masonry sweeping the nation and a national Anti-Masonic Party running a Presidential candidate, things had changed in Thetford. Vermont’s towns had sent representatives to the national Anti-Masonic Baltimore convention in 1831. The year before, a delegation of seceding Masons from Orange County’s Randolph (just thirty miles from Thetford) had told dire stories of Masonic oaths to the anti-Masonic convention in Philadelphia. In Thetford, as in Vermont, anti-Masonry had arrived. Church members William Thayer, Thomas Merrill, Asa Bond, and David Kinney issued a blackball petition against the would-be new members on 29 October 1831. Merrill and Kinney are obscure figures today, but Thayer and Bond were important men in Thetford. Asa Bond was an old man, a Revolutionary War veteran and pensioner living with his son Amasa

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<sup>11</sup> Jonathan Blanchard, *Argument on Secret Societies* (Cincinnati: 1850); Joshua Giddins, *The Anti-Masonic Almanac for the Year of the Christian Era 1830* (Danville, Vt.: E. & W. Eaton, 1830).

<sup>12</sup> Zadock Thompson, *Walton’s Vermont Register and Farmer’s Almanac, for the Year of Our Lord 1836* (Montpelier: E. P. Walton and Son, 1836) 123; *Vermont Chronicle*, 8 Sept. 1877. West was son-in-law of Asa Burton himself, no protection for West in the past given the opium-addicted Burton’s stormy relationship with his family; *Genealogical and Family History of the State of Vermont: A Record of the Achievements of her People in the Making of a Commonwealth and the Founding of a Nation*, ed. Hiram Carleton (New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1903), 440; M. P. Wheeler, *Evolution of Ella Wheeler Wilcox and Other Wheelers* (Madison, Wis.: M. P. Wheeler, 1921); 19. Heaton alone, given the rumors that he was a body-stealer who had made his money supporting anatomical experiments, might have run into trouble, but not the others.

and family. Asa was not the wealthy man he had once been, but he was still among the most respected men in the community. Thayer was both an attorney and one of the leading figures in the church. Babcock's predecessors White and Burton had relied heavily on Thayer as an ambassador to other churches and reliable church committee member. Thayer had taken a leadership role in policing the congregation in the past; many complaints against church members in the 1820s bear Thayer's name, ranging from women who had abandoned their husbands to farmers who had gone drinking in the city, and he had usually been successful in his prosecutions. Thayer would repeatedly take a leadership role throughout the anti-Masonic controversy in Thetford.<sup>13</sup>

The 29 October blackball petition's fourteen points of objection have very little to do with the personal character of West, Cummings, or even Heaton, but a great deal to do with Masonry. There are no accusations of Satanic worship or open complicity in murder. The Anti-Masons charged that Freemasonry was "with its rights and obligations evidently inconsistent with the Gospel." Their greatest concerns were about oaths: Masons, they said, "take oaths unknown at the time, pledge their lives, . . . [take] illegal unauthorized oaths, etc.," potent charges in small-town nineteenth-century America in general and in Thetford in particular. With oaths as the primary means of economic security as people came and went in the burgeoning community, a society that made men swear falsely was dangerous indeed.<sup>14</sup>

Making matters worse for them was that Masons must "report any who may secede . . . to thwart their interest and derange his business." And (according to the Manifesto) Masons did not just promise to bend the laws of economics for the lodge: "[Masons must] keep a master Mason's secrets save murder and treason, . . . swear to be chaste only toward females near akin to a master Mason, swearing to obey grand laws of the grand lodge and bylaws of the Lodge to which they belong . . . may be contrary to laws of God and Country, . . . to deliver a master Mason from distress where the grand sign is given." Taken together with "personating the Almighty, . . . uniting in a ceremony that mimicks death . . . in profane use of the name of God," these were all certainly potent charges to make about small-town New England businessmen and their allies in the 1830s, undermining them as businessmen, Christians, and even Americans. And these were common accusations made against Masons by anti-Masons across

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<sup>13</sup> *Proceedings*, 1830, "State Committees," in McCartney, 110-111; Abby Hemenway, *Vermont Gazetteer* 1871, (Montpelier, State), 871; McCartney, 92; "William Thayer," *Minutes and Reports of the Congregational Churches in Maine* (Bangor: Bacon, 1881), 104.

<sup>14</sup> "Copy of Objection Against Candidates," 29 Oct. 1831, Thetford Church Papers, NHM; Latham, 40-41; Roth, "Transfiguration," 17-19, 128-130. Thayer's son William Withington would grow up to be a Congregationalist minister.

the northern tier of the United States; elsewhere Masonry had been branded a source of “democratic hostility, and republican dread,” given its “constitutional fault . . . and *unaccountable* public action.” In these accusations, Masonry was presented as hostile to both the republican politics of the past and the democratic politics of the future, theoretically implicating all Americans in the necessity of its restraint.<sup>15</sup>

By the following Wednesday (4 November 1831), Babcock and the leaders of the congregation had acted. At a mass meeting of select members of the Congregation, twenty-nine of the brethren signed a resolution that the church would make no discussion of Masonry. Carefully avoiding any endorsement of Masonry or attacks on the dissenting brethren, the resolution of 4 November must have looked something like a compromise to men like Babcock and his allies, looking to avoid the sectarian eruption in Thetford that had killed churches elsewhere, and would kill more in the years to come. Instead, the resolution said that “much bitter invective has been introduced, contrary to the spirit of the Gospel and to the dishonor of religion, . . . alarmed at these affecting examples and forcibly impressed that no good can ever result to the cause of Christ or the interest of religion by discussing this controversy in any form or moment,” and that the church would “not hear or attend to any complaint” made solely on the basis of Masonry. And indeed, if a majority of church members had held with Babcock’s ruling and there had been significant debate on the matter before it passed, odds are good that Masonry might have prevailed in Thetford. As it was, many of the leading churchmen (and it was all men, at least so far, though women did have a vote in the congregation) like Bela Child and Isacc Cummings, powerful men who sat on the church committees, did sign the resolution with no qualms. Timothy Bartholomew, among the oldest men in town and who would die of “apoplexy after attending church on a very cold Sunday” that very year, also signed. But Babcock had overplayed his hand: on the day of the vote, he had addressed the congregation, then called for an hour of silent prayer, and then immediately the church congregation had voted. This lack of discussion outraged anti-Masons, particularly as it seemed to violate the tenets of Thetford’s own church bylaws which provided for a “visible church” and the covenant that called for the congregation to “watch over their brethren and sisters, and support church discipline.”<sup>16</sup>

And thus, though the resolution had passed “by a very large majority,” the story was far from over. Divisions had already appeared even as the anti-Masonic resolution went forth, with one church member, Obadiah Hosford (an elderly farmer and patriarch of one of the many branches of the powerful Hosford family) actually having his name scratched off the original list of signers. Within

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<sup>15</sup> “Objection,” 1831; Henry Dana Ward, *Anti-Masonic Review*, Nov. 1828, 334; *New York Spectator*, 12 Aug., 1830, n.p.

<sup>16</sup> Thetford Church Resolution, 4 Nov. 1829, Thetford Church Papers, NHM; *Confession of Faith and Covenant of the First Congregational Church in Thetford, Vermont: April 4, 1831* (Dartmouth: Thomas Mann, 1840), 5-6, 30-31; McCartney, 74-75.

a month of the resolution of 4 November, a numerous, organized body of anti-Masons petitioned the church to hear their case. On 3 December 1831, they pled for the church to “read and examine their covenant obligation, to compare their most recent resolution to the Gospels, and to avoid shutting out discipline.” Between Hosford, William Thayer, and Amasa Bond, whose great wealth had helped found Thetford Academy, these were some of the leading members of the congregation. That there were now twenty-six names on the list of dissenters suggested that the schism Babcock had hoped to avoid was in actuality just beginning. With their congregation faced with potential disaster, Babcock and the church committee offered to withdraw the offending resolution if anti-Masons would pledge to abandon their efforts to introduce a church discipline on Masonry. Thayer replied that it would be “inconsistent with our command of Christ and covenant obligations,” and that it was their intention to “carry the controversy to a declaration against Masonry.” The church minority had been pushed too far to back off now.<sup>17</sup>

When another petition failed in February of 1832, the anti-Masons appealed to the nearby Congregationalist congregations of West Norwich and Fairlee by issuing a “Petition of Grief” against Babcock and his allies in the congregation. The dissenters charged that Babcock had “violated Matthew 10 [the church’s doctrinal justification for internal policing], shut out gospel discipline, and [made] an *exception* of a certain class of persons.” By speaking now in the language of class, albeit in terms a nineteenth-century Vermont evangelist would understand, the Thetford anti-Masons were beginning to draw on criticisms of Masonry broader than simply ethical and religious ones. Anti-Masons of the day were very concerned about the “arrogance of Masonry” and the “village aristocracy” that it seemed to empower; one particular ill-advised Masonic speech from the 1820s about the political and economic power of Masonry against governments being pulled out again and again by anti-Masonic writers looking to make a point. The idea that Masonry was bringing class to Thetford was both a spiritual threat and an economic one, given contemporary fears in small towns like Thetford about the village aristocracy and its power over farmers.<sup>18</sup>

The “Joint Appeal” found an audience outside of Thetford, but not the receptive one they might have hoped. Even more remote than Thetford, West Fairlee and Norwich lacked the local industrial centers that made the threat of Masonic takeover so frightening: there were no circles of wealthy Masons in town to

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<sup>17</sup> “First Petition for Church Meeting,” 3 Dec. 1831, Thetford Church Archives. Hosford had now switched sides, it is Hosford himself who is the most likely source of the “by request” written by his x-ed out name on the Nov. 4 Petition in the church archives; “Committee’s Terms,” n.d., Thetford Church Archives, NHM; *Anti-Masonic Review*, Nov. 1828, 326; McCartney, 68; William Chauncy Langdon, *Book of words: The Pageant of Thetford, in Celebration of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Granting of the Charter* (Thetford: Vermonter Press, 1911), 30-33.

<sup>18</sup> “Petition of Grief,” 29 Feb. 1832, Thetford Church Archives. Babcock would eventually join them, making it a joint petition from both sides of the dispute. *Anti-Masonic Review*, Nov. 1828, 326.

inspire resentment in gentile farmers. Norwich and West Fairlee, through their pastors, advised calm: they said the gag resolution should be struck down but that anti-Masons in the congregation should let the matter rest. Faced with pressure from their neighbors not implicated in the dispute, the dissenters temporarily backed down. In the Thetford files, church trials return to their usual character of investigating drunkenness and dancing in the congregation. As anti-Masonry swept Vermont in 1832, Babcock and the rest of the church committee must have thought they had escaped the ‘volcano’ sweeping the state.<sup>19</sup>

The short-lived peace in the church failed by the summer of 1832. It came to an end thanks to Silas Follett, an anti-Mason who aroused the wrath of church leaders, and David Bruce, a Mason who was a close ally of those same leaders. A wealthy member of the church and a frequent supporter of evangelical causes, Silas Follett was a source of conflict in his congregation. The complainant against a great many of his fellow parishioners in church trials, Follett was deeply concerned with the sexual morality of the women of the church and the personal conduct of the servants of his fellow parishioners. A leader among the congregation’s anti-Masons, he had evidently taken Babcock’s gag rule badly. In the summer of 1832, a complaint was sworn out against him by the William Taylor family; the Taylors being his fellow parishioners and William Taylor a leading Mason in the congregation. Follett’s trial testimony is frustratingly vague on specifics, but evidently the turbulent man had a great deal to say about Masonry and Babcock. Taylor’s mother Hannah would testify that “[he] talked about the difficulties in the church on the subject of Masonry and also made several remarks about our minister and said that he had lied and said that which was not true, . . . indeed his conversation was so unpleasant to me that I did not pay so much attention.” Years later, a more sympathetic church committee would write of Follett that he “had an ardent temperament, strong prejudice, and bold spirit which fitted him to become affected by the prevalent excitement of the times,” but in 1832 the Committee was not inclined to be merciful.<sup>20</sup>

Follett was expelled from the church for violating church discipline, infuriating anti-Masons. Outraged at his expulsion, Follett never again returned to Congregationalism, and spent the rest of his life as a Baptist. Expulsion, rare

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<sup>19</sup> Jacob Ullery, *Men of Vermont* (Brattleboro: Transcript Publishing Company, 1894), 127; Roth, “Transfiguration,” 146; William Hartley Jeffrey, *Successful Vermonters: A Modern Gazetteer of Caledonia, Essex, and Orleans Counties: Containing an Historical Review of the Several Towns and a Series of Biographical Sketches of the Men of Mark who have Won Distinction in their Several Callings, and who have Become Conspicuous in the Professional, Business, and Political World* (Salem: Higginson Book Co., 1904, 2000), 230. Norwich had even supported Jackson in 1828, unusual for the day, hoping that the military hero would support a town with a military academy and bring internal improvements to the region. Things might have been different had the petitioners chosen to speak to representatives from nearby Caledonia County, with its strong anti-Masonic tradition. *Niles Daily Register*, 22 Dec., 1832, 267.

<sup>20</sup> *Fifteenth Annual Report of the American Tract Society, Boston, Read May 27, 1829* (Andover: Flag and Gold, 1832), 36; “Testimony of Hannah Taylor,” 10 Aug., 1832, Thetford Town Documents, Thetford Historical Society; “Testimony of Silas Follett,” 17 Feb., 1826. Taylor had signed the initial Masonic declaration three years earlier. “Church Committee Report,” Hanover, 1835; McCartney, 54.

earlier in the century, had become a major tool of Church discipline by the 1830s, reserved for those who had brought the most disgrace to the community. Follett's quarreling with his fellow parishioners, particularly about Masonry, had been treated as the church would have treated a notorious drunk. The subsequent crisis grew worse later that August when local Mason David Bruce applied for admission to the Church. Thirty-eight years old, an 1812 veteran and head of a prosperous merchant household, Bruce was a native of Post Mills, the hamlet nearby Thetford where the Congregationalists had relocated themselves after 1830. Joining the Congregationalist Church would have provided Bruce, an apothecary and justice of the peace, some significant business opportunities, given the clannish nature of many congregations and small towns in New England in those days.<sup>21</sup>

But Bruce refused to break with Masonry as previous new members had, and in fact was one of the leading Masons in the community. That he had applied within weeks of Follett's expulsion outraged anti-Masons in the congregation, who issued a three-part rebuttal against Bruce's candidacy, the most important parts of which were the last two: Bruce "would not abandon Freemasonry . . . as Freemasonry is a worldly interest and adherence to it is an occasion of grief to a large portion of Christians," and finally "[we] would not object merely because he has been a Mason," but they "cannot feel satisfied for continuing to follow a lodge." If Thetford's Anti-Masons could not expel Masons from their church, at least they could make sure that no more Masons did join the body. But Bruce was admitted, prompting Thayer and other Masons to begin to "meet every Friday at 1 PM until next church conference to remove cause of difficulty, correct misunderstanding, and for each brother and sister to free our own minds, for peace, love, and gospel ground." As the harvest season ended and farmers had time on their hands again, the crisis worsened. On 1 October 1832, a group of twenty-seven Thetford anti-Masons issued a formal declaration of withdrawal to the church committee.

[We] felt this church to be our home, its brothers our brothers, its sisters our sisters . . . so long as a majority of the Church and our Rev. Pastor are inclined to receive adhering Masons and defend their institution, undue Masonic influence exists among the members; we may not expect impartial decisions in cases of discipline from the church nor impartial decisions from the pastor. . . . [We] withdraw our connection from your body as a church. . . .

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<sup>21</sup> Randolph Roth, "Can Faith . . .," 8-9, *Baptist Missionary Magazine* (Oct. 1861), 376; Hamilton Child, *Gazeteer of Orange County, Vermont, 1762-1888* (Syracuse, Orange, 1888), <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~vermont/OrangeThetford.html>. His brick house still stands in Thetford today. "Thetford Walking Tours," Thetford Historical Society, 2009, <http://www.thetfordvermont.us/docs/Walking%20Guide%20Feb09.pdf>; McCartney, 109-111; "Objections Against David Bruce," 20 Aug., 1832, Thetford Historical Society.



[We] will unite or create a new body where we can enjoy rights of conscience and our Gospel privileges will prevail.

This was not simply a rebellion of men; this was a rebellion of families; Sally Thayer and Sarah Bond joined their husbands, while women like Rachel Fletcher and Deborah Hovey left on their own account. Cynthia Follett now finally left the church that had already banished her husband.<sup>22</sup>

The October resolution makes no particular condemnation of individual sins of Masons: for most anti-Masons in Thetford, this is a story about Masonic domination of civic institutions, not Masonic corruption through rites and oaths. Dissenters complain that “the minority are not heard, conscientious scruples are ignored . . . undue Masonic influence which has pressed Church and Pastor away from duty.” This sort of criticism of the power of Masonry would be a recurring theme among Vermont anti-Masons, and seems to have dominated the struggle over Masonry inside the Congregationalist Church. The anti-Masonic effort was about the effort to “shake off the reins of Masonry” rather than reform what went on inside lodges themselves. Anti-Masons were sensitive to Masonic accusations about the “reign of terror” that their rule would bring, and were conscientious about using political measures rather than punitive ones when investigating the power of Masonry. In Thetford, the final resolution to the crisis came through a drive to unity in the church community rather than a war against the misdeeds of Masons.<sup>23</sup>

In April of 1833, yet another group of anti-Masons left the Congregational Church in Thetford, the dissenters “having got no reply” from the congregation and the church committee – there were now thirty-two defectors in all. It was 15 April, a week after Easter Sunday, and as David Thinney, a leading anti-Mason, noted, they had finally removed “the yoke of wood bondage,” and wanted “instructions for a new church.” This was the final blow. Two days later Babcock and the other members of the church committee, non-Masons and Masons alike, appealed to the dissenters to join them in calling an ecclesiastical council to Thetford to decide how to handle the Masonic crisis. Given the denomination’s structure, there were no higher authorities to appeal to than a council. Clerics came from all over the region; Nathan Lord from Dartmouth, Chester Wright from relatively distant Montpelier, and others from closer-by (notably none from Norwich and West Fairlee) to try and figure out who was in the right in Thetford. With anti-Masonry

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<sup>22</sup> McCartney, 94. As an ‘adhering Mason’, Bruce would have been unable to join the Baptist Church in Post Mills and so had reason to stick with the Congregationalists. “Objections,” THS; “Resolution for Prayer Meeting,” William Thayer, n.d., THS; “Copy of Protest,” 1 Oct., 1832, THS at NHM. It cannot have helped that Bruce was the sort of Post Mills merchant who many of the anti-Masonic farmers in the congregation had become increasingly beholden to with the rise of the sheep economy in the area.

<sup>23</sup> David Thinney, 20 Apr., 1833, Thetford Church Archives; “Protest”, 1 Oct., 1833. *Windham County Anti-Masonic Society Constitution*, 1871, Vermont State Historical Archives; John Fletcher to John W. Phelps, 30 Apr., 1872, VSHS; *Vermont Anti-Masonic Almanac*, 1830, (Montpelier, Hemenway, 1830), 1-5, VSHS *Genesco Register*, 14 July 1827, n.p. Ward’s Report in *Proceedings*, 10-11.

triumphant in Vermont and churches fissuring across the nation in 1833, this was a very great crisis.<sup>24</sup>

With H. F. Leavitt from Piermont as their scribe, they began meeting in Babcock's pastorage in Thetford on 14 May 1833. Given the location, and that Babcock had originally called for the conclave, it took some work to make minority and majority cooperate. After "considerable desultory conversation," both minority and majority were unable to "unite by choosing mutual [representation] to the Council." The anti-Masonic minority did not "refuse the council, but [said] the council is not neutral." After all, as Thayer and Kinney noted, "[we] do not understand whether the church calls us to make defense before the Council as criminals . . . or whether we may stand before the council and show the causes of our grief." Ultimately, they noted that the council was "wholly ex parte" and that they had "no voice in calling it": they did not oppose its meeting, but were not "bound to abide its decisions." However, the Council's ruling (arrived after an hour's deliberation) could hardly have been more favorable to the dissenters, though the clerics of the Ecclesiastical Council did give some cover to their fellow minister.<sup>25</sup>

The Council held that the dissenters had been wrong to attack Elisha Babcock's character; they should not have broken from their native congregation. However, they went on to say that in all other respects, the dissenting anti-Masons had been right: Bruce should not have been admitted; Follett's case should be re-examined. Furthermore, though Babcock had acted with the best of intentions, "the Church should hear all complaints presented conscientiously," and so the resolution that had banned all discussion of Masonry in the Church should be abolished. More importantly, the Thetford First Congregational Church should "refrain from all connection to Masonic proceedings," not because the members of the Council believed anything unwholesome about Masonic practices but rather because "Masons are an occasion of offense to their brethren, and should withdraw." Though "both have been honest and misunderstood" the settlement the church had reached after 29 February 1832, the 1833 ruling was unquestionably a ruling in favor of the anti-Masons. And indeed, anti-Masonry did triumph in Thetford. St. John's Lodge stopped meeting for two years during the crisis (1829-1831) and ultimately vanished altogether in 1848 (also the year Elisha Babcock died). Like many Masonic lodges in New England, they never recovered from the anti-

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<sup>24</sup> "Withdrawal," 15 Apr., 1833, Thetford Archives; Samuel C. Pearson Jr, "From Church to Denomination: American Congregationalism in the Nineteenth Century," *Church History* 38, no. 1 (Mar., 1969), 67; Baxter Perry Smith, *A History of Dartmouth College* (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1888) 168. This was early in Lord's career, when he was still a respectable evangelical abolitionist and not the pro-slavery outsider who would one day be forced from his post as Dartmouth's President. Daniel Pierce Thompson, *A History of the Town of Montpelier, from the Time it was First Chartered in 1781 to the year 1860* (Montpelier: E. P. Walton, 1860), 132, 198. Wright had recently retired from his role at the First Congregational Church in the state capitol and who would later leave his home to the state to serve as the governor's mansion, which it did until the 1960s.

<sup>25</sup> Only the minutes, not a transcript of the Council, survive, a common thing in the era before modern shorthand - even Congress lacked a regular recorder of speeches in this period. "Ecclesiastical Council Minutes," 14-15 May 1833, Thetford Church Archives; Thayer, et al., 13 May 1833.



Masonic tide of the 1830s. This is not to say the crisis in Thetford simply resolved itself with the Council's ruling. The dissenters continued to criticize Babcock's leadership and call for him to make a public apology, while some like Silas Follett never did return to the church. But the majority of the dissenters did return, and the crisis in Thetford did end with a victory for the town's anti-Masons.<sup>26</sup>

Today Thetford is a quiet Vermont town of two thousand, only slightly larger than it was in 1830. Elisha Babcock's First Congregational Church still occupies the (now much-expanded) building where the congregation moved in 1830 at the end of Congregationalist domination in Thetford - St. John's Lodge No. 41 never reopened. Few Thetfordians today remember that there was a great battle over Masonry in their town, in those halcyon years in the 1830s when Thetford briefly flirted with industrialization before succumbing to the long rural and industrial decline that afflicted the rest of New England until the late twentieth century. And perhaps Thetfordians have good reason to forget: the quiet struggle inside the walls of the Congregationalist Church and in the homes of its parishioners was not the sort of conflict readily embraced by public history. There were no lynchings or riots in Thetford, no murdered brewers or burned newspaper offices; there were not even very many harsh words exchanged outside the confines of Congregationalist theological disputes. Thetford shrugged off the Masonic controversy within a few years. But that the story of Thetford anti-Masonry ended there does not mean historians can simply dismiss Thetford anti-Masonry as "paranoid delusions . . . quickly forgotten" as Paul Goodman unfortunately did.<sup>27</sup>

It is the very decorum of the Masonic battle in Thetford that makes it worthy of study for historians. Thetford was in the heart of Orange County, a major center of revivalism, and Orange County was in the heart of Vermont, a major center of the New England reform project and thus deeply connected to the Christian republicanism of the 1830s and the rise of anti-Masonry. But the struggle in Thetford was cultural, not political - a battle not over the sins of Masons but a conflict over the destiny of Thetford Congregationalism. Thetford's anti-Masons were New England Christian republicans determined to protect their liberties against what looked to be an all-powerful secret society. Few in Thetford were seriously concerned with Masonic oaths and sins, but a great many of Thetford's citizens grew very concerned when faced with the loss of their civil liberties. The religious anti-Masons written about by Paul Goodman were indeed present in Thetford, but even inside the Congregationalist Church the successful anti-Masonic reaction was much more social than religious.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Tillotson, 74-76; Thayer, et al, 4 June 1833, 23 Oct. 1833.

<sup>27</sup> Peter Thomas Dole, "Thetford, Vermont: Stages in Her Economic Growth, 1761-1820," (Dartmouth Univ., senior thesis, 1966) 1-5; "About Us," First Congregational Church of Thetford, Vermont, 2012, <http://www.thetfordhillchurch.org/aboutus.html>; "Lodges by District," Grand Lodge of Vermont (Free and Accepted Masons), Montpelier, 2012, <http://www.vtfreemasons.org/lodgestown.asp>; Goodman, 245.

<sup>28</sup> *Religious Intelligencer*, Nov. 1833, 412-413; Roth, "Can Faith," 7-8, 17; Goodman, *Towards a Christian Republic*, 20-24.

Similarly, Thetford's Masons and their allies appear in the record as neither innocent members of a fraternal society or as sinister agents of Voltaire's "Illuminatus." Rather, they were men of means and power in the community taken by surprise by significant criticism of the order that was a major underpinning of their social and political power in the community. Masonry had been respectable in Vermont for a generation, offering the kind of security necessary for frontier settlement even in relatively law-abiding New England. Anti-Masonry in Thetford, as elsewhere, was not a reaction against a powerless minority as it has so often been portrayed by historians, nor was it a paranoid reaction of evangelical fervor: rather it was a genuine rebellion against a powerful, albeit local, ruling class and the implications of its power for Americans, one that quickly blossomed from concerns about Masons to a larger story about a rebellion against the power of wealth and distinction that was all too American.

# **Freedom Papers: Acts of Emancipation from Revolutionary Haiti in the University of Florida Archives**

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During the eighteenth century, the French territory of Saint-Domingue (present-day Haiti) was one of the most productive and profitable colonies in the Atlantic world, producing nearly half of the coffee and sugar consumed in Europe. It was also one of the most notoriously exploitative, with these tropical commodities being produced by the labor of African and Afro-Caribbean slaves, who outnumbered the white population of the colony by more than ten to one, and who suffered such horrific death rates that the slave population had to be constantly replenished by new arrivals from the African coast. The deep social tensions and conflicts generated by this paradox triggered a large-scale slave rebellion in 1791 that, after a dozen years of armed conflict, would ultimately lead to Haitian independence from France in 1804.

Saint-Domingue was also home to one of the largest free populations of color in the Americas, whose numbers nearly matched those of the white colonists, and historians have argued that the selective emancipation of favored slaves long served as a safety valve for the stability of the colony. In a society structured on the basis of racial inequality and exploitation, manumission was a very serious matter, and each individual act had to be registered before a notary and approved by the colonial administration. Free people of color carefully guarded the documents that proved their free status and ensured them against re-enslavement, while colonial officials kept detailed records of who had been freed, by whom, and under what conditions. These acts of emancipation, preserved in the notarial archives of the colonial state, offer a unique window into the lives, aspirations, and struggles of individuals whose experiences are otherwise lost to history.

This essay has two goals: first, to introduce an outstanding resource for the study of French and Caribbean history at the University of Florida, and second, to share the preliminary findings of my research using that resource. My research of this paper was made possible by a small travel grant from the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Florida. My thanks to the staff of the CLAS and the Smathers Library at the University of Florida, and to my friend Jesse Hingson, a longtime administrative officer of the Florida Conference of Historians, who informed me of this opportunity.

## **The Collection**

Gainesville, Florida, might appear to be an unlikely destination for conducting archival research into the history of the French Caribbean during the age of

revolution. For historians of French, Caribbean, or Atlantic world history, however, and particularly for graduate students and faculty based at teaching institutions with limited research travel budgets, the manuscript resources available in Smathers Library are well worth a visit, and are sufficient to furnish the bulk of primary source material for a master's thesis or even a doctoral dissertation. The Special Collections of the University of Florida house two major manuscript series on the history of the French Caribbean. The research presented in this paper draws upon the notarial and court clerk records from the *sénéchaussée* (administrative districts corresponding to the jurisdiction of a *sénéchal*, similar to a justice of the peace) of Jérémie (Saint-Domingue, or present-day Haiti) in the late eighteenth century. The Jérémie collection at UF is quite large, filling sixty-five archive boxes, and includes a wealth of documents recording property transfers, social conflicts, inheritances, and business transactions in the late Old Regime and into the revolutionary era. The University of Florida's Special Collections also include the Rochambeau papers, which consist of the correspondence of General Donatien de Rochambeau, commander of the ultimately unsuccessful attempt by France under the Napoleonic Consulate to reconquer Haiti and reimpose slavery in 1802-1803. For more information on the Rochambeau papers, which are not discussed in the pages that follow, see <http://www.library.ufl.edu/spec/manuscript/guides/rochambeau.htm>.

Unfortunately, much of the Jérémie collection is in poor condition, which is hardly surprising given its provenance. Even in the best of times, the harsh tropical climate of Saint-Domingue made the conservation of supplies difficult, and in addition to the heat and humidity, colonial record-keepers were also plagued by a particularly perverse insect that devoured paper and excreted a glue-like substance. The Cercle des Philadelphes, a colonial learned society, sponsored a prize competition to identify the best means to combat this infestation, but to no avail.<sup>1</sup> These documents were exposed to the ravages of revolution and civil war and subsequently passed through multiple hands before arriving in Gainesville.

Fortunately, the Jérémie Collection has a very detailed finding guide (<http://web.uflib.ufl.edu/spec/manuscript/guides/jeremie.htm>) that gives a basic description of each of the thousands of documents in the collection. The collection includes documents from about thirty different notaries who worked in Jérémie, as well as the papers of the *greffe*, or court clerk. These manuscript documents vary considerably in legibility (some notaries had clearer handwriting than others), but do not require specialized paleography skills to decipher (merely a modicum of patience and persistence). The records span the period from mid-century, when the plantation complex was rapidly expanding in Saint-Domingue, through the

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<sup>1</sup> James McClellan, *Colonialism and Science: Saint-Domingue in the Old Regime* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 218.

revolutionary decade of the 1790s, which included both slave revolt, internal civil war between pro- and anti-revolutionary factions within the colony, and external war between the French revolutionary government and the British Empire. They therefore offer interesting glimpses at how these dramatic events affected the lives of ordinary people.

The case of Jérémie is atypical in several key respects. Situated on the southwestern tip of Hispaniola, it was far from the seats of French authority in Port-au-Prince, the political capital of the colony, and Cap Français, its economic capital and primary port. A frontier zone separated by rugged mountains from the rest of the colony, it had proportionally fewer slaves and smaller estates than did the wealthier north, and had long carried on a smuggling trade with nearby British Jamaica. This isolation initially shielded Jérémie from the slave revolt that erupted in the sugarcane fields of the north in August 1791, although smaller outbreaks rocked the south province during this period. Perhaps most importantly, Jérémie was the first part of Saint-Domingue occupied by British forces in September 1793 and the last part of the island evacuated by the British five years later. For this reason, the revolutionary decrees abolishing slavery were not applied in Jérémie, and planters continued to hold their slaves in bondage under the protection of the British crown throughout these tumultuous years.<sup>2</sup> We shall see, however, that despite this apparent stability, revolution and war brought new opportunities for emancipation.

I decided to look at acts of emancipation, which some historians argue served as an important safety valve for this profitable but highly exploitative colony. These documents offer a unique window into the lives, aspirations, and struggles of individuals whose experiences are otherwise lost to history. I was able to identify 73 notarized acts of emancipation, ranging in date from 1776 to 1798, which altogether conferred free status on 123 former slaves. Acts of emancipation are outnumbered in the Jérémie collection by documents recording the sale, lease, exchange, or donation of slaves by a factor of at least four to one. In a quick survey of the indexes, I counted 288 such documents. In other words, manumission, though not uncommon, remained the exception rather than the rule.

Most of the manumission documents are highly formulaic in structure, indicating that the notaries were working from a more or less standard template, which shifted with changes in the laws governing manumission during this period. For example, David Geggus notes that British occupation authorities in revolutionary Saint-Domingue sought to limit manumissions to “slaves who had performed a notable public service, such as the betrayal of a conspiracy.”<sup>3</sup> Therefore, many of the later

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<sup>2</sup> For a comprehensive overview of the five-year British occupation of parts of French Saint-Domingue during the 1790s, see David Patrick Geggus, *Slavery, War, and Revolution: The British Occupation of Saint-Domingue, 1793-1798* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1982).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 295.

manumissions in this sample contain almost identical boilerplate language about a slave's loyalty and devoted service. Having nursed their benefactor through a serious illness was among the most common tropes, and one to which the British authorities, whose forces were decimated by yellow fever and other tropical diseases, may have been particularly receptive. Some of these acts convey little more information beyond the names of the slaves being freed and of the person or persons who freed them. Other documents, however, provide fragmentary, yet fascinating, stories of individual struggles for freedom, of family structures that transcended divides of race and legal status, and of the challenges that both masters and slaves encountered during the age of revolution.

### **Patterns of Emancipation in Saint-Domingue**

My research into the acts of emancipation in the Jérémie papers allowed me to identify several recurring patterns in which slaves were freed, by whom, and how and why these emancipations occurred. One key finding was that the demographics of manumitted slaves were strikingly different from those of the slave population as a whole. In Jérémie, as was the case elsewhere in Saint-Domingue, the majority of slaves were adult men, whose labor as field hands made them the most in demand, and, due in part to the preponderance of deaths over births among the slaves of Saint-Domingue, a majority had been born in Africa (called *bossales* in contrast to the *creoles* born in the colony).<sup>4</sup> By contrast, of the 123 slaves for whom I found records of legal emancipation in Jérémie during these years, the great majority were female, and women and children together made up 85 percent of all persons freed in this manner. African-born *bossales*, though a majority of slaves in the colony, were greatly underrepresented among the emancipated, constituting just sixteen of the 123 persons freed, and while a majority of *bossales* in the colony were male, all but two of the sixteen freed in Jérémie were women. Although persons of mixed race constituted a small minority of the total enslaved population, they accounted for roughly half of the emancipations recorded in the Jérémie notarial records.

These data confirm narratives of race and gender that are widespread in both contemporary and historical accounts about Saint-Domingue. As relatively few white women emigrated to the colony, particularly during its early years, many white men took slave women as mistresses, fathering children with them, and giving rise to a growing mixed-race population, the legal status of which remained uncertain throughout the colonial era.<sup>5</sup> Many masters, of course, did not free the children conceived in this manner, viewing them as property rather than as progeny. Nevertheless, both contemporary representations and the archival record

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<sup>4</sup> Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2004), 40.

<sup>5</sup> For an extensive discussion and analysis of interracial sexual relationships in colonial Saint-Domingue and the ways in which they structured colonial society, see Doris Garraway, *The Libertine Colony: Creolization in the Early French Caribbean* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005).

demonstrate numerous cases of long-standing familial ties across the lines of race and legal status, in which white patriarchs freed their mixed-race offspring (and, somewhat less frequently, their mothers as well) and transferred property to them to ensure their economic well-being.<sup>6</sup> Such cases, though certainly the exception rather than the rule, are more likely to show up in the administrative and notarial records of the colony, which are concerned with matters of inheritance, tax liability, and property rights.

Due to the social stigma attached to miscegenation, the notarial records rarely include direct acknowledgement of paternity. In the sample from the Jérémie files, I found just one case in which kinship was declared as the motive for emancipation: Jacques Furt, by a letter signed 20 January 1794, authorized his legal representative, Jean-Baptiste Vinet, “to go to the first notary to compose an act of liberty on behalf of the said Adelaide, my slave and my daughter, and charge him in my name to request the ratification, complete the formalities, and pay the necessary expenses to this effect.” Vinet completed this task the following week, describing Adelaide as “a *mulatresse* aged eighteen, the slave of the said M. Furt and his natural daughter.”<sup>7</sup> In this case, Furt’s action was likely motivated by the desire to recognize his illegitimate daughter to allow her to inherit property from his estate at the time of his death. This assumption is further supported by the fact that four years later, we again find Adelaide Furt, now a free young woman, filing an act of emancipation for her mother, Maria (described as a *negresse congo*, aged forty-four), following her father’s death.<sup>8</sup>

While such explicit avowals were rare, the elaborate racial taxonomy of colonial society allows the attribution of probable paternity in many cases. In his massive *Description de Saint-Domingue*, the colonial jurist Moreau de Saint-Mery identified a total of eleven different racial types, based upon varying grades of intermixture between white and black over the course of seven generations.<sup>9</sup> While French notarial records were not quite so meticulous in making distinctions as was Moreau de Saint-Mery, they routinely identified people of color as *negres*, *mulatres*, *quarterons*, or *griffes*, which makes clear, if not the identity, at least the race of the father.

Sixteen of the notarial acts in this sample involve the emancipation of women and their children through documents filed by their male owners. While none of these acts includes an explicit declaration of paternity, in eight of these cases,

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<sup>6</sup> Stewart King has studied in detail the free population of color of pre-revolutionary Saint-Domingue and its relationship to the white establishment. See Stewart King, *Blue Coat or Powdered Wig: Free People of Color in Pre-Revolutionary Saint-Domingue* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2001).

<sup>7</sup> Jérémie Papers (Special Collections at the George Smathers Library of the University of Florida), Notarial Records, Series 9, folder 67. All translations from French to English in this paper are my own.

<sup>8</sup> Jérémie Papers, Notarial Records, Series 3, folder 187.

<sup>9</sup> Mederic-Louis-Elie Moreau de Saint-Mery, ed. Blanche Maurel and Etienne Taillemite, *Description topographique, physique, civile, politique, et historique de la partie française de l’isle Saint-Domingue* [1797] (Paris: Société de l’Histoire des Colonies Françaises, 1958), 99-100.



the racial identity of the children's father, as defined by the taxonomies in use in colonial Saint-Domingue, matches that of the owner/benefactor. For example, on 23 February 1779, Charlotte (a *negresse* aged thirty-five) was freed along with her mulatresse daughters Louise (age fourteen) and Marie (age seven) by Jean-Baptiste George, acting as agent for Robert Desmars.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, on 12 May 1798, Collette, a mulatresse slave aged twenty-six was freed along with her four children, aged from two to seven and described as quarterons, by her owner, Jean Delpech.<sup>11</sup> In two other cases, the races attributed to the parties involved do not support an assumption of paternity, while in the remaining six cases there is insufficient evidence to judge.

While some manumissions may be read as tacit acknowledgements of paternity, others were granted as rewards for exemplary service. This was particularly the case during the dramatic events of the 1790s, when the combination of political revolution, slave rebellion, and foreign invasion threatened the power and personal security of the white planter class as never before. While Jérémie, safely within the British occupation zone for much of this period, did not experience violence and destruction comparable to that experienced by the major urban centers Cap Français and Port au Prince, both of which were largely burned down in the fighting, it was nonetheless affected by the conflict in ways that are reflected in the notarial records.

During the turbulent period from July 1793 to March 1794, six acts of emancipation were registered with the notaries of Jérémie in recognition of loyal service and assistance during times of civil unrest and incursion by slave rebels. On 1 July 1793, the planter Bernard Goux liberated four mixed-race slaves (two young women, one young man, and a small child), declaring "that he wished to reward loyal subjects who during the insurrection in this sector conducted themselves in such a manner as to deserve freedom."<sup>12</sup> Later that month, his fellow planter Joseph Beaumont made a similar declaration in favor of his African-born foreman, Triton, "who in these recent days saved his life."<sup>13</sup> In August 1793, the planter Jean-Louis Bourely, driven from his estates to seek refuge in a military camp, signed a declaration of his intent to emancipate Marie-Rose, an African-born woman between thirty-five and forty years in age, who "since the revolution has not ceased to give the most certain proof of her loyalty. . . . Myself forced to flee my estate, she rescued all of my possessions that she could, kept my Negroes at their duties, and took the first occasion to rejoin me." The following March, once the troubles had died down and Bourely was able to present himself before a notary, he ratified the promise that he had made the previous summer.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Jérémie Papers, Records of the Greffe, Box 1, folder 40.

<sup>11</sup> Jérémie Papers, Notarial Records, Series 8, folder 150.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Series 2, folder 97.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, folder 101.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, folder 126.



In another such case, on 24 February 1794, the planter François Mueller granted freedom to Marie-Magdelaine, a twenty-three year old mulatresse, and her two young children, thanking her for the “fidelity, zeal, and important warnings that she demonstrated and gave him during these times of troubles,” and went on to note that if the colonial administrators objected to his grant of freedom, it was his wish “that the said Marie Magdelaine and her children enjoy the freedom of the savanna [i.e., de facto rather than de jure emancipation] . . . so long as they conduct themselves well and do not trouble public order or tranquility.”<sup>15</sup>

Selective acts of manumission were not only a means of rewarding slaves who had demonstrated their loyalties during times of crisis, but could also be used as incentives for keeping valued laborers on their estates. The Jérémie archives also hold notarized acts in which emancipation was not granted immediately, but was to be conferred upon the benefactor’s death, or after a fixed period of time. For example, in the fall of 1797, Sieur d’Heillecourt “declared having promised about fifteen months ago to the Negro Jean-Baptiste, foreman for the planter M. Lannes de Lanzac that, in recognition of his good and loyal services, I would ask his master for permission to free him in his name, after a delay of two or three years.” The planter having granted his approval, d’Heillecourt presented a request for emancipation the following February.<sup>16</sup> In this case, the promise of legally recognized freedom was used as a tool to keep a valued slave foreman working for several more years on the plantation, at a time in which ongoing unrest and instability would have made escape much easier than during the pre-revolutionary period.

While in colonial and antebellum North America, the role of overseer was usually performed by poor whites, the demographic structure of Saint-Domingue meant that it was most often held by a slave. In his history of the Haitian Revolution, Laurent Dubois has remarked on the ambiguous position of slave foremen or *commandeurs*. The *commandeur* enjoyed a relatively privileged status on the plantation, whose operations could not run smoothly without him, but he remained a slave, and his ultimate loyalties were uncertain. Many of the initial leaders of the slave rebellion of 1791 were *commandeurs*. The fact that several of the (relatively few) adult men in my sample of manumissions in Jeremie were *commandeurs* is likely not coincidental.

The great majority of the benefactors who presented acts of emancipation to be notarized were members of the white planter class—a hardly surprising fact, given that they were the ones who owned most of the slaves in the colony. However, some of the most interesting cases in the notarial records concern acts presented by free persons of color, some of them only recently freed from slavery themselves.

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Series 9, folder 75.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Series 6D, folder 168.

We have already had occasion to examine the case of Adelaide Furt, freed by her father in 1794 and granting freedom to her African-born mother four years later. These cases demonstrate the determination and resourcefulness of persons caught in the webs of enslavement and racial prejudice, the enduring strength of family bonds under the most difficult of circumstances, and the often-surprising ways in which the powerless were able to access and make use of the institutions of state power.

It had long been customary in colonial Saint-Domingue for slaves to be granted small plots of land for the cultivation of food to feed themselves, and to sell their agricultural produce or their handicrafts in public markets. Such entrepreneurial activity allowed some fortunate slaves to accumulate enough savings to purchase their own freedom from their masters. With the collapse of central authority in the revolutionary era, there was even less oversight of these practices than in the past. On 7 October 1794, the widow Daisserre appeared before a notary to report that she had “sold, ceded, and abandoned all of her rights over Sophie, *negresse de nation congo*, aged about thirty-six years, her slave, to Sophie herself,” reporting that she had “received the sum of three thousand three hundred francs from the said Sophie, which was the fruit of her savings.”<sup>17</sup> Similarly, on 18 November 1796, Jean-Charles Desrivières purchased the *negresse* Marie-Louise from Michel Campa and immediately granted her freedom, declaring before a notary that “he had paid the purchase price of the said *negresse* with money that she had placed in his hands for that purpose, and therefore renounced all rights of property over her.”<sup>18</sup> On 9 April 1796, the *maître boulanger* Jean Drouillet presented acts of emancipation for Marguerite and her children Arsène and Auguste, declaring that “he had received from the said *negresse* the sum of two thousand six hundred forty livres to indemnify him for the services that she or her children could have provided him.”<sup>19</sup>

On 9 January 1796, Justine, who described herself as a free *negresse* and widow of the late Eugène, a free *nègre*, presented a notarized petition to the British authorities that governed Jérémie at the time, declaring:

Before her marriage, she was the mother of a young griffe named Balzamine, who then belonged to Jeanne Petit, widow of Jacques Lafond. Having acquired this child from the said Lafond by an act written by the notary M. Dolignies on 9 January 1796, and wishing to grant her freedom through the powers granted by the prince.... May it please Your Excellency to allow her to grant freedom to the said Balzamine, a griffe today aged around twenty-two years of

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., Series 9, folder 158.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., Series 16, folder 116.

<sup>19</sup> Jérémie Papers, Records of the Greffe, Box 5, folder 24.

age. . . . Filled with gratitude, the petitioner expresses her wishes for the prosperity of your days.<sup>20</sup>

Let us pause and reflect that this rather brief narration encapsulates a family drama lasting two decades and spanning the revolutionary divide. As Balzamine was born a slave, Justine herself had also been a slave at the time that she gave birth, presumably in 1773 or 1774. Since Balzamine is identified as a griffe, her father would have been a *mulatre*, perhaps a fellow slave, perhaps a free man, but not Justine's late husband Eugene, identified as a *negre*. Sometime after giving birth, Justine secured her own freedom, was married and widowed, somehow earned enough money to purchase her daughter, and successfully petitioned the occupying authorities of a foreign power to allow her to grant free status to that daughter.

An even more dramatic case was that of the *negresse* Marie-Louise, dite Caillaud, of Mirebalais, and her six *mulatre* children, which dragged on for a quarter century. The story began in 1750, when her previous master, *Sieur* Caillaud, sold her and her two eldest children to a *Sr. Voisin* for the purpose of freeing them (such cases of emancipation by sale appear in several instances in the files, and seem to have been an accepted practice in the colony). However, *Voisin* died before the paperwork ratifying the emancipation had been completed. A decade later, in 1762, Caillaud sold an estate to a neighbor, *Sr. Bidouze*, who the following day transferred it to Marie-Louise and her six children, according to Caillaud's stated wishes. These actions, and the fact that Marie-Louise later chose the surname Caillaud to identify herself, strongly suggest that the planter Caillaud acknowledged her children as his own (though without formal legal recognition) and sought to provide for them through a grant of land. When Caillaud died in 1765, Bidouze, as the executor of his will, recognized the rights of Marie-Louise and her children to the land granted them three years earlier. However, as Marie-Louise's lawyer would later recount, "as neither the mother nor her children, due to the absence of ratification of their freedom, could neither accept nor perform any legal act, the said *Sr. Bidouze* has always and constantly enjoyed all of the possessions of the said Caillaud, and has even sold nearly a hundred squares of land . . . and has always avoided the ratification of the liberty of the said *negresse* and her children, without giving them any of the profits from these sales, and has left them up to the present in extreme indigence."

In the subsequent years, the case took a number of twists and turns, which attest to the complex webs of kinship and property relations and the tenuous nature of life in the colony. The *sieur Voisin*, who had collaborated with Caillaud on the initial grant of freedom to Marie-Louise, died, leaving his estate to a *Sr. Perin de*

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<sup>20</sup> Jérémie Papers, Notarial Records, Series 6D, folder 10.

la Croix, who also died. In April 1768, the Sr. de Vancel, acting as executor for Perin de la Croix, presented to the governor and intendant of Saint-Domingue, the Prince de Rohan and Bongars, a request for official ratification of the emancipation proceedings that had been initiated eighteen years earlier. However, another Sr. Perin, brother and heir to the deceased, objected to this request, “undoubtedly,” according to Marie-Louise’s attorney, “through an understanding with the said Bidouze, who always avoided the ratification to continue to enjoy the possessions of the said Caillaud,” and the emancipation remained unfinished. “It is easy to see,” the lawyer continued, “that efforts have constantly been made to impede the freedom of these unfortunates in order to enjoy the inheritance that Sr. Caillaud wished to give them through the agency of the said Bidouze, who has shown through his conduct that he is not the man of Diogenes.”

Despite Bidouze’s culpable indifference to his obligations as executor of Caillaud’s estate, Marie-Louise continued to struggle for what she understandably considered her rightful inheritance, and was able to enlist white allies to assist her in this struggle. Not long after the dispute between Perin’s brother and his executor deadlocked the process, in August 1768, the sieur Brunellere, a relative of the late Caillaud, presented a request to the same administrators (Rohan and Bongars) and obtained permission to liberate Marie-Louise (but not yet her children), an emancipation ratified by an act dated 6 February 1770.

Finally in April 1776, six years after obtaining her own freedom and more than two decades after Caillaud had initiated emancipation proceedings on her behalf, Marie-Louise petitioned the colonial administration for the freedom of her six children, now adolescents and young adults. After her appeal had been delivered by her attorney and all of the legal formalities completed, her petition was approved and acts of emancipation drawn up and registered with the greffe on 25 July 1776.<sup>21</sup> By an interesting coincidence, one of the public notices of the proposed emancipation of Marie-Louise’s children, which were required under French colonial law, was posted on the momentous date of 4 July 1776.

The numbers of recorded manumissions in Jérémie, relatively small during the late colonial period, rose notably during the revolutionary period, with spikes around the beginning and the end of the period of British occupation. There are, I think, several reasons for this pattern. The emancipation of a slave during the pre-revolutionary period was a lengthy process requiring the payment of a substantial fee, ranging from 1,500 to 2,000 livres, and the clearing of a number of procedural hurdles. The emancipation fees were dropped during the revolutionary era, and while legal manumission still required administrative approval (which in Jeremie from 1793 to 1798 meant the British occupying authorities), the procedural requirements appear to have softened during this period.

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<sup>21</sup> Jérémie Papers, Records of the Greffe, Box 1, folder 27.

Furthermore, the revolutionary episode itself shattered the once imposing administrative apparatus of the colony, dividing it into zones commanded by the French revolutionary commissioners, by the British occupation force, and by increasingly organized and disciplined armies composed largely of former slaves. This division greatly increased the possibilities for slaves to escape by fleeing to a zone under the control of the insurgents, and possibly even joining the armies of Toussaint, Rigaud, and their contemporaries. The fortunes of each of the groups contending for power in the colony alternately rose and fell multiple times during the tumultuous 1790s, and while the abolition of slavery was first proclaimed by Sonthonax in 1793 and subsequently ratified by the Convention in 1794, this abolition was not applied in the British zone, at the heart of which Jérémie lay, nor could any of the parties involved be certain that it was irrevocable. Indeed, Napoleon would later rescind abolition in 1802 and send armies to the Caribbean to reestablish slavery, unsuccessfully in Saint-Domingue, but successfully in the smaller colony of Guadeloupe.

Under these circumstances, white planters, free people of color, and slaves alike sought to advance their interests in a highly uncertain world. Planters granted manumission selectively to free their mixed-race children and to reward those slaves who had remained loyal during times of rebellion and held out promises of future emancipation to keep others at work. Free people of color sought confirmation of their status to provide protection against re-enslavement, and in many cases petitioned for the freedom of family members or other loved ones. While many slaves simply ran away, leaving little or no trace in the notarial records, some of them sought through various means to gain a more secure freedom, supported by legal documents, that would not be subject to the uncertain fortunes of war and revolution.



**Special Section**  
Selected Undergraduate Articles





## **Muskogee Creeks, Treaties, and the Civilization Policy, 1790-1805**

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The treaties between Muskogee Creek peoples and the United States government, ratified between 1790 to 1805, included policies designed to “civilize” the Creeks. The United States would engineer policies through treaties that pushed for a civilization policy. As a representative of the United States government, Benjamin Hawkins, General Superintendent Indian Agent of tribes south of the Ohio River, would facilitate transactions with the Creeks from 1796 to 1816. Hawkins served as the federal government’s point man in the treaty making process, during his career as a coordinating U.S. official. The Creek people were not one single, homogenous conglomerate but a consolation of various tribes such as the Alabamas, Hitchitis, and Koasatis tribes, as well as bands of Shawnee. The federal government used the term “civilized” describing the willingness of tribes to adhere to agricultural, economical, and other American influenced practices. Through treaties and a civilization plan, the United States introduced the Creeks to such values or practices as land speculation, trade debt, paying or giving prominence to compliant chiefs, and privatization of property. Another factor that infused friction between Creeks, American settlers, as well as mixed blood Creeks were radically changed racially determined hierarchal systems within the civilization policy.<sup>1</sup> Hawkins stated the intention of the already in-place policy in 1807: “The plan I pursue is to lead the Indian from hunting to the pastoral life, to agriculture, household manufactures, a knowledge of weights and measures, money and figures, to be honest and true to themselves as well as their neighbors, to protect innocence, to punish guilt, to fit them to be useful members of the planet they inhabit and lastly, letters.”<sup>2</sup> Treaties signed from 1790 to 1805 created a plan based on civilizing the Creeks, alter tribal owned lands, cultural and political autonomy, and economic practices.

Understanding the civilization policy and treaties affecting the Creeks necessitates some knowledge of the Creeks as a people. Owning land was an idea that Americans believed as opposed to the Creek way of merely occupying it.<sup>3</sup> The Creeks believed land could not be owned according to Creek religion, because the Creator had made it for all his peoples. Communal land for hunting and farming were practices that Southeastern tribes utilized on their lands, as well as beginning stages of ranching. The idea of selling lands outright and not being able to return

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<sup>1</sup> For more on Creek racial attitudes see Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, and the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1773-1816* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 117-20.

<sup>2</sup> Carl Mauelshagen and Gerald H. Davis, eds., *Partner's in the Lord's Work: The Diary of Two Moravian Missionaries in the Creek Indian Country, 1807-1813* (Atlanta: Georgia State College, 1969), 7.

<sup>3</sup> For more information on land ownership of Native American tribes, see William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2003).

to the lands sold were alien in Creek cultural practice. Lands were part of the lives of the Creek because of ancestral burial grounds, kinship networks, oral histories, and clan maintenance. Dependence on deerskin trades and “Herein one arrives at the political significance of hunting and the Indian trade and its implications for ownership of the hinterlands. Simply put, hunting was tied to land.”<sup>4</sup> Hawkins realized the Creek political identity was tied into kinship roles and clan hierarchy but thought industry, education, and adherence to United States social customs more important. Cultural norms changed during American interference, such as disregarding chiefs who opposed the civilization plan and rewarding chiefs that fell in line with the ideas proposed in treaty meetings, would play a part in the discussion of treaties and the civilization plan to the predisposition of American terms.<sup>5</sup> The Creek Confederacy held many political similarities between the Upper Creeks, located in Alabama, and the Lower Creeks in Georgia. Creek political systems confused Americans during treaty negotiations because of divisional rights and political fragmentation that was the Creek Confederacy. Civilization of the Creeks through treaty negotiations and changing Native American culture would prove to be difficult, yet not fruitless by the United States.

Secretary of War, Henry Knox initiated the Indian civilization policy, encouraging the Natives of the Southeast to become agriculturalists by planting crops, practice husbandry by using cattle and other farm animals, abandon hunting lands, and conform to a settled lifestyle. Trading factories would be set up so the fur trade between the Creeks and the United States would be regulated and controlled by Indian agents. Indian Agent Benjamin Hawkins would facilitate relations with the Creeks and the United States while, “he did much else besides, including encouraging a reorganization of Creek government, working to install Western notions of private ownership of land, replacing, or attempting to replace, the Creek law of clan revenge with Western concepts of individual responsibility and justice, mediating disputes between whites and Indians, (and between Indians and Indians), and encouraging greater respect for women.”<sup>6</sup> Trading factories would facilitate the Creeks with farming implements, animals to use for husbandry, and served as places where the U.S. sanctioned traders plied their trade. These would encourage Creeks to become malleable to United States policies and eliminate inter-tribal conflicts between various supporters of U.S. intentions. Factories for deerskins became a crucial aspect of indigenous lives and over time, placed debt

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<sup>4</sup> For more on Creek land sovereignty issues and hunting grounds see Robbie Ethridge, *Creek Country: The Creek Indians and Their World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2003), 138.

<sup>5</sup> For more information on Creek ownership of land see Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins & Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685-1815* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993.), 150-154.

<sup>6</sup> William W. Winn, *The Triumph of the Ecumnau-Nuxulgee: Land Speculators, George M. Troup, State Rights, and the Removal of the Creek Indians from Georgia and Alabama, 1825-38* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2015), 25.

that would be payed in land through treaties.<sup>7</sup> The treaties detailed the many aspects of what the United States considered appropriate practice among the Southeastern Native American. Indian agents directed Native American activity by sending only governmentally sanctioned traders into Creek country and keeping track of what goods were included for Creek civilization. The 1790 “Act to Regulate Trade and Intercourse with the Indian Tribes” stated “that no sale of lands made by any Indians, or any nation or tribe of Indians within the United States, shall be valid to any person or persons, or to any state, whether having the right of pre-emption to such lands or not, unless the same shall be made and duly executed at some public treaty, held under the authority of the United States.”<sup>8</sup> The southeastern states of the United States could not deal with Native Americans within their territory without the United States approval and Creeks could not deal with foreign nations. Georgia had made several unsanctioned treaties with the Creeks before the civilization policy and certain Creeks appealed to both France and Spain.

Under President George Washington’s administration, the Treaty of New York (1790), signed on 7 August 1790, determined to keep Creek trade in American favor as the deerskin trade dried up. Meetings with American officials and Creek leaders, also called mikos, would be the crucial interactions for treaty and factory establishment negotiations. An official government factory system would be established, and Hawkins would be appointed by Washington as permanent Indian Agent in 1796 under this pretense. Knox, representing the United States, and Alexander McGillivray, representing the Creeks, signed this treaty, along with numerous other officials and chiefs. Knox, Hawkins, and McGillivray were influential in the negotiations and effectively streamlined the adoption of the treaty and its policy. The treaty touted the civilization project in action with a stipulation stating “that the Creek nation may be led to a greater degree of civilization, and to become herdsmen and cultivators, instead of remaining in a state of hunters, the United States will from time to time furnish gratuitously the said nation with useful domestic animals and implements of husbandry.”<sup>9</sup> Giving Creeks implements for agriculture and animal husbandry, the United States gave Creeks the means to turn from hunting. McGillivray was not opposed to the civilization policy towards the Creeks, as Henry Knox stated that the United States was aggregable to his disposition and would “cheerfully concur in so laudable a design.”<sup>10</sup> The United

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<sup>7</sup> For more information on the influence of factories and debt, see Florette Henri, *The Southern Indians and Benjamin Hawkins, 1786-1816* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 131-134.

<sup>8</sup> “An Act to Regulate Trade and Intercourse with the Indian Tribes” (1790), [http://pages.uoregon.edu/mjdennis/courses/hist469\\_trade.htm](http://pages.uoregon.edu/mjdennis/courses/hist469_trade.htm).

<sup>9</sup> INDIAN AFFAIRS: LAWS AND TREATIES Vol. II, Treaties, Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904. TREATY WITH THE CREEKS, June 29, 1796. | 7 Stat., 56. | Proclamation, March. 18, 1797.

<sup>10</sup> Minutes for Creek Treaty, August 1790, vol. 27, pg. 70, Henry Knox Papers, Gilmer Lehman Collection. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

States intended the Creeks to be preoccupied with growing crops and managing herds of animals that they would no longer oppose the U.S. military or become a threat for rebellion. The United States intended to manage the future of the Creeks as the streams of squatters in Georgia become a crack in Creek Country.

The Treaty of New York, without Benjamin Hawkins acting as Indian Agent, gave the United States the authority to retrieve slaves or U.S. citizens. Hawkins would use chattel slavery with a slight nod to settlers and plantation owners, favorably as well to U.S. policy. Creeks could no longer adopt escaped slaves or unauthorized traders into their tribes. Southeastern tribes adopted captured enemy warriors and escaping slaves in some instances to bolster their falling numbers and found total slavery repugnant. The treaty stated the penalty of not delivering slaves would be a stipulation in the treaty's ratification. The treaty article that deals with how the United States viewed African-American slaves and any whites living within the Creek lands not authorized by the federal government as:

all citizens of the United States, white inhabitants or negroes, who are now prisoners in now said nation. And if any such prisoners or negroes should not be so delivered on or before the 1st day of June, ensuing, the Governor of Georgia may empower the persons to repair to the said Nation in order to claim and receive such prisoners and negroes.<sup>11</sup>

The United States, by asking for the return of slaves in Creek country that belonged to white Georgia slave owners, were catering to white plantation owners living close to Creek lands who were adopted into Creek societies. Chattel slavery exemplifies the perpetuation of white ideology on racial slavery with the African slave traders inside Creek lands. This aspect of slavery would be practiced by advocates in the United States for Creek displacement because the American settlers practicing chattel slavery wanted any slaves living within the Creek lands. The mention of runaway slaves illustrates that Americans believed slavery to be an American practice that could be transplanted to the Creeks for lands. The Seminoles of Florida would later become a branch of combined Creek and escaped slaves who resisted United States authority. Creeks practiced a much more humane form of ownership of slaves compared to whites. Georgia greatly benefited from treaties and cultural dispossession of Creek peoples for large plantations that practiced slavery. Creeks could no longer harbor runaway slaves or allow them into East Florida. The Creeks had dealings with the Spanish, who condoned Creek defiance to American hegemony in the Southeast, and Creek leader Alexander McGillivray kept a close correspondence with the Spanish Governor Estevan

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<sup>11</sup> Benjamin Hawkins, *A Sketch of the Creek Country in the Years 1798 and 1799, and, Letters of Benjamin Hawkins* (Spartanburg: Reprint Co., 1974), 56.

Miro in Pensacola, Florida. McGillivray was troubled by the growing power of the United States and wrote that he felt pressure to sign the Treaty of New York on behalf of the whole Creek Nation. This treaty was pointedly led by Richard Morris, the chief justice of New York and Thomas Lee Shipman of Pennsylvania. The Creeks met this delegation from many Creek towns under the Creek Confederacy with Upper Creek miko, Alexander McGillivray, taking the most prominent part in the negotiations with the Americans.<sup>12</sup>

Hawkins's official involvement in Creek negotiations began with the Treaty of Colerain of 1796, wherein the Creeks ceded their lands between the Ogeechee and Oconee Rivers to the United States. The treaty itself threatened the same penalties to Creek people for breaking the earlier Treaty of New York (1790) by not returning slaves, white inhabitants or captives, and citizens of the United States held by the Creeks but extended the boundaries northward because of a Cherokee-Creek land dispute. The Treaty of Colerain allowed the United States to create a military or trading post on the Altamaha River as well.<sup>13</sup> The civilization policy at this point was used to address issues of frontier settlers. An example of how the United States implemented the 1790 Treaty of New York was an incident involving Revolutionary War hero, Elijah Clark's attempt to form an independent nation, the ill-fated Trans-Oconee Republic, west of the Oconee River, on Creek hunting lands. The United States decided that Clark's actions violated the treaty and eventually burned down the fort and settlement. Judge George Walton ruled from Augusta that Clark's settlements, had they been allowed would destroy Creek confidence in the United States and "if Clarke could occupy 'the richest jewel the state of Georgia possesses' before the lands were legally opened, then nothing would prevent others from doing the same, and federal treaties would be worthless."<sup>14</sup> Borders between Creeks and settlers under treaty and civilization policies would curb behavior such as Clark's but increasing settler movements into Creek hunting grounds and ranching lands would continue under the U.S. civilization policy. Under Hawkins's official observance, property became an issue in defining borders between the Creek and Cherokee that were not addressed in the Treaty of New York. The Creeks, led by McGillivray, were suspicious of Hawkins's intentions with the dealings with the Lower Creek sub-chiefs and would continue to look for better alternatives for Creek protection. The treaty negotiations that took place also touched on the education of Creek children and how the civilization policy would enable Creek parents to allow their children to become fluent in English. In the 1796 negotiations, United States commissioners repeated

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<sup>12</sup> For information on the 1790 Treaty of New York and Alexander McGillivray, see Braund, *Deerskins & Duffels*, 176-178.

<sup>13</sup> For information on the implications and reasons for the 1796 Treaty of Fort Colerain, see Henri, *The Southern Indians and Benjamin Hawkins*, 54-60.

<sup>14</sup> Christopher J. Floyd, "Trans-Oconee Republic," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/trans-oconee-republic>.

the request that Creek education in learning English would benefit the tribe. Letters became a valuable asset in Creek diplomatic interactions and the new link between writing and power led many Creeks to devalue oral communication. In the 1780's, Creeks began attributing a special significance to letters, if only because whites recognized written documents as a means of validating talks."<sup>15</sup> The importance of learning English can be seen as a unnamed Creek chief stated, "when they become old men, and chiefs, and warriors, they could transact the affairs of the nation like the white people, without being subject to imposition from designing characters, or interpreters; that they might keep a record of their transactions in their own tongue, or in English."<sup>16</sup> The Creeks assembled debated upon the suggestion but promptly decided to reject this offer. The reason, according to the Creeks assembled was that Anglo-American relations with the Creeks throughout their meetings were problematic in trade and land occupation. Language would become one roadblock between leading Creeks who could advocate the United States policies and those that wanted to remain Muskogee speaking.

The patriarchal society of the United States policies threatened Creek sovereignty and traditional way of life by placing United States prerogatives above Creek interests. The United States slowly placed the civilization plans within treaties as Creek land rights were being infringed on by Georgia squatters. By shrinking Creek lands while introducing practices such as intensive agricultural practices that would keep Creek warriors from long hunts as well as settling towns near factories, Creeks were becoming hemmed in. The civilization efforts put forth by the United States determined Creek occupational and cultural changes to ensure that the Creek Confederacy was peaceful and sedentary. The Creeks would have trader debt extinguished by the United States and various Creek tribal members gained influence as gifts were exchanged for Creek treaty signatures.

During President Thomas Jefferson's administration, the Indian policy of the United States transformed into forced assimilation or forced removal.<sup>17</sup> Jefferson expressed his views in a letter to Governor William Henry Harrison in 1803, after the Treaty of Fort Wilkinson (1802), signed with the Creeks. In the letter, Jefferson wrote,

to promote this disposition to exchange lands, which they have to spare and we want, for necessities, which we have to spare and they want, we shall push our trading uses, and be glad to see the good and influential individuals among them run in debt, because we observe that when these debts get beyond what the individuals can pay, they become willing to lop them off by a cession of

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<sup>15</sup> Claudio Saunt, *A New Order of Things: Property, Power, And the Transformation of the Creek Indians, 1733-1816* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 189.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> For more on Jefferson's Indian Policy, see Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), and Reginald Horsman, *Expansion and American Indian Policy 1783-1812* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press), 1967.



lands. . . . In this way our settlements will gradually circumscribe and approach the Indians, and they will in time either incorporate with us as citizens of the United States, or remove beyond the Mississippi. The former is certainly the termination of their history most happy for themselves; but, in the whole course of this, it is essential to cultivate their love. As to their fear, we presume that our strength and their weakness is now so visible that they must see we have only to shut our hand to crush them, and that all our liberalities to them proceed from motives of pure humanity only. Should any tribe be foolhardy enough to take up the hatchet at any time, the seizing the whole country of that tribe, and driving them across the Mississippi, as the only condition of peace, would be an example to others, and a furtherance of our final consolidation.<sup>18</sup>

The Treaty of Fort Wilkinson in 1802 ceded even more Creek lands than the previous treaties combined. Hawkins, in a letter written in January 1799, to trader William Panton declared that among the Creek, the thought of ceding more land “excites very disagreeable emotions. . . . I have explained the mode among civilized people, of taking property of every description, even land, to satisfy claims. They are pleased with the mode, so far as it respects personal property, but land they say should not be touched.”<sup>19</sup> Land cessations among the Creek were not just a property issue but a cultural, economic, and sociological issue. Paramount in Creek lives was the connectedness to their region and the spiritual power they attributed to their lands according to their oral histories. Men’s employment as warriors and hunters were shrinking as hunting grounds became depleted and circumscribed through treaties. Women were affected by the loss of communal agricultural grounds. An example is “Behind his inexact reference to “the Indian,” Hawkins hid another goal: to reshape gender roles in Creek country. He encouraged men to abandon the chase in favor of ranching and planting, and women to vacate their farms to produce “ household manufactures.”<sup>20</sup> Under this treaty, Georgia would cease claims on lands in Alabama and Mississippi and defer to the federal government for these lands. Georgians would do so under the conditions that President Thomas Jefferson cancel all Creek titles within Georgia. The area ceded by the Creek in this treaty would be lands adjoining the Oconee, Ocmulgee and Altamaha rivers. Using material goods and debt relief to gain Creek lands for the United States, the American policy was to move the Creeks, either peacefully or by force. This treaty between the Creeks and the United States encompassed land farther west as well as southward. Jefferson explained his understanding of the civilization of the Creeks in his annual message to Congress in 1801. Jefferson elaborated on this as he wrote, “they are becoming sensible

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<sup>18</sup> Francis Paul Prucha, "President Jefferson to William Henry Harrison: February 27, 1803," in *Documents of United States Indian Policy* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 22.

<sup>19</sup> Hawkins, *A Sketch of the Creek Country*, 243.

<sup>20</sup> Saunt, *A New Order of Things*, 139.

that the earth yields subsistence with less labor and more certainty than the forest, and find it their interest from time to time to dispose of parts of their surplus and waste lands for the means of improving those they occupy and of subsisting their families while they are preparing their farms.”<sup>21</sup> An aspect that shows how ulterior motives may have been practiced by the state of Georgia and Benjamin Hawkins was white Georgia settlers gained the lands through this treaty, establishing lands that would become prime cotton lands after the indigenous populations were removed westward. The land sold in Georgia’s first land lottery were the same areas that were speculated in the Yazoo Land Fraud. The lands that the companies were trying to sell off became part of the land ceded. Thomas Jefferson wrote General Andrew Jackson detailing Indian policy, stating the foundation as “1. The preservation of peace; 2. The obtaining of their lands.”<sup>22</sup> To satisfy the clamor of Georgia for more land, the United States would continue to treat with the Creeks for land. The pattern of land cession shows larger and larger amounts were taken from the Creeks. Georgia continued to claim Creek lands as its own by using cotton agriculture and culture to justify the seizure of Creek lands.

On 14 November 1805, under President Thomas Jefferson’s administration, the Creeks ceded another wide swath of land to the United States negotiated by Benjamin Hawkins. Under the first Treaty of Washington, the Creeks signed away land to the east of the Ocmulgee River, deep in Creek territory. Under the Treaty of Washington, the Creeks accepted that the new Federal Road, under construction through Creek country, would be used by the United States.<sup>23</sup> The second article states:

it is hereby stipulated and agreed, on the part of the Creek nation that the government of the United States shall forever hereafter have a right to a horse path, through the Creek country, from the Ocmulgee to the Mobile, in such direction as shall, by the President of the United States, be considered most convenient, and to clear out the same, and lay logs over the creeks: And the citizens of said States, shall at all times have a right to pass peaceably on said path, under regulation and such restrictions, as the government of the United States shall from time to time direct . . . and the respective ferriages and prices of entertainment for men and horses, shall be regulated by the present

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<sup>21</sup> James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1968), 386-87 (Annual Message of December 1801).

<sup>22</sup> Wallace, *Jefferson and the Indians*, 220-221, citing Thomas Jefferson to General Andrew Jackson, Feb. 16, 1803, in Albert Ellery Bergh, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 10 (Washington, D.C.: The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association of the United States, 1905), 357-59.

<sup>23</sup> The Federal Road is discussed thoroughly by Henry DeLeon Southland, Jr., and Jerry Elijah Brown, *The Federal Road through Georgia, the Creek Nation, and Alabama, 1806-1836* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992), 14-32.

agent, Col. Hawkins, or by his successor in office, or as is usual among white people.<sup>24</sup>

The Federal Road aimed to create a path linking South Carolina to New Orleans which could be used by the United States for emergencies, drive economic development, and clear land through Creek country. Another main provision of the treaty stipulated that

the President of the United States, for the time being, shall have a right to establish and continue a military post, and a factory or trading house on said reserved tract; and to make such other use of the said tract as may be found convenient for the United States, as long as the government thereof shall think proper to continue the said military post or trading house.<sup>25</sup>

The early civilization plan proposed by Knox, endorsed by Washington and Jefferson, and implemented by Hawkins served as a stop gap device used by the United States to lull Creeks into less warfare, deceiving them with peaceful overtures by extinguishing debt. By President Jefferson's administration, Creeks were signing treaties that gave them the implementations of farming and blacksmithing, but lost wide swaths of land in the process. The leading Creek headman under President Jefferson's tenure as president was William McIntosh. As the United States gained influence over Creek leaders, especially mixed Creeks like the prominent McIntosh, treaties proliferated and the civilization plan became more deeply entrenched. The Creeks at the turn of the century were intermarrying more than they had in earlier years to southerners and saw their leaders rewarded with plantation houses, slaves, and gifts that greased the wheels of Indian policy. Influential leaders of the Upper and Lower Creeks were becoming more mixed heritage than the previous generations and the United States would capitalize on the rewarding of biracial-mestizo Creek leaders for advocacy of the Creek civilization policy. The lands that Creeks held long before the United States had gained independence were shrinking and Creek culture was dealing with the many changes that civilization brought. Tensions would rise as the Upper Creeks looked to the British for support and the Lower Creeks in Georgia were becoming increasingly acceptable of American civilization policies or treaties. Through treaties, installing a more agricultural centric economy, factory or trader systems, and debt being replaced by lands, the Creeks in Georgia faced an uncertain future by 1805. By accepting the civilization policy set forth by the United States, the Creeks would engage in the Creek War, also called the Redstick War of 1813-1814, amongst the Upper and Lower Creeks but also adapt to an ever-changing geo-political reality.

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<sup>24</sup> INDIAN AFFAIRS: LAWS AND TREATIES Vol. II, Treaties, Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904. TREATY WITH THE CREEKS, 1805. Nov. 14. 1805. | 7 Stat., 96. | Proclamation, June 2, 1806.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*