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Note From The Editors

Following last year's award-winning edition of *Clio* was no easy task. The editorial staff of *Clio* continuously seeks to represent the best of California State University, Sacramento and the Department of History. The 2009 staff maintained the high standards and goals of previous years and this edition succeeded in meeting them. We are especially proud of *Clio* because it is entirely student produced, including the articles, editing, and production of the journal itself.

On behalf of the 2009 *Clio* staff, we present this journal and hope you will not only appreciate the quality, but will enjoy the history.

Jennifer Depold
Katie Healey
Clio Executive Editors

Editors

Chelsea Del Rio

Chelsea Del Rio completed her Master of Arts degree in History at California State University, Sacramento in 2009. Graduating with a Bachelor of Arts degree in History from the University of California, Davis in 2001, Chelsea spent several years as a social worker and activist before returning to school. Currently, she is pursuing her doctoral degree at the University of Michigan, researching lesbian and feminist identity and activism in modern American history.

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Jennifer Depold is a graduate student in the Liberal Arts Program at California State University, Sacramento. She received her Bachelor of Arts from Sacramento State in Humanities and Religious Studies. Her areas of interest are Medieval England and Medieval Apocalypticism. With her husband, she plans to study abroad to earn a Ph.D. in Medieval History.

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Thomas O'Donnell graduated in 2009 with a Master of Arts from California State University, Sacramento. Within the field of United States History, his studies focus on the social aspects of the law's intersection with women and gender. He is currently in the Ph.D. program in History at University of California, Davis. He is married and has a daughter and son.

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Public History

The Basil John Vlavianos Papers*

Aaron Richardson

The article discusses the Basil John Vlavianos Papers held in the California State University, Sacramento University Library, Department of Special Collections and University Archives. It provides a description of the collection's provenance, its variety of documentary forms, its general historical significance, and its value for contemporary scholarship.

Introduction

In May 2007, the author began what would become a one and a half year internship in the Department of Special Collections and University Archives at California State University Sacramento, University Library.[1] The graduate-level, professional internship met the curricular requirements of the CSUS Public History program and provided a program concentration in archives and manuscripts. The work also resulted in the author's MA Thesis Project, *The Basil J. Vlavianos Papers: hidden collections and archival representation.* The thesis described the author's effort to understand contemporary archival practice, address the "hidden collections" problem for one large twentieth-century manuscript collection, and explore the uses of new digital media for archival representation. The project resulted in a preliminary descriptive inventory for the Papers, a collection arrangement plan, a grant proposal to the *Council on Library and Information Resources/Mellon Foundation*, and a website for a burgeoning SCUA digital history project.

Basil John Vlavianos,
Courtesy of
Zita Vlavianos Hosmer

Drawing on this body of research, the more modest aim here is to provide background information on the collection for researchers. This

* Previously published in the *Journal of Hellenic Diaspora*, issue 35.1 (2009).

1. Hereafter SCUA.

brief paper thus describes the Vlavianos Project, the provenance of the manuscript collection, its content and potential value for research.

SCUA And The Vlavianos Project

The University Library's Special Collections unit serves as the repository for historical research collections at California State University, Sacramento. Its holdings include rare books, manuscripts, political posters, audio-visual materials, theses, and the Sacramento State University Archives. The department supports the educational work of the university by providing access to unique primary source materials, assisting the university community with research, and by providing practica for students interested in archival studies. Students pursuing training in archival work normally come from either the CSUS Public History program, which offers a joint Doctorate in Public Historical Studies with University of California, Santa Barbara[2] or from the School of Library and Information Science at San Jose State University.[3] Sheila O'Neill has been SCUA Department Head since 1999.[4]

Housed in SCUA, the Basil J. Vlavianos Papers are the largest and most significant historical research collection within the prestigious Tsakopoulos Hellenic Collection.[5] The personal papers of an eminent Greek-American émigré and New York intellectual, the Vlavianos manuscripts represent the extraordinary life of a twentieth-century lawyer, diplomat, editor, professor, businessman, and community leader. Recognizing the stature of the collection and its potential for scholarly

2. California State University, Sacramento Public History Program. http://www.csus.edu/pubhist/; University of California, Santa Barbara Department of History webpage. http://www.history.ucsb.edu/fields/field.php?field_id=1.

3. The author was concurrently enrolled in both programs during the period of the SCUA internship. Likewise, David Lushbaugh, one of the processing archivists on the Vlavianos Project, is a recent graduate of the SJSU SLIS program. San Jose State University, School of Library and Information Science. http://slisweb.sjsu.edu/.

4. With subject competence in anthropology and a background as a research university-level manuscripts librarianship, her guidance in the Vlavianos project proved invaluable.

5. See G.I. Paganelis. "The Tsakopoulos Hellenic Collection at California State University, Sacramento: A Beacon of Hellenism in the Western United States". *Journal of Modern Greek Studies.* 26, no. 1 (2008): 19-28.

research, the Tsakopoulos Curator[6] and SCUA Department Head saw the desirability of making the Vlavianos Papers accessible for research and teaching. However, due to the enormous size of the collection, its age and physical condition, lack of organization, the multiplicity of languages represented, security and confidentiality issues, as well as budget, the papers remained inaccessible. Thus, since his death in 1994, the Vlavianos Papers had rested quietly in the stacks of various libraries, unprocessed, a quintessential *hidden collection.* SCUA has recently begun the task of processing the collection and, as series are arranged, this exceptional information resource will finally see the light of day.

Concurrent with this processing work, in August 2008, SCUA created the *Basil J. Vlavianos Papers* project website (http://www.library.csus.edu/vlavianos/index.html). The site functions as a platform for constructing a digital history project and will contain digitized replica of newspapers, correspondence, photographs, moving images, audio recordings, as well as the EAD finding aid.[7] The burgeoning field of *digital history* (and/or *digital humanities*), which seeks to use new media technology to promote both preservation and research, is filled with promise for humanities scholars and interested archivists.[8] It is the author's view that archivists and historians ought to embrace the opportunity to collaborate on creative projects made possible by new communications media.

> *"The Vlavianos project has the potential to become a remarkably valuable educational resource for the CSUS community and other interested researchers."*

The Vlavianos project has the potential to become a

6. The Curator of the Tsakopoulos Hellenic Collection is George Paganelis. See: http://library.csus.edu/tsakopoulos/

7. There is now a larger scholarly literature on the significance of new digital media for public history and cultural heritage studies. The following are representative. Lev Manovich. *The Language of New Media* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2002); Kalay, Yehuda E., Thomas Kvan, and Janice Affleck. *New heritage: new media and cultural heritage* (London: Routledge, 2008); Cameron, Fiona, and Sarah Kenderdine, *Theorizing Digital Cultural Heritage: a critical discourse* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press., 2007). Especially interesting, insofar as it supports the thesis of archivists being engaged in cultural production/re-production is the work of Bolter and Grusin. Bolter, J. David, and Richard Grusin. *Remediation: understanding new media*. (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1999)

8. See specifically: Cohen, Daniel J., and Roy Rosenzweig, *Digital History: a guide to gathering, preserving, and presenting the past on the Web* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); Schreibman, Susan, Raymond George Siemens, and John Unsworth, *A Companion to Digital Humanities*. Blackwell companions to literature and culture (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004)

remarkably valuable educational resource for the CSUS community and other interested researchers. We envision it eventually functioning as an open-access historical research portal to primary source documents, virtual exhibits, research guides, new forms of scholarly publication, podcasts of lectures and symposia.[9] SCUA has also begun working with CSUS History Professor, Katerina Lagos, to identify primary source materials for integration into course curricula. The Vlavianos papers contain significant World War II-era documentation. Once arranged, described and digitized, these materials will form the basis of a valuable electronic archive that may be put to any number of creative uses.

SCUA's also plans to link its Vlavianos site to thematically-related collections in other institutions.[10] Our grant proposal discussed a number of possible collaborative projects involving other manuscript repositories. The goal would be to promote broad access to the resource by making thematic (and hyper-textual links) to other relevant holdings. By wisely planning future projects with interested scholars, SCUA hopes to make an interesting contribution to the growing field of digital history, and to whatever specific scholarly disciplines may profit from the collection's enhanced web representation.

THE VLAVIANOS DONATION(S)[11]

In spring 1993 the *Speros Vyronis Center for the Study of Hellenism* announced that Basil John Vlavianos (1903-1994) had donated 6,000 books, pamphlets, newspapers and magazines to its Tsakopoulos Hellenic Library.[12] The gift included most of his personal library and a portion of

9. For examples of recent work in the field of digital history see the University of Virginia's Center for Digital History. http://www.vcdh.virginia.edu/index.php?page=VCDH. For examples of multimedia scholarly production beyond the traditional printed monograph see the University of Southern California's *Vectors Journal of Culture and Technology*, http://www.vectorsjournal.org/.

10. For an example of a thematic research collection see the Walt Whitman Archives at University of Lincoln, Nebraska, Center for Digital Research in the Humanities. http://cdrh.unl.edu/. The Whitman Archives is an electronic research and teaching tool that sets out to make Whitman's work (specifically photographs, facsimiles and encoded e-texts of manuscripts) easily accessible to scholars, students, and general readers. The goal of the project directors is to "create a dynamic site that will grow and change over the years." http://www.whitmanarchive.org/about/over.html.

11. For a description of the Tsakopoulos donation and collection see G.I. Paganelis, "The Tsakopoulos Hellenic Collection at California State University, Sacramento: A Beacon of Hellenism in the Western United States". *Journal of Modern Greek Studies.* 26, no.1 (2008): 19-28.

12. Spyros Basil Vlavianos Center for the Study of Hellenism Newsletter, 3, no. 1 (1993): 1.

his private papers. The Vyronis Newsletter went on to detail the rich book collection which reflected Vlavianos' varied intellectual, social and political interests.

His library featured antiquarian and modern books on Greece, Cyprus, Greek-America, as well as a voluminous pamphlet collection. Newspaper holdings from the Vlavianos donation were extensive and included a series of bound volumes of the *National Herald*.[13] The library included an assortment of European newspapers, scholarly journals, and magazines. It also contained a large number of works in French dealing with various aspects of culture, law, and history, as well as works in German on criminal law, philosophy, and psychology.

In 2000 the Vyronis Center closed its doors. Two years later, Sacramento businessman, philanthropist, and CSUS alum Angelo Tsakopoulos, donated the Vyronis Center's library to the University Library at CSU, Sacramento. The Tsakopoulos Hellenic Collection which opened at CSUS in 2002 brought the Vlavianos papers to the CSUS campus. As received by the University Library, the Tsakopoulos Hellenic Collection contained some 70,000 volumes and arguably remains the premier Hellenic research collection in the western United States. In the summer of 2005, the Curator of the Collection secured a further donation of archival material (ca. 75 shipping boxes) from Vlavianos' daughter, Zita Hosmer. This gift completed the Basil John Vlavianos papers and gave the Tsakopoulos Hellenic Collection exceptionally complete documentation for the life of Vlavianos, one of the most important figures in 20th-century Greek-American life.

It should be noted that the Vlavianos donation also included personal possessions apart from his library and papers. It included a Blüthner grand piano once owned by renowned Greek pianist, composer and conductor, Dimitri Mitropoulos. Vlavianos originally purchased the piano for his daughter, Zita's, piano lessons. He also donated a portion of his large art collection to the Center. Notable Greek and Greek-American artists represented include Celeste Polychroniadou-Karavia, George Constant, and Theo Hios. Most recently, his daughter, Zita Vlavianos Hosmer donated a trio of terracotta sculptures by the renowned Greek

13. See biographical sketch below for information about Vlavianos' editorial activity.

sculptress Froso Eftimiadi-Menegaki.[14]

By 2005, then, the CSUS Library possessed the entirety of the Basil J. Vlavianos Papers. Once fully cataloged and represented to the public this extraordinarily rich historical research collection will provide both the University and visiting scholars with an extremely valuable information resource for years to come. A full appreciation of the collection's value entails knowing something of its provenance in the life of Vlavianos.

Basil and Kati Vlavianos,
Courtesy of Zita Vlavianos Hosmer

BIOGRAPHY

Basil John Vlavianos (1903 – 1994) was a Greek Émigré, international lawyer, professor, publisher, editor, businessman, human rights activist, journalist, and community leader. For the sake of narrative organization his life may be divided into European (1903–1938) and American periods (1939-1994). While the bulk of his personal papers reflect the American period, there are most certainly are valuable research materials from the earlier European period.[15]

EUROPE (1903-1938)

Born January 16, 1903 in Athens Greece, Basil John Vlavianos was the oldest son of Helen (Fandrides) and John G. Vlavianos, VI. His father was a prominent Athenian lawyer and President of the Athens City Council. Basil began his studies in philosophy, political science, economics and law at the University of Athens in 1918. Graduating in 1920, he

14. G.I. Paganelis. "The Tsakopoulos Hellenic Collection at California State University, Sacramento: A Beacon of Hellenism in the Western United States". *Journal of Modern Greek Studies.* 26, no.1 (2008): 19-28.

15. For biographical information on Vlavianos see the *New York Times* obituary for July 6, 1994, and the biography file at CSUS University Library, Special Collections and University Archives.

received the *Certificate of Studies in Law* before departing for advanced legal studies in Europe. While in Germany he studied jurisprudence at Universities of Leipzig and Munich. From the latter he was awarded the *Juris Doctor* in 1924. Later in France he continued his studies at the University of Paris, where he received a *Certificate of Studies in Law and Forensic Medicine and Psychology* (1925). He also studied at the prestigious École des Sciences et Politiques, a private institute devoted to training of the political class in international relations, law, and comparative government. As the fruit of his studies Vlavianos produced significant works in the field of comparative penology including his doctoral dissertation *Zur Lehre von der Blütrache* (On the Theory of Vendetta) in 1924, *The Reform of Penal Law* in 1925 and *The Systematic Classification of Penal Sciences* in 1927.[16] Vlavianos studied jurisprudence between the creation of the League of Nations (1920) and the United Nations (1945). His papers thus document a very interesting period in the evolution of public international law.

Passing bar examinations in both Greece and France, Vlavianos formally entered the international legal profession in 1926. During the latter part of the 1920s he served Greece as official representative at international law congresses throughout Europe including: International Prison Congress (London, 1925), International Congress of Penal Law (Brussels, 1927), Congress of the International Society for Penal Law (Bucharest, 1928), International Prison Congress (Prague, 1930), and International Prison Congress (Berlin, 1935). From 1927 to 1937 he operated his own firm in Athens while keeping an office and serving as a legal advisor in London. During this period Vlavianos defended cases in Greece, France, Belgium, England, Germany and Egypt, specializing in patents, and maritime law. He also served as Consul of the Republic of Panama in Piraeus, Greece from 1936-1939. In 1932 Vlavianos married Ekaterina George Nikolaou, member of a well-known Athenian shipping family, and in 1936 they had one daughter, Zita.[17]

In 1935, amid considerable social and political strife, a Royalist coup brought King George II back to power in Greece. The King appointed General Ioannis Metaxas to the office of Prime Minster in 1936 and,

16. For a complete list of publications see Vlavianos Biography file CSUS Library Special Collections and University Archives.

17. Vlavianos Biography file, CSUS Library Special Collections and University Archives.

with the King's full approval, Metaxas dissolved Greece's parliamentary government. Political parties were suppressed, as were civil liberties and freedom of the press. Modeling his regime after other authoritarian governments in Europe, the Metaxas dictatorship (also known as the 4th of August Regime) banned political parties, arrested communists, criminalized strikes, and sponsored media-censorship.[18] By 1937 Vlavianos had relocated to Paris.

UNITED STATES (1939 – 1993)

Vlavianos arrived in New York on September 3, 1939 in order to attend the World's Fair.[19] He stayed for the next fifty-four years. In 1940, the same year the Italians invaded Greece, he acquired *Ò Ethnikos Keryx* (*The National Herald*). Founded by Petros Tatanis in 1915, the newspaper was one of two major Greek-language dailies in the United States (the other being the *Atlantis*, a royalist paper supporting the Metaxas dictatorship). Through the paper Vlavianos played a prominent role in keeping the Greek community and American public informed about the political situation in Greece before, during, and just after WWII. Given the wide-spread censorship by the regime in Greece, the *National Herald* functioned as an important source of free communication. With Vlavianos the newspaper

> *"Through the paper Vlavianos played a prominent role in keeping the Greek community and American public informed about the political situation in Greece before, during, and just after WWII."*

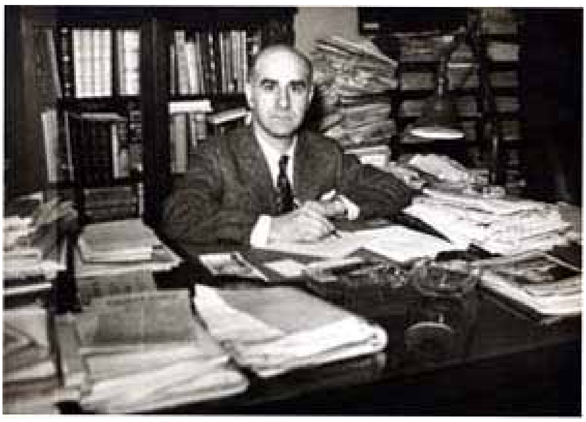
18. For historical background on the Metaxas regime see: Mark. 1993. *Inside Hitler's Greece: the experience of occupation, 1941-44*. New Haven: Yale University Press. M. Pelt, "The Establishment and Development of the Metaxas Dictatorship in the Context of Fascism and Nazism, 1936-41". *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions.* 2 (2002): 143-172; A. A. Kallis, "Fascism and Religion: The Metaxas Regime in Greece and the 'Third Hellenic Civilization'. Some Theoretical Observations on 'Fascism', 'Political Religion' and 'Clerical Fascism'". *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions.* 8, no.2 (2007): 229-246. Jon V. Kofas, Authoritarianism *in Greece: the Metaxas regime*. (Boulder: East European Monographs 1983).

19. For historical background on the war-time immigration of intellectuals to New York City see Fleming, Donald, and Bernard Bailyn. *The Intellectual Migration; Europe and America, 1930-1960* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969); Laura Fermi, *Illustrious Immigrants; the Intellectual migration from Europe, 1930-41*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Jay, Martin. 1985. *Permanent Exiles: essays on the intellectual migration from Germany to America*. (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1968); and Jeffrey Mehlman, *Émigré New York: French intellectuals in wartime Manhattan, 1940-1944* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

took an anti-Metaxas stance and functioned as a source of coordination and communication for liberal, republican circles of the anti-dictatorship movement (oppositionist) party.

During World War II and during the ensuing Greek Civil War, the paper, under the editorship of Vlavianos, continued to be a primary means of information for the Greek-American community and the broader American public. The newspaper made a significant contribution to the allied war-effort. Through his editorship Vlavianos both supported and thoroughly documented Greek resistance to occupation. During the war year Vlavianos also supported the communist-led EAM (National Liberation Front) the main opposition party widely-supported by the Greek center and left.

Vlavianos and the *Herald* were especially influential in the relief of Greek citizens during the war.[20] In April of 1941, Italian, Bulgarian and German military forces entered Athens and had occupied Greece, with each power occupying a different portion of the country. Because of the occupation, a harsh winter in 1942, and British shipping blockade designed to prevent Axis supplies entering the country, many Greeks suffered starvation. Thousands died in Athens alone. In response to a call by Greek Orthodox Archbishop Athenagoras, and under the leadership of Twentieth-Century Fox Chairman, Spyros Skouras, the *Greek War Relief Association* came into being. The GWRA was a major transnational humanitarian campaign involving the international Red Cross, the Greek Diaspora communities,



Basil Vlavianos, Editor of the *National Herald*, *Courtesy of Zita Vlavianos Hosmer*

20. On Greek relief see the new collection of essays in Richard Clogg, *Bearing Gifts to Greeks: Humanitarian Aid to Greece in the 1940s* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); and Violetta Hionidou, *Famine and Death in Occupied Greece, 1941-1944* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

and other sympathetic American participants. As editor of the *National Herald*, Vlavianos called for an end to the British blockade and lobbied hard for a change in British policy. He exerted significant influence through public appearances and editorials, and made an important contribution to the larger GWRA efforts.[21]

After the war Vlavianos continued to be active in law, international politics, business, culture, and education. In 1945, representatives of fifty countries met in San Francisco at the *United Nations Conference on International Organization* to create the United Nations Charter. Vlavianos served as legal consultant to Foreign Minister John Sofianopoulos and the Greek U.N. Delegation. Resigning the editorship of the *National Herald* in 1947, Vlavianos became adjunct Professor of Political Affairs and Regional Studies at *New York University* where he taught until 1961. While at NYU he helped found the *Institute for Intercontinental Studies*, an early example of an international educational exchange program.[22] His interest in human rights and international law also led him to serve as treasurer for the *International League for the Rights of Man*, an organization that sought to further the values enshrined in international human rights treaties and conventions.

"His interest in human rights and international law also led him to serve as treasurer for the International League for the Rights of Man, an organization that sought to further the values enshrined in international human rights treaties and conventions."

Vlavianos also continued to engage in publishing. He founded *Arts Inc. Publishers* a publishing house specializing in European scholarly and artistic works. In the late 1940s the firm expanded to create, first, the *Golden Griffin Bookstore,* and then the *Griffin Gallery* which bought and sold the work of contemporary American and European artists. The business was located in midtown Manhattan during a fascinating period

21. Vlavianos Biography file, CSUS University Library, Special Collections and University Archives.

22. For an interesting history of cultural internationalism including international education programs see Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

of increasing post-war internationalism.[23] *Golden Griffin* was known as the "Continental Bookstore" because of its stock of European titles, objet d' art and imported high-end stationary. The publishing house produced the critically-acclaimed "American Cities" series which featured the work of Swiss water-colorist, Fritz Busse, and texts by popular contemporary American writers. In addition to these culture industry ventures, Vlavianos served on the editorial board of *Free World* magazine and (later) the Greek-language newspaper, *Proini.* During roughly this same period, Vlavianos held interests in multiple businesses including transportation and construction companies involved in post-war reconstruction in Greece. He also served on the board of the several businesses and banks, while holding extensive real estate interests.

Throughout the latter half of his life Vlavianos followed international relations, human rights, and nuclear disarmament closely. He thus accumulated numerous subject files documenting contemporary affairs. Throughout his long life he continued to be active in a variety of social, political, and cultural causes. He belonged to Hellenic fraternal organizations like the *American Hellenic Progressive Association* (AHEPA), participated in a wide range of academic and professional associations, as well as accumulating a large collection of historic stamps. Naturalized as an American citizen in 1958, Vlavianos died in Alexandria, VA on June 27, 1994.

Research Value

As a writer, academic, lawyer, editor, businessman, and prominent member of the Greek-American community Vlavianos conscientiously documented his activities and preserved the documentation thus created. His personal correspondence, journals, lectures, photographs, subject files and ephemera all provide detailed documentation about his relationships with others and his "place" in the world. As the record of a prominent public intellectual the papers possess the two-fold virtue of documenting both a rich inner life and an influential civic career.

After surveying the collection we found that the Basil John Vlavianos Papers (1890-1994) consisted of 341.25 linear feet of correspondence, literary manuscripts, drawings, legal documents, academic

23. Wallock, Leonard, and Dore Ashton, *New York, 1940 - 1965: culture capital of the world* (New York, NY: Rizzoli, 1988).

papers, business records, telegrams, clippings/articles, subject files, maps, programs, radio transcripts, exhibit plans, blueprints, phonographs, newspapers, bound volumes, photographs and moving images. This material is roughly organized in eight series: Correspondence, Academic/ Legal, Politics, Organizations, Businesses, Subject Files, Personal and Photographs. As noted above, the arrangement and description of the collection is ongoing.

This documentation is obviously capable of supporting a diverse array of interesting research projects. Indeed, the diversity of both format and subject matter is perhaps the collection's main strength. The materials most certainly provide unique documentation for what has been a marginal narrative within American historiography — the Greek American experience[24]-- and social historians will certainly profit from the papers. Yet the documentation will also have a wider interest to historians of both southern Europe and the north Atlantic.

Produced by an influential figure of 20th century Greek-American life, the materials offer scholars a unique resource for the pursuit of contemporary research agenda. For example, the papers may prove useful to those interested in the subjects of modern Hellenism, transnational migration, bi-national identity, cultural internationalism, comparative law, north Atlantic Diaspora communities, human rights activism, Greek-American relations, and post-war New York cosmopolitanism. On each of these topics scholars will discover a wealth of information. The papers' interdisciplinary breadth and international scope have the potential to enrich many research fields including political, social and intellectual history, art history, legal history, international relations, ethnic studies and women's studies.

Although the papers contain family documents dating to the late 19th century, the primary period of significance for the Vlavianos' papers is 1940-1947. During this time he served as publisher and editor-in-chief of the *National Herald*. Opposite in political orientation to the royalist-learning Atlantis, Vlavianos edited the main liberal opposition paper for seven years. Scholars researching the American and Greek-American

24. Theodore Salutos, *The Greeks in the United States*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964); Spyros D. Orfanos, *Reading Greek America: studies in the experience of Greeks in the United States*. (New York: Pella, 2002); also, the entire issue of the *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*. 14, nos.1-2 (1987).

political experience during the War will find tremendously valuable information in Vlavianos' editorial correspondence, publishing records, photographs, phonographs, reel-to-reel film, clippings and ephemera from this period.

The audio-visual materials are perhaps especially intriguing. Just consider that the collection contains substantial journalistic photography of war-time activities (in both America and Greece), phonograph records containing transcriptions of war-time radiobroadcasts, as well as 8, 16, and 32 millimeter film. Once processed and fully available for research, the *National Herald* records will yield extremely interesting information about ethnic journalism in New York City during the war and illumine the lager socio-political situation of the Greek-American Diaspora.[25]

The Vlavianos Papers will also provide information about the diverse cultural world of post-War New York City. As noted above, during the period from 1945-1960 New York City displaced Paris and emerged as the "cultural capital" of the world.[26] As a southern European émigré, editor and publisher of European art books, Scholars seeking primary source material on the avant-garde art scene in 1950-1960s New York will find rich documentation in the manuscripts. Of special interest are the records of *Arts Inc.* publishing house, the *Golden Griffin* bookstore and *Griffin Gallery* founded and run by Vlavianos in Midtown Manhattan. These files contain correspondence, drawings, art-book production files and proofs, blueprints, gallery exhibit plans, publicity files, photographs, and guest books. The correspondence files contain exchanges with artists like George Constant, George Grosz, E.L. Kirchner, and Fritz Busse, Czech graphic designer Ladislav Sutnar, as well as with Czech architects Antonin Raymond and Ladislav Rado—all significant figures associated in some way with the larger "International

"As a southern European émigré, editor and publisher of European art books, Scholars seeking primary source material on the avant-garde art scene in 1950-1960s New York will find rich documentation in the manuscripts."

25. Saloutos, Theodore. 1964. *The Greeks in the United States*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 16-25.

26. Wallock, Leonard, and Dore Ashton. *New York, Culture Capital of the World, 1940-1965*. (New York: Rizzoli, 1988).

Style" movement.[27] In addition, the Papers contain production files for the *Arts Inc.* "Contemporary Artists Series" which will benefit scholars of modern art—especially those interested in abstract expressionism.

Researchers interested in human rights and the United Nations will also find rare and unique materials. His legal files document important developments in jurisprudence between the League of Nations and the U.N. Of special note are Vlavianos' professional papers created in his capacity as legal consultant to the Greek Delegation to the United Nations Conference on International Organization in 1945. The records contain official correspondence with the Greek Foreign Minister, John Sofianopoulos, private correspondence with his wife, original U.N. handbooks, photographs of the proceedings, clippings and ephemera reflecting his involvement as both lawyer and journalist. Also of interest are the records of the International League for the Rights of Man (now the International League for Human Rights) for which Vlavianos served as treasurer and legal counsel. Given a long-standing interest in Greek national affairs—especially the question of Cyprus, after the invasion of Turkey in 1974— the papers contain useful subject files on international affairs from the entire Cold War period.

Researchers in Women's Studies will be interested in the extensive documentation of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese and Holy Trinity Cathedral's Philoptochos Society accumulated by Vlavianos' wife Kati. Photographs, scrapbooks, ledgers, and correspondence will provide useful information about the philanthropic activities of Greek-American women during the war. Mrs. Vlavianos' files also contain valuable documentation about the presence and activities of the larger Greek Orthodox Church in America during World War II. Scholars of Greek-American ecclesiastical history should also be interested in the papers' small theological pamphlet collection and correspondence with Church dignitaries.

Finally, the collection contains extensive correspondence. Vlavianos corresponded extensively with a diverse array of important individuals, including academics, politicians, artists, journalists, publishers, businessmen, religious figures, friends and family. Significant correspondents include: Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, Henry Wallace, Nelson A. Rockefeller, George Sofianopoulos (Foreign Minister of Greece),

27. Hasan-Uddin Kahn, *International Style: Modernist Architecture from 1925 to 1965* (Köln: Taschen, 1998). O. W. Fischer, "Ladislav Sutnar: Design in Action". *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians.* 64 no.1 (2005): 102-104.

Emmanuel J. Tsouderos (Prime Minister of Greece), General Nicholas Plastiras (Prime Minister of Greece), Andreas Papandreou (Prime Minister of Greece), Emmanuel Tsouderos (Prime Minister of Greece), Sophocles Venizelos (Prime Minster of Greece), George Mavros (Greek Center Union Party), Sen. Gary Hart, Fiorello La Guardia, Benjamin D. Merritt (Office of Strategic Services), Antonin Raymond and Ladislav Rado (Czech architects), Fritz Busse (Swiss painter/water colorist), George Grosz (German Dadaist painter), Dimitris Mitropoulos (Greek composer and pianist), Spyros Skouras (Chairman of Twentieth-Century Fox), Theodore Kritas (Director of the Greek National Theater), Archbishop Athenagoras (Archbishop of the Greek Orthodox Church in North & South America and Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople).

It is evident that Vlavianos engaged with some of the more notable figures of his time and the correspondence files shall provide researchers ample resources to explore Vlavianos' complex socio-political relationships. The exchanges should offer a unique vantage point from which to view twentieth-century American life.

Conclusion

The Basil J. Vlavianos papers represent a major scholarly resource for the CSUS community. A significant historical research collection, the Vlavianos papers interdisciplinary breadth and international scope possess the potential to support an assortment of interesting research projects in multiple scholarly fields. The collection will become available for research as series are arranged and described. A preliminary inventory is presently available, and some materials may be available for use. Interested researchers should contact the Department of Special Collections to discuss access.

Research

When Philosophy Goes Dark: A look At Sexual Perversion From Sade To Shelley

Jennifer Depold

This paper looks at the works of nineteenth-century artists and intellectuals as a reflection of the violent reaction against Enlightenment thinking. This reaction, as seen in the works of the Marquis de Sade, Charles Baudelaire and Mary Shelley, was born of Romantic idealism, but was perversely manipulated through consistent political and social trauma. These individuals each rebelled against imposed standards and together created a new philosophy, one that was depraved and dark.

Romanticism is often described as an artistic and literary period emphasized by aesthetic idealism. Its history begins, however, as a reaction to the disillusionment and suffering that surfaced following the French Revolution near the end of the eighteenth century. The contradiction between the desired values of hope and idealism and the terror and horror of the Revolution left artists, writers, and intellectuals disappointed and longing for something better. While Enlightenment thought professed reason as the means of authority, whether it is intellectual, social, or political, Romantic thought reacted against these ideas in an attempt to idealize nature as spiritually divine. Two and three decades prior to the French uprising, philosophers Edmund Burke and Immanuel Kant established a foundation for what would later become Romantic ideals—the beautiful and the sublime. Expressed in literature and art, the sublime conveys the uncontrollable and awesome power of nature. As described by Kant, "the sublime *moves*, the beautiful *charms* [emphasis original]."[1] The idea of an unpredictable, chaotic, and often violent presence of the divine in nature offered an appealing alternative to those opposing the structured and overly-rational sphere of Enlightened thinkers.

As Romanticism continued to flourish into the nineteenth century through aesthetic expression, intense emotional longing, often marked by isolation and alienation, stretched the romantic imagination to the violent and perverse; artists began to identify with a new strain of the sublime, one that was decadent and dark. Decadence, a corrupted version of Kant's

1. Immanuel Kant, *Observation on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime,* trans. John Goldthwait (University of California Press, 1960), 47.

> *"The Marquis de Sade and Charles Baudelaire reflect Decadence in their works, expressed through not only a lack of a moral discipline and restraint, but also through perverse sexuality."*

sublime ideal, stems from a lack in intellectual, spiritual, and moral discipline. Beginning in the late eighteenth century, Decadence would become a movement, which influenced French literature late into the nineteenth century. The Marquis de Sade and Charles Baudelaire reflect Decadence in their works, expressed through not only a lack of a moral discipline and restraint, but also through perverse sexuality. The philosophy of Sade, an extension of Libertine philosophy, is an early example of this dark and threatening idealism[2]. Sade's *Philosophy in the Bedroom* emphasizes extreme sexual perversion; it is an early example of the Romantic at the end of his rope, reacting against Enlightenment ideals. Later authors also reflect rebellion and perversion in their works. Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du Mal* received harsh criticism by contemporaries due to the poems' illicit nature. Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* depicts a highly intellectual man, constantly longing to be the epitome of the Enlightened ideal, but tainted with egotism, self-alienation, and perversion. These works reveal the fascination with sexual perversion and violence that was evident in the late Romantic expression of emotion.

Although art and literature may represent the emotional climate of an era visually, the philosophy best describes the tone. The Libertine

2. Jan Bremmer, *From Sappho to de Sade: Moments in the History of Sexuality* (Routledge: New York, 1989), 108-9. Thomas Lawson, *The Life of John Calvin* (W. Wileman, digitized original from Harvard University Library, 1884), 175-200. For Sade, Libertinism took an altered form. Libertinism was birthed with John Calvin's treatise, *Contre le secte des Libertins,* written in 1545 against Dutch Reformists. Calvin claimed that the non-conformists opposed requisite Christian doctrines, such as the Resurrection of Christ, thus he attempted to transform the Dutch reformist belief towards Calvinist principles. The Libertines, as they were now called, attempted to overturn Protestantism in Geneva, but were unsuccessful. As Libertinism evolved into a more broad definition of those who opposed religious and social norms and were void of restraint, authors like Sade, embraced Libertinism and applied it to their own sexuality. Sade represents extreme Libertinism, a philosophy that sees "crime…in the shape of murder and destruction…as the essence of all lust for libertines and is demonstrated by their actions" (Bremmer, 108).

philosophy, which appropriately illustrates Sade's beliefs, can be applied in a variety of ways: socially, religiously, and for Sade, sexually. This is seen in both the early examples of libertinism and in the variety of Sade's work. In his works he used violence and perversion to express his manipulated form of libertinism. The same tone of violence and abuse is used in Baudelaire's works, but instead of validating libertine philosophy, Baudelaire emphasized his distaste of idealistic fervor. While Baudelaire lacked in philosophical motivation to support his work, Sade invented his own philosophical justification for his. The practice of libertinism "becomes an ideology, the expression, in all its horrible somberness, of an original and fascinating view of the world, unparalleled in the history of libertinism."[3] Earlier libertines were often associated with rebellion and protest and some were known for abandoning the imposed religious principles of their generation. These intellectuals lived mundane, lawful lives, and expressed their libertine views solely by questioning the current scientific and religious doctrines.[4] There was no evidence of the sexual deviance that permeates Sade's philosophy. It is suggested however, that opponents to the early examples of intellectual libertinism, naturally associated disbelief in religion and the questioning of pious beliefs with debauchery and immorality.[5]

With the change of leadership in France, libertinism in the eighteenth century transformed as well. After the death of Louis XIV in 1714, moral and religious values disintegrated. When Louis XV assumed power, he made little effort to reform standards of piety and devotion; this lenience affected social and literary standards. Sade's libertine vision was influenced by Choderlos de Laclos' novel, *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*.[6] This novel is one example of the shifting nature of libertinism. *Dangerous Liaisons*, like many novels of this genre, celebrates success and pleasure. Laclos' novel is "radical and cynical" and can be "interpreted as a moral rejection of mundane libertinism."[7] It carries an undertone of disillusionment, which seeks

3. Bremmer, 109.

4. Ibid. As a libertine it was characteristic to question cultural norms; these naturally included religious doctrine and scientific progress.

5. Ibid.

6. Choderlos de Laclos, *Les Liaisons Dangereuses*, trans. PW. K. Stone (Penguin Classic: New York, 1985), 7. Laclos' epistolary novel was first published in 1782. It was first considered an outrage for its endorsement of sexual libertinism. One of its few supporters was Charles Baudelaire, but he never defended the book in print.

7. Bremmer, 110.

revenge upon that which is typically virtuous.[8] In subsequent years, the corruption and depravity of the nobility and elite, dramatized in Laclos' novel, would become reality; during the French Revolution, the radicals exposed the abuses of the noble class and the clergy. Their extravagant and often perverse lifestyles were disrupted. This disruption would be the fuel to the fire of Sade's writings. Although the nobility often perceived themselves as untouchable, or free from persecution, Sade is proof that this was not the case; he was imprisoned and condemned, not just by his own social class, but by his mother-in-law, desperate to salvage her own reputation and avoid embarrassment.[9] While in prison, forced to a sentence of celibacy, Sade developed his own form of release, achieved through his infamous writings.

Briefly mentioned in the works of Sade, Montesquieu and Voltaire are cast in a bright light of approval for their moral philosophy.[10] Acquainting France with Locke's sensualistic philosophy, Montesquieu and Voltaire were opposed to Christianity as the highest and most true philosophy.[11] Their influence upon Sade is relevant because they firmly believed in a materialistic world, where God and superstition, specifically Christian ideals, were undesirable. For the libertine, atheism was natural, almost a prerequisite. In contrast to a libertine perspective, Baudelaire would not have taken an atheistic approach. Baudelaire may have not subscribed to the Christian lifestyle himself, but his works do not reflect the absence of Christian concepts. Instead, the poet, detailed late in this analysis, writes within a Christian context, often describing ideas such as heaven, hell, Satan, and God. In comparison, Sade viewed moral values, specifically Christian values, as an irrational notion; when combined with his radical ideas of what libertinism had become and his imposed sexual repression, the obscenity of his works is only natural. In 1795, while imprisoned in the Bastille, Sade began the play *Philosophy in the Bedroom*. He finished this work after surviving the Reign of Terror and escaping the guillotine. It is in this work that the term sadism derives from his name. A young girl, disillusioned

8. Ibid, 111.

9. Ibid, 112.

10. Charles de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu and François-Marie Arouet, or Voltaire, were eighteenth century philosophers who critiqued the social, political, and religious institutions of their time.

11. Iwan Bloch, *Marquis de Sade: The Man and His Age* (Julian Press: Newark, 1931), 20.

and corrupted by three depraved teachers, is instructed to "bear in mind that it is always by way of pain one arrives at pleasure."[12] Sade's preface to the work is addressed "to Libertines," along with advice for lewd women, young maidens, and amiable debauchees. In his address to the libertines, he proclaims:

> It is to you…I offer this work; nourish yourselves upon its principles: they favor your passions, and these passions, whereof coldly insipid moralists put you in fear, are naught by the means Nature employs to bring man to the ends she describes him; harken only to these delicious promptings, for no voice save that of the passions can conduct you to happiness.[13]

The characters of this play are labeled libertines, but in reality they are grotesque and immoral individuals sent to corrupt every virtue out of the young girl Eugenie. The protagonists, Madame de Saint-Ange, a depraved teacher of sex education, Dolmance, the leader but also assistant to Saint-Ange, and Le Chevalier, the Saint-Ange's brother and lover, seek pleasure through not only pain, but also the pain of others. Each is there to assist in destroying the child's sense of morality, manners, compassion, and virtue. They achieve this by means of introducing Eugenie to every form of sexual vice. The Madame instructs the girl, "Let yourself go Eugenie, abandon all your senses to pleasure, let it be the one object, the one god of your existence; it is to this god a girl ought to sacrifice everything, nothing must be as holy as pleasure."[14]

Like the Epicureans[15] of the past, pleasure, not the divine, was the ideal. This idealized form of sexuality, though perverse and amoral, served as the libertine's version of the sublime in nature. Sexuality is nature for the libertines – it is a person's natural inclination to seek pleasure. Immanuel Kant suggested that women do not tolerate command or constraint. Kant

12. Marquis de Sade, *The complete Justine, Philosophy in the Bedroom, and other writings*, trans. Richard Seaver and Austryn Wainhouse (Grove Press, Inc.: New York, 1965), 280.

13. Ibid,185.

14. Ibid, 204.

15. A pre-Christian philosophy based on the teaching of Epicurus, it is important to note that although the Epicureans did seek pleasure, theirs was a modest form of pleasure, which was intended to help them reach a state of freedom from everyday fears.

proposed that women only do what pleases them. He believed that all women, but some men as well, are incapable of holding strong principles.[16] It was necessary for Kant to differentiate between men and women in this context because the function and effect of these concepts are different between the two sexes. Kant envisioned idealized beauty as representative of this force he called the sublime; Sade's philosophy however, represents a kind of anti-sublime, meaning that it is what is ugly and irrational that becomes the "decadent sublime." For the purposes of Sade and his characters, this suggests that men and women, with all their flaws, can themselves represent his perverted version of something divine. But Sade, of course, does not view this as perverse at all, but like Kant, beautiful. They are each other's antithesis.

Prior to working on his philosophical ideas in *Philosophy in the Bedroom,* Sade wrote *120 Days of Sodom.* By far his most obscene work, *120 Days of Sodom* most clearly reflected his passion for ridiculing all forms of authority, specifically the nobility and the clergy. In this work, he crossed social boundaries, by not just refuting, but destroying all notions of rational thought, piety, and philosophy. The aggressive nature of destruction towards an abstract philosophy, institution, or a human being, is a recurring theme in the works of Sade and Baudelaire. Both men transfer their destructive impulse against social or religious institutions onto the characters of their stories. Sade's novel set out to devastate every victim involved, physically and morally.

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The physical destruction and decay are represented in the setting of the novel; the story takes place in a medieval castle, abandoned and crumbling; it may imply a setting similar to that of the Gothic novel. Sade prefigures Decadent sensibility; "he finds beauty in the horrible and revolting."[17] The Libertines imprisoned themselves by their own chaos,

16. Kant, 81.

17. Camille Paglia, *Sexual Personae: Art and Decadence from Nefertiti to Emily Dickinson* (Vintage Books: New York, 1991), 247.

"a Decadent claustrophobia."[18] There is a parallel in his works to the "the imprisoned spaces of the Gothic novel. Sade's corpse-strewn sexual arenas resemble the Gothic morgue."[19] Like the Gothic novel genre, Sade combines horror with romance, although his romance is grossly perverted.

The novel is organized by a monthly schedule, taking place over approximately five months. Sade tells the story of four grotesquely perverse men, all in positions of authority, who abduct children and adolescents, including their own daughters, whom they sexually torture and eventually murder. Reflecting his animosity towards the aristocracy that abandoned him and the religious institution that condemned him, Sade chose as his characters, an aristocrat, a bishop, a president of parliament, and a banker, all libertines. For Sade, each represents social corruption and decay. In describing the Duc de Blangis, a member of the aristocracy, Sade wrote:

> Not only did he never so much as dream of a single virtue, he beheld them all with horror, and he was frequently heard to say that to be truly happy in this world a man ought not merely fling himself into every vice, but should never permit himself one virtue, and that it was not simply a matter of always doing evil, but also and above all of never doing good.[20]

To satisfy these vices, the men use prostitutes to tell a series of stories from their working days. As the women relate these stories, the men, along with other male accomplices, partake in extreme sexual depravity. This ranges from simple pleasures, including bizarre and distasteful sexual acts, and eventually escalates to the more involved "pleasures" of rape, sodomy, physical and mental torture, dismemberment, and eventually death for almost all of those abducted. For Sade, these men represent liberation and the freedom he desires for all of France.

Modern readers would consider the characters of these stories to be villains, but Sade would disagree and view them as quite the opposite. His heroes represent his twisted version of libertinism—an elite form of the

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. Globusz Publishing (2001-07) Online translation of 120 Days of Sodom, http://www.globusz.com/ebooks/00000011.htm

philosophy which represents freedom and liberation from the constraints of tyrannical religious institutions and unnatural morality.[21] The heroes of Sade's tales perceive themselves as godlike, take pleasure in their crimes, and satisfy their desires no matter the cost. Sade created his own cosmology in which values are reversed, good is evil and evil is good.[22] Sade's libertine philosophy holds an interesting distinction between imagination and reason versus sexual desires. Intelligence and reason "chain him to nature," and in an attempt to escape self-imposed chains, the libertine attempts to rationalize his passion. Therefore, the sexual act alone does not please him, but the *idea* of the transgression gives him the most intense sexual satisfaction.[23] This argument can also be attributed to both Baudelaire and, as the final literary example will show, Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein.* In both cases, reason is either abandoned or escaped from, and instead an intense satisfaction from what is dark and decadent results in sexual exaltation. There is a flaw in this philosophy however; when imagination determines values, and when this imaginative thought has no rules or boundaries, the fulfillment of the acts anticipated will fail to reach prior expectation. In other words, the mind can commit more crimes and offense than reality will allow, the goal is unattainable. Leading to a figurative "impotence," Sade, and the libertine alike, faulted not only the Christian God they were adamant to destroy, but also the nature they were constrained by. Sade's libertinism is not a philosophy of freedom and "enlightenment"; it is an idealism hiding the reality of human limitation.

Almost sixty years after the Revolution in France and the controversial works of Sade challenged social norms, Charles Baudelaire introduced a volume of criticized works to the people of Paris. Like Sade, Baudelaire was a member of the upper class, an aristocrat who took advantage of his position and challenged the still lingering Enlightenment ideals. Although Baudelaire is not identified as a libertine, the poet valued freedom. He identified himself as a "dandy," or a man concerned with outward appearance and personal distinction. Baudelaire believed in free expression of ideas, did not hide his drug use, nor did he follow social ideas of sexual constraint. Baudelaire was a natural at displeasing those around him; "a kind of perversity led him to do the very things which he knew would most

21. Bremmer, 118.

22. Ibid, 116.

23. Ibid, 119.

infuriate his elders and turn them against him, and then when it was too late, he would regret his behavior and the solitude he created…through his own fault."[24] Like Sade, he created his own isolation and imprisonment.

Although Baudelaire could feel shame and remorse, the desire to shock the public through literature was typical to authors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. After the Revolution of 1830, in which Charles V was overthrown, the new reign of Louis Philippe I was overly conservative and uneventful, and although Louis Philippe was initially loved, the suffering economy led again to revolt. The literary movements at the time, sympathetic to the humanitarian arguments of the reformers, and unwilling to accept the mundane ideals of the middle class, banded together and lived apart from the rest of society. The writers and artists that comprised the group "reacted violently against all conventions—in morality, in their manner of living," and like Baudelaire, in their works.[25] The unstable political climate of this generation, like that of revolutions past, instilled fervor to react against formal institution and in both cases the artistic community reacted violently.

"The unstable political climate of this generation, like that of revolutions past, instilled fervor to react against formal institution and in both cases the artistic community reacted violently."

Baudelaire's most successful and controversial work, *Les Fleurs du Mal,* would bring him fame, as well as misfortune. His volumes of over one hundred poems, which introduced themes that would influence poetry of the centuries to follow, depict scenes similar to those of Sade: moral corruption, manipulation of divine concepts, and sexual perversion. There is "a paradox cherished by Sade and Baudelaire, [in which] the presence of moral law or taboo intensifies the pleasure of sexual transgression and the luxury of evil."[26] But where Sade turns the notion of evil inside out, blurring the lines between what is evil and what is good, Baudelaire approaches this concept, and others differently—he wrote within the framework of Christianity. In other words, his works reflect the absence of Christian values. In

24. Enid Starkie, *Baudelaire* (New Directions: New York, 1958), 70.

25. Ibid, 82-83.

26. Paglia, 190.

his commentary of Baudelaire, Pierre Emmanuel acknowledged that the absence of Christ or a redeemer figure is important because it disturbs the balance in the favor of evil.[27] Additionally, he suggested that Baudelaire condemns creation, said to be the "fall of God." Because of this fall, the human soul constantly risks corruption. Emmanuel concluded stating that "the only conceivable spirituality for the poet would be, in the heart of corruption, a vigilance of a well-defined nature: 'hyperconsciousness in evil which detaches to some degree the soul from terrestrial works.'"[28] When confronted about his poetry, Baudelaire defended his works, saying his "saving grace was the attitude of horror he conveyed in all his interpretations of evil."[29] However, his poems do not include actions that provoke horror or pity, but instead contain "perverse intent," meaning Baudelaire's inclination demeans the subject of fascination.[30]

In both cases, Baudelaire and Sade both depict a caricature of the nature of good and evil; Baudelaire however, illustrates the struggle between the two. This can also be interpreted in a Christian context, simply good versus evil, or may represent a more personal inclination for Baudelaire, a struggle between what is idealized and what is reality. It is primarily here where a parallel between Baudelaire and Sade exists.

The aforementioned themes all pervade Baudelaire's poems. *Les Fleurs du Mal* depicts eroticism that was considered unacceptable by some bourgeois. Unlike Sade, Baudelaire not only illustrates sexual violence, but he also describes love. Among the poems are a series that reflect his varying notions of love; and each display his moral and spiritual conflicts. These themes directly relate to the mistresses throughout his life.[31] There are two themes regarding sex and love. The first is based on the negative experience he faced with women, his relationships with actresses Jeanne Duval and Marie Daubrun.[32] These women represent sensuality and passion, but of a

27. Pierre Emmanuel, *Baudelaire: The Paradox of Redemptive Satanism* (University of Alabama Press, 1967), 20.

28. Ibid, 21.

29. Anna Balakian, "Those Stigmatized Poems of Baudelaire," *The French Review,* vol. 31, no. 4 (Feb., 1958), 274.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.

32. Baudelaire was involved with Jeanne Duval between1842-44 and Marie Daubrun from 1854-56.

dark nature. The second influence upon his works is more positive. Madame Sabatier[33] represents the spiritual side of love. Both manifestations of this emotion are clearly not present in the works of Sade, yet they still often depict a similar perversion. Baudelaire unites the two types of love by reducing them to the lowest carnal level. For Jeanne and Marie, "the soul is entirely circumscribed within physical proportions and made an object of play or a form of narcotic for the male, [while] Baudelaire's ideal love, [Mme Sabatier] fares no better; the poet *verbally* humiliates and violates it for its inability to provide physical satisfaction."[34] Baudelaire is able to distinguish between the different forms of love, yet he debases them equally.

"Lethe," a poem related to Jeanne Duval, associates death and pain with love and sensuality. Baudelaire writes:

> For nothing silences my sobs like the abyss that is your bed:/ oblivion occupies your mouth/ and Lethe runs between your lips…/hemlock is sweet, nepenthe kind—I'll suck enough to drown my spite/ at those entrancing pointing breasts/ which never have confined my heart.[35]

Although Mme Sabatier has been described as celestial love, Baudelaire, as mentioned, uses grotesque language to describe his idealized love. As Sade saw the sublime through horror and perversion, Baudelaire's depiction of Mme Sabatier may also be interpreted as the dark sublime—she was idealized, but he still saw the grotesque and debauched in her. In the poem, "Hymn to Beauty," Baudelaire writes to Sabatier, the White Venus:

> You walk on corpses, Beauty, undismayed,/ and Horror coruscates among your gems;/ Murder, one of your dearest trinkets, throbs/ on your shameless belly/…Who cares if you come from paradise

33. Baudelaire was associated with Madame Sabatier from 1852-54. In between Jeanne and her, he was alone.

34. Balakian, 274.

35. Charles Baudelaire, "Lethe," *Les Fleurs du Mal,* trans. Richard Howard (David R Godine: Boston, 1982), 38.

> or hell,/ appalling Beauty, artless and monstrous scourge,/ if only your eyes, your smile…reveal/ the Infinite I love and have never known?[36]

In this poem, the many complexities of Baudelaire are present: beauty, like love, is associated with death. Baudelaire is simultaneously tortured by and drawn to human depravity and toys with ideas of salvation and damnation. A stark difference has been noted in Baudelaire's emotional ties to Mme Sabatier and Marie Daubrun, yet both contain similar themes of eternity and the death of the soul. In his poem "Poison," attributed to his last lover Marie, Baudelaire writes:

> Opium can dilate boundless space/ and plumb eternity, emptying out time itself/ till a grim ecstasy/ burdens the soul past all bearing/ None rivals the taste/ of your bitter saliva/ which like a pestilence infects/ my soul until it sinks/ unconscious on the shores of death.[37]

The women of Baudelaire's sordid history each represent a phase in his life; these phases tell the tale of a possibly troubled individual, one who recognizes the good qualities, but obsesses on the horrible. He and Sade are both inspired by their perverse obsessions, but they differ in that Sade did not view his actions and impulses as horrible, but as good and desirable.

In addition to works that reflect the personal relationships from the poet's past, Baudelaire includes in *Les Fleurs du Mal* a number of poems that are not attributed to a particular female, but to women in general. It is here that a more aggressive attitude towards women is displayed. In the condemned poem, "Against Her Levity," he uses a kind of verbal sadism, chastising the woman for not being available to him:

> I'll come to you…some night/ when lovers out to come/ creeping in silence till I reach/ the pleasures of your flesh,/ to castigate your body's joy/ to bruise

36. Baudelaire, "Hymn to Beauty," 28-29.

37. Baudelaire, "Poison," 54.

> your envied breasts,/ and in your unsuspecting side/ to gash a wound/ where in a final ecstasy/ between those lovelier/ new lips…I'll inject/ my venom into you.[38]

Unlike Sade, who is deliberate in his rhetoric and language, Baudelaire uses colorful and sensory language to express violence. Both men, however, inflict pain upon women to reach their moment of ecstasy.

> *"Both men degrade and demean women amid their supposed passion or love. And both men represent the segment of society longing to break away from the constraints placed upon them by their own social class."*

Both men degrade and demean women amid their supposed passion or love. And both men represent the segment of society longing to break away from the constraints placed upon them by their own social class.

The themes discussed from *Philosophy in the Bedroom, 120 Days of Sodom,* and *Les Fleurs du Mal* did not solely come from male authors, such as Sade and Baudelaire. While it may be a natural assumption to attribute ideas of sexual perversion and violence specifically to male writers of this era, the following example suggests otherwise. Not only do Mary Shelley's characters reflect the struggle against Enlightenment ideals with the longing towards emotional idealism, but the personalities in *Frankenstein* also inflict pain through violence in a sexualized manner. *Frankenstein* is a Romantic novel, reacting against the Enlightenment philosophy Sade and Baudelaire objected to, along with a noticeable influence from the gothic novel. A number of themes run through the novel, most noticeably Christian concepts, such as creation, redemption, and mercy, along with human concerns, such as murder, sex, vengeance, and forgiveness. Both Victor Frankenstein and the monster he creates interchange the roles of god, man, and monster. Each confronts a manipulated form of sexuality, typically ending with violence. By framing Justine for the murder of William, which eventually leads to her execution, Frankenstein's monster steals Justine's ability for sexuality, reproduction, even love, as a reaction to his own inability to possess these human emotions. "The thought was madness; it stirred

38. Baudelaire, "Against Her Levity," 49.

the fiend within me—not I, but she, shall suffer; the murder I committed because I am forever robbed of all that she could give, she shall atone."[39] The monster's inability to have a relationship, to engage in natural sexual contact, and ultimately, to procreate, frustrates and angers him. He equates his murderous actions and her femininity as equal crimes, thus justifying his actions.

The monster also robs the human passions of love, sex, and the possibility of procreation from Victor and Elizabeth by taking Elizabeth's life and murdering Victor's possibility of happiness. As Victor hears the scream from his wife's bedroom, his reaction blurs the line between fear and sexual exaltation: "the whole truth rushed into my mind…I could feel the blood trickling in my veins, and tingling in the extremities of my limbs. This state lasted but for an instant."[40] What was the sensation Victor was feeling from this horror? Was this a sublime moment, awful, but for Victor the ultimate sensation? Even Victor may have not been able to reconcile his emotions at this time. In any case, it suggests that Shelley uses Victor as an example of a man caught between the idealism of the Enlightenment and the disillusioned reality that creates the Romantic sensibility. The confusion and disillusionment Victor feels reflected the everyday lives of artists and intellectuals of that era. Although Shelley's portrayal of the perverse and decadent is minimal in comparison to Sade and Baudelaire, it still offers an additional example of distorted sexuality and a distorted sense of the sublime.

While Shelley's *Frankenstein* provides an example of a female's take on the decadent sublime, her novel also allows the introduction for an example in the visual arts. Johann Heinrich Fuseli's *The Nightmare* is a perfect representation of sinister sexuality. Painting in the same years as Sade, Fuseli's highly sexualized works reflect his reaction against bourgeois sensibilities. *The Nightmare* represents supernatural and uncanny events that attempt to instill terror and mystery. When viewing the painting, one is not aware of the state of the woman: is she sleeping and the creatures are elements of her nightmare, or is she dead, in which case one would assume these creatures assisted in her death? Through his art, Fuseli "made real and visible the vague and insubstantial phantoms which haunt like dim dreams

39. Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein or the Modern Prometheus* (Penguin Books: London, 2003), 145.

40. Ibid, 199.

the oppressed imagination."[41] He was a painter of nightmares and had little in common with the reality of life.[42]

John Henry Fuseli's **The Nightmare.** Public domain. *Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons* at *http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/56/John_Henry_Fuseli_-_The_Nightmare.JPG*

To evoke these unnatural qualities, Fuseli's use of color provides eerie and dark imagery—the victim is dressed angelically in white, yet she is surrounded by deep and passionate colors of red and gold. This contrasts to the dark colors of the figures, the grey horse, a physical manifestation of a nightmare, and almost yellow-skinned incubus, presumably present to engage in sexual intercourse with the sleeping woman. The characteristics of the horse and incubus are strikingly familiar to the description of Frankenstein's monster; the frightening white eyes of the horse contrast to his dark

41. Nicolas Powell, *Fuseli: The Nightmare* (The Viking Press: New York, 1972), 19.

42. Ibid.

complexion, similar to the watery eyes of the monster. The yellow skin of the incubus with his devilish grin is also reminiscent of the monster. Victor describes how his "ghastly grin wrinkled his lips as he gazed on me."[43] The image of Frankenstein's monster and Fuseli's incubus imply evil deeds that even surpass the limitations of humanity's wicked nature. Both novel and painting are further evidence of the suggested themes of Romantic thought. Sade, Baudelaire, Shelley and Fuseli all invoke exceptional circumstance to satisfy perverse fantasy; all are left disappointed in reality's inability for fulfillment.

The recurring themes of anti-Enlightenment thought, a self-indulgent distortion of the sublime, and violent sexual acts described in these various examples reflect an early influence from the Libertine philosophy. By challenging the definitions of morality and decency, disciplines imposed by the established social structures, such as the church, writers like Baudelaire and Shelley and artists like Fuseli abandoned constraint and flourished. And although sexual deviance existed long before the writing of Sade and his predecessors, the notoriety that accompanied the publication of Sade's work, along with the public's awareness of his scandalous life, greatly influenced generations of artists and intellectuals to follow. The authors and artist described here are illustrative of an era marked by continued conflict, revolt, and a general desire to forsake control.

43. Shelley, 171.

Joan Scott's Gender Theory: A valuable Tool In Remaking Labor History

Diana Reed

During the 1970s and 1980s, prominent labor and feminist historian Joan Wallach Scott put forth pioneering ideas regarding the use of gender as a primary lens of historical analysis. Scott's theory inspired gender historians to confront the gender-based inequities embedded in traditional methods of inquiry in the field of labor history. This paper examines Scott's gender theory and how gender historians applied her ideas in creating a more complete examination of working-class consciousness.

The surge of second-wave feminism in the 1960s and 1970s mirrored a strain within the discipline of history regarding the neglect of women in historical analysis. As historian Gisela Bock writes, well into the twentieth century "the question, 'Is there a history of women?' was far from being a rhetorical one."[1] In an effort to create a history inclusive of women that would therefore have more influential and more accurate value, feminist historians began to confront the gender-based inequalities embedded in historical study. The concept of gender as a category of analysis developed providing historians a pivotal tool in looking beyond biological difference to examine the social manifestations of distinctions based on sex. Within the academic community, renowned feminist historian Joan Scott put forth a pioneering theory regarding the use of gender as a form of historical inquiry. "Gender," according to Scott, "seemed the best way to realize the goal of historians of women: to bring women from the margins to the center of historical focus and, in the process, to transform the way all history was written."[2]

Labor history, a field marked by a lack of attention to the experiences of women, presented historians with a clear opportunity to

1. Gisela Bock, "Women's History and Gender History: Aspects of an International Debate," in *Gender and History in Western Europe*, ed. Robert Shoemaker and Mary Vincent, (London: Arnold, 1998), 25.

2. Joan Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, revised edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), xi.

execute the transformation Scott describes. In the 1950s and 1960s, historians such as E.P. Thompson radically altered labor history by expanding the discipline's focus to include those often overlooked by traditional methods of historical inquiry. Labor historians like Thompson changed the historiographical methods "as the center of gravity shifted from structures and processes to cultures and the existential life experiences of common people."[3] Despite Thompson's revolutionary approach in considering the development of working-class consciousness and the potential of agency among his subjects, he neglected the possibility of women as class-conscious, political figures in his seminal work, *The Making of the English Working Class*. To address this disparity and the near absence of women in labor history as a whole, labor historians such as Anna Clark, Sonya Rose and Helen Harden Chenut, turned to gender as a way to create more complete historical accounts. In *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class*, an ambitious remake of Thompson's classic work, Anna Clark employs gender as a category of analysis to reveal that women played a critical role in the making of the British working class. Sonya O. Rose examines in *Limited Livelihoods: Gender and Class in Nineteenth-Century England* the aspects of gendered practices and conflicts in several industries that shaped industrial capitalism. Searching beyond British working-class experience in *The Fabric of Gender: Working-Class Culture in Third Republic France,* Helen Harden Chenut explores elements of gender encoded in various aspects of the lives of French textile workers that yielded working-class identity.

Feminist historians such as Clark, Rose and Chenut treat gender in accordance with the two-pronged definition that Scott outlines in her work, *Gender and the Politics of History*. Here Scott defines gender as "a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes," and as "a primary way of signifying relationships of power."[4] In developing this explanation, Scott draws heavily on the ideas of Michel Foucault to form a groundbreaking connection of gender, knowledge and meaning. Scott applies Foucault's explanation of knowledge as "the understanding produced by cultures and societies of human relationships, in this

3. Georg C. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2005), 100.

4. Joan Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis" in *Gender and the Politics of History*, revised edition (NY: Columbia University Press, 1999), 42.

case of those between men and women."[5] In this sense, gender produces knowledge through the formation of social meaning based on sexual differences. Moreover, knowledge is critical in creating and designating differences, a concept which Scott elucidates by incorporating Jacques Derrida's thesis of the formation of knowledge through opposition. Scott details the opposing nature of the symbolic representations of male and female differences that "lie at the heart of linguistic theories of signification."[6] From the original "status of women as the 'other' gendered beings in contrast to men as ungendered," the idea of sex-based norms allows gender to develop as a system of binary constructs emerged within a masculine/feminine dichotomy.[7] Within this dichotomy, then, men and women occupy opposing ends of a spectrum and receive contrasting designations, such as public/private, rational/emotional, and strong/weak. In this case, a difference based on sex initiates oppositional stereotypes regarding characteristics and societal roles.

Scott draws on language deconstruction to explain how gender as a form of knowledge based on difference leads to relationships of power. Scott argues that language constitutes gender in social and political contexts. She further claims that language does not reflect an external reality but rather that words are tools used to constitute reality.[8] The magnitude of language deconstruction appears when considering the aim of a gender historian is to disrupt seemingly fixed views that are actually based on stereotypes. Because cultures and societies create and recreate an awareness of sexual differences, the resulting knowledge is always relative, and is not absolute or true. Such knowledge evolves according to changing political relationships, is perverted by ascribed value judgments, and encompasses power. Thus language produces the differences upon which power relations are then constructed.

> *"Because cultures and societies create and recreate an awareness of sexual differences, the resulting knowledge is always relative, and is not absolute or true."*

5. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, 2.

6. Joan Scott, "Women's History," in Peter Burke, ed., *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 58.

7. Bock, 30-31.

8. Joan Scott, "Language and English Working-Class History," in *Gender and the Politics of History*, revised edition (NY: Columbia University Press, 1999), 57.

The interconnectedness of power and gender can be demonstrated by the historical treatment of women in politics. Scott puts forth the idea of a reciprocal nature of politics and gender in constructing one another.[9] Because of the element of power implicit in both gender and politics, "gender is one of the recurrent references by which political power has been conceived, legitimated and criticized."[10] Moreover, examining politics within the framework of gender analysis reveals that the emergence of these roles rests on the notion that these hierarchical relationships are in some way "natural" and predetermined. From issues of work to the family to voting rights, gender appears as a form of power and a form of otherness. Scott's description of the demand for women's suffrage illuminates the multilayered aspect of gender and politics:

> Women's claims for rights, from this vantage, would be analyzed as an insistence on their (symbolic and actual) position as desiring subjects, individuals whose desire rested not on their possessions of some physical trait or the performance of a specified biological function, but on the lack associated with the very constitution of their being: a being conceptualized through an other's recognition, necessarily expressed in words that are always inadequate for the full representation of the self and that, therefore, leave one yearning for completeness.[11]

Politics thus synthesizes many aspects of Scott's gender theory: the primacy of language, the expression of identity through symbols, and the inevitable incompleteness of a being whose existence requires its status of otherness.

The concept of power is particularly noteworthy in gender studies, in that social, cultural and political structures reinforce power relations based on gender differences. Gender provides a universal, although far from uniform, form of analysis. All societies contain gender-based distinctions, yet these distinctions differ among societies. Varying social, political

9. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," 46.

10. Ibid., 48.

11. Joan Scott, "Some More Reflections on Gender and Politics," in *Gender and the Politics of History*, revised ed. (NY: Columbia, 1999), 216-217.

and cultural circumstances affect and are affected by the construct of gender, and because "gender norms and gender realities are not identical…they are subject to historical change."[12] Exploring the various meanings assigned to gender-based distinctions thus represents the value of gender theory in historical inquiry.

Scott's work embodies the effects gender analysis has had on labor history. As a labor historian, Scott acknowledges the tremendous influence of E.P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* as a "classic text" in the field.[13] Thompson challenged the Marxist view of the working class as a passive recipient of change and argued that human relationships create class. Scott posits that "class and class consciousness are the same thing–they are political articulations that provide an analysis of…the events and activities of daily life."[14] According to Scott, language dictates the ways in which people process and express their experiences and Thompson's failure to address the gendered language of class consciousness serves as the primary flaw in his analysis. As Scott explains, "The organization of the story and the master codes that structure the narrative are gendered in such a way as to confirm rather than challenge the masculine representation of class."[15] For example, in his limited inclusion of women, Thompson consistently associates women and domesticity, even when discussing working or politically-active women. Rather than suggesting that upon becoming a wage-earner, a working woman likely developed class consciousness in a similar fashion to a working-class man, Thompson describes a woman's "paradox of feeling even in this advance."[16] According to Thompson, a woman who left the home to enter the industrial workplace did not join in the making of the English working class, but "felt herself to have the worst of both the domestic and the industrial worlds."[17] His depiction of wage-earning women led Scott to accuse Thompson of denying these women a valid political position and of linking them to a subordinate role incapable of experiencing class consciousness and therefore left only to serve as moral

12. Bock, 35.

13. Joan Scott, "Women in the Making of the English Working Class," in *Gender and the Politics of History*, revised edition (NY: Columbia University Press, 1999), 68.

14. Scott, "Women's History," 56.

15. Scott, "Women in the Making of the English Working Class," 72.

16. E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Woring Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), 416.

17. Ibid.

supporters of their men, rather than co-participants in the growing radical movement.[18]

Although Scott acknowledges that "social history provided an important vehicle for women's history, the association of a new topic with a new set of approaches strengthened the claim for the importance, or at least the legitimacy, of the study of women."[19] As a form of academic inquiry, then, the view of gender as a social category frees historians from the idea of biology as destiny when exploring change over time. Adopting discourse analysis to explore the gendered nature of language further allows historians to apply new tools to deconstruct the meaning of class consciousness. In this regard, Scott's theories inspired historians such as Clark, Rose and Chenut to incorporate gender in their own pioneering studies of labor history.

In *The Struggle for the Breeches*, Clark applies Scott's definition of gender as the social construct of manhood and womanhood in her effort to "infuse gender" in her analysis of class.[20] By using gender as the framework of her analysis, Clark transforms the working-class "heroes" of Thompson's narrative into shortsighted and tragic figures. Clark describes a "struggle for the breeches" between working-class women and their male counterparts as an effort to disrupt an emerging consciousness based on the ideal of a male breadwinner and female subordination. In demonstrating how this ideology occupied center stage in all aspects of plebian life, Clark connects personal and political experiences, navigating the home, the workplace, religion, sexuality, politics, and places of leisure.

In an effort to show how the domestic arena directly relates to political movements, Clark describes a crisis of marriage in plebian communities. Economic conditions of the early nineteenth century brought men out of the home and into the public workplace, providing the initial distinction between a public sphere occupied by men and a private (domestic) sphere occupied by women. Clark points out that this transformation did not destroy familial harmony as Thompson suggests; rather, "there were continual shifts and negotiations over the gender division of labor" within the various occupations among the working class.[21] The resulting economy also

18. Scott, "Women in the Making of the English Working Class," 73.

19. Scott, "Women's History," 53-54.

20. Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches: Gender and the Making of the British Working Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 2.

21. Ibid., 24.

often required women to work for wages; yet women's work was not valued equally with men's work. Moreover, challenges to the value of men's work allowed gender antagonism to replace gender cooperation. Wage-earning wives, upon whose earnings their husbands now depended for survival, "clashed with [their] husbands' desire to dominate."[22] Many plebian men responded to such domestic conflict by bonding with other men in pubs, away from their homes in which they found their authority compromised.

Excessive drinking exacerbated domestic violence in addition to sex-segregated fraternization, but Clark argues that it was the satirical depiction of wife-beating in popular literature more than the documentation of actual abuse that proved to be a distinguishing feature of plebian culture. Clark points out that then, as now, domestic violence results from men who wish to dominate their wives.[23] Plebian literature rarely portrayed abused women as victims, however. From pamphlets to songs, women appeared as nagging, demanding wives deserving of their husbands' cruelty. The mocking portrayal of domestic violence contributed to a deep division in plebian culture based on gender lines.

Clark further interrogates gender in examining the role of religion in plebian life. Whereas Thompson emphasized the subjugation of plebeians by Methodism, Clark discusses the function of radical religious sects as a refuge for women "from the moral confusion and sexual antagonism of plebian life."[24] As opposed to the less morally respectable social networks offered by pub life, Methodism offered women a virtuous form of unity and support. Clark convincingly explains the appeal of Methodism to plebian women and further illustrates how radical religious sects enticed some plebian men by reinforcing their patriarchal authority. Indeed, Methodism's mobilization of plebian communities greatly facilitated the creation of a patriarchal working-class culture that centered on a male breadwinner who was morally obligated to provide for his family.[25]

Clark addresses the ways plebian women experienced unfulfilled opportunities due to sex-based views limiting the political capacities of women. The political participation deemed acceptable to women, however, often did not accurately reflect the realities of these women's lives, as

22. Ibid., 16.

23. Ibid., 74.

24. Ibid., 93.

25. Ibid., 118.

demonstrated by the Queen Caroline affair. In 1820, Caroline of Brunswick, the long-estranged and slandered wife of King George IV, returned from exile in an attempt to claim the crown only to be served divorce papers. Caroline also suffered accusations of having borne an illegitimate child and endured repeated depictions in the press as a lusty, disobedient wife. Plebian women expressed their outrage at the treatment of Caroline by writing their own ballads and pamphlets in which Caroline appeared as a sympathetic figure. Moreover, women began to speak out regarding their rights in their own marriages and to reject the requirement of sexual purity in determining a woman's virtue. Such a response demonstrated the perceived universality of afflictions women of all social standings suffered and further allowed radicals to "create a new political language that could speak both of high royal politics and of family crises in the same breath."[26] The Queen Caroline affair exemplified the development of political language as an attempt to mobilize plebian women by calling attention to women's issues in politics.[27] In spite of the initial inspiration of plebian women to challenge sex-based inequalities, however, the iconography of the Queen Caroline affair failed to transform Caroline from her primary role as a mother, which undermined her usefulness as a symbol for plebian women to fully mobilize politically.[28]

"Women began to speak out regarding their rights in their own marriages and to reject the requirement of sexual purity in determining a woman's virtue."

Despite the oppressive and often abusive elements of marriage in plebian life, Clark discusses the failure of women to embrace radicalism that may have challenged ideas of manhood. In the 1820s and 1830s, economic concerns surged regarding high unemployment rates and the agitation created by the New Poor Law. Radical groups like the Owenites championed sexual equality in marriage and in political life in the early nineteenth century, but their calls fell on deaf ears. When faced with the possibility of responsible, sober, less violent husbands, plebian women rejected the divisive element of Owenite feminism and instead accepted the

26. Ibid., 165.

27. Ibid., 164.

28. Ibid., 178.

ideal of domesticity, which "provided a way of both defending working-class families and appealing to women without threatening men."[29] Plebian women prioritized domestic harmony over political rights. Plebian men, in contrast, demanded a breadwinner wage and male suffrage. The casualties of this understanding were the notion of universal suffrage and the recognition of women as individuals who existed outside the umbrella of their marriages. Women thus lost the struggle for the breeches as gender was used to diffuse political radicalism, giving way to sex-based domestic ideals of a breadwinner ideology.

Clark thoroughly explores the political, cultural and economic structures that yielded the use of gender-based models to regulate behavior. Straining against these structures and social meanings, British working-class women engaged in a battle against the male breadwinner ideology, but their struggle ultimately failed. Clark argues that material realities alone cannot account for this failure. Rather, the persistence of misogyny and patriarchy within plebian culture proved to be the "fatal flaws [that] ultimately muted the radicalism of the British working class" and allowed the plague of sexual antagonism to continue.[30]

In *Limited Livelihoods: Gender and Class in Nineteenth-Century England*, Sonya O. Rose highlights the pervasiveness of gender in affecting all social structures and relations in her argument that "gender distinctions were woven into the fabric of industrial capitalism."[31] By examining the gender-based practices in the workplace and the legal system, Rose argues that these patterns of behavior in fact limited the livelihoods of both men and women. In accordance with Scott's consideration of language, Rose pays special attention to the role of gendered language in creating meanings of "manhood" and "womanhood." Rose agrees with Scott that representations of meaning constitute reality rather than reflect an external reality, but she criticizes Scott's primacy of discourse for fear of "ignor[ing] the material realities that profoundly affect people's lives."[32] While Rose argues that sex-based differences led to different experiences for working class men and women during the development of industrial capitalism, the view that

29. Ibid., 221.

30. Ibid., 271.

31. Sonya O. Rose, *Limited Livelihoods: Gender and Class in Nineteenth-Century England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 185.

32. Ibid., 9.

"economic relations were (and are) in part constituted by gender" lies at the core of her analysis.[33]

Similar to Clark's plebian marriage crisis, Rose describes a crisis in the workplace that was also marked by an ideological embrace of separate spheres. Rose describes the competition for jobs between women and men and that employers hired women at lower wages, thereby creating hostility between the sexes. When entering the workplace, Rose argues that women faced the consequences of the doctrine of separate spheres and a male breadwinner embraced by manufacturers in a variety of industries. In structuring and managing the workplace, many employers segregated men and women in the workplace and paid men higher wages, practices that served to legitimize the idea of 'natural' sex-based distinctions. As Rose explains, "They therefore believed it was 'natural' for men to have jobs that were better-paying than those of women, since it was men who were supposedly responsible for the economic welfare of families."[34]

Even in gender-integrated workplaces, employers divided duties along gender lines. This practice led to the masculinization and feminization of jobs, a manifestation of what Scott describes as "hierarchical structures [that] rely on genderized understandings of the so-called natural relationships between male and female."[35] Such a rationale justified the lower wages paid to women and the exclusion of women in the realm of skilled labor. Rose found that in the lace industry, for instance, employers assigned women the less-skilled and lower-paid duties and hired only boys at entry-level positions with the intention of training them for future positions.[36] Employers did not hire women for positions requiring the use of machinery since they "considered mechanical aptitude to be a purely masculine trait."[37] Whereas men considered weaving to be a skilled occupation, employers viewed sewing as simply a "natural" talent possessed by women.[38] Rose points out a cyclical trap of this stereotype in that because employers did not provide ample training to women to operate machinery, they in fact reinforced the ineptitude of female workers.

33. Ibid., 7.

34. Ibid., 23.

35. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," 48.

36. Rose, 27.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid., 29.

The harsh working conditions and poor treatment of workers in nineteenth-century England gave rise to conflict in many workplaces. Rose moves from the chocolate factory of Cadbury to the cotton textile firm of Oxford Mills to show how managers repeatedly used paternalism as a strategy to quell growing conflict. By employing the notion of a man as the head of his household through placing men in positions of power, employers manipulated men to overlook unfavorable working conditions in order to fulfill their duties as breadwinners. Enforcing paternalism appealed to employers not just as a way for them to create a harmonious workplace, but also as an opportunity to civilize a working-class that they believed teetered on the edge of violence and chaos. Even when working-class mobilization threatened the harmony of the workplace, it did not disrupt the separate spheres ideology because union leaders targeted male workers, ensuring a lack of unification across gender lines.

From paternalistic practices in the workplace, Rose branches into labor-related laws that structured gender roles. State participation in the economy, encoded in the laws, carried the illusion of neutrality, and yet those who made the laws had the power to "limit or deny community responsibility for family welfare."[39] For example, the common law principle of *coverture* – in which a married woman is considered a dependent of her husband – legally reinforced the status of men as breadwinners. Women held no rights independent of their husbands, and working men held the responsibility of providing for their families. The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 assumed men's obligations as financial providers in also attacking the character of impoverished men. Rose argues that the Poor Law "portrayed working-class men's fecklessness as the cause of their families' destitution."[40] In examining the language of the Factory Acts, Rose highlights that the rhetoric of legislators criticized working mothers and solidified the idea that "whereas men's responsibility was to provide for their families, women's responsibility was motherhood."[41] Moreover, the public appeared to accept the ideas of gender constituted by the legal system and scapegoated men for economic conditions that forced women to work by accusing these husbands of preventing their wives from fulfilling their domestic duties. By shifting responsibility from the state onto the family,

39. Ibid., 75.

40. Ibid., 55.

41. Ibid., 64.

legislators thus perpetuated unequal and different gender roles.

In critiquing the organization of the workplace and labor-related laws along gender roles, Rose successfully argues that "capitalism developed as a gendered set of practices" that restricted the lives of men and women in nineteenth-century England.[42] By drawing on gender as the base of her study, she shows that gendered models of behavior molded capitalism. The state and employers created and reinforced gender roles in order to mollify labor unrest and to prevent men and women from uniting to fight against employers. Those gender roles confined married women to the home as wives and mothers and assigned men the responsibility of sole breadwinners. Moreover, gender roles that marginalized women traversed social class, spreading from the bourgeoisie to the working class. Rose effectively demonstrates that the use of gender enables the formation of a richer and more complete historical analysis.

Like Clark and Rose, historian Helen Harden Chenut aims to challenge narratives based on a male paradigm within the otherwise valuable scope of labor history.[43] In *The Fabric of Gender: Working-Class Culture in Third Republic France,* Chenut uses the experiences of the textile workers in Troyes from 1870 to 1940 to illuminate a counterculture of working class-conscious consumers that acted in resistance to the dominant culture.[44] This counterculture unified the working class around political activism and socialist ideas, but the differing channels of participation for men and women reflected the gendered practices of the period based on the doctrine of separate spheres.

Chenut begins by examining the gendered demands of the laborers who participated in the great strike of 1900, such as shortening work hours and banning night work for women.[45] Like employers in industrial England, employers in Troyes sought to legitimize their authority and to diffuse workers' grievances by creating a patriarchal environment that valued men as financial providers and stressed a woman's primary duties as wife and mother. Chenut further argues that although the strike failed, it shook power relations at many levels in the social order and led workers to

42. Ibid., 18.

43. Helen Harden Chenut, *The Fabric of Gender: Working-Class Culture in Third Republic France* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 3.

44. Ibid., 395.

45. Ibid., 36.

form identities along gendered lines. Women participated in the strike, but their issue as workers never received full attention. Working-class men did not integrate the partipation of women in poltical mobilization because women lacked the power of the vote, which left workers to identify men as the political figures capable of demanding rights. As Chenut explains, the "millworker identified himself in gendered terms, as a man who[se]…claim for wage justice as a manly breadwinner forced him to defend his very job."[46] The formation of masculine identity resulting from the strike demonstrated that freedom and justice were considered rights of men rather than of workers as a whole.

"Working-class men did not integrate the partipation of women in poltical mobilization because women lacked the power of the vote, which left workers to identify men as the political figures capable of demanding rights."

The sexual division of labor and patriarchy as a form of control existed in the homes and the workplaces of working-class families in Troyes. In the home, these methods of social control entailed the man's role as the head of the household and the producer, and the woman as subordinate and therefore responsible for carrying out secondary tasks that did not threaten the man's position of primary provider.[47] Female factory workers endured sex-specific scrutiny based on "the assumption that it was 'unnatural' for women to work in factories."[48] Furthermore, like the practices and attitudes examined by Rose, Chenut shows that the naturalization of women's work and lack of training or apprenticeship opportunities in France also resulted in little acknowledgement or possibility for advancement in the workplace.

In a noteworthy difference from Clark and Rose, Chenut outlines the importance of gendered patterns of consumption in forming the working-class counterculture. Increased consumption reflected workers' demand for the "right to leisure and a living wage [that] would allow them to consume."[49] Workers were encouraged to consume along class lines by shopping at cooperatives, which promoted socialist values and class

46. Ibid., 56.
47. Ibid., 71.
48. Ibid., 163.
49. Ibid., 215.

solidarity in addition to generating funds for working-class demonstrations. Chenut deftly explores the developing link of consumption to women in arguing that socialist ideas did not pierce gender divisions. Social propaganda targeted and educated women to become consumers. While men were seen as both producers and consumers, women were acknowledged chiefly as consumers.[50]

Chenut blends her exploration of the changes in consumption with her discussion of the strikes of the 1920s and 1930s, in which workers demanded wage increases to match their increased consumption habits. The working class's new status as consumer extended from accepting the benefit of a male breadwinner wage. The strike resulted in the expansion of the outwork system of production and an adjustment of the working conditions for women that reinforced gender roles, such as the demand for a forty-hour work week that would allow women more time to fulfill their domestic duties. This idealized domestic role for women hardly matched the reality of working-class life that required a dual-income household.[51] Chenut shows the endurance of gender roles even within the collective bargaining agreements of the 1930s. Workers entered these bargaining agreements with the goal of maintaining their consumption habits, not of disrupting the separate and less-valued spheres of women workers.

Chenut most clearly employs Scott's definition of gender as a way of indicating relationships of power in her description of the "ambiguity of the notion of freedom to 'remain a woman' [that] once again raises the question of who within this historical context was defining *woman.*"[52] Although economic conditions required women to work, they remained confined to fulfilling the roles of mother and wife above all. The illusion of freedom to remain true to these roles masked what in fact was the pursuit of a predetermined identity Chenut does not deconstruct the language that shaped such concepts of gender as thoroughly as Scott would likely have called for in answering this paradox, however, which leads this feature of her analysis to fall a bit short.

Indeed, the primacy Scott assigns to language represents both a great strength and a critical weakness of her contributions to gender theory. For example, Scott reduces class to an issue of discourse, whereas many

50. Ibid., 244.

51. Ibid., 355.

52. Ibid., 399.

gender historians do not reject the idea of class as a significant category for analysis. Although Clark, Rose and Chenut support Scott's claim that language shapes political and social consciousness, each of their works strongly considers the physical and material conditions of women's lives, which Scott deemphasizes. These three authors also do not fully accept Scott's post-structuralist claim that "reality can only be attained through language," a position which leads Scott to question the validity of even primary sources.[53] Clark, Rose and Chenut draw on a rich array of sources, which they believe to reflect very real and often unpleasant social realities. Their subjects of study and corollary findings also undermine Scott's recognition of only a negative creation of identity through difference and her denial of individual agency.[54] As historian Linda Gordon remarks, "Scott's determinist perspective emphasizes gender as 'difference' marked by the otherness and absolute silencing of women" and that Scott sees agency as "a discursive effect... emanating only from above."[55] Indeed, by concerning herself predominantly with those in power, Scott risks dismissing the potential of agency arising from subordinate groups and abandoning the writing of history from below. Historians such as Clark, Rose and Chenut clearly challenge Scott in this sense by continuing to write histories from below, seeking the perspectives and demonstrating the agency of those whom labor historians of the past neglected.

"Indeed, by concerning herself predominantly with those in power, Scott risks dismissing the potential of agency arising from subordinate groups and abandoning the writing of history from below."

Scott is more radical than many other historians regarding her view on language as the primary subject of history, but she is invaluable in her demand that historians question the philosophical bases of the very categories they choose to employ as tools of analysis.[56] Rather than view Scott's gender theory as restrictive, one must acknowledge the unlimited angles of

53. Iggers, 132.

54. Jutia Schwarzkopf, "Gender" in Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing, vol. 1, Kelly Boyd, ed. (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1999): 443.

55. Linda Gordon, "Response to Scott," *Signs* 15, no. 4 (1990): 852.

56. Iggers, 132.

analysis in considering her claim that "without meaning, there is no experience; without processes of signification, there is no meaning."[57] Within this framework, Scott calls for an increased exploration of language in order to overturn the idea of permanence in gender roles, an exciting concept and responsibility for historians. Scott convincingly claims that women's history has evolved "from feminism to women to gender; that is, from politics to specialized history to analysis."[58] As such, thanks in great part to Scott's theory, historians currently possess a highly developed and necessarily complex method of investigation in order to more thoroughly and more accurately examine our past.

57. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," 38.

58. Scott, "Women's History," 44.

"Indian Troubles" In The Press: An Analysis Of Newspapers In Greater Sacramento, 1848-1860

Kevin A. Tierney

This paper provides an analysis of the treatment of Indians in seven newspapers of the Sacramento-region during the Gold Rush era, 1848-1860. The newspapers generally offer a perspective stemming from a belief in white supremacy and Indian savagery. The majority of editors espouse the view that California Indians will gradually become extinct in the face of advancing white civilization. The newspapers present a variety of views on establishing and maintaining a reservation system to contain the California Indians. The Sacramento Bee stands out as the only newspaper to offer the amalgamation of Indians as a possible solution to the ongoing conflicts between Natives and white settlers.

Introduction

James Marshall's gold discovery at Sutter's Mill in 1848 triggered an unprecedented flood of white immigrants into California.[1] The population of non-native Californians increased 2500 percent from 1848 to 1852 and climbed to nearly 380,000 by 1860.[2] While the non-native population soared the number of natives plummeted: The number of California Indians declined from 100,000 in 1848 to approximately 30,000 in 1860.[3]

The influx of white miners displaced Indians from farming and ranching jobs, destroyed hunting and fishing grounds through the building of mining camps, towns, dams, and stream diversions, and drove many desperate Indians into remote regions of the Sierra Nevada.[4] California Indians became victims of the onrush of whites. European diseases brought to the gold fields by white settlers played a significant role, as did

1. The terms "whites" and "Indians" are used throughout this paper reflecting the vernacular of the press during the period covered by this work. The terms reflect a racial bias that existed in the nineteenth century, and provide a clear delineation of the groups involved in the actions related in this paper. In no way, do they reflect the attitudes or opinions of the author.

2. J.S. Holliday, *And The World Rushed In: The California Gold Rush Experience* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981), 455.

3. Albert Hurtado, "California Indians and the Workaday West: Labor, Assimilation, and Survival," *California History,* 69 (January, 1990): 10.

4. Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2000), 136-7.

starvation and exposure. Indians also felt the impact of violence in the form of assaults, rapes, and murders, which, at times, escalated into massacres – the indiscriminate, wanton killing of a people. White settlers drove Indians away from their traditional culture and lifestyle. Albert L. Hurtado, noted California Indian historian, writes that, Indians took wage labor jobs, "in a land that was increasingly dangerous for [them, because] they could expect some measure of security from assault only if they were employed by white men."[5] Security from assaults became increasingly necessary during this period.

California's growing number of newspapers superbly documented the destruction of Indian lives and culture, as well as the efforts of the government and civilians to deal with the problems resulting from this unprecedented clash of cultures. This essay explores the pages of a number of newspapers that served the greater Sacramento area during this chaotic time. The newspapers selected were the *Alta California, Marysville Daily Appeal, The Marysville Herald, The Placer Times, The Sacramento Bee, The Sacramento Transcript,* and *The Sacramento Union*.

The press provides a window through which one can view one aspect of the attitudes of the time. Throughout the period from 1848 to 1860 the newspapers reinforced the popular notion of white supremacy over Indians. At the same time, these papers generally called for a cessation of violence toward peaceful Indians and stated support for some level of accommodation with California Indians. Some of the newspapers also called for the use of military force to subdue hostile Indians. In general, the newspapers believed "civilized" whites needed to take responsibility for stopping the cycle of violence between whites and Indians.

"In general, the newspapers believed "civilized" whites needed to take responsibility for stopping the cycle of violence between whites and Indians."

THE NEWSPAPERS

The author selected newspapers for this study based upon their availability as well as their location. All of the newspapers covered the

5. Hurtado, "Workaday West," 11.

greater Sacramento region of California. The chosen newspapers provide a variety of political and social perspectives from the period.

Edward Kemble, Edward Gilbert, and G.C. Hubbard began the Alta California in January of 1849. Edward Gilbert served as the primary editorial writer. All of the proprietors were New York Democrats, but the *Alta* was intent on being "independent of all parties, cliques, and persons. The cause which it will assert is the cause of California."[6] Initially a tri-weekly publication, the *Alta* evolved into a daily publication in January 1850, taking the moniker of the *Daily Alta California*. The paper consistently questioned the integrity of government Indian agents, military operations carried out against the Indians, and the activities of vigilance committees. In addition, in the tradition of the proprietor's Democratic roots, the paper supported State and popular rights.[7] Although published in San Francisco, the *Alta* was one of the most important northern California newspapers during the earliest days of the state's history, covering events in the greater Sacramento region.

The *Marysville Daily Appeal* began in January 1860, with H.B. Mighels as editor. Under Mighels' stewardship, the paper was decidedly independent, but by June 1860 the paper was purchased by B.P. Avery and Company and became thoroughly Republican. The paper published weekly through October 1861, when it merged with the *Daily National Democrat* and began daily service.[8]

Colonel R. H. Taylor, a merchant from San Francisco, established the *Marysville Herald* in 1850. Politically independent at its outset, the paper soon became a voice of the Whig Party. In its infancy, the paper was published semi-weekly, but by October 1850 it had become a tri-weekly publication. As the paper underwent a number of changes in ownership and operation, its politics, "gravitated from Independent to Whig, then Know Nothing, Republican, and Stars and Stripes," according to William

6. Edward C. Kemble, *A History of California Newspapers, 1846-1858* (Los Gatos, California: The Talisman Press, 1962), 89.

7. Ibid., 94.

8. William Henry Chamberlain, *History of Yuba County, California* (Oakland, California: Thompson and West, 1879). Transcribed by Kathy Sedler and Craig Hahn, "Journalism," Yuba County History, http://www.calarchives4u.com/history/yuba/chap24.htm (accessed December 14, 2008).

Chamberlain.[9]

The same men who started the *Alta* began publishing the *Placer Times* in April 1849. Like the *Alta*, the *Placer Times* leaned toward the Democratic Party. In June of 1851, the *Placer Times* merged with another Democratic leaning newspaper: the *Sacramento Transcript.* The *Transcript* started as an independent newspaper in April 1850, but soon assumed a Democratic voice. The editors of the *Transcript* were Loring Pickering, G.K. Fitch, and J.E. Lawrence. They ceased their Sacramento operations in June 1852, electing to move to San Francisco rather than compete with another up and coming newspaper, the *State Journal.*[10]

Publication of the *Sacramento Daily Union* began in March 1851. The proprietors, all of whom were involved with the *Sacramento Transcript*, created the *Union* when a strike halted the printing of the *Transcript.* The individuals involved were C.L. Hansicker, J. Court, and W.J. Keating. These men employed J.F. Morse as the editor of the new paper. Morse enjoyed a good reputation, and, according to Kemble, "[he] exerted himself considerable among the citizens of Sacramento to procure a favorable reception for the paper."[11] Although the *Union* began as an independent newspaper, it soon found itself aligning with the Whig Party on important matters in California.

In February 1857, the *Sacramento Daily Bee* began operations. According to Edward Kemble, "it was a morning paper, independent in politics, and edited by J. R. Ridge and S.J. May."[12] John Rollin Ridge, a Cherokee Indian who successfully integrated into white society after his parents were murdered, initially edited the paper. Though he remained with the *Bee* only five months, his influence lingered on its editorial pages for some time following his departure. Upon Ridge's departure, James McClatchy, one of the most influential names in the American newspaper industry,

9. Ibid.

10. *A Memorial and Biographical History of Northern California* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Co., 1891). Transcribed by Kathy Sedler, "Sacramento History", http://www.calarchives4u.com/history/sacramento/ (accessed December 14, 2008).

11. Kemble, *History of California Newspapers*, 147.

12. Ibid.,162.

filled Ridge's place on the paper.

Why Study Newspapers?

Many historical works cover the California gold rush, California Indians, and the time-period included in this essay. Some of these works focus specifically on newspapers. One example was *Exterminate Them!: Written Accounts of the Murder, Rape, and Enslavement of Native Americans During the California Gold Rush* edited by Clifford E. Trafzer and Joel R. Hyer. In this volume, the editors reprinted a host of articles from a number of different newspapers within California and offer commentary regarding the nature of the articles presented. The book, though similar to this work, focused on the entire state with little substantive analysis. Another work focused on the newspapers during the gold rush is Robert F. Heizer's, *They Were Only Diggers: A Collection of Articles from California Newspapers, 1851-1866, on Indian and White Relations*. Once again, this study has a statewide focus.

In addition to these works, a number of studies used newspapers as primary sources supporting historical positions related to California gold rush history. This essay represents the first attempt to study newspapers during this era focused on a specific region of California. The Sacramento area, in particular, was at the center of mining and cultural activity in northern California. In addition, rather than printing complete articles, this essay attempts a systematic analysis of the attitudes and positions presented in the newspapers and offers conclusions about the general Gold Rush press in the Sacramento region. Further regional press studies, such as this, might serve to shed greater light on the socio-political climate of the various regions of California during this turbulent time.

Gold Rush Society

In January 1848, one month prior to the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hildalgo that would make California part of the United States, Alta California's white population numbered approximately 13,000. These 13,000 whites were evenly divided into native Californios and Americans.

There were a few hundred Europeans as well.[13] The attitude of Mexico toward Alta California was one of salutary neglect. Most of the American residents were newcomers who had arrived as part of the United States' invasion during the Mexican War. The majority of whites in Alta California resided on the coast while Indians and a smaller number of whites populated the interior, including various European immigrants. The latter counted several entrepreneurs who operated ranchos, of which John Sutter, a Swiss emigrant, and Charles Weber, a German emigrant, were the most successful and well known.

The Indians outnumbered whites by a factor of ten to one.[14] Whites employed some Indians as laborers on farms and ranches. The *Sacramento Transcript* explained, "Before the discovery of gold, it was customary among the few in this country who cultivated the soil, to keep droves of the natives around them to do their labor."[15] Others lived as independent hunters and gatherers in the areas of the region unsettled by whites.[16] The wave of white settlers drawn into California by the discovery of gold severely altered the lives of both the Indian laborers and those living a more traditional existence.

As white Americans came in search of gold, they brought with them a strong sense of racial superiority, reflected clearly in the newspapers of Sacramento. Press coverage of Indians during the Gold Rush era in California included frequent, overt expressions of racist attitudes from editors as well as from readers. Indians were routinely referred to as "savages," a pejorative indicating Indians failed to measure up to the standards of Christian "civilization" upheld by "superior" whites. Some articles and editorials focused on the Indians' "natural propensity to steal" and their "brutish

13. Malcolm J. Rohrbough, *Days of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the American Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 8.

14. Ibid., 9.

15. Editorial, "The Indians of California," *Sacramento Transcript*, June 24, 1850.

16. Albert Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), 153.

nature," and referred to them as "miserable people" who were "ignorant."[17] This tone of superiority pervades the majority of articles used in this study.

Even editorials defending Indians employed racial slurs. For example, the *Daily Alta California* published an editorial on May 23, 1850 decrying white violence against Indians. The editorial explained that "we must not despise the numerous native born children of the mountains and forest land, however poor their gifts, or unworthy consideration of common respect, a succession of generations of physical and moral decline may have made them."[18] In perhaps the most overt example of racism encountered in the press, the *Sacramento Transcript* ran an editorial espousing the benefits of slaughtering Indians in order to maintain a pure race. Though it would have been "difficult for the Spaniard to exterminate the Mexican Indians," the editorial stated, but it would have been "much better…for the permanent interests of Mexico." The pure Spanish race that would have resulted from such a policy would have led, "the country which is now half filled by an indolent and semi-barbarous people might at present be the finest and best cultivated region of the American continent."[19] Though not all articles, editorials, and letters called for genocide, the vast majority betrayed a racist attitude.

Racism colored California's new state government as well. Peter Burnett, the first governor of California, in his State of the State message, said, " a war of extermination will continue to be waged between the two races until the Indian race becomes extinct,…the inevitable destiny of the race [of Indians] is beyond the power and wisdom of man to avert."[20] The prevailing attitude and message was clear; killing Indians was inevitable and acceptable. This mindset, coupled with the lawless environment common in mining towns, contributed to extreme violence against Indians.

Boomtowns contained a mix of ingredients that fanned violence.

17. Editorial, "Indian Cruelties," *Daily Alta California*, July 7, 1851; Editorial, "Indian Outrages," *Placer Times,* May 5, 1849; Editorial, "Indian Affairs," *Placer Times*, May 29, 1850.

18. Editorial, "Indian Troubles," Daily Alta California, May 23, 1850.

19. Editorial, "Southern Mines – Races," Sacramento Transcript, August 6, 1850.

20. Robert F. Heizer and Alan F. Almquist, *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 18.

> *"The prevailing attitude and message was clear; killing Indians was inevitable and acceptable."*

Clare V. McKanna Jr. examined this phenomenon in his essay, "Enclaves of Violence in Nineteenth-Century California," and stated, "a sudden influx of transient, ethnically diverse, mostly single male population into undeveloped regions that lacked local systems of control encouraged high levels of violence."[21] He added, "These towns included a mix of saloons gambling, prostitution, and many men armed with guns and knives"[22] All of these ingredients contributed to the violence perpetrated by both whites and Indians.

INDIAN MASSACRES

Thousands of white settlers moving into the gold fields of California greatly altered the environment. White settlers possessed little regard for the Indians who had lived in the region for centuries. They built dams that indiscriminately destroyed Indian fishing grounds, trampled Indian hunting grounds, and constructed mining camps and towns in areas traditionally used by Indians. These actions drove many desperate Indians away from their familiar lands into remote mountain regions.[23] In addition, for those Indians who attempted to stay on their traditional lands, violence between whites and Indians frequently erupted in the gold diggings of California. Often the violence represented no more than a simple skirmish, but at times it escalated into full scale massacres. The term "massacre," which refers to the indiscriminate and wanton killing of defenseless individuals, was typically applied to the violence of Indians against whites. In reality, whites perpetrated most massacres against Indians.[24] The coverage of massacres by the press was varied and included letters from witnesses; editorials suggest-

21. Clare V. McKanna Jr., "Enclaves of Violence in Nineteenth-Century California," *Pacific Historical Review*, 73, (March, 2004): 394.

22. Ibid.

23. Johnson, *Roaring Camp*, 136-7.

24. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*, 107-8.

ing, supporting, or denouncing Indian policy in the state; and articles that described the events and, more often than not, provided an opinion.

One of the first massacres to occur following the discovery of gold took place in Coloma during the month of April 1849. According to Albert Hurtado, it marked the beginning of more than a decade of violence against California Indians.[25] The *Alta California* and *Placer Times* each ran accounts from witnesses detailing the events of the massacre. The accounts, from different individuals, related the same story. The Indians in the area attacked and killed five miners on the Middle Fork of the American River. Within a couple of days, the same group of Indians murdered two more miners farther up the river. Upon receipt of the news the argonauts organized a vigilance party in Coloma to locate the murderers and extract justice. According to the *Alta California*, "about dusk they came upon a Rancheria on Weber's Creek where they killed twenty-one, and took prisoners some forty Indians." The vigilantes were convinced they had found the guilty parties because they "found some of the clothing, and little articles which had belonged to the murdered white men." Subsequently, an eyewitness identified seven of the prisoners as those who had committed the murders. When these seven were removed from confinement to be tried, they ran and "the rifles of the mountaineer's were instantly leveled upon them with a deadly aim."[26] The Indians, of course, were not granted a trial or even an impromptu hearing. The vigilance committee served as judge, jury, and executioner.

Prior to printing the eyewitness account, the *Times* published an editorial discussing the murders on the American River and the overall problem of cyclical, retributive violence between whites and Indians. The editorial called for law and order, claiming:

25. Albert Hurtado, *John Sutter: A Life on the North American Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 255. Indian massacres occurred prior to the gold rush. A massacre occurring in 1846 on Deer Creek at the hands of Kit Carson and John C. Fremont is conveyed in David Roberts, *A Newer World: Kit Carson, John C. Fremont, and the Claiming of the American West* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000), 149-52.

26. E.G.B., "From the Mines," *Alta California*, May 10, 1849. Additional account: Author unknown, "Indian Outrages," *Placer Times,* May 5, 1849.

> It does not become us, enlightened Americans of the nineteenth century, to sally forth against a weak and ignorant people; burn their villages, butcher women and children and return at night with our saddle horns *loaded with scalps!* Let us ferret out the perpetrators of crime… and thereupon visit the severest penalty the Law affords. Let it be borne in mind we do not render ourselves a whit more secure from Indian depredation by *indiscriminate* slaughter, than by pursuing a humane method of treatment.[27]

The tone of white supremacy is evident in this editorial. The authors argue whites should demonstrate their "superiority" through restraint and an adherence to the law; the indiscriminate killing of Indians was unacceptable behavior for "civilized" whites. They demonstrate deep concern for the chronic nature of the violence that was occurring between whites and Indians.

Other Sacramento region newspapers echoed the sentiment that indiscriminate killing of Indians would not make white miners safer, and, in fact, would lead to more violence. The *Sacramento Transcript*, in a September 9, 1850 editorial stated:

> There can be no doubt of the right of men to protect themselves when their lives are endangered, and a certain degree of force is justifiable for the protection of property. We fear, however, the Indians have not always been dealt with in the right spirit in this country, and that many lives have been lost where there would have been no difficulty had more pains been taken to cultivate feelings of amity and accommodation with the aboriginal race….there are too many who are ready, at the slightest provocation, to shoot an Indian…. We fear it is too late now… for our people to live in peace with them, and that hostilities will become more general than heretofore.[28]

Finally, a *Sacramento Union* editorial discussing Indian hostilities on the

27. Editorial, "The Indian Difficulties," *Placer Times*, April 28, 1848. The italics and capitalization of "Law" appear in the original article.

28. Editorial, "Bloody Doings on the North Fork," *Sacramento Transcript*, May 9, 1850.

Klamath explained the problem this way, "[Indians] commenced the attack on the Klamath, but who can determine their provocation or the amount of destitution suffered before the hostile blow was struck…. The [whites] look upon it there [in the Klamath region] as a war of extermination, and are killing all grown up males."[29] The *Placer Times, Sacramento Transcript*, and *Sacramento Union* all recognized that whites were often to blame for the violence in the gold diggings, and that stopping the cycle of violence was extremely challenging.

Although they spoke in their editorials against the cycle of violence, the newspapers of the Sacramento region continued to publicize the massacres that occurred in the mining regions. Newspaper coverage of massacres was akin to modern television news showing sensational video tape. If the newspapers received a first-hand account of a massacre, they printed that account. The sensational reports probably attracted readers. On May 28, 1850, the *Alta* published an account of the Clear Lake Massacre provided by Captain John B. Frisbie:

> The troops arrived in the vicinity of the Lake and came unexpectedly upon a body of Indians numbering between two and three hundred. They immediately surrounded them and as the Indians raised a shout of defiance and attempted to escape, poured in a destructive fire indiscriminately upon men, women and children…. Little or no resistance was encountered, and the work of butchery was of short duration. The shrieks of the slaughtered victims died away, the roar of the muskets that ceased and stretched lifeless upon the sod of their native valley were the bleeding bodies of these Indians.[30]

Frisbie's account of the incident revealed a genocidal intent on the part of the military and this intent did not go without notice.

Brigadier Major General Persifor F. Smith, a leader of the attack at Clear Lake, in a letter to the *Alta* published just five days after Captain

29. Editorial, "Indian War," *Sacramento Union*, February 3, 1855.

30. Captain John B. Frisbie, "Horrible Slaughter of Indians," *Alta California*, May 28, 1850.

Frisbie's account was printed, denied the targeting of women and children, saying that some women may have drowned and some mothers may have killed their own children. The general declared Captain Frisbie's version of events a falsehood from beginning to end.[31] The *Alta* published General Smith's letter with a statement explaining, somewhat apologetically, that it printed Captain Frisbie's account without acknowledging it as truth and welcomed the opportunity to publish Smith's version of events.[32] The *Alta* apparently never clarified in any follow-up edition which version of the story was factual, an indication it may not have fully supported the military action at Clear Lake.[33]

With two notable exceptions, newspapers found reason to support the massacres when the military carried them out. The *Alta* was one exception and the *Sacramento Bee* was another. Perhaps John Rollin Ridge, a Cherokee Indian and one of the *Bee's* first editors, left a lasting mark on the *Bee* even though he only worked with the paper a few months. In April 1859, the *Bee*, writing about the conclusion of the Humboldt War with the Indians, spoke of the governor's order to the state militia, "The women and children must be spared, and there must be no indiscriminate slaughter of the Indians." According to the *Bee*, such a policy by the state "does credit to both his head and his heart, for it is not to be denied that Indian wars conducted by State troops have, heretofore, been more like cold blooded massacres than anything else."[34] This blanket condemnation of previous militia actions in California was an exceptional statement for a

"This blanket condemnation of previous militia actions in California was an exceptional statement for a Sacramento-region newspaper."

31. Brigadier Major General Persifor F. Smith, "The Clear Lake Indians," *Alta California*, June 3, 1850.

32. Brigadier Major General Persifor F. Smith, "The Clear Lake Indians," *Daily Alta California*, June 3, 1850. An editorial comment preceding this article contains the words to which this essay refers.

33. Recent scholarly research of the carnage at Clear Lake indicates Captain Frisbie's description was much closer to the truth than General Smith's version.

34. Editorial, "The Indian War in the North," *Sacramento Bee*, April 12, 1859.

Sacramento-region newspaper. Still, the *Alta*, the *Sacramento Bee*, and other Sacramento newspapers generally supported military action undertaken against Indians for the protection of white lives and property.

In January 1855, the *Daily Alta California*, which generally did not support the killing of Indians, spoke favorably of actions taken by a local militia group, the Klamath Rangers, on behalf of the citizens of northern California. The *Alta* supported the Rangers in their efforts, because it believed the Indians acted in an organized, purposeful manner and threatened the safety of white citizens. The editorial remarked, "As to the expediency or necessity of an attempt to exterminate the Indians, various views are held by our citizens, and some deprecate very much the course taken.…[H]ostilities have now been pushed so far that, in the interests of our neighboring settlers, it becomes a necessity to drive the Indians from the valley."[35] The *Marysville Herald* also favored government sponsored policing of ill-behaved Indians. In an editorial discussing crime in the Marysville area, the paper proclaimed:

> A very large proportion of the murders committed here are by Indians, in revenge for fancied or real wrongs or to gratify an innate love of deeds of impropriety.…[N]owhere in [California] with the single exception of San Francisco, is there an organization at all resembling a police system, much less a preventative police.[36]

Both the *Alta* and *Herald* saw value in using state sponsored troops to control "hostile" Indians.

Most of the newspapers included in this study covered Indian massacres extensively. They published first-hand accounts of the sensational events, followed those up with strongly opinioned editorials, and occasional letters with opposing views or differing versions of the events as they occurred. The papers in general saw massacres as an unfortunate reality in the Gold Rush era, and often conceded that whites were the catalyst of

35. Editorial, "A Battle with the Indians – Thirty Indians Killed," *Daily Alta California*, January 18, 1855.

36. Editorial, "Crimes in California," *Marysville Herald*, October 23, 1850.

the problems, creating intolerable Indian behavior that led to catastrophic results.

INDIAN BEHAVIOR – WHITE RESPONSIBILITY

In, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*, Albert L. Hurtado described white-Indian relations prior to 1848, stating, "Indians sought survival through raiding, labor, and trading, while whites wanted to suppress the former as they gained advantage from the latter."[37] The technological advantage held by the whites was offset by the advantage in numbers possessed by the Indians. "Both sides used violence," Hurtado asserted, "when it suited them, and diplomatic relations were based largely on personal – indeed, intimate – relations between whites and Indians."[38] The mass movement of thousands of miners onto Indian lands did away with the intimate relations between whites and Indians, effective communication between the two groups decreased and depredations on both sides increased, contributing to a cycle of violence that proved destructive to both Indians and whites. Sacramento-region newspapers unanimously recognized the influx of white settlers onto Indian lands as a fundamental cause of conflict between whites and Indians.

All seven papers ran editorials expressing the view that white intrusion upon Indian lands was ultimately the reason for violence between the two groups in the gold fields. The *Placer Times* ran an editorial on this subject in April 1849. Referring to the murder of whites by Indians the paper stated, "It may be readily believed the Indians have wreaked vengeance for deeds of blood, the bloody and cruel murders [of Indians] on the American River."[39] Approximately one year later, the *Placer Times* presented an editorial outlining the work of Adam Johnston, a federal Indian subagent working to establish supply depots for the Indians. The *Times* editorial provided the Indian point of view and commented, "The Indians generally complain that the palefaces are occupying their fishing places, overrunning their country, and rapidly taking from them the resources that have hereto-

37. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*, 125.

38. Ibid.

39. Editorial, "The Indian Difficulties," *Placer Times*, April 28, 1849.

fore been their support."[40] Just one month later, in an editorial discussing events leading up to the Clear Lake Massacre, the *Marysville Herald* reported, "One of [the Kelsey brothers] was killed some time since, by a party of Indians for cruelty to one of their tribe, and since his death frequent and daring have been the acts of retaliation and revenge visited indiscriminately of sex or age upon [the Indians] in the vicinity of Sonoma."[41] The *Alta* put the problem in very simple terms, "Bloodshed has followed on the track of civilization and settlement."[42] Each of these early editorials recognized the actions of the white settlers as precipitating Indian violence in the gold diggings.

The same message of white culpability was still being delivered years later in 1855 by the *Sacramento Daily Union*, as it stated, "The intrusion of the white man upon the Indians' hunting and fishing grounds has driven off the game and destroyed their fisheries. The consequence is, the Indians suffer every winter for sustenance. Hunger and starvation follow them wherever they go. Is it then a matter of wonder that they become desperate and resort to stealing and killing?[43] In an editorial titled, "Oppression of Digger Indians," the *Sacramento Bee* discussed a wealthy white man living in a valley near the Eel River who ordered hunters in the region to "shoot down every Indian… they should come across." The editorial explained the hunters would kidnap the Indian children following the massacre and sell them in different parts of the country."[44] In 1860 the *Marysville Daily Appeal* revealed the problem with whites had not changed:

40. Editorial, "The Indian Agent," *Sacramento Transcript*, August 17, 1850. In this editorial the paper refers to Mr. Johnson. Colonel Johnson was negotiating treaties in the southern part of the state, while Adam Johnston, at this time, was negotiating treaties up north. The agent in question is probably Adam Johnston, not Mr. Johnson as the editorial pertained to Indians in the north.

41. Editorial, "The Kelseys and the Indians," *Marysville Herald*, September 17, 1850.

42. Editorial, "Indian Cruelties," *Daily Alta California*, July 7, 1851.

43. Editorial, "Indian War," *Sacramento Daily Union*, February 3, 1855.

44. Editorial, "Oppression of Digger Indians," *Sacramento Daily Bee*, July 21, 1857.

> The report… illustrates pretty correctly, the causes and nature of most of the Indian "wars" in this State. A white man loses a hog or some other animal, or thinks he does, and, incontinently seized with the idea that he is the victim of Indian dishonesty and depredation, he calls a party of his neighbors together, magnifies his losses and excites them to an immediate hunt for Indians; the first party of which is found, is generally annihilated before search is made among them and their effects for the missing property.[45]

"The notion that encroachment by white settlers onto Indian lands was largely to blame for the violence occurring between the races in the gold fields was unanimous amongst the newspapers of the Sacramento region, and they firmly maintained this belief throughout the period 1848-1860."

Finally, the *Sacramento Daily Union* in the same year, revealed whites were still causing problems: "When [whites] want land occupied by Indians they take it, and if the original occupiers offer to resist, they are killed."[46] The notion that encroachment by white settlers onto Indian lands was largely to blame for the violence occurring between the races in the gold fields was unanimous amongst the newspapers of the Sacramento region, and they firmly maintained this belief throughout the period 1848-1860.

This does not mean, however, that the newspapers did not hold Indians who were hostile towards whites responsible for their actions. The newspapers of the Sacramento region varied on the degree of blame they assigned the Indians for the racial conflict. As indicated earlier, newspapers often supported vigilance groups and military campaigns against the Indians if they aimed to protect white citizens in the gold fields. At other times, editors opposed armed action as irresponsible and unwarranted. As the *Sacramento Bee* put it in 1857, "We are among those, both on the Vigilant and anti-Vigilant side."[47] The *Sacramento Union* saw a need for mili-

45. Editorial, "Indian Wars," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, February 15, 1860.

46. Editorial, "Legislation for Indians," *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 19, 1860.

47. Editorial, "Vigilantism Again," *Sacramento Daily Bee*, February 4, 1857.

tary action against the Indians along the Klamath River in 1855 because "unless aid is immediately extended, the Klamath River and Trinity Valley must be entirely abandoned by the whites."[48] The *Union* published a follow up article in February in which a correspondent confirmed the Indians were hostile:

> On the Klamath the Indians have killed six white men, and I understand some stock. From the Salmon down the whites are in arms, with a determination, I believe, if possible, to destroy all the grown up males, not withstanding this meets with the opposition of some few who have favorite Indians amongst them. I doubt whether this distinction should be made, as some who have been considered good have proved the most treacherous.[49]

In most newspapers, the protection of white lives and property was the most frequently stated justification for the use of violence against Indians.

A *Marysville Herald* editorial held the protection of white citizens as central in 1850. The *Herald* referred to a murder, at the hands of the Indians, of some settlers on the North Fork of the Feather River. Although the murders were provoked by "a whipping" perpetrated by whites against an Indian thief, the newspaper still strongly supported military action to protect and avenge white lives, stating, "A party of twenty persons,…left here last Sunday, well armed, determined to surround the *Rancheria* and kill each and every Indian they may fall in with. May they be successful, for poor Blanchard's sufferings and death deserve to be bitterly atoned for."[50]

Even the progressive *Sacramento Bee* understood the protection of white citizens had to be placed above the well-being of the Indians. In an editorial commenting on military action in Humboldt and Trinity counties, it made its position clear:

48. Editorial, "Indian Difficulties," *Sacramento Daily Union,* February 2, 1855.

49. Writer from Trinidad, "Indian War," *Sacramento Daily Union*, February 3, 1855.

50. Editorial, "Murder by the Indians on North Fork Feather River Mining &c.," *Marysville Herald*, September 13, 1850. The italics appeared in the original article.

> Much credit is given in the [official military] report to both the officers and men of this expedition, and it would seem from all the facts before us that this praise is not undeserved. By this action a large tract of fertile country has been opened up to actual settlers, and the lives and property of those there residing have been protected from future depredations from the Indians.[51]

The reference here to the "actual settlers," is clearly a slight against the Indians and a reference to "civilized" whites. Indeed, many of the newspapers drew a distinction between "good" Indians and "bad" or "hostile" Indians. The *Alta*, for instance, admitted whites had made inroads upon the hunting and fishing grounds of the Indians, which deeply angered the natives. The editor explained, "The more sensible, however, among the Indians felt their weakness and acted submissively, while the majority of the whites were inclined to deal with them kindly and generously. Bad Indians and unscrupulous white men were… the first to disturb this good feeling."[52] This editorial was gracious enough to admit "unscrupulous white men" bore some responsibility for the disruption of peaceful relations between whites and Indians. Demonstrating state pride, some editors believed their readers should look north to Oregon to find those "unscrupulous white men."

Theodore Taylor Johnson, a California settler from New Jersey, wrote one of the first books to relate personal experiences about life in the California gold diggings. He claimed the slaughter of Marcus Whitman and his family in Oregon was the cause of the Indian troubles in California.[53] In 1847, the Cayuse Indians had murdered the Whitmans, after blaming them for a virulent measles epidemic amongst the tribe. The so-called "Whitman Massacre" in turn prompted a prolonged war between white settlers and the Cayuse that continued for several years and inspired a deep desire for vengeance among Oregonians.

51. Editorial, "The Indian War in the North," *Sacramento Bee*, April 12, 1859.

52. Editorial, "A Battle with the Indians – Thirty Indians Killed," *Daily Alta California*, January 18, 1855.

53. Theodore T. Johnson, *Sights in the Gold Region, and Scenes by the Way* (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1849), 181-183.

The *Daily Alta California* supported the Whitman Massacre theory that attributed acute anti-Indian beliefs to the Oregon mindset in a lengthy editorial published on May 30, 1850. After describing the murder of the Whitman family the paper went on to discuss why this warfare contributed to the difficulties with Indians in California. The editors remarked that the white forces fighting against the Cayuse were superior, but failed because "there was no considerable force of the enemy to oppose the whites where battle would have given to superior generalship an easy victory."[54] According to the editors, those whites who had been frustrated in battle with the Cayuse came to California in search of gold and revenge. "It is well known their trail was marked with Indian blood," the editorial remarked.[55] The *Alta* editorial concluded, "The ire of the savage was stirred, and 'Indian outrages' alarmed the quiet diggers of the American river, but a short time after the Oregonians arrived in California. Here may be dated the commencement of disturbances between our people in the Placer, and the Indian tribes of the North.[56] The *Alta* was not alone in supporting this notion.

Other newspapers also alluded to the Oregon causation theory. The Sacramento Transcript, in an editorial published in May 1850, discussed the problems in Oregon. The editors did not blame the Oregonians for violence against Indians in California, but they stated, "The Oregonians are highly incensed at these outrages [in Oregon] and it is thought they will not be satisfied until the offensive Indians are exterminated. The energetic steps taken by the [Oregon] Governor, will doubtless be the means of opening a safe overland communication between Oregon and California." Although less direct than the Alta in its support of the theory, this editorial mentions the white desire for revenge as well as the need for a safe overland route from Oregon to California, both of which allude to the Cayuse issue contributing to the violence between Oregon settlers and California Indians.

Though many editors may have believed the Oregonians were responsible for the violence in the gold fields, fixing blame was secondary to finding solutions to the problem. Whether the white Oregonians or the In-

54. Editorial, "The Indians – Important Movement," *Alta California*, May 30, 1850.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid.

dians created the difficulties, the press of the Sacramento region could not escape the fact that identifying a means to stop the violence between whites and Indians in the gold fields of California was critical to their readers.

INDIAN POLICY – ULTIMATE SOLUTIONS

In looking for a solution to the problems between white settlers and Indians in California, the press never questioned who would end up with the land and wealth in the state. Therefore, the debate regarding what to do with the California Indians generally focused on whether the supposedly inferior Indian should be exterminated to make way for the presumably superior white race, or if the "lower" Indians should be assisted with their, so-called miserable lives by the "better" whites.[57] An analysis of the Sacramento-region newspapers reveals parties subscribing to both ideas, as well as an altogether different point of view offered by the progressive *Sacramento Bee*. Much of the editorializing centered on the idea of Indian reservations.

Beginning in 1849, the United States government appointed Indian agents in an effort to deal with the problems created by the rapid influx of white settlers and their encroachment on Indian lands. The first attempt to resolve the problem took on the form of establishing reservations in the state and signing treaties with Indian tribes under which the Indians would relinquish their lands and agree to live on the established reserves. The federal agents negotiated eighteen treaties between 1849 and 1853 that affected 139 Indian tribes or clans in California and at least 25,000 Indians. In addition, the treaty agreements set aside over seven million acres of land for Indian reservations.[58] The newspapers offered mixed reactions over the issue of Indian reservations.

In an editorial published in 1851, the *Alta* declared, "We are perfectly well satisfied that the [agents] are anxious to adopt such a course as will tend to place the aborigines and whites on the most amicable

57. Editorial, "Indian Affairs," *Placer Times*, May 29, 1850. This editorial refers to the Indians of California as "miserable," while Sacramento-region newspapers routinely reflected the idea of white supremacy over Indians in their pages.

58. William Henry Ellison, *A Self Governing Dominion: California, 1849-1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950), 149.

footing."[59] Even if the agents had good intentions, the *Alta* expressed doubts about the feasibility of their plan. The editors stated "Treaties may be formed, and compacts made between our agent and the wild tribes, but the same obstacles which were presented to the early pioneers of the western wilds of the Mississippi, in the settlement of that country, will be found to maintain in our uncultivated or mountain districts, viz: Indian depredations and cruelty."[60]

Other papers in the Sacramento region expressed their doubts as well. The *Sacramento Transcript* published a letter to another paper that, by their own introduction, "[admitted] the truth of the position assumed by the *Transcript* some time since."[61] The letter refers to Colonel Johnson's efforts to negotiate treaties with Indians, claiming, "I think he has heard enough since he has been here, to convince him that all attempts to treat with the Indians will be futile, until they have been whipped into a practical knowledge of the power of the whites."[62] The *Transcript* consistently supported the idea of establishing military posts in regions of the state that were home to Indians known to be problematic. The editors of the paper believed treaties and reservations would never be effective until Indians were controlled using military might, a position consistent with their ideas of white superiority.

On the other hand, some newspapers believed a reservation system was the best course of action concerning Indian affairs. Editors understood that the new California immigrants would not tolerate the Indians living amongst them; however, they also knew that driving the Indians to the mountains for safe haven represented a death sentence. In an editorial published in January 1851, the *Alta* repeated the language

> *"Editors understood that the new California immigrants would not tolerate the Indians living amongst them; however, they also knew that driving the Indians to the mountains for safe haven represented a death sentence."*

59. Editorial, "The Indian Reservations," *Daily Alta California,* September 16, 1851.

60. Editorial, "Indian Cruelties," *Daily Alta California*, July 7, 1851.

61. Author Unknown, "Indian Affairs in the South," *Sacramento Transcript*, February 21, 1851.

62. Ibid.

used in urging Californians and the state government to consider the reservation idea:

> It was fortunate that the eastern states had…land on the western side of the great river where they could transport these poor red children of the forest. It is not so, however, with California. If we drive the poor Indian from his old hunting grounds, and break up his fisheries, and cut down his acorn orchards, and burn up his grass seeds, and drive him from his old haunts which the god of nature have given him, it is to the mountains and starvation that we drive him…. The Indians have a right to a portion of the soil, a better right than we have to the whole of it.[63]

Editorials in other Sacramento-region newspapers took this position throughout the Gold Rush era and believed in the necessity of separating the Indian population from that of the whites. They warned that failure to manage this segregation through a reservation system would result in the destruction of the Indian population through starvation and exposure in the mountains, or in their extermination at the hands of the military and vigilance groups.

As California sought to develop a reservation system, problems between whites and Indians continued. Newspapers in the Sacramento region implored the government to manage the reservations in a responsible way, lest the violence continue. An editorial appearing in the *Sacramento Union* in 1855 called for stronger stewardship of the reservations than had previously been established. The editorial claimed, "The repeated and long absences of the [government Indian] agent…have caused much unhappiness and misery to the Indians in their social and domestic relations." Additionally, the editorial stated, "Were we to recount the half of what has been told us [regarding the atrocities committed by white employees against the Indians] it would exhibit a page as black as the blackest that darkens the history of the Spanish conquests on this continent."[64] The editorial went

63. Editorial, "Our Indian Relations," *Daily Alta California*, January 12, 1851.

64. Editorial, "Indian Reservations – Indian Treatment," *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 26, 1855.

on to call for the correction of the situation in order to prevent Indians from using violence as their only recourse to address their grievances. In an editorial appearing four years later, the *Union* continued to support the Indian reservation system and advocated the use of force, saying, " [Indians] should … be concentrated and kept, by force if necessary, upon the Reservations."[65]

Federal government policy regarding Indian reservations during the Gold Rush era in California actually contributed to tensions between Indians and whites. Because of strong opposition to the establishment of permanent reservations, the federal government established temporary reservations shutting them down when demanded by whites.[66] Temporary reservations served a small minority of the total Indian population. Plans for the reservations to become self-sustaining never materialized and the majority of the Indians were left to fend for themselves, either finding work on ranches or farms, or by surviving off the land in the Sierra Nevada Range. As problems materialized, some newspapers in the Sacramento region began variously to call for better management of the reservations, the closure of the reservations, the ultimate extinction of Indians, or their assimilation.

Once again, the *Sacramento Union* led the call to keep the reservations. In an editorial supporting better reservation and fiscal management published in January 1859, the *Union* in the interest of "peace and security," argued, "The reservation system must be overhauled and changed (not abolished, as some inconsiderate heads have suggested) – the cost of taking care of the Indians now upon the Reservations must be greatly lessened."[67] Echoing the *Union's* sentiments, the *Marysville Daily Appeal* wrote:

> …that while enormous sums of money have been exacted of the Government for the establishment and support of the Reservations, the Indian has received no benefits therefrom, but has rather been made worse off than he originally was…. [B]ut that the Reserva-

65. Editorial, "Indian Troubles Etc.," *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 7, 1859.

66. Hurtado, "Workaday West," 10.

67. Editorial, "Indian Troubles, Etc.," *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 7, 1859.

> tions properly controlled would fail in the attainment of their desired ends we do not believe.[68]

The *Sacramento Bee* was also a proponent of the reservation system. It supported the idea of creating a reservation on the Pitt River as "a good one."[69]

Though many editors were concerned about outbreaks of violence should the government fail to isolate Indians upon well-managed reservations, others expressed concern that the Indians were being placed upon land enterprising whites would soon covet. As one writer noted, "The valuable land assigned to Indians as Reservations will ultimately be needed by citizens of the state." With an eye toward the reality that reservations were temporary, the major concern of the writer was the possibility of violence. The author believed the needs of citizens had to come before those of the Indians, while wishing for peaceful transitions.

Miners in the diggings were less concerned with peaceful transitions. Some white gold seekers believed in a policy of extermination regarding the Indians of California. Following his account of the Coloma massacre, a writer to the *Daily Alta California* stated:

> After what has occurred, revenge will be sought by both parties, and many a solitary white man will be cruelly murdered by Indians, and many an Indian picked off by a mountaineer's rifle. Hereafter treaties cannot be made and the two races can never live together harmoniously; and I doubt not but a war of extermination will soon be commenced.[70]

This editorial shows a clear difference in the language the author used to address Indians as opposed to whites. Whites will be "cruelly murdered by Indians," while Indians will be "picked off by a mountaineer's rifle." The author clearly values the lives of whites more than the lives of Indians. This distinction allowed the reader to understand how the writer could call for a

68. Editorial, "The Indian Reservations," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, February 9, 1860.

69. Editorial, "Pitt River," *Sacramento Daily Bee,* July 31, 1857.

70. E.G.B., "From the Mines," *Alta California,* May 10, 1849.

"war of extermination."[71]

Many letters to the papers echoed this sentiment for genocide. Despite the variety of reasons given, most often, as with the letter quoted above, whites saw no other option. As another letter writer put it, "The Indian and the white man cannot well live together; they seem to be, at least in this part of the country, sworn foes, [who] kill each other wherever they meet."[72] The reasons this attitude was so pervasive included racism, perpetual rumors of destructive and murderous Indian plots, and an official government policy that perpetuated the idea of irreconcilable differences between the races. California's first governor, Peter Burnett, declared, "A war of extermination will continue to be waged between the two races until the Indian race becomes extinct….the inevitable destiny of the race [of Indians] is beyond the power and wisdom of man to avert."[73] The attitude of the governor was echoed in the gold fields as well as on the pages of the newspapers.

"Many letters to the papers echoed this sentiment for genocide. Despite the variety of reasons given, most often, as with the letter quoted above, whites saw no other option."

Several editors supported the idea of Indian extermination but argued it should not occur at the hands of whites. The *Marysville Daily Appeal* said, "No country is wide enough for a joint occupancy by the white and red man."[74] The paper firmly asserted a belief in white supremacy, supporting the elimination of Indians in the name of "civilization and enlightenment."[75] The editors stipulated the Indians' disappearance "from

71. E.G.B., "From the Mines," *Alta California*, May 10, 1849.

72. J.C.W., "Diggings and Diggers," *Placer Times*, June 3, 1850.

73. Quoted in Robert F. Heizer and Alan F. Almquist, *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination Under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 18.

74. Editorial, "Indian Wars," *Marysville Daily Appeal*, February 16, 1850.

75. Ibid.

[their] old hunting grounds [should] be tempered with humanity and mercy."[76] Presumably, the civilized and enlightened whites would supply humanity and mercy to the dying Indians under this plan.

The *Sacramento Union* proffered the opinion that "the fate of the Indian is fixed. He must be annihilated by the advance of the white man."[77] The *Alta* also believed the Indian was destined for extinction, and suggested the state should "place within [the Indians'] reach the power of supporting themselves" as they gradually perished.[78] The *Placer Times* concurred, saying, "A check upon the inclinations of the worst [Indians], will arise with the rapid growth of society, and gradually they will recede before the advances of the white man as is destined the Indian race in general."[79] The majority of Sacramento-region newspapers expressed the idea that Indians in California would disappear with the advancement of white civilization, and they expressed no concern other than to suggest providing comfort to the dying race.

There was, however, one Sacramento-region editor who offered a very different opinion. The *Sacramento Bee* suggested the most progressive solution offered by any paper in the Sacramento region. In an astonishing editorial authored by John Rollin Ridge in April 1857, the *Bee* extolled the virtues of "amalgamation" for the "Diggers:"[80]

> Some advocate extermination – others the subjection of them to domestication and servitude in white families, while others are in favor of the present policy of the United States, the placing them on reservations, and teaching them husbandry and mechanical trades. Others, again, are in favor of removing them beyond the limits of the State.... Our own idea may be somewhat startling, but we

76. Ibid.

77. Editorial, "Indian Wars," *Sacramento Daily Union,* February 3, 1855.

78. Editorial, "The Indian Reservations," *Alta California*, September 10, 1851.

79. Editorial, "The Indian Difficulties," *Placer Times*, April 28, 1849.

80. The term "Diggers" was a pejorative referring to peaceful Indians in California.

> believe it to be the only true solution of the difficulty – AMALGAMATION. People who have been in the mountains, and seen, as we have, hundreds of white men living with their Digger wives, will not be so much surprised at this declaration of opinion. Wherever the white race goes amalgamation takes place.[81]

In July 1857 the *Bee* published a follow-up editorial prior to Ridge's departure from the newspaper. It discussed the assimilation of the races and stated, "[W]e are bound to believe, and not afraid to assert, that a universal amalgamation of the races seems to be going on, and that it is possible that the present identity of nations and tribes will someday be entirely lost in the comingling and absorption of specific elements."[82] This, the most progressive stance taken by any Sacramento region newspaper on the Indian issue, was typical of Ridge's views. In *John Rollin Ridge: His Life and Works*, James Parins explained that the *Sacramento Bee* editor, who was part white himself, "was very conscious of his Cherokee identity, yet he wrote in favor of assimilationist policies to settle the 'Indian question.'"[83]

The newspapers of the Sacramento region presented a number of ideas for solving the problems between white settlers and Indians in the gold fields. The *Sacramento Transcript* was firm in its support of military outposts in the mining regions. The *Sacramento Union* and *Daily Alta California* favored reservations, though both papers believed the reservations required better management. Some editors felt military force was appropriate in certain instances to maintain peace and protect the white citizens of the state. In Darwinian fashion, most editors asserted, regardless of the suggested solution, that Indians would eventually disappear of their own volition and that whites should adhere to "civilized" Christian behavior in their dealings with the "savages." Murderous vengeance was not the answer to the problems between the races. The *Bee* stood alone in advocating the far-sighted solution of "amalgamation," or the melding of the races.

81. Editorial, "The Digger Indian," *Sacramento Daily Bee*, April 7, 1857. The writing of amalgamation in all capital letters reflects the original printing by the *Bee*.

82. Editorial, "Mongolian and Celtic Amalgamation," *Sacramento Daily Bee*, July 24, 1857.

83. James W. Parins, *John Rollin Ridge: His Life and Works* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991), 2.

CONCLUSION

The California Gold Rush was an exciting and complex time. Hostile relations between white settlers and native Indians, defined by the pervasive racism and providential notions of the era, were encouraged by government policy, and nourished by a legal system that failed to punish the murder of Indians. Most whites viewed native people as inferior "Diggers" standing in the way of progress. The newspapers of the greater Sacramento region reflected these views, as they grappled with the job of presenting the news and their opinions on the complexities of white-Indian relations.

The Sacramento-region newspapers in this study unanimously and consistently asserted their view of white supremacy over Indians. Most editors placed the responsibility for stopping the violence squarely on those of European extraction. The majority of editors called for a cessation of white-on-Indian violence not focused on saving white lives and property. The editors called the violence senseless, not because it was destroying another people and culture, but because it was unbecoming of a civilized, white Christian population and costly to the state. Editors did not agree on the best means of solving the Indian problems in California. Some espoused the virtues of the reservation system, others believed military outposts would prove more effective, still others advocated waiting until the "red man" vanished, as he was destined to do.

> *"The Sacramento-region newspapers in this study unanimously and consistently asserted their view of white supremacy over Indians. Most editors placed the responsibility for stopping the violence squarely on those of European extraction."*

Perhaps the most progressive, far-sighted view expressed was that of the *Sacramento Bee*. John Rollin Ridge, a Cherokee Indian, perceived a world in which race distinctions disappeared. The *Bee* called its plan "amalgamation," or the blending of races, and remarked that it was already happening everywhere human beings existed. If Californians had listened, the Gold Rush could have been an opportunity for learning, growth, and acceptance. Instead, the pages of the Sacramento-region newspapers of the Gold Rush largely reflected the less enlightened attitudes of the whites. The ideas of John Rollin Ridge succumbed to a steady stream of racism dismissed in favor of greed, intolerance, and bloody violence.

Resurrecting Memory: The Reconstruction Of Dresden's *Frauenkirche*

Jessica Williams

This paper examines the controversy surrounding the 2005 reconstruction of Dresden's *Frauenkirche*, or Church of Our Lady, and how the memory of the church has changed over time. After its construction in the eighteenth-century, the church grew into an icon of Western art and architecture. The church was destroyed toward the end of the Second World War and lay in ruins behind the Iron Curtain until efforts to rebuild it resurfaced after German unification in 1990. Some Germans rejoiced at seeing this baroque beauty come back, while others feared its reemergence would gloss over the era of military aggression that led to its destruction. The reconstruction of the church highlights how memory of a site can evolve over time and how its memory changes due to current circumstances.

The *Frauenkirche,* or Church of Our Lady, a modern-day replica of the eighteenth-century baroque original, stands once more in Dresden. Its resurrected baroque design contributes beauty to a city that can easily sweep one up in its romantic aura. The original materials, dark and old, stand in sharp contrast to the light, freshness of the newer sandstone. The sanctity of the church is perhaps a bit disturbed by the throngs of tourists passing through, but it still presents itself as an awesome hall of worship with the newly restored Silbermann organ over the Eucharist. Like the city it resides in, the *Frauenkirche* represents a mixture of meanings. It is both a reconstruction of a historical building and a testament to modern-day technology; it serves as a reminder of a nostalgic past and a contentious present; it provides a contribution to the creation of a unified German identity while also highlighting tensions between the former East and West; and, finally, its death and its rebirth each play significant roles in the creation of German collective memory. Those who endorse its reconstruction tout its ability to bring together nations and people under the banner of healing and reconciliation. Those who criticize the effort argue that the rebuilt church fails to acknowledge a German past burdened with expansionist aims and Nazi aggression. The *Frauenkirche* stands at the crossroads of the development of a united German identity. The church offers the possibility of both adding an element of normality to that identity while also bringing attention to the divergent identities that may be left out. As a site of memory, or *lieux de mémoire*, the *Frauenkirche* demonstrates how a place can evoke memory and how that memory changes over time as it is influenced by the current motivations of its stakeholders.

> *"The Frauenkirche stands at the crossroads of the development of a united German identity."*

The meaning of the *Frauenkirche* has transformed to mirror, not only the role it has played in history, but also the shifting conditions and values of those around it. Despite its reconstruction, its meaning has never remained static. Pierre Nora, in his seminal essay, states that "*lieux de mémoire* only exist because of their capacity for metamorphosis, an endless recycling of their meaning and an unpredictable proliferation of their ramifications."[1] The *Frauenkirche* serves as an ideal *lieux de mémoire* because it promotes the circulation of memory. It has inspired political elites to incorporate its symbolism into their agendas, and it has provided an environment that has encouraged local interaction in the creation of memory. While the *Frauenkirche* fulfills this piece of Nora's definition of *lieux de mémoire*, it also contradicts his statement that "the moment of *lieux de mémoire* occurs at the same time that an immense and intimate fund of memory disappears, surviving only as a reconstituted object beneath the gaze of critical history."[2] The reconstruction of the *Frauenkirche* comes not at a time when its memory is at risk of being confined to history but at a time when its memory has been revitalized by the need to create a new German identity.

The modern-day memory of the *Frauenkirche* harkens back to its creation and the beginning of Dresden's reputation as the *Elbflorenz* – "Florence on the Elbe." In the eighteenth century, Augustus the Strong, the Elector of Saxony and the King of Poland, sought to increase his power and prestige by creating a city that offered, not only a wealth of artistic treasures, but also an impressive architectural display. He infused the burgeoning cultural capital with baroque architecture and became intimately

1. Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de mémoire,"* in "Memory and Counter-memory," eds. Natalie Zemon Davis and Randolph Starn, special Issue, *Representations* 26 (Spring 1989): 19, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2928518 (accessed March 5, 2008).

2. Ibid., 11-12.

Photo courtesy of Annie Snider.

involved in the city's planning.[3] He brought in accomplished architect, George Bähr, who began construction on the *Frauenkirche* in 1726 and finished in 1743. Despite the conversion of Augustus the Strong to Catholicism in 1697, the church reflected Protestant theology and became a prominent symbol of Lutheran culture.[4] Beyond its importance to Dresden's Protestant community, the church rose as a baroque icon due to the vision of Bähr.

George Bähr's design included the remarkable dome and spire that became a visual showpiece in Dresden's famous skyline. The reconstruction efforts of the *Frauenkirche* in the late twentieth century reinforced Bähr's reputation as a master architect as intense investigation uncovered the brilliance of the originally questioned design. The walls of the church absorbed the weight of the dome that was made entirely out of stone and iron. Its strength withstood its first trial by fire when the church auspiciously survived multiple cannon firings during the Seven Years War.[5] This accomplishment followed principles of architecture unsubstantiated in Bähr's time.[6] However, it was not the architectural skill demonstrated in the construction of the church but the visual appeal of the church that promoted its celebrity. Augustus III, son of Augustus the Strong, commis-

3. Anthony Clayton, "Dresden, 1206-1918," in *Dresden: A City Reborn*, eds. Anthony Clayton and Alan Russell (New York: Berg, 1999), 13-16.

4. Ibid., 16.

5. David Galloway, "Report from Dresden: A City Reborn," *Art in America* 80, no. 4 (April 1992): 57.

6. F. Wenzel, "A construction of stone and iron: Structural concept for reconstruction of the Dresden Frauenkirche," in *The Revival of Dresden*, eds. W. Jäger and C.A. Brebbia (Boston: WIT Press, 2000), 177.

sioned a series of paintings of the city by Italian artist Bernardo Bellotto.[7] The paintings captured the beauty of the *Altstadt* as well as the view of the city's skyline from across the Elbe River. The city landmarks highlighted in the paintings have contributed to the perpetual conception of Dresden as a "perfect" city.[8]

During the decades between the building of the *Frauenkirche* and the Second World War Dresden's reputation as a cultural center became firmly cemented throughout Germany and internationally. This did not mean, however, that Dresden was spared the historical forces of this time period. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw Dresden expand as an industrial center producing luxury goods such as cigarettes and squeezable toothpaste and its hub of railroad yards brought in tourism at an increasing rate.[9] Already the provinciality of Dresden and its beautiful architecture perpetuated a feeling of nostalgia despite its rapidly changing surroundings. According to historian Frederick Taylor, "[p]eople flocked there to see old, beautiful things and an aesthetically comforting vision of history, not to endure too much reality."[10] Prior to its destruction in the Second World War, the *Frauenkirche* and the surrounding *Neumarkt* had already become mythic in their symbolism, representing a Western cultural renaissance.

The iconic structure collapsed in 1945. Beginning the night of February 13 and continuing through February 15, the British Royal Air Force and the U.S. Army Air Forces launched a series of bomber attacks on the city. Over the course of three days, Lancaster and B-17 Bombers dropped a total of over two thousand tons of high-explosive and incendiary bombs, which lit fires throughout the city.[11] This created a conflagration so powerful that the shoes of those trying to escape stuck to the hot tar of the city streets and the stone in much of the city's architecture spontane-

7. Clare Ford-Wille, "The Art Collections of Dresden," in Clayton and Russell, 154.

8. Rolf J. Goebel, "*Gesamtkunstwerk* Dresden: Official Urban Discourse and Durs Grünbein's Poetic Critique," *The German Quarterly* 80, no. 4 (Fall 2007): 495, http://proxy.lib.csus.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/ (accessed March 27, 2008).

9. Frederick Taylor, *Dresden, Tuesday 13, 1945* (New York: Harper Collins, 2004), 33.

10. Ibid., 41.

11. F. Reichert, "The destruction of Dresden," in Jäger and Brebbia, 5.

ously combusted.[12] On the morning of the fifteenth, astonished survivors bid farewell as they witnessed the church crumble to the ground after the bombing ceased. The intensity of the heat from the firestorm proved too much and the dome fell in on itself.[13]

The extent of the destruction in Dresden and the obvious targeting of civilians quickly brought into question the morality of strategic area bombing. On February 18, 1945, Associated Press correspondent Howard Cowan first used the term "terror bombing" in a press release that followed the Royal Air Force's briefing of the air raid.[14] Winston Churchill further questioned the moral implications of the Dresden bombings in a March 28th minute when he stated, "[i]t seems to me that the moment has come when the question of bombing of German cities simply for the sake of increasing the terror, though under other pretexts, should be reviewed... . The destruction of Dresden remains a serious query against the conduct of Allied bombing."[15] Joseph Goebbels, propagandist of the Nazi regime, capitalized on this terminology and, with inflated casualty figures, presented the air raid as an example of Allied brutality.[16] In 1963, David Irving, in his work *The Destruction of Dresden*, produced a biting critique of the attack that questioned Dresden as an appropriate military target and declared an estimated 135,000 deaths as a result.[17] Recent estimates put the total of fatalities closer to 35,000.[18] Kurt Vonnegut, an American POW who witnessed the air raid, highlighted the human toll and perceived pointlessness of the attack in his novel, *Slaughterhouse Five*. Dresden was not the only German city targeted by Allied air attacks during the Second World War, and it did not sustain as much damage as others such as Hamburg, which

12. Sönke Neitzel, "The City under Attack," in *Firestorm: The Bombing of Dresden, 1945*, eds. Paul Addison and Jeremy Crang (London: Pimlico, 2006), 71-72.

13. Kenneth Asch, "Rebuilding Dresden," *History Today* 49, no. 10 (October 1999): 4, http://proxy.lib.csus.edu/ (accessed March 27, 2008).

14. Taylor, 361-362.

15. Churchill, *28 March 1945. Prime Minister to General Ismay (for Chiefs of Staff Committee) and the Chief of the Air Staff.* Quoted in Taylor, 375-376.

16. Taylor, 369.

17. David Irving, *The Destruction of Dresden* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1963), 14.

18. Tami Davis Biddle, "Dresden 1945: Reality, History, and Memory," *The Journal of Military History* 72 (April 2008): 424, http://search.ebscohost.com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/ (accessed March 27, 2008).

was attacked July, 1943.[19] However, the attack on Dresden stood out from other air raids as unequaled in its level of atrocity.[20]

In recent analysis, historians have debunked some of the myth and challenged the memory that has grown out of the Allied attack on Dresden. During the Second World War, the intricate railroad hub that had once brought tourism to the capital of Saxony functioned as an important component of Germany's military lines of communication and a transport for Jews to various extermination camps further east.[21] Much of the consumer-related industry within Dresden had been converted to war-related industry with 127 factories aiding in war production.[22] "By 1943 almost all the schools in Dresden were devoted to the military or war-related uses, whether as stores, offices, or accommodations."[23] Although this does not serve as a justification for the killing of thousands of civilians, it does provide some legitimacy to the selection of Dresden as a military target and weakens the notion of Dresden as an "innocent" city. Dresdners considered their city to be one of purity and they functioned under the belief that due to the city's status as a cultural icon the Allies would avoid significantly damaging it during the war.[24] The city had also become a center for refugees escaping the war in the East and the encroaching Red Army.[25] This, coupled with the visual wasteland left by the attack, helped to create an intense memory of Dresden as an undeserving and blameless victim. The remains of the *Frauenkirche*, two solitary walls standing amidst a pile of rubble, eventually became a symbol of innocence violated and German victimhood.[26] In 1949, the German Democratic Republic (GDR) reinforced this interpretation as Cold War tensions increased between the East and the West.

Saxony fell under the control of the Soviet Army as they marched through the eastern portion of Hitler's defeated Germany in 1945. The Soviets reached Dresden by May 8 and quickly established an administra-

19. Ibid., 414.

20. Alexander McKee, *Dresden 1945: The Devil's Tinderbox* (London: Souvenir Press, 1982), 12.

21. Taylor, 163.

22. Ibid., 148.

23. Ibid., 139.

24. Ibid., 225.

25. Biddle, 420.

26. Jason James, "Undoing Trauma: Reconstructing the Church of Our Lady in Dresden," in "The Immanent Past," special issue, *Ethos* 34, no. 2 (2006): 246.

tion.[27] As the politics of the Cold War divided the country, the blackened rubble of the *Frauenkirche* fell behind the Iron Curtain. The forty years of Socialist rule marked the time period in which the ruins of the *Frauenkirche* became a designated memorial to the testament of Allied atrocity during the war. After reunification many Westerners lamented the presumed neglect of the Socialist government toward cultural restoration. However, this belief inaccurately demonizes the efforts of the GDR in regards to rebuilding and does not acknowledge the identity formation of Germans under Socialist influence prior to reunification.[28] In Dresden, Soviet military administrators saw reconstruction as "a potential image-boosting device for the new controllers of the city."[29] Although laden thick with ideology, the GDR did restore some of the historically significant buildings within Dresden such as the *Zwinger*, Semper's Opera House, and the *Brühlsche Terrasse*.[30] Proposals to rebuild the *Frauenkirche* surfaced almost immediately after the war, but the enormity of the task and the emergence of Socialist modern construction in the 1960s prevented its reconstruction from ever moving forward.[31] Although some Westerners want to recapture a nostalgic past represented in the architectural marvels of old Dresden, the destruction of the city and rituals surrounding the ruins of the *Frauenkirche* had become a part of the city's identity particularly for those who had lived through it.[32]

The Socialist government of East Germany determined the function of the *Frauenkirche* ruins as a site of memory and dictated its official discourse. According to historian Bill Niven, "well-orchestrated commemorations of the destruction of Dresden played a central role in state memory

27. Taylor, 384.

28. James, "Undoing Trauma," 253.

29. Nicola Lambourne, "Reconstruction of the City's Historic Monuments," in Addison and Crang, 146.

30. Mark Jarzombek, "Disguised Visibilities: Dresden/"Dresden,"" in *Memory and Architecture,* ed. Eleni Bastéa (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 69.

31. Susanne Vees-Gulani, "From Frankfurt's Goethehaus to Dresden's Frauenkirche: Architecture, German Identity, and Historical Memory after 1945," *The Germanic Review* 80, no. 2 (Spring 2005): 150, http://search.ebscohost.com.proxy.lib.csus.edu/ (accessed March 27, 2008).

32. Elizabeth A. Ten Dyke, *Dresden: Paradoxes of Memory in History* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 22.

in the German Democratic Republic (GDR)."[33] At the height of the Cold War, the Socialist Unity Party (SED) alleged "the bombing was the expression of sheer destructiveness, a propensity the Western Allies were seen as having in common with the Nazis."[34] The *Frauenkirche* became a site frequently used in state sanctioned commemoration ceremonies intended to reinforce memories about World War II bombing and the destruction it left behind.

Despite the use of the *Frauenkirche* as a mechanism to promote the official memory of the state, the use of the church in spontaneous commemoration demonstrated both how the state failed to completely control the interpretation of this site of memory and how the symbolism of the site had begun to shift.

> *"Despite the use of the Frauenkirche as a mechanism to promote the official memory of the state, the use of the church in spontaneous commemoration demonstrated both how the state failed to completely control the interpretation of this site of memory and how the symbolism of the site had begun to shift."*

By the 1980s, state sponsored commemorations had waned. "But when, on 13 February 1982, a group of 1000 young people with candles gathered in a silent vigil at the ruins of the *Church of Our Lady*.., the SED responded by reintroducing large-scale commemorations in 1983."[35] The attempt to once again exert control over the interpretation of the site failed and defiance swelled on February 13, 1989 when "500 people gathered at the ruins of the *Church of Our Lady*, one of whom petitioned the GDR for the right to leave by holding up a placard calling for human rights and basic freedoms."[36]

The use of the ruins of the *Frauenkirche* reveals how citizen initiated commemorations contended with state sponsored commemorations as groups struggled over its memory and who controlled its interpretation. On the one hand, the GDR wanted to promote a vision of itself as the

33. Bill Niven, "The GDR and Memory of the Bombing of Dresden," in *Germans as Victims*, ed. Bill Niven (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 110.

34. Ibid., 113.

35. Ibid., 116.

36. Ibid.

"liberator" of East Germany from the murderous capitalists who had no regard for human life as a way of legitimizing its power and control. To older generations the *Frauenkirche* still provided a reminder of the destruction of World War II as evidenced by the outburst witnessed by Elizabeth Ten Dyke at a candlelight vigil held at the church on the forty-seventh anniversary of the bombing. She saw a woman from the crowd cry "'I was there!... I was there in forty-five! Right on top of the people, they dropped the bombs, on top of the people who were trying to swim into the Elbe to escape the fire! So many people died on that night! I saw it! I was there!'"[37] On the other hand, by the 1980s young citizens used the site to connect to memories of repression under the GDR.

Three elements are at play in these examples of commemoration. First, the officially sanctioned message of the GDR perpetuated collective memory of the bombings in an attempt to benefit the state. Second, witnesses to the bombing who have legitimate individual memories of the event gathered at the *Frauenkirche* to commemorate loss and find solace with one another. Based on Ten Dyke's observations, their memories did not seem to suggest adherence to the political motives of the GDR. Finally, the next generation used the site to interpret their memories. Young people in 1982 had no direct memory of the 1945 bombings. Their memory of the *Frauenkirche* blended the post-memory of the bombings, instilled with the emotion of their parents, and the site's use as a state-designated commemoration spot.

These uses of the *Frauenkirche* show the simultaneous interplay between the politically driven official history and the circulation of memory developed at the local level. Historian David Glassberg states that all important public events generate "multiple official histories as well as multiple vernacular memories."[38] Glassberg acknowledges the top-down creation of public history as political elites often have the power to speak the loudest and thus promote their version. However, he also recognizes that the memory created at the local level can influence the official narrative.[39] Despite the official history promoted by the GDR, local memories remained that did not fully incorporate the message of the state and "[t]he state's

37. Ten Dyke, *Dresden,* 24.

38. David Glassberg, "Public History and the Study of Memory," *The Public Historian* 18, no. 2 (Spring 1996): 13, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3377910 (accessed March 12, 2008).

39. Glassberg, 13.

efforts to provide East Germans with a unifying, national frame of reference for personal and social identity had also failed."[40]

Interpretation of the site changed again in 1990 when efforts to see the *Frauenkirche* emerge from its rubble rekindled during the *Wende*, or change, as the Soviet hold over its eastern satellites dissolved and East and West Germany united into a single nation. The Society for the Promotion of the Rebuilding of the *Frauenkirche* Dresden took a leadership role in initiating the call to rebuild the church.[41] Although Dresden citizens originally formed the group, they soon gained national and international support for their efforts. Chancellor Helmut Kohl drew wide public attention to the symbolism of the church when he chose its ruins as his point of destination when he first visited the former GDR.[42] He also cast his approval of the *Frauenkirche* reconstruction initiative when he commented in the early 1990s that he would like nothing more for his birthday than to see the church fully restored.[43] With the support of Dresden's City Council and the Lutheran Church of Saxony, the *Frauenkirche* Foundation was formed in 1995.[44] The Dresden Trust, a British charity incorporated in 1993, contributed a baroque orb and cross meant to stand on top of the completed dome.[45] Supporters of the reconstruction efforts claim that the rebuilt church will come to symbolize continued peace between nations and reconciliation between past enemies.[46] Alan Russell, chairman of the Dresden Trust, saw "a deep underlying symbolism" in the revival of the church.[47] In its reconstructed form, the *Frauenkirche* became, overnight, a symbol of

40. Elizabeth Ten Dyke, "Memory, History, and Remembrance Work in Dresden," in *Altering States: Ethnographies of Transition in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union*, eds. Daphne Berdahl, Matti Bunzl, and Martha Lampland (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 149.

41. Vees-Gulani, 151.

42. John Schmid, "In Spirit of Reconciliation, Dresden Recasts Its Past," *International Herald Tribune*, December 9, 1997, http://academic.lexisnexis.com/ (accessed March 27, 2008).

43. Asch, 3.

44. H.-J. Jaeger, "The citizens' initiative to promote the rebuilding of the Frauenkirche in Dresden," in Jäger and Brebbia, 154.

45. Alan Russell, "Why Dresden Matters," in Addison and Crang, 168-169.

46. Michael Schmidt, *Der Untergang des alten Dresden in der Bombennacht vom 13./14. Februar 1945. The Destruction of Dresden in the Night of 13-14 February 1945* (Sonnenblumen-Verlag Dresden, 2005), 4.

47. Alan Russell, "Dresden and the Dresden Trust," in Clayton and Russell , 1.

the city's past, survival, and rebirth.[48]

The reconstruction of the Church was completed in 2005. The new *Frauenkirche* fully resembles its original form, although the building itself is internally enhanced to provide more stability in the dome. Using George Bähr's preserved architectural drawings and photographs of the building taken during an earlier restoration from 1938 to 1943, IBM's CATIA software created a geometric model that enabled builders to incorporate the fragments left standing.[49] Each remaining stone left in the rubble pile was catalogued, measured, and included, along with the two walls left standing, into the completed building.[50] Although reconstruction efforts attempted to place the original stones where they had resided before its collapse, oftentimes, stone placement relied on the best guess of the present architect.[51] The entire project cost $156 million.[52]

Although proponents of the *Frauenkirche* reconstruction efforts applauded the church's resurrection as a further step toward healing and goodwill, critics saw it as a recapturing of an idealized past that would enable Germans to forget their past wrongs. They fear that the reconstruction of an artifact that Allied forces essentially destroyed in the Second World War will likely ease the memory of Nazi war crimes and the aggression that led to the destruction of the church.[53] Elizabeth Ten Dyke asserts that "[w]hile the reconstruction of the Frauenkirche is an attempt to restore not only the church itself but also Dresden's renown as a city of stunning baroque beauty, it will, at the same time, obliterate the most potent symbol of World War II that remains in Dresden."[54] She argues that "the erasure of the ruin

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48. Jarzombek, 55.

49. Brian Collins, "From Ruins to Reality – the Dresden Frauenkirche," *IEEE Computer Graphics and Applications* 13, no. 6 (November 1993): 14.

50. Asch, 4.

51. Vees-Gulani, 152.

52. James, "Undoing Trauma," 246.

53. Ibid., 247; Vees-Gulani, 152.

54. Ten Dyke*, Dresden,* 24.

will push aside memories of the war held in the hearts and minds of Dresdners."[55] Critics fear the reconstructed church will create a seamless connection between its present revival and a nostalgic period of Germany's past without commenting on German wrongs that occurred prior to and during the Second World War. "[O]pponents of the project have contended that the reconstruction amounts to a monumental sign of wishing to turn back the clock."[56]

The controversy over the *Frauenkirche* highlights the uncertainty surrounding the formation of a new German identity. Jason James claims that the *Frauenkirche* project arose out of a national need to find a "normal Germanness."[57] Although seeking a "normalized" German past has long been the cry of more conservative and far-right politicians, it has recently become much less controversial. "[A]n increasingly conventional understanding of the word has been used to secure the forty years of "successful" West German history between 1949 and 1989 as the "norm" from which a united Germany might derive its identity and socio-political stability."[58] Although students must confront a past of perpetrators, current textbooks also attempt "to anchor [German] identity within the prospect of an integrated Europe and a transnational context."[59] It has also become possible in the reunified Germany to acknowledge German victims during the Second World War such as those who suffered brutally under the invading Soviet army, as opposed to remaining perpetually mired in institutionalized guilt. Yet, for all the pitfalls possible in the promotion of a unified German identity, the search for "normality" has yet to take into account the history under the GDR.

Within this spirit of exploring a unified German identity, the *Frauenkirche* became a source from which to develop an officially sanctioned history that West and East Germans could share. Former German

55. Ibid.

56. Jason James, "Recovering the German Nation: Heritage Restoration and the Search for Unity," in *Marketing Heritage: Archeology and the Consumption of the Past*, eds. Yorke Rowan and Uzi Baram (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2004), 156.

57. James, "Undoing Trauma," 244.

58. Stuart Taberner, "Introduction," in *Recasting German Identity: Culture, Politics, and Literature in the Berlin Republic*, eds. Stuart Taberner and Frank Finlay (New York: Camden House, 2002), 1.

59. Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal, "Identity and Transnationalization in German School Textbooks," in *Censoring History: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany, and the United States,* eds. Laura Hein and Mark Selden (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2000), 128-129.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl's wish to see the church reconstructed is unsurprising considering that reunification, for all its initial euphoria, revealed a vast chasm between the residents of the former GDR and FRG. Reunification, for many in former East Germany, resulted in high unemployment rates and less economic security. The push to restore monuments that attested to a unified national heritage continued under Social Democratic Chancellor Gerhard Schröder. "[A]ccording to official figures, his administration doubled federal spending for cultural institutions, which in addition to memorials and landmarks covers museums, theaters, and libraries."[60] Jason James labels this labor "a desire for redemption through the cultural nation."[61] By reviving the cultural heritage of Germany, political elites can promote the idea of a unified Germany and make it attractive by providing a positive German narrative to identify with as opposed to having to reconcile with guilt from the past. However, this has cast aside the history of the GDR in favor of an identity that embraces Western achievement, which, instead of unifying former members of the GDR, acts to alienate them.

The reunification government under Helmut Kohl attempted to imbue the *Frauenkirche* with an officially sanctioned memory meant to help define a unified German identity. However, if the past serves as an example, local memories will diverge from the state. As young people in the former GDR continue to struggle to find work and economic stability, far-right extremists will continue to assert their views. A unified German identity may be a hard pill to swallow, especially since the message of unity does not necessarily incorporate the memory and identity that those living in the former GDR established prior to reunification. "Ten years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, the mutual preconceptions of 'over here' and 'over there,' of 'them' and 'us,' or even of 'Wessis' and 'Ossis,' are as present-tense as ever."[62]

Although the *Wende* exemplified the failure of the East German state, "the adoption of a pan-German identity was highly problematic for many East Germans".[63] East Germans were bombarded by Western culture and capitalism. The government brought the West to the East because of

60. James, "Recovering the German Nation," 158.

61. Ibid., 159

62. Roswitha Skare, "On the Function of the Foreign in the Novels *Andere Umstände* (1998) by Grit Poppe and *Seit die Götter ratlos sind* (1994) by Kerstin Jentzsch," in Taberner and Finlay, 192.

63. Ten Dyke, "Memory, History, and Remembrance Work in Dresden," 149.

its belief in the inherent correctness of Western policy and tradition. "In July 1990 new (West German) currency was introduced; waves of factory closings and mass layoffs were regularly announced in local newspapers. The cost of living increased dramatically; familiar products vanished from stores, which were crammed full of new foods and brands".[64] Westerners felt they had discovered in the East both a "backward" society in need of enlightenment and a source of an old, parochial Germany that had been caught in the past. They discarded the history books used in the East and supplanted them with West German curricula. They also sought to save the "untouched heritage in the East" in an attempt to save the East from its Socialist past.[65]

Whether or not the *Frauenkirche* will help formulate a new German identity depends in part on its function in creating a collective German memory. According to Maurice Halbwachs, "[c]ollective remembrances might be laid on individual remembrances, providing a handier and surer grip on them. First, however, individual remembrances must be present, lest memory function without content."[66] Essentially, whatever memory the reconstructed *Frauenkirche* supports will depend on the present memories perpetuated at the local level. Halbwachs determined that collective memory formed through social practice, not necessarily through a dialogue with the state. Ultimately local variations of memory depend on the present experiences of the people. If former East Germany continues to struggle economically and its young people continue to leave in droves in search of jobs and better living conditions, then the rhetoric behind the rebuilt *Frauenkirche* may not matter. Collective memory cannot be created around a past that no one remembers. The collective memory created by the new *Frauenkirche* will involve the remembrances of its reconstruction. This could provide a rallying point where Germans could begin to form a cohesive national identity. However, imposing one narrative over another will not achieve this end, especially when one group feels inferior to the other.

The *Frauenkirche*, as a *lieux de mémoire*, will continue to evolve in its meaning and interpretation based on the present memories of the people

64. Ibid, 144

65. Ibid.

66. Maurice Halbwachs, "Historical Memory and Collective Memory," in *The Collective Memory*, trans. Francis J. Ditter, Jr. and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1980), 59.

and their motivations. As a ruin or as a reconstructed church, it cannot represent every aspect of German identity. The memory evoked by the church depends so much on the present forces surrounding it that eventually it may not matter whether the church was rebuilt or lies in ruins as opposed to how it was promoted. Critics fear that the reconstructed *Frauenkirche* will create a German identity that connects the present church to a nostalgic past that existed prior to the war. Although the cultural myth of Dresden as a "perfect" city complete with artistic and architectural beauty exists, the actual memory of Dresden prior to 1945 will cease to exist with the passing of the last person who saw the city then. It is questionable whether this "perfect" Dresden ever existed historically. James argues that resurrecting the site shows the nostalgic past can be reborn. But this argument runs counter to the function of collective memory and how it is created. Witnessing the rebuilding of the church will create memories for those who were there, but those memories will be rooted in the recent reconstruction rather than the nostalgic past.

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Perhaps the *Frauenkirche* is a weak memorial because it may not stir discussion about Germans' culpability during World War II. It runs the risk of allowing people to claim German victimhood without acknowledging German victimization. Arguably, no one can predict how a site of memory will be co-opted. David Thelen claims that the importance of memory is not its accurate depiction of the past but its authenticity for people involved in its construction.[67] The collective memory that developed around the *Frauenkirche* ruins did not depend on the accuracy of the memory. It is hard to imagine that those who witnessed the event and saw such unimaginable trauma would ever accept the newly revised historical interpretations that give military legitimacy to Dresden as a target. The same applies to the newly reconstructed church; its memory

67. David Thelen, "Memory and American History," *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 4 (March 1989): 1123, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1908632 (accessed March 12, 2008).

depends on how one interprets its resurrection. In her study of Oradour-sur-Glâne, Sarah Farmer illustrates "the inherent impossibility of arresting time and memory."[68] The reconstruction of the *Frauenkirche* has embraced that concept; instead of trying to achieve the impossible task of preserving a ruin, its proponents have created a new monument. They would like to speed up the inherent fluidity of memory to bring a change to the German national identity. The success of these efforts will depend on how interpretations of the event meet and meld together.

68. Sarah Farmer, *Martyred Village: Commemorating the Massacre at Oradour-sur-Glâne* (Berkeley:University of California Press, 2000), 10.

Historiography

Western Promises: The Frontier In American Historiography

Kara Brunzell

Frederick Jackson Turner laid the groundwork for Western History with his frontier thesis, arguing that the encounter between white settlers and the wild frontier created the distinctive American character. Turner's ideas profoundly influenced early twentieth century Western Historians, who focused on the white male as the subject of history. By mid-century historians' interpretations began to shift, as scholars looked critically at the mythical treatment of wilderness in both the academic world and the broader culture. Widespread historical interest in the region had been revived by the 1980s, and this increased interest brought fresh perspectives to the discipline. Though regionalist Western Historians looked at the West as a geographical area, neo-Turnerians continued to focus on the frontier as a process that moved from place to place as new areas were settled. Despite these differences, the New Western Historians as a group have been committed to incorporating previously ignored perspectives into Western History. Social history and community histories will continue to be an important element of Western History as historians attempt to integrate the lives of ordinary people into analysis of political and economic forces that shape the world we live in.

Once considered an academic backwater, historians have renewed their interest in the American West over the last thirty years. This is due largely to the fresh perspective the New Western Historians have applied to the discipline. Scholars of Western History have made a mission of cutting away the dead wood that choked the field during the early part of the twentieth century. Discarding tired theoretical frameworks and considering events from previously excluded points of view, these scholars have questioned assumptions, challenged orthodoxies, and exploded myths. Familiarity with seminal ideas that have come out of the historical scholarship on the American West over the past century informs a comprehensive understanding of the current state of the field.

The Turner School

On July 12, 1893, Frederick Jackson Turner outlined his "frontier thesis" to the American Historical Association in Chicago. Turner argued that the frontier, which he defined as "the meeting point between savagery and civilization," was the forge from which European immigrants emerged as Americans. The "free land" and "primitive" conditions on the "continually receding frontier" created an opportunity for the lower classes to gain economic independence, but taking advantage of this opportunity required independence and self-reliance unnecessary in more settled environments. The frontier also fostered a spirit of individualism. Its rugged conditions and lack of societal institutions meant that settlers not only learned how to survive without institutional support, they also became unwilling to live within the rigid social and economic hierarchies that had predominated in Europe. Thus, the experience of settling the frontier created the independent, anti-hierarchical American character. The creation of this new, uniquely American individual led, in turn, to the expansion of American democracy in the nineteenth century.[1]

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Turner's ideas fit in with a broad current of American conventional wisdom at the turn of the twentieth century. The effect of the frontier on the character of the white American male was a framework that proved to be useful in analyzing America's development in contrast to European countries. Turner's argument also resonated because it served American psychological needs and helped Americans to form unifying national myths. The frontier thesis proved useful to Americans who wished to expand the young nation westward, dispossessing the owners of lands desired by whites. Elites who wished to justify American colonialism used Turner's ideas in concert with widespread myths such as Manifest Destiny, American innocence, and American exceptionalism. Turner's ideas were accepted not only by politicians, historians, and scholars, but also by dime novelists, filmmakers, and other purveyors of popular culture who seized on the "Western" as an art form. The powerful archetypes and visual symbols created by the entertainment industry to portray West eventually allowed the region to stand in for the entire United States in the popular imagination.

Turner's hypothesis infused academic responses to the West during the early twentieth century. One of the most serious problems with the Turnerian approach was its exclusive focus on the actions of white males in the West, despite the region's long history of cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and

1. Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," Paper read at meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago, July 12, 1893, http://www.library.csi.cuny.edu/dept/history/lavender/frontierthesis.html.

gender diversity. Herbert Bolton's 1921 book, *The Spanish Borderlands: A Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest,* marginally broadened Western History's demographic. Bolton defined the northern border of New Spain as a distinct region in which Anglo-American, Spanish-Mexican, and Indian cultural influences collided and blended. Bolton's approach allowed him to look at non-English speaking historical agents, but failed to question Turnerian assumptions. Belief in progress and American exceptionalism informed his work, while non-Europeans were part of the landscape or foils for whites. Echoing Turner, Bolton credits the frontier with the creation of Americanness. "Everywhere contact with frontier environment and native peoples tended to modify the Europeans and their institutions."[2]

Walter Prescott Webb's *The Great Plains*, published in 1931, innovatively focused on the arid geography of the Texas plains and its effect on Anglo-American settlers, emphasizing the contrast between East and West: "The West cannot be understood as a mere extension of things Eastern." Though he saw himself as an academic maverick and brought a passion to his work that was a departure in an era that fetishized objectivity, he failed to question the dominant frameworks of progress, historic inevitability, and emphasis on white male subjects. Webb used Indians and Mexicans as characters in the white story, not historical actors in their own right. Beginning with Fred Shannon in 1939, historians criticized Webb for his oversimplification of geographical features and his environmental determinism.[3]

Early Revisionism

While the myths and stereotypes associated with the frontier thesis continued to resonate in the broader culture, by the middle of the twentieth century academic historians were moving away from Turner's theories. New Western Historian Donald Worster of the Regionalist School calls Henry Nash Smith, who was an early critic of Turnerian orthodoxy, the "first bona-fide revisionist." In *Virgin Land*, his 1950 intellectual history of the symbols and myths surrounding the West, Smith links Turner's thesis directly to eighteenth century agrarian theory, which argued that immer-

2. Herbert E. Bolton, "The Epic of Greater America," *American Historical Review 38*, no. 3 (April 1933): 488; Bolton, 453.

3. George Wolfskill, "Review: Walter Prescott Webb and *The Great Plain*s: Then and Now," *Reviews in American History 12*, no. 2 (Jun., 1984): 306; Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1952), 507; Wolfskill 300 – 30.

sion in the natural world returned man to a state of innocence. In Turner's hands, economic theory is transmogrified into "a plane of metaphor, and even of myth – for the American forest has become almost an enchanted wood," from which democratic principles magically emerge. Historian Richard Hofstadter, best known for his 1950s work on the Progressive Era and the Populists, argued that Turner's attraction to the mythical aspects of the frontier could be explained by a patriotism so intense it clouded his judgment.[4]

As the century progressed, historians became increasingly disenchanted with Turner's definition of frontier. His assumption that the process of taming the frontier had been halted by 1890, as well as his emphasis on wilderness and agricultural land, meant that his framework was not useful in analyzing the increasingly urban West after 1900, as argued by Gerald Nash. Nash focused on urbanization and industrialization in the twentieth century, as well as the impact of World War II. He argued that rather than a moving frontier, the framework for understanding the West should be "an expanding technologically oriented urban oasis."[5]

Despite the growing numbers of historians rejecting the frontier thesis in the second half of the twentieth century, some scholars continued to work within a fairly orthodox Turnerian framework. Among the most notable of this school was Ray Allen Billington. From the beginning of his career in 1949 until his death in 1981, Billington attempted in his writing to tweak the frontier thesis. New Western Historian Patty Nelson Limerick credits Billington with contributing the "safety valve" concept, the idea that the frontier relieved social and economic pressures in the East. Though Billington's career coincided with the expansion of access to higher education and the rise of social history, and despite his personal opposition to racial prejudice, he was never able truly to expand his narrative of the West to include blacks, Indians, Mexicans or Asians. The frontier story was that of the white man, a "great saga" stretching from the Crusaders to Daniel

4. Richard White, "Western History," in *The New American History: Revised and Expanded Edition, ed. Eric Foner* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997), 204; Donald Worster, *Under Western Skies: Nature and History in the American West* (New York: Oxford University Press 1992), 6; Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), 253; Worster, 7 – 8.

5. Gerald D. Nash, *The American West in the Twentieth Century: A Short History of an Urban Oasis* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977), 1; Worster, 9; Nash, 299.

Boone. Limerick, British Western Historian Margaret Walsh, among other historians, credit Billington with inspiring students and successfully arguing for the importance of Western History. However, even his fellow Huntington Library Scholar and "safety valve" promoter Wilbur Jacobs criticizes Billington's failure to keep up with the changes in the field by incorporating gender, multiculturalism, and social history.[6]

THE NEW WESTERN HISTORY

Billington's strict adherence to Turner's hypothesis represented the end of an academic era. By the end of the 1980s, the New Western History movement was gaining serious momentum. The spirit was one of questioning assumptions. In contrast to Billington's attempt to fit facts into a preconceived framework, these historians were ready to take a fresh look at the West. Unlike earlier critics of the frontier thesis, the New Western Historians were ready to shatter the paradigm rather than just tinker with it. The new approach was interpreted differently by the many historians who practiced it, though commonalities emerged. Perhaps the most important was the inclusion of previously excluded perspectives. Women, Indians, blacks, Mexicans, and Asians became the subjects of their own narratives, rather than actors in the white man's play. Subjects that had been ignored also came into focus, notably the environment, capitalism, and the involvement of the federal government in the West. Historians no longer promoted assumptions of inevitable progress and glorious American expansion, and the tone of triumphalism was conspicuous for its absence.[7]

Despite the shared commitment to inclusion that has developed during the past thirty years, Western History continues to be punctuated by debates. The most serious early point of contention that emerged was between Regionalists and neo-Turnerians. The former, a party that included Patty Limerick, Richard White, and Donald Worster, "stress place more

6. Patty Nelson Limerick, "Persistent Traits and the Persistent Historian: The American Frontier and Ray Allen Billington," in *Writing Western History: Essays on Major Western Historians,* ed. Richard Etulain (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991): 280; Limerick, "Persistent Traits," 306; Worster, 21; Margaret Walsh, *The American West: Visions and Revisions* (Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press. 2005), 5; Limerick, "Persistent Traits," 306; Wilbur Jacobs, *On Turner's Trail: 100 Years of Writing Western History* (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1994).

7. Richard Etulain, review of *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own*, by Richard White, *The American Historical Review 98*, no. 1 (February 1993): 260.

than process." Though the so-called neo-Turnerians emphasize the process of frontier, they recognize the contributions of women and people of color and are "not upholders of the frontier thesis." Adherents of process like Robert Hine reject the cultural myopia of frontier as "the meeting point of civilization and savagery," and endorse Sarah Deutsch's idea that "frontiers are 'what happens when cultures meet.'"[8]

BROAD NARRATIVES IN THE NEW WESTERN HISTORY

First published in 1987, Patty Limerick's seminal *Legacy of Conquest* has been termed "a significant and powerful repudiation of the old theories and myths." Constantly emphasizing the moral complexity of the West, Limerick shows how Anglo-American settlers used notions of white victimization and innocence to justify dispossession of anyone that blocked their occupation of desirable land. The conquest history she narrates is one in which multiple groups meet and jockey for legitimacy as much as for resources: "The contest for property and profit has been accompanied by a contest for cultural dominance." In contrast to earlier histories in which historical actors were assumed to be white males, Western peoples of color are equally important to her narrative. Native Americans, for example, "have been as much actors as acted on," and she reminds the reader of their persistence to the present.[9]

Richard White, in his 1991 textbook, *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own*, picks up on Limerick's themes of Western history as a narrative of conflict and the West as a land of diversity. White symbolically begins his Western history with Esteban, a black man, leading a lost Cabeza de Vaca into Indian Territory. Triumphalism and romanticism are absent, and he tends to portray whites as villains rather than heroes. Like Limerick, White is a regionalist, though he argues that the West is a political construct rather than a region defined by natural features: "Geography did not determine the boundaries of the West; rather, history created them." White also emphasizes the crucial roles of the federal government and the natural environ-

8. White, "Western History," 204; Patty Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987), 26; White, "Western History, 205; Turner, "Significance of the Frontier"; Robert V. Hine and John Mack Faragher, *The American West: A New Interpretive History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 9.

9. Joseph B. Herring, review of *Legacy of Conquest*, by Patty Nelson Limerick, *American Indian Quarterly* 13, no. 2 (Spring 1989): 207; Limerick, *Legacy,* 27; Limerick, *Legacy,* 180.

ment in Western History.[10]

Wilbur Jacobs has called White's book, "the ultimate anti-Turnerian volume," and, indeed, White is so determined to break away from the old frameworks and assumptions that he mentions neither Turner nor the frontier in his text. Western Historian Richard Etulain has praised White's "provocative, illuminating insights." Significant criticisms include Jacobs' contention that White's concept of region is rather static and divorced from national history. Historian Glenda Riley has argued that by emphasizing white atrocity, the narrative shows the white man as historical actor rather than spreading agency to previously excluded groups. The white man has become an anti-hero, but retains his place at center stage.[11]

Robert Hine and John Mack Faragher attempt to narrate a broad vision of New Western History in *The American West: A New Interpretive History,* intended as a textbook for Western history survey courses. Hine and Faragher's summation of Western History will be familiar to readers of Limerick and White. Western History is a tale of "conquest, but also one of survival, persistence, and the merging of peoples and cultures that gave birth and continuing life to America." White villainy has supplanted Manifest Destiny as an explanatory framework. Hine departs from these scholars in his definition of the West as a process of cultures coming into contact. A neo-Turnerian, he emphasizes the relativity of the shifting frontier rather than geo-graphic place. Growing out of this focus on process, Hine and Faragher's delineation of Western geography is more expansive than that of the regionalists'. The authors argue for a broader and more inclusive new national myth. Rather than ignoring everyone but white males, they argue that "The frontier story must be refor-

> *"White villainy has supplanted Manifest Destiny as an explanatory framework."*

10. Etulain, review of *It's Your Misfortune*, 260; White, *It's Your Misfortune*, 5 – 6; Glenda Riley, review of *It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own*, by Richard White, *The Western Historical Quarterly 23*, no. 2 (May 1992): 223; White, *It's Your Misfortune*, 3.

11. Jacobs, 203; Etulain, review of *It's Your Misfortun*e, 260; Jacobs, 210; Riley, review of *It's Your Misfortun*e, 224.

mulated and refit to the realities of our history."[12]

The increasing trend toward greater inclusiveness in various academic disciplines has underscored the essentiality of community and regional histories in addition to sweeping narratives. Multicultural and gender studies are no longer considered marginal; they are crucial to the narrative of Western History. As described by historian Susan Kellog, the New Western Historians are pulling what was once considered peripheral into the center of focus, study, and debate. This includes not only previously excluded human beings and economically disadvantaged sub-regions, but also themes and topics once considered irrelevant to the West. Only the number of historians limits the number of topics, but certain areas of inquiry recur repeatedly in the work of Western historians. In addition to conquest, these include the role of the natural environment, the federal government, and urbanization.[13]

A NEW BORDERLANDS HISTORY

Ramon Gutierrez' *When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away* (1991) is an early example of a narrowly focused history with broad impact both inside the discipline and in the broader culture. In this study of marriage and sexuality in New Mexico from 1500 to 1846, Gutierrez looks at "how marriage structured inequality" as Pueblo Indians and Hispanics came into contact. Its path-breaking subject matter and interdisciplinary approach have allowed this work to generate great controversy. Historian David J. Weber called *Corn Mothers* the "most theoretically sophisticated work ever published on any portion of the Spanish Borderlands," while other critics seem to be responding to a completely different book. Weber argues that Gutierrez glorifies pre-Hispanic Pueblo culture. New Mexico historian Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, however, finds fault with the author for using primary source documents created by white priests and ethnographers, and for failing to analyze colonialism fully due to a symmetrical approach emphasizing wrongs perpetrated by both cultures. Ortiz asserts that the work is "a

12. Hine, *New Interpretive*, 10; Hine, *New Interpretive*, 9; Stephen Aron, "The American West Reprised, Revised, and Revived," *Reviews in American History 28*, no. 2 (June 2000): 248; Hine, *New Interpretive*, 560.

13. Susan Kellogg, review of *When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality and Power in New Mexico, 1500 – 1846*, by Ramon Gutierrez, *The Hispanic American Historical Review 72*, no. 3 (August 1992), 429.

setback for Native American history and women's history" that amounts to an apology for colonialism.[14]

The academic debates about *Corn Mothers* echo popular debates outside the discipline of history. The intense feelings aroused by this work shows how historical studies incorporating an interdisciplinary approach, along with a focus on people who were racially, economically, and geographically outside the mainstream can excite the interest of a broader public. While some of the best historical scholarship is aimed primarily at an academic audience, the impact of historical monographs that are read by academics alone is narrowly limited. In the twenty-first century, a work that can ignite a vituperative internet argument between non-academics is on that has proved its broad relevance to society.

Gutierrez has continued his interdisciplinary approach to the New Mexico Borderlands, informed by multiculturalism and social history. In "Crucifixion, Slavery, and Death," he discusses the family as hierarchy and productive unit, as well as the "cultural convergence between two systems of ritual practice." James F. Brooks works in a similar mode in his *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (2002). Brooks demonstrates how slave raiding and intermarriage between Spanish and Indians led to kinship patterns that crossed community lines. A truly bottom-up history, Brooks' work shows how the culture of the lowest classes affected elite politics despite attempts from above to circumscribe the cultural fluidity of the region.[15]

ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY

Nature's Metropolis (1991), by neo-Turnerian William Cronon, is another seminal work of New Western History. Cronon narrates the history of Chicago through the lens of human interaction with the natural environment: "By using the landscape, giving names to it, and calling it home, people selected the features that mattered most to them, and drew their mental

14. Gutierrez, *Corn Mothers,* 227; David J. Weber, review of *When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality and Power in New Mexico, 1500 – 1846,* by Ramon Gutierrez, *The Western Historical Quarterly 22*, no. 4 (November 1991): 473; Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, "Review: The Corn Mothers Never Went Away," *Latin American Perspectives 23*, no. 2 (Spring 1996): 144.

15. Ramon Gutierrez, "Crucifiction, Slavery, and Death," in *Over the Edge: Remapping the American West*, ed. Valerie J. Matsumoto and Blake Allmendinger (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 258; James F. Brooks, *Captives & Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Williamsburg, Virginia: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 195.

maps accordingly. Once they had labeled those maps in a particular way. . . natural and cultural landscapes begin to shade into one another." Although Cronon retains Turner's concept of the moving frontier, his inclusion of Native peoples and complex analysis of the synergy between humans and their environment in creating history shatters reductive theoretical frameworks. American historian Eric Foner has stated that in *Nature's Metropolis*, "international markets and environmental conditions interacted to provide a history far more complicated than a Turnerian history of free land."[16]

> *"Although Cronon retains Turner's concept of the moving frontier, his inclusion of Native peoples and complex analysis of the synergy between humans and their environment in creating history shatters reductive theoretical frameworks."*

Donald Worster, another scholar who has produced compelling works of environmental history, is mentioned frequently in the same breath as Cronon. *Dust Bowl* (1979) and *Rivers of Empire* (1985) analyze environmental degradation that Worster attributes to capitalist exploitation of nature. While Cronon looks rather dispassionately at human-natural interaction, Worster has been described as "ardent," and emphasizes human damage to the environment. One of Worster's central themes is Western aridity and human attempts to manage it. The capitalist exploitation of nature goes hand in hand with the exploitation of the weak by the powerful. "Nature's fate is humanity's as well."[17]

INDIAN HISTORY

The significance of Indian history within Western history has been increasingly emphasized as theoretical frameworks leave behind triumphalism and white superiority. Francis Paul Prucha, the most important scholar of federal Indian policy, has upturned assumptions with his argument that well-meaning attempts to help and integrate Indians were responsible for as much or more devastation than policies driven by hatred of Indians. An overarching theme in new Indian history is persistence. Historian David

16. William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991), 25; White, "Western History," 205.

17. White, "Western History," 222; Walsh, 33; Worster, 54.

Rich Lewis articulates this as, "physical and cultural persistence as identifiable individuals and communities in the face of overwhelming odds." Indians, despite unique cultural features, are subject to the same historical forces as other Westerners, which Lewis illustrates with his discussion of Indian resentment of and dependence on the federal government. As historian R. David Edmunds puts it, "Native Americans were overwhelmed, but they also persisted." The essential importance of this simple statement is that it demolishes the pernicious myths that Indians were headed inevitably toward extinction, to be obliterated by the inexorable march of time. Writing Indians back into the story has paved the way for more recent and more nuanced explorations of Indian history, identity, and culture. One example of this is Melissa L. Meyer's 1999 article on modern "blood quantum" requirements as compared to pre-contact notions of tribal membership.[18]

Multicultural Histories

Though multiculturalism could certainly be termed a pillar of New Western History, a more apt metaphor for would perhaps be an octopus. Richard White defines as multiculturalism those histories which "stress the persistence of difference," rather than treating difference as something that is gradually disappearing. The disparate arms of multiculturalism exist not to exaggerate difference but to "reconstruct a history of the nation as relations between disparate and often shifting groups." Multiculturalism is particularly relevant in the West, which has been home to multiple interacting and overlapping ethnic groups since long before the arrival of Europeans.[19]

A broad range of Western historians have argued for the inclusion of multicultural history in the intellectual mainstream. Historian David Gutierrez focuses on "subject peoples' efforts to contest and resist attempts to impose ascriptive social judgments on them," and argues that multicultural studies have the power to redefine mainstream American culture. Stanford historian Vicki Ruiz reminds us that the ideas of historians are no substitute for the voices of historical actors. Asian-American specialist Gary

18. White, "Western History," 209; David Rich Lewis, "Still Native: The Significance of Native Americans in the History of the Twentieth Century West," in *A New Significance: Re-envisioning the History of the American West,* ed. Clyde A Milner (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 214 – 215; R. David Edmunds, "Native Americans, New Voices: American Indian History, 1895-1995." *The American Historical Review* 100, no. 3 (1995): 728; Edmunds, 718; Melissa L. Meyer, "American Indian Blood Quantum Requirements: Blood is Thicker than Family," 215.

19. White, "Western History," 214-215.

Okihiro writes that the true significance of Asian Americans is that their struggle for civil rights expanded rights for all Americans. For Peggy Pascoe, a specialist in race and gender, a true understanding of the American West requires a focus on intercultural relations, not just separate groups. As an historian specializing in Asian-American as well as gender studies, Gail Nomura has eloquently summed up the current approach to multiculturalism: "Since I assume no static, exclusive, dominant center of U.S. western history, my discussion is not, and cannot be, the study of margins. I believe in an inclusive history that bespeaks the significance of the lives of all our people."[20]

Many historians now distinguish between an earlier multiculturalism, which was somewhat crude and reductive, and credit later work more nuance and complexity. In attempting to focus on previously ignored groups, some scholars have tended to treat culture as stable, and even static, rather than dynamic and shifting. An ethnic group was often considered in isolation, or its interactions with whites were privileged over other intercultural relations. Possibly the most serious problem with early multicultural history was with its frequent failure to incorporate gender into the narrative.[21]

The historiography of the Chinese in the West demonstrates a trajectory that parallels the study of other Western communities. First published in 1939, Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer's *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* looked at organized labor's role in oppressing Chinese workers, and contemporary critics hailed it as unbiased. Alexander Saxton elaborated on the theme in 1971 in *The Indispensible Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California*, emphasizing white racist attitudes that develop first for Indians, then were applied to Blacks and finally to the Chinese. Though he was criticized for equating assimilation with success, Shih-Shan Henry Tsai added Chinese agency and paid new attention to Chinese women in his 1986 survey, *The Chinese Experience in America.* Also

20. David Gutierrez, "Significant to Whom," in *A New Significance: Re-envisioning the History of the American West,* ed. Clyde A. Milner (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 68; Gutierrez, "Significant to Whom," 84; Vicki Ruiz, "Interpreting Voice and Locating Power," 101; Okihiro, "Extending Democracy's Reach," 172; Peggy Pascoe, "Women at the Cultural Crossroads," in *Trails: Toward a New Western History*, ed. Patricia Nelson Limerick, Clyde A. Milner II, and Charles E. Rankin (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1991), 53; Gail M. Nomura, "Significant Lives: Asia and Asian Americans in the U.S. West," 136.

21. White, "Western History," 215.

published in 1986, Sucheng Chan's analysis of Chinese agricultural laborers in California, *This Bittersweet Soil*, was praised for a quantitative approach to county archives as sources and its stereotype-shattering portrait of the Chinese as independent farmers. The earliest works settled for simple inclusion, while later histories added layers of complexity.[22]

Gender And Ethnicity In The West

The inclusion of gender in the Western narrative is another essential piece in the puzzle of an inclusive story of the West. Gender inclusion has been difficult in Western history, in part because, as gender specialist Susan Lee Johnson has put it, "The relationship between what is Western and what is male is overdetermined." Chicano Studies specialist Deena Gonzalez suggests that complexity and layered meaning are the goal of gender and multicultural scholarship, rather than a new regime where women replace men on the privileged throne. Peggy Pascoe argues for looking simultaneously at the inequalities of race, class, and gender in Western society. Historian Antonia Castaneda calls for scholarship that looks at "women of color within their own cultures…how these women responded to the alien, hostile, often violent society of the nineteenth-century American West."[23]

The best of the most recent multicultural Western histories manage a nuanced approach to the nexus of race, class, and gender. Historians are de-emphasizing victimization, focusing instead on themes such as the persistence of even the most powerless. Specializing in African Americans in the West, historian Quintard Taylor places blacks within the multi-ethnic, multi-racial West, and in the context of community, region, and nation in

22. Osgood Hardy, review of *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California,* by Clarence Elmer Sandmeyer, *The Pacific Historical Review 9,* no. 2 (June 1940): 228; Robert F. Mclellan, review of *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movemen*t, by Alexander Saxton, *The Journal of Asian Studies*, *31,* no. 1 (November 1971): 176; Edgar Wickburg, review of *The Chinese Experience in America*, by Shih-Shan Henry Tsai, *Western Historical Quarterly 19*, no. 3 (August 1988): 353; Shih-Shan Henry Tsai, review of *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860 – 1910,* by Sucheng Chan, *The Pacific Historical Review 59,* no. 1. (February 1988): 124; Robert R. Swartout, review of *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860 – 1910*, by Sucheng Chan, *The Western Historical Quarterly 20,* no. 2 (May 1989): 198.

23. Susan Lee Johnson, "'A Memory Sweet to Soldiers': The Significance of Gender in the History of the American West,'" *The Western Historical Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (1993): 497; Deena Gonzalez, "A Regendered, Reracialized, and Resituated West," 287; Pascoe, 46; Antonia I. Castaneda, "Women of Color and the Rewriting of Western History: The Discourse, Politics, and Decolonization of History," *The Pacific Historical Review* 61, no. 4 (1992): 532 – 533.

his work *In Search of the Racial Frontier*. In their jointly edited volume, *African American Women Confront the West, 1600 – 2000*, Taylor and Shirley Ann Moore, who focuses on African American and Women's History in the West, articulate a shift from earlier, more simplistic narratives to a complex discussion that includes, "environmental change, economic manipulation, social inequality, labor conflict, and urban expansion." Moore also uses this framework in her history of the black community in Richmond, California. Moore demonstrates the choices made by the men and women of color in one California city and places their story within the context of American history. African American women she argues, excluded from the story of the West long after many other groups were included, "complete the mosaic." Moore has chosen her words carefully. She does not claim for black women the space next to the mosaic, or on the frame of the mosaic, or at its outer edge. These two authors explicitly argue for the centrality of the black experience to both the West and the nation. Taylor writes, "It is no longer . . . an interesting footnote to a story focused elsewhere." Moore has been equally straightforward, writing that working-class blacks were "at the center of the nation's most profound, transformative events."[24]

In her introduction to *Peoples of Color in the American West*, Sucheng Chan defends the subject of her edited volume with six points that could be used as manifesto for a more inclusive approach to Western history. Hierarchies of race and ethnicity are limiting factors in the lives of whites as well as people of color, and the subject is therefore relevant to all Westerners. Interactions between members of "minority" groups happen as often, and are as significant, as interactions between people of color and whites. Class and other divisions within ethnic and racial groups are as important as divisions between groups. Women of color have been subject to different conditions than white women, and often ignored by feminist historians. Gender cannot be discussed sensibly on its own, but must be integrated with other topics. Multicultural studies are significant in that they seek the roots of conflict rather than in suppressing conflict by emphasizing minority "contributions." Finally, she argues for the inclusion of primary

24. Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the American West, 1528 – 1990* (New York: Norton, 1998), 21; Quintard Taylor and Shirley Ann Moore, *African American Women Confront the West, 1600 – 2000*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 3; Shirley Ann Moore, *To Place Our Deeds: The African American Community in Richmond, California, 1910 – 1963* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Taylor and Moore, 311; Moore, 2.

source documents as a way of emphasizing the perspective and agency of her subjects.[25]

As Shirley Moore has pointed out in her review of this anthology, Chan rejects both the "old" and "new" Western Histories. The limited nature of early theoretical frameworks left out significant chunks of reality when facts did not fit preconceptions. Though the New Western Historians have successfully written far more inclusive histories, the emphasis on conquest tends to cast people of color in the role of victim. Chan and her contemporaries write Mexicans, blacks, Asians, and Indians back into the Western narrative as historical agents. The chronological focus has expanded; by looking at Native American legends, "we give recognition to a history that began before Europeans colonized, conquered, and settled the Americas."[26]

"Hierarchies of race and ethnicity are limiting factors in the lives of whites as well as people of color, and the subject is therefore relevant to all Westerners."

Though the narrow demographic focus and assumptions of white superiority on the part modern historians of the earliest Western historians have been utterly discredited, they retain significance as the groundwork for current scholarship. Turner looked at the West through rose-colored blinders, but he can be credited with creating Western history and giving it legitimacy as an academic discipline. Today Turner can boast very few orthodox disciples, however, nearly every work on Western History begins, literally, with a response to Turner's ideas. Even for those who repudiate his ideas, Turner's definition of the West remains a starting point. Bolton excluded non-whites, but expanded the Western History's geographical and demographic focus. Environmental historians owe Webb a debt for the foundation he created for an emphasis on human interaction with nature.[27]

25. Sucheng Chan, *Peoples of Color in the American West* (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Co. 1994), 10 – 11.

26. Shirley Ann Moore, review of *Peoples of Color*, by Sucheng Chan, *The Western Historical Quarterly 26*, no. 3 (Autumn 1995), 373; Chan, *Peoples of Color*, 8.

27. Limerick, *Trails*, 32.

THE FUTURE OF WESTERN HISTORY

Besides its division into regional fields such as the American West, the modern discipline of history is subdivided by theoretical framework and methodological approach. Social history, gender history, multicultural history, and environmental history are but a few of the lenses through which Western History can be viewed. While these categories can be useful in providing an intellectual framework with which to make sense of the seeming chaos of the world around us, historians must beware of the real danger of privileging categorization over reality. Patty Limerick argues that the New Western History never replaced the old paradigm in the popular imagination because it "lacks an equally gripping and ultimately satisfying narrative." The temptation to create a new myth the replace the old one can be overwhelming. Richard White's analysis of this problem is apt:

> In bad history the abstract categories of race, ethnicity, gender, and class can become reductionist and deterministic. But in good history these abstract categories are put to work in tandem in ways that defeat mechanical understandings. In these studies, as in lived experience, the boundaries between various analytic categories blur.[28]

As the twenty-first century progresses, the concerns of recent decades will continue to inform Western history. Historians will continue to look at losers as well as winners, the dispossessed in addition to elites. Though narratives of the disposed will continue their significance, historians are demonstrating renewed interest in political and economic history in response to the real power wielded by elites. A work that exemplifies a modern approach in its incorporation of political and social history is Charles Postel's *The Populist Vision*, his recent history of the nineteenth-century American political movement.

As the effects of conflict and social hierarchies on the events of the past are explored further, race, class, ethnicity, sexuality, and gender will remain essential themes. Over the next half century, however, race may lose much of its resonance for modern people as the multiracial population gradually begins to outnumber those that identify with a single race. This will inevitably change the way future historians look at race, though it cannot remove race from history. Capitalism and federal involvement in the

28. White, "Western History," 218.

West will continue as significant themes. Environmental history will grow in importance as population growth and climate change increase pressure on limited resources. Narrowly focused works will integrate and blur categories, resonating with broader narratives rather than fragmenting the story. The narratives that emerge may not fit neatly into "gender," "environment," or "ethnic" history; in fact the best works will evade simplistic classifications and use whatever overlapping categories best explain their subjects. Primary source documents will be given pride of place alongside historical analysis, broadening access to the consciousness of ordinary people from the past. The best scholarship in the future will integrate these approaches to narrate an inclusive picture of a Western past. This work will balance politics, economics, society, and the environment with an emphasis on the individual human being's impact on history.[29]

29. Charles Postel, *The Populist Vision* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 6.

"Triumphalism" or "Denial": Exploring The Historiography Of Anticommunism

Christopher Deutsch

The legacy of Anticommunism remains in dispute despite the end of the Cold War and increased access to archival sources. Historians are as divided now as ever and the debate rages over what Anticommunists did. No single consensus has emerged defining the Anticommunist Movement. This paper traces the recent scholarship and compares the underlying framework surround the debate.

In recent years, the debate over communism and anticommunism entered an unprecedented acrimonious state. *Cold War Triumphalism: Exposing the Misuse of History After the Fall of Communism*, edited by the historian Ellen Schrecker, argued that certain historians reinterpreted the anti-communist movement as unsung heroes based on the United States' Cold War triumph. On the other hand, *In Denial: Historians, Communism, and Espionage*, by the historians John E. Haynes and Hervey Klehr, argued that certain other historians denied the dangers of communism in general and Stalinism in particular when describing anticommunism as a dangerous movement. The authors claimed that ignoring Stalin's crimes was akin to Holocaust denial. Even though both books are polemical, they represent increasing hostility in academia in spite of the Cold War ending and the availability of new sources.

This paper traces the changes in the anti-communist historiography, demonstrating the access to new information and previously sealed archives have not solved the debate over anticommunism because of a fundamental disagreement over the consequences of anticommunism. Historians generally hold one of two views, the "traditionalist," the defenders of anticommunists, or the "revisionist," those critical of anticommunists and their efforts.[1]

The traditionalists considered communism to be a larger threat than anticommunism and argued that the anticommunists fought against

1. These terms come from John Haynes, "The Cold War Debate Continues: A Traditionalist View of Historical Writing on Domestic Communism and Anti-Communism." *Journal of Cold War Studies* 2, no.1 (Winter 2000): 76–115. For an alternative interpretation of the terms that best describe the scholarly schism see Maurice Isserman, "Open Archives and Open Minds: 'Traditionalists' versus 'Revisionists' after Venona," *American Communist History* 4, no. 2 (2005): 215-223.

an alien ideology, whose adherents engaged in espionage and treason. A key point in this argument was that 1930s Communism was dogmatic and centralized, intolerant of internal dissent. Furthermore, in order to fight off these enemies the state must have the ability to respond to the current and immediate threat. The historians John E. Haynes, Richard Gid Powers, and Harvey Klehr were prominent promulgators of this view.

The revisionists argued that the Communist Party included a diverse following that went beyond the elite leaders. The lower ranking members did not adhere to the Soviet-dominated party line- except in foreign policy. The CPUSA did not pose a threat to the United States because relatively few members actively engaged in direct actions against the federal government and those that did only traded minor government and industrial secrets. The historians Maurice Immerman, Ellen Schrecker, David Cuate, and Richard Fried belonged to this group.

Anticommunism was at its post-World War II height between 1945 and 1958. During the postwar period, a diverse and successful anti-communist movement prosecuted suspected communists as well as restricted them from professional employment. The era of McCarthy, McCarthyism, also describes this era—named the junior senator from Wisconsin for Joe McCarthy who served in the United States Senate from 1947 to 1957. Despite the prominence McCarthy achieved, the name McCarthyism was a misnomer that emphasized an individual, anti-communist demagogue and did a disservice to the complex character of the anti-communist movement. As such, McCarthyism will not be used except as referring to Senator McCarthy. As such, the works reviewed herein discussed the entire postwar period or multiple eras and focused on placing the entire era into a larger context while explaining the anti-communist movement.

> *"Despite the end of the war and opening of new archives, the anti-communist movement's nature, as well as the historical legacy, remains disputed."*

The anti-communist movement reacted against the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA or the Party) and the threat posed by Soviet Russia America during the Cold War. The diverse group eschewed monolithic organizations, instead operating as an invisible ideology and reacting to perceived communist infiltration in military and social areas. What unified the movement was a rejection of communism, evident in the disappearance of anticommunism after the Cold War. Despite the end of the war and opening of new archives, the anti-communist movement's nature, as well as the historical legacy, remains disputed.

In order to delve into anticommunism, one must deal substantially with communism and the Communist Party. Throughout this paper—as in many of the works studied in preparing this paper—understanding anti-communism can only be achieved by attempting to understand communism and the Party's history. Separating communist from anti-communist literature can be difficult because authors sometimes attached significant communist history to a larger anti-communist work and the same with anti-communist sections within larger communist works. For example, *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America*, by Ellen Schrecker, covered both communism and anticommunism as a single narrative. This approach allowed an author to delve into both sides of the historical period. As such, even while focusing on anticommunism, communism and communist historiography were important to this paper.

Anticommunism presented a unique problem for researchers and historians because it reacted against Communism without creating a coherent ideology, as Communism did. Even if anticommunism, this invisible ideology, unified people against the specific threat, or perceived threat, of communism, how can such a diverse group be considered a single group with a unique history and historiography? Being a nebulous term, anticommunism allowed researchers to focus on unique aspects and trends, from Jeff Woods' investigation of racism and anticommunism in *Black Struggle, Red Scare* to Richard Fried's Joseph McCarthy narrative in *Nightmare in Red*. The anti-communist movement offered historians a paradox— the topic is both limitless and restrictive.

The essential question historians have to account for is what boundaries exist when a nation-state's security is threatened. In essence, how far is *too* far? In addition to the previous unresolved question, making sense of the post-Cold War anti-Communist literature required that historians remove themselves from the debate and remain emotionally detached from the subject. The revisionists and traditionalists disagreed over these answers.

The opening in 1993 of both the VENONA archives and the Soviet archives to the West changed the nature of Cold War history.[2] The archives allowed American historians first time access to documents that could settle conclusively the acrimonious debates raging in communist and anti-communist history. For example, both archives proved that Julius Rosenberg and Alger Hiss were spies. According to the historian Ellen Schrecker, research in the newly opened archives proved "as the evidence accumulates, it does seem as if many of the alleged spies had, indeed, helped the Russians."[3] Despite the new evidence, the new sources have not settled the issue. Even if establishing individual guilt or innocence, the conclusions based on the sources remain in hot dispute. *Cold War Triumphalism* attested to the scurrilous debate over the historical meaning of communism and anticommunism.

John E. Haynes was perhaps the most vocal and important traditionalist historian and was the "20th Century Political Historian, [at the] Manuscript Division, Library of Congress."[4] In addition to being a prolific writer, he maintained a bibliographic website containing over 8,500 citations on Communism and Anticommunism, titled "American Communism and Anticommunism."[5] As a chronicler and archivist of Communism and Anticommunism material, he was in a unique position of preserving and interpreting primary documents. Weighing in on the important arguments concerning the threat of communism in the United States and the anticommunist response, Haynes vehemently argued the USSR threatened the United States with espionage even if the CPUSA was not the dire threat rabid anti-Communists claimed. Additionally, Moscow-directed subversion strengthened the Soviets internationally.

Haynes claimed the revelations made after the opening of the Soviet archives and the release of the Venona reports revealed a sinister threat aimed at the United States from espionage agents paid for by Moscow. Ac-

2. The VENONA archives were a collection of secret cables between Soviet agents in the United States and Moscow that the FBI intercepted. Michael E. Parrish, "Soviet Espionage and the Cold War," *Diplomatic History* 25, no. 1 (Winter 2001): 107.

3. Ellen Schracter, *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 116.

4. Peter Meyer Filardo, "American Communism and Anti-communism," *American Communist History* 5, no. 1 (2006): 103.

5. John E. Haynes, "American Communism and Anticommunism: A Historians Bibliography and Guide to the Literature," http://www.johnearlhaynes.org/page94.html#introb (accessed June 2008).

cording to Haynes, the CPUSA worked towards "the destruction of American society and its replacement by a state modeled on Stalin's Russia."[6] Furthermore, the Party's "first loyalty was to the Soviet Union," "was secretly financed by the Soviet Union, and at every stage in its existence accepted and sought Soviet direction."[7] The Soviet model the American Communist Party followed tied both the party and its members inescapably to a foreign and hostile power. Regardless of other factors influencing the CPUSA, Haynes claimed communism could never escape the taint of foreign control over a national political party.

In *The Cold War Debate Continues*, his historiography essay tracing communist and anti-communist historians, Haynes argued against revisionist historians. He accused historians beginning in the 1960s onward of creating a picture of communism that contradicted reality. According to Haynes, revisionists focused on recasting anticommunism as evil and "the CPUSA was depicted as little more than a figment of the imagination of anti-Communists."[8] The centrality of the Party caused Haynes consternation as he noted the multicultural and social historians writing in the eighties and nineties were "strong on periphery and weak at the core."[9] He argued the cultural and social focus of many new histories failed to encompass the core, the CPUSA. When the "new" historians inquired into fields previously lacking in research, they misinterpreted the most important aspect of communism, the Party and the leadership. These differing views over the main topic of communism offers a view into what communist and anticommunist historians hold as the proper focus.

By arguing for historians of communism to focus on the central party and the leadership, rather than a top-down approach, Haynes placed the CPUSA and accompanying leadership as the main actor in the historical drama. According to his argument, the CPUSA should remain in focus at all times because revisionists "often conveyed the impression that there

6. John E. Haynes, *Red Scare or Red Menace?: American Communism and Anticommunism in the Cold War Era* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, Inc., 1996), 198.

7. Haynes, *Red Scare or Red Menace?*, 198.

8. John E. Haynes, "The Cold War Debate Continues: A Traditionalist View of Historical Writing on Domestic Communism and Anti-Communism." *Journal of Cold War Studies* 2, no.1 (Winter 2000): 81.

9. Haynes, "The Cold War Debate Continues," 86.

were two Communist parties."[10] The first consisted of the national Party leadership and retained Communism's negative qualities, such as "subordination to Moscow, support for Stalin's purges, the embrace of the Nazi-Soviet Pact, contempt for political democracy, and a fervent belief in Marxism-Leninism."[11] The second party "consisted of idealistic rank-and-file Communists who rooted themselves in the wants and needs of the workers, who were inspired by the populist traditions of the American past, and who paid little attention to Earl Browder in New York and even less to Joseph Stalin in Moscow."[12] Haynes saw the national Party as monolithic and attempts at delving into the daily lives of the party membership inherently fail to recognize the Party's true nature as a Moscow threat. This argument fed into the view that anti-communist actions were justified because the Communist Party is ultimately the central leadership and their bosses across the Atlantic. Accordingly, the implication is that actions taken against the CPUSA will hurt the monolithic party apparatus.

As an auxiliary to his arguments on Communism, Haynes views anticommunism as an appropriate response to an ideology and a party that threatened to destroy the United States through espionage and subversion. Accordingly, anticommunism was a contemporary reaction to a national emergency. "For all its sporadic ugliness, excesses, and silliness," claims Haynes, "the anticommunism of the 1940s and 1950s was an understandable and rational response to a real danger to American society."[13] In this view, the necessary actions of anticommunist, though imperfect, contributed to saving the country from a grave threat. By responding to an actual threat, the anticommunists achieve legitimacy Haynes decries was lacking in other histories while acknowledging the anticommunists' flaws.

Haynes' description of anticommunism coincided with the historian David Bennett's placement of anticommunism into a larger nativist and anti-alien sentiment through United State's history by explaining that "most Americans have never liked communism…most have despised it."[14] Furthermore, "Communist ideology was incompatible with the values held by most Americans. Americans have always held a variety of political views,

10. Haynes, "The Cold War Debate Continues," 87.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Haynes, *Red Scare or Red Menace?*, 200.

14. Ibid., 6.

but most support private property, take immense pride in their individualism, and glory in political democracy."[15] Haynes' comment on U.S. citizens' preferences and prejudices explained communism as anti-American, suggesting no matter what could happen, the United States would remain immune to Soviet intrusion. The argument fits into Bennett's narrative because he argued that anticommunism was just one form of nativism that appeared in both post-World War I and post-World War II America.[16] The anticommunists of both eras responded to the "unpardonable sin of questioning the American dream."[17] Ideology and belief served to denote the outsider because the communists accepted ideas that were dangerous and possessed the threat of acting on those beliefs, which included overthrowing the government as a long-term Party goal. Haynes' view of anticommunism originates from a conception of an organic, reflexive, popular response to a specific foreign threat.

Communist espionage became the new traditionalist paradigm. Senator Joseph McCarthy's pronouncements about a vast conspiracy, a "fifth column," proved false. Anti-government espionage became the basis for citing the CPUSA as a threat to the United States.[18] This shift towards espionage started in the 1990s with the opening of the Soviet archives and the release of the Venona papers. Starting with Haynes and the historian Harvey Klehr's primary source collections *The Secret World of American Communism* and *The Soviet World of American Communism*, the traditionalists argued the importance of espionage was higher than previously thought because the primary documents provided proof of that the Party members engaged in spying and received money from the Soviets, so called "Soviet Gold."[19] According to this view, the proof of Moscow's direct funding prevented historians from claim the CPUSA and Communism was not

15. Ibid., 7.

16. David Bennett, *The Party of Fear: From Nativist Movements to the New Right in American History* (London: University Pres of North Carolina Press, 1988), 185, 287.

17. Bennett, *The Party of Fear*, 185.

18. Richard Fried, *Nightmare in Red: The McCarthy Era in Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 49-50; Haynes, *In Denial: Historians, Communism, and Espionage* (San Francisco: Encounter Books, 2006), 231, quoted in John E. Haynes, "American Communism and Anticommunism: A Historians Bibliography and Guide to the Literature," http://www.johnearlhaynes.org/page94.html#introb (accessed June 2008).

19. Haynes, "American Communism and Anticommunism;" Haynes, *Red Scare or Red Menace?*, 192; Haynes, "The Cold War Debate Continues," 95.

a threat. Mobilizing anti-communist sentiment had to occur in order to maintain the psychological edge required to persevere in a cold war against a nuclear power that was "America's most dangerous foreign enemy, an enemy who was nuclear armed, expansionary, and ambitious for global hegemony."[20] Soviet Russia, for the traditionalist, threatened the United States as no other world power had previously done, more than even Nazi Germany.

Even as Haynes attacked revisionists for ignoring the threat Communism offered America, he acknowledged the threat that the anti-communist movement made terrible mistakes. The McCarthy's hearings and the over zealous prosecutions of Ethel Rosenberg, just two examples, were errant anticommunism. "McCarthy's legacy was largely negative and nasty," Haynes claimed, and "his tactics…made civil discourse nearly impossible."[21] In doing so, McCarthy harmed the anti-communist movement by blocking the required rational discourse that would discourage many people from believing Communists.

Two other traditionalists were the historian Richard Gid Powers and the journalist Haynes Johnson. Richard Powers was a history professor at Columbia University of New York. His argument in the book *Not Without Honor* focused on explaining the history of anticommunists from 1917 to 1991. Written in 1995, *Not Without Honor* was one of the first attempts at creating a synthesis of anti-Bolshevik anticommunists. Powers focused solely on explaining the anti-communist movement as a "complex, pluralistic movement, as pluralistic as the culture in which it was rooted."[22] He located the movement's origin in the "passionate belief [anticommunists] had learned during the war that communism was thoroughly alien to American values, and was to be resisted with all their considerable energies."[23] Yet, Powers warned that the passionate belief may be "to excess" but the "moral conviction would serve America well over the years, but only when guided by real knowledge of the enemy and moderated by wisdom about the ways of man."[24] As a traditionalist, Powers located anticommunism within the

20. Haynes, *Red Scare or Red Menace?*, 199.

21. Ibid., 161.

22. Richard Gid Powers, *Not Without Honor: The History of American Anticommunism* (New York: The Free Press, 1995), 426.

23. Ibid., 15.

24. Ibid.

American tradition and as a response to Soviet horrors.

Powers attributed American anticommunism with success in ending the Cold War in a US win but noted the movement received little domestic acknowledgement for ending the war so favorably. He wrote anticommunism received "honor abroad, however, in their own country they were still without honor."[25] This comment referred to Power's assertion that the anticommunists in the government and other active citizens pushed the USSR to the brink of collapse through massive arms spending. Moscow's inability to keep pace with the nuclear arms race drained their coffers. After this, Communist leader Mikhail Gorbachev had no other option but to watch the empire crumble. Powers, following the traditionalist's line, sought to redeem the anticommunist movement away from derision and into the respectable annals of US history.

"Powers, following the traditionalist's line, sought to redeem the anticommunist movement away from derision and into the respectable annals of US history."

The reporter Haynes Johnson in *The Age of Anxiety: McCarthyism to Terrorism* portrayed the anti-communist Senator Joseph McCarthy as a political opportunist who did not represent the overall anti-communist movement. Johnson's main contribution was to connect the anti-communist movement's least respected actions under Senator McCarthy with the post-9/11 era. The author contended "the parallels between past and present raise the oldest democratic dilemmas: how to safeguard the nation's security without jeopardizing its liberties."[26] The delicate balance of liberty and security, according to his argument, must remain in equilibrium or else the result would be disastrous.

The traditionalists contain a common thread in viewing Soviet Russia as a threat to world peace. In *The Age of Anxiety*, Johnson calls the McCarthy era a "reign of terror" and states "the domestic Communist menace was exaggerated … as the Soviet Union itself was growing steadily weaker, not stronger, in its military, economic, and political competition

25. Ibid., 429.

26. Haynes Johnson, *Age of Anxiety: McCarthyism to Terrorism* (New York: Harcourt, Inc., 2005), 466.

with the United States."[27] The weakened USSR still threatened the US. Active citizens and enhanced government security measures held the Soviet bear at bay. By focusing on security, the traditionalists viewed the Cold War through the prism of an international relations theory named realism.

Historians used a mental construct to explain the world and to wrap the "flesh" of thought around the "bones" of facts and archival research. The ideas constituting the world recreated on the page flow from a basic concept and expected practice of everyday life. This would be a theory, even if unconscious. As the historian John Gaddis explains, historians "depend on theory" to explain universal experiences like revolutions, even if implicit.[28] By explicitly acknowledging theories, historians can approach one another over seemingly insurmountable differences by admitting to theoretical disagreement.

Traditionalists' worldview reflected realist theory in international relations. Realism—championed by the theorists Hans Morgenthau, Kenneth Waltz, and Robert Jervis— "depicts international affairs as a struggle for power among self-interested states," according to the political scientist Stephen Walt in "International Relations: One World, Many Theories," "and is generally pessimistic about the prospects for eliminating conflict and war."[29] In realist theory, generally, world peace exists only through strength of arms and internal vigilance. This view reflected Johnson's assertions that the Soviet Union and the United States faced a deadly confrontation of low-level mobilization and constant stress on the population.[30] The same holds true for Powers and Haynes as all three authors viewed the Soviets as an expansionist and deadly threat.

Opposing the traditionalist view is the revisionist view that originated in the last half of the fifties and revised the previous assessment of communism and anticommunism. According to Haynes, the new scholars dating from the late sixties to the early seventies "focused on American anti-Communism, not American Communism."[31] These historians did

27. Ibid., 526.

28. John Lewis Gaddis, "History, Theory, and Common Ground," *International Security* 22, no.1 (Summer 1997): 83.

29. Stephen M. Walt, "International Relations: One World, Many Theories," in "Frontiers of Knowledge," special issue, *Foreign Policy* 110 (Spring 1998): 31.

30. Johnson, *Age of Anxiety*, 524.

31. Haynes, "The Cold War Debate Continues," 80.

spend most of their energies on criticizing McCarthyism and anticommunism and paid scant attention on the actual communists, reflecting the increasingly active New Left. Yet, these early revisionists wrote the initial scholarly historical account of the post-World War II years.[32] The previous anticommunist historians wrote about the 1930s Communist movement. The revisionists sought to contextualize Senator McCarthy and understand anticommunism.

A wide ranging and instructive example of the early period revisionists was *The Specter: Original Essays on the Cold War and the Origins of McCarthyism* edited by the historians Robert Griffith and Athan Theoharis. The multivolume work united a diverse group of historians and social scientists offered a framework to construct the anticommunism associated with McCarthyism. The collected volume did not present a coherent narrative but did offer diverse interpretations on "how our understanding of the postwar years might be expanded."[33] The political focus ranged across the social spectrum and included several attempts at locating Senator McCarthy in a historical period. The book's editor, Robert Griffith, found that McCarthyism did not seem to be a national movement and "popular intolerance and anti-Communism … have tended to be constants."[34] The early revisionists imagined that anticommunism was an elite concern and that the public did not constitute a specifically anti-communist movement. Later works, such as Powers' *Not Without Honor*, convincingly argue the importance of the popular anticommunist movement.

The Great Fear: The Anti-Communist Purges Under Truman and Eisenhower by the historian David Cuate was one of the most influential and prominent works on postwar anticommunism. Based on extensive archival research as well as secondary source material, the book remained an important work on the anti-communist movement, specifically the movement's excesses, after the Cold War. Cuate was a revisionist who fit into the broader pattern of late seventies and eighties historians who benefited from increased access to archives but still lived within the Cold War and lacked the top-secret archival resources. *The Great Fear* stood as an exemplary historical book confined by political realities.

32. Robert Griffith and Athan Theoharis, eds., *The Specter: Original Essays on the Cold War and the Origins of McCarthyism* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1974), xi.

33. Ibid., xiii.

34. Ibid., 2.

Cuate argued that anticommunism under Presidents Truman and Eisenhower took on an increased frenzy and created a culture of fear that hindered the development of free expression and constituted a purge.

"In this view, the ultimate responsibility for safeguarding liberty and freedoms rested with an active and informed citizenry against the tyranny provoked by fear."

Using the term "purge" to describe anticommunism in the postwar years applies the Soviet phenomenon to the United States. Purge also indicates a sinister, perhaps, deadly attack against its victims. Cuate cautioned that while purges in Eastern Europe "blood flowed; [*sic*] in Britain and America, mainly tears."[35] Although the purges were not deadly, he contended that the purge limited freedom. Furthermore, the purges elicited "storms of indignation" because "when official America sins, she sins doubly: against her victims, and against her own traditions, ideals and rhetoric."[36] Cuate saw the anti-communist actions as a violation of the United States' basic principles. In this view, the ultimate responsibility for safeguarding liberty and freedoms rested with an active and informed citizenry against the tyranny provoked by fear.

The essential element the traditionalist concerned themselves with, espionage, was unimportant to Cuate. He claimed "there is no documentation in the public record of a direct connection between the American Communist Party and espionage during the entire postwar period."[37] Communist espionage concerned the traditionalists more than the trumping of civil liberties or the destruction of some careers, which also redeemed the anticommunists' goals by focusing on anticommunists' fears and validated concerns over security and peace. Cuate characterized concerns over "spy culture" within the communist movement heightened the public drive to "equate radicalism with treason" and turned the debate over anticommunism into a conspiratorial inquisition.[38] Evidence available for researchers in the 1970s contained no evidence of Moscow directed CPUSA infiltration and espionage. Recent developments proved Cuate wrong. However, how

35. David Caute, *The Great Fear: The Anti-Communist Purges Under Truman and Eisenhower* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), 17.

36. Ibid., 18.

37. Ibid., 54.

38. Ibid.

much spies harmed to the country remained disputed.

The 1984 book, *The Great "Red Menace": United States Prosecution of American Communists, 1947-1952*, by the historian Peter L. Steinberg focused entirely on the judicial branch investigation against the CPUSA under the 1949 Smith Act, which culminated in the 1951 *Dennis v. United States* trial. By examining the "rarely opened" court transcripts, Steinberg examined the legal prosecution of the twenty-one defendants, explored the anti-communist tactics, and appraised the Communist reactions.[39] "The judicial system," Steinberg noted, "came to be used as one element in a campaign which spread a sense of political fear throughout the United States and threatened to destroy the delicate balance which has always existed between individual freedom and the perception of national security."[40] The tactics used against the Communists created a current of fear throughout America. This view typified the revisionist view that the greatest threat was from anticommunists harming the nation through creating a panic over the issue of subversion and espionage.

The revisionists writing in the late eighties and nineties increased their focus to include explaining the various threads of communism and localized affects of anticommunism. Yet, comprehensive histories remained important. M. J. Heale, a British historian, offered insight into the United States' political and social past with his two books, *American Anticommunism: Combating the Enemy Within, 1830-1970* and *McCarthy's Americans: Red Scare Politics in State and Nation, 1935-1965*. The former book traced the complete anti-communist history and the latter book focused on state-level approaches to communism. In both books, Heale largely ignores the actual CPUSA and the threat of espionage. In *American Anticommunism*, Heale located the anticommunist impulse to the interplay between class, race, and religion that "have generated overlapping ideological and institutional formations that have proved a congenial context for anticommunist policies."[41] He linked anticommunism to the fabric of society, an inescapable part of America. These important linkages with the conditions manifested in the United States suggest that anticommunism, as manifested

39. Peter L. Steinberg, *The Great "Red Menace": United States Prosecution of American Communists, 1947-1952* (London: Greenwood Press, 1984), ix.

40. Ibid.

41. M. J. Heale, *American Anticommunism: Combating the Enemy Within, 1830-1970* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), *xi*.

throughout American history, was an organic element of society.

The republican nature of the United States created the anticommunist movement Heale argued. The state-by-state analysis explored many dominant themes found throughout various state-level anti-communist actions. "The relatively wide distribution of property and of political rights gave republicanism a popular base," Heale claimed, "and many Americans…pressed the tradition if an active citizenry into the counter-subversive cause."[42] The oldest tradition, republicanism, colored the anticommunist movement and empowered Americans to pursue communists actively.
In this view, Anticommunism becomes a diverse movement grounded in America's history and current political culture.

Heale's focus on domestic conflicts reflected his perception that anticommunists responded to internal issues and the anti-communist movement was rooted squarely in concern over notions of "Americanism." In this regard, the anticommunists fought against domestic political enemies not simply a monolithic international threat. Espionage and spying at the height of the postwar scare concerned only 8 percent of the population while between 24 percent and 31 percent feared "Communists 'Conversion and Spreading Ideas.' "[43] The public imagination focused on ideas and Communist conversion. This hinted that the popularity anticommunism enjoyed rested on the perceived threat originating from cognitive threats but not physical threats. Anticommunists argued "institutions that molded and manipulated" public opinion, schools and cinema especially, were vulnerable to communists machinations.[44] Heale's description of anxiety about the ideological fears that fueled anticommunism undermined the newly discovered espionage by reminding the reader that even if espionage had occurred, everyday people felt the mere existence of the ideology was a threat. Whereas traditionalist exonerate anticommunism because espionage occurred, Heale supported the revisionist argument that spying was not a critical threat that justified the anti-communist response.

The historian Jeff Broadwater returned to presidential history in *Eisenhower and the Anti-Communist Crusade*. Presidential and top-down history was a focus of historians until the multicultural approach became

42. M.J. Heale, *McCarthy's Americans: Red Scare Politics in State and Nation, 1935-1965* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1998), 278.

43. Heale, *American Anticommunism*, 184.

44. Ibid.

a powerful force, not only in anticommunist history but also in the field in general. Broadwater turned to President Eisenhower in an attempt to explore the president's role in the anticommunism that swept the nation during his presidential tenure. On this point, Eisenhower ensured his own popularity while failing to address fully the critical issue of Senator McCarthy; Eisenhower "was a manager, not a moral leader."[45] The president failed to provide leadership for the popular anticommunism of the mid-1950s. Additionally, the consequences of the lack of presidential leadership helped prevent anticommunists from sustaining a cohesive post-McCarthy popular movement.[46] In part, Americans failed to continue the once powerful anticommunist movement because the president shied away from that role.

According to Broadwater Communism posed no serious threat—anticommunists overreacted to the perceived menace. As such, President Eisenhower's lack of presidential leadership seemed justified because the president saw little actual threat from communists.[47] The moderate president rejected by the "exaggerated and unhealthy fear of Communist-inspired internal subversion."[48] Broadwater accepted the revisionist claim that communism was a phantom threat but the fierce reaction caused actual damage to United States' social and political institutions.

One of the most important modern anticommunist historians was Ellen Schrecker, a revisionist. She authored *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America* in 1998 and *War Triumphalism: The Misuse of History After the Fall of Communism* in 2006 as a refutation of traditionalism. *Many are the Crimes* offered a compelling new method of examining anticommunism because she told both the communist and anticommunist history. Using a single volume to describe both histories reinforces the connection between communism, as a movement and a party, and anticommunism, both elite and popular versions.

The revisionists must answer the question of espionage because traditionalists push the issue by exploring the archival evidence and by exonerating anticommunism by explaining the existence of espionage justified the anticommunists' responses. In *Many are the Crimes*, Schrecker acknowledg-

45. Jeff Broadwater, *Eisenhower and the Anti-Communist Crusade* (London: University Pres of North Carolina Press, 1992), 211-12.

46. Ibid., 210.

47. Ibid., 17.

48. Ibid., xi.

es the espionage yet remains critical of the importance of espionage while critically assessing the anticommunists as dangerous. In short, anticommunism was more dangerous than communism or the CPUSA. She cautioned while "it is clear that some kind of espionage took place during the 1930s and 1940s," this did not threaten the United States.[49] The CPUSA and Moscow's agents failed to acquire any specific piece of technology that fundamentally altered the historical trend. She adds a definitive statement justifying the revisionist position by asking:

> Were these activities so awful? Was the espionage, which unquestionably occurred, such a serious threat to the nation's security that it required the development of a politically repressive internal security system? It may be useful to take a more nuanced position and go beyond the question of guilt or innocence to ascertain not only how dangerous the transmission of unauthorized information was, but also why it occurred. Because espionage is an issue that carries such heavy emotional freight, it is usually treated in a monolithic way that overlooks distinctions between different types of spying and different types of spies.[50]

"The revisionists did not always challenge guilt or innocence, but the relative importance of guilt or innocence."

In this regard, internal espionage did not give blanket justification to the anticommunists but should merely provide backdrop for other issues. The revisionists did not always challenge guilt or innocence, but the relative importance of guilt or innocence.

Ellen Schrecker and the historian Maurice Isserman have recently taken up John Haynes' argument decrying revisionists. Both authors argued a revisionist approach to communism and anticommunism and remained critical of traditionalists focus on espionage and guilt. Isserman's and Schrecker's articles responded to John Haynes and Harvey Klehr's book *In Denial*, a 2005 polemic arguing revisionists were akin to Holocaust de-

49. Schracter, *Many Are the Crimes*, 21.

50. Ibid., 178-179.

niers.[51] In response to the criticism, Isserman wrote that his previous work on communism explored "the tensions between, on the one hand, the democratic, egalitarian impulses that often led people to join the Communist movement …, and, on the other, the authoritarian structure of the party they joined."[52] Yet, Isserman found Haynes criticized him for ignoring this same point. Similarly, Schrecker asked, "Had they not read the book? Or had I failed to communicate my main point: McCarthyism (broadly defined) destroyed the communist movement?"[53] The acidic tone of both responses points to the vast differences between the approaches. Haynes and Klehr argued that Isserman and Schrecker were wrong and their interpretation flawed. One wonders if both approaches could be correct.

The traditionalist versus revisionist debate will not end for quite some time, if ever. Both sides hold fundamentally opposing theories concerning security and the nation-state. Traditionalists, perhaps best embodied by John Haynes, credited anticommunism with saving the country from an external threat. In "The Cold War Debate Continues," Haynes criticized Schrecker's absolution of domestic communists by noting "one might regard these observations [that communists had no national allegiance] as justifying the suspicion with which security officials viewed Communists who worked in sensitive positions."[54] The overriding issue was national security.

Revisionists, embodied in Schrecker and Caute, disagreed with the contention that the Cold War forced the U.S. government to take extra precautions against possible subversion and espionage because they felt the external threat was no different from any other previous international threat. Further, the "unsophisticated, black-and-white, good-guys-versus-bad-guys narrative … is a serious problem, for such oversimplifications debase our political culture, even if that may not be their stated function."[55] Historians can never recreate the complexity found in everyday life. Any side that purports to present the full complexity of an issue inevitably fails. That is a debate's greatest asset— generating an increasingly complex narrative with each revision. Our understanding of Communism and Anticommunism

51. Maurice Isserman, "Open Archives and Open Minds": 215; Ellen W. Schrecker, "Archival Sources for the Study of McCarthyism," *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 1 (June 1988): 197.

52. Isserman, "Open Archives and Open Minds," 216.

53. Schrecker, "Archival Sources for the Study of McCarthyism," 163.

54. John Haynes, "The Cold War Debate Continues": 111.

55. Schrecker, "Archival Sources for the Study of McCarthyism," 166.

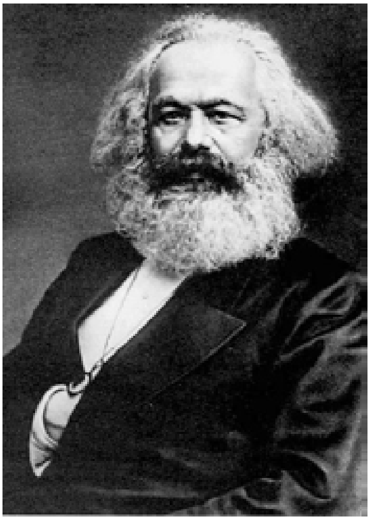
has increased because both sides continue to react to flaws their opposites exposed. Yet, historians must guard against feeling personally insulted. Neither side denies the Holocaust nor excuses their position based on the end of the Cold War as strict reason for their respective possessions. The profession is only hurt when debates are boiled down to clichés.

A review Of Marxist Historiography And Its British Adaptations

David Schrumpf

In the mid-twentieth century, a group of British historians worked tirelessly to create a working-class history of Great Britain in the tradition of Karl Marx. The experiences of working men and women, social outcasts, and those labeled as criminals by the country's ruling class found a voice in the writings of men like Edward P. Thompson and Douglas Hay. This paper examines the original theories of Karl Marx, and how British historians adapted and changed his ideas a century later in works like *Albion's Fatal Tree, Captain Swing, and The Making of the English Working Class.*

INTRODUCTION



Portrait of Karl Marx.
Public domain. *Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons* at *http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Karl_Marx_001.jpg*

Karl Marx famously claimed that the "history of all hitherto existing societies is the history of class struggles." [1] The history of Marxist scholarship has involved a related struggle: the history of defining and understanding class consciousness. Since Marx first formulated his theory of dialectic materialism, Marxist historians have been compartmentalizing the world's poor in one class or another and giving accounts of society's inner workings as an inexorable march of struggle and progress. In Britain in particular, historians have used Marxist theory to investigate the class-based nature of the criminal justice system and the formation of the industrial working class in works like *Albion's Fatal Tree*, *Captain Swing*, and *The Making of the English Working Class*. While these Western Marxists of the 1960s and 1970s adopted the centrality of class as the defining feature of human existence into their work, they diverged from orthodox Marxism on questions of human agency and the inevita-

1. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (New York: Filiquarian, 2005), 6.

bility of social change. Authors like E.P. Thompson, for instance, rejected Marx's hard economic determinist approach in favor of a more humanizing and historically contextual narrative of class development.[2] In fact, in the twentieth century, Marxist scholars concerned themselves more with celebrating the achievements of working-class men and women and less with defending purely deterministic materialism, since such scholars often dealt with the *failures* of working-class movements.

> *"In the twentieth century, Marxist scholars concerned themselves more with celebrating the achievements of working-class men and women and less with defending purely deterministic materialism, since such scholars often dealt with the failuresof working-class movements."*

Regardless of historians' differences with Marx's original theories, Marxist historiography has both generated insight into how people came to identify and promote class interests beyond the factory gates, and helped spawn much broader interest into questions of social history. Before Marxism's introduction, few historians had looked beyond politics and the study of "great men" in their writing, but historians after Marx began looking at larger social trends and people outside of traditional historical accounts. Overall, Marxist historiography has been instrumental in helping historians examine issues of class, but historians have largely rejected Marx's emphasis on the absolute centrality of productive forces in favor of human-centered explanations for class relations.

KARL MARX'S DANGEROUS IDEAS

The theory of Marxism is inseparable from Marx's intellectual grounding, as the ideas Marx encountered shaped the way he came to view society and history. While he was a young man at the Humboldt-Universitat in Berlin, he discovered the ideas of French Enlightenment thinkers, most notably Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Henri de Saint-Simon; he also reacted strongly to Hegel's idealism concerning history and its place in human existence. Ideas from these thinkers influenced Marx's own theories, particularly Hegel's dialectic method and Saint-Simon's view of progress

2. Georg Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century,* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2005), 88.

and a socialist utopia.

Hegel had believed that conflicting ideas drove history: as one thesis collided against its antithesis in a series of dialogues, the resulting synthesis would move mankind into a new intellectual era. Hegel had emphasized the role of a metaphysical "world spirit" in driving humanity forward. Marx, in contrast, asserted that changes in material conditions and productive forces gradually changed societies' conceptions of themselves and their organization.[3] Owing to Hegel's influence, Marx termed his theory *dialectic materialism* and argued that historical change came via the struggle between competing means of economic activity. Like Hegel and Leopold von Ranke before him, Marx also believed that the "progress of mankind was centered in the Western world" and that science would enable humanity to transcend contemporary structures.[4]

French utopian socialist Henri de Saint-Simon inspired Marx's view of history as proceeding in a series of stages. According to Saint-Simon, societies inevitably pass from a religious view of the world to a metaphysical (philosophical) view and finally to a positive (scientific) view. Only when societies finally adopted the positive view would they conquer moral adversities like famine, poverty, and war.[5] Marx combined Saint-Simon's positivism with his own philosophical and dialectic materialism to devise a new system of historical stages. In Marx's view, humans had first organized ancient societies around slave labor, but the feudal order of lords, serfs, and artisans had gradually replaced this ancient order. Likewise, Marx saw in his own time that industrial capitalism had begun to displace the feudal order as the dominant economic system.[6] Marxism is then the fusion of the Hegelian dialectic method, philosophic materialism, and Saint-Simon's positivist conception of history and progress.

In *The Communist Manifesto*, Marx and his intellectual companion, Friedrich Engels, lay out their view of industrial capitalism and of the system that would eventually overthrow and replace it, communism. Marx criticizes the capitalist system as inherently exploitive; he describes how the bourgeoisie, the propertied class, had overthrown the feudal system through refining productive methods and consecrating private property. Likewise,

3. John Gray, *Al Qaeda and What It Means to Be Modern* (London: New Press, 2005), 7.

4. Iggers, 79.

5. Gray, 29-30.

6. Marx and Engels, 7-8.

the bourgeoisie had created a new oppressed class, the proletariat, who had nothing but their labor to sell. Marx claims that in restructuring society, the bourgeoisie had subordinated workers to capitalists, rural areas to urban, and Eastern societies to Western.[7]

For all the power the bourgeoisie had gathered for themselves, Marx believed that as a class, they were inherently doomed. He asserts that the capitalist system had revealed that men were ultimately more divided by class than by nationality and would be willing to band together to overthrow their oppressors, who were unfit to rule because the great majority of humanity was becoming worse off, not better.[8] Marx also claims that in creating an underclass who had only the value of their labor to rely on, the bourgeoisie had ensured that the proletariat would rise up, overthrow the existing order, and institute socialism, a system in which all members of society collectively owned the means of production.[9] He and Engels assume that once private property was abolished and capital collectively owned, the State would gradually wither away, and communism would emerge as a utopian society free of exploitation (after a brief period of proletarian oppression of the old bourgeoisie). They conclude their manifesto calling workers to action, claiming they have "nothing to lose but their chains," and have "a world to win."[10] Marx would spend the rest of his life critiquing the capitalist system and refining his own conception of socialism.

In *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* and in his other more academic writings, Marx formulates his theory of history and society in more detail. Marx further explains the material basis of all social relations, which exists "independent of [humans'] will."[11] He thus ascribes little agency to individual people; productive forces inevitably drive men and societies. All other social relations depend on economic organization and productive forces. Marx refers to the political, legal, religious, and other relations as society's *superstructure*; he refers to productive forces as the *base*, highlighting economics' centrality to all human enterprises.[12] Con-

7. Ibid.,11.

8. Ibid., 20.

9. Ibid., 25.

10. Ibid., 55.

11. Karl Marx, *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977), 2.

12. Ibid., 2.

servative intellectuals and ruling elites branded Marx's ideas as dangerous because of their overtly political tone, but Marx's ideas were quite in line with the time. Marxists and anti-Marxists thus began a war of words that would continue into the twentieth century, through figures like historians Christopher Hill, Douglas Hay, and Edward Thompson. All Marxist historians share Marx's belief that history is comprised of stages leading toward socialism, and all believed in the centrality of class conflict to the progress of history. Their writings explored these conflicts, particularly in Britain, through the pre-industrial era to the modern. Twentieth-century Marxists would also add their own innovations to Marx's theories, and reject some elements of Marxism outright.

British Marxists & the Early Modern British Legal System

The primary question for Marxist historians has always been one of class conflict, since Marx himself believed that to be the engine of social change. These historians were some of the first to look beyond kings and counselors to peasants and laborers, and beyond politics to social relations and material concerns. In Britain, these historians included Douglas Hay, Peter Linebaugh, Cal Winslow, and John Rule, who provided a radical look at crime and punishment as indicative of class conflict in the early modern area in *Albion's Fatal Tree*. Also included in this group were Eric Hobsbawm and George Rude, who put a human face on the proletariat in the 1830s in *Captain Swing*. Marxist scholarship in the twentieth century attempted to construct plausible "histories from below" that took working-class interests into account and insisted that class was a legitimate object of historical study. The group of scholars below followed closely in Marx's tradition of criticizing the capitalist order.

"The primary question for Marxist historians has always been one of class conflict, since Marx himself believed that to be the engine of social change. These historians were some of the first to look beyond kings and counselors to peasants and laborers, and beyond politics to social relations and material concerns."

One title, *Albion's Fatal Tree*, harkens back to a poem by William Blake in which a young man is saddened and disillusioned to discover that men are ultimately selfish. Likewise, Douglas Hay and his collaborators shatter the myth of the supremely just English legal system by describing how the rich and propertied classes systematically oppressed the poor through a system of laws and institutions that inspired terror in the populace. In "Property, Authority, and Criminal Law," Douglas Hay describes the early modern British legal system as the tool of the bourgeoisie in Britain and criticizes the "enforced division of property by terror," reacting to John Locke and other liberal theorists who had praised property as sacred.[13] Hay explores the three "pillars" of English law: justice, majesty, and mercy, and finds that the elites used them to systematically oppress the proletariat. The poor, he argues, did not have the same access or recourse to legal remedies, except where propertied gentlemen chose to help them either out of self-interest or paternalism. The "justice" of the court allowed for privatized prosecution, a lack of representation for (usually poor) men accused of felonies, and a system of pardons for the well-connected rich.[14] The "majesty" of the court involved terrorizing criminals with the sweeping threat of the death sentence for property offenses, particularly for those involving fraud and forgery, which were invariably crimes against the bourgeoisie. However, the "mercy" of the court allowed for enough pardons to make the court appear fair and benevolent (and to stave off potential revolts). Hay contends that the structure of the law thus allowed the propertied class to justify their oppression while simultaneously celebrating their compassion.[15] Because the ruling class organized its power in the State, Hay argues, the law was part of the superstructure that engendered class conflict.

In another essay for *Albion's Fatal Tree*, "Poaching and the Game Laws on Cannock Chase," Hay further argues that "true equality before the law in a society of greatly unequal men is impossible."[16] Here, Hay explores the nature of poaching laws, which he also believes is indicative of class conflict, since poachers were invariably poor. Hay describes the land policy the gentry favored as especially callous. The bourgeoisie prosecuted poor and desperate men and women who hunted for sustenance in the interest of

13. Douglas Hay, "Property, Authority, and Criminal Law," in *Albion's Fatal Tree*, ed. Douglas Hay et al. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975), 21.

14. Ibid., 41-42.

15. Ibid., 56.

16. Douglas Hay, "Poaching and the Game Laws on Cannock Chase," in *Albion's Fatal Tree*, ed. Douglas Hay et al. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975), 189.

protecting bourgeois property and sport. Conflict arose when proletarian poachers sought revenge for the steep fines they faced. Hay demonstrates that game keepers and warreners were favorite "targets for revenge," since they represented the protected sport of the gentry.[17]

Peter Linebaugh follows Hay's line of criticism of the law and explores an explosive moment of class conflict. In "The Tyburn Riot [Figure 2] against the Surgeons," Linebaugh investigates the violence the State continued to inflict on the bodies of executed convicts even after death. In the eighteenth century, surgeons were in need of bodies for research, and a ready supply was available in the form of hanged men and women. English law, again the tool of bourgeois oppression of the lower classes, made convicts' bodies the property of the State, which gave the bodies over to surgeons for dissection.[18] Families and friends of the convicted (who were again, nearly invariably lower class) rightly saw this practice as cruel and bordering on ghoulish. The State in turn saw the exploitation of the guilty body as central to the ritualized execution that helped to inspire terror and to deter crime. Tension between the two groups led to the Tyburn riots, in which the poor masses invaded the college of surgeons in an attempt to reclaim the bodies of their friends and loved ones who had become economic commodities. Linebaugh argues that this occasion marked one of the instances in which class conflict, centered on the body of the condemned, turned violent.

The law discriminated against the poor in other ways as well. In "Sussex Smugglers," Cal Winslow investigates incidents of smuggling, in much the same way that Hay approached poaching; both were notoriously lower-class crimes. Smuggling was an immensely profitable enterprise that increased along with commerce; authorities, however, took an even dimmer view of smuggling than they did of other forms of theft. Bourgeois legislators and lawyers, Winslow argues, saw smuggling as an offense against trade, which turned out to be just as sacred as property, since both were essential to the emerging capitalist order.[19] Prosecutors dealt with crimes that appeared to undermine the social order—such as forgery, fraud, and smug-

17. Ibid., 196.

18. Peter Linebaugh, "The Tyburn Riot against the Surgeons," in *Albion's Fatal Tree*, ed. Douglas Hay et al. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975), 70-71. See also Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 3-5 and 10-16.

19. Cal Winslow, "Sussex Smugglers," in *Albion's Fatal Tree*, ed. Douglas Hay et al. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975), 134-135.

William Hogarth's **The Idle Prentice Executed at Tyburn.** Public domain. *Image courtesy of Wikimedia* from *http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:William_Hogarth_-_Industry_and_Idleness,_Plate_11;_The_Idle_'Prentice_Executed_at_Tyburn.png*

gling—especially harshly. The Duke of Richmond, for example, proudly noted that he had hanged thirty-five of forty-five who had sat before him convicted of smuggling, and the other ten died in prison.[20] Winslow argues that this particular form of class conflict demonstrated many of the inherent contradictions in capitalism: smugglers exploited others in the pursuit of property, but the State, the vehicle of the bourgeoisie, did not sanction their particular brand of exploitation. In fact, the State acted quickly to quash such acts as quickly as possible and punish them severely as a warning to others who would challenge the sacrosanct nature of private property.

John Rule examines the practice of "wrecking," something of a cross between smuggling and poaching, in "Wrecking and Coastal Plunder." Rule asserts that while there was no absolutely accepted definition of wrecking, the practice almost always involved illegal salvaging (plundering) of ships that had met unfortunate ends on Britain's rocky coasts. The bourgeois authorities considered the goods aboard these ships as still the rightful property of others, and wreckers were thus thieves.[21] Rule argues

20. Ibid., 166.

21. John Rule, "Wrecking and Coastal Plunder," in *Albion's Fatal Tree*, ed. Douglas Hay et al. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975), 169-170.

that the items that wreckers took most frequently marked them as lower-class, since they primarily took goods for their homes, much like poachers took animals from game ranges that were largely for food purposes. Thus, Rule asserts, the inordinately harsh fines (similar to those for poaching) and sentences for wrecking were indicative of class conflict, or at least reactionary politics on the part of the propertied class, since clear rules for salvaging lost ships were rarely clear to the practitioners of wrecking.[22] Like other authors in *Albion's Fatal Tree*, Rule takes the position that authorities in capitalist societies were and are overly concerned with the inviolability of private property over the needs and security of the lower classes.

Hay and his colleagues attracted criticism from the political Right for their Marxist analysis of the law. John Langbein offers a devastating critique of *Albion's Fatal Tree* in his essay, "Albion's Fatal Flaws." Langbein takes issue with Hay's work on the grounds that Hay had created a fictitious "conspiracy" of the upper classes via the legal system.[23] Langbein charges that no such conspiracy existed: he finds it unlikely that the entire legal establishment could have colluded to oppress the proletariat. Furthermore, he argues that English law was remarkably even-handed in its treatment of rich and poor alike. He asserts that the only parties the justice system sought to serve were the victims of crime. Certainly, the courts also investigated crimes against poor men and women. Moreover, Langbein argues, non-elite men often served on peer juries, men whom Langbein suggests should have had sympathy with the lower class. He claims that if Hay's thesis were true and class conflict permeated the justice system, these poor jurors should have been less sympathetic to rich plaintiffs (and thus undervalue their claims), or they should have been more likely to acquit their poor brethren of crimes.[24] Peter Linebaugh responds to this criticism, suggesting that Langbein's view of the legal system was overly mechanistic, and that neither he nor Hay had alleged any bourgeois conspiracy. Rather, he says, their critique was aimed at systemic flaws in the capitalist system that privileged property, not at property-holders themselves.[25]

As seen above, differing class conceptions of the responsibilities of

22. Ibid., 176.

23. John Langbein, "Albion's Fatal Flaws," *Past & Present* 98 (1983): 98-102.

24. Ibid., 110-118.

25. Peter Linebaugh, "(Marxist) Social History and (Conservative) Legal History: A Reply to Professor Langbein," *New York University Law Review* 60 (1985): 213, 242.

property resulted in conflict over bourgeois responsibilities. The rich saw property as a sacred right in Locke's tradition, whereas the poor saw property as carrying a set of paternal obligations as well as material privilege. A final essay in *Albion's Fatal Tree* as well as *Captain Swing* make these differences clear. In "The Crime of Anonymity," E.P. Thompson examines a group of writings that earlier historians frequently ignored. Anonymous threats and letters that proletarian laborers and peasants sent to members of the propertied class indicate clashing views on the obligations of the rich. Thompson argues with polemic prose that, "the poor, by threat or even by violence, are recalling the rich to certain notional duties," and that these letters "show… something of [society's] character and limitations."[26] Class conflict in this context is much more about words and ideas than about actual force. The rich took a remarkably dim notion of these anonymous threats, making them a crime. Thompson takes this legal thrust as further evidence that the propertied class set up the law in their interest: the bourgeoisie could oppress the proletariat and threaten their very livelihoods in open public with legal sanction, but the poor enjoyed no such protection. The little recourse they had was criminal, and especially given the violent content of some of the anonymous letters, class conflict was indeed a reality.

Eric Hobsbawm and George Rude make a similar case in an earlier work, *Captain Swing*. The title of their work refers to the pseudonym many of the writers of the aforementioned anonymous letters used to sign their work. As Hobsbawm and Rude show, there was no real Captain Swing: he was a mythical figure like Robin Hood, who came to represent working-class interests and struggles. Writers chose his name, "Swing," with a touch of dark humor, probably in reference to the inevitable fate of so many poor criminals swinging from the hanging tree. Like other Marxist texts, *Captain Swing* celebrates the working class, and explores many sources conservative historians tended to overlook, especially the letters left by the subjects in question. These letters, which scholars before viewed merely as criminal documents, now offered evidence of concrete class conflict. The concerns the poor had were explicitly material in content and lent further credence to the economic base theory Marx had offered. As is especially evident in this work, and in Thompson's, much of the task of twentieth-century Marxist historians was to give a human face to the lower classes that traditional

26. E.P. Thompson, "The Crime of Anonymity," in *Albion's Fatal Tree*, ed. Douglas Hay et al. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975), 307.

historians had neglected.[27]

E.P. THOMPSON'S LEGACY AND SOCIAL HISTORY

E.P. Thompson's masterpiece, *The Making of the English Working Class*, "shaped North American, African, and South Asian historiographical agendas," and made the working class struggle into a heroic narrative.[28] Published nine years before *Albion's Fatal Tree*, Thompson's work laid the foundation for much of the later scholarship. Here, Thompson provides a typically Marxist analysis of the industrial revolution in England, describing "the growing distance between master and man: the transparency of the exploitation at the source of their new wealth and power: the loss of status and above all of independence for the worker, [and] his reduction to total dependence on the master's instruments of production."[29] Thompson's argument in this work is a repudiation of the idea that the rise of industry had led to an increase in living standards for all people. Income alone, he argues, could not counter the loss of status the working class endured, nor could it compensate for the alienation from the work itself.

> *"Thompson also deviates with the Marxist paradigm in several important ways: he emphasizes that cultural factors and class consciousness are central to any historical analysis, argues that the working class in part made its own place in society, and questions the original Marxist assumption of progress."*

Thompson also deviates with the Marxist paradigm in several important ways: he emphasizes that cultural factors and class *consciousness* are central to any historical analysis, argues that the working class in part made its own place in society, and questions the original Marxist assumption of progress. Thompson concerns himself much more with telling the story of working-class men and legitimizing their struggle than with following Marx's ideas of productive factors driving history.[30] Where Marx saw mate-

27. George Rude and Eric Hobsbawm, *Captain Swing* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1968).

28. Geoff Eley, *A Crooked Line* (Ann Arbor University of Michigan Press, 2005), 53.

29. E.P. Thompson, *The Making of English Working Class* (New York: Random House, 1966), 202-203.

30. Thompson, *The Making of English Working Class*, 712, 732, 808-810; Iggers, 88.

rial conditions shaping the lives of the working class, Thompson saw the working class helping to make *themselves* through political and economic action and solidarity.

Agency has been a major problem for Marxists. Marx emphatically rejected the possibility of human agency in his works; people, he claimed, were simply trapped in their material circumstances, at the mercy of forces larger than themselves. This position appears paradoxical for a philosophy that puts so much emphasis on workers' movements and proletarian uprisings. It may be the case that these events are indeed natural and inevitable, but Marxist historians in E.P. Thompson's tradition appear more focused on *restoring* agency to previously silenced classes. Analyses like Thompson's, which ascribe agency to people and hold that factors like culture help shape class, seem decidedly non-Marxist. There is the question, then, of where truly Marxist histories end and social histories begin. It is entirely possible in this light that orthodox Marxism in the West died with Marx.

Another major problem with Marxism has been its reliance on strict materialism and economic factors in explaining human relations. Anna Clark exposes many of E.P. Thompson's oversights in *The Struggle for the Breeches*, most notably his failure to address familial relations alongside political relations. Clark rightly points out that in addressing the oppression of the poor by the rich, Thompson had overlooked the oppression of women by men and had offered a typically masculine version of the working-class struggle. Clark also disputes whether class is as internally coherent as Thompson suggests; not all laborers believed that they were at the bottom of the social strata, and frequently sought to dissociate themselves from other working-class individuals.[31] Oversights like these became a major problem for Marxists, for they undermined their position that class inequality was the source of other inequalities. Marxists had never given a satisfactory account of exactly how this was so.

Gyan Prakash points out a related flaw in Thompson's work, namely the limitations of his Western-centric view, which is present in other Marxist writings as well. Thompson had argued that the English working class had an awareness founded on the "Liberty Tree" philosophy of the Enlightenment based on rights, freedom, and self-determination.[32] The poor were seeking a different kind of modernity from traditional capitalism, but, as

31. Anna Clark, *The Struggle for the Breeches* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

32. Thompson, *The Making of English Working Class,* 732, 832.

Prakash pointed out, this posed problems for Marxist analyses outside of the West. For instance, what of working class Indians who resisted English bourgeois attempts to control their means of production? Prakash, along with Dipesh Chakrabarty, points out that Marxists would consider attempts at preserving "traditional" Indian society as inherently "backward," because they lacked the Western traditions of liberty and equality that were central to the Enlightenment that engendered Marxist thought and the struggles of E.P. Thompson's working class.[33]

Despite their deviations from Marx himself, the impact of the British Marxists cannot be overstated. Marxist historiography quite literally provided the groundwork for much subsequent social history. Histories with explicitly materialist concerns, from the *Annales* of France to the work of cultural anthropologists like Clifford Geertz, echoed many of Marx's concerns, even when they diverged from his conclusions.[34] Thinkers like Michel Foucault took Marxist questions of power and applied them in new ways, but even Foucault himself claimed direct descent from the Marxist tradition.[35] Marxist "histories from below" heavily influenced entirely new cultural histories, such as those in the field of Subaltern Studies. After all, Antonio Gramsci, who popularized the term, "subaltern," was himself a Marxist and wrote extensively on relations between the powerful and the powerless. Though many would take issue with a few basic assumptions of Marxist scholarship, a variety of scholars built on what Thompson, Hay, and others had begun.

Dissent, Critical Appraisal, And Final Thoughts

Marxism's critics are as numerous as its descendents. They come from several different areas of the academy and from both sides of the political spectrum. Conservative critics, like John Langbein, have criticized Marxist historiography on the grounds that it overestimates the abuses of the upper class and that it underestimates the positive effects of capitalism on the lower class. Critics on the Left have also taken issue with Marxism, primarily on the grounds that it grants too much primacy to economics as a

33. Gyan Prakash, "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 99, No. 5 (1944): 1484.

34. Iggers, 89-92; Eley, 59-60.

35. "Michel Foucault" in *Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing,* vol. 1, ed. Kelly Boyd (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1999), 392-393.

category of historical analysis or that it has inherited other biases of Western society. Anna Clark, for instance, revises E.P. Thompson's work to include a more detailed analysis of gender and its role in the culture of British classes. Still others have found Marxism lacking in explanatory power outside the industrial west. Following the work of later Marxists like Antonio Gramsci, Subaltern Studies scholars have tried to refine and expand Marx's ideas to fit non-Western traditions. Marxist scholars have had problematic arguments related to the nature of class conflict and the role of human agency, though there is much to admire in their analyses.

"There was and is no reason to believe that communism would be the final end of human societies, or that there would be an "end" of history at all; such speculation is purely philosophical, not objectively scientific."

Marxism, then, was a good starting block for social and cultural history, but it has several flaws. In addition to the critiques above, there are problems with Marx's basic assumptions about human societies. As is obvious from the first sections, Marx was a child of the Enlightenment; he was, perhaps, the era's greatest incarnation. He offered a secular revision of the Judeo-Christian historical drama and echoed the Enlightenment narrative of progress. Mankind could be "saved" through controlling the means of production and shaping material forces for its own ends, but that assumption has proven problematic at best. Marx's bracketing of human development into stages was purely artificial. There was and is no reason to believe that communism would be the final end of human societies, or that there would be an "end" of history at all; such speculation is purely philosophical, not objectively scientific. As many, including Karl Popper, have pointed out, Marxism can be tautological, for revolution is only ever one step away.[36] Marxist historians in E.P. Thompson's tradition have offered explanations for why the proletariat did not rise up at this moment or that, but they cannot ever specify *when* the revolution and inevitable socialist paradise will arise, much as apocalyptic Christians are unable to specify the exact moment of Christ's return, even as they are confident it *will* happen. Socialist utopias or Christ's return are matters of faith, not of scientific inquiry. Thus, as a social scientific program, Marxism fails, even if it is

36. Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies* Vol. 2 (New York: Routledge, 2006).

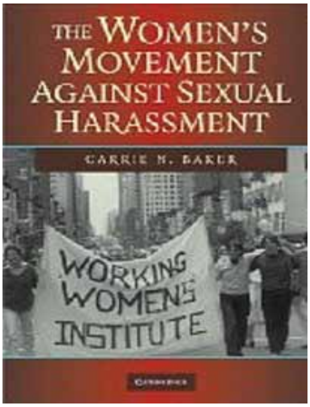
politically viable.

To sum up, Marx's ideas arose from Enlightenment ideas from men like Hegel and Saint-Simon; he used these ideas to criticize industrial capitalism and he saw material forces as governing human history in a series of stages. British historians used Marx's ideas about class conflict to critique English legal and social practices, but diverged with him on economic determinism and the role of human agency in creating class consciousness. In the final analysis, despite all its flaws, Marxism has been of tremendous importance as a starting point for pluralistic histories that encompass more than simply kings, counselors, diplomats, and States. The legacy of Marxism has been the beginning of true "histories from below." Although historians have changed the ways in which they view oppression to include factors beyond class, Marx's solidarity with the powerless members of human societies has been a positive influence on historians and theorists who want to create a balanced and inclusive version of history.

Reviews

The Women's Movement Against Sexual Harassment, by Carrie N. Baker. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.)

Sharon Baker



The introduction to Carrie Baker's monograph, "Enter at Your Own Risk," clearly illustrates what women faced throughout American history when they ventured out from the private sphere of the home and into the public sphere of work. Women understood that they would most likely be subjected to sexual harassment on the job, that there was little chance to prevent it, and virtually no recourse for them if it did occur. It was not until a spontaneous grassroots movement emerged within the larger women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s that the issue of sexual harassment on the job was brought out of the shadows and challenged by a diverse group of women. Baker's meticulous tracing of the evolution of this movement well into the 1980s against the personal indignities, economic injustices, and insidious discrimination of sexual harassment and the resulting political, legal, and social changes this movement affected makes her book a must-read for scholars of American women's legal and social history.

Baker begins her discussion with the fortuitous timing of the women's movement against sexual harassment. Both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations appointed progressive judges to the federal bench who were starting to overturn lower court decisions that dismissed sexual harassment claims as simply personal indiscretions. Increasingly, second wave feminists graduating from law schools across the country prepared to argue that sexual harassment was a violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Strengthened by the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, African American women turned to civil rights attorneys and organizations to fight against sexual discrimination at work. Concomitantly, university women introduced women's studies classes only to discover through class discussions and eventually surveys and consciousness raising sessions that sexual harassment, a term they coined in 1975, was not endemic, but pandemic.

Editorials discussing cases, stories of women's working conditions, and surveys regarding sexual harassment in the workplace began to enter the mass media. Not only did the *New York Times'* 1975 workplace questionnaire for women but also *Redbook's* 1976 sexual harassment survey generate an unprecedented number of responses by women across the country, they also galvanized blue collar women.

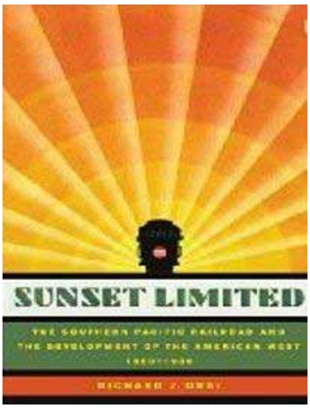
Baker contextualizes the women's movement against sexual harassment with her discussion of the cultural and economic changes women faced. Financially it was getting more difficult to be solely dependent upon one's husband for support while culturally it was becoming more acceptable for women, especially with children, to work outside of the home. Thus, working class women tired of quitting yet another job to escape lecherous supervisors and male coworkers, turned to unions and employee associations in an effort to expand the previously narrow quid pro quo definition of sexual harassment to include a hostile environment. This was especially important to blue collar women who faced significant gender based hostility from men as they entered occupations historically closed to women such as law enforcement, mining and construction. It would be a long fight for working class women in particular because they were working in male dominated fields where lower court judges typically argued that in these occupations sexual harassment was "standard operating procedure … It was a game played by male supervisors" (80). As Baker demonstrates, these women surely "entered at their own risk."

Baker's detailed discussion of legal cases which chipped away the ability of men to harass women calumniates with her lengthy albeit dry mechanical discourse of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's (EEOC) role in establishing sexual harassment law. She notes that by the early 1980s, women had made significant gains in workplace equality. Guidelines established by the EEOC under the direction of Elizabeth Norton Holmes extended significant protections to women. However, when Ronald Reagan took office in 1981 and appointed Clarence Thomas to head the EEOC, enforcement waned and cases went unopened amid the conservative backlash against the successes of the women's movement. The stark realization that women were about to lose ground in the fight against sexual harassment in the workplace manifested itself in the first sexual harassment case to reach the Supreme Court in 1986, *Meritor Savings Bank v. Vinson*. Under Thomas' direction, the EEOC filed an *amicus curiae* brief on behalf of the defendant, Meritor. Moreover, Thomas' brief sought to undermine and discredit the hard fought sexual harassment guidelines that lower courts were finally deferring to. Feminist attorneys, academics, union leaders and women's organizations across the country re-established networks with each other in an effort to secure previous gains with an intensive letter writing campaign to the Court and to the Reagan administration. Unanimously, the Court ruled that sexual harassment is "sex discrimination and that Title VII prohibited both quid pro quo sexual harassment and hostile environment sexual harassment" (168).

Notwithstanding Baker's focus at times on minutia and her tendency to repeat herself throughout her book, she is cogent and informative. Her work is thorough, well researched, and very well documented. Yet, it is clear towards the end of the book that she is anxious to finish. However, Baker's extensive bibliography leaves the reader anxious to continue study of this important aspect of American women's legal and social history.

Sunset Limited: The Southern Pacific Railroad and the Development of the American West, 1850-1930. By Richard J. Orsi. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005.)

William Burg



Richard Orsi describes *Sunset Limited* as a revisionist view of the Southern Pacific Railroad's history, challenging more critical assessments made by previous historians. Orsi explores Southern Pacific's efforts to promote the settlement and development of the western United States, through the railroad's initial construction, its land and settlement policies, water development, agricultural promotion, and resource conservation. Rather than focus on how Southern Pacific development projects benefited the company, Orsi focuses on the positive impact the projects produced in the communities they touched. He also challenges past characterizations of the Southern Pacific and its principals, especially in regard to Southern Pacific's land grant policy and the Mussel Slough incident, a conflict between Southern Pacific and squatters on railroad-owned land that culminated in the deaths of several people.

Orsi considers this monograph the untold story of the Southern Pacific and a response to earlier historians who characterized the Southern Pacific in a less positive manner. He spends little attention on railroading itself, rather focusing on enterprises that Southern Pacific pursued in order to facilitate the railroad business, including land sales and agronomy education for new migrants, the provision of water in arid regions, and the preservation of some of the West's most beautiful scenery. Much of Orsi's evidence is drawn directly from Southern Pacific company records, before its acquisition by the Union Pacific Railroad. Many of these records were unavailable to earlier historians, and Orsi diverges from past historians by interpreting business correspondence and policy statements as arguments for the good will of the company.

Orsi utilizes much of the existing historiography of the Southern

Pacific, from scholarly works like Stuart Daggett's *Chapters on the History of the Southern Pacific,* George Kraus' *High Road to Promontory* and the widely read but less scholarly *Nothing Like It In The World* by Stephen Ambrose. Within the text and 176 pages of footnotes, Orsi discusses other historians' conclusions throughout the work, saluting works he considers accurate and challenging books that he considers inaccurate or false. The footnotes provide useful insights by Orsi about both primary and secondary sources, a great detail for any reader who might wish to conduct similar research.

Orsi describes the railroad, its opponents, and their documenters in very distinct ways. While Orsi does mention that the principals of the Southern Pacific were not saints, and that the company certainly acted in its own self-interest, he describes them using unvaryingly positive terms, evidenced by the title of Chapter Two: "Men of Vision." Railroad opponents are often described in less flattering language. Agents of the Union Pacific Railroad, during the brief era when Union Pacific and Southern Pacific were both owned by mogul E.H. Harriman, are described as "ham-handed" and Union Pacific is blamed for some of the anti-railroad sentiment later directed at Southern Pacific. Even harsher language, which limits his argument, is used to describe the squatters involved in the Mussel Slough incident. Orsi describes the Settlers' Grand League, a squatter organization, as "reminiscent of the Ku Klux Klan and other white-supremacy groups then terrorizing freed slaves in the southern states from which many of the squatters had come." (99). Orsi also criticizes *The Octopus*, a novel by Frank Norris, as an inaccurate account of the incident, and praises William Deverell's *Railroad Crossing: Californians and the Railroad, 1850-1910* for its characterization of *The Octopus* as "real drama but a sketchy and unreliable version of events" (461). However, Deverell argued in *Railroad Crossing* that Frank Norris used Southern Pacific as a model for a fictional railroad (the Pacific & Southwestern.) Norris used naturalistic works like Emile Zola's *Germinal* as a model, and created fiction inspired by the Mussel Slough incident, but never intended his monograph as a work of non-fiction. Orsi's praise of Deverell seems based on a faulty interpretation of Deverell's assessment of *The Octopus.*

Sunset Limited does accomplish its goal of providing an alternative view of Southern Pacific's history. Orsi's exploration of previously untapped primary sources, and his comprehensive approach to the existing body of research on the railroad, show how Southern Pacific's efforts contributed to the settlement and development of the West, and even the preservation of many of its natural wonders. He clearly states that these projects were beneficial to the railroad as well as the public, and not simply acts of altruism. The hydraulic gold mining that choked rivers also caused navigation difficulties for Southern Pacific's riverboats. The company's efforts to educate farmers and provide irrigation projects resulted in more farmers shipping larger amounts of produce via Southern Pacific.

However, Orsi's treatment of the railroad's opponents, and his response to the "Populist-Progressive, anti-corporate and anti-railroad consensus that has dominated western American historiography" seems unduly harsh. (190.) The existing historiography of the Southern Pacific is not as limited to criticism of the company as Orsi's assessment would suggest. Many works on the history of the Southern Pacifc mention issues like public railroad opposition, the railroad's influence on California politics, or other less positive aspects of the Southern Pacific within a larger context and without specifically condemning the railroad. The scholarly underpinnings of *Sunset Limited* are strong, but Orsi's efforts to defend the railroad from historians detract from the strength of his research.

Reviewed works: Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show*. 2005. Reprint, New York: Vintage Books, 2006. Pp. 652; Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction*. 1999. Reprint, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002. Pp. 416.

Annette Kassis

Race, Regionalism, And The American West: Mythology Meets Reality

Questions of race and its meaning in the history of the American West are explored both culturally and socially in Louis Warren's *Buffalo Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show* and Linda Gordon's *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction*. Both works provide equally complex examinations of the social constructions of race and the anxieties that developed in the wake of nineteenth-century industrialization and urbanization in the United States. Gordon's work focuses on a single event in an isolated community, defining race in a regional way. Warren uses biography in his study of entertainment impresario William "Buffalo Bill" Cody, and in doing so illuminates racial tensions, notions of civilization, and anxieties born of industrialization in both the United States and Great Britain.

Historian Richard McCormick notes that anxieties of industrialization were initially examined in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century by progressive historians in a "people" versus "interests" manner—a framework that poses clear-cut battle lines between varied social and political segments in the United States. Not until Robert H. Wiebe's 1967 *Search for Order, 1877-1920* did a more convincing study emerge of the history of American industrialization. Wiebe's concept of "island communities"—the network of isolated groups and interests that comprised the United States in the Gilded Age—becoming a nation of organized interests became the dominant theory. Research since Wiebe's work shows a deeper look at the unexpected results produced by industrialization. McCormick takes particular notice of work done in the 1960s and 1970s by historians Paul Kleppner and Richard Jensen, both of whom produced studies challenging the notions of class conflict as predominant and focused instead on ethnicity and religion.[1] These two cultural factors figure prominently in Gordon's *Great Arizona Orphan Abduction*.

The notion of "the West" as symbolic of what makes Americans who and what they are is due largely to Frederick Jackson Turner's 1893 essay, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." Turner delivered this essay at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago in close proximity to the Exposition's performances of "Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World." Ironically, as Turner delivered his thesis of the frontier as the reason Americans differed from Europeans, the portrayal of that thesis in action was being performed just an arena away.[2] By the 1940s the study of the American West had fallen out of the mainstream as most historians rejected Turner's thesis, but the new social history of the 1970s brought about a resurgence. Regionalists such as Patricia Limerick and William Robbins began to focus on the region and the factors involved in settlement. Neo-Turnerians, among them William Cronon and John Mack Faragher, closely studied the process of settlement. For the neo-Turnerians the most important factor is the physical space itself

An 1899 poster of Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Congress of Rough Riders of the World. Public domain. *Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons* at *http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Buffalo_Bill's_Wild_West_Show.jpg*

1. Richard L. McCormick, "Public Life in Industrial America, 1877-1917," in *The New American History*, ed. Eric Foner (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997), 108, 110.

2. Louis S. Warren, *Buffalo Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show*, (2005; repr., New York: Vintage Books, 2006), 431.

and the concept of the West created within that space.[3] By the 1980s there was a move toward gender and race as specific categories for analysis; both Gordon and Warren draw heavily on racial analysis, and each study contains significant gender themes.[4]

Gordon and Warren's studies provide both a regional and a national exploration of race, "progress," masculinity, and domesticity, and underscore the prerogative of those considered white to make the social rules. Gordon's in-depth analysis of the 1904 placement of New York orphans in the southwestern mining towns of Clifton and Morenci, Arizona reveals the regional, even international, differences in concepts of race and family. The conflict she examines involves not only the Anglo-Saxon Protestants and the Catholic Mexicans of the region, but the differing racial viewpoints of the local priest who had recently arrived from France, and the racial designation of the orphaned children of Irish immigrants. The nuns of the Roman Catholic New York Foundling Hospital viewed their young charges in a religious–and New York–manner. To the nuns the children were, first and foremost, Catholic. But the sisters were keenly aware that in New York, Irish children were not considered to be "white" children. This prevailing anti-Irish sentiment is a primary reason the nuns chose to send the children westward to be placed with families. It was considered to be in the children's best interests. To the nuns, these children were Catholic souls to be placed with practicing Catholic families. But, as Gordon notes, as the children moved westward by train, they became "bleached" to a state of "whiteness" as they traveled further from the prejudices of New York. The Anglo families in Arizona were far less concerned than New Yorkers as to whether or not a child was Irish; their prevailing prejudice was against the Mexican population. When the children arrived in Clifton, Arizona and it became clear to the local Anglo Protestant population that these children were to be placed with Mexican families, they saw what they perceived as white children being given to "drunken," "filthy," "uncivilized" families–not the appropriate environment for an Anglo child. In Gordon's earlier work about child protection she noted that Progressive Era reformers were most affected by class, ethnic, and cultural anxieties, all of which are at play in

3. Richard White, "Western History," in *The New American History*, ed. Eric Foner (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997), 204.

4. Daniel Wickberg, "Heterosexual White Male: Some Recent Inversions in American Cultural History," *The Journal of American History* 92, no. 1 (June 2005): 149.

the Clifton-Morenci episode.[5]

With the formation of a posse at the urging of Clifton's Anglo women, the children were removed from the Mexican families by force and legal proceedings were undertaken to justify the placement of the orphans with Anglo families. The nuns from The Foundling seemed unaware of the racial discrepancy between the children and the families chosen for placement. Their overriding concern was for the children to be placed with Catholic families, and the fact that those families were Mexican did not matter. The parish reports made by the French priest assigned to the region, Fr. Constant Mandin, identified the Mexican families in his parish as "white" in accordance with the official categories of the U.S. census. As Gordon points out, there were instances in these mining regions of the Southwest in which "black" was accepted as "white" to differentiate from the unaccepted Mexicans, Asians, and some Europeans. African-Americans were not banned from what were termed "white men's mining camps," but Asians, Mexicans, and southern and eastern Europeans were kept out. Race was a fluid concept that shifted to fit the need of the moment.[6]

In that same context, Gilded Age and Progressive Era concepts of race are vividly illustrated in Warren's study of the Wild West show. Warren's interpretation and analysis of the myth and reality of both Buffalo Bill Cody and the "West" demonstrates the American need to find a common heritage, however invented, in the aftermath of the Civil War and to assuage anxiety over progress by celebrating a version of civilization that sees white settlers triumphing over uncivilized savages. Cody himself embodied conflicting ideas of race. On one hand he exhibited the paternalism and negative racial stereotypes of the U.S. government's Indian Services, yet on the other hand he treated the Native Americans who worked for the Wild West show with the same respect he afforded his Anglo employees. In 1984, as part of a Brooklyn Museum exhibit on Buffalo Bill's Wild West, an essay in the exhibit catalogue by noted Lakota scholar, author, and activist Vine Deloria, Jr., suggests that Buffalo Bill's Wild West show offered Indians employment, an escape from the reservation, and an opportunity to travel. These performers also received a valuable education in American

5. Linda Gordon, "Child Abuse and Child Protection in Boston, 1880-1910," in *Major Problems in the History of American Families and Children*, ed. Anya Jabour (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005), 269.

6. Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction*, (1999; repr., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002), 103-104.

society.[7] Cody, who re-invented himself repeatedly by taking the frontier experiences of others as his own, felt somewhat free to reinvent race as well. Indian performers might just as easily don the cowboy costumes and portray "whites" in other segments of the show performances. Unbeknownst to the audience, performers from various immigrant groups who might not be considered culturally white performed as white in the Wild West show. This behind-the-scenes mixing of performers, however, did not change the show's overall performance tone of white Americans as racially dominant.[8]

Gordon and Warren both found primary and secondary source materials that were beneficial in their depth and detail, but lacking in other areas. For Gordon, the difficulty in uncovering primary source material from the Mexican families mirrored the cultural and racial issues about which she wrote. The primary documentation of the incident was produced by the Anglos; the faulty memories and slanted accounts at the trial and in later interviews also represent only Anglo recollection. Mexican families simply did not leave a record of how the incident impacted them, and no Mexican families attended the hearing in the Arizona Supreme Court. By examining the records of the Clifton-Morenci incident with knowledge of additional racial conflicts known in the area at the time, Gordon structures a compelling narrative that reveals the good intentions but faulty logic of all parties involved—the Anglo families, the Mexican families, the local priest, the nuns from The Foundling, and local law enforcement.

Warren owes a great deal to the scholarship of Don Russell who, in 1960, published *Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill*. Yet even this comprehensive study was unable to fully distinguish the historical life of William Cody from the myth of Buffalo Bill.[9] Using primary source material consisting of dime novels, family memoirs, and Cody's publicity materials, Warren has contributed greatly to scholarship of the West by examining the origins and enduring nature of the Buffalo Bill myth versus the reality of Cody's life. It is a testament to the enduring nature of the Buffalo Bill mythology that one reviewer of Warren's book unknowingly continued the myth of Cody as a pony express rider, a notion which Warren had shown to be impossible

7. Warren, 358.

8. Ibid., 397.

9. Ibid., xii.

based on the time line of Cody's life.[10]

Gordon's *Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* stands as a detailed, intimate portrait illustrating a growing American fear of race suicide among middle class Anglo-Saxon Protestants. By using the Clifton-Morenci event as a microcosm of the country, she has constructed a Progressive Era study of race and gender that could be used as a springboard to further investigation in other race and gender arenas such as labor issues and vigilantism–two areas she touched on in the telling of the Arizona story. Warren's *Buffalo Bill* illuminates not only the social and cultural constructions and anxieties behind one of America's most enduring popular culture icons, but uses the performances of the Wild West show in Queen Victoria's England as a means of exploring the similarities between American and English anxieties born of industrialization, urbanization, and racial fears.

For both England and America, these anxieties shifted focus somewhat as World War I ushered in a new era. Myth and legend may remain myth and legend, but the social constructs they spawn such as racism, gender bias, and notions of what makes an appropriate hearth and home remain as realities in the twentieth century and, to a degree, in the twenty-first.

10. Shirley A. Leckie, review of *Buffalo Bill's America: William Cody and the Wild West Show*, by Louis S. Warren, *The Western Historical Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (2007); and Warren, 18-20.