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*Matthew Showers regrettably was not listed as an editor in the 2009 edition. We therefore acknowledge his important contribution to *Clio* last year in this edition.

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Note From the Editors

Here at California State University, Sacramento we take particular pride in the fact that *Clio* is entirely student produced, from the initial review process for selection to the editing, cover art, and production of the journal itself. The volunteer editorial staff as well as the contributing authors reflect the talent and dedication of the History department's students at Sacramento State. We celebrate the twentieth volume of *Clio* this year and dedicate this momentous edition to our highly devoted faculty; their continued support and high expectations for academic excellence inspire the annual publication of *Clio*.

On behalf of the 2010 *Clio* staff, we hope you enjoy this volume and thank you for celebrating this milestone with us.

Katie Healey
Diana Reed
Clio Executive Editors

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Jennifer Garrison is earning a Masters in History with an emphasis on Ancient Roman History. She graduates in May 2010. With a perpetual fascination and enthusiasm for ancient studies, she knows she will continue her educational journey and one day share her enthusiasm with her own students.

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Amanda Hale completed her Bachelor of Arts in Modern European History, and a minor in Women and Gender Studies, at the University of California, Davis in Fall 2006. She is currently a graduate student at California State University, Sacramento studying Modern European History and pursuing an emphasis in World History. She plans to graduate in Fall 2010 and then pursue a doctorate degree in Modern French History with an emphasis on issues of gender and colonialism.

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Jennifer Garrison

Jennifer Garrison is earning a Masters in History with an emphasis on Ancient Roman History. She graduates in May 2010. With a perpetual fascination and enthusiasm for ancient studies, she knows she will continue her educational journey and one day share her enthusiasm with her own students.

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David Schrumpf

David Schrumpf completed his Master of Arts in History at California State University, Sacramento in 2010. He has received the Faculty Graduate Writing Prize and the Faculty Endowment Scholarship as a graduate student at Sacramento State. David specializes in British and World History, and the History of Ideas with particular emphasis on the Anglophone world. Following graduation, he plans to pursue teaching in World, Western, and American history at California community colleges.

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Public History

One Generation After Emancipation: Uplift Through Education

Bryanna Ryan

On New Year's Day in 1863, President Abraham Lincoln ushered in the new year with a proclamation to the American people that forever altered the character of the nation. On that date he stated: "I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within the said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the Executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons."[1] While the limited intention of this act was to end slavery in the rebelling Confederate states, bondage remained a fact of life for many African Americans because many of these states' economic interests relied heavily upon the institution.[2] Even with General Lee's surrender to the Union Army on April 9, 1865, the freedmen of the nation continued to face and address a multitude of colossal challenges on the road to equality, a struggle that continued well into the twentieth century.[3] For many, the question of most urgency was how to begin the process of uplifting the race to a point of equal recognition and opportunity in America. This paper investigates how the choices of freedmen like Isaac Westmoreland, who

1. U.S. National Archives & Records Administration, *The Emancipation Proclamation* (Washington DC, January 1, 1863).

2. William W. Freehling, "Democracy and the Causes of the Civil War," in Francis G. Couvares et al., *Interpretations of American History* volume 1, eighth edition (New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2009), 368.

3. Public Broadcast Service, "The Civil War and Emancipation: 1861-1865," http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia-/part4/4p2967.html (accessed April 20, 2009). Although the meeting between Grant and Lee at Appomattox was on April 9, 1865, war officially ended when the President accepted the terms of surrender on April 18, 1865.

became a prosperous business owner in Atlanta following emancipation, contributed directly to the following generation's pursuit of higher education as a means of social uplift. Higher education in the Deep South during the first sixty years after Lincoln declared emancipation is examined, with a specific look at Atlanta University in Atlanta, Georgia. The educational pursuits of Isaac Westmoreland's children will serve as a case study illustrating the role higher education played during this generation.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

The historiography of early educational pursuits of African Americans has undergone several periods of changing interpretation and is marked by vastly differing, and at times opposing, opinions over several key issues. These debates center on a variety of questions concerning the natural abilities of black individuals and the role education should and did play in the advancement of the race. The period of interest for these historians begins before emancipation and continues through the civil rights movements of the 1950s and 1960s. As the political and social environment of the nation transitioned through the eras of the Progressive Movement, the Great Depression, World War II, the Cold War, and the Civil Rights Movement, so too has the historiography on this topic transitioned.

Some historians consider the first authority on African American higher education to be George Washington Williams with his exhaustive two-volume study *History of the Negro Race in America 1619-1880,* written in 1883. Others have largely overlooked Williams' contributions to the field and instead honor Carter G. Woodson as the Father of Black History.[4]

Those who consider Williams to be the first notable authority on the topic call him a revisionist because he addressed previous U.S. historians like George Bancroft with contempt for their omission of the role of African Americans; he worked to develop a new history that would include them.[5] They also credit Williams' use of newspapers and oral histories as

4. Monroe Fordham, *African American Historiography and Community History Preservation: A Position Paper,* Afro-American Historical Association, Inc., (January 2009). http://www.thefreelibrary.com/AfricanAmeric-anhistoriographyandcommunityhistorypreservation:a…-a0192404028 (Accessed April 6, 2009).

5. John Hope Franklin, "George Washington Williams and the Beginnings of Afro-American Historiography", *Critical Inquiry* 4: 4 (Summer, 1978): 670.

advancements within the field of scientific historical research.[6] Today, historians may even classify Williams as a new social historian because of his work recording social history from the point of view of the non-leaders or the elite that later became a main focus of Revisionist and New Left historical researchers of the 1960s. Williams' early stance regarding the education of African Americans following emancipation was that education was critical to the future success of the race in living harmoniously in American society. He also believed the government was acting correctly by establishing schools for the freedmen, regardless of whether they were industrial or professional in nature.[7]

Around the turn of the century, several scholars emerged on the intellectual scene, and two opposing schools of interpretation developed. One included Carter G. Woodson and W.E.B. Du Bois, whose goal was to "tell the negro's story within the larger context of American history,"[8] while emphasizing "the positive side of black participation in American culture as a means of combating white racist portrayals of African Americans and as a way of instilling racial pride."[9] These historians considered racial uplift to be the ultimate purpose of education.[10] This belief was critiqued by Horace Mann Bond in 1934 and revised by Du Bois himself in 1935. They challenged the widespread notion that education uplifted the race, and Du Bois asserted that it actually had perpetuated inequality instead of attempting to correct it.[11] The shifting focus during the Depression era examined the "economic underpinnings of racism and discrimination in American society"[12] in response to the increasing numbers of poor and dejected blacks living in America, and in order to attempt to find solutions to the

6. Franklin, 665.

7. George Washington Williams, *History of the Negro Race in America 1619-1880: Negroes As Slaves, As Soldiers, and As Citizens (*New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1883), 385.

8. James D. Anderson and Vincent P. Franklin, *New Perspectives on Black Educational History* (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1978), 2.

9. Joe W. Trotter, "African-American History: Origins, Development, and Current State of the Field," *OAH Magazine of History* 7: 4, (Summer, 1993): 2.

10. Carter G. Woodson, *The Miseducation of the Negro* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1933), xi-xii; 1; 145.

11. Anderson and Franklin, 4-5. See also: Horace Mann Bond, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1934), and W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1935).

12. Anderson and Franklin, 3.

problem.[13]

The second group of historians to emerge around the turn of the century was dominated by southern white scholars and influenced greatly by the Dunning School of interpretation that emerged after 1897.[14] Historians adhering to this particular school make a couple of basic assumptions, including the belief that blacks were racially inferior to whites and incapable of becoming integrated into American society as well as the belief that Southern slaveholders were benevolent masters "protecting their faithful but ignorant slaves."[15] Edgar W. Knight, a Doctor of Education, became the leading figure within this school of interpretation from 1913 to 1930 and influenced later historians like Henry L. Swint well into the 1960s. According to Ronald E. Butchart, these historians focused on three themes: "Northern venality in meddling in southern race issues; black ignorance; and southern paternalistic concern for the freedmen's moral training," with the central notion "that southerners would have educated the freedmen if left to themselves."[16] In Swint's estimation, Southern resentment toward the formation and methodology of schools for blacks, levied by groups like the Ku Klux Klan, was justified because the motivation behind Northern teachers was full of political and religious agendas that did not hold the best interest for either the South, or the freedmen at heart.[17]

By the 1950s the school of interpretation spawned by Woodson and Du Bois began to shift into what Butchart described as the integrationist, or civil rights perspective. Historian Buell G. Gallagher's 1966 work *American Caste and the Negro College* defined this perspective with the thesis that "education [was] the best answer to the challenge of caste,"[18] and that Northern teachers were largely beneficent to the facilitation of this task.[19]

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13. Trotter, 3.

14. Ronald E. Butchart, "Outthinking and Outflanking the Owners of the World: A Historiography of the African American Struggle for Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 28:3 (Autumn, 1988): 72-73.

15. Francis G. Couvares, et al., *Interpretations of American History,* volume 1, eighth edition (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2009), 349.

16. Butchart, 340.

17. Henry L. Swint, *Northern Teacher in the South: 1862-1870* (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1967), 94.

18. Buell G. Gallagher, *American Caste and the Negro College* (New York: Gordian Press, 1966), xii-xiv.

19. Butchart, 340.

Historians of this period promoted the goal of documenting "the negative impact of isolation and segregation upon black Americans or to demonstrate the efficacy of interracial cooperation or 'integration' in bringing about improvements in the social, political, and economic conditions of Afro-America."[20] Among other influential historians of the period were August Meier and Henry Allen Bullock. These integrationist historians believed that education was the key to social uplift and the catalyst moving the nation toward desegregation.[21]

In the 1970s, historical works like Allen B. Ballard's with *The Education of Black Folk: The Afro-American Struggle for Knowledge in White America* expanded upon the idea of education as a catalyst toward the social upheaval of the 1960s. Ballard began by examining the schools that had been established for the higher education of African Americans after the Civil War. He believed the curriculum for most was quite inferior to that of white institutions, and this fact began the tedious path of post-bellum race relations.[22] In his estimation, while trying to conform to "the mores of a campus dominated by upper-middle-class Americans" in a society that refused to accept them anyway, black students were perpetually struggling for the right to knowledge.[23] By the end of the decade, historian Dr. Vincent P. Franklin addressed Ballard's thesis; he related how this theme needed to include the idea that the students' basic culture and individual sense of self had been hindered in the past by the need to conform and that it needed to be preserved and promoted. According to Franklin, this act was vitally important in order to achieve any significant degree of social, political, and economic uplift.[24]

In the 1980s, large volumes of scholarship were published that incorporated deeper understanding of African Americans' social, political, and cultural roles in America. Historians like Eric Foner contributed largely to this developing scholarship and to a greater understanding of African American historiography as a whole; however, the decade did not see many publications involving educational history until Dr. Darlene Clark Hine

20. Anderson and Franklin, 8.

21. Couvares, 174-75.

22. Allen B. Ballard, *The Education of Black Folk: The Afro-American Struggle for Knowledge in White America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), 1-33.

23. Ibid., 4.

24. Anderson and Franklin, 13.

began to incorporate the role of women within the topic.

Dr. Hine is credited with founding the field of black women's history, and her publications *Hine Sight: Black Women and the Re-Construction of American History* (1997), and *Black Women in America* (1994) incorporate the role of women into the picture of African American educational historiography. Hine's basic premise is that the typically neglected role of women must be included into the historiographical dialogue before a complete picture of the African American experience can ever be gained. She attempts to demonstrate the contributions women made to the uplift of their race through their chosen paths and professions after emancipation.[25]

In the last ten years, no new significant historical scholarship has been produced on the narrow topic of higher education for African Americans. Many scholars in the fields of education and sociology have published works focusing on literacy traditions, the social impact of the differing ideologies of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois, and the curriculum at historically black colleges.[26]/[27] The historiography of this topic has transitioned as the preoccupations of Americans continues to shift. With America's election of its first black president, the future of this topic will need to readdress how far the black race has succeeded uplifting itself in the 150 years since emancipation.

ISAAC WESTMORELAND: A PILLAR OF STRENGTH

A study of patriarch Isaac Westmoreland begins the story of how the Westmoreland family became engaged in the pursuit of college education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Isaac Westmoreland was born in May of 1838 to a slave mother and her master, Dr. Westmoreland.[28] The record of this man's life remains largely unrecorded, with only small pieces preserved through census records and the orally-transmitted memories of his decedents. The impressions of his descendants are of "the qualities that Isaac Westmoreland embodied – courage, persever-

25. Darlene Clark Hine, *Hine Sight: Black Women and the Re-Construction of American History* (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1994).

26. Phyllis M. Belt-Beyan, *The Emergence of African American Literacy Traditions: Family and Community Efforts in the Nineteenth Century* (Westport: Praeger, 2004).

27. Earnest N. Bracey, *Prophetic Insight: The Higher Education and Pedagogy of African Americans* (New York: University Press of America, 1999).

28. Eva Rutland, interview by Bryanna Ryan, Oak Park, CA, March 28, 2009.

ance, hard work and justice."[29] According to an interview with his ninety-two-year-old granddaughter, Eva Rutland:

> He was a slave until the Civil War ended, then he had a shoe shop in downtown Atlanta and when he married he had eleven children. One of them was my mother Eva and we lived in the house that my grandfather had built about six years after the Civil War. He was a shoemaker… that's where he had his eleven children who all grew up and went to college in Atlanta.[30]

The ability of Isaac Westmoreland to remain in the heart of the Deep South and become a prosperous business owner within twenty-five years of having been enslaved is a remarkable feat. Evidence of his accomplishments can be found in the Tenth Census of the United States in 1880 where Isaac claimed to be mulatto, working in a shoe shop, and living with his wife Emma, a laundress, and his four young children in a residence that he owned.[31] Over the next decade he was clearly laying the foundations on which his family could grow. In the 1889 *Atlanta City Directory* he is listed as owning his own business at 169 Whitehall Street, thereby becoming part of a class of literate freedmen with property. [32] This fact later enabled him to have greater suffrage protection when literacy and property restrictions were being levied at black voters in Georgia.[33]

To understand how the Westmoreland family portrays African American progress toward racial uplift and the true extent of this family's accomplishments, it is important to note the attitudes and perceptions that dominated this topic in the last half of the nineteenth century. As the nation crept closer toward engaging in civil war, America experienced a period of rapid growth and expansion; thousands of emigrants began to settle the interior and western territories of the continent during this time. Disputes arose over the institution of slavery and its influence in new states entering

29. Isaac Westmoreland Publishing Company, "About IWP, Book Publishers," http://iwpbook publishers. com/about.php (accessed, 3/18/2009).

30. Rutland, 3/28/2009. Mrs. Rutland later corrected herself and reiterated that Isaac had eleven children, only nine of which grew past adolescence and attended college.

31. *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, Fulton Ward 2, Atlanta, Georgia* (Washington, D.C: National Archives and Records Administration, 1880).

32. *Atlanta City Directory, 1889* (Atlanta: R. L. Polk and Co., 1889).

33. Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now,* 212.

the Union. The free northern states perceived the institution as offering an unfair advantage for slave states, as they were assigned delegate chairs which accounted for three-fifths of the slave population and resulted in a disproportionate number of representatives.[34] Opponents argued over many issues within this topic, including the question of what to do with black individuals in the fledgling democratic society. Popular ideas included keeping the institution intact for the economic rights of the slaveholders or abolishing it (by either deporting the freed individuals to Africa or allowing them to become educated and engage in the freedoms granted to other American citizens). Finally, with the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865, the United States government forever answered the question of whether or not slavery would continue to exist in America: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction."[35]

Even after the Thirteenth Amendment was ratified, legislators continued to work on developing new laws and amendments that would ensure greater protection and equality for all under the United States Constitution.[36] The first of these became the Fourteenth Amendment, which passed through Congress in June of 1866; ratification, however, did not occur until July 9, 1868, as the nation had become increasingly invested the reconstruction of the South. This amendment included a clause recognizing any persons born or naturalized in the United States "are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No State shall…deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."[37] This, along with the Fifteenth Amendment, which was ratified on February 3, 1870, helped to guarantee that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State

34. Couvares, et al., *Interpretations of American History,* 368.

35. "*Constitution of the United States: Amendments 11 – 27,"* http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/ constitution_amendments (accessed 4/14/2009).

36. "Biography of President Lincoln," http://www.whitehouse.gov/about/presidents/Abraham Lincoln/ (Accessed 4/14/2009).

37. "*Constitution of the United States: Amendments 11 – 27,"* http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/ constitution_amendments (accessed 4/14/2009).

on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."[38] Despite the new laws, freedmen like Isaac Westmoreland continued to fight for their basic rights like suffrage while the question of what to do with the four million freedmen continued to be a dominant theme in the post-bellum United States.[39]

As early as October of 1864, with the end of the war in sight, black leaders began a program of annual "Colored Conventions", which began by addressing the two chief demands of abolition and political equality for all black Americans.[40] Their primary assumption was that "in a republican country all rights 'become mere privileges, held at the option of others, where we are excepted from the general political liberty …. For here we were born, for this country our fathers and our brothers fought, and here we hope to remain in the full enjoyment of enfranchised manhood.'"[41]

"Despite the new laws, freedmen like Isaac Westmoreland continued to fight for their basic rights like suffrage while the question of what to do with the four million freedmen continued to be a dominant theme in the post-bellum United States"

With emancipation in 1865 the conventions began to unite behind the promotion of "education and industry as a means of elevating the race."[42] With the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, they began to demand their rights to political suffrage and lawful protection, a demand that persisted well into the twentieth century.[43]

W.E.B. Du Bois presided over a series of conferences and publications for Atlanta University from 1896 through 1915 that included extensive research for the "Study of Negro Problems" and incorporated statistics from a large number of primary sources, including surveys, census records,

38. Ibid., "Fourteenth Amendment".

39. W.E.B. Du Bois, *Atlanta University Publication No. 1: Mortality of Negroes in Cities* (Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1896), 15.

40. August Meier, *Negro Thought in America 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington* (Detroit: University of Michigan Press, 1966), 5.

41. Syracuse Convention, New York (October 1864), in Meier, 5.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid.

tax records, and interviews.[44] With the Fourth Conference on May 30-31, 1899, and accompanying *Publication Four: The Negro in Business,* the methodology was entirely survey-based; through it, a glimpse is offered into where Isaac Westmoreland fit into society in Atlanta, Georgia throughout the last decades of the nineteenth century. According to this study, there was 28,117 black individuals reported to be living in Atlanta, Georgia in 1890. By 1899 there were 324 black businessmen in Georgia, which is higher than in any other state out of a total of 1,906 total black businessmen reported. Out of this number, seventeen in Georgia were involved in the shoe business, with an average amount of $23,210 in invested capital. Westmoreland was one of only three shoe-dealers at this time that had been in business for between ten and twenty years. This is significant considering the average length of time of establishment was only four years.[45]

According to his descendents, another significant accomplishment of Isaac Westmoreland was his involvement in the founding of the First Congregational Church of Atlanta, Georgia in 1867; a stained glass window today remains dedicated to Mrs. Isaac Westmoreland for her subsequent efforts. His granddaughter Eva explained that along with Isaac, "the Congregational Church was founded by mostly white people who came down and formed a family, and many of the families in this Congregational church were mixed families of people who'd been slaves and had children by their white masters."[46]

The First Congregational Church was established through efforts of local freedmen along with the aid of the American Missionary Association (A.M.A.), an organization aimed at uplifting the status of black Americans through religion and education.[47] The A.M.A. also worked closely with other organizations like the Freedmen's Bureau and went on to help establish Atlanta University, where Reverend Mr. Francis of the First Congregational Church served as pastor of the University until 1894.[48] This interconnected

44. Ballard, 19.

45. Du Bois, *Atlanta University Publication No. 4: The Negro in Business* (Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1899), 6-7; 11; 17; 22; 68.

46. Eva went on to explain there were few black people because most were *mulatto* - a term meaning racially mixed with both black and white ancestors.

47. Clarence E. Bacote, *The Story of Atlanta University, A Centry of Service: 1865-1965* (Atlanta: Atlanta University, 1969), 10.

48. Ibid., 10.

relationship demonstrates the impact this church had on society in Georgia, and the subsequent education of freedmen and their children.

The First Congregational Church became known as "one of the most socially-conscious churches during the period from 1890 to 1930."[49] Some of the contributions this organization made to the people of Atlanta included organizing a YMCA and an employment bureau, working with prisoners, promoting a Music Festival for all races, and even establishing the first water fountain in the city to break the color line.[50] The Westmoreland family was active in this organization, which may have lead to their pursuit of higher education to improve their ability to make social changes for their community.

While the Freedmen's Bureau and the A.M.A. worked diligently to supply money and open schools for the primary education of black individuals in Georgia, it is also important to note the significant contributions freedmen made toward this endeavor during the first volatile decade after the Civil War. By May of 1869, an estimated 199 schools had been established, with forty-one supported entirely through the efforts of freedmen.[51] This notable figure helps to demonstrate the incredible interest there was by African Americans in Georgia for the uplift of their own racial community through education.

As far as the education of Isaac Westmoreland is concerned, no records indicate he ever received a formal education. His granddaughter Eva recalls, however, that her grandfather lived in the home where she grew up until he passed away in 1920. In this home, she remembers there were many old, first edition books and states, "I can remember all of these books that were in my mother's house…I didn't see anybody reading them, and I thought, 'Where did they come from?' And I thought, Grandfather."[52] Although she never knew for sure whether the books belonged to her grandfather, Eva understands through stories told to her by her mother that he placed a strong emphasis on education as a means of improving her family's

49. City of Atlanta Online, "First Congregational Church," http://www.atlantaga.gov/government/urbandesign_fircongre.aspx (Accessed 4/10/2009).

50. Ibid.

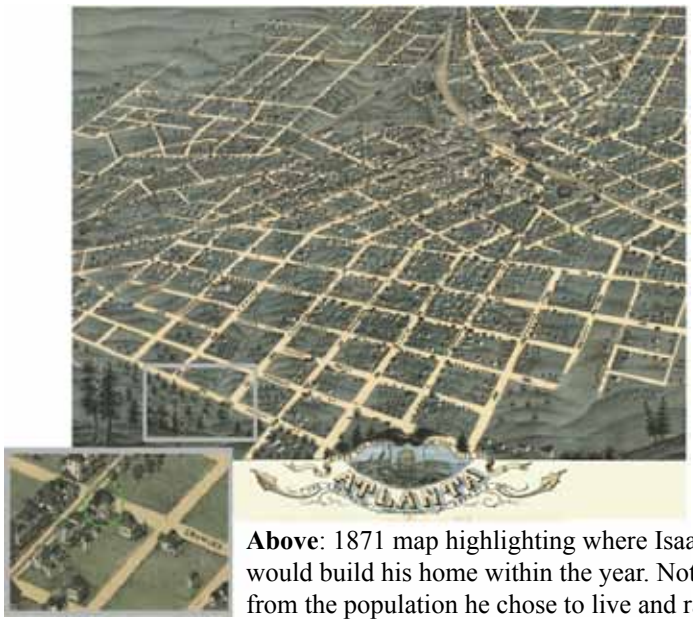
51. J.W. Alvord, *Eighth Semi-Annual Report* (July 1, 1869), 31.

52. Rutland, 3/28/2009.

situation.[53]

The deep-rooted notion of education as a viable means toward achieving uplift in Eva's family has prompted each generation of Westmoreland descendents to pursue a college education. As stated, Mr. Westmoreland's nine children to grow to adulthood all followed the path of higher education, and so, too, did Eva and her brothers in the 1930s, as well as all of Eva's children and grandchildren. Eva herself is an accomplished author, and her daughter, Ginger Rutland, is currently an associate editor for the *Sacramento Bee.*

According to the earliest census records including Mr. Westmoreland, he was literate by 1880. In Georgia, an estimated 5,000 out of the 462,000 slaves in the state could both read and write by 1860.[54] Through



Above: 1871 map highlighting where Isaac Westmoreland would build his home within the year. Note how far removed from the population he chose to live and raise his children.

Left: 1892 map depicting the Westmoreland home on the corner of Crumley and Pryor streets.

Library of Congress, Geography & Map Division

53. Mrs. Rutland explained that college was simply the expected path for each generation to follow partly because of the efforts and sacrifices made by Isaac and his children to help secure that right.

54. Carter G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*, second edition (Washington, D.C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1919), 227-228.

efforts by freedmen like Mr. Westmoreland, the remainder of the nineteenth century saw a steady rise in the literacy rate among black adults over the age of twenty-five in Georgia. Between 1890 and 1930, the black literacy increased 145%, compared to a 50.5% literacy growth rate for whites in the state during the same time.[55] It is during this exact period that the children of Mr. Westmoreland pursued their college careers.

Educational Pursuits of a New Generation

The children of Isaac Westmoreland who pursued a college education were born into a society plagued by the effects of the war, racial tensions, economic hardship, issues relating to poverty, and other major concerns resulting from the immediate displacement of four million slaves in the United States following emancipation. They were influenced to some degree by such things as the teachings of their parents, the society in which they lived, the role of religion in their lives, and the broader intellectual currents filtering throughout America during this time. They were: Rosa, Mame, Charles, William, Julius, Eva, Isaac Jr., Edgar, and Ethel.

By 1900 Jim Crow laws were well established in Atlanta with segregated streetcars, elevators, and parks, and even regulations barring blacks from entering public libraries.[56] In 1902, the newly established Carnegie Library promised to create a separate public library for blacks however this promise did not materialize for another nineteen years.[57] Descriptions of the first two decades of the twentieth century relate how "segregation in Georgia reached a new plateau: the color line gave way to a color wall, thick, high, almost impenetrable…Blacks found themselves Jim Crowed at every turn."[58]

Another major hindrance to the ability of blacks to uplift themselves involved their disenfranchisement through voting restrictions. A literacy test began to be administered in Mississippi in 1890.[59] Additional voting laws were quickly passed throughout the South, including property

55. Ibid., 428.

56. John Dittmer, *Black Georgia in the Progressive Era: 1900-1920* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977), 21.

57. Ibid., 21.

58. Ibid., 22.

59. Du Bois, *Black Folk Then and Now: An Essay in the History and Sociology of the Negro Race* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1939), 212.

tests and the infamous Grandfather Clause, which were adopted by Georgia in 1909.[60] Restrictions like these made it even more necessary for African Americans to become literate and to acquire property in order to improve their situation.

During this time, leaders began to emerge onto the intellectual scene with answers for the freedmen on improvement of the social situation for all black Americans. The two major players who influenced the future methodologies of black social uplift were Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois. Each became recognized as the leaders of the two dominant, though opposing, views of what the future role of black individuals in society should be.

Freedman Booker T. Washington elaborated on his views of how his race should live and prosper in American society with his *Atlanta Exposition Address,* delivered for the Cotton States and International Exposition in 1895. This speech was called the "Atlanta Compromise" by Du Bois for Washington's insistence that "it is at the bottom of life we must begin, and not at the top,"[61] with the notion that it is only through industrial education that his race would be able to uplift itself and engage more fully in society. Before a largely white audience, Washington even went on to suggest, "The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extremist folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing."[62]

For many Southern whites the Washington doctrine of industrial education seemed to be the perfect answer for how African Americans should become assimilated into society. This group "frequently regarded it as the ultimate solution to the Negro problem and believed that the latter's place would be permanently fixed by the Washington formula."[63] Washington himself, however, often explained, "I plead for industrial education and the development for the Negro not because I want to cramp him, but because I want to free him. I want to see him enter the all-powerful busi-

60. Ibid.

61. Booker T. Washington, "Atlanta Exposition Address," Cotton States and International Exposition, Atlanta, Georgia, (1895), in Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery* (New York, 1901), 218-225.

62. Ibid., 225.

63. John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes* (Alfred A. Knopf: New York, 1967), 387.

ness and commercial world."[64] It was this speech that signified the shift in methodology for black social uplift from outspoken protest for immediate integration and equal rights to discourse on self-help and economic action as the best means of achieving this goal.[65]

W.E.B. Du Bois was among the first generation of black Americans born into freedom, and he approached the subject of racial elevation from a very different perspective while openly opposing the ideology of Booker T. Washington. In *Souls of Black Folk*, written in 1903, Du Bois accused Washington of preaching a "gospel of Work and Money to such an extent as apparently almost completely to overshadow the higher aims of life."[66] According to Du Bois:

> If we make money the object of education, we may possess artisans but not, in nature, men. Men we shall have only as we make manhood the object of the work of the schools – intelligence, broad sympathy, knowledge of the world that was and is, and of the relation of men to it – This is the curriculum of that Higher Education which must underlie true life.[67]

By the time Booker T. Washington had made his famous address, Atlanta University was established with the three major goals of training talented black youth, educating teachers, and disseminating civilization among the untaught masses.[68] It is unknown to what degree the children of Isaac Westmoreland were influenced by the two opposing doctrines of Washington and Du Bois; however, evidence suggests they believed in the elevation of their race in much the same way as Du Bois. W.E.B. Du Bois was a professor of sociology at Atlanta University throughout much of the period they attended and very likely had many of them in his classes. Also, through an examination of the types of professions Westmoreland's children pursued--teaching, social work, dentistry, postal work, and undertaking-- it

64. Ibid.

65. Meier, 25.

66. Du Bois, *Souls of Black Folk* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Co., 1903), in Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 388.

67. Ibid.

68. W.E.B. Du Bois, "Atlanta University," in *From Servitude to Service* (Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1905), 159-60; *American Missionary,* XXXII (March, 1878): 76.

seems industrial endeavors were not the method by which they sought their own elevation.

According to Du Bois in his *Fifth Atlanta University Publication* produced in 1900. However, a total of 2,331 black students had graduated from American colleges by 1898, with thirty-three college students enrolled in Atlanta in 1899.[69]/[70] This number is not known for the year 1900, however according to the Twelfth Census of the United States, in this year Eva, Charles, and William Westmoreland were classified as "at school" and of college age; twenty- nine-year-old Rosa had attended college in the 1880s, and twenty-seven year old Mame was already working as a teacher.[71] Of the 2,331 graduates at this time, 252 were females, with only eight female graduates of Atlanta University. This indicates the extraordinary accomplishments of Rosa and Mame Westmoreland during this time.[72]

The State of Georgia granted a charter to Atlanta University on October 16, 1867, and the powerful motto chosen for the seal was "I will Find A Way or Make One."[73] The University quickly became a leading role model for higher education for African Americans, advocating equal curriculum to that taught in white universities. Atlanta University became "the first educational institution of higher learning in Georgia to open its doors to all people, regardless of race, color, or creed."[74]

Similar to white institutions, admission to Atlanta University was depended on three years of preparatory coursework, which included three years of Latin, one year of Greek, two years of mathematics, and one year of English.[75] The classes the children engaged in once admitted may have differed slightly over the years but would still occupy them each for four years. In 1900 this coursework included: classic literature, algebra, chemistry, economics, history, geology, and ethics, among others.[76] Atlanta University's

69. Du Bois, *Atlanta University Publication No. 5: The College-Bred Negro* (Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1900), 55.

70. Ibid., 16.

71. *The Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Atlanta Ward 2, Fulton, Georgia*, Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, (1900), Roll T623_198, 3B.

72. Du Bois, *Publication No. 5*, 55.

73. Bacote, 23.

74. *American Missionary,* XII (November, 1869), 245.

75. Du Bois, *Publication No. 5*, 17.

76. Ibid., 18-25.

large number of courses aimed at teaching practical and professional skills to the students demonstrates adherence to Du Bois' educational ideologies.

Through census records and the knowledge of descendent Eva Rutland, the professions the Westmoreland graduates entered is known. This helps to shed light on the degree to which education was ultimately able to improve their social situation. Rosa Westmoreland graduated sometime around 1890, and by 1900 followed the same path as many women of the time: she married and became a homemaker. Mrs. Rutland recalls, however, that she "went around Birmingham and other places…and was a kind of social worker and would go to the country and teach people how to live, how to clean their houses, how to can fruit, [and] how to plant vegetables."[77] Rosa was apparently very aware of the poor social environment in which many individuals were living at the time, and, perhaps because of her role as the eldest child in her family, she made efforts to help elevate the status of others less fortunate.

Not much is known about Mame and Charles Westmoreland's professional lives. Mame is listed on the census records of 1900 as a school teacher, while Mrs. Rutland actually believes she had been "the president of a school."[78] It is unknown the exact contributions Mame went on to make in society; however, as a school teacher she was obviously imparting wisdom and providing opportunities for future generations. Charles only appears on the census records for the year 1900, which lists him simply as "at school,"[79] and it is only through Mrs. Rutland that his profession as an undertaker is revealed.

William also attended school in 1900 with Charles, and by 1910 is listed as a "mail carrier."[80] Mrs. Rutland corroborates this evidence and explains that "a lot of black men liked to work at the post office because you get a real good salary from the government there."[81]

The story of Julius Westmoreland's professional path is quite remarkable. According to Mrs. Rutland, he "went to Boston, Massachusetts

77. Rutland, 3/28/2009.

78. Ibid.

79. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Atlanta Ward 2, Fulton, Georgia*, Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, (1900), Roll T623_198, 3B.

80. *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Atlanta Ward 2, Fulton, Georgia*, Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, (1910).

81. Rutland, 3/28/2009.

and became a businessman…and he was evidently quite prosperous."[82] She did not know exactly what business pursuits Julius entered upon, and once again the United States Census records prove to be very helpful in filling the gaps in her memory. In 1900 he was residing in Boston, Massachusetts and listed his occupation as "servant".[83] By 1910 Julius had married and become a clerk in a banker's office, and by 1920 he switched professions to become a real estate broker.[84]/[85] The final records that mention his subsequent path are from 1930, in which he lists himself as a clerk with the State House of Massachusetts.[86] At this time it is unknown exactly what he may have experienced while engaged in this pursuit; however, it is clear that Julius was a man with great motivation.

Eva, the mother of Mrs. Rutland, attended Atlanta University sometime between 1900 and 1920. She is not listed on any census records as having a professional occupation, but her daughter recalls she had worked as a schoolteacher until she married Samuel Neal near 1915, and she taught night school during the Depression. Mr. Neal is listed on the census records of 1920 as a waiter for the Pullman Company. At that time, Isaac Westmoreland Sr. was living with this couple and still working as a shoemaker, though he passed away within the year.[87] Eva's daughter recalls that, especially after racially charged riots began to erupt in Atlanta in 1906, Isaac refused to let his daughters work while attending school for fear of potential harm, and he moved his shoe shop into the backyard of their home.

Isaac Jr. was not as sheltered from the work force as his sisters, and in 1900, at age seventeen, he was working as a shoemaker for his father. In

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82. Ibid.

83. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900, Boston Ward 10, Suffolk, Massachusetts,* Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, (1900), Roll T623_680, 3B.

84. *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Boston Ward 10, Suffolk, Massachusetts,* Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, (1910), Roll T624_617, 3A.

85. *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Boston Ward 7, Suffolk, Massachusetts,* Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, (1920), Roll T625_732, 6B.

86. *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930, Boston, Suffolk, Massachusetts,* Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, (1930), Roll T626_945, 17A.

87. *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Atlanta Ward 2, Fulton, Georgia,* Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, (1920), Roll T625_251, 11B.

1910 he worked in a grocery store, and in 1930 he lists himself as a postal clerk in Boston. According to Mrs. Rutland he eventually became a dentist, who, "like physicians, were respected community leaders". However, with Jim Crow legislation during the period, black professionals like him had to "win the patronage of his race to survive, a formidable and at times frustrating task."[88]

Edgar Westmoreland also pursued some very remarkable endeavors. In 1930 he is listed as residing in Washington D.C. with his family and working as a public-school teacher. Mrs. Rutland states that he "became the principal of an industry school in Washington…and he also joined the government and moved to different places and had something to do with the industry that was happening on the different air bases" during World War II. She believes he was involved to some degree with the workers and taught them to safely perform their duties on the air bases.

Like the other Westmoreland daughters, Ethel did not list any occupations on census records through 1910. However, Mrs. Rutland stated that she "was a school teacher until she married Uncle Fred who was a doctor, she didn't work after that."[89] Ethel became involved in the teaching profession like her siblings Mame, Eva and Edgar, and although she did not continue to work outside of their home after marriage, she did support her husband and family throughout her life. In Du Bois' *Atlanta University Publication No. 6* he notes how the principal occupation of graduates in "Negro Schools" was teaching, and by 1899 there were 28,560 black teachers in America growing at an average rate of 1,000 to 2,000 per year. Many women, however, would leave the profession to become housewives, a symbol of their husbands' economic success.[90] At Atlanta University between 1900 and 1901, 381 graduates were produced, and 192 became teachers. [91] This number demonstrates a leading motivation behind obtaining a college education for many students: to educate and subsequently elevate their race.

According to Du Bois in 1896, "to graduate and get a diploma [does not] mean to separate us from our people, but it rather means to bind

88. Dittmer, 35.

89. Rutland, 3/28/2009.

90. Du Bois, *Publication No. 6*, 16.

91. Ibid., 17.

us closer to our race, our country and our God."[92] By an examination of the contributions the Westmoreland family made to their nation, it is apparent that this statement holds true for this case study. In 1900 Du Bois sent out a survey to all black college students and asked simply "Are you hopeful for the future of the negro in this country?"[93] 733 responded, and out of that number an overwhelming percentage answered positively. 641 were indeed hopeful. The response by one of these students quite elegantly depicts why most students were optimistic:

> When I look back to the point from which the Negro started, the distance he has already come and the achievements he has made through adverse circumstances, all this is to me but dim prophecy of future possibilities, and therefore I can see no reason for despair, though the night be dark and the storm rage.[94]

Among those students who responded as "doubtful" and "not hopeful", common themes emerged over possible improvements for the future of African Americans. The most popular was that black migration from America altogether was necessary; with prejudice and poverty, there was no real chance for universal uplift—only certain individuals would survive and prosper in the country.[95] Other black individuals saw the potential for racial advancement in "Jim Crow Georgia, and they dreamed of a separate and independent community built on the bedrock of a self-sustaining black economy."[96] To them, segregation offered safety

"When I look back to the point from which the Negro started, the distance he has already come and the achievements he has made through adverse circumstances, all this is to me but dim prophecy of future possibilities, and therefore I can see no reason for despair, though the night be dark and the storm rage"

92. Ibid., *Publication No. 1,* 24.

93. Ibid., *Publication No. 5*, 90.

94. Ibid., 95.

95. Ibid., *Publication No. 5*, 90.

96. Dittmer, 22.

and opportunity for an autonomous community where they could create businesses, schools, and cultural institutions of their own.

*C*ONCLUSION

The experiences of the Westmoreland family represent a small piece of the puzzle of black life in the South from the end of the Civil War through the Progressive era. The Westmoreland family helps to shed light on how some individuals endeavored to improve their own lives during this time. The dominant theme of social uplift throughout the period continued to advocate education as the key to this goal. An examination of the Westmoreland family and the social environment in which they lived provides a deeper understanding of the obstacles on the road to this endeavor that had to be overcome in order to succeed. These obstacles included racial prejudice, segregation, and restrictions to political and natural rights. The Westmorelands serve as a powerful example of how one family attempted to make this journey. Ultimately, "the history of black Georgia…is the struggle of men and women to develop their own institutions, improve their economic conditions, educate their children, gain political rights, and maintain a sense of dignity."[97] They had to overcome oppression and at the same time forge new ways to take control of their destiny.

97. Ibid., xi.

Research

What Happens to One, Happens to All: How the Civil Rights Movement Influenced the Free Speech Movement

Kelly Daniells

For hours one thousand students packed all four floors of Sproul Hall on the University of California, Berkeley campus: they played cards, sang freedoms songs like "We Shall Overcome," studied or slept. On one floor, a Hanukah service took place, while on a different floor a Laurel and Hardy movie played. Rumor had it that two girls lost their virginity that night. Yet, perhaps more than anything else, the students of the Free Speech Movement waited in anxious anticipation. Police officers began to swarm around the outside of the building; they too waited. Everyone knew the arrests would come, but it was a matter of when. Many of the students in the hall were not even old enough to vote, but they were inspired by their cause, inspired by their yearning for equality in all areas of society regardless of race or age. Then, at approximately 3:45 a.m. on December 3, 1964, the police arrested the students one by one. As David Lance Goines, a prominent member of the Free Speech Movement, described, "Two officers pick me up with a 'come-along' hold, and involuntarily I rise to my feet, cursing and trying not to show that it hurts; I don't want to frighten the others. It feels like they're trying to break my wrist. I clamp my mouth shut."[1] It took twelve hours for the police to escort the 801 student protestors out of the building and into various detention centers around the Bay Area. The students had participated in a successful sit-in that would be one of the many events to ensure success for the Free Speech Movement. The students, however, could not have achieved such a success if it had not been for the Civil Rights Movement and the valuable

1. David Lance Goines, *The Free Speech Movement: Coming of Age in the 1960s* (Berkeley, California: Ten Speed Press, 1993), 12.

tools they learned by participating in such a movement. The Civil Rights Movement, both in the South and the Bay Area, was an instrumental force in the creation of the Free Speech Movement. It inspired students to protect their first amendment rights, increased their motivation to secure those rights, and influenced the techniques and tactics they used to assure their constitutionally granted rights.[2]

The Civil Rights Movement began to attract the attention of students in the South during the early 1960s with the direct action tactics of sit-ins, economic boycotts and the Freedom Rides. The Civil Rights Movement, however, did not directly affect Northern students in large numbers until the summer of 1964 and the Mississippi Freedom Project. Civil rights leaders in the South created the concept of the Project in an attempt to bring about more attention to the South and the African American struggle for equal rights and protection. Almost 1,000 students from around the country arrived in Mississippi to spend the summer teaching in the Freedom Schools and registering black voters. After the murder of two white civil rights volunteers and one black civil rights volunteer at the beginning of the Mississippi Freedom Summer, the desired publicity and attention came in droves. Equally as important, in Mississippi the northern, white students learned the philosophy and tactics of nonviolence. One of the most important things the civil rights leaders told the students was, "If you're caught from behind, go limp."[3] This tactic became widely used during arrests for the students of the Bay Area Civil Rights Movement and the Free Speech Movement. Television stations as far away as Chicago and London televised the Freedom Summer training sessions that the northern students received before going into Mississippi. This meant that hundreds, perhaps thousands, more students caught a glimpse of the useful nonviolent tactics of the Civil Rights Movement without ever stepping foot in the South. In addition, northern students who did not take part in the Mississippi Freedom Summer had the ability to view televised southern attacks on white and black students who worked together. In the *Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest*, the report's authors acknowledged the importance of this when they noted: "The sight of young black and white activists enduring with dignity the attacks of southern police inspired many

2. "Chronology of Events: Three Months of Crisis," *California Monthly*, Online Archive of California, http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/FSM/ (accessed 6 December 2008), 62; Goines, 12.

3. Sally Belfrage, *Freedom Summer* (New York: The Viking Press, 1965), 17.

Americans."[4] Northerners who viewed the atrocities of the South from their homes became increasingly supportive of the efforts of the students in Mississippi.[5]

Those students who made the decision to travel to Mississippi to take part in the Freedom Summer had the added benefit of directly witnessing how the leaders of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) functioned. Those in leadership positions made themselves available to everyone who had questions or opinions regarding how situations would be handled in Mississippi. SNCC leaders encouraged students participating in the Freedom Summer to voice their thoughts, many of which the leadership took into consideration. Mario Savio, the eventual leader of the Free Speech Movement, actively participated in the Mississippi Freedom Summer and clearly benefited from the practical lessons given by the leaders of SNCC, including Robert Moses and James Forman. As one volunteer noted, "I remember vividly, Moses and Mario Savio having this long discussion, talking in a way which was beyond me, and in a language that I didn't understand…"[6] The direct contact that Savio had with Moses influenced his growth as a leader, which became apparent when comparing how his peers perceived him before the Freedom Summer and how they perceived him after he returned. When a SNCC volunteer interviewed Savio to gauge his aptitude for taking part in the Freedom Summer, she gave a lukewarm recommendation: "Generally what I have to say about him is this: not a very creative guy altho [sic] he accepts responsibility and carries it through if you explain to him exactly what needs to be done; not exceedingly perceptive on the movement, what's involved, etc.; not very good at formulating notions with which one moves into the Negro community."[7] Yet, when Savio returned from Mississippi he had the confidence and knowledge to lead the Free Speech Movement. His friends and fellow volunteers noticed this change as well and attributed it to the time Savio spent in Mississippi. One fellow volunteer stated, "No way he ever would have… stepped forward [during the Free Speech Movement] if it

4. United States, College and University Reports, *Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest* (New York: Commerce Clearing House, 1970), 1/41.

5. Doug McAdam, *Freedom Summer* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 162-171; Belfrage, 5-21; College and University Reports, 1/41.

6. Ronald Fraser, ed. *A Student Generation in Revolt: An International History* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), 49.

7. McAdam, 165.

hadn't been for Mississippi."[8] From the Freedom Summer, Savio learned what it meant to be a good leader, something critical to the success of the Free Speech Movement.[9]

Students who took part in the Mississippi Freedom Summer witnessed things that they had never imagined in their sheltered, white lifetimes. Racism ran rampant in all regions of the United States during the 1950s and 1960s; however, the blatant violence and intimidation that white southerners subjected African Americans to was unmatched. In addition, white southerners treated the northern students just as poorly as they treated the native African Americans, which the students found every unnerving. Mississippi Governor Johnson gave an unwelcoming speech regarding the infiltration of the students for the summer, "We're not going to tolerate any group from the outside of Mississippi or from the inside of Mississippi to take the law in their own hands. We're going to see that the law is maintained, and maintained Mississippi style."[10] The students faced death threats, saw their colleagues beaten front of them and dealt with constant intimidation. After being informed of the murder of three Freedom Summer volunteers in their first week in Mississippi, students were forced to come to terms with the fact that they, too, could be murdered. One volunteer wrote home to her family that she had seen two bullets fly by her face while she was eating lunch one day. While the experience was frightening, she believed that it attested to the success of their movement.[11]

"When Savio returned from Mississippi he had the confidence and knowledge to lead the Free Speech Movement"

Many students found the vast amount of racism within the police force and the lack of protection from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to be extremely disconcerting. The student volunteers knew that there would be little help from local police authorities, but they did not realize quite how drastic the police's biase against them would be. One volunteer witnessed the police's animosity first hand while he was in jail. "A

8. Ibid., 166.

9. Fraser, 48-51; McAdam, 162-171.

10. Belfrage, 21.

11. Elizabeth Sutherland Martinez, ed., *Letters From Mississippi* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965), 160-167.

police officer was playing with a knife, rubbing his thumb over its edge. He pointed the knife at a girl, a co-worker, and said that he kept it sharp for 'niggers like you.'"[12] The student's interactions with the racist police officers in the South negatively influenced their opinions toward law enforcement and for many students these feelings toward police officers stayed with them even after they left Mississippi. As one volunteer stated after a white thug beat him, "I have no local protection. I have no federal protection."[13] In addition, the lack of security provided by the federal government shocked students. One of the main goals behind the creation of the Freedom Summer was to force the federal government to take notice of the widespread racism in Mississippi, but volunteers found that regardless of the intimidation, violence and murders that took place over the summer, the FBI refused to take an active role in the protection of the students. The poor treatment they received from the police helped to solidify the camaraderie the students felt with the African Americans they attempted to help. More importantly, the students carried these feelings and memories of maltreatment back with them to the Bay Area.[14]

The time the students spent in Mississippi opened their eyes to an entirely new and frightening existence. Yet, as the students experienced the violence and hatred daily during that summer, they came to find that there were more important things to work for than good grades and money. Students saw themselves change when they witnessed the courage of those in Mississippi who fought relentlessly to secure their own rights. Savio felt his priorities and allegiances shift as he spent time in Mississippi with African Americans who risked what little they had for access to their basic freedoms. After he helped an old black man register to vote, Savio found that, "…it all became real for me. That is, I'd chosen sides for the rest of my life."[15] The student's feeling of wanting to work for something to better society followed them once they left the Mississippi Freedom Project in the summer of 1964. This change of priority caused the students to feel that they could not turn their backs on the Civil Rights Movement once they returned to school. The need for good grades now came second to the

12. Ibid., 167.

13. Ibid., 168.

14. Goines, 100; Martinez, 148-168.

15. Fraser, 51.

desire to fight for an improved society.[16]

While many students from the Bay Area took part in the Mississippi Freedom Summer, the students who did not travel to Mississippi still had other opportunities to participate in, and learn from, the Civil Rights Movement. Before November of 1963, various unorganized groups attempted to change the racial attitudes of the Bay Area; however, they did not utilize the accepted and tested tactics of the Civil Rights Movement to their fullest potential. When nondiscrimination groups asked business owners how they felt about hiring more minorities, many said that they agreed with the need to do so, but did not want to have to work with the Civil Rights groups to reach those agreements because of the lack of cohesion within the groups. Even more detrimental to the desired equality, the activists had extremely weak tactics and narrow goals. At that time, Civil Rights activists worked primarily through negotiations for small victories, such as helping one black family move into a primarily white neighborhood or facilitating a promotion for one black worker. In November of 1963, however, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) chose to attack the larger problem of job discrimination that plagued Bay Area businesses. In 1963, only 5.5% of the labor force of the businesses surrounding the Berkeley campus was black.[17]

CORE found that the businesses that hired African Americans generally placed them in positions that had little room for upward mobility or advancement. To combat this problem at the Bay Area's Mel's Drive-In restaurants, the Direct Action Group, a coalition of students from UC Berkeley and San Francisco State University and citizens who wanted to enact change regarding the treatment of African Americans, partnered with CORE to create a list of demands for the restaurant that would ensure fair hiring practices and would require the company to state that they did not discriminate in hiring. When the negotiations fell through, the Direct Action Group and CORE proceeded to utilize civil disobedience for the first time in the Bay Area to further the likelihood of achieving their goals. The local public found the tactics of picketing and sit-ins to be highly unpopu-

16. Martinez, 101; Belfrage, 5-21; Fraser, 48-51; Goines, 97-98; McAdam, 168-169.

17. "Civil Rights Activity – Campus and Bay Area, 1957-1964." Box 4, Folder 19, Free Speech Movement records, CU-309, University Archives, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 33; Jack Weinberg, "Two Fronts in the Same War: The Free Speech Movement and Civil Rights," Online Archive of California, http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/FSM/ (accessed 6 December 2008), 1-4.

lar and generally refused to support them. Many believed that the Direct Action Group and CORE had good intentions and goals, but attempted to create change in the wrong way. The members of the Civil Rights groups, however, disagreed. They believed that without civil disobedience, the Mel's Corporation would not have the need to negotiate with the groups. Instead, by placing the added pressure and creating negative publicity for the company, the Direct Action Group and CORE forced the company to negotiate. The use of civil disobedience worked and Mel's Drive-In changed its hiring practices to allow for the employment of more minorities.[18]

The developments during the Mel's Drive-In negotiations and demonstrations fascinated the students of UC Berkeley. As the demonstrations progressed, more students became involved in the Movement and as they began to see that their actions made an impact, their passion for Civil Rights increased. The Civil Rights Movement was an important force on the campus of UC Berkeley since the first sit-ins at the Woolworth's counters in the South. Students banded together to collect funds and many traveled to the South and Washington D.C. to support the Civil Rights Movement. The demonstrations at Mel's Drive-In, however, gave the Bay Area students one of their first opportunities to take real and legitimate action against the problems that they saw in society. Out of the ninety-three students arrested at the Mel's Drive-In sit-in, thirty-seven attended UC Berkeley. Most significantly, the students who took part in the sit-ins began to see the failings of society and government in their commitment to equal rights. One activist voiced his frustrations when he wrote, "We are continually told to accept law and order over equality and righteousness."[19] It was not until after the sit-ins took place that the local government made the effort to come in and help negotiate a deal between the Civil Rights groups and the Mel's Drive-In owners.[20]

Through the continued efforts of CORE and the Ad Hoc Committee to End Racial Discrimination (formerly called the Direct Action Group), organized Civil Rights methods were again used in the spring of 1964 in the Bay Area. During the Mel's Drive-In sit-ins, CORE and the Ad

18. Jo Freeman, *At Berkeley in the Sixties* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 84-90; "Civil Rights Activity," 34 - 36.

19. "Civil Rights Activity," 39.

20. Michael Rossman, "Some Background Notes on Civil Rights Activity and the Free Speech Movement," *Occident* (Fall 64-65): 5-7; Weinberg, "Two Fronts in the Same War", 1-4; "Civil Rights Activity," 33-36.

Hoc Committee learned that success could only be obtained through both negotiating and demonstrating simultaneously. This time, San Francisco mayor John Shelley attempted to mediate the communication between the Lucky grocery stores and CORE before direct action began, with little success. After negotiations broke down, CORE organized a "shop-in" at numerous Lucky grocery stores in the Bay Area and utilized completely legal and highly disruptive tactics to ensure that its goals were met. The students demonstrated by filling their shopping baskets full of groceries and once they got to the check stand, pretended that they had forgotten their wallets and, therefore, had to leave their full basket of food at the front for the grocer to put back on the shelves. This disruptive tactic worked well because it prompted a portion of Lucky shoppers to do their shopping elsewhere, affecting the store's bottom line.[21]

Many in the community, however, found the protestor's tactics to be distasteful and they turned many against CORE and the Ad Hoc Committee. As one law student said, "We're not against CORE. We're just against their acts. What they are doing is wrong."[22] The students involved in the demonstrations were forced to learn how to deal with negative reactions from the press, public and politicians – something that they would know well by participating in the Free Speech Movement. One of the most disapproving reactions came from California Governor Edmund Brown when he said, "I think the so-called shop-in is disgraceful. I think it's a violation of the law, and I think these people are doing their cause far more harm than good.....If there is one thing I stand for it's for absolute compliance with the law in every particular."[23] Despite the negativity surrounding the tactics of the Lucky Store shop-ins, the UC Berkeley students found themselves so committed to the demonstrations that once CORE called them off because of negative publicity, UC Berkeley's CORE chapter continued to take part. With the help of the shop-ins, the two groups reached an agreement, which assured the grocery store would hire sixty new African American employees. The students of the Bay Area saw that with certain tactics and steadfast perseverance, success could be achieved for the Civil Rights Movement in

21. "Civil Rights Activity," 37-40; Freeman, 94-95; Goines, 84-85; *San Francisco Chronicle,* 25 February 1964.

22. "UC Students Counteract A 'Shop-In," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 25 February 1964.

23. "Violations of the Law: Brown Hits Picket Tactics," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 4 March 1964.

their own community.[24]

The Sheraton-Palace Hotel demonstrations occurred during the months of February and March in 1964, immediately after the Lucky Store shop-ins ended. Again, the conflicting groups first attempted negotiations. It soon became clear, however, that the Ad Hoc Committee wanted to change the power structure of the community in the Bay Area, which was highly threatening to those in power at the time. Jack Weinberg, a devoted Civil Rights activist and Berkeley student, wrote, "The lesson of the San Francisco civil rights trials is that the power structure will not tolerate massive social change. The Sheraton Palace action was a small scale revolution against the status quo."[25] For this reason, the negotiations soon fell through and with the deterioration of negotiations came the start of the picketing. Unfortunately for the demonstrators, the hotel had acquired a court injunction making it illegal for more than ten people to picket at a time within the hotel. Ignoring the injunction, one hundred and fifty demonstrators picketed outside of the Sheraton-Palace Hotel and slowly moved inside. Activist and UC Berkeley student, Jo Freeman described the events, "Here again they started with quiet picketing, then singing and chanting. After an hour or two of this the monitors started sending groups of ten people into the Hotel, without signs, to just stand along the wall or sit-in the lobby chairs. The next step was to cautiously add signs; this occurred with about the fourth group of ten people."[26] These actions resulted in arrest of 167 people, 115 of which claimed they were students. For the majority of these students, including Mario Savio, the arrest resulted in their first experience of spending time in jail.

A second demonstration took place a week after the first and drew a crowd of three thousand supporters, a large number of which were students. Again, the demonstration resulted in arrests, but not before the Civil Rights veterans instructed those being arrested how to do so in the sanctioned method of going limp, which would require the police officer to carry the protester outside. Much like the students who took part in the Mississippi Freedom Summer, many of the students involved in the Bay

24. "Civil Rights Activity," 37-40; Freeman, 94-95; Goines, 84-85; *San Francisco Chronicle,* 25 February 1964.

25. Jack Weinberg, "Recent Trends in the Local Civil Rights Movement," Online Archive of California, http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/FSM/ (accessed 6 December 2008), 1-2.

26. Freeman, 96.

Area Civil Rights Movement also experienced police brutality for the first time at the Sheraton-Palace sit-ins. One witness stated, "At these arrests, the writer witnessed many instances of unnecessary police brutality. The police were especially violent towards the male Negro demonstrators – socking them in the face, kneeing those who resisted arrest only slightly, and shouting out abuses."[27] The experience of witnessing that kind of violence stayed with the students long after the protests ended. As with the Lucky Store demonstrations, the Sheraton-Palace demonstrations resulted in success for the Ad Hoc Committee. Thirty-three members of the Hotel Owner Association signed an agreement that promised to hire more minorities for their staffs. Again, the students had the ability to witness that direct action, legal or illegal, could result in success for their cause. More importantly, the students saw that the power structure had the potential to be altered if they whole-heartedly committed themselves to their cause. They now knew that they had the ability to achieve victory regardless of how much power their opponents had.[28]

After being immersed in the struggle for Civil Rights during the spring and summer of 1964, students returned to school with the desire to continue their fight for racial equality in the Bay Area and beyond. The students felt that through the Civil Rights Movement they had finally found something worth fighting for and could invest themselves in to create a positive change in society. Perhaps most importantly, the students who took part in the Mississippi Freedom Summer and the Bay Area Civil Rights Movement found that they must constantly work toward ensuring the civil liberties of all disenfranchised groups, which they realized included students as well. Through the implementation of civil disobedience, students involved in the Civil Rights Movement had seen real improvements in the cause they believed in. As one observer noted, "Victory seemed not just possible, but almost inevitable. Many people at this time saw the sit-in as the fundamental weapon by which demands could be obtained."[29] Using these tactics,

"The experience of witnessing that kind of violence stayed with the students long after the protests ended"

27. "Civil Rights Activity," 41.

28. "Civil Rights Activity," 40-45; Goines, 83-87; Freedman 94-100; Rossman, 5-7.

29. "Civil Rights Activity," 47.

they planned to continue the fight to change the currently accepted power structure and bring equality to all facets of society.[30]

Many students believed that to create real and lasting improvements in the Bay Area, the racial hierarchy and power structure had to be changed to promote equality and to do so, they needed to have the ability to garner support for the movement on the UC Berkeley campus. The students, however, returned to school to find that their ability to do so had been greatly impaired. On September 14, 1964, Dean of Students Katherine A. Towle sent out letters to the heads of all student organizations, which stated that the groups would no longer be able to place tables at the Bancroft and Telegraph entrance of the University. Even more detrimental to the cause of the students was the fact that they would also be prohibited from collecting funds or passing out literature that advocated a certain political idea or action. Both student organizations and non-affiliated students on campus found this new ruling to be highly unacceptable. The editorial page of the *Daily Californian* stated on September 22, 1964, "The campus administrators will not recognize that divesting students of the right to advocate and take a stand is in essence denying that students have any stake in political affairs."[31] Students of all political persuasions saw this action as denying them certain rights that they were entitled to under the First Amendment and since the past six months of activism had motivated many students, they were ready to fight for those rights.[32]

While the restrictions regarding on-campus political activism and solicitation affected over twenty different student organizations, those involved in the Civil Rights Movement believed that the administrations enforced the restriction specifically to derail the Bay Area Civil Rights Movement. Many on campus and in the community acknowledged that Civil Rights groups such as SNCC and CORE depended heavily on their involvement within the Berkeley campus to recruit new members and gather support and funds for their causes. As one observer noted, "Recruitment for the civil rights activities last spring did take place primarily on

30. Mary Aickin Rothschild, *A Case of Black and White: Northern Volunteers and the Southern Freedom Summers, 1964-1965* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1982), 179-182; *California Monthly*, 35-37.

31. Editorial Page, "The Long, Long Line," *The Daily Californian*, 22 September 1964.

32. Rothschild, 179-182; *California Monthly*, 35-37.

the college campuses and specifically on the Berkeley campus."[33] Students found the popular idea that powerful forces outside of the campus administration encouraged the crackdown on political activism on campus to be extremely upsetting. In the first weeks of the Free Speech Movement, the rumor ran rampant that William Knowland, the editor of the *Oakland Tribune* and the president of the Oakland Chamber of Commerce, had placed significant pressure on the UC administration to limit the political activity allowed on campus. At the time of the restriction, Knowland and the Ad Hoc Committee were in a battle over the employment practices of the *Oakland Tribune*. In fact, the day the students received the letter stating the new rules regarding political activism on campus coincided with the first day the Ad Hoc Committee picketed the *Tribune* offices. Knowland waged a very public campaign against the Ad Hoc Committee in his paper, publishing many scathing articles about lack of evidence to support their claims and misleading arguments. He wrote, "Whether your realize it or not, you are proposing that we engage in precisely the kind of conduct which those laws proscribe – racial discrimination in employment."[34] Students on the UC Berkeley campus witnessed Knowland's animosity toward the Civil Rights Movement and because of his power in the community felt that he must have been an instrumental force in the change of policy. As Hal Draper, a participant in the Movement, noted, "…it was the Goldwaterite forces of Knowland's Tribune who put the administration on the spot with respect to the toleration of political activities on the Bancroft sidewalk strip."[35] In truth, there was little evidence to support the students' claims of Knowland placing pressure on the administration to close the Bancroft-Telegraph area; however, the students' perception of such power colored their views of the administration for the entirety of the Free Speech Movement.[36]

As the Free Speech Movement formed, its goals and principles coalesced to create an organization that fought for the ability to engage in the Civil Rights Movement on campus, not for the direct issues of the Movement itself. This distinction caused students to realize that with the

33. "Civil Rights Activity," 47.

34. William F. Knowland, "Hiring Plan Hit as Illegal," *Oakland Tribune* 3 September 1964.

35. Hal Draper, *Berkeley: The New Student Revolt* (New York: Grove Press, 1965), 25.

36. Stephen C. Shadegg, *What Happened to Goldwater: The Inside Story of the 1964 Republican Campaign* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1965), 277-278; "Civil Rights Activity," 46-47; Knowland, 3 September 1964; Rossman, 6.

new rules created by the administration, they could say what they wanted, but they could not act on any of their beliefs or passions. Students found it even more troubling that the administration did not differentiate between the recruitment on campus for legal and illegal acts. This lack of distinction caused the students' animosity toward the administration to continue to increase. As the *President's Commission on Campus Unrest* stated, "[The Free Speech Movement's] target was instead a liberal university administration, which it cast – which had cast itself – in a repressive role."[37] The inability to act on their own convictions caused students from over twenty different liberal and conservative campus organizations to meet with Dean Towle in an attempt to come to an agreement regarding the new rule. The student organizations ran the gamut of the political spectrum from Youth for Goldwater to the W.E.B. DuBois Club, yet despite their differences in political beliefs, they agreed on a seven-point plan that they submitted to Towle for review. In an effort to ensure their ability to campaign and advocate for their specific organizations, most notably CORE and SNCC, the students requested to have the capacity to set up tables in the Bancroft-Telegraph area, hand out literature, advocate for political action and solicit for funds. The student coalition assured Towle that they would not imply the University's sanction in any of their political activity on or off campus, to ensure the ability for the University to remain politically neutral.[38]

Surprisingly, Towle and the administration agreed to a large portion of what the students asked for; however, they still would not allow the students to solicit for funds nor could they pass out literature that advocated for a specific position, it could only be an informative piece of literature. To the students involved, this seemed to be an agreement that attempted to appease students while still ensuring that they lacked any real power or influence on the campus. As UC Berkley student Marty Roysher said, "If we…cannot advocate joining SNCC, cannot raise money for SNCC, it doesn't make a damn bit of difference what we do on this campus, we're not going to be any use to the people in Mississippi…"[39] Roysher

37. *Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest,* 1/14.

38. Henry F. May, "The Student Movement: Some Impressions at Berkeley," *American Scholar* 34, no. 3 (1965), 391; Gene Marine, "No Fair! The Students Strike at California, "*The Nation*, December 21, 1964, 484; James Cass, "What Happened at Berkeley," *Saturday Review*, January 16, 1965, 43; *California Monthly*, 3; *Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest*, 1/14.

39. Max Heirich, *The Beginning: Berkeley 1964* (New York: Columbia Publisher, 1971), 93.

perfectly synthesized the feelings of many of the students involved in the Free Speech Movement. The classes, the schoolbooks, the grades meant nothing if the students lacked the ability to gain support for the causes they believed in. Students stumbled out of the apathetic state they had been in for the first eighteen years of their lives, in large part because of the Civil Rights Movement, to find a society "…which is half slave and half free."[40] In addition, the students began to find that their situation on campus had striking similarities to the situation of the African Americans in the South. Like the disenfranchised African Americans, without the ability to advocate for political causes on campus the students lacked a real voice and political presence. James Farmer, the leader of CORE, believed this when he said, "The University of California at Berkeley has seen fit to disenfranchise the student body of many of their rights in regard to political and civil rights activities."[41] The desire to fight for their own rights and the rights of those around them inspired them and caused them to reject the agreement that the administration put before them.[42]

On September 21, 1964, about one hundred students of the Free Speech Movement staged their first all-night vigil on the steps of Sproul Hall in protest of the unfair rules set down by the campus administration. Leaders from the twenty student organizations had spent the five days prior negotiating to find a solution to the problem that would satisfy both the administration and the student body. After negotiations failed, members of the twenty student organizations relied on lessons learned during the Civil Rights Movement, "Remember technique! Gather facts. Negotiate, Rouse public opinion, and then, if absolutely necessary, and only as a last resort, Take Direct Action."[43] The first sit-in of the Movement took place on September 30 inside of Sproul Hall with 500 students, in response to the academic disciplinary action that administrators took against five students from the Free Speech Movement. Most significantly, at the all-night vigil and the first sit-in the student leaders of the Free Speech Movement began to organically emerge for the first time, most notably Mario Savio. The leadership style of the Free Speech Movement centered

40. Robert R. Parsonage, "The Classroom and Civil Rights," *Humanity* number 2 (1964), 5.

41. "James Farmer Telegram," Box 1, Folder 30, Free Speech Movement records, CU-309, University Archives, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1.

42. *California Monthly*, 3-6; Heirich, 90-95; Parsonage, 4-5; "James Farmer Telegram," 1.

43. Freeman, 86-87.

on consensus and democracy, much like the Civil Rights Movement style of leadership. Michael Rossman, a very active student participant in the Movement, stated, "…that was the nature of the leadership – to give voice to the common consciousness."[44] Barbara Garson, another active students participant, echoed Rossman's views about the leadership style of the Free Speech Movement, "Tactical decisions – sit-in, strike, or go home and wait – were made by a vote of 10,000 at outdoor meetings. On committees deciding the order of speakers or the route of a march, Mario was one among equals…"[45] While Garson exaggerated the size of meetings, her overall view of the leadership style of the Movement held true. Savio described the organizational structure of the Movement this way: "For me, the civil rights movement was the loving community, people embracing each other, holding each other so they could withstand the force of the fire hose. So the movement was a means, but it was also an embodiment of the new community … That's what we'd seen and what we were part of, so we tried to do the same at Berkeley."[46] Savio's desire for community led him to balk at the media's decision to dub him the supreme leader of the Movement and firmly believed in the leadership structure that he had learned while in Mississippi working for the Civil Rights Movement.[47]

On October 1, police officers arrested Jack Weinberg for soliciting funds at a Campus CORE table on the Bancroft-Telegraph strip. Previously a graduate student in the UC Berkeley mathematics department, Weinberg had spent time in jail in both the South and the Bay Area for his tireless work in the Civil Rights Movement. As students in the vicinity saw Weinberg being taken away, they spontaneously sat around the police car that held him and continued to sit there for the next thirty-two hours; thousands of students took part in the spontaneous protest. Students, professors and non-affiliated bystanders spent the next thirty-two hours giving speeches on top of the cop car, both in favor and against the actions of the students of the Free Speech Movement. In the same vein as the Free Speech Movement's leadership style, everyone who wanted to speak during

44. Fraser, 90.

45. Barbara Garson, "Me and Mario Down by the Schoolyard: Recollections of the Berkeley Free-Speech Movement," *The Progressive* 61, number 1 (1997), 24.

46. Fraser, 94.

47. *Report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest*, 1/17; Fraser, 90; Freeman, 85–91; Garson, 23–24; McAdam, 162–169.

the sit-in had the opportunity. The students of the Free Speech movement learned the significance of allowing the opposition to be heard from the Civil Rights Movement and that, often times, it was their best weapon to gather support for their cause and to increase the spectacle of their protests. As Rossman wrote, "The present distinguishing features of new radical activity in the North all follow the Southern pattern. It is issue-oriented, it depends heavily upon the drama of its protests, and its voice throughout is one of moral outrage."[48] By creating a massive event that highlighted their views and opposition's views, the students gathered an audience of almost 4,000 students to hear their argument, which they did not have the funds to do in any other way.[49]

"As students in the vicinity saw Weinberg being taken away, they spontaneously sat around the police car that held him and continued to sit there for the next thirty-two hours"

The importance of the sit-in for the Free Speech Movement was that the students within the Movement did not have the money or the media support to get their message out in a traditional way through newspaper ads or a mass mailing of pamphlets. In a tactic that they learned from the Civil Rights Movement, the students used nontraditional means to have both their ideas and their messages heard. Frederic S. LeClercq, a supporter of the Free Speech Movement, wrote, "The act of civil disobedience is the poor man's substitute for the multi-million dollars account that the Bank of America can give to an advertising agency."[50] The protests, the sit-ins and the picketing all garnered attention for the Free Speech Movement, which hoped the attention would create bad press for the University, thus forcing the University to accept their demands. Unfortunately for the students, they received the majority of the bad press during the four month long struggle of the Free Speech Movement. Newspapers responded harshly to the Movement. For example, the Valley Times referred to the students taking part in the Movement as, "…rioters, insurrectionists, undisciplined and uncontrolled, set loose by the same breed of, Communist agitators who

48. Rossman, 2.

49. *California Monthly*, 7-9; Rossman, 1-3.

50. Frederic S. LeClercq, "University in Crisis: the Berkeley Case," Carton 5, Folder 14, Free Speech Movement records, CU-309, University Archives, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 31.

have been invited to speak on campus, have defied all rules, regulations and authority of the administration of the Univ. of California, Berkeley."[51] Luckily, students had the experience of dealing with bad press from their work in the Civil Rights Movement and they knew that it would not derail their campaign. More importantly, they utilized the bad press to reach out to their supporters, as one form letter they sent out said, "We have felt at times that the press coverage of our struggle has been very one-sided and hostile to the students."[52] By acknowledging their bad press, they attempted to convince their supporters of the invalidity of the statements.[53]

After the events of late September and early October, the administration conceded even more demands to the students, including the ability to sit on a committee that would make recommendations to the administration regarding political action on campus. The students responded by calling off the sit-in around the police car and continued to negotiate with the administration for the rest of October in an attempt to obtain the remainder of the concessions they desired. More than anything else, the students wanted the ability to advocate, recruit and gather funds for the political organizations they supported. Without this ability the Civil Rights groups faced a serious decline in membership. As Rossman wrote, "[The Civil Rights groups'] sources of money and facilities are slim and center on the campus; likewise they recruit members on the campus, particularly at events they sponsor. Thus, once a group's ties with the campus are weakened or broken, it ekes out a minimal existence or dies."[54] To ensure that this would not happen to the Civil Rights groups in Berkeley, and as they learned from the Civil Rights Movement both in the Bay Area and nationally, the students found that the best way to get results was to negotiate and demonstrate simultaneously. The Civil Rights Movement in the South utilized this two-pronged attack most notably through SNCC and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). As historian Charles M. Payne noted, "SNCC strengthened the negotiating

51. "What People are Saying About Berkeley," *FI-PO News,* January 1965.

52. "Miscellaneous Letters to Supporters," Box 1, Folder 5, Free Speech Movement records, CU-309, University Archives, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1.

53. *California Monthly*, 7-10; Goines, 162-166; LeClercq, 30-32.

54. Rossman, 3.

position of the older organizations."[55] The government found it much more difficult to ignore the Civil Rights groups as they negotiated for protected rights when SNCC or CORE brought increased media attention and public sympathy through the use of direct action. The student protesters of the Free Speech Movement worked to emulate these tactics and continued to negotiate through October and November.[56]

The events that led to the largest sit-in of the Free Speech Movement on December 2, began on November 20 when the Regents denied the student's request for a meeting for the third time since the Movement began. The protesters attempted to be seen by the Regents by sending them formal letters prior to all of their monthly meetings from September through December. The letters encouraged a meeting by stating, "Since these problems possibly may not be fully understood by all parties concerned with the formulating of regulations, the delegation feels that such a discussion might be of service to the Regents, and it would be honored to answer any questions that might be asked."[57] Yet, the Regents consistently rejected the invitations. In response, the students staged a protest march and rally of 3,000 people outside of the Regents' meeting in Berkeley to make their dissatisfaction known to the Regents and the community. Again, the students concurrently utilized the tactics of attempted negotiation and demonstration. The administration and the Regents performed a detrimental misstep when they refused to see the students by seeming unwilling to negotiate with the students. Prior to this point, public opinion favored the University greatly, but once the events of mid-November began to unravel, the public opinion began to change. The students knew from the Civil Rights Movement that having the public on their side would favor their success. Less than two weeks later, 1,000 students entered Sproul Hall to take part in the sit-in that would mark the turning point of the Free Speech Movement.[58]

The Free Speech Movement protesters occupied Sproul Hall on December 2, 1964 in mid-afternoon and remained until the police forcibly

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55. Charles M. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition of the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 100.

56. Rossman, 3-4; Payne, 100.

57. Michael Rossman, "Letter to the Regents," Box 1, Folder 2, Free Speech Movement records, CU-309, University Archives, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1.

58. *California Monthly*, 31-37; Rossman, 3.

removed them early the following morning. Those who had taken part in the Civil Rights Movement knew the significance of the sit-in and the arrests and worked to ensure that public opinion would shift to be completely in their favor by the end of the demonstration. The seasoned Civil Rights protesters and leaders of the Free Speech Movement taught the students at the sit-in how to be arrested, by going limp and requiring the police officers to carry them downstairs. The students acknowledged their connection to the Civil Rights Movement when they passed the time by singing "We Shall Overcome," the eventual anthem of the Free Speech Movement. Early in the morning on December 3, the police entered Sproul Hall and began to remove the 801 protesters one by one because of an order by California Governor Brown. Brown didn't understand the necessity for the Civil Rights Movement or the Free Speech Movement and clung to his belief in law over all else. The San Francisco Chronicle quoted Brown days after the event saying, "I want [the students] to observe all laws of the State of California – and [they'll] achieve [their] objectives far better."[59] Brown reacted very similarly to the Civil Rights Movement in the Bay Area. Yet, the students of the Free Speech Movement wanted to change that exact type of thinking. In their minds, to create a better society they needed to alter the power structure of both the University and society. The Civil Rights Movement attempted to do this throughout the country and the students saw this as a necessary goal for their own fight as well. To achieve this victory, students knew that they would have to spend time in jail, just as those in the Civil Rights Movement had done countless times.[60]

When Governor Brown and the administration of UC Berkeley ordered the police to enter the occupied Sproul Hall and arrest the 801 protesters, public opinion changed dramatically in favor of the Free Speech Movement. Students and faculty, many of whom had remained neutral previous to this point, now came out in support of the Movement because they did not approve of the use of police force against students of the University. Soon after the arrests, reports of blatant police brutality came out from half of the arrested students, which dramatically increased support for the Movement. As historian Ronald Fraser noted, "The authorities' over-reaction proved, as it would time and again on both sides of the

59. "UC Quarrel Unnecessary," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 9 December 1964.

60. Heirich, 201-205; "UC Quarrel Unnecessary," "Violations of Law."

Atlantic, to be the student movement's best weapon."[61] Reports soon came out from various news reporting agencies that "…barred from the building while arrests were underway were Assemblyman-elect Willie Brown of San Francisco and numerous attorneys for the students. Some police officers failed to wear proper identifying badges…"[62] One newspaper reporter claimed that the police found inflicting pain on the protesters amusing as they trampled on seated protesters in the building. Arthur Goldburg, one of the leaders of the Free Speech Movement, described the violence during his arrest: "I said, 'That hurts,' and the cop said, 'Sure it hurts. I'm glad it hurts. It'll keep on hurting.'"[63] The fact that the University administration allowed the police on campus and gave them permission to act in such a harmful way to the students caused numerous students and faculty to change their position in favor of the Free Speech Movement. As the *Report on the President's Commission on Campus Unrest* stated, "At Berkeley, the police intervention was interpreted as a confirmation of the radicals' original claim that the university was unjust and repressive, especially toward those working for civil rights."[64] The sit-in on December 2 marked the true turning point of the Free Speech Movement for the students as it solidified public support both on and off campus for the Movement.[65]

"Soon after the arrests, reports of blatant police brutality came out from half of the arrested students, which dramatically increased support for the Movement"

The Civil Rights Movement served as a model for the Free Speech Movement because the students saw the two struggles as strikingly similar. When the students returned to the UC Berkeley campus in the Fall of 1964, they found that their political rights had been taken away from them, just as the disenfranchised African Americans that they sought

61. Fraser, 95.

62. "Confidential Summary of the Sproul Hall Sit-in and Arrests," Box 4, Folder 5, Free Speech Movement records, CU-309, University Archives, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 2.

63. "Students Call Police Brutal," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 4 December 1964.

64. *Report on the President's Commission on Campus Unrest*, 1/15.

65. "Defense Counsel's Statement," Box 4, Folder 5, Free Speech Movement records, CU-309, University Archives, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 1 – 3; "Confidential Summary of the Sproul Hall Sit-in and Arrests," 1-10; Fraser, 90-95.

to help lacked basic political right and civil liberties. The students were motivated to change their own situation once they witnessed the collective power they had from their work in the Civil Rights Movement. Savio realized the connection between the two movements when he wrote, "When you oppose injustice done others, very often – symbolically sometimes, sometimes not symbolically – you are really protesting injustice done to yourself. In the course of the events of the fall, students became aware, ever more clearly, of the monstrous injustices that were being done to them as students."[66] The students soon came to see themselves as disenfranchised members of the University community, just as African Americans had become disenfranchised within society. The protesters of the Free Speech Movement took a moral stand against the injustice they saw at a very basic level inside and outside of the campus community. Weinberg explained the link between the two movements when he stated, "Not only did the pressure to crack down on free speech at Cal come from the outside power structure, but most of the failings of the University are either on-campus manifestations of broader American social problems, or are imposed upon the University by outside pressures."[67] Students felt marginalized and when they saw the change that could happen from the Civil Rights Movement, it inspired them to create that for themselves. In addition, the students believed that the first amendment supported the tactics they used, which meant that the administration had no right to discipline them. Similar to African Americans in the Civil Rights Movement, being in a marginalized position, the only real weapon students had against those in power was to disrupt the order of the community and influence public opinion.[68]

During the four month long battle of the Free Speech Movement, students learned how to apply the lessons they learned through their work in the Civil Rights Movement to their own struggle and achieved success. The university eventually backed down and gave the students everything that they had initially asked for, including the ability to advocate, recruit and solicit funds for their specific causes. The Byrne Report, which was commissioned by the Regents, came out in the months that followed

66. Mario Savio, Eugene Walker, Raya Dunayevskaya, "The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution," Online Archive of California, http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/FSM/ (accessed 6 December 2008), 17.

67. Weinberg, 10.

68. Charles R. Newlin, "Other Views of Berkeley," *The Christian Century*, 3 February 1965; Weinberg, 8-11.

and exonerated the students of any guilt and acknowledged that they were forced to act the way they did because of "…the failure of the President and the Regents to develop a governmental structure at once acceptable to the governed and suited to the vastly increased complexity of the University…"[69] The Civil Rights Movement and the struggle of disenfranchised African Americans encouraged students to see their own disadvantages within the University system and inspired them to better their situation and their society. Through the missteps of the administration, the students of the Free Speech Movement found victory within their movement. Without the experience that many of the students had within the Civil Rights Movement, the Free Speech Movement would not have been as organized, effective and successful as it was.[70]

69. Draper, 232.

70. Weinberg, 10.

Non Fui, Fui, Non Sum, Non Curo*

Jennifer Garrison

The funeral procession slowly wound its way through the streets of Rome and beyond the city gates. Friends, family, musicians, and mourners all followed the funeral pyre that carried the body to the family tomb. Once outside the city gates the funeral guests passed by numerous tombs lining either side of the road. Most of these tombs had small offerings of food and drink that were left for the deceased to enjoy. One small tomb caught the attention of one of the funeral guests. Instead of food, this tomb had a few small toys left for a child and an epitaph that read, "Lututia Secundina, a very sweet child, lived four years, six months, and nine days."[1] The mourner wondered who the child had been and how she touched her parents enough to inspire them to commit the funds and effort into writing such a caring message. We too can wonder at the Romans and endeavor to understand their mindset. By exploring their views of death and illuminating the ceremonies and rites they performed for the deceased we gain a new window into their worldview and a better understanding of their drives and motivations.

To even begin to understand how Romans viewed death, it is important to study how they lived and prepared for death. A primary tool for the Romans in dealing with their mortality was to purge themselves of the natural fear death inspires. Additionally, there were both state and private rituals, which served as coping mechanisms for loved ones left

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* Many Roman tombs were inscribed *non fui, fui, non sum, non curo* ("I was not, I was, I am not, I care not"), a message expressing stoicism, practicality, or defiance.

1. Jo-Ann Shelton, *As the Romans Did: A Sourcebook in Roman Social History*, second edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 91.

behind. Philosophy, preparations for death, funeral clubs, and state religion all provide insight into the Roman perception of death. While each of these areas offers details regarding Roman practices, they do not present a uniform system. Conflicting views exist regarding the afterlife, some of the philosophies contradict both personal and state religious beliefs, and some rituals view death as a pollutant rather than a transition to an afterlife. Although these contradictions exist, and historians may never realize the whole truth behind the subject, there are commonalities held by Romans regarding death, the dead, and the afterlife. In preparing for one's own death, readying a funeral for a loved one, or remembering the dead in general, the concept of honor was ever present.

To aid our understanding of how the Romans viewed death, one resource is popular philosophy. Although only a small portion of Rome's population formally studied philosophy, the core messages of the most prominent schools of thought can help provide insight into the Roman view of death. They also generally reflect the values held by the society as a whole. Two such schools were Epicureanism and Stoicism. They attempted to explain death in order to eliminate the fear associated with it. These philosophies both tried to help prepare people for the moment of death; however, they employed drastically different methods.

Epicureanism attempted to explain the universe through observation. Epicureans acknowledged the existence of the gods, but they believed the gods neither interacted with the material world nor interfered in human affairs.[2] Therefore, all things within the universe had a logical explanation outside of the spiritual realm. Epicureans also sought peace of mind and tranquility through the pursuit of both bodily and spiritual pleasures while attempting to avoid all forms of pain.[3] One source of pain was the fear of death; a fear that could only result in hatred and evil. All were undesirable emotions that Epicureans strove to avoid.

In Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*, death is discussed at length in a practical rather than spiritual way. Through Epicurean philosophy, Lucretius argues people need not fear death. He states, "Death is nothing to us" and "there is no way of dodging death;" therefore, people should

2. Everett Ferguson, *Backgrounds of Early Christianity,* third edition (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003), 73.

3. Ibid., 374.

accept mortality.[4] Since death is just another unavoidable aspect of life, why fear it? Also, Lucretius explains that both the soul and the body are born together and therefore must die together. If the soul dies, then there is no afterlife; therefore, there is nothing to fear regarding death.[5] Death should be welcomed because this life can "hold misery and anguish."[6] Seeing that an Epicurean's main goal is pleasure, death holds the ultimate release as there is nothing to suffer after death. While Epicurean philosophy sought to rationalize away the fear of death through a radical re-interpretation of the soul and rejection of an afterlife, Stoicism took a more moderate approach.

Stoicism attempted to achieve happiness by living in accordance with virtue. Stoic values and ideals included humility, temperance, kindness of human spirit, even temper, and living in balance with nature. Regarding death, Stoics stressed that one must focus on the time they have and live the best life possible during the time allotted to them. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius embodied these ideals, and they were reflected in his writings. "Don't live as though you were going to live a myriad years. Fate is hanging over your head; while you have life, while you may, become good."[7] This not only reflects the Stoic view of life but also reflects the realization of and preparation for mortality. They recognized the fragility of life and the importance of preparing oneself by being a good person. Stoics strived to live a life of moderation, self-control, and possess an emotionally even temper. They held that a good life would reflect favorably on them in death.

Stoics made manifest their ideals of moderation and self control in their preparations for death. The Stoic philosopher, Seneca, discussed his preparations for death in his writings. Stoicism aided Seneca in his preparations for the inevitable. "I shall not be afraid when the last hour comes- I'm already prepared, not planning as much as a day ahead."[8] He mentions death again by saying,

> What is death? Either a transition or an end, this being the same

4. Lucretius, *On The Nature of the Universe,* translated by R.E. Latham (London: Penguin Classics, 1994), 87.

5. Ferguson, 374.

6. Lucretius, 88.

7. Marcus Aurelius, *Meditations*, translated by Gregory Hays (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), Book IV, Passage 17.

8. Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Letters from a Stoic,* translated by Robin Campbell (London: Penguin Classics, 2004), 105.

> as never having begun, nor of transition for I shall never be in confinement quite so cramped anywhere else as I am here.[9]

For Seneca, the act of dying well was a far greater concern than the possibility of an afterlife. Stoicism helped prepare him emotionally for the moment of death. In so doing, Seneca removed all fear from the act. He saw the moment as another opportunity to further illustrate his philosophical practices.[10] Seneca demonstrated moderation and even emotional temper by not fearing death. Instead, he faced death with the same even temperament used for facing everything in life.

These two philosophical schools represent unique approaches Romans used to minimize or completely eliminate their fears associated with death. The desire to contain these specific fears is one facet of the Roman ideals regarding proper everyday conduct. The ability to face death bravely and with honor enhanced one's *virtus* and *libertas*, both concepts valued by the Patrician class.[11] A proper Roman could neither exhibit fear nor hesitation in their actions; instead, they must always present themselves with honor and integrity. This rigorous standard did not end at the moment of death. Death was an active rather than a passive process. Romans saw death as the single most important moment that would reflect the true character of the dying.[12] For those who lived a life of honor and *virtus,* it was important to face death in an equal manner.

Cato the Younger is the perfect example of this concept. He came from a respected aristocratic family, became a fearless general, and was celebrated for his leadership. When taking his own life, he did so with the same bravery and determination he had shown in all things.[13] This bravery was celebrated by Romans and many wrote about the event including Plutarch and Cicero who described Cato's death as having honor and *gravitas*.[14] This incident emphasizes the high value Roman's placed on proper conduct. Freedom from fear and proceeding without hesitation was important in death. The ability to die well was both important and honorable.

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9. Seneca, 124.
10. Catharine Edwards, *Death in Ancient Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 86.
11. Ibid.,100.
12. Ibid., 5.
13. Ibid., 2.
14. Ibid.

For the individual Roman, the act of dying was a moment that held special reverence. It was a time to demonstrate strength of character in the hope of gaining honor even in death. These ideas stand out from the writings left behind by both Roman historians and philosophers. Although the above writings provide some answers regarding the Roman view of mortality and the moment of death, there are still questions regarding whether or not they believed in the idea of an afterlife.[15]

"For the individual Roman, the act of dying was a moment that held special reverence"

Epicureanism and Stoicism offered a consistent, personal coping mechanism for one's own mortality by providing comfort and preparation for the moment of death, but they failed to harmoniously address the question of an afterlife. The Epicureans held that the body and soul died together; therefore, there is no afterlife. This philosophy does not account for Roman belief as a whole. Epicureans were only a small portion of the Roman population. While their ideas regarding afterlife are accounted for, they do not speak for the majority of the population. In fact, there are many instances where the philosophies of Rome contradict the family and state religious beliefs regarding preparations for the afterlife.

In many instances literature, epigraphy, tombs, tomb furniture, and funerary offerings illustrate a strong conviction in the belief that some form of afterlife existed. Not only was there the idea of an afterlife, but the dead and the living could interact.[16] From this evidence it is possible to piece together some of the beliefs, processes, and rituals Romans held for the dead. Similar to Roman philosophy, there is a sense of reverence and honor in these practices initiated at the moment of death.

Traditional practices concerning death began during the last few moments of life. No different from today, Romans found it important to have a group of their closest friends and family around them for comfort and support. When death was at hand, the closest relative would give a "last kiss" which symbolized catching the departed's soul. Immediately following death, those in attendance would call upon the dead by name and express

15. Edwards, 13.

16. J.M.C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1971), 34.

sorrow for their passing.[17] This final moment and actions seem to venerate the deceased. Romans placed importance on showing one's love, giving last respects, and helping the departed on their journey.

Standard ritualistic practices continued immediately following death. The relative who administered the final kiss closed the departed's eyes, and the body was washed, anointed, and placed on a funeral couch. Attempts were made to present the body in a natural and tasteful manner, donning a toga and whatever honors they received during life.[18] Recognition of one's honors and accomplishments remained important even after death. A period of lying in state followed these preparations.

For the majority of the dead, the period of lying in state lasted from only a few hours to one day. However, for the more wealthy and admired, lying in state could last up to seven days (or until the incense ran out).[19] During this time, the body was usually placed on a couch in the atrium of the house and positioned with feet directed towards the door symbolizing the approach of their departure on their final journey. There is also evidence that in some instances a penny was placed with the body to pay for passage across the River Styx, and to warn visitors that the pollution of death was near garlands of cypress or pine were placed at the front door.[20]

It is important to realize that the rituals surrounding these funerary events incorporated two very different ideas. The first idea supports the concept of respecting the soul of the departed. Preparing them for their journey to the afterlife was obviously a necessity. Leaving a corpse unburied was neither honorable nor respectful and held negative repercussions for the departed and living alike.[21] The second idea revolves around the concept that death brought pollution. The mandatory rituals were not only for the dead but provided cleansing acts for the living as well.[22] Rituals surrounding the care and remembrance for the dead continued through burial and beyond; similarly cleansing rituals for the living were also performed.

After lying in state, the funeral procession to the final resting place

17. Ibid., 44.

18. Walton Brooks McDaniel, *Roman Private Life and Its Survivals* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1963), 191.

19. Toynbee, 44-45.

20. McDaniel, 191.

21. Toynbee, 43.

22. Ibid.

commenced. Funerals were usually conducted at night by the light of torches carried before the body.[23] Funeral processions included friends and family members, some of whom wore masks of distinguished ancestors related to the recently deceased. The people who represented these ancestors stood next to the body during the funeral oration.[24] This action possibly symbolized the transition from the world of the living to the realm of the ancestors. This act not only venerated the honorable ancestors of years past, it also recognized the recently deceased as becoming one of the ancestors. With the passing of a relative, these rituals transmitted important values and traditions from one generation to the next.[25]

The funeral procession expressed the dual concepts of honoring the dead and purifying against pollution. With all funeral processions, the body was carried outside the city limits before burial or cremation took place. This was a ritual enforced by one of Rome's earliest laws set forth by the *Twelve Tables*.[26] Although there were spiritual and religious meanings tied to the act, it also had a very practical purpose. A city of very tight quarters, the removal of any possible contagion related to death seemed mandatory for sanitation within Rome.[27] These practical motivations did not negate the spiritual balance between honoring the dead and the departed ancestors.

After the funeral oration, the body was prepared for either interment or cremation.[28] Although Romans practiced both cremation and inhumation throughout the centuries, some evidence shows that inhumation was considered a more primitive burial rite. Some evidence suggests that after 400 B.C.E. cremation became the preferred and more

23. Toynbee, 46; Ugo Enrico Paoli, *Rome: Its People, Life and Customs*, translated by R.D. MacNaghten (New York: D. McKay Co., 1963), 128. There seems to be some discrepancies regarding the times for the funeral processions. Toynbee states that funerals are held at night. However, Paoli, states that funerals were held during the day, and only funerals of children or of the poor took place hurriedly at night.

24. Edwards, 19.

25. Ibid.

26. Alistair Scott Anderson, *Roman Military Tombstones* (Aylesbury: Shire Publications Limited, 1984), 11.

27. Donald G. Kyle, *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome* (London: Routledge Press, 1998), 129.

28. Toynbee, 40-41. In a few special cases, Romans also practiced mummification or embalmment. It seems this practice was given as special honor to only a select and notable few. Also, this type of burial did not become popular until the early centuries CE.

popular method.[29] Other evidence indicates the issue fell to personal preference; Pliny's writings express that certain families throughout the centuries preferred inhumation over cremation. The most notable of these families included the Gens Cornelia, of which Sulla was the very first member to be cremated in 78 B.C.E.[30]

When families chose cremation, they still performed a symbolic burial. Normally, a finger or toe was cut off and buried, while the rest of the body was cremated.[31] This act possibly stemmed from the Roman belief that leaving a corpse unburied held negative repercussions. Throwing a little dirt upon the body was the minimum if nothing else could be done.[32] Therefore, even in the case of cremation the symbolic burial was necessary in order to honor and maintain tradition.

Those who selected cremation also had a chance to display their eccentricities. Before the fire was lit, mourners placed perfumes, spices, oils, expensive gifts, and tokens on the pyre.[33] It is possible that they believed these items would accompany the departed into the afterlife. Torches were then lit and the pyre set ablaze. Once the fire dwindled, the last embers we snuffed out with water and wine. The ashes were then collected and placed in cloth to remove the excess wine and water.[34]

After the funeral, a pig was sacrificed to consecrate the burial ground.[35] These regulations had to be adhered to for spiritual and legal reasons; only after the sacrifice of a pig did the site legally become a grave.[36] In this particular instance, the law illustrates the close connection between the state government and the state religion. Obviously *religio* was closely tied to funerary practices, and the proper practices must be observed. The pig was then prepared as a part of the banquet that followed.

A banquet called the *silicernium* took place at the grave.[37] Many

29. Anderson, 10-11.

30. Ibid., 39.

31. Ibid., 43.

32. Ibid.

33. McDaniel, 194.

34. Ibid., 195.

35. Ibid., 194. McDaniel does not specify why a pig was the chosen animal for this type of sacrifice.

36. Toynbee, 50.

37. Anderson, 11.

people left money in their wills for such meals, since it was believed that at these banquets their spirit could join in the festivities. To curb the amounts spent, Rome enacted laws against too much ostentation. There were limits to the amount of money spent on funerals as well as the number of people who could be in attendance. Although they attempted to curtail these events, it did little to stop the lavishness entirely.[38] In fact, tombs of wealthy Romans included kitchens for the ease of preparation of not only the *silicernium* but also the meals held annually on the anniversary of their death.[39]

It should also be noted that most information discussed about funerals usually pertained to the upper class males in the society. However, there is evidence showing that the everyday man and woman also had similar rituals and displays of honor even in death. The events discussed from death to the *silicernium* were not reserved for upper class men alone. Even the common people had the rites of last kiss, funeral processions, and orations; theirs were just not as grand.[40] Many women of high rank also received practices with equal honor and tradition. Tacitus recorded the funerary events of many distinguished ladies, including the wife of C. Cassius and the sister of M. Brutus. The events included in the women's funerals were at times equivalent to that of a Roman man.[41]

For the poor, funerary and burial practices were much less ostentatious affairs. Although the most basic of rituals were adhered to, they lacked an obvious amount of wealth. Usually, the poor entrusted the final care for the body to an undertaker, or *libitinarii.*[42] In the case of cremations, cheaper materials were used for building a pyre. The traditional couches the corpse laid upon were either non-existent or very modestly constructed.[43] The tombs of those poor lucky enough to even have one constructed were extremely modest. Far more often the poor were laid directly in the ground with only a cloth covering. Even in the poorest of burials, however, the

38. McDaniel, 194, and Toynbee, 54.

39. Toynbee, 51.

40. Kyle, 128-129.

41. J.P.V.D. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), 126-127.

42. Ugo Enrico Paoli, *Rome: Its People, Life and Customs,* translated by R.D. MacNaghten (New York: D. McKay Co., 1963), 129.

43. Toynbee, 45.

dead were accompanied by a few material objects if only a bowl or cup.[44] Like the perfumes, spices, oils, and expensive gifts given to the wealthy, the small material objects may signify aid to help the loved one on their last journey.

Romans considered proper burial and preparation for the afterlife so important for all class levels that they established burial clubs to help those of lesser means. These clubs catered mostly to slaves, freedmen, and others belonging to the lower classes.[45] Regimental burial clubs existed to insure the last rites for soldiers as well.[46] These clubs functioned similarly. Members made payments on a monthly basis to provide for the funerals of those who had passed and also to insure that the same service was granted for the payee when their time came.[47] These clubs usually had communal or common *columbariums* which all members shared. After the completion of the burial rites and the feast was finished, mourners of both the wealthy and poor alike returned to the house of the deceased in order to continue the necessary rituals and funerary practices.

Funeral rituals continued over the next nine days. After the funeral the home, family, and friends had to undergo a cleansing ritual. As discussed before, death was simultaneously a time of honor and remembrance as well as cause of pollution to the living. The *suffitio* involved purification by both fire and water. These cleansing rituals were held for people and for the house itself.[48] Again, these rituals had both a religious and practical purpose. The cleansing demarked the ending of the initial mourning period and trauma of death; it also worked to sanitize those who came in contact with the dead. If the body had been lying in state for some time, the level of sanitation in the surrounding area might not be too high. By undergoing the *suffitio,* not only were traditional rituals kept but cleanliness was also restored.

Along with purification, feasts also continued. On the ninth day after death, the *cena novendialis* was held at the grave. This meal marked the

44. Ibid., 49.

45. Toynbee, 55.

46. Anderson, 12.

47. Ibid., 12-13, and Toynbee, 55.

48. Toynbee, 50-51. Although Toynbee mentions the cleansing and purification acts by both fire and water, she does not provide the details as to how both the fire and water were used in such a ritual.

end of full mourning and included the first official pouring of libations on the grave for the *manes.*[49] At this time food was also left at the gravesite for the dead to enjoy. The period of full morning also ended on the ninth day. However, the immediate family members continued a modified mourning process for another ten months. Families observed this extended period of mourning for departed adults of ten years or older; children who passed before their tenth birthday were mourned one month for each year they lived. [50] In effect, the dead were never really allowed to die, since the actions of those left behind kept their memory alive.

As discussed earlier, death masks were an important part of a funeral. These masks represented ancestors and were created in their likeness. Shortly following death, the mask was cast and then stored in a shrine located in a central location within the house.[51] These shrines included numerous masks of ancestors and were worshiped not only during funerals but during other times of the year. These masks represent the Roman belief that their ancestors lived on in death. The underlying idea regarding honor is again illustrated through these masks. The masks served to help those left behind remember and honor those who came before.

Remembering and honoring ancestors was important for Roman families. A man's status within Roman society was defined by the actions of his predecessors. The achievements and honors gained by family members before his time reflect on his status and position as well.[52] Continuing to honor and worship these ancestors was crucial. Not showing the greatest respect was considered very unwise.[53] This type of ancestor worship was common. Families partook in both private celebrations and yearly state sanctioned festivals for the ancestors.

Romans believed that the dead could still influence events among the living, and the deceased required the same needs as the living. The dead were considered especially likely to feel resentment if their passing had not been duly celebrated or if the family neglected their needs in the

49. Toynbee, 51.

50. McDaniel, 195.

51. Toynbee, 47. Although materials and processes for these masks are not clearly stated, some scholars believe they could have been constructed from wax or plaster. They could have been either taken directly from the face of the deceased, or possibly fashioned freehand.

52. Anderson, 10.

53. Ibid.

grave.[54] Due to these beliefs, families marked the anniversaries of deaths with dinners held in the deceased's honor.[55] These dinners were normally held at the grave, and food and libations were provided to the deceased so they could share in the festivities. Some tombs were equipped with pipes leading down to the body so the food and drink could be given directly to the dead.[56]

In addition to private family celebrations, annual public festivals also recognized the dead. In March, a day was set aside for the placement of violets on the graves. In May, a similar day was held, but roses were the preferred flower. Prayers and small gifts were similarly bestowed.[57] There is no explanation as to the significance of bestowing the different flowers on the different days; however, these days do illustrate the Roman belief in honoring the dead and the importance in remembering them. Two major state-recognized festivals were also held annually in remembrance of the dead: the *Parentalia* and the *Lemuria*. Both were festivals for the dead, but they were celebrated quite differently.

The *Parentalia*, held on February thirteenth through the twenty-first, was a series of feasts and celebrations given by both the families and the state to honor the dead. However, it was not a celebration of the dead in general but of parents and other kinsfolk of individual families.[58] This festival was a happy one. Its purpose was to celebrate departed loved ones, care for their tombs, and forget quarrels among the family members. These acts were performed and overseen by the state and the pontifices.[59] In a sense, these acts simultaneously reinforced the family structure and the state. The *Feralia* occurred on the last day of the *Parentalia* celebration. During this public festival, the living publicly carried their dues to the dead and placed small gifts on the graves.[60]

The *Lemuria,* held on May ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth, was also a festival for the dead; however, this one was not as joyous. These dates were

54. Ibid.

55. Edwards, 164.

56. Anderson, 10.

57. McDaniel, 196. The names of these specific days are not mentioned.

58. Toynbee, 64.

59. William Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic; an Introduction to the Study of the Religion of the Romans* (London: MacMillian and Co. Limited, 1899), 307-309.

60. Toynbee, 64.

recognized on the state calendars, but no public festivals or celebrations occurred.[61] The rituals of the *Lemuria* served to ward off kinless, hungry, forgotten, and/or hostile ghosts.[62] Romans created a specific separation between the *manes*, or loved spirits of the dead, and the ghosts recognized during the *Lemuria*. Held at midnight, the events of the *Lemuria* involved worshippers casting out the ghosts of the dead by performing rituals and asking them to leave.[63] Accounts by Ovid state that the father of the household would walk through the house, with black beans in his mouth, and spit them out as he walked saying, "with these I redeem me and mine." This would be repeated nine times, followed by washing hands and rattling brass vessels to deter unwanted ghosts.[64] During this festival, temples closed and marriages were not allowed.[65]

In discovering the process by which Romans dealt with death, there persists the idea that some type of afterlife existed. Although groups like the Epicureans insisted dead meant dead, that belief failed to find wide acceptance.[66] Instead, Romans held to the conviction that some form of existence survived death where spirits retained some sense of identity and a memory of their life before.[67] Evidence found in early tombs demonstrates the deeply rooted nature of the Roman belief in some type of existence after death.

One can trace Roman ideas regarding life after death back to the early Etruscans. Their thoughts regarding where the souls or *manes* lived after death is not fully understood, but it is likely they believed in an existence underground or in the tombs they built.[68] It is also likely that even at this early time ideas regarding the material needs of the dead

61. Fowler, 107.

62. Toynbee, 64, and Fowler, 108. Toynbee describes them as kinless, hungry, and forgotten, while Fowler specifically states they are hostile ghosts. Fowler also states that these ghosts are different than the traditional manes, which were good people.

63. Toynbee, 64.

64. Fowler, 109. Fowler states that there was possibly some significance to the black beans as being a symbol for life and fertility. However, there are no clear answers as to why black beans were the sacred food of choice for this ritual.

65. Toynbee, 64.

66. Kyle, 129.

67. Ibid.

68. Toynbee, 37.

existed. Similar to Roman practices early Etruscan tombs yield evidence illustrating the existence of material needs after death. Their tombs contained food, drinking vessels, cooking utensils, and toiletries.[69]

Roman ideas regarding the afterlife are also apparent in the previously discussed traditions and festivals. The rites and festivals held for the dead expressed the sense that those in the afterlife could directly affect the living, and there was a possible spiritual link between the two worlds. Romans believed that at these festivals the dead could interact with the living and enjoy the same foods and drinks provided.[70] Concepts of an afterlife are again illustrated by the fact that people set aside money to prepare for their own funerals and festivals to guarantee their needs were provided.[71]

Artistic mosaics, decorated sarcophagi, and sculptures found at tomb sites further illuminate these Roman beliefs. One particular mosaic of a skeletal butler holding pitchers of refreshments could illustrate the expectation that one continues in death as one did in life.[72] This rendition could also represent the deceased's participation in festivals, since the skeleton seems to be carrying some type of drink to possibly share with others in celebration. The jugs or pitchers also reinforce the idea that food and drink were necessities in the afterlife. Whether a depiction of toil or revelry, one thing is certain: the skeleton is doing *something* that

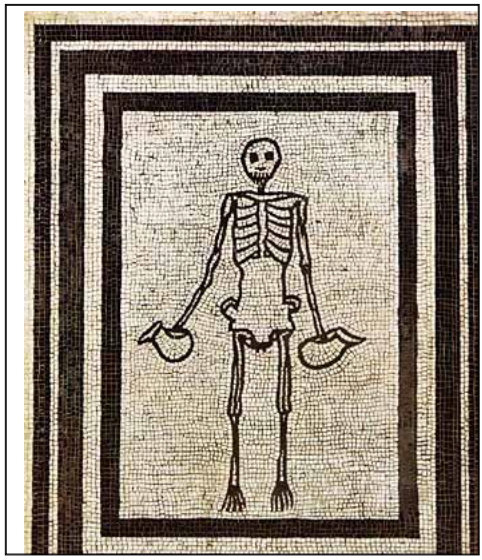

Figure 1: Skeleton carrying pitchers, mosaic from Pompeii; now in the Museo Archaeologico Nazionale (Naples). Image courtesy of *Wikimedia Commons* (from the public domain)

69. Ibid., 11-12.

70. Anderson, 11.

71. Toynbee, 64.

72. Edwards, 165. See Figure 1.

is a far cry from the Epicurean belief in annihilation at death.

Coffin and tombstone art often depicted scenes of everyday life.[73] Although they could solely exist for artistic purposes, they could also serve some significance for remembrance of the departed soul. Some sarcophagi depict the living reclining and eating with the dead.[74] The representation of a physical sharing of food between the living and the dead not only expresses a belief in the afterlife; it also demonstrates a close connection between this life and the next.[75]

Festivals are not the only point of nexus between the living and the dead. Roman tomb construction also illustrates a point of intersect. As stated previously, many tombs came equipped with pipes leading down to the corpse so that the departed could readily receive wine and food to enjoy. Since Romans believed the spirit possessed the same needs in the afterlife that the person had while living, food and drink remained necessary if not desirable.[76] Romans viewed their tombs as eternal houses; therefore, objects used in everyday life were placed in these graves to provide comfort for the dead. Toys were left for children, cosmetics and other toiletries were left for women, and tools of the trade were left for men.[77] Rome enacted laws prohibiting the theft or damage of such articles to protect the tombs, property, and rights of the dead. To disrupt the dead in any way was seen as a criminal offense.[78] This also illustrates the Roman belief in the validity and importance of the afterlife. Laws prohibiting crimes against the dead were similar to the laws for the living; therefore, the afterlife could be interpreted as equivalent to this life. With such belief regarding life after death, it must be defended by laws in the same way as mortal life.

"Whether a depiction of toil or revelry, one thing is certain: the skeleton is doing something *that is a far cry from the Epicurean belief in annihilation at death"*

Studying how Romans viewed death and the afterlife aids us in

73. Ferguson, 248.

74. Edwards, 164.

75. Ibid.

76. Anderson, 10.

77. Ibid.

78. Toynbee, 51.

understanding how they lived and prepared for the inevitable. They practiced many rituals and held beliefs that helped them accept and cope with death. Although death surrounded them, they did not succumb to melancholy. Instead Romans celebrated death with feasts and festivals. Common burial practices, private rituals, and state recognized festivals all provide information to help historians discover Roman perceptions of death and the afterlife. Although the information provides some answers, it also raises more questions. Belief in an afterlife appeared a popular idea, yet not all Romans accepted it. The small minority that looked to philosophy for answers may or may not have believed in life after death. Concepts regarding the nature of death also conflicted. Death was an event that held importance, reverence, and adherence to strict practices, yet death also involved physical and spiritual pollution. The two integral Roman concepts that weave their way throughout every aspect of death were the ideals of honor and practicality. No matter the final belief regarding mortality and the afterlife, of utmost importance was proceeding with honor and practicality through every aspect of death.

"The two integral Roman concepts that weave their way throughout every aspect of death were the ideals of honor and practicality"

War Reparations, War Debts and the Transfer Problem After World War I

Lewis Kiehn

It is an extraordinary fact that the fundamental economic problems of a Europe starving and disintegrating before their eyes, was the one question in which it was impossible to arouse the interest of the Four. Reparation was their main excursion into the economic field, and they settled it as a problem of theology, of politics, of electoral chicane, from every point of view except that of the economic future of the States whose destiny they were handling.[1]

- John Maynard Keynes

The Armistice that ended the fighting in World War I was signed on 11 November 1918. However, one could say that the conflict continued, as a political dispute, until 1924.[2] The disputes between the former Allies and Germany, in the second stage of the European conflict, were primarily over two issues. The first issue was that the Germans had not been allowed to participate in the peace treaty negotiations, though they had been led to believe that they would be allowed to do so. Consequently, the Germans considered the treaty to be a dictated settlement, a *Diktat*. The second issue concerned the economic aspects of the treaty, such as the amount of war reparations assessed, where, again, the Germans had not been allowed to participate in the negotiations.[3] Failure to resolve these issues during the Paris Peace Conference, and to achieve

1. John Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (1920; reprint, New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 226-227.

2. In 1924, the Dawes Committee was convened in an attempt to reset German war reparations at a feasible level. This effort is discussed later in the paper.

3. A third issue of dispute that was very important was the revision of national borders, particularly the German-Polish border, however, that issue is beyond the scope of this paper.

"buy-in" by the Germans, caused more than five years of political and economic instability that the European states could ill afford.

The paying of war reparations was also complicated by the "transfer problem," the mechanism through which payments were transferred from one country to another. The transfer process was poorly understood by many in high positions. By examining these problems, we can better understand why the post-war period was conflicted and how an unworkable economic program was established because of political considerations.

World War I resulted in millions of deaths, millions of wounded, billions of dollars in war damage and a legacy of hate that was fanned by wartime propaganda on both sides. The hostility engendered by the war could not be easily set aside. That hostility heavily influenced how the Treaty of Versailles of 1919 was written. The treaty was the mechanism used to formally end the war and provide a new European settlement.

The "Big Three" (Woodrow Wilson, David Lloyd George and Georges Clemenceau) were responsible for creating the treaty. They worked hard to fashion the peace, but how the treaty would affect Europe was uncertain from the beginning. As Wilson commented to his wife when they left Paris, "Well, little girl, it is finished, and, as no one is satisfied, it makes me hope we have made a just peace; but it is all in the lap of the gods."[4]

It may have been the best possible treaty considering the times; since the creators of the peace were not free agents and were not seers who could predict the future. Also dissatisfied by the settlement, John Maynard Keynes was one of the first major critics of the treaty. He was the primary representative of the British Chancellor of the Exchequer at the Peace Conference. Keynes walked out of the conference and denounced the treaty as unfair, unfeasible and unsound in his book, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (1920). The book was written in late summer and early fall of 1919. Keynes's book was controversial; however, Keynes was an experienced and skilled economist who had a clearer understanding of the economic issues than the other participants. Though Keynes at times overstated his case, his book was in many ways prophetic about the economic problems created by the treaty.

A number of revisionist historians are critical of the Keynes book. Recent studies concerning the Treaty of Versailles were triggered by com-

4. Margaret MacMillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World* (New York: Random House, 2002), 487.

ments made by Gerhard Weinberg during a discussion at the December 1968 meeting of the American Historical Association. In addition to saying that more research was required in this area, he stated that the key question was not how much, but who paid the reparations and how much.[5] These are certainly reasonable and interesting questions but they have acted as a diversion from the original and valid questions about the fairness and efficacy of the treaty.

The revisionist view holds that the Germans were superb actors, con artists and skilled diplomats who fooled the Allies during post-treaty negotiations. This view disparages the efforts of both the Allied and the German negotiators. It is true that the Germans tried to pay as little in reparations as possible, but much of this attitude resulted from the deep resentment of the dictated treaty.

THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE

At the peace conference, Keynes, the principal British representative for financial matters, should have been at the elbow of David Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister - that was not the case. There were over twenty significant national participants at the Peace Conference resulting in an unwieldy negotiating situation. The number of negotiators was pared down to the group known as the Big Four; which included besides Lloyd George, President Woodrow Wilson of the United States, Premier Georges Clemenceau of France and Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando of Italy. Before long, Orlando was edged out of this elite group. There was no negotiator for Germany, though there were some German technical experts at the conference.

The Big Three negotiated a peace treaty that focused on political issues. It was accepted by all, including the Germans, that Germany would be required to pay reparations but there was little consultation with financial experts concerning a realistic level of payments. The issue was treated as a political issue rather than as a financial issue. Reparations numbers were thrown about with little consideration as to the possibility of actually collecting these payments. In 1925, Sir Josiah Stamp, the economist and banker, commented about the lack of interest by politicians in economic facts. He stated, "During the war economic facts often had to be covered

5. Sally Marks, "Reparations Reconsidered: A Reminder," *Central European History,* volume 2, number 4 (Dec 1969), 356.

up – they might have given encouragement to the enemy, or destroyed the morale of the nation. . . . Much of this spirit has continued since then and up to the present economic statements are frequently subordinated to considerations of political convenience or national prejudice.[6] Part of the reason for taking a political approach was that, unlike the leaders of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, who restructured Europe after the Napoleonic Wars, each of the Big Three needed legislative approval of the final settlement, which complicated the process.

Woodrow Wilson was in political trouble when the Paris Peace Conference began. In the 1916 presidential election he had narrowly won with a campaign based on the slogan, "He Kept Us Out of War." Three months after his second inauguration he led isolationist America into World War I. In the congressional elections on 5 November 1918, his Democratic party lost seven Senate seats and twenty-five House seats and became the minority party in both houses of Congress. Wilson specifically asked the electorate for a mandate based on his conduct of the war, but he was repudiated. Even though the Republicans controlled Congress, Wilson did not include any influential Republicans in the American delegation to Paris. During the election campaign the Germans requested an armistice. The approaching Allied victory failed to sway the isolationist voters.[7] As a result, Wilson entered the peace conference with weakened legitimacy as compared to Lloyd George and Clemenceau.

Wilson and Clemenceau did not get along and Wilson nearly walked out of the peace conference several time because of conflicts with Clemenceau. In addition, Wilson's behavior at the conference was erratic. Particularly strange was the falling out he had with his close associate, Colonel Edward House. Wilson suffered his first of many strokes in 1896, had hypertension and arteriosclerosis. His general health appeared to be good in 1917 but he was under tremendous stress in 1918 and he began having memory and other problems.[8] After the peace conference he suffered a

6. Sir Josiah Stamp, *The Problem of Transfers, Address of Sir Josiah Stamp Delivered before the International Chamber in Brussels, June 1925* (Brussels: A. M. Weissenbruch, 1925), 6.

7. The Americans declined the status of being an Allied Power and declared themselves an Associated Power when they entered the war on the side of Britain, France and Italy.

8. Edwin A. Weinstein, *Woodrow Wilson: A Medical and Psychological Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 141; 322; 323.

debilitating stroke. His erratic behavior was likely due to his failing health.[9]

Clemenceau accepted Wilson's "Fourteen Points" as a basis for a peace treaty because it required the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France. Clemenceau, a journalist, had no background in finance or economics. The typical background of the French diplomats was in history or law.

After the armistice, Lloyd George called an election and won a strong victory for his governing coalition of Liberals and Conservatives. However, the campaign had gotten out of control. In February of 1918 an act had been passed that widely extended male suffrage and added female suffrage. The voter lists had climbed from 8,000,000 to 21,000,000. During the 1918 campaign it became obvious that the new electorate did not have the political sophistication of the old.[10] There was widespread talk of trying and hanging the Kaiser. The Kaiser in question was Wilhelm II, the German Emperor.[11] Wilhelm fled to the Netherlands after the fall of the monarchy and the neutral Dutch refused to turn him over to the Allies. There was a widespread desire in Britain and France to get every penny of war reparations possible from the Germans.

VIOLATION OF THE TERMS OF THE ARMISTICE

Keynes noted that the treaty was not based on the "Fourteen Points" and the exchange of the many notes that resulted in the Armistice agreement. Neither Britain nor France specified their war aims, nor did they wish to do so. In fact, they had made a number of secret treaties with their Allies promising compensation by allowing them to annex select territories of the Central Powers. Wilson was not aware of these treaties. Wilson's *Fourteen Points* address was the first public Allied statement of conditions for an armistice and peace.[12] When the German government cabled Wilson on 3 October 1918, stating they were willing to discuss an armistice based on Wilson's conditions, the Americans responded that the conditions

9. Harold Nicolson, *Peacemaking, 1919: Being Reminiscences of the Paris Peace Conference* (London: Constable, 1945), 196. Nicolson mentions the possible illness but was more alarmed by Wilson's rigidity and "spiritual arrogance."

10. Francis W. Hirst, *The Consequences of the War to Great Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934, reprint, New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 9-10.

11. The Austrian Emperor was also a Kaiser.

12. Wilson's speech introducing the "Fourteen Points" was given on 8 January 1918 before a joint session of Congress. At the President's direction, his staff had solicited ideas from hundreds of scholars and consolidated them into the "Fourteen Points."

had presupposed that they would not be dealing with the Hohenzollern monarchy then ruling Germany. Secretary of State Robert Lansing cabled the Germans that the US would negotiate with representatives of the German people; however, the US would only accept unconditional surrender from the German Imperial government.[13]

Prince Max of Baden became the German Chancellor in October 1918, replacing General Erich Ludendorff as the de facto head of government.[14] Prince Max then asked Wilhelm II to abdicate as chief of state. Wilhelm refused to do so, but regardless, Prince Max announced that the Kaiser had indeed abdicated. Wilson then stated that the British and French governments insisted on the modification of two points. The first was that the British insisted they be allowed to maintain sea blockades. The second was that the French insisted all occupied territories be evacuated, made free and be restored. The Germans agreed.[15]

Marshal Ferdinand Foch of France was the commander of all Allied Forces. He prepared the instructions for the German Army's withdrawal.[16] Foch had in mind that the armistice would in effect be an unconditional surrender. The German forces would be redeployed, per his instructions, in a manner that they could resume combat only on very unfavorable terms. The Armistice was signed on 11 November 1918. From the time the armistice was signed, the Germans were required to withdraw from the occupied areas in France, Belgium and Alsace-Lorraine within 14 days. Within 22 days they were required to be withdrawn from the German territory on the left bank of the Rhine.

The Germans expected that after their withdrawal they would negotiate a peace settlement with the Allies, though they understood that their negotiating position was weak. The negotiations did not occur. As Harold Nicolson, a British diplomat at Paris, noted, "The Allies then proceeded to negotiate the treaty without German participation. The fact remains, in any case, that throughout the early stages of the Conference the

13. The Secretary of State [Robert Lansing] to the Swiss Chargé (Oderlin), US Department of State, *Foreign Relations, 1918,* supplement 1, volume 1 (Washington: GPO, 1933), 381-383.

14. General Ludendorff was not the *de jure* head of government but he, as essentially the military dictator of Germany, was the *de facto* head of government.

15. Edward M. House, *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House,* volume 4 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1926-1928), 148.

16. Ibid., 143-144.

directing Powers never allowed it to be known whether the Treaty which was being prepared was a final text to be imposed upon Germany, or a mere basis of agreement as between the Allies for eventual negotiation with Germany at a final Congress."[17]

The Germans accepted the need for reconstruction in neutral Belgium where they were in the wrong for both their invasion and occupation. They did not disagree about the reconstruction in France, but they had not agreed to bear the whole cost of the war, nor to admit war guilt. In the negotiations between the Allies, provisions of the armistice agreement were violated from the beginning.[18] As Bernard Baruch, chief US representative on the Reparations Committee, commented, "In no statement of principles other than that of the United States was any reference made to the pre-armistice negotiations as a foundation for, or limitation of, the Allies' rights to reparations. . . . The American contention was that we did not have a piece of plain, white, uninscribed paper upon which to write the treaty, but that there already was written upon it, because of the acceptance of the Fourteen Points, a limitation which stated that only reparations of damage should be collected, and not the cost of war."[19] The British and French representatives wanted to expand the scope of reparations but since this was opposed by the Americans, the proposal was referred to the Supreme Council (the Big Three). The American delegation cabled the President who was aboard ship at that time. According to Baruch, "The President replied to the effect that the American delegation should dissent, and if necessary dissent publicly, from a procedure which 'is clearly inconsistent with what we deliberately led the enemy to expect and cannot now honorably alter simply because we have the power.'"[20] Later, Wilson opposed the Allied position in council, but acquiesced after an emotional presentation by his friend General Jan Smuts, of South Africa. This proposal allowed the costs of British and French war pensions and separation allowances to be included in the

17. Nicolson, *Peacemaking*, 100.

18. Harold Nicolson states that in addition to the "Fourteen Points," Wilson added "Four Prin ciples" and "Five Particulars," for a total of twenty-three points. Nicolson contends that nineteen of the twenty-three points were violated in the treaty. Nicolson, *Peacemaking*, 10; 12; 13; 43; 44.

19. Bernard M. Baruch, *The Making of the Reparation and Economic Sections of the Treaty* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1920), 20.

20. Ibid., 25-26.

cost of the war reparations.[21]

After making the decision, the President was confronted by the American Commissioners. John Foster Dulles, a US Commissioner and a future US Secretary of State, said that they considered the compromise illegal. The President responded that it was a situation where strict legal interpretation was inappropriate and ". . . that he did not feel bound by considerations of logic . . ." per a Dulles memo, dated 1 April 1919. Thomas Lamont, a US Commissioner and future J. P. Morgan partner, reported the President's comments as, "Logic! Logic! I don't give a damn for logic. I am going to include pensions!"[22]

The Allies presentation of the treaty to the German envoys in May 1919 resulted in the fall of the provisional German government. The Germans felt that the reparations debt had been incurred by the former monarchy, but the debt was to be borne by the new Republic. This peace might have been imposed on the German population by an autocratic government or by a military occupation, but a representative democracy would find it difficult, if not impossible, to implement it. The Germans also complained that accepting an indefinite level of reparations was tantamount to giving the Allies a blank check. Since the British Navy had maintained their naval blockade, there was considerable hunger in Germany.[23] A new provisional German government was under great pressure to sign the Treaty and finally did so on 28 June 1919.

The word "treaty" is based on the Old French word *traité*, which means "to negotiate." Since the Allies reneged on negotiating the treaty and forced the Germans to sign it under duress, the treaty lost all legitimacy as far as the Germans were concerned. It is surprising that revisionist historians would in turn be surprised that the Germans were uncooperative in fulfilling the treaty's terms.

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21. Ibid., 29.

22. Ferdinand Czernin, *Versailles, 1919: The Forces, Events and Personalities that Shaped the Treaty* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1964), 300.

23. The French blocked use of German funds to buy food from the Allies from November 1918 until March 1919. The French maintained that the money should be used only for reparations but they were eventually overruled by the Americans and the British per Bruce Kent, *The Spoils of War, The Politics, Economics, and Diplomacy of Reparations, 1918-1932* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 57-58.

REPARATIONS: SETTING A VALUE

The Allies stripped Germany of its colonies. The Germans were unhappy about this but not surprised. The colonies were taken by the British Commonwealth, France and Japan as "mandates" from the League of Nations. US Secretary of State Robert Lansing said that it was the intent of the European powers that mandates be used so that the value of the territories would not be considered as a part of reparations.[24] All German private and public assets in the colonies were seized without compensation. Where bonds had been issued to pay for public improvements, Germany was obligated to pay off those bonds. Alsace-Lorraine was returned to France with the same conditions in addition to all rolling stock for the railways of the province. The Allies seized all German assets in their own countries, took control of all German underwater communications cables and confiscated all Germany patents and trademarks without compensation. Items that would be credited against reparation costs included all large German maritime vessels and half of the smaller ones that were taken by Britain and the 5,000 locomotives and 150,000 railroad cars that had been turned over to France.[25]

Initially, total reparation costs of as much as $200 billion[26] had been proposed but the suggested numbers were not the result of any financial analysis. Eventually the Allies concluded that reparations costs of about $60 billion was the maximum figure that Germany could pay. It was decided that the actual reparation cost for the Germans would be determined *after* the signing of the Peace Treaty.

There were several reasons for the change. The first is that both the British and French public were expecting far higher reparations than $60 billion. It might not be possible to obtain legislative approval of the treaty with reparations at *only* $60 billion. In addition, business groups in Britain were having second thoughts about high reparations because of the effect they might have on their trade with Germany. Prior to the war, Germany had been one of Britain's most important trading partners.

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24. Robert Lansing, *The Peace Negotiations: A Personal Narrative* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1921), 156-157.

25. The railroad equipment requirement was first listed in the Armistice Agreement of 11 November 1918.

26. The proposed reparation amount was 800 billion gold Reichsmarks which was about $200 billion.

Clemenceau wanted the highest level of reparations possible and did not want reparations levied that might be easily payable by the Germans. The French plan was to leave the total amount indefinite. Over time they would see how high a level the Germans could pay and would then set the reparations at that level for the longest time possible. The problem with this approach was that if the payments were too heavy, while the German economy was weak, it would never recover sufficiently to make high payments. In addition, the Americans did not want German payments to extend beyond 30 years.

The only part of the monetary reparations that was listed in the treaty called for an initial payment of 20 billion gold Reichsmarks to be paid prior to the start of the annual reparations payments. This was to be a payment in kind. It was based on a preliminary estimate of the value of Germany's "realizable surplus assets."[27] Germany was given a credit of about 8 billion marks, as valued by the Allies, for such assets as the merchant fleet, where the treaty had stated that the Germans would be compensated. This did not include the value of the many other properties that had been confiscated by the Allies. The debt stated in the treaty was not adjusted downward after determination of the actual value of the "surplus assets" but the differential between estimated value and actual value was never collected either. This payment was due in 1921. As of the time these assets were turned over to the Allies, the Germans had paid 60 percent more than the French had paid in Franco-German war reparations after 1871.[28] The high level of reparations and the amount and difficulty in making the annual reparation payments was questioned by Keynes and others.

One explanation of why the level of reparations was so high for the items specifically noted in the treaty was provided by Harold Nicolson, who said, "Many paragraphs of the Treaty, and especially in the economic sections, were in fact inserted as 'maximum statements' such as would provide some area of concession to Germany at the eventual Congress. This Congress never materialized: the last weeks of the Conference flew past us in a hysterical nightmare; and the 'maximum statements' remained unmodified and were eventually imposed by ultimatum. Had it been known from the

27. Baruch, 55.

28. The war indemnity forced on France by the Germans after the Franco-German War was 5 billion francs which was about equivalent to 5 billion marks. In the Financial Supplement to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918, the Germans assessed the Russians 6 billion marks. Part of this indemnity was collected but the Germans were not allowed to keep these funds.

outset that no negotiations would ever take place with the enemy, it is certain that many of the less reasonable clauses of the Treaty would never have been inserted.[29]

REPARATIONS: DETERMINATION OF COSTS

The London Conference on Reparations was held in 1921. The Reparations Commission calculated the reparations cost at approximately $32 billion dollars in US currency.[30] The French public was outraged by this *low* level. The German financial advisers were surprised by the $32 billion dollar figure, having expected a higher figure.

The debt was structured into three series of bonds listed as Class A, B and C. Coupons were attached to the Class A and B bonds and the Germans would need to start paying off these bonds immediately. The Type C bonds were well over half of the total. No coupons were attached to these bonds and the payment on them was deferred. Later, it was discovered that this was a subterfuge by the committee.[31] The committee never intended that the Type C bonds be paid because they believed it was beyond the financial capability of Germany.[32] This meant that the $60 billion debt that Keynes had opposed had been reduced to a face value of $32 billion with the real amount being $12.5 billion (equivalent to 50 billion gold Reichsmarks)[33]. The amount was reduced not as a favor to Germany, but as a bow to reality. The two initial payments in 1921 and 1922 would each be $250 million (equivalent to 1 billion gold Reichsmarks). Thereafter the annual payments would be 2 billion gold Reichsmarks plus a value equal to 26 percent of exports. Based on the annual average of exports of the early 1920s the total would have been about 3 billion gold Reichsmarks.

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29. Nicolson, 100.

30. At the time that Keynes resigned from the British delegation, the amount of reparations being considered was $60 billion.

31. As stated by Gaston Furst, a Belgian delegate, in his memoir, *De Versailles aux Experts* in an extract translated by Sally Marks, "Reparations Reconsidered: A Reminder," *Central European History,* volume 2, number 4 (Dec 1969), 362.

32. Keynes expected that these bonds would be canceled per his *A Revision of the Treaty: Being a Sequel to The Economic Consequences of the Peace* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1922), 12.

33. Though the pre-war official exchange rate was 4.2 gold Reichsmarks to 1 US Dollar, most discussions use a convenient 4 to 1 ratio and round off the total amounts.

Reparations: Paying the Bill

Carl Melchior, a German government official and banker, proposed that Germany make an all out effort to pay the reparations even though he felt that the task was an impossible one. He said, "We can get through the first two or three years with the aid of foreign loans. By the end of that time foreign nations will have realised that these large payments can only be made by huge German exports and these exports will ruin the trade in England and America so that creditors themselves will come to us to request modification."[34] No one else in Germany was so adventurous. The problem of earning foreign exchange to make the reparation payments was one of the key problems noted by Keynes. The allies were not willing to accept currency in marks as payment and the German government had relatively small amounts of gold, foreign exchange and foreign credit.[35]

Prior to the war the German economy regularly ran a deficit in their Balance of Trade, that is - imports exceeded exports. They still were able to have a positive Balance of Payments due to the income from their foreign investments, income from patents and income from the merchant fleet. Almost all of those assets had been expropriated by the Allies. After the war, Germany continued to run a Balance of Trade deficit in spite of efforts to keep imports as low as possible.

Etienne Mantoux, a French historian and a critic of Keynes' views about the Versailles Treaty, compiled some figures concerning the German Balance of Payments. He noted that no figures are available for the early 1920s but that one estimate for the period 1919-1922 was that the total deficit for this period was 10 billion gold Reichsmarks. For later years, he cited figures obtained from the League of Nations as shown in Table 1.[36] The figures listed for "Exports to Imports" reflects the net amount in billions of marks. A negative (-) indicates that the imports are higher than exports. As one can see, the Balance of Trade is negative for almost every year. It was mentioned previously that before the war, the German Balance of Payments was usually positive even though the Balance of Trade was negative. This was because German earnings from foreign investments and

34. Edgar V. D'Abernon, *An Ambassador of Peace,* volume 1 (London: Hodder & Stouton, 1929), 194.

35. Baruch, 186 (Treaty Article 262).

36. Etienne Mantoux, *The Carthaginian Peace or the Economic Consequences of Mr. Keynes,* edited & translated by Robert G. Colodny (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1984), 118-119.

foreign services (such as the merchant marine) earned enough to offset the negative Balance of Trade.

TABLE 1

German balances of trade and payments, 1924 - 1929

YEAR	EXPORTS TO IMPORTS*	BALANCE OF PAYMENTS
1924	-1.848	- 1.954
1925	-2.362	- 3.253
1926	+ .817	- .739
1927	- 2.890	- 4.352
1928	- 1.250	- 4.058
1929	+ .031	- 2.023

The amounts listed are in billions of gold Reichsmarks

* "Exports to Imports" is equivalent to Balance of Trade.

In the post war period these tools to earn foreign exchange were not available because they had been confiscated by the Allies. Germany did have some foreign exchange coming in from speculators who had purchased German marks and, after the Dawes Plan went into affect, American loan money came into the country. Because of the excessive amount of marks in circulation, their value declined with respect to the US dollar, any other strong currency and with respect to the gold Reichsmark standard of 1914.[37] Adherence to the Gold Standard made the transfer problem particularly difficult.[38]

Mantoux maintained that his study of works by Frank Taussig, the international economist and tariff expert, showed that there was no transfer problem. What Mantoux says is true, so long as the imbalances are small. If Germany needed a small amount of foreign exchange it could be bought with marks in the international currency markets. However, doing so would result in a small decline in the value of the mark. This approach does not

37. The Allied Powers and the Central Powers abandoned the Gold Standard during World War I. The abandonment meant that they would not redeem their currency with gold.

38. Starting in 1931, Britain and most other nations abandoned the Gold Standard again. In 1933, the US devalued its currency by 40 percent and adopted a modified Gold Standard. A new international financial system was introduced at the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944 based on US currency backed by gold. The US ended gold convertibility in 1971.

work if very large sums are involved and large sums were involved in the reparation payments.

Since industrialization, Germany had not been able to grow enough food in its small land area to feed its large population. The 13 percent of land area that Germany had lost (not counting Alsace-Lorraine) was almost all in agrarian eastern Germany. The Germans also had to import raw materials to supply many of the manufacturing industries. This meant that the reparations would be paid using sound foreign currency augmented by commodities to make up the balance when there was insufficient foreign exchange available. A number of commodities had been proposed and approved for reparation payments including coal, wood products, dyes and chemicals; but in practice, France was only willing to accept wood products and coal. Per the treaty, the coal was priced at the subsidized German domestic price.[39] The international market price for coal was double the German domestic price. The treaty also allowed German construction and engineering firms to reconstruct damaged areas, but France wanted the work done only by French concerns using French labor.[40] As a result, no reconstruction was performed by the Germans. The initial reparations payment was due in August 1921 and was paid. The sum due was 1 billion gold Reichsmarks (payable in foreign currency or gold).

Throughout World War I, Germany had difficulty financing the war. The war was financed primarily by borrowing and by inflating the currency. The result was an inflationary period, though a moderate one. The wartime Imperial government and the successor Weimar Republic were both unwilling to levy heavy taxes. Some historians have said that if the Germans had just raised taxes they could have made the payments. The German taxation level in the Weimar Republic was essentially the same level as in the Imperial era. Gustav Stresemann, Chancellor of Germany and later Foreign Minister, attempted a modest rise in taxes but it was opposed in the Reichstag, most strongly by middle class constituencies.[41] It would be political suicide for a democratic government to attempt to raise taxes above the war time level so that increased amounts could be handed over to

39. Baruch, 41; 164; 165 (Treaty Article 244, Annex V, Clause 6).

40. David Felix, *Walther Rathenau and the Weimar Republic: The Politics of Reparations* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), 74. The information cited from this book is typically based on German language sources.

41. Ibid., 94.

foreigners because of a dictated peace treaty. It really was necessary to raise taxes and lower government expenditures; however, doing this would not resolve the problem of transferring funds from one country to another.[42]

In 1914, at the start of the war, the official exchange rate was 4.2 gold Reichsmarks to 1 American dollar. By the end of the war, the exchange rate was about 16 marks to the dollar. The wartime inflation continued after the peace, during the early years of the Weimar Republic, but the rate of inflation varied. At the time the first reparation payment was made in 1921 the exchange rate was down to 60 marks to the dollar. However, as required by the Treaty of Versailles, the reparations were being calculated using the pre-war official exchange rate of 4.2 gold Reichsmarks to the dollar. A second reparations payment of a similar value to that of 1921 was due in 1922.

In making the 1921 reparations payment, Germany had used most of its gold and silver, its supply of foreign currency, borrowed French francs and British pounds from bankers in those countries (in anticipation of export revenues) and used marks to buy more foreign exchange. There also was some foreign currency coming in as foreign speculators bet on the mark rising in value, assuming that Germany would soon be in good financial condition. However, speculators are not always right and this was one of those cases. The problem with using marks to buy foreign currency was that the mark was the weak currency of a government in poor financial condition. As a result of this action, the mark lost more of its value, even though the purchases had been handled as discreetly as possible.[43]

The exchange rate was at 320 marks to the dollar by June 1922. A large part of the 1922 payment was made in commodities but the French and Germans disagreed about the commodity value. Throughout 1922 the mark continued to drop as the political situation deteriorated and by December 1922 the exchange rate was 8000 marks to the dollar. The French petitioned the Reparations Committee to declare the Germans in default on the 1922 reparations payment. The British delegate said that, at worst, the Germans were 2 or 3 million short on a total of about 1 billion (gold value not paper) marks worth of cash and commodities and they would

42. The transfer problem will be discussed in detail later.

43. Felix, 83. To provide an idea of the magnitude of the reparations payments, the shipment of silver bullion, covering about 5 percent of the payment, required 90 railroad cars to transport.

not vote for the default judgment.[44] The British described the deficiency as 'almost microscopic.'[45] France and Belgium, which was under French pressure, both voted for default.[46] Professor Harold Laski of the London School of Economics described the paranoid feelings in France as of May 1922. According to Laski, "In France, whatever else be lacking, unity at least there is . . . Few seem to doubt the approach of a new war; at least be it made certain that France will fight from a position of advantage. Germany is still a figure uniquely evil, the origin of all wrong and suffering, prosperous in fact, and falsely declaring herself bankrupt to win the pity of soft-hearted England."[47] French fear of the future restoration of Germany's power was certainly valid but in 1922 Germany did not have the army, material or finances to wage a major war.

The Ruhr Crisis

The French pressured Belgium into participating in the seizure of the Ruhr Valley. The seizure started the Ruhr Crisis. The Germans reacted with passive resistance, though some of the resistance was not so passive. The resistance included throwing the switches on rail lines causing the derailing of coal-laden trains headed for France. The French killed 376 protestors and wounded about 2000 during the occupation. The French also expelled about 147,000 Germans from the Ruhr.[48] Strikes in the Ruhr coal mines and industry continued. Mine owners, mine directors and miners were arrested by the French and thus became heroes. Though the Weimar Republic was heading toward insolvency, they paid the wages of the resistors. The French occupation separated the Ruhr Valley from the rest of Germany, treating the Ruhr like a French possession. Consequently, large

44. The percentage of the payment deficiency was 0.3% or 3/10th of 1%.

45. Ruth Henig, *Versailles and After, 1919-1933* (London: Routledge, 1984), 37.

46. Whether or not Germany was in fact in default is unclear. Cash payments of about 400 million marks were made. Apparently over 500 million marks worth of goods, primarily coal plus wood products, was shipped. At this time France was refusing commodities other than coal or wood products. See David Felix, *Walther Rathenau*, 178-179. Note that the Reparations Commission was valuing coal at the German domestic price which was subsidized, whereas the international price was twice as high. See Felix, 84, 106n.

47. Harold Laski, *The Nation*, 6 May 1922. (*The Nation* was a weekly newspaper with a Liberal/Labor outlook, published from 1921 to 1931 in the United Kingdom.)

48. Adam Ferguson, *When Money Dies: The Nightmare of the Weimar Collapse* (London: William Kimber, 1975), http://mises.org/resources/4016, accessed 2 Oct 2009.

amounts of revenue were lost to the German government. As the German government continued to print more money, inflation surged into hyper-inflation.

Postage rates are one way to tell the remarkable story of this inflation. In the early 1920s, the cost of a postage stamp ranged from less than a mark to 20 marks. By the end of 1922, the range was 100 to 500 marks. In early 1923, the lowest denomination for new stamps was 5,000 marks and by November of that year the most expensive stamp was 50 trillion marks.[49] This is hyper inflation with a vengeance. The German middle class lost virtually all of their liquid wealth due to this inflation. They also lost what faith they had in the Weimar Republic. The German resistance to the French occupation of the Ruhr Valley ended in September 1923 when Gustav Stresemann became the new Chancellor. At that time the Germans completely defaulted on reparations payments.

By the end of the Ruhr resistance, Germany was in chaos. There were Communist revolts in Thuringia and Saxony and an attempted Nazi takeover in Bavaria. General Hans von Seeckt, the Army Chief of Staff, was given virtually dictatorial power to restore order. He used the minimum force possible to restore order and also used his authority to abolish the extreme parties of the right and the left.

Once political stability was achieved, financial recovery could begin. The establishment of a new Rentenbank under the direction of Hjalmar Schacht, a banker and economist, was a move to stabilize the currency. With the authorization of the German Treasury, a new currency called the Rentenmark was issued to replace the Reichsmark. Since Germany had no significant amount of foreign exchange or gold remaining, a new approach was used to re-establish the currency. The new currency was backed by mortgages on agricultural real estate and bonds on industry. The Rentenmark was accepted by the public and the hyper-inflation ended. (The worthless Reichsmark was actually still the legal tender but the Rentenmark was the only currency Germans would accept.) The economy began to

49. For the American mathematical terminology of million, billion and trillion; the Germans used million, milliard, billiard.

function again.[50]

Reparations and War Debt

Both Great Britain and France had counted on war reparations as a way to help pay off their war debt. France and other allied states had borrowed from Britain during the war. Britain had borrowed $8 billion and France had borrowed $4 billion from the United States. In the early part of the war Britain and France had liquidated most of their large assets in American real estate and industry to help finance the war. The United States had greatly profited during the war by selling supplies to the Allies. With the collapse of food production in Europe, it was the best of times for American farmers. At the war's end, it was obvious that for France and Great Britain it had been a Pyrrhic victory. They had won militarily, thanks to the money, material and men provided by the US, but they had suffered enormous casualties in the process. Much of northeastern France was ruined, the economies of both allies were seriously damaged and they both owed large war debts to the US. World War I ended with Europe in financial ruin and suffering from cultural shock.

In addition to the large war debt to the United States, Britain's annual Balance of Trade deficit had gone from £170 million in 1914 to £784 million in 1918 resulting in massive losses of foreign exchange currency. Britain had been cut off from major trading partners in Europe. Many of her trading markets in Latin American and the Far East had been permanently lost to the United States and Japan.[51]

Meanwhile, France made large bond sales to fund reconstruction and needed to begin paying off those bonds. The French government was running large budget deficits and the economy was running poorly. England was greatly weakened financially but France was in dire straits. At the end of the war, the US stood as the dominant financial power of the planet.

Keynes, and others, had recommended that the US write off the Allied loans as a contribution to the Allied war effort but there was little sympathy for that idea in the US. In 1920, Keynes felt that if the inter-allied

50. Schacht's secretary was asked by a reporter about how he worked. She said that all he did was talk on the telephone all day. He had apparently talked to every mover and shaker in Germany and convinced them that the new currency was sound. Once everyone is convinced that a currency is sound – it is!

51. Francis Hirst, *Consequences to Great Britain*, 258-259.

war debts were cancelled and the English then waived their reparations, the German reparations could be reasonably set at $10 billion. (Note that the London Conference had set the real value of reparations at $12.5 billion.) The reparations would then be distributed to France and Belgium to settle their claims for the physical damage that had occurred to their territories.

Though Raymond Poincaré, the French Premiere, and France had won the test of wills with Germany during the Ruhr Crisis, the cost to France was heavy. The goods they seized during the occupation were worth about 1.1 billion gold Reichsmarks.[52] This was little more than the value of the reparations in cash and commodities that they had received in 1921 and again in 1922. Now German reparations had stopped. The end of reparations was the *coupe de grâce* for the French economy. The value of the franc collapsed in 1924 and Poincaré's government fell, also.

THE DAWES COMMITTEE AND THE TRANSFER PROBLEM

After the German reparations default, the Reparation Commission asked Charles G. Dawes,[53] an American banker to chair a committee to develop a solution to the reparations problem. It became known as the Dawes Committee and its product was known as the Dawes Plan.

The Dawes Committee was the result of an initiative by US Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes who was irritated by the French actions concerning reparations and the occupation of the Ruhr. Hughes made his proposal on 29 December 1922.[54] It was brought up again by President Calvin Coolidge on 11 October 1923. Hughes let the French know that the United States wanted a reasonable financial plan worked out. The French had no other options and acquiesced.

The committee included two members each from the US, Great Britain, France, Belgium and Italy. Owen D. Young was the other American on the committee.[55] After examining the situation, the committee concluded that the reparations must be set at 1 billion marks per year for now. The payments would be increased to 2.5 billion marks per year after five years.

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52. Felix, 181.

53. Dawes was a general, a banker and later the Vice President of the U.S. under Calvin Coolidge.

54. Secretary of State [Charles Evan Hughes], US Department of State, *Foreign Relations, 1922* (Washington: GPO, 1934), volume 2, 179.

55. Young created Radio Corporation of America (RCA) and was later CEO of General Electric Co. (GE).

This multi-level payment structure recognized that Germany must first get its economy running properly before large payments could be made.[56]

The weakness of Germany's economy in the post-war period is illustrated in Table 2.[57]

TABLE 2
Index of Output for Germany: 1913 = 100

1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	Sep-Dec 1923
66	55	66	73	80	61	42

Germany's economic output needed to return to pre-war levels to be able to pay the level of reparations being demanded.

An important change in the reparations procedures was made that allowed sanctions only when a flagrant default occurred. Previously, the standard had been a voluntary default. In addition, it required a unanimous decision of the Reparation Commission that had been established by the Treaty of Versailles.

A key reparations problem was pointed out by the Dawes Committee that few people without backgrounds in finance or economics understood; this is the transfer problem. The committee stated, "There has been a tendency in the past to confuse two distinct though related questions, i.e., first, the amount of revenue which Germany can raise available for reparation account, and second the amount which can be transferred to foreign countries. *The funds raised and transferred to the Allies on reparation account cannot, in the long run, exceed the sums which the balance of payments makes*

56. The American and British technical advisors disagreed with the committee and felt that these amounts were still too high per Royal J. Schmidt, *Versailles and the Ruhr: Seedbed of World War II* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968), 227.

57. Frank D. Graham, *Exchange, Prices, and Production in Hyperinflation Germany, 1920-1923* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1930), 316.

it possible to transfer, without currency and budget instability ensuing."[58] It appears that few of the revisionist historians, who fail to find fault with the financial aspects of the treaty, grasp the transfer problem. It is not an easy concept to understand. An example of the transfer problem as provided by Sally Marks states, "The transfer problem (that is, the difficulties involved in transferring real resources from one country to another or, in effect, in converting German wealth into foreign currencies for reparation payments without depreciating the mark) plagued the history of reparations and *provided a convenient impediment to payment*."[59]The transfer problem is not a "convenient impediment;" it is a fact of international economics. Sir Josiah Stamp described the issue this way:

> . . . the production of economic value available for the use of creditors is quite a different thing from the obtaining of, and presentation to those creditors, of general purchasing power or wealth in their own currencies. Germany may well be required and able to produce a large amount in material economic values, but with insignificant exception she can only transmute those values into foreign currencies through the ordinary processes of industry and trade. Some resident in foreign countries must be ready to give their own currency for those material productions, when Germany can present the foreign currencies so obtained to the Allied Governments.[60]

Stephen Schuker, another apologist for the economics of the treaty, has this to say about the transfer problem:

> Germany did make a first payment of 1 milliard [billion] marks ($250 million) in the summer of 1921. However, in order to effectuate a capital transfer representing real resources, a nation must first tax itself. Disposable income in the paying country is thus initially reduced by the same amount as disposable income rises in the recipient country after payment. The specific means chosen

58. George A. Finch, "The Dawes Report on German Reparation Payments," *The American Journal of International Law*, volume 18, number 3 (Jul 1924), 419-435. Emphasis added.

59. Sally Marks, "The Myths of Reparations," *Central European History*, volume 11, number 3 (September 1978), 231-255. Emphasis added.

60. Stamp, 2-3.

> to raise funds in the donor country and to employ them in the recipient country may influence the symmetry of the operation. The important point, however, is that the citizens of the recipient country will be able to purchase the products that the citizens of the donor country can no longer afford, so that if artificial barriers are not interposed, income changes resulting from the money transfer will facilitate the real transfer of goods.[61]

Schuker's vague and confusing statement does not effectively describe the nature of the transfer problem. Hjalmar Schacht, a German Minister of the Treasury, gave a clear and concise statement of the mechanics of foreign exchange transfer as related to reparations:

> What is the real machinery for payment of the German reparations? Germany's citizens pay their government sufficient taxes to permit it to devote an average of two billion marks a year to the payment of reparations. The taxes are paid in German money. But the Allied countries want to be paid, not in German, but in their own currencies. So the German Government must buy foreign money with German money. Such foreign currency, called bills of exchange, is for the most part earned by the export of goods, or by commercial services rendered by German citizens abroad. In so far as these citizens do not themselves utilize this foreign exchange for the purchase of goods abroad, they sell it to the banks, in the last analysis to the Reichsbank. It is through the Reichsbank that the government buys its two billion marks in bills of foreign exchange each year. These bills of exchange are then transferred to the Allies.[62]

The conclusion that should be reached from the expert comments provided is that without a Balance of Payments surplus, foreign currency was not available to make reparations payments. It is essential that the transfer problem be understood if one is to understand the war reparations issue and the difficulties that Germany had in making the payments. Keynes understood this clearly while many others involved with the repara-

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61. Stephen A. Schuker, *The End of French Predominance in Europe: The Financial Crisis of 1924 and the Adoption of the Dawes Plan* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976), 15-16.

62. Hjalmar Schacht, *The End of Reparations,* translated by Lewis Gannett (New York: Jonathan Cape & Harrison Smith, 1931), 28-29.

tions problem and its study did not.

Under the Dawes Plan the US would provide loans to help Germany make the payments. The influx of US dollars, through these loans, would provide the foreign exchange needed by Germany to pay the war reparations to Britain, France and Belgium. The French occupation of the Ruhr Valley was to end. In addition, German excise and custom taxes and revenues from the German rail system, the *Reichsbahn*, and other operations would be dedicated to paying off the loans from the Americans. This resulted in the curious circle where the US loaned money to Germany to pay war reparations to Britain and France who then paid the US for their war debt. The new plan went into effect in September 1924. Dawes shared the 1925 Nobel Peace Prize for his work.

Though there were German financial experts available, the Dawes Committee had no Germans among the ten members. The committee findings were unanimous. Dawes and Young were the two key members, both of whom were financially sophisticated men. Dawes was notably pro-French in his attitudes. General Dawes had served on the staff of General John Pershing, the American Expeditionary Force Commander, during World War I, and Dawes was friendly with many of the French leaders. There were two other two key members of the committee. Sir Josiah Stamp of Great Britain was an economist, statistician, expert on taxation and a Director of the Bank of England. Emile Francqui of Belgium was a diplomat, banker and businessman. To assume that the Germans fooled this committee into setting low payments is not credible.

The Dawes Committee's work was initially considered a success. However, after three years the Germans indicated that they would not have sufficient revenue or foreign exchange to pay back the American loans and reparations when the higher payment rate went into effect.

The payment level was only part of the problem. The US, the Allies and other nations had been raising their tariffs since 1922 when the US enacted the high tariff Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act. The US had dropped tariff rates in 1913 but this act raised them back and above the pre-1913 levels.[63] Such a tariff could only be justified for protecting infant industry and was unjustifiable for the wealthy American industrial empire. Most American trading partners responded by raising their tariffs. This made it

63. Edward Kaplan, "The Fordney-McCumber Tariff of 1922," *EH.Net Encyclopedia*, edited by Robert Whaples, 16 March 2008, http://eh.net/encyclopedia/article/Kaplan.Fordney, accessed 23 October 2009.

increasingly difficult for Great Britain and France to earn American foreign exchange to pay off their war debt. It also made it more difficult for the Germans to earn the foreign exchange needed to make their reparation and loan payments.[64] In addition, Eastern Europe which before the war had functioned much as a large free trade area as a part of Austria, was now broken up into numerous small countries, each of which, established trade barriers to protect various local industries.[65]

The British economy was also in trouble. The economy had not revived after the war. Throughout most of the 1920s and 1930s, British unemployment ran about 10 percent. In 1920 and 1921 Britain was running a Balance of Payments deficit.[66] The British were having difficulty competing with the Americans, Japanese and the Germans. The British, in particular, were concerned about being inundated in cheap German imports that might damage their own industries. The French were suffering from war damage, a weak economy and financial instability.

Reparations: End Game

In 1929 the Allied Reparations Committee asked Owen D. Young to chair a new committee that was structured in a way similar to the Dawes Committee. Young had worked with Dawes on the previous committee. J. P. Morgan and his partner Thomas Lamont were also on the Young Committee. The Bank for International Settlements, which still exists, was created as part of this plan, to provide assistance in the transfer of funds between nations. The stock market crash in 1929 and the subsequent Great Depression prevented the implementation of a new payment plan of 1.9 billion marks per year as compared to the 2.5 billion marks called for in the Dawes Plan.

In 1932 a conference was convened in Lausanne, Switzerland, where the total required future reparations to be paid by Germany were reduced from the nominal $32.3 billion level (and real $12.5 billion) to an adjusted new balance of $713 million due. It was also agreed not to press Germany for any payments at that time due to the international economic crisis. This was the worst part of the Great Depression, and world trade had

64. Felix, 34.

65. The Austro-Hungarian Empire included Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia and parts of Poland, Yugoslavia, Romania and Italy before its collapse at the end of World War I.

66. Felix, 39.

collapsed by then. A major culprit for the trade collapse was the United States for enacting the notorious Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930. This tariff imposed an effective 60 percent import tax on 3,200 items.[67]

A WORKABLE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT

Aristide Briand became Premier and Foreign Minister of France in 1925. He worked well with Gustav Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister. In 1925 Stresemann proposed a multi-lateral treaty that would guarantee Germany's western border. Sir Austen Chamberlain, Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, took the lead in setting up a conference in Lucarno, Switzerland. France, Germany, Great Britain, Belgium and Italy signed the Rhineland Treaty at Lucarno, which provided this guarantee. Chamberlain shared the 1925 Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts. As a result of the Lucarno agreement, Germany was admitted into the League of Nations in 1926. Some foreign troops were withdrawn from the Rhineland and by 1930 all had been withdrawn. Briand and Stresemann shared the Nobel Peace Prize of 1926 for this accomplishment. It seemed that the French and Germans might be able to achieve a real settlement.

With the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France, the steel industry was divided with the bulk of the iron ore in France and the main anthracite coal deposits in Germany. Keynes had proposed that France and Germany establish a joint coal and steel commission to share these resources. Briand and Stresemann implemented this proposal with the International Steel Agreement in 1926.[68] Briand began advocating a united Europe in 1929. Unfortunately, the commencement of the Great Depression and the rise of the ultra-nationalist parties in Germany ruined this new beginning.[69]

CONCLUSION

The Treaty of Versailles failed to produce a fair and workable European settlement after World War I. The first great error with the treaty was the Allied violation of the terms of the Armistice. Germany was not a

67. When the Nazis took power in Germany in 1933, they repudiated what remained of the reparations debt.

68. Sally Marks, *The Illusion of Peace: International Relations in Europe, 1918-1933* (London: Macmillan, 1976), 84. This book includes a very helpful chronology of international events from 1915 to 1937.

69. In 1950, the creation of the similar European Iron and Steel Commission provided the first steps toward the creation of the European Community.

defeated state in October 1918 when the Armistice was requested by the Germans. As Colonel House expressed it:

> Germany was retreating in an orderly fashion and no one could say with certainty that she would not be able to shorten her line and hold it for months. If she had done this and we had failed to make peace when she had accepted the President's terms there would have been a political revolution in every Allied country save the United States. The people would almost of certainty have overthrown the existing governments and would have placed in power ministers instructed to re-open peace negotiations with Germany upon the basis of the President's fourteen points, and with the offer of more moderate armistice conditions.[70]

Marshal Foch had acted wisely in recommending that the Armistice be accepted and the Allies did the right thing in agreeing to the Armistice. However, events went off-track when the Allies failed in their duty to negotiate with Germany and achieve German "buy-in" on the treaty.

A second major error in the war settlement was the failure to deal realistically with reparations. This failure resulted in five wasted years of conflict and recrimination. Had these issues been dealt with properly, an early Franco-German settlement might have been put in place. The repeated lowering of the reparations was not a victory by clever German negotiators, but was recognition, by financial experts, that the reparations, as originally scheduled, were not economically feasible.

With a close economic association between Germany and France, Europe could have prospered. With this economic structure in place, it is at least possible that some of the effects of the Great Depression in Europe would have been mitigated. With a reasonable negotiated settlement, most of the issues later used by the extremist nationalist German parties would not have existed.

Sir Harold Nicolson in his book *Diplomacy* commented, "The worst kind of diplomatists are missionaries, fanatics and lawyers; the best kind are the reasonable and humane skeptics. Thus it is not religion which has been the main formative influence in diplomatic theory; it is common sense."[71]

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70. Edward M. House and Charles Seymour, *What Really Happened at Paris: The Story of the Peace Conference, 1918-1919* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1921), 12.

71. Harold Nicolson, *Diplomacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939, reprint New York: Galaxy, 1964), 24.

Had a bit more common sense prevailed at the Paris Peace Conference, the results would have been much better.

Changing Conceptions: Single Motherhood in America, 1965 to 1980

Diana Reed

*But why does he look special to other people? Do they expect a 'bastard' to be ugly and miserable? Perhaps. I like to think, however, that they unconsciously expect something unusual of a child born in ancient symbolism, outside of wed**lock,** a happy, healthy child, conceived and carried and born in independence and freedom from the constraints of society. A child whose existence and whose nature have today–as at all times–the power to begin to change the world once more.*[1]

Jane Harriman does not glamorize her experience as a single mother in a 1970s article in the *Atlantic*. A diaper service refused her as a client when she revealed her single status, a salesman advised her to lie and claim to be divorced in order to obtain life insurance, and the Welfare Department informed her that the state of Massachusetts provided no daycare for children under age two. Harriman depicts single motherhood as exhausting, lonely and emotionally grueling; yet, she recognizes that as a single mother in the 1970s, she teeters on the brink of a dramatic shift in public perception of her child and of her choice to bear her child out of wedlock.

Harriman is one of hundreds of thousands of women who chose to become a single mother in an era that included the sexual revolution, increased access to birth control and the legalization of abortion. Unequal access to information and services (often based on financial status and race)

1. Jane Harriman, "In Trouble: The Story of an Unmarried Woman's Decision to Keep her Child." *Atlantic*, March 1970, 84. Emphasis in original.

certainly limited the reproductive choices of many women; however, a growing number of American women who elected to become single mothers in the 1960s and 1970s expressed their decisions free of the sense of shame and despair that characterized their counterparts in earlier decades. Between 1965 and 1980, societal norms, legal policies and social services shifted in a way that reshaped the experiences of unwed mothers and decreased the stigma of single motherhood.

Several factors contributed to the changing perception of single motherhood. First, acceptance of premarital sex and a decrease in shame associated with sexual activity between unmarried adults grew during the sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s. Next, the increase of power demanded by women in the second-wave feminism movement mainstreamed feminist ideas in and outside of the home. Additionally, new legal policies increased access to birth control, legalized abortion and prohibited forms of discrimination based on marital status. Finally, social services shifted toward an emphasis on a mother's economic independence rather than her martial status.

SINGLE MOTHERHOOD IN AMERICA, 1900 TO 1950

Resources for single mothers in need of medical, financial or psychological assistance have changed significantly over time. Until the turn of the twentieth century, unmarried mothers often sought refuge at poorhouses, which evangelical reformers then replaced with maternity homes they founded in the name of sisterhood and proselytization. Unmarried pregnant girls presented reform campaigners with an opportunity to create a place for themselves in the work of benevolence. Piety, virtue and morality were well-established as feminine qualities in American society, which consequently largely identified benevolence as women's work. Many female reformers drew on the conflation of "femininity" and "morality" to expand their realm of moral influence beyond the home.[2] Although evangelical reformers had some success in breaking into the public sphere, strengthening the domestic skills of the young girls in their care remained their primary objective. Founders of maternity homes believed that "fallen women could be redeemed by conversion to Christ and by the cultivation of domestic

2. Regina G. Kunzel, *Fallen Women, Problem Girls: Unmarried Mothers and the Professionalization of Social Work, 1890-1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 11.

skills and virtues within that most female of intuitions, the home."[3] Maternity homes filled the time of unmarried mothers with "women's work," specifically prayer and learning domestic skills. Evangelical reformers largely saw the women in their care as victims of predatory men; raising their children "properly" offered women a way to gain redemption from their sin of illicit sexuality.

Fundamental societal changes in the first few decades of twentieth-century America brought about dramatic change in the treatment of unmarried mothers. Industrialization, World War I, the Great Depression, women's suffrage and urban racial tensions during the Great Migration combined to threaten existing gender, class and race-based norms. The financial strain of the Depression impacted the viability of maternity homes that depended on philanthropy, and the care of single mothers soon fell under the jurisdiction of the newly professionalized female social worker. Although evangelical reformers considered unwed mothers redeemable, the professionalization of social work from the late 1900s to 1945 recast unmarried women from "fallen" to "problematic."[4] Social workers of the 1920s considered unwed mothers to be sexually deviant "against the background of widespread concern over the state of moral life in an urban industrial society, a concern that coalesced around the future of the family."[5] Within this unstable environment, newly documented illegitimacy rates fueled social workers' anxiety around sexual morality. Although exact rates cannot be determined, many historians concur that from a high in the eighteenth-century high, illegitimacy likely fell in the nineteenth century but then increased slightly between 1870 and 1920.[6] Many states did not register births before the widespread hospitalization of childbirth in the 1930s, making illegitimacy rates before this time largely unknown. In

3. Marian J. Morton, *And Sin No More: Social Policy and Unwed Mothers in Cleveland, 1855–1990* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1993), 37.

4. Social workers adopted the scientific, rational and objective scientific language of professionalism sparked by a new faith in science. In doing so, social workers transformed the maternity home to a place of scientific treatment and aimed to diagnose their patients through "scientific" methods as rational solutions. For more on how the professionalization of social work helped to define illegitimacy as a national problem that needed professional remedy, see Kunzel's *Fallen Women, Problem Girls* and Joan J. Brumberg, "'Ruined Girls': Changing Community Responses to Illegitimacy in Upstate New York, 1890–1920," Journal of Social History 18, no. 2 (Winter 1984): 247–72.

5. Kunzel, 51.

6. Ibid.

1915, the U.S. Children's Bureau used the few states and cities that reported birth figures to estimate the illegitimacy rate as 1.8%.[7] An estimate taken from the 1920 U.S. Census Bureau reported that 1.5% of all white births were illegitimate and 12.5% of non-white births were illegitimate.[8] The documentation of illegitimacy, whether indicating a genuine increase or not, provided evidence for the need of professionals to address the problem of unmarried motherhood.

The experiences of single mothers throughout the twentieth century varied by race and class. Once maternity homes became privatized around the turn of the century, for example, they only granted admittance to women who could afford their services. Maternity homes always lacked funding, and working-class unwed mothers often had little money to contribute.[9] Most maternity homes also racially segregated the women, and common stereotypes about black female promiscuity led to harsh and unfair treatment of black unwed mothers when compared to whites.[10] The demand for state regulation of the "problem" of unmarried mothers and illegitimate children rose dramatically in accordance with the increase of government programs characteristic of the New Deal. After World War II, intense pressure to conform to white, middle-class values dictated social policy and norms.

The differing experiences of black and white unwed mothers magnified the deep racial and class-based divisions of postwar America. Shame and secrecy permeated the stories of white, middle-class young women in the 1950s and 1960s, whose caseworkers often coerced them into giving their children up for adoption. In her profile of women who surrendered their babies in this era, Ann Fessler describes the threat posed to the nuclear family: "Having a daughter who was pregnant was unequivocal proof of her [the mother's] failure and the family's social standing in the community could instantly plummet since it was commonly accepted that only bad or

7. Morton, 4. Morton notes that some historians consider this figure a "gross underestimate;" it also does not include a breakdown of illegitimacy rates by race.

8. Phillips Cutright and Omer Galle, "The Effect of Illegitimacy on U.S. General Fertility Rates and Population Growth," *Population Studies*, 27, no. 3 (Nov., 1973): 516.

9. Rickie Solinger, *Wake Up Little Susie: Single Pregnancy and Race Before Roe v. Wade* (New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, 1992), 116.

10. For more on the sexual exploitation of black women in maternity homes at the turn of the century, see Morton's *And Sin No More*.

low-class families were plagued with social problems."[11] Unmarried mothers keeping their illegitimate children threatened postwar society's glorification of marriage, families, children and conformity. Daughters were well-aware of the threat their pregnancies posed to the family's position in the community: "If my mother had to take me shopping we'd go out of town, someplace where we wouldn't run into anybody… She was more worried about what people would think and specifically what they would think about her. That affected all the decisions that were made."[12] The shame of unmarried mothers extended to the whole family, and nearly all of the women Fessler interviewed hid their pregnancies from their communities before going to maternity homes for the final stages.

Black single mothers experienced a significantly different type of stigma than their white counterparts from the post-World War II period through the legalization of abortion in 1973. During the post-World War II baby boom, it was possible for a white woman to redeem herself by surrendering her coveted child to a longing, infertile couple. Producing the desirable commodity of a white baby somewhat compensated for a white woman's social transgression. Moreover, by giving her child up for adoption, a white woman accepted that it was not her "time" to fulfill her goal of motherhood, and she remained eligible for a future as a properly married wife and mother. Nine out of ten black young women, on the other hand, kept their babies, who faced sharp discrimination in the adoptive realm. Rickie Solinger offers several explanations for the racist attitudes that mandated that the black unwed mother and her child remain together, including the notion that black mothers had "natural affection" for their children regardless of birth status and the belief that black culture was genetically passed on, so a black child would likely be as great a social liability as its mother.[13] Though often coerced into surrendering their children, single white mothers came to hold the position of societal contributors. Conversely, policy makers and caseworkers labeled single black mothers and their children as societal burdens.

Historical scholarship demonstrates the vulnerability of single pregnant women who were stigmatized, coerced or punished in both public

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11. Ann Fessler, *The Girls Who Went Away: The Hidden History of Women Who Surrendered Children for Adoption in the Decades Before Roe v. Wade* (New York: Penguin Press, 2006), 112.

12. Ibid., 103.

13. Solinger, *Wake Up Little Susie,* 187-198.

and private realms in the first half of the twentieth century. Although their experiences were overwhelmingly racially and economically specific in this time period, the status of dishonorable social deviant applied to all single, pregnant women. Mainstream American society branded unmarried mothers as fallen, as problematic or as societal burdens. Ignited by the sexual revolution of the 1960s, however, sexual and social norms changed in a way that reshaped this vulnerability and began to decrease the stigma of single motherhood.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND PUBLIC ATTITUDE

In 1948 and 1953, the publications of *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* by Alfred Kinsey took sexual norms by storm throughout the United States. Among many findings that Americans considered shocking, Kinsey's reports showed that the sexual activity of many Americans took place outside of marriage, that more married women sought abortions than unmarried women, widows or divorcees, and that the majority of Americans violated both mores and laws in pursuit of sexual gratification.[14] The reports quickly became bestsellers and sparked public conversation and analysis of sexual behavior and attitudes. Kinsey published his reports just as American society began to transform into an increasingly sexualized popular culture. Distinct changes in public attitudes did not fully coalesce until the second half of the 1960s, however, when waves of permissiveness significantly loosened inhibitions and prior sexual constraints throughout the United States.

Determining sexual behavior and attitudes presents an elusive task because it is difficult to obtain honest perspectives and genuine statistics regarding sexual activity. Moreover, as the shock generated by the Kinsey reports demonstrates, personal behaviors and public attitudes do not necessarily converge. The apparent changes in both attitude *and* behavior in the 1960s has led most scholars to identify this decade as the start of the sexual

14. Miriam G. Reumann, *American Sexual Character: Sex, Gender and National Identity in the Kinsey Reports* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 1.

revolution.[15] There is much debate regarding both the date of its inception and the causes of the sexual revolution, but generally accepted markers include an increase in premarital intercourse along with the market debut of the birth control pill in 1960, greater tolerance regarding others' sexual practices, the burgeoning population of college students, and increased candidness of sex and sexuality in discussion, dress, behavior and depiction in the mass media. [16]

Fueled by the liberalizing of sexual norms over the course of the 1960s, the increase in the number of births out of wedlock further caused a shift in the attitudes toward illegitimacy. The reported number of illegitimate births escalated from 103,000 in 1940 to 230,000 in 1960 to 344,000 in 1968.[17] Rising illegitimacy rates in the 1950s did not initially entail approval of the *products* of non-marital sex. In a 1954 work on illegitimacy, Leontine Young noted, "In fact if one observes public reactions today, one can hardly escape the conclusion that it is not so much the sexual relationship to which we object as the fact of the baby."[18] Within a decade, however, this overt rejection of children born out of wedlock began to erode. In 1963, Dr. Clark E. Vincent of the National Institute of Mental Health urged, "It is time we admitted that illegitimate pregnancies are sometimes the inadvertent by-product of generally accepted social practices."[19] The baby boomers who came of age in the late 1960s and early

"Fueled by the liberalizing of sexual norms over the course of the 1960s, the increase in the number of births out of wedlock further caused a shift in the attitudes toward illegitimacy"

15. In his argument that the sexual revolution on a behavioral level in fact began prior to the 1960s, Alan Petigny draws on an increase in the rise of illegitimate births to support the notion that premarital sex was on the rise in the 1940s and 1950s. See Alan Petigny, "Illegitimacy: Myths, Causes and Cures," *Journal of Social History*, 38, no. 1 (2004): 63-79. See also David Allyn, *Make Love, Not War: The Sexual Revolution: An Unfettered History* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 2000).

16. John D'Emllio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988).

17. Cutright and Galle, "The Effect of Illegitimacy on U.S. General Fertility Rates and Population Growth," 516.

18. Leontine Young, *Out of Wedlock* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1954), 6.

19. Clark E. Vincent, "Illegitimacy and Value Dilemmas," *Christian Century*, June 19, 1963, 801.

1970s corroborated Vincent's position of tolerance. For example, in a study released in 1970, scholars Harold T. Christensen and Christina F. Gregg found that attitudes concerning premarital sex "liberalized considerably" during the 1960s for both sexes.[20] Christensen and Gregg queried college students at two American institutions, one in the highly restrictive Mormon culture in the western United States, and one in the moderately restrictive Midwestern culture in the central United States. They used the same questionnaire in 1958 and in 1968. Among both sexes in both regions of the United States, Christensen and Gregg's findings indicate a decrease in opposition to censorship of pornography, a reduction in guilt regarding premarital coitus, an increase in acceptance of non-virginity of a partner, an increase in approval of premarital coitus, a decrease in the number of first experiences either forced or by obligation, and a decrease in the number of first experience followed chiefly by guilt or remorse from 1958 to 1968.[21] Although the study is limited to college students, the continuities in implementation allow a trend of increased sexual liberation to emerge. By the close of the 1960s, sexual attitudes had changed.

It is critical to note that the rise of illegitimate births included an increase in the number of white, middle (and upper) class single mothers. The reported number of black illegitimate births remained higher than whites, although white women had significantly more illegitimate children in the late 1960s than at the beginning of the decade, while black women had fewer.[22] This trend continued in the 1970s. In 1975, black illegitimate births rose by 5% versus an 11% rise in white illegitimate births, which was the third consecutive year in which an increase occurred for this racial group.[23] The reported rise of white illegitimacy at a higher rate than black illegitimacy is even more significant when considering these rates were often skewed by white women who avoiding reporting their status as unmarried by having their babies at private hospitals or became married while preg-

20. Harold T. Christensen and Christina F. Gregg, "Changing Sex Norms in America and Scandinavia," *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 32, no. 4, (Nov., 1970), 616.

21. Ibid.

22. "Negro Illegitimacy Rate Drops as Whites' Rises," *New York Times,* April 20, 1971.

23. "14.2% of Births in '75 Called Illegitimate, Setting U.S. Record," *New York Times,* January 1, 1977.

nant.[24]

The increase in white illegitimate births particularly confronted explanations for single motherhood that hinged on common stereotypes. In 1966, sociologist Robert W. Roberts observed, "Immigration, low mentality, and hypersexuality can no longer be comfortably applied when the phenomenon has invaded our own social class – when the unwed mother must be classified to include the girl next door, the college graduate, the physician's or pastor's daughter."[25] Articles in popular literature echoed this changing sentiment: "It isn't just the hippie, the delinquent or the slum-bred girl who gets in trouble…The problem cuts across every stratum of our society. Very often the unwed mother is the girl next door, the high-school valedictorian, the honors student from a "good" home."[26] A growing recognition of the existence of unmarried mothers in all demographics—including white, middle class America—made former stereotypes less tenable, a pivotal step in easing the stigma of single motherhood.

In some instances, public discussion of single motherhood extended beyond acknowledgement to acceptance. In a *New York Times* article on March 5, 1971, single mother Catherine Milinaire described the reaction of her family to news of her pregnancy: "Everyone was delighted as could be."[27] In 1972, the *Christian Century* and the *New York Times* printed an article written by Pastor Raymond P. Jennings celebrating becoming a grandfather again, despite the fact that his grandchild was born out of wedlock. Jennings described his daughter's pregnancy as "something that could not be hidden – nor did we wish to do so… There is a sense in which this child seems symbolic of our times."[28] The *Christian Century,* a publication intended to "inform and shape progressive, mainline Christianity" originally published Jennings' article, suggesting a burgeoning acceptance

24. Although black women certainly could marry while pregnant, this practice was much more common among white women, as was the use of private hospitals. See Solinger, *Wake Up Little Susie*.

25. Robert W. Roberts, ed., *The Unwed Mother* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 108.

26. Elisabeth Keiffer, ed., "Diary of an Unwed Mother," *Good Housekeeping,* May 1968, 85.

27. Enid Nemy, "Pregnant and Single, and Glad to Be Both," *New York Times*, March 5, 1971.

28. Raymond P. Jennings, "Born out of Wedlock," *The Christian Century,* April 1972, 484.

of single motherhood within a religious community.[29] The *New York Times* soon reprinted Jennings' article, rebroadcasting this changing view of illegitimacy to a wider audience. In fact, after 1965, public discussion of single motherhood increased and changed in the nature of its depiction. The *New York Times'* coverage of illegitimacy nearly doubled, rising from 37 articles devoted to illegitimacy between 1950 and 1964 to 61 articles between 1965 and 1980. Additionally, the titles of popular literature articles discussing single mothers changed from titles like "Unwed Mothers: An American Tragedy" (1958), "Is This What America Wants?" (1958), "Baby We Didn't Dare to Have" (1963) and "Mothers Without Joy" (1963) to titles like "Pregnant and Single and Glad to Be Both" (1971), "Conceived in Liberty" (1974), "Making Illegitimate Legitimate" (1979), "Choosing to Have a Baby on Your Own" (1979), and "Happier Holidays for Single Parents" (1980).[30] Perhaps even the change of terminology from "unwed" to "single" in popular literature indicates a recasting of single mothers from social pariahs to "signs of the times." The term "*un*wed" underscores a deviation from the standard or ideal position of married, while the classification "single" does not emphasize what someone is *not*.

The shifting consideration of women in the media mirrored the demand of women for autonomy and power embedded in the women's movement of the 1970s. The second-wave feminist movement expanded ideas regarding sexual behavior first brought about by the sexual revolution, namely that sexual satisfaction need not exist within the confines of marriage. In the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s, women demonstrated their embrace of these permissive ideas by rejecting many traditional societal norms, including marriage. The 1960 census reported that 19% of women never married, which increased to 22% in 1970 and to 24% in

29. "About Us," *The Christian Century*, http://www.christiancentury.org/cpage.lasso?cpage=about.

30. L. David and M.L. Allen, ed., "Unwed Mothers: An American Tragedy," *Coronet*, October 1958, 157-62; "Is This What America Wants?" *American Mercury*, December 1958, 117; J. Stocker and S. Finkbine, ed., "Baby We Didn't Dare to Have," *Redbook*, January 1963, 50-51; "Mothers Without Joy," *Reader's Digest*, July 1963, 83-87; Enid Nemy, "Pregnant and Single, and Glad to Be Both," *New York Times*, March 5, 1971; "Conceived in Liberty," *Esquire*, March 1974, 105-7; T. Ihara, "Making Illegitimate Legitimate," *Ms.*, April 1979, 92; L. Rivlin, "Choosing to Have a Baby on Your Own," *Ms.*, April 1979, 68-70; A. Brooks, "Happier Holidays for Single Parents," *McCall's*, December, 1980, 37-8.

1980.[31] At the same time, only 2.6% of women divorced in 1960, compared to 3.5% in 1970 and 6.6% in 1980.[32] With marriage rates declining and divorce rates rising, many women began to challenge the assumption that childrearing had to occur within the boundaries of marriage.

Popular periodicals helped to mainstream feminist ideas by exploring why women began to eschew marriage. On March 5, 1971 a *New York Times* article reported a growing number of women "unmarried through choice, rather than circumstance or necessity, who consciously plan to have a child."[33] In describing their decisions to become single mothers, many of these women expressed a distrustful or disinterested view of marriage. A single mother profiled by *U.S. Catholic*, a publication dedicated to promoting Catholic values, claimed, "I'm not hysterical at the thought that I'm not [married]. Why do I have to be married to be normal?"[34] Single mother Jane Harriman noted, "My reservations had been about marriage."[35] For women who did wish to marry, many expressed a desire to maintain a sense of independence characteristic of the beliefs encompassed in the Women's Movement. As single parent Martha Drewson wrote in 1974, "To me a good marriage is created not by the intertwining of two dependent lives… some things I *don't* want are: his name with a 'Mrs.' to replace my good old one…and most important of all, I do not want our children or me to be totally dependent on my husband financially."[36] Thus, many women in the 1960s and 1970s began to view pregnancy alone as an unworthy basis for marriage. Moreover, once women began to *choose* single motherhood, the stigma of the role as one restricted to desperate women lacking any agency became less credible.

The growing number of celebrities having children out of wedlock without expressing shame or embarrassment increased in the 1970s as well. On September 17, 1969 the*London Times* announced "with great joy" the birth of Vanessa Redgrave's son. *Esquire* magazine profiled celebrities such

31. U.S. Census Bureau, "Families and Living Arrangements," *Housing and Household Economic Statistics Division,Fertility & Family Statistics Branch,* September 30, 2009, http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/hh-fam.html#ht.

32. Ibid.

33. Nemy, "Pregnant and Single, and Glad to Be Both."

34. Liz O'Connor, "Having My Baby," *U.S. Catholic*, August 1978, 40.

35. Harriman, "In Trouble."

36. Martha Drewson, "To Be a Unmarried Mother," *Redbook*, February 1974, 33.

as Mia Farrow, Catherine Deneuve, and Connie Stevens as women who "are having love babies all over the place and so what?"[37] In an article entitled, "Conceived in Liberty," actress Barbara Seagull shares, "I don't want to get married. Parents should be together because they want to be together, not because of a silly piece of paper."[38] The article starts with the notable line, "There used to be a word for kids like these," implying that in the liberated America of the 1970s, children born to single mothers would no longer be subjected to the epithet of "bastard."[39] Even the popular comic strip Mary Worth featured a character in 1976 who faced an unexpected pregnancy, and perhaps more shockingly, did not recommend marriage for the single mother. In a *New York Times* article on September 30, 1976, Allen Saunders, Mary Worth's seventy-seven-year-old author, speculated that a decade or two prior, the kind, advice-giving Mrs. Worth "would have recommended marrying the boy, no mater what." [40]

> *"... once women began to* choose *single motherhood, the stigma of the role as one restricted to desperate women lacking any agency became less credible"*

The composition of the American family in the 1970s widened beyond the nuclear paradigm of the 1950s. The resulting gap created a space for the mothers and children who previously faced society's disapproval by not fitting into the rigid reproductive and familial structure of the recent past. Increased acceptance of a more sexual America alone did not translate to acceptance of single motherhoods, but the sexual revolution in combination with the women's movement significantly cracked the armor guarding American mores. Examining public sentiment in conjunction with changing policies and services provides a more complete understanding of the decreasing of the stigma of single motherhood from 1965 to 1980.

37. "Conceived in Liberty," *Esquire*, March 1974, 105.

38. Ibid., 107.

39. Ibid., 105.

40. Richard S. Meislin, "Mary Worth on Teen-age Pregnancy," *New York Times*, September 30, 1976.

Legal Policies and Social Services

Legal policies present a valuable tool for historical analysis in that they both reflect and influence moral standards. There are several notable court cases relating to reproductive rights in the United States that shaped the experiences of women. *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965) applied the Ninth Amendment right of privacy to allow married persons the use of contraception, an entitlement protected from intrusion of the state. By ruling that the distinction between married and unmarried persons violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, *Eisenstadt v. Baird* (1972) granted unmarried persons and minors access to contraception. *Roe v. Wade* (1973) legalized abortion and served as a significant step in reshaping illegitimacy. As Joan Jacobs Brumberg explains, "It certainly seems that when and where the stigma of illegitimacy can be eliminated voluntarily, through legal and safe medical procedures, both the conceptualization and meaning of that status will be significantly altered."[41] Here Brumberg refers to the definition of a social stigma in a theoretical sense, as stigmas are indeed socially constructed as affronts to public standards. *Roe v. Wade* deemed the right to an abortion as a constitutional right to privacy stemming from the substantive due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The transformation of motherhood in this sense as an issue of privacy somewhat removed choices relating to motherhood from public concern. In this manner, the legalization of abortion did contribute to lessening the stigma of single motherhood; however, it certainly did not eradicate the very real challenges this position entailed. Race and class continued to shape the politics of reproductive rights in terms of access, experience and various definitions of reproductive freedom.[42]

Changes in employment polices also helped to change the reality of single motherhood. In the late 1960s and the 1970s, single mothers made significant gains against discrimination in the workplace. In 1967, the city of New York changed its policy against hiring unmarried mothers. Before that time, women had to indicate their marriage date and the date of birth of their eldest child on job forms, but as the city personnel director explained in a *New York Times* article on January 1, 1967, "These rules

41. Joan Jacobs Brumberg, review of *Illegitimacy: An Examination of Bastardy,* by Jenny Teichman, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 14, no. 4 (Spring, 1984): 886.

42. Rebecca M. Kluchin, *Fit to Be Tied: Sterilization and Reproductive Rights in America, 1950—1980* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2009), 149.

have been in effect for 50 years. Since then, society's attitudes have change considerably… There are some questions we just don't ask anymore." [43] In 1977, North Carolina teacher Mary Morehead won her job back and $6,000 in back wages after being dismissed because she delivered a baby out of wedlock. The school board changed its policy to state that pregnancy was no longer grounds for dismissal.[44] On a national level, Congress passed the Pregnancy Discrimination Act (PDA) in 1978, which amended Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Title VII prohibits sex discrimination in employment, but did not include pregnancy-based discrimination. Congress' amendment of Title VII in 1978 invalidated the Supreme Court's decision in *General Electric Company v. Gilbert* (1976), which held that employers could legally exclude conditions related to pregnancy from employee sickness and accident benefits plans.[45]

Another significant change in the legal treatment of single mothers was the shift from repressing mothers and children exclusively toward also assigning responsibility to unmarried fathers. Paternal responsibility primarily appeared in the form of financial liability. A 1975 federal law set up the Office of Child Support Enforcement agency (OCSE) to coordinate the work of states in recouping money spent on families receiving public aid. Actions of the OCSE included requiring welfare recipients to identify fathers, providing blood and genetic testing in court cases to determine paternity, and garnishing wages and seizing property of fathers behind in child support payments. Such policies suggest that financial accountability overrode a child's wellbeing as a legal concern. Moreover, not all reforms favored women. Requiring women to identify fathers and to cooperate in prosecuting them would potentially deny the right of a mother to determine what is in her child's best interest regarding a man who has possibly neither recognized nor supported his child.

Reinforcement of norms is frequently embedded in social services that assign and deny responsibility for perceived social transgression. Policymakers and enforcers often humiliated and punished those who failed

43. Seth S. King, "City Hires Parolees in Change of Policy," *New York Times*, January 1, 1967.

44. "Teacher Dismissed for Pregnancy Out of Wedlock Wins Job Back," *New York Times*, July 16, 1977.

45. *General Electric Company v. Gilbert*, 429 U.S. 125 (1976).

to abide by the white, middle-class standards of female acceptability.[46] Such is the case with the intersection of social welfare and single mothers in the 1960s and 1970s. Although it is critical to note that the majority of children in families receiving public aid were not illegitimate, the transformation of the Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) to the Aid to Families of Dependent Children (AFDC) serves as a useful lens to view the emergence of a prioritization of economic sufficiency by public services.

"Policymakers and enforcers often humiliated and punished those who failed to abide by the white, middle-class standards of female acceptability"

The Social Security Act of 1935 founded the Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) program as part of the New Deal to provide financial assistance to children whose families had little or no income. ADC policies originally propagated the stigma of single motherhood and penalized single mothers through the creation of strict guidelines outlining a "suitable home." ADC subjected applicants to surveillance of their homes and unannounced raids searching for indication of a "substitute father," which disqualified women from receiving aid. Such policies followed the post-World War II doctrine of domestic containment, which promoted the ideal of a woman's role in marriage as the subservient housewife to the white-collar male breadwinner and the mother to obedient children who also fit strict gender roles.[47]

Race played a critical role in how ADC determined maternal worthiness. ADC policies coerced conformity to "normal" family life centered on white, heterosexual, middle-class marriage, but the goal of marriage and "traditional" family life pertained strictly to white women. ADC initially deemed black women "employable mothers," a racist idea that emphasized the productive labor of black women and devalued their reproductive labor. This discriminatory view prompted ADC initially to deny black women eligibility for assistance. The variations between states regarding the imple-

46. For a discussion of the treatment of working-class parents of unmarried mothers by the legal system, see Mary E. Odem's *Delinquent Daughters: Protecting and Policing Adolescent Female Sexuality in the United States, 1885 – 1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

47. Mimi Abramovitz, *Regulating the Lives of Women: Social Welfare Policy from Colonial Times to the Present* (Boston: South End Press, 1988).

mentation of the ADC program were also racially specific. For example, only twenty-two states, none of which were in the South, adopted the ADC reforms put forth in the 1960s by the Kennedy administration.[48]

ADC initially reinforced the ideal of marriage for "deserving" women as a way for them to be in their homes raising their children, but social, economic and political forces of the 1960s and the 1970s forced this ideal to change. President John F. Kennedy explained the impetus for amendments to public welfare programs in an address to Congress: "The pattern of our population has changed. There are more older people, more children, more young marriages, divorces, desertions and separations."[49] The 1962 Social Security Amendment included significant changes to public aid. These amendments included the renaming of the ADC to the AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children), and an increase in funding by 50-75% and a five-year extension of the AFDC-UP program, which provided aid to families with unemployed parents. In his Congressional address, Kennedy also demonstrated the transition from an emphasis solely on marriage to a model that included economic self-sufficiency. Kennedy included the "preservation of the family unit" as a goal public welfare programs, but he also described the necessity of creating economic opportunities. The explosion of baby boomers entering the workforce in the 1960s likely fueled Kennedy's change in approach. Most notably for single women, Kennedy stated "many women now on assistance rolls could obtain jobs and become self-supporting if local day care programs for their young children were available."[50] Kennedy did not address gender-based inequalities in the workplace, but he did paint a picture of the American workforce that includes women. Thus although single motherhood still clearly represented a violation against the safeguarding of the family unit, achieving economic independence emerged as a way for single mothers to avoid the growing stigma associated with dependence on public aid.

Kennedy stated that changes in the population mandated revisions to Social Security, but Lyndon B. Johnson's recognition of the crucial social crises that confronted the nation in the 1960s led him to attempt an even more comprehensive domestic makeover through his Great Society initia-

48. Ibid.

49. John F. Kennedy, "Special Message to the Congress on Public Welfare Programs," February 1, 1962 www.ssa.gov/history.

50. Ibid.

tives. In light of the burgeoning Civil Rights movement, poverty rates, persistent racial segregation in the South and race riots across the nation, Johnson in 1964 called for a "Great Society [that] rests on abundance and liberty for all [and] demands an end to poverty and racial injustice."[51] Beginning in 1965, Congress launched new major spending programs that addressed civil rights, poverty, education, health care, the environment, and transportation. At this time, the Supreme Court also disbanded many unfair welfare procedures. For example, Arthur Fleming, Secretary of Department of Health, Education and Welfare, implemented the Fleming rule in 1968, which ordered that states could not close cases based on accusations of unsuitable home unless a child was removed and provided with adequate care. Once the substitute father regulations changed, 368,000 additional families led by unwed mothers became eligible for aid.[52]

The stigma of receiving public aid certainly continued beyond the War on Poverty of the 1960s, which meant that women who benefitted from an overall decrease in the stigma of single motherhood were those who did not depend on welfare. Single women who were fortunate enough not to experience poverty, in fact, often cited economic self-sufficiency as a critical factor weighing their decisions to become mothers. A single mother featured in a *New York Times* article on March 5, 1971 recommended that a single mother "should be able to have enough money to give her child proper care and she should be able to ignore criticism."[53] A university professor in 1979 shared her experience of learning of her pregnancy from her gynecologist:

> He looked at me: "How do you feel about it?"
> "I am thrilled," I said, "but maybe I shouldn't be."
> "Why not?"
> "Because I am not married, nor do I intend to marry."
> "So what," he said. "Do you have money?"
> "Yes." And that's how I made my decision.[54]

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51. "President Lyndon B. Johnson's Remarks at the University of Michigan, May 22, 1964," *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson, 1963-64* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1965), http://www.lbjlib.utexas.edu/johnson/archives.hom/speeches.hom/640522.asp.

52. Abramovitz, *Regulating the Lives of Women*, 327.

53. Nemy, "Pregnant and Single, and Glad to Be Both."

54. Rivlin, "Choosing to Have a Baby on Your Own."

This treatment by a medical doctor is dramatically different than the advice given by Dr. Kate Waller Barrett, founder of the National Florence Crittenton Mission, an organization best known for its nationwide rescue missions and maternity homes at the turn of the twentieth century. With respect to the single mothers in her care, Barrett wrote: "We try to impress upon our girls the fact that they must not discuss their fall with anyone; that if someone should ask them anything in regard to their past life they should say with quiet dignity: 'I have had a great deal of trouble in my life and it only brings up painful memories to discuss the subject.'"[55]

Public attitude also began to demand financial independence as a gateway toward acceptance of the status as single mother, albeit by way of sharply criticizing women dependent on welfare. In a letter to the editor in the April 1, 1971 edition of the *New York Times*, Doris Lurie claimed, "Now that we have effective birth-control methods and legal abortion, no child should be born to become a burden to society and himself. The only mother on welfare should be one who has been abandoned by her husband. And then, she should be eligible only until suitable employment and a baby sitter can be arranged."[56] Lurie's comment exemplifies the growing view that even "abandoned" women should the leave the home and enter the workforce in order to provide for their children. The women for whom the stigma of single motherhood lessened most significantly were those who could benefit from gains in reproductive freedom and an increased acceptance of working women, without depending on public aid.

"The women for whom the stigma of single motherhood lessened most significantly were those who could benefit from gains in reproductive freedom and an increased acceptance of working women, without depending on public aid"

FINAL THOUGHTS

Throughout the twentieth century, mainstream American society scrutinized, coerced and stigmatized single mothers. The nature of their "transgressions" transformed, though, illustrating that stigmas are social constructs produced and reproduced over time. Stigmas are neither "natu-

55. Brumberg, "Ruined Girls," 260.

56. Doris Lurie, "Letters to the Editor," *New York Times,* April 1, 1971.

ral" nor fixed, and are therefore subject to historical change. America in the 1960s and 1970s was a climate ripe with social revolution. The women's movement helped to mainstream feminist ideas and continued to loosen sexual mores shaken free by the sexual revolution. Concurrently, legal policies expanded reproductive freedom and increased protection from gender-based discrimination. Social services and public policies began to deemphasize marital status after 1965. These factors combined to reshape the stigma of single motherhood and by 1980, many single mothers embraced their positions with pride rather than shame.

Although the overall stigma of single motherhood decreased during this time, it certainly did not disappear. Once social service programs and public attitude demanded financial independence over a particular marital status, single mothers dependent on public aid became particularly vulnerable to public scrutiny. By 1980, single mothers held the potential to escape the censure endured by their counterparts of earlier decades, in part by demonstrating economic self-sufficiency. Poor single mothers still faced unequal access to services and opportunities, however, and even today they continue to suffer the stigma that assigns a debased position to a mother receiving public aid. Nevertheless, the dramatic changes from 1950 to 1980 demonstrate the malleability of legal policies, social services and public perception. Ongoing challenges to the social forces that deny equal opportunity will help more parents raise their children with complete dignity regardless of race, class or marital status.

Religion and Politics in the Roman Mind: An Evolutionary Approach to how the Modern Historian Understands Roman Religion

Scott Spitzer

Introduction

Conceptualizing religion can be a very difficult task for anyone, let alone for the historian of ancient religion. The term itself holds numerous connotations pertaining to faith, politics, philosophy, ritual, myth, emotions and morals. But why do these connotations exist in the first place? The modern historian has the advantage (or disadvantage, depending on the perspective) of being a product of thousands of years of cultural development that has shaped his or her notions of language and ideology. It is difficult to say whether the modern historian's mind is, as a result, more complex than the mind of the ancient Roman priest, but we can say with a fair amount of certainty that the modern historian conceptualizes religion in a far different manner than the ancient Roman priest. This presents a problem when studying ancient religion. The modern historian must be careful when applying his or her own standards to the ancient world. But even in the simple task of writing about ancient Roman religion, the modern historian has necessarily focused on a particular element of Roman life that the Romans would not have conceptualized apart from any other aspect. For the Romans, religion was a part of everyday life and they did not categorize it distinctly in the mind as moderns do.

Roman priests were in positions of political power, but, as shall be argued, they did not make any distinction between their political and their religious duties. This can be seen quite saliently in the emergence of the imperial cult during the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. It is in these cults that honoring the emperor became a political as well as a religious act. This very statement, however, can only be understood by a specifically modern

mind that is able to draw this distinction between religion and politics. Because culture and categories of thought pertaining to religion have changed so dramatically over the two thousand years between ancient Rome and the present, the modern historian can only write about – indeed understand – ancient Rome with this distinction in mind. It is the purpose of this paper to draw awareness to this fact and contrast it with the ancient Roman view that no such distinction existed.

Defining Religion

Religion is a complex category that has no clear-cut definition. A careful definition of it will clarify its scope and application to human life. Thus, it must be broken down into various elements, each of which have different applications and none of which, when taken alone, would necessarily imply "religion" specifically. Three central theories will be discussed here that will be relevant to our purposes – those of Ninian Smart, Rudolf Otto, and Mircea Eliade.

Ninian Smart, professor of Religious Studies at the University of California, Santa Barbara from 1976 to 1998, developed what he called the "seven dimensions of religion," a framework for approaching various aspects of human life under the heading of religion.[1] These seven dimensions are as follows: 1) Ritual – forms and orders of ceremonies, which can be public or private; 2) Narrative and Mythic – stories that explain the cosmos and humans' place in it; 3) Experiential and emotional – the emotions associated with religious experience such as awe, ecstasy, bliss, fear, or guilt; 4) Social and institutional – a belief system that is shared by a community, often including public participation; 5) Ethical and legal – rules regarding human behavior; 6) Doctrinal and philosophical – a systematic formulation of teachings in an intellectually coherent form; 7) Material – ordinary objects or places that symbolize or manifest the sacred or supernatural.[2] These seven dimensions can be helpful in understanding how religion is defined in modern times, but they do not necessarily apply to ancient Roman religion. For now, however, these shall be kept in mind as other aspects of modern religion are explored.

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1. Jeffrey Brodd, Classical Mythology, (class lecture at the California State University, Sacramento in Sacramento, California on 2 September 2008).

2. Ninian Smart, "The Seven Dimensions of Religion," available online at http://www2.kenyon.edu/Depts/Religion/Fac/Suydam/Reln101/Sevendi.htm, accessed 27 April, 2009.

Rudolf Otto, in *The Idea of the Holy*, focuses mainly on what Smart would label the experiential and emotional aspect with his idea of the "numinous." Otto bases this idea on the Latin word for spirit, *numen*, and coins the term "numinous" to refer to the spiritual qualities humans are capable of experiencing.[3] Otto clarifies that this quality of the numinous cannot be taught, only evoked or awakened in the mind.[4] It has the potential to be quite powerful and even overwhelming, such as the emotion of a creature realizing its insignificance in the presence of a supreme being.[5] Furthermore, it includes an aspect that Otto describes as "wholly other" (*ganz andere*), or alien to everyday human affairs.[6] It is this quality of the "wholly other" that draws the distinction between the commonplace familiarity of the human world and the numinous world of the divine. It must be noted that Otto was speaking in a strictly Christian context and care must be taken in applying his ideas to cultures as distant and foreign as those of ancient Rome.

Related to this idea of the numinous is Mircea Eliade's distinction between the sacred and the profane. The profane applies to the everyday, commonplace world – anything that is not sacred. The sacred applies to an object, place, or space that transcends the everyday world and carries a certain power relating to the world of the divine.[7] In Smart's dimensional scheme, this relates to the material aspect of religion – the idea that a physical object can symbolize or manifest the supernatural. Eliade describes the act of manifestation of the sacred as "hierophany."[8] For example, a tree that becomes sacred ceases to be a tree; it then carries that quality that allows it to be worshipped as a hierophany, a manifestation of the sacred. Indeed, it becomes "wholly other." By invoking Otto's idea, Eliade too draws this distinction between the mundane and the divine.

In these three models or definitions of religious qualities, it can be seen that there are many aspects associated with what is generally called

3. Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, translated by John W. Harvey (London, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), 7.

4. Ibid.

5. Otto, 10.

6. Ibid., 26.

7. Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion,* translated by Willard R. Trask (San Diego, New York and London: Harcourt, Inc., 1959), 12.

8. Ibid., 11.

religion. These three models are by no means exhaustive; entire books can, and have, been written attempting to explain various qualities of religion. But for these purposes, it can be noted that there are many subdivisions under the larger umbrella of "religion" and most modern religious scholars tend to draw a distinction between the mundane, material world and what many religions classify as "sacred," "other," or "spiritual." However, all that has been done so far is to give a description of the symptoms. To get at the root causes of how we think about religion and conceptualize it in the mind (in effect, why we express these symptoms), it is necessary to turn to evolutionary psychology.

Conceptualizing Religion

Pascal Boyer, in *Religion Explained: The Evolutionary Origins of Religious Thought*, explains that human minds have built-in structures that enable them to form concepts and categorize objects and ideas.[9] These structures are encoded into our genes, which have been shaped over millions of years of natural selection to confer survival benefits. Steven Pinker, professor of psychology at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, explains that our genes are like ingredients that have recipes embedded within them of how to form complex organs like the brain.[10] This implies that our minds are not blank slates when we are born, only to be filled in with learned culture and behavior; rather, the hardware for tools such as language, culture, emotions and ethics is already present at birth and is filled in with specific versions of these tools (or cultural software programs) as we become aware of our surroundings and mature. This is why every culture of humans around the world has a language, although each has a different version of it. Similarly, every culture has a code of behavioral ethics, yet those ethics vary from culture to culture. In this light, it can be understood that every culture has a version of what we can call "religion," although the particular qualities of this religion will be different to each culture. However, religion is still more complex than this, and reducing it to "a structure of hardware in our brains" does not do it justice.

Boyer goes on to explain the complex ways our minds go about

9. Pascal Boyer, *Religion Explained: The Evolutionary Origins of Religious Thought* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 3.

10. Steven Pinker, *How the Mind Works* (New York and London: W. W. Norton and Company, 1997), 35.

categorizing information. Using the example of a child learning about new animals, he explains that when a child is shown a picture of a walrus, she already has a way of categorizing it without knowing much about walruses at all.[11] Simply being told that the walrus is an animal is enough. For example, the child automatically assumes that the walrus is alive, has a way of breathing, a way of reproducing and a way of moving itself about to find food. Furthermore, the child assumes that these qualities are similar to *all* walruses, not just the walrus in the picture. Boyer explains this process of categorization in terms of templates and concepts. The term "animal" would correspond to a template in the child's mind, or an abstract structure that has certain qualities associated with it. For example, the "animal" template includes qualities such as "being alive," "being able to reproduce," "being able to search for food," etc. The *concept* would be the walrus. As the child learns more about walruses, she will fill in these general blanks of the animal template with specific concepts such as "mammal," "giving birth to live cubs," and "good swimmer that feeds on fish." As a general rule, templates in the mind are fewer and more stable than concepts, which are more detailed and specific.[12]

Having established a very basic framework for how the mind categorizes, it shall now be argued that Smart's seven dimensions can be understood loosely as templates in the mind while Otto and Eliade's ideas of the numinous and the sacred correspond to concepts. Because templates are essentially frameworks, they do not correspond to actual functions in everyday life. As people acquire new information, these templates are filled in with specifics. Smart's "Seven Dimensions of Religion" can thus be understood as a collection of interconnected frameworks, or templates of the mind, that can be filled with specific cultural concepts. While no single one of them is specific to religion, it shall be argued that the *combination* of them can contribute to the idea we call religion.

Following this analogy, Boyer's category of the "concept" in the mind can now be explored as it applies to Otto and Eliade. Many aspects are associated with Otto's idea of the numinous, discussed earlier. Such elements include the "wholly other," a sense of the mysterious,[13] and a sense of what Otto calls "creature-feeling," the emotion of "a creature, submerged

11. Boyer, 42.

12. Ibid., 44.

13. Otto, 25.

and overwhelmed by its own nothingness in contrast to that which is supreme above all creatures."[14] This fully fleshed-out idea of the numinous is a very specific description of an idea that falls under the larger category of what Smart calls "experiential and emotional." In this sense, the numinous is a concept that fills in the experiential template. In the same respect, Eliade describes the transformation of an ordinary object or space to a transcendent idea of the sacred. Corresponding to Smart's larger template of the "material," the idea of the sacred can be understood as a concept that fills in this "material" template.

So how does this relate to what we call "religion?" A two-part definition here will be helpful. A distinction must be made between the term "religion" in the abstract and the notion of a specific religion. "Religion" in the abstract can be understood as a collection of raw templates, along the lines of Smart's seven dimensions. A religion is not a template, nor is it a concept. It is only when specific cultural concepts fill raw templates that they can be applied in the real world. Certain concepts, as Boyer points out, are conducive to communication and mimicry. Others trigger emotional responses. Others still give us a sense of community and participation in a shared goal. Powerful concepts can draw from various templates, in a sense uniting them. For example, Eliade's notion of the sacred can be applied to Smart's material template, yet it can also evoke a sense of the numinous, drawing from the emotional template as well. Furthermore, if these concepts are combined with a shared community, drawing from the social template, they create more neural connections that enhance and strengthen the original concepts in the mind. A religion, then, can be defined as the combination of specific cultural concepts that have the ability to draw from many, if not all, of Smart's categories. Unfortunately, this is a rather vague and unexciting definition, but as ancient Roman cultural models are applied to it, hopefully it will become more clear.

Until this point, nothing has been said about politics, but a brief discussion here will show how this same methodology can be applied to understand how the mind categorizes politics. For the purposes of this paper, I will provide my own four dimensions of "politics." They are as follows: 1) Power dynamics, as they relate to the formation of a hierarchy of leadership; 2) Rules and regulations, such as laws and policy; 3) Control, as through enforcement of these laws; 4) Philosophy, as it relates to the methods of

14. Ibid.,10.

governing effectively. Each of these can be understood as separate templates in the mind that can be filled with cultural specifics. Different cultures have different philosophies on how to govern, different rules and laws, different ways of enforcing these laws, and different ways of structuring hierarchies of leadership. But most of them, to a certain extent, have these four aspects of political culture as a general backbone.

It must be noted that the templates in our mind that have been defined are, for these purposes, permanent. Natural selection works over thousands of generations, and for roughly ninety-nine percent of human existence, people lived in small nomadic tribes.[15] It is this way of life that humans are adapted to and it is under these circumstances that humans evolved these templates. The two thousand years between the Roman Empire that will be discussed and the present is an evolutionary blink of an eye. The mental hardware we have today is the same mental hardware of the ancient Roman. It is culture that has changed. That is, it is the ways in which the hardware has been put to use that has changed. Now, having established the basic mental hardware for both political and religious thought, the world of ancient Rome can be examined and these ideas can be applied to their way of life.

THE ROMAN RELIGIOUS MIND

It should be noted that the ancient Romans did not have a word for "religion" in general, or their own specific religion. The closest related word was *religio*, but this did not imply belief, emotion or doctrine. *Religio* generally refers to state worship of the gods.[16] That the state honors gods is key. This implies a direct political component to Roman religious worship (if it may indeed be called "religious"). Pliny the Younger, writing to Trajan in 112 C.E., wrote that the Roman state was "devoted to *religiones* and always earning by piety the favor of the gods."[17] The Stoic philosopher Seneca wrote, "*religio* honors the gods, *superstitio* wrongs them."[18] From these quotes, it can be determined that *religio* implies a political connection with divinities. The focus of *religio* was often public and was practiced by

15. Pinker, 42.

16. Mary Beard, John North and Simon Price, *Religions of Rome: Volume 1 – A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 216.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

individuals in a public setting.[19] The emperor himself would practice *religio* in public, undoubtedly to set an example of how to properly worship and honor the gods. Contrasted with *superstitio*, *religio* can be understood as right practice.

Superstitio, in the Roman mind, sits at the other end of the spectrum, denoted by its excessive devotion to the gods and usually motivated by a desire for knowledge.[20] In this sense, the individual who seeks knowledge for his own sake is stigmatized in Roman culture. The emphasis then is on the collective. *Religio* was practiced openly in public because it emphasized a sense of community and shared values. By tempering the self and acknowledging the importance of the collective, the Roman citizen was honoring the gods. Through practice of *religio*, the Roman was doing his political duty as a citizen to ensure the safety of the state. This was true even for those of high status, including the emperor. The emperor himself was part of the state, and thus obligated to honor the gods in the appropriate manner.

Religio was so important to the ancient Romans that there were orders of priests who would specialize in carrying out *religio* meticulously. By the late Republic there were established colleges of priests with specific duties, three of which were of the highest order – the *pontifices*, the *augures*, and the *duoviri*.[21] The *pontifices* had a highly complex structure, including a leader known as the *pontifex maximus*.[22] Despite this "leadership" status, the colleges were communal in the sense that each individual operated as representative of the whole group.[23] There was a hierarchy of colleges, but no apparent hierarchy within each college, save for the *pontifex maximus* – and even in this case, the disciplinary duties of the *pontifex maximus* were restricted to members of his own college.[24] The *pontifices* were considered experts on sacred law and procedure within their province, and in the most extreme cases they were considered experts on *all* law, human or divine.[25]

It must be noted that for Romans, the relationship between govern-

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., 217.

21. Ibid., 18.

22. Ibid., 19.

23. Ibid., 18.

24. Ibid., 21.

25. Ibid., 24.

ment and religion was symbiotic. The priests were the authorities on the practice and interpretation of law as it pertained to *religio*, but it was not they who created law. This was reserved for the senate.[26] The close connections between the priests and the senate in the late Republic period cannot be overemphasized. The priests would take the auspices before a meeting or public gaming event, they would make public vows, prescribe the formulae and prayers for a sacrifice, and even be consulted by the senate if something came into question.[27] However, it was the senate who would make an ultimate ruling on whether the procedure was correct and it was they who could declare the law invalid.[28] This is completely different from how religious authorities interact with law and politics in modern times. It would be difficult to imagine a modern state or national senate creating a law pertaining to religion and possessing the authority to override the priests, who were, after all, considered experts. Yet it was quite natural to the Romans.

While the priests were authorities on law pertaining to *religio*, prayer and sacrifice was practiced by nearly all individuals, regardless of political status. Roman prayer mostly regarded practical issues pertaining to material blessings, such as health, wealth, fertility, and abundant crops.[29] The sacrificial accompaniment to prayer was intended to offer something up to the gods so they might give back in turn. Indeed, prayer did not have much meaning without sacrifice.[30] The relationship between Romans and the gods was a contractual one, expressed by the phrase *do ut des*, or I give so that you might give.[31] Indeed, the very foundation of the Roman Empire was built on this notion, underlining the importance of *religio*. To the Roman mind, the empire was so successful because the gods were, indeed, giving back. To keep this cycle going, sacrifices and rituals must be performed with the utmost precision, in public, and often.

The last idea that shall be explored here is that of *numen*, or "divine

26. Ibid., 29.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Bradley Nystrom, "The Culture of Classical Rome", (class lecture, California State University, Sacramento in Sacramento, California on 11 February 2008).

30. Ibid.

31. Ramsay MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), 52.

power."[32] This should not be confused with Otto's notion of the "numinous" pertaining to the experiential. In ancient Rome, *numen* simply meant "divine power," without any special emotion associated with it. The Roman world was filled with *numina*, containing a myriad of gods with varying abilities. Nearly every aspect of nature had a divinity associated with it from rain (Jupiter) to cereal grains (Ceres),[33] and myths or stories would often surround them, explaining their benevolence or anger. *Lares* were gods of place, which were worshipped either in the household, at crossroads, or in the boundaries of the city of Rome itself.[34] More generally, *Lares familiares* were gods specific to each family or *gens*.[35] They protected the household and were honored with small statues that were placed in the *lararium*, a household shrine dedicated to the *Lares*.[36] Roman families would often make sacrifices to the *Lares* as a daily ritual, mirroring the larger scale sacrifices of the state. This apparent "private worship" was a common practice, and held no threat to the public state worship. All households were thought to have *Lares*, so there was nothing particularly unique about their worship.

Having taken a brief glimpse at the practices pertaining to *religio*, the model described above can be applied to these Roman practices to understand a little more clearly how the Roman mind was structured in this respect. Keeping Smart's scheme in mind, it can be understood that *religio* pertains to ritual as the priests would take auspices and make sure the elements were just right for a public event. It also pertains to the social and institutional insofar as the practice of it leads to the security of the state and the well-being of the citizens. It pertains to the material as well, as certain places were considered sacred – indeed, the city itself was considered a sacred place.[37] Myths were also a factor as they pertained to the interaction among the gods, as well as pertaining to the history and foundation of Rome itself.[38] Finally, it can be argued that *religio* pertains to the ethical

32. Mary Beard, John North and Simon Price, *Religions of Rome: Volume 2 – A Sourcebook* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 3.

33. Nystrom, 11 February, 2008.

34. Beard, *Religions of Rome: Vol. 2*, 30.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid., 31.

37. Ibid., 93.

38. See Virgil's *Aeneid* in particular.

and legal with the notion of *do ut des*, insofar as ethics pertain to the notion of sacrifice – giving something up with the expectation of getting something in return. This, after all, is only ethical and polite. However, it must be noted that the gods were under no obligation to return the favor. The ethical aspect then is potentially a bit one-sided.

So far, it can be seen that five of Smart's categories[39] have been employed by the ancient Romans, using *religio* to tie them together. *Religio*, as has been shown, is closely tied with politics; indeed a political connotation is inherent in its very meaning. The public practice of *religio*, whether through sacrifice, or participation in Roman games, festivals or holidays, honored the gods and ensured the safety of the state. The priests, specialists in law and ritual, deferred to a more overtly political institution – the senate – in matters of authority. The notion of *do ut des* is inherently political as well, since it serves as a justification for the power and greatness of the Roman Empire. Roman concepts can thus be applied to basic hardware templates of the mind, having made no clear distinction between what the modern mind understands as "religion" and "politics." The Roman concept of *religio* appears to draw from both sets of the templates moderns would call "religious" and "political." To the modern mind, *religio* is just as political as it is religious. However, the unequivocal example of *religio* as political manifests itself in the imperial cults.

PRELUDES TO THE IMPERIAL CULT

The imperial cults did not just spontaneously arise with the emergence of Augustus as emperor. Rome has a history of attributing divine qualities to rulers as far back as the third century B.C.E.[40] It must be noted, however, that there is no beginning to this story. Rulers have been viewed as divine in earlier Hellenistic and ancient Egyptian kingdoms. Arguments can legitimately be made that early Romans were influenced by these cultures. However, for these purposes it is sufficient to note that the line between man and god was blurred long before Augustus or Caesar.

One of the first exposures the Romans in the Republican period

39. It is unclear as to the extent that the experiential played a role; however it was no doubt present in some form, considering the vast prevalence of *numina.* Philosophy was present in ancient Rome, but it was not part of *religio* as it pertained to the state and was a later introduction so will not be considered here.

40. Lily Ross Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (New York: Arno Press, 1975), 35.

had to this phenomenon was with the consul Marcellus in 212 B.C.E.[41] Marcellus had captured the city of Syracuse in Sicily and had overthrown the Carthaginian government. Plutarch records that the Syracusans were initially upset with Marcellus, but after a trial in which Marcellus was acquitted, they begged him to stem his anger and take pity on the rest of the city.[42] When Marcellus relented and granted them freedom, the Syracusans bestowed great honors on him, holding a festival in his honor and sacrificing to the gods.[43] This was particularly unusual, considering that festivals were traditionally held in honor of gods. This kind of honoring paved the way for further developments that evolved into the phenomenon of emperor worship.[44]

It is precisely this kind of example that illustrates the changes Rome would soon be seeing with respect to *religio*. Indeed, it was in this time period, from the middle of the third century B.C.E. to the beginning of the second that Rome continually won battles, steadily decreasing their enemies and increasing their presence in various parts of the Mediterranean.[45] Romans were still reluctant to establish direct rule over many of these areas, but their mere presence signaled their authority to foreigners.[46] As a result, people from many foreign lands sought the legal advice of the Roman senate to solve or mediate their problems.[47] This exposure to different foreign practices and customs led the senate to be somewhat accommodating to these cultures, so long as the foreigners practiced their customs in their own land. However, it was inevitable that these foreign influences would begin to permeate the city of Rome itself and ultimately influence the decision-making of the senate. For instance, in the early second century, the senate,

41. Ibid.

42. Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives: Life of Marcellus* 23.4-6, translated by Bernadotte Perrin (Loeb Classical Library Edition, 1923), http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Lives/Marcellus*.html (accessed May 20, 2009).

43. Ibid., 23.7.

44. Taylor, 35.

45. Beard, *Religions of Rome: Vol. 1*, 73.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

after consulting the Sibylline books[48] and various oracles, ruled that the cult of Cybele (or Magna Mater) could be practiced in Rome.[49] This was essentially the introduction and assimilation of a foreign form of worship. As these kinds of changes became more and more frequent, the boundaries of what was acceptable became more flexible.

Towards the end of the Republican era, Julius Caesar seemed to test these boundaries, pushing them nearly to the breaking point. By the time Caesar had arrived in the first century, Rome was in disarray. Conflicting views abounded among the ruling upper class and civil wars were fought constantly. The stage, essentially, was set for boundaries to be pushed or even redefined. Caesar was certainly aware of divine monarchies – he had personally been exposed to them on his military campaigns to Spain, Gaul, Asia and Egypt. In fact, his rival Pompey had divine honors bestowed upon him on the island of Delos, and at Samos and Mytilene, where he was honored as a savior.[50] Caesar had yet to experience this honor for himself, but he was certainly aware of the status it granted an individual. Caesar, traveling through Egypt, would have beheld the various monumental inscriptions and reliefs that depicted the Ptolemies as divine rulers, and they must have had quite an effect on him.[51] Furthermore, he would have witnessed the ceremonies performed for their current queen, Cleopatra, and taken note of the way her orders were received – not as those of a queen, but as the commands of a god.[52] When Caesar returned to Rome, Pompey having been defeated, what was left of the senate (the traditionalist *optimates* having fled Rome with Pompey) voted to dedicate his war chariot in front of the statue of Jupiter as well as erect a statue of Caesar himself standing on a representation of the known world.[53] Both of these images – the chariot in front of the paternal deity Jupiter, and Caesar standing atop the world – would have, in the Roman mind, been linking Caesar the man with the idea of divinity. This was the first of many divine honors awarded to Caesar by the

48. The Sibylline Books were collections of oracles said to have been purchased by an ancient king. In the Imperial period, the books served as the basis for changing or legitimizing practices believed to have roots in older tradition.

49. Beard, *Religions of Rome: Vol. 1*, 91-2.

50. Ibid., 147.

51. Taylor, 62.

52. Ibid.

53. Ibid.

senate, including imprinting his head on coins (which had never been done for a man who was still living), declaring that men swear by his *genius*, and adding the title *divus* to his name.

While men were given honors of divine status in the Roman provinces, the phenomenon had not occurred in Rome itself until Julius Caesar pushed for it. While this undoubtedly raised eyebrows among the Roman elite, it was, for the most part, tolerated. According to some scholars, it was not the idea of Caesar's divinity that was so controversial and contributed to his death, but rather his political ambition and his desire to rule as a monarch.[54] An interesting example of this occurred at the Roman festival of the *Lupercalia* in 44 B.C.E., only one month before Caesar's death. Caesar was adorned in a triumphal robe and seated upon the rostra, where he watched the festivities. As Plutarch records in the *Life of Antony:*

> Antony…, twining a wreath of laurel round a diadem, … was lifted on high by his fellow runners and put it on the head of Caesar, thus intimating that he ought to be king. When Caesar with affected modesty declined the diadem, the people were delighted and clapped their hands. Again Antony tried to put the diadem on Caesar's head, and again Caesar pushed it away. This contest went on for some time, a few of Antony's friends applauding his efforts to force the diadem upon Caesar, but all the people applauding with loud cries when Caesar refused it. And this was strange, too, that while the people were willing to conduct themselves like the subjects of a king, they shunned the name of king as though it meant the abolition of their freedom.[55]

Beard, North and Price note that this display was likely staged by Antony and Caesar to test public opinion.[56] If this is the case, Caesar failed to win support of the people as a king.

The argument that "divinity" was tolerated[57] while "kingly pomp and splendor" contributed to Caesar's death is an interesting example of

54. Ibid., 72.

55. Plutarch, *Plutarch's Lives: Life of Antony* 12.2-3, translated by Bernadotte Perrin (Loeb Classical Library Edition, 1923), http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Lives/Antony*.html (accessed May 20, 2009).

56. Beard, *Religions of Rome: Vol. 2*, 122.n4.

57. To be fair, Taylor notes that it did arouse "anger and mirth" in men (Taylor, 73), but states clearly that Caesar had "become a god" and this "probably would have been endured" (ibid).

how a modern scholar can clearly distinguish a political element from a religious one. However, it should be noted that other scholars suggest that Caesar had not yet become a god during his lifetime and was merely awarded honors of the kind generally reserved for gods.[58] It must also be noted that it was the senate that awarded Caesar these honors – a senate in the middle of a civil war no less. They had also given Caesar the title of "dictator," a title that assumed unlimited power, usually reserved for times of war. Adrian Goldsworthy notes that as long as this threat of war remained, many senators were willing to grant Caesar unprecedented power in hopes of preserving the stability of the state,[59] but likely wished a return to normalcy afterward. Public opinion was likely widely varied. In light of Plutarch's passage above, it becomes clear that the general public did not approve of Caesar exercising kingly privileges. Indeed, it was Antony's friends who applauded the crowning of Caesar. It appears that a significant portion of the elite tolerated both his political and religious status while the general public was not quite so approving. It is still entirely possible and quite probable, therefore, that in the Roman mind, divine honors *were* political honors and the increasing deification of Caesar was seen as an extension of his political powers.

Using Boyer's notion of templates and concepts, we can explore this idea further. As demonstrated with the examples of Caesar and Marcellus, the line between man and god has a history of being blurred in the surrounding cultures of Rome. It has also been argued that the Roman mind was structured so that their cultural concepts relating to *religio* drew from templates moderns associate with the religious as well as the political. What Caesar attempted to do by accepting these divine honors then, was essentially create new conceptual connections within the category of *religio*. Boyer notes that when categories become abstract enough that we apply new bits of information to them (as happens when concepts are applied to templates), they can be labeled "ontological categories."[60] For example, categories such as "animal" and "tool" are more abstract than "dog" or "screwdriver." Similarly, "dog" and "screwdriver" are more abstract than "Scottish terrier" and "flathead." In the same respect, Caesar attempted to apply the

58. Beard, *Religions of Rome: Vol. 1*, 140-1.

59. Adrian Goldsworthy, *Caesar: Life of a Colossus* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 487.

60. Boyer, 60-1.

concept of "god" to the ontological category of "dictator." Despite all the honors conferred on him, he was not entirely successful. His successor, however, was.

Augustus as Pontifex Maximus

Caesar's grand-nephew Octavian rose to power after Caesar's death, and was recognized as a ruler without rivals after his defeat of Antony in 31 B.C.E. Acutely aware of the fact that Caesar was not welcomed as a king, Octavian dismissed the notion that he was a monarch and instead accepted the title of Augustus, which had been used for previous republican heroes[61] and carried connotations of reverence. He was, however, for all intents and purposes, an emperor. The senate was quick to confer many of the divine benefits Caesar enjoyed upon him, the most significant of which was declaring that a libation be poured to his *genius*.[62] The *genius* was closely related to the *Lares* as spirits of the family – it was understood as the protective spirit of the family clan.[63] Because Roman families were structured with the male at the head of the household (the *paterfamilias*), the *genius* usually connoted a masculine energy, often associated with the male procreative power.[64] This libation poured to Octavian's *genius* is the first indication of what would later become the imperial cult. It marks a significant shift from the honors bestowed on Caesar, which were conferred upon Caesar the human being. Here now, the honors are directed toward a supernatural aspect of the person, further blurring the line between man and god.

Perhaps the pinnacle of this shift occurred when Augustus became *pontifex maximus* in 13 B.C.E., a title his uncle held as dictator. Augustus had an opportunity to secure the position previously in 36 B.C.E., but he had not yet defeated Antony and perhaps lacking confidence, he declined the position when it was offered to him. The Roman notion of *mos maiorum*, or the way of the ancestors, ensured that the office of *pontifex maximus* was held for life, so Augustus could not claim the title until the current office holder died. In 13 B.C.E., when Augustus was elected to the office, an impressive crowd from countless outlying areas turned up for the event and

61. Taylor, 157.

62. Ibid., 151.

63. Nystrom, 18 February 2008.

64. Ibid.

the date was marked as one of the most significant in the Roman calendar.[65] This illustrates the care with which Augustus played his political cards. He seemed to understand that the respect to the social and institutional aspects of *religio* held more value and weight than exercising political ambition. As a result, when he received the honors anyway, he was regarded with an even higher degree of reverence.

With the election of Augustus to *pontifex maximus* came many technical responsibilities. The *pontifex maximus* traditionally lived in the *villa publica* in the Forum,[66] so this required a change in residence for Augustus. The Forum held a shrine to the Vestal Virgins which was essential for public worship, necessitating the presence of the *pontifex maximus*. Augustus, however, did not want to move. This presented a problem. After declining many accommodations offered by the senate, Augustus decided to stay at his own home on the Palatine hill, and opened up a section of his home for the public.[67] Here, he built a shrine to Vesta, complete with an ever-burning fire just as there was at the Forum.[68] At the shrine, Augustus continued to sacrifice to his own family *Lares*, but by opening his home to the public, he was effectively allowing public worship of his *Lares*.[69] Not only did his private household deities become publicly recognized, but this further encouraged pouring libation to his *genius*. Because Augustus was the head of his household and the head of the entire state of Rome, the worship of Augustus' *genius* became the worship of his own spirit. By encouraging this public worship of his family and personal spirits, he had essentially created a cult to himself.

It must be noted that the word "cult" in the Roman mind did not have the same connotations of privacy and eccentricity that it has today. The word *cultus* is the root of the English word "cultivate," and it makes sense to think of cult worship as a way of cultivating a relationship with a particular divinity.[70] As it relates to the worship of the emperor Augustus, Roman citizens would have understood themselves as pouring libation and sacrificing to the spirits of the emperor, essentially cultivating a relation-

65. Taylor, 183-4.

66. Ibid., 184.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

70. Nystrom, 25 February 2008.

ship with them. Keeping in mind the Roman notion of *do ut des*, Romans would have thought of themselves as giving to the emperor so that he might give back in return, by way of his spirits.

Augustus encouraged this kind of worship throughout Rome. In 7 B.C.E., Augustus undertook a reorganization of the city, dividing it into fourteen districts and 265 wards.[71] As mentioned earlier, *Lares* were traditionally worshiped at crossroads. During the reorganization, Augustus built shrines at every crossroads and from 7 B.C.E. on, they became dedicated to the cults of the Lares Augusti and the Genius Augusti.[72] This is the closest any emperor had come to being worshiped as a god while still alive. A significant contributing factor to this is undoubtedly the fact that Augustus was outwardly so dismissive of his divine status while subtly encouraging it through infrastructure building and relocating the shrine of the Vestal Virgins to his own home. Here is an example of using subtle politics to enhance divine status, contrasted to Caesar's heavy-handed approach which drew too much negative attention. In both cases, the political is inherently present in the supernatural, and even for the modern historian it becomes difficult to determine to what degree the political was emphasized over the religious.

In any case, it becomes clear that Augustus achieved what Caesar could not. He had effectively succeeded in solidifying a new concept in the Roman mind that blended the divine with the mortal. He was worshiped at every crossroad in every ward in Rome, and quite pervasively in the provinces as well. Momigliano notes that in the provinces, it was likely that he was "more of a god in his absence than in his presence," considering the assumed presence of his *genius*.[73] With statues and temples ever present, as well as games and various sacrifices occurring regularly, it would have been hard not to have been aware of the presence of Augustus. Furthermore, Augustus served as *paterfamilias* of the state and *pontifex maximus*, supreme interpreter of *religio*. He could determine what was acceptable religious worship and no separate political authority could oppose him. We can understand Augustus as having succeeded in creating the ultimate synthesis of religion and politics; or as the Roman mind would have understood it,

71. Beard, *Religions of Rome: Vol. 1*, 184.

72. Ibid., 185.

73. Arnaldo Momigliano, "How Roman Emperors Became Gods," *American Scholar* Vol. 55, Issue 2 (1986), 187.

he extended the boundaries of what was considered acceptable *religio*.

DEIFICATION

It must be noted, however, that Augustus was not officially understood as a living god. He was not officially deified until after his death.[74] Augustus attests to Caesar's divinity only after his death as well. The July after his death, a comet appeared in the sky which Augustus was said to have described as Caesar's soul ascending to heaven.[75] Cassius Dio records that no emperor dared to achieve equal status with the gods in his lifetime,[76] however it is apparent how close Augustus came. From Caesar onwards, the process of deification for emperors only occurred after they had died.

There are reasons for this. First and foremost, the equation of a god with a living man would have been understood as a form of egotism. Any emperor who considered this understood that he would have acquired a bad reputation from overstepping what was appropriate to human nature.[77] It was essentially akin to the Greek notion of *hubris*, with which educated Romans would have been quite familiar. Divine status was also thought to be reserved for those who were virtuous. Pliny the Elder writes that "to be a god is for a mortal to aid a mortal, and this is the path to everlasting glory."[78] In other words, no amount of labeling or conferring honors will make a man into a god; it is the virtuous behavior with which he conducts himself that inherently makes him god-like.

Despite these analyses, there was a formal process for deification that began with the Roman senate. After an emperor's death, the senate would hold a vote to decide whether he was a worthy ruler; although as Beard, North and Price astutely note, the ruler's successor would likely have played a large role in the deification process.[79] Once this was decided, the

74. Beard, *Religions of Rome: Vol. 1*, 208.

75. Taylor, 90-1.

76. Duncan Fishwick, "Dio and Maecenas: The Emperor and the Ruler Cult," *Phoenix,* Vol. 44, No. 3 (Autumn 1990), 270.

77. Fishwick, 272.

78. Kenneth Scott, "The Elder and Younger Pliny on Emperor Worship," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 63 (1932), 157.

79. Beard, *Religions of Rome: Vol. 2*, 51.

title *divus* would be added to the emperor's name.[80] Originally, the word *divus* was used by poets and was associated with the heavens and the sky.[81] Later into the imperial period, however, it took on the new meaning of "man made into god."[82] Here is yet another example of the strong political nature of *religio*. Deifying an emperor was essentially a legal process. And even if it was urged at the request of the new emperor, power dynamics are still at work.

It is uncertain how often deification of emperors actually occurred. The evidence for deification is patchy, particularly into the second century.[83] This suggests that Romans perhaps had some reservations about deifying humans. As Pliny and Seneca note, it should be reserved for the virtuous, and certainly not all Roman emperors were virtuous. However, a more likely explanation seems that deification would be extending the boundaries of *religio* a little bit too far for comfort. Romans were conservative and traditional, and cultural change was often gradual and met with opposition. It seems on some level, many Romans were aware that the concepts they had of *religio* could only have a limited number of applications before they got pushed into the realm of *superstitio*.

CONCLUSION

As has been illustrated, the Romans had a very different understanding of religion than people in modern Western culture. In fact, as has been argued, the word "religion" can only be applied to the Romans loosely. The inextricable nexus with politics changes the meaning, for the modern, of not only its practice but the very idea of it as well. It can be argued that modern religions have close connections with politics, and in many cases this is true. However, modern Westerners have a word for "religion" and a word for "politics" that implies separate templates for each in the mind. The Roman idea of *religio* – especially in light of the imperial cults – can be understood as drawing from both templates. This is not to imply, however, that there are separate templates in the mind for "spiritual issues" and "political issues" at all. Rather, using Smart's scheme of the seven dimensions of modern religions, one can see that none of them alone has any

80. Ibid.

81. Taylor, 69.

82. Ibid., 241.

83. Beard, *Religions of Rome: Vol. 1*, 148.

direct "religious" implications. It is more likely that the mind has a series of templates devoid of category that *become* categorized once a particular culture is learned. It makes little sense then, to think of the Romans has having "politics" and "religion." They applied different cultural practices to the templates in their minds, and in the case of *religio* a different set of templates is used than what moderns use to understand "religion."

Ultimately, the study of ancient religion by the modern historian is a deeply complex and abstract task. It is the responsibility of the historian to be acutely aware of the differences between the modern and ancient mind as they relate to conceptualizing cultural practices and any written research about ancient cultures should make this clear.

Historiography

A Treaty Held Hostage: A Historiography of the Sale of Alaska

Carol Francis

In the 1850s and 1860s the United States and Russia were best friends. This is hard to believe now, but at the end of the American Civil War feelings toward Russia were at an all-time high in the United States. This good feeling disappeared after the sale of Alaska in 1867 due to the disastrous acquisition of Sitka, the delay of the treaty due to the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson, and most significantly, corruption in obtaining payment of the treaty from the U.S. House of Representatives. Both sides were so shocked by the events that the relationship never recovered and historians hesitated to write about the events for decades.

The sale of Alaska was drafted in a treaty between the United States and the Czarist government of Russia on March 30, 1867. Unlike a real estate escrow where payment is made prior to occupation of a property, the United States pledged on its honor to make payment within ten months of the date of ratification (June 20, 1867) with a due date of April 20, 1868. While the U. S. Senate voted its overwhelming approval in April 1867, opposition in the House of Representatives delayed payment to the Russians until August 1, 1868.

In accordance with the treaty but before payment was made, U. S. soldiers took over the Russian capital of Sitka in a ceremony on October 18, 1867. They then physically ousted the Russians from their homes, in violation of the treaty. Many Russians planned to stay as United States citizens but were appalled by the rough crowd that moved into Sitka. The Russians soon fled back to Russia or down the Pacific coast. By 1877 Sitka

had only five Russian families left.[1]

When Russia delivered Alaska in October 1867, it fulfilled its part of the treaty. However, the House of Representatives had yet to see the bill to authorize payment. When Congress resumed in November 1867, members of the House resented that the sale was a *fait accompli* and that they were being coerced to pay the bill.[2] There were several problems in securing payment for the treaty in the House of Representatives. First, this was at the precise time when northern Radicals were fighting with President Andrew Johnson on Reconstruction, and Johnson's impeachment trial halted business in the House of Representatives in early 1868. Supporters of the appropriations bill wisely left it in committee until after the failure of the impeachment vote. Secondly, an obscure financial case called the Perkins claim (which had already been settled in the New York State Supreme Court) held the bill up for months in committee.[3] Finally, part of the $7,200,000 made available for payment to Russia on August 1, 1868 did not make it to Russia. This led to suspicions of bribery and corruption involving the Russian minister Eduoard de Stoeckl, the House of Representatives, and the American press.

The authors of the treaty complicated the ratification process by writing the treaty quickly and in secret, while taking possession of the colony before getting authorization for payment. However, the appropriations bill stalled in the House of Representatives, not on the merits of the treaty, but because of the impeachment trial of President Johnson, while proponents of the Perkins claim hoped to press the Russians for more money. The delay in payment and bribes involved essentially held the treaty hostage and permanently damaged the relationship between the United States and Russia.

"The delay in payment and bribes involved essentially held the treaty hostage and permanently damaged the relationship between the United States and Russia"

1. Svetlana Fedorova, *The Russian Population in Alaska and California, Late 18th Century - 1867*, edited and translated by Richard A. Pierce and Alton S. Donnelly (Kingston, Ontario: The Limestone Press, 1973), 270.

2. William A. Dunning, "Paying for Alaska," *Political Science Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (September 1912), 389.

3. The Perkins claim will be reviewed in later sections.

Overview of the Historiography

Significant events in United States history are usually documented by historiography starting close to the timing of the event. However, the subsequent uproar about the Alaskan treaty and suspected corruption of both American and Russian officials led to a remarkable period of silence from historians lasting until the early 1910s. Early historical accounts echoed the sensationalism of the American press, which had a field day ridiculing the acquisition of "Seward's Folly" or "Walrussia."[4] This attitude ignored strong support for the purchase on the West Coast and from a scientific survey done by the Smithsonian Institute. American history books reflected the uproar and muck racking surrounding the sale. The *Dictionary of American History* primarily noted opposition to the sale through the "unfavorable epithets that had been currency in a press hostile to the transaction." Alaska received many harsh names: "Icebergia," "Polaria," "Walrussia," and "Seward's Polar Bear Garden," but the most enduring one was "Seward's Folly."[5]

Hampering scholarship initially was the destruction of many Russian records of Alaska during the chaotic cession of the colony in 1867-1868. American historians only had one primary Russian source until 1910, Tikhmenev's account of Russian-America, which suffered in early translations from inaccuracy or poor English.[6] Only with later inclusion of Russian records and scholarship has the story become more balanced.

In reviewing what historians wrote about the sale, there were five distinct periods in the historiography: 1) from the sale in 1867 until 1910; 2) from the 1910s to late 1930s; 3) during the 1940s and 1950s; 4) during the 1960s and 1970s; and 5) from the 1980s to the present. In the last period, teams of American and Russian historians have finally worked together.

The first historiographic period after the sale of Alaska extended to 1910, which was a period of denial by American historians and silence on

4. John M. Taylor, *William Henry Seward, Lincoln's Right Hand* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991), 278. This referred both to the American author of the treaty, William H. Seward, and walruses in the Aleutian Islands.

5. *Dictionary of American History*, s. v. "Alaska," volume 1 (New York: Charles Scribner, 1976), 75.

6. Petr Aleksandrovich Tikhmenev, *A History of the Russian-American Company*, translated and edited by Richard A. Pierce and Alton S. Donnelly (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978), preface v. [Original published in Russian in 1861-1863].

the part of the Russians. Some American authors wrote inaccurate biographical accounts, which omitted or changed important details of the sale.

In 1914 and 1917, historian Frank A. Golder reviewed Russian archives in Russia.[7] This ushered in the second historiographic period of very prolific American scholarship, lasting at least from the early 1910s through the 1930s. American historians faced a number of issues, including bribery charges in the House of Representatives, the disastrous change of command in Sitka on October 18, 1867, and the real reason for Russia's friendship during the American Civil War.

Russian officials sent forty-five documents to the United States in 1937 that increased American knowledge of the Russian side of the story. Most of these documents were in French, the official court language of the Russian czars, which was easier to translate than modern accounts in Russian.[8] While the 1940s and 1950s had little scholarship compared to other periods, this was a third transitional period of integrating the new Russian material without dialogue with Russian historians. World War II, the Korean War, and the Cold War all served to put distance between the United States and the Soviet Union. Significant new Russian material appeared in *The Russian-American Company* by S. B. Okun, published in Russian in 1939 and translated into English in 1951.

The fourth historiographic period was a celebration of the development of Alaska, moving into statehood in 1959 and marking the original treaty's centennial in 1967 and the bicentennial of the United States in 1976. Anthologies of Alaskan writers and histories of the new state focused on the entire historical record of Alaska, not specifically the sale of Alaska to the United States.

During the fifth and final historiographic period from the 1980s to the present, Russian input increased which corrected the record and led to better American accounts. In 1990 the primary Russian historian for this subject, Nikolai N. Bolkhovitinov, published his first analysis of the cession

7. Golder reviewed documents in Russia twice, gaining access to the documents about the sale in 1917.

8. The difficulty in translating Russian stems from the Cyrillic alphabet, which has different letters and symbols than the Latin alphabet. When Slavic languages use the Latin alphabet, as in Montenegro, the word *advokat* is easy to read as the French and Norwegian word for lawyer.

of Russian America.[9] While he published this three-volume work in 1999 as *The Russian-American Company: Activity in the Home and Foreign Markets, 1799-1867*, it is currently available only in book reviews until it is translated from Russian.

Denial and Omissions: 1867 – 1910

American historians lacked Russian sources until the 1910s, with one primary source written in 1861-1863 regarding the Russian-American Company. Company officials hired Tikhmenev to promote another extension of the monopoly charter it held. While his book failed to produce pro-company sentiment, the "exploits of fellow-countrymen in the remote and exotic North American colonies were looked on with pride by the Russian educated class."[10] He documented American whalers in the Bering Sea and Arctic Oceans intruding in Russian waters as early as the 1820s. While the Russians protested the incursions, American whalers made up their own rules in Russian waters and ports since the authorities had no ability to stop them.

The Russians closed the door on any information about the negotiations, the treaty, or their opinions after the sale. However, problems in the first historiographic period stemmed not from lack of information from the Russians. American writers seemed unwilling to face the trauma of the events of 1867-1869 and American culpability in the chaos.

Three early biographies of William H. Seward gave minimal and incorrect details about the sale of Alaska.[11] Chronologically, the first and third of the biographies avoided all references to the scandal associated with the sale and either omitted when the Russian colony changed hands or gave the wrong date for the occupation of Alaska (prior to payment by the United States). The second biography gave an accurate chronology of events but ignored the suspected bribery scandal in the House of Representatives. All three biographies by American historians appeared to be sanitizing or rewriting the record, making the sale seem routine instead of sensational.

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9. Russian authors consistently call the sale of Alaska by the terminology the cession of Russian America. Out of respect for the sensitivity of the sale, this terminology will be used in describing the Russian viewpoint.

10. Tikhmenev, preface, vi-vii.

11. Seward was Secretary of State under Presidents Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson, and negotiated the treaty with Baron Edouard de Stoeckl, Russian Minister to Washington.

None of the biographies mentioned the term "Seward's Folly."

The first biography, edited by George E. Baker in 1884, was both incorrect and incomplete in its description of the sale of Alaska. The account jumped from proclamation of the treaty on June 20, 1867, directly to the appropriation for payment on July 27, 1868. It ignored the uproar and suspected corruption in the House of Representatives between these dates and also incorrectly stated that formal U.S. possession of Alaska occurred in August 1868 instead of October 18, 1867, before the House of Representatives considered payment of the treaty.[12] This seems to be an intentional falsification of the timing as most other entries in the historiography gave the correct month of possession as October 1867.

Frederic Bancroft wrote a detailed description of Seward as a longtime proponent of territorial expansion and also gave an accurate description of factors leading up to the negotiations of March 1867 and subsequent ratification in the Senate. He made no mention of scandal in the House of Representatives, nor did he mention the lateness of payment to Russia.[13] Given his accurate details on many items, his omissions seemed to be cleaning up the record.

In 1910, Edward Hale wrote that Seward appreciated the future importance of the Pacific Ocean and potential trade with Japan and China long before others came to share this view. Hale described the long-term friendship between the United States and Russia, including the negotiation of the treaty. He then omitted major details in the ratification process, gave an incorrect date for the cession, and ignored the major fight in the House of Representatives and allegations of scandal. Eighteen months of turmoil read as follows:

> This was at the end of March [1867]: the Senate ratified the treaty on April 8th [9th by other accounts]. It still remained to gain from the House of Representatives the necessary appropriation for the purchase money, which was $7,200,000, but the treaty was proclaimed, and even the cession made in the summer [fall] before the House acted.[14]

12. George E. Baker, ed., *The Works of William H. Seward, Vol. 5* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1884), 25.

13. According to the treaty, payment was due to Russia ten months after the proclamation on June 20, 1867, giving a due date of April 20, 1868. The bill for appropriation to pay for Alaska was stuck in committee in the House of Representatives until May 1868, and payment was finally made on August 1, 1868.

14. Edward Everett Hale, Jr., *William H. Seward* (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs, 1910), 369.

Congressional records were available for the American side of the story. The three biographies of Seward evidenced distortion and denial in American historical thought regarding the sale. They did not blame any corruption on the Russians because no one described any real problems.

One early text was *Alaska, An Empire in the Making*, by John J. Underwood in 1913. His work fit the pattern of this era in claiming payment before occupation and omitting any reference to corruption in the House.[15] Seward intended to keep the treaty secret until ratified by the Senate, but a New York newspaper gave the news to the world before the Senate ratified the treaty.[16]

This first historiographic period gave a clear reminder of how different the world was before the instant communication of radio, television, and even more modern forms of distributing information to the public. Silence spoke more eloquently of hurt and disappointment than a volume of words, and this appeared to be the case between the United States and Russia.

EXAMINING THE ISSUES: 1910s THROUGH 1930s

There was a marked difference between the historiography of denial immediately following the sale of Alaska and the almost instantaneous explosion of information in the second historiographic period lasting until the Second World War. In 1914, historian Frank A. Golder gained the trust of the Russian government and viewed many Russian documents about the sale of Alaska in the Central Russian archives in Moscow and St. Petersburg.[17] He also brought back a photostat of at least one document from Baron Stoeckl to Prince Gorchakov on "The Projected Purchase of Alaska, 1859-60," dated December 23, 1859, for inclusion in the Library of Congress.[18]

At this point, historians first admitted that corruption occurred. Journal articles and books picked up historical details omitted in the first

15. John J. Underwood, *Alaska, an Empire in the Making* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1913).

16. Ibid., 388.

17. Hoover Institution, Stanford University, Library and Archives: "Russian/CIS," http://www.hoover.org/ hila/collections/5676781.html (accessed 22 March 2009). Golder was later curator of the Hoover Collection and a professor of history at Stanford University.

18. Hallie M. McPherson, "The Projected Purchase of Alaska, 1859-60," translation of documents by Edouard de Stoeckl, *The Pacific Historical Review* 3, no. 1 (March 1934), 80.

period. The first journal article of this period, "Paying for Alaska" by William A. Dunning, clearly exposed possible corruption.[19] After attending a picnic with Secretary of State William Seward in early September of 1868, President Andrew Johnson penciled a notation on a piece of paper. Later found in Johnson's archives, this note documented a story told to him by Seward from the Russian minister Stoeckl, as follows:

> [Seward] then stated you remember that the appropriation of the seven $ million for the payment of Alaska to the Russia Govnt was hung up or brought to a dead lock in the H of Reps -- While the appropriation was thus delayed the Russian minister stated to me [Seward] that John W. Forney stated to [de Stoeckl] that [Forney] needed $30,000 that he had lost $40,000, by a faithless friend and that he wanted the $30,000 in gold -- That there was no chance of the appropriation passing the House of Reps without certain influence was brought to bear in its favor -- The 30,000 was paid hence the advocacy of the appropriation in the Chronicle -- He also stated that $20,000 was paid to R. J. Walker and F. P. Stanton for their services -- N P Banks chairman of the committee on foreign relations $8000, and that the incoruptable Thaddeus Stevens received as his 'sop' the moderate sum of $10,000 -- All these sums were paid to the Russian minister directly and indirectly to the respective parties to secure appropriation of money the Govnt had stiputed to pay the Russian Govnt in solemn treaty which had been ratified by both Govmts.[20]

Dunning acknowledged that Seward was known for telling stories that were less than accurate, but noted "the testimony of Walker and Stanton inevitably suggested that they were exceedingly well paid for very little work and explained the rumors that Walker was the intermediary through whom money went to congressmen and newspapers."[21] Dunning was the first historian to mention the word "bribe." He writes, "The intimation apparently is that they were bribed to abandon the attitude of hostility to

19. William A. Dunning, "Paying for Alaska," *Political Science Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (September 1912), 385-398.

20. Dunning, 386. Spelling is as given in the comment by President Johnson. Thaddeus Stevens was leader of the Radical Republicans, Forney was with Washington and Philadelphia newspapers, while Walker and Stanton were Washington lawyers.

21. Ibid., 393.

Russia that their connection with [the Perkins claim] was assumed to make natural."[22] Russian historians of a much later era verified this to be true.

The primary journal writer in this period was Frank A. Golder, later curator of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University.[23] Historians credit him with opening the historical debate on the sale of Alaska. Golder was born in Russia and immigrated with his family to the United States at the age of three. He attended schools in Philadelphia, Paris, Berlin, and Harvard, giving him unique language skills for an American historian.[24] Golder was able to see both sides of the story and spot misperceptions in both the American and Russian viewpoints. His fluency in French and Russian helped him translate Russian documents. Unfortunately, he assumed the same fluency in his readers and switched freely from English to French in his articles without translating in the notes. Golder wrote five journal articles including "The Russian Fleet and the Civil War" (1915), "The Attitude of the Russian Government Toward Alaska" (1915), "The Purchase of Alaska" (1920), "The American Civil War Through the Eyes of a Russian Diplomat" (1921), and "Russian-American Relations During the Crimean War" (1926). He also wrote two small books to document the Russian archives in Moscow and St. Petersburg titled *Guide to Materials for American History in Russian Archives*. The first volume was published in 1917 and the second in 1937, eight years after his death in 1929. Many historians still use these two slim volumes. Unfortunately, he did not live long enough to combine his work into a larger book.

The Russian fleet visited New York and San Francisco in 1863 at the low point of the Civil War for the North, while the British and French were contemplating intervention on the side of the South. Americans took these port visits as support of the North. The Russians wanted to save their very small fleet if the British and French declared war on Russia over problems in Poland and considered United States ports to be the safest place for their ships. As Golder pointed out in his article "The Russian Fleet and the Civil War," each country interpreted the visit from its own perspective, without

22. Ibid., 390.

23. Hoover Institution (accessed 22 March 2009).

24. Frank A. Golder, "The Attitude of the Russian Government Toward Alaska," *The Alaska Journal* vol. 1, no. 2 (Spring 1971), 53-55, 59. Reprint from *The Pacific Ocean in History; papers and addresses presented at the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress, held at San Francisco, Berkeley and Palo Alto, California, July 19-23, 1915,* H. Morse Stephens and Herbert E. Bolton, eds. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917).

understanding the other side.

> It is, of course, true that the fleet was not ordered to America for our benefit. . . It was a most extraordinary situation: Russian had not in mind to help us but did render us distinct service; the United States was not conscious that it was contributing in any way to Russia's welfare and yet seems to have saved her from humiliation and perhaps war.[25]

Whatever the motivation for the Russian fleet's visits to New York and San Francisco in 1863, Britain and France backed off from intervention in the American Civil War and from declaring war on Russia. From this good will came Russia's willingness to cede Russian-America before the United States even considered payment for the colony.

Golder presented his second paper "The Attitude of the Russian Government Toward Alaska" at the Panama-Pacific Historical Congress in July 1915.[26] He made the point that "to the Russian government, however, Alaska was. . . more of a political than an economic problem."[27] Russia lacked the money, population, and marine fleets to manage a colony across the sea. It granted a trade monopoly to the Russian-American Company, staying out of its business until incursions from other nations increased in the early 1800s. At that point, Russia perceived the colonies as a financial liability while other countries discovered the wealth in the northern seas:

> The American colonies instead of being a help to the Empire were a drain and stood in the way of the growth of Siberia. . . There were international complications arising from the retention of that territory. Between 1800 and 1820 the possessions in America became the subject of diplomatic negotiations with England, the United States, Spain, Japan, and China, and led to difficulties in the Sandwich Islands, and to some extent in the Philippines.[28]

The climate, distance from civilization, and problems with the native populations hindered the development of Russian-America. Russia saw the vulnerability of its colonies to the British Navy during the Crimean War

25. Frank A. Golder, "The Russian Fleet and the Civil War," *The American Historical Review* 20, no. 4 (July 1915): 811-812.

26. Golder, "The Attitude of the Russian Government Toward Alaska," 53-55, 59.

27. Ibid., 53.

28. Ibid., 55.

in 1854-1856 and also watched the American expansion in the name of Manifest Destiny. For economic and political reasons, selling Alaska made sense given the possibility that Great Britain or the United States could take Alaska without compensation.

In "The Purchase of Alaska," Golder noted two attempts to protect the colonies shortly before the start of the Crimean War. A Russian-American Company agent filled out a fictitious contract in January 1854 for the sale of Russian-America to the American Russian Commercial Company. American and Russian authorities doubted this would fool Great Britain and nothing came of the transaction.[29] Also, the Russian American Company contacted the Hudson's Bay Company to propose that each side honor the neutrality of the other's ships and possessions if war broke out. This neutrality agreement went into effect on March 23, 1854, but the British Navy stated the right to seize Russian ships and blockade Alaskan ports.[30] After the war Grand Duke Constantine, brother of Tsar Alexander II, proposed selling Alaska to the United States due to the worthlessness of the colonies and Russia's need of funds after the Crimean War.[31]

Golder documented an obscure claim brought by the heirs of American Benjamin Perkins which threatened to derail the treaty.

> When the heirs of Perkins learned of the purchase of Alaska they renewed the agitation. . . Their plan was to block action of the bill in the hopes that Russia would buy them off. According to Stoeckl, the backers of the claim were well organized and had an agreement that three-fourths of the $800,000 should o to the backers and the other fourth to the Perkins heirs.[32]

By March 1868, Minister Stoeckl feared that the appropriations bill would

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29. Frank A. Golder, "The Purchase of Alaska," *The American Historical Review* 25, no. 3 (April 1920), 411.

30. Ibid., 412. The British Navy left the Russian colonies alone during the war. The British feared that the Russians would sell their colonies to the U.S. in making the agreement.

31. Ibid., 413.

32. Ibid., 422. This claim went back to 1855, over a supposed contract between Stoeckl and Benjamin Perkins, along with a discredited Russian spy named Rakielevicz, to supply powder and ammunition to Russia. Stoeckl denied making the contract and the case was dismissed by the New York State Supreme Court with Perkins accepting two hundred dollars to drop the matter. In the twelve intervening years, both Perkins and Rakielevicz had died. Heirs of Perkins enlisted members of the House of Representatives, senators, lawyers, newspaper editors, and lobbyists to force the Russias to pay. The Senate denied action.

not pass and paid money to congressmen with "no direct and conclusive evidence in the Russian archives to warrant the accusation of any congressman by name. The men who sold themselves were undoubtedly those who were interested in the Perkins claim."[33]

Golder offered a portrait of Russian Minister Edouard de Stoeckl in "The American Civil War Through the Eyes of a Russian Diplomat." Stoeckl was a very able minister, spending twenty years in Washington, marrying an American wife, and making many friends in the American capital.[34] However, Stoeckl missed the essence of what happened in the United States.

> It is difficult to explain how a man of Stoeckl's diplomatic ability and intellectual force... could live through that stirring period in American history without catching some of its deeper meanings. It may have been due to his Russian background, or to his training to regard the safety of institutions as of more importance than the welfare of the individual, or to the peculiar ambassadorial atmosphere in which he lived. Whatever the reasons. . . he failed to understand the spiritual side of the people among whom he lived.[35]

Stoeckl came from an autocratic government with little faith in the time-consuming process or success of American democracy. Growing impatient, he resorted to bribes to speed the process.

In "Russian-American Relations During the Crimean War," Golder examined the warm relationship between the United States and Russia, finding instead that the friendship was based on antagonism towards England and mutual self-interest.[36] During the Crimean War, European allies deserted Russia and the United States stood alone in friendship with Russia.[37] During the Civil War, Russia stood by the United States. Their common bond was in opposing Britain.

Even more importantly than his journal articles, Golder compiled

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33. Ibid., 424.

34. Frank A. Golder, "The American Civil War Through the Eyes of a Russian Diplomat," *The American Historical Review* 26, no. 3 (April 1921), 454.

35. Ibid., 463.

36. Frank A. Golder, "Russian-American Relations During the Crimean War," *The American Historical Review* 31, no. 3 (April 1926), 462.

37. Ibid., 474.

two slim bibliographies entitled *Guide to Materials for American History in Russian Archives*, detailing each document he found in widely spread Russian archives. When he searched Russian archives in 1914, Russian authorities only gave him access to documents up to 1854, contained in the first volume published in 1917.[38] In 1917, he gained access to material on the sale of Alaska up to 1870, published in a second volume in 1937 after his death.[39] Most later scholars used Golder's bibliographies as a basis for their own work.

Other historians were busy during this second historiographic period. In 1924, Jeannette Paddock Nichols offered valuable information on the takeover of Alaska in 1867-1868. This appeared to be the first American book on Alaskan history.[40] The inhabitants of Sitka initially welcomed the Americans but the delay in payment by Congress postponed civil organization and led to disorder. Additionally, the United States treated Alaska as Indian country with "no title to land, no collection of debts, no wills for the dying, no marriages, and no criminal trials."[41]

In 1930, E. A. Adamov added a Russian perspective to the visits of the Russian fleets to American ports during the American Civil War.[42] While he avoided the sale of Alaska, this was the first Russian article on the time period. In his *History of Alaska* in 1930, Henry W. Clark listed the bribes from the Perkin's claim as consistent with shameful behavior of public men after the Civil War.[43] He noted the discovery of gold on the Stikine River in 1861 and near bankruptcy of the Russian-American Company as

38. Frank A. Golder, *Guide to Materials for American History in Russian Archives*, Vol. I (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1917), Reprint New York: Kraus Reprint Corporation, 1966. Whether World War I or Russian distrust hampered Golder's first trip to Russia in 1914, he did persuade the Russians to let him make a second trip in 1917, when he found the crucial documents on the sale of Alaska in Russian archives.

39. Frank A. Golder, *Guide to Materials for American History in Russian Archives*, Vol. II (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937). Prepared for posthumous publication by student A. S. Grady after Golder's death in 1929.

40. Jeannette Paddock Nichols, *Alaska: A History of its Administration, Exploitation, and Industrial Development During its First Half Century Under the Rule of the United States* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1963, reprint from 1924).

41. Ibid., 40.

42. E. A. Adamov, "Russia and the United States at the time of the Civil War," translated from Russian by Rogers P. Churchill, *The Journal of Modern History* 2 no. 4 (December 1930), 586-602.

43. Henry W. Clark, *History of Alaska* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930), 77.

motivating the Russian sale of its colonies.[44]

In 1934, Hallie M. McPherson wrote of Russia's reacquisition of the Amur territory in Asia in 1860, which lessened the importance of the Russian American colonies.[45] William McKendree Gwin, U. S. Senator from California, served as an intermediary for Russia with the United States in negotiations on the sale of Alaska.[46] Gwin recognized the potential for world trade and wanted the Alaskan fisheries, fur trade, and mining.[47] McPherson also provided the first translation of Stoeckl's text, "The Projected Purchase of Alaska, 1859-60."[48]

Thomas A. Bailey cited the astonishment of the American people at the signed treaty regarding Alaska. In his article outlining U. S. reasons for purchase, he stated that "the unexpectedness of the transaction, the immensity of the domain involved, and an utter ignorance of its nature and resources left the editorial mind groping, but bewilderment. . . should not be mistaken for opposition."[49] He noted that exaggerated opposition to the treaty was due to the unpopularity of Seward with Radical Republicans for siding with President Johnson.[50] Charles Sumner, chairman of the Senate committee on foreign relations, ended up supporting passage due to friendship with Russia and scientific knowledge pouring in on the resources of Alaska:[51]

> The American people bought Alaska primarily because they thought it was worth the money. Yankee love for a bargain and a highly developed speculative instinct were not to be gainsaid. Russian friendship was of great importance in facilitating the transaction, and it is highly probably that if Russia had not sent her fleets to American

44. Clark, 68.

45. Hallie M. McPherson, "The Interest of William McKendree Gwin in the Purchase of Alaska, 1854- 1861," *The Pacific Historical Review* 3, no. 1 (March 1934), 28-30.

46. Ibid., 31.

47. Ibid., 33, 38.

48. Hallie M. McPherson, "The Projected Purchase of Alaska, 1859-60," translation of documents by Edouard de Stoeckl, *The Pacific Historical Review* 3, no. 1 (March 1934): 80-87.

49. Thomas A. Bailey, "Why the United States Purchased Alaska," *The Pacific Historical Review* 3, no. 1 (March 1934), 41.

50. Ibid., 42.

51. Ibid., 45-46.

during the Civil War the treaty would have failed [at] ratification.[52]

In 1937, Victor J. Farrar of the University of Washington in Seattle wrote *Annexation of Russian America to the United States*. This was the first comprehensive review of the treaty, ratification process, bribery, and implementation of the treaty in Alaska. While he mentioned the new material sent from Russia to the Department of State in 1937 in the introduction to the book, he used the material brought back by Frank Golder for his analysis.[53] A plan by Mormons to move to Alaska in 1857 scared the Russians who also watched the failing financial status of the Russian American Company.[54] From the purchase price, "some of this retained money was paid quite openly to certain individuals, called the 'Alaska Swindle.'"[55] Seward wanted to serve as an agent of Manifest Destiny with U. S. possession of the entire North American continent.[56]

The final journal article of this second period was by Reinhard H. Luthin who described the checkered career of Robert J. Walker, formerly U. S. Senator from Mississippi, and Secretary of the Treasury until President Polk. Walker's job was to deal with two troublesome groups in Congress stalling the appropriations bill for Alaska, ardent anti-expansionists and certain members pursuing the shady Perkins claim against the Russian government.[57] Walker testified later to Congress that he received a $20,000 fee as legal counsel for Russian Minister Stoeckl.[58] Later historians suspected him of distributing the bribery money to clear up the Perkin's claim.

Overall, the second historiographic period blew the lid off American corruption in the sale of Alaska. Frank A. Golder's material from the Russian Archives proved to be crucial in opening accurate scholarship, with many articles citing his work. The Russians started writing about the Russian America Company itself, but remained hesitant in describing the

52. Ibid., 49.

53. Victor J. Farrar, *The Annexation of Russian America to the United States* (New York, Russell & Russell, 1966, reprint from 1937), vii.

54. Ibid., 1-3, 14.

55. Ibid., 96.

56. Ibid., 113-114.

57. Reinhard H. Luthin, "The Sale of Alaska," in *Alaska and Its History,* ed. Morgan B. Sherwood, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967), 235. Written for the *Slavonic and East Euro pean Review*, XVI (July 1937), 168-182.

58. Ibid., 235.

sale. Reading the text of President Andrew Johnson's note regarding bribery remains shocking today.

EXAMINING NEW RUSSIAN MATERIAL WITHOUT THE RUSSIANS: 1940s AND 1950s

The third historiographic period turned out to be a transition time of looking at issues in the second period without much Russian input. With the advent of World War II, the Soviet Union fought a battle for its own survival with little time or energy for historical pursuits. After that conflict, the beginning of the Cold War and then the Korean War put maximum distance between the United States and the Soviet Union. Russian officials sent forty-five documents to the United States in 1937, giving American historians new knowledge about the Russian side of the story. While the 1940s and 1950s produced little written material compared to other periods, this was a time of integrating the new Russian material into American historical accounts without dialogue with Russian historians. Russian authors worked in isolation of American historians, starting the Russian analysis of the sale of what they called Russian America. Significant new Russian material appeared in 1951 with the translation of *The Russian-American Company* by S. B. Okun, first published in Russian in 1939.

Of great benefit to this period was Anatole J. Mazour, professor at the University of Nevada when he wrote about the sale of Russian America.[59] Born near Kiev, Ukraine in 1900, he served in the Tsar's army until the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 when he fought with the anti-Communist White Guards Fearing reprisal by the Bolsheviks, he fled to Berlin in 1921, moving on to the United States in 1923. Educated at Columbia University, the University of Nebraska, and the University of California at Berkeley, he ended up at Stanford University where he taught Slavic Languages, Russian Civilization, and History.[60]

Due to his linguistic ability in Russian, Mazour summarized material published through 1939 in the Soviet Union about the sale of Alaska. One

59. Anatole G. Mazour, "The Prelude to Russia's Departure from America," *The Pacific Historical Review* 10, no. 3 (September 1941), 311-319.

60. University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Libraries, Archives and Special Collections, "Anatole G. Mazour, Papers," http://libtextcenter.unl.edu/examples/servlet/transform/tamino/Library/FindingAids?&_xmlsrc=http://libtextcenter.unl.edu/archives/mazour.ms082.unl.xml&_xslsrc=http://libtextcenter.unl.edu/archives/EAD.xsl (accessed 11 May 2009).

major idea was that "from a strategic point of view Alaska, including the Aleutian and Kuril Islands, constituted a potential liability which would have required great sacrifices in case of war."[61] Regarding the neutrality agreement during the Crimean War, Great Britain wanted to avoid war with the United States, "allowing citizens of an enemy state to continue unmolested activity."[62] Mazour found solid reasons for selling the Russian colonies to the United States. The Russian-American Company had enjoyed monopoly privileges for six decades while still needing state subsidies and achieving neither political nor commercial success.[63] Concessions to foreigners for exploitation of mineral resources led to conflict with the United States and Britain, who applied pressure to obtain these concessions.[64] Rumors of gold being discovered in numerous parts of Alaska fueled Russian desire to rid itself of a colony it had no desire or ability to defend.

"from a strategic point of view Alaska, including the Aleutian and Kuril Islands, constituted a potential liability which would have required great sacrifices in case of war."

Russia knew of the fate of John Sutter during the California Gold Rush and feared losing its investment.[65] In desiring an alliance with the United States, Russia "sold Alaska at a price that aroused criticism for being too low, but the low price was motivated by the desire for friendship against a traditional diplomatic foe, Great Britain."[66]

James Alton James wrote an article entitled "The First Scientific Exploration of Russian America " in 1942. Here he gave a good overview of newspaper articles against the Alaskan treaty, especially the *New York Tribune,* which blasted Seward on April 8, 1867:

> Mr. Seward's dinner table is spread regularly with roast treaty, boiled treaty, treaty in bottles, treaty in decanters, treaty garnished

61. Ibid., 312.
62. Ibid., 313.
63. Ibid., 315.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid., 317.
66. Ibid., 319.

> with appointments to office, treaty in statistics, treaty in a military point of view, treaty in a territorial grandeur view, treaty clad in furs, ornamented with walrus teeth, fringed with timber and flopping with fish...The influence of these Russian treaty dinners can be measured from day to day. Senators can be named who were positively against the treaty when it was sent to the Senate and who now when interrogated half apologetically confess their purpose to vote for it.[67]

Albert Parry gave an original analysis in 1943 of "a hot-headed Kentuckian [who] once represented the republican government of the United States at the court of the Russian Tsar."[68]

> Known for his loud mouth, [Cassius] Clay affected Seward's secrecy in negotiating the treaty for Alaska: Seward. however, might have feared Clay and his anti-British indiscretions more than he feared England and France themselves. Had Clay known of the negotiations about the sale of Alaska, he would have certainly crowed on the subject all over St. Petersburg, and his crowing would have been delightedly anti-British -- enough to arouse the British even if they were not too disturbed in the first place.[69]

Stuart Ramsey Tomkins wrote a larger history of Alaska in 1945, *Alaska, Promyshlennik and Sourdough*, and described an interesting interaction between Seward and Stoeckl. Russians usually preferred secrecy in their diplomacy, but in this instance Stoeckl wanted to present the treaty in advance to certain members of the Senate and House for feedback and support. Seward vetoed this as well as Stoeckl's concern that Alaska be paid for prior to delivery to the United States.[70] Russian residents of Sitka had three years to remain in the colony or return to Russia, but were appalled the type of people who came to Alaska in October 1867:

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67. James Alton James, *The First Scientific Exploration of Russian America and the Purchase of Alaska* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University, 1942), 22-23. James Alton James is his correct name, not a misprint.

68. Albert Parry, "Cassius Clay's Glimpse into the future: Lincoln's Envoy to St. Petersburg Bade the Two Nations Meet in East Asia," *Russian Review* 3 no. 2 (Spring 1943), 52.

69. Ibid., 58.

70. Stuart Ramsay Tompkins, *Alaska: Promyshlennik and Sourdough* (Norman: University of Okla homa Press, 1945), 190.

> There arrived at Sitka from Pacific coast ports a rather nondescript population of adventurers, bound north in search of fortune - small businessmen, speculators, shipowners - the floatsam and jetsam of humanity that make up the class of person we call (perhaps euphemistically) pioneers.[71]

The major Russian work for this period was *The Russian-American Company* by S. B. Okun, published in Russian in 1939 and in English in 1951. Okun collected many scattered and previously undiscovered documents with great assistance from the two small volumes by Frank Golder about the Russian archives.[72] Russian America caused competition between Great Britain and the United States. In 1859 when the Hudson's Bay Lease in Alaska expired, U. S. Ambassador to Russia Cassius Clay offered to pay more per year for the same lease that Hudson's Bay had been granted.[73] Okun also reviewed the finances of the Russian-American Company, which needed yearly subsidies of 200,000 rubles to pay a very small yearly dividend.[74] To avoid bankruptcy the company started negotiations with British financial institutions, which preferred to loan the company money rather than having it sold to the United States. When the Tsar refused to guarantee that the colony would not be sold, the loan attempt failed.[75]

The most serious problem for the Russian-American Company came from statistics showing the decimation of native populations in the Aleutian Islands and in Kamchatka, with more dying than being born under company rule.[76] After Alexander II freed Russian serfs, the company used the natives as its own slaves in the hunt for fur-bearing mammals.

According to the Russian newspaper *Golos*, politics played the biggest role in the sale of Russian America: "From the very moment that the question of selling the colonies to the United States arose, the Russian diplomats never had the slightest doubt that the projected sale was a direct challenge

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71. Ibid., 191.

72. S. B. Okun, *The Russian-American Company,* ed. B. D. Grekov, trans. Carl Ginsburg (New York: Octagon Books, reprint 1979), vi, 3-4. Original 1939 in Russian, 1951 in English.

73. Ibid., 249-250.

74. Ibid., 250. The ruble was worth slightly less than a dollar at that point.

75. Ibid., 251-252.

76. Ibid., 256.

to England."[77] With the sale of the Russian colony to the United States, British Oregon would be squeezed from north and south.

Three shorter journal articles rounded out the historiography of this period, with two of the articles reprinted in Morgan B. Sherwood's *Alaska and Its History* in 1967.[78] Elmer C. Herber wrote about Spencer Fullerton Baird while Morgan B. Sherwood covered George Davidson. Baird and Davidson led collecting efforts on the natural history and potential resources of Alaska for the Smithsonian Institution.[79] This information swayed Senator Charles Sumner (and others) into supporting the Alaskan treaty.

Richard E. Welch, Jr. viewed opposition or support of the treaty by regional newspapers in his article "American Public Opinion and the Purchase of Russian America."[80] Favoring the treaty were all seven New England newspapers he reviewed, including five Boston papers, the *Herald*, *Daily Evening Transcript, Advertiser, Evening Daily Traveller,* and *Journal, the Bangor (ME) Daily Times*, and the *Manchester (NH) Daily Union*; four New York papers, the *World, Commercial Advertiser, Times,* and *Herald*; the *Rochester (NY) Democrat*; three Philadelphia papers, the *Inquirer, North American Gazette,* and *Ledger* (the last one more neutral); four Washington, D. C. papers, the *Evening Star*, *National Intelligencer, National Republican*, and *Daily Morning Chronicle*; *the Baltimore Sun* and *American and Commercial Advertiser*; southern newspapers including the *Wilmington (NC) Daily Journal,* the *Louisville (KT) Daily Journal*, the *Savannah Daily Republican*; three New Orleans papers, the *Commercial Bulletin, Times,* and *Republican*; and western newspapers which hoped to gain British Columbia as an American state. The *Wilmington (DE) Daily Commercial* figured the United States could get the territory for free. Chicago was divided, with the *Evening Journal* for the treaty and the *Republican* against. This was also the case in Cincinnati where the *Commercial* was for the treaty and the *Daily*

77. Ibid., 257.

78. Morgan B. Sherwood, ed., *Alaska and Its History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967).

79. Elmer C. Herber, "Spencer Fullerton Bair and the Purchase of Alaska," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* 98, no. 2 (April 15, 1954), 139-143; Morgan B. Sherwood, "George Davidson and the Acquisition of Alaska," in *Alaska and Its History,* Sherwood, 272-290, from the *Pacific Historical Review*, XXVIII (May 1959), 141-154.

80. Richard E. Welch, Jr., "American Public Opinion and the Purchase of Russian America," in *Alaska and Its History,* Sherwood, 252-270, from the *American Slavic and East European Review*, XVII (1958),481-494.

Gazette opposed. Other opposition came from Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune* and two other New York newspapers, the *Independent* and the *Sun*, as well as two southern papers, the *Galveston Republican*, and *La Tribune de la Nouvelle-Orleans*.[81] Reports of widespread press opposition turned out to be greatly exaggerated.

While this historiographic period benefitted greatly from the documents supplied by the Russians in 1937, sharing of documents ceased due to Cold War tension. Russian and Americans worked separately to document the Russian side of the story in Sitka, where the behavior of the American soldiers was highly disruptive to Russian and American relations.

CELEBRATIONS: STATEHOOD, CENTENNIAL OF SALE, AND THE U. S. BICENTENNIAL: 1960s AND 1970s

Alaska suffered greatly from the lack of a territorial government in the days after its purchase from Russia. Alaskans were justifiably proud to join the Union in 1959 after a long push for statehood. Scholarship flourished, especially anthologies of the entire Alaskan history. One strong writer in this period was Hector Chevigny, whose book *Russian America* accurately portrayed the Russian colony both before and after the sale and the turmoil caused when American soldiers abused the Russian citizens of Sitka.[82]

The historiography has followed a chronological orientation to this point. Texts will be combined by topic for the rest of the paper, with focus on details or new interpretations not already presented. This period had four general categories: review of Russian America mainly prior to the sale, the sale of Alaska to the United States, anthologies of Alaskan history with some details on the sale of Alaska, and two biographies of Seward.

Material on Russian America increased during this fourth historiographic period. The earliest of these texts was *Russian America*, by Hector Chevigny, who described the personalities in the Russian court. Easy-going Tsar Alexander II deferred to his younger brother, Grand Duke Constantine, who pushed the sale of Alaska."[83] Constantine ignored the facts in 1859 when company finances were at an all time high. However, the un-

81. Ibid., 277-287.

82. Hector Chevigny, *Russian America: The Great Alaskan Venture, 1741-1867* (New York: The Viking Press, 1965), 260.

83. Ibid., 230-231.

certainty of charter renewal destroyed the company's finances and credit.[84] Russians were outraged at the sale and felt a national feeling of shame at the sinfulness of selling people converted to Orthodoxy.[85]

Mykhaylo Hukhaylo Hucula wrote *When Russia was in America, the Alaska Boundary Treaty* (1971), detailing early conflict between Russia, Great Britain and the United States in the 1820s.[86] Svetland G. Fedorova concentrated on how the sale effected Russian families in her 1973 book, *The Russian Population in Alaska and California*. Russians felt strong patriotism for Russia and were reluctant to change the congenial way of life they had in the colony. Also, they objected to the "invasion of speculators, hucksters, loafers, saloon keepers, prostitutes, gamblers, and other newcomers eager to settle in the new place."[87] American soldiers occupied the homes of the Russian inhabitants, and assaulted Russian women, hastening the exodus from Sitka.[88]

B. D. Lain examined *The Decline of Russian America's Colonial Society* (1976), noting the disastrous effect of the sale on the Russian community, particularly for the offspring of Russian-Native marriages called Creoles. They enjoyed high status in Russian-America, often going to St. Petersburg for education, but suddenly became half-breeds under American racial beliefs at that time.[89] Freed from previous prohibitions about alcohol, many former Russian subjects developed alcohol problems, which reinforced American contempt of the natives.[90]

Several anthologies of Alaskan history included information on the sale of Alaska. Hubert Howe Bancroft made one observation on the bribery involved in the sale in his anthology *History of Alaska, 1730-1885*:

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84. Ibid., 236.

85. Ibid., 243. Russia had never voluntarily relinquished any part of itself. The religious consid ered that a great sin had been committed in selling people converted to Orthodoxy, with the guilt persisting to this day.

86. Mykhaylo Huculak, *When Russia Was in America: The Alaska Boundary Treaty Negotiations, 1824-25, and the Role of Pierre de Poletica* (Vancouver, B.C.: Mitchell Press, 1971), 76-77.

87. Fedorova, 270.

88. Ibid. "The Russians in Sitka all acted as if they were at the Tsar's funeral. . . They are all getting ready to leave for Russia. . . they wander through the streets with downcast faces."

89. B. D. Lain, "The Decline of Russian America's Colonial Society," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 7, no. 2 (April 1976), 143-145, 148.

90. Ibid., 143, 149.

> The circumstances which led to the transfer [of the Russian colonies] are still supposed by many to be enshrouded in mystery, but I can assure the reader that there is no mystery about it. In diplomatic circles, even so simple a transaction as buying a piece of ground must not be allowed consummation without the usual wise winks, whisperings, and circumlocution.[91]

In *An Alaskan Reader*, edited by Ernest Gruening (1966), Americans grew increasingly dissatisfied with Russian closure of ports in Alaska while Russian ships were free to enter any American port. With a growing population on the West Coast, Americans looked to the resources in Alaska which led to widespread support of the sale.[92] *Alaska and Its History*, edited by Morgan B. Sherwood (1967), pulled together four valuable articles by Luthin (1937), Herber (1954), Welch (1958), and Sherwood (1959).[93]

Important in this historiographic period was material about British Columbia and the Hudson's Bay Company. Archie W. Shiels focused on Manifest Destiny in his book *The Purchase of Alaska* (1967), with many Americans believing that British Columbia would eventually join the Union.[94] He gave a full text of the treaty as well as text from the *Portland Daily Oregonia* and *San Francisco Golden Era* supporting the treaty in April 1967.[95] C. Ian Jackson described "The Stikine Territory Lease and Its Relevance to the Alaska Purchase" (1967), giving details of the Russian lease with the Hudson's Bay Company on the Stikine River.[96] The American dream of taking over British Columbia hastened the British in granting commonwealth status to Canada, primarily to keep British Columbia within the British sphere.[97] British Columbia had little stake in the new

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91. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Alaska, 1730-1885* (New York: Antiquarian Press, 1960), 595.

92. Ernest Gruening, ed., *An Alaskan Reader, 1867-1967* (New York: Meredith Press, 1966), 43-47.

93. Morgan B. Sherwood, ed., *Alaska and Its History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967). These articles were individually reviewed in this paper in previous sections.

94. Archie W. Shiels, *The Purchase of Alaska* (College, Alaska: University of Alaska Press, 1967), 135-36.

95. Ibid., 133-134.

96. C. Ian Jackson, "The Stikine Territory Lease and Its Relevance to the Alaska Purchase," *The Pacific Historical Review* 36, no. 3 (August 1967), 289-306.

97. Ibid., 308-309.

Canadian federation and many ties to its Pacific coast neighbors according to *American Foreign Policy in Canadian Relations*, by James M. Callahan (1967).[98]

The 1970s saw a new review of the effects of the sale on Russian colonists in Alaska and the Amur region in Asia as an alternative for Russian commerce. Howard I. Kushner reviewed Russian interest in the Amur region and conviction that the United States coveted Alaska in his 1975 book, *Conflict on the Northwest Coast: American-Russian Rivalry in the Pacific Northwest, 1790-1867*.[99] He noted that the discovery of gold, first in British Columbia in 1858 and then in Sitka in 1866, brought Americans northward and fueled Russian urgency in selling the colony.[100] In *The Americanization of Alaska* (1972), Ted C. Hinckley detailed Sitka's abrupt change from a sleepy company town to the bustling commercialism of the Americans. While the Creoles were stuck in Sitka, most Russians fled to British Columbia, California, and Russia.[101] Hinkley also noted comments as early as 1853 from Governor General Muravyov-Amursky of Eastern Siberia who expected the United States to spread over all of North America. This general saw Britain as the threat to Russian interests and rated New Archangel (Sitka) as highly vulnerable under threat of war.[102] Finally, Ronald J. Jensen noted disputes in Sitka over company homes, which the residents considered their own in *The Alaska Purchase and Russian-American Relations* (1975). The military seized these homes, forcing the Russians to live on the ships heading back to Russia and hastening their exodus.[103] Jensen also noted the early support of Radical Republican Thaddeus Stevens for the purchase of Alaska. Stevens led the fight to impeach President Andrew Johnson but supported the treaty without qualification, even assuring Russian minister Stoeckl in advance of House approval of the appropriations

98. James Morton Callahan, *American Foreign Policy in Canadian Relations* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1967), 107-108.

99. Howard I. Kushner, *Conflict on the Northwest Coast: American-Russian Rivalry in the Pacific Northwest, 1790-1867* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1975), 139-141.

100. Ibid., 139-140.

101. Ted C. Hinckley, *The Americanization of Alaska, 1867-189* (Palo Alto, CA: Pacific Books, 1972), 31.

102. Ibid., 17-19.

103. Ronald J. Jensen, *The Alaska Purchase and Russian-American Relations* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1975), 101-102.

bill.[104] Stoeckl was tired and disgusted in making these remarks:

> I cannot give you an idea of the tribulations and disagreements that I have had to bear before the conclusion of this affair. I urgently need a rest of several months. Do not tell me to remain here because there is no other position to give me, but grant me the opportunity to rest for some time in an atmosphere purer than that of Washington and then you can do with me what you want.[105]

The two biographies of William H. Seward from this period were distinctly different than the early biographies in the period of denial in the historiography before 1910. Both authors acknowledged difficulties in the ratification process regarding the Alaskan treaty. The first biography focused on the Perkins claim and delays in payment for the purchase of Alaska. The second biography examined Seward's motivation in pursuing the purchase.

Glyndon G. Van Deusen gave Seward's analysis of the Perkins Claim in his 1967 biography, *William Henry Seward*.[106] Seward gave credence to the claim by Benjamin W. Perkins, who had an oral agreement to send 154 tons of powder and 35,000 arms to Russia for the Crimean War.[107] When Russia refused to take the shipment after the war ended, Perkins pursued a claim with Seward supporting Perkins. Negotiations with the Russian government to settle the claim for $130,000 concluded without success.[108] This claim held up payment for Alaska, with the Perkins heirs requesting $500,000.[109] Russian Minister Stoeckl was upset when payment lapsed beyond the contracted ten-month date of April 20, 1968. Seward reported extensive greasing of palms by Stoeckl "to Forney for the use of the *Washington Chronicle*, to Walker for his efforts, and to Banks and Stevens in order to win them from their support of the Perkins claim."[110]

Ernest N. Paolino reviewed many arguments about Seward's backing

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104. Ibid., 87.

105. Ibid., 120-121. His diplomatic career ruined, Stoeckl never got another posting, and retired in defeat.

106. Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *William Henry Seward* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 535-549.

107. Ibid., 538.

108. Ibid.

109. Ibid., 545.

110. Ibid., 547.

of the Alaskan treaty in his 1973 biography of Seward.[111] Seward sought bases in Alaska to develop U. S. trade with Asia and the Pacific as his overall goal was to obtain American commercial supremacy, particularly in the Pacific.[112] Seward diverted discussion of bribery toward Stoeckl and claimed (in a slight of hand) that any money for bribery did not come from the Department of State.[113]

REEXAMINING THE RUSSIAN SIDE: 1980s TO PRESENT

This final historiographic period has been quite exciting due to new Russian material after the official demise of the Soviet Union and active Russian and American cooperation in research ventures. Historians await translation of what they consider to the definitive work on the sale of Russian America, Nikolai Nikolaevich Bolkhovitinov's three-volume work on the *History of Russian America* published in Moscow in 1997-1999. The Russians research team for these books included both senior scholars and younger specialists in the field of the Russian American Company. They also collaborated with two North American researchers Lydia S. Black from the University of Alaska in Fairbanks, and James R. Gibson from York University in Canada.

Tat'iana Viktorovna Alent'eva wrote an excellent review of these three volumes which clarified the mistreatment and exploitation of the Alaskan natives by Russian fur-trappers and the heavy debt of the Russian American Company.[114] Bolkhovitinov also acknowledged the payment of bribes to American congressmen by Russian Minister Edouard de Stoeckl. This work documented the continued contribution of the Russian Orthodox Church to the education and spiritual growth of Alaskan natives both

111. Ernest N. Paolino, *The Foundations of the American Empire; William Henry Seward and U. S. Foreign Policy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1973), 106-118.

112. Paolino, 107, 118.

113. Ibid., 114.

114. Tat'iana Viktorovna Alent'eva, Review of *Istoriia Russkoi Ameriki, 1732-1867* [History of Russian America, 1732-1867], Vol. 1: *Osnovanie Russkoi Ameriki* (1732-1799), Vol. 2: *eiatel'nost' Rossiisko-amerikanskoi kompanii* (1799-1825), Vol. 3: *Russkaia Amerika: Ot zenita k zakatu* (1825-1867), edited by Nikolai N. Bolkhovitinov, *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 2, no. 2 (Spring 2002), 341-347.

before and after the sale of the colony.[115] Norman E. Saul wrote a review of Bolkhovitinov's volumes in 2000, examining the role of the Russian Orthodox Church in early relations with natives, a Nootka Sound controversy influencing Russian expansion, and an excellent and extensive bibliography done by Svetlana Fedorova on works on Russian America already published in Western languages.[116] Another review in 2003 by Andrei A. Znamenski discussed the social and economic systems of the Russian-America Company. He noted resemblances between the Russian colonists in Alaska and the Spanish on the frontiers of Latin America, as well as capitalistic ventures in the Dutch West Indian and British East Indian Companies. According to Znamenski, Russian authors Grinev and Bolkhovitinov debunked the old Soviet ideology that Russians were benevolent in their settlement of Alaska as compared to predatory American and British practices, stating that "Russian colonials were no better or worse than their British, American, or Spanish counterparts."[117]

Russians continued to study the factors leading to the sale of Alaska while American writers focused on the effect of the sale on Russian colonists and Native Alaskans. Diplomatic miscalculations of Tsarist Russia led to united opposition from Turkey and European powers in the Crimean War according to Nikolay N. Bolkhovitinov in his article "The Crimean War and the Emergence of Proposals for the Sale of Russian America, 1853-1861."[118] He also noted the natural sway of the North American States over the North American continent and the inevitability of Russian withdrawal from both California and Russia. A.V. Remnev wrote *Russia of the Far East* in 2004 while A. I. Petrov produced *The Russian American Company* in 2006, both available only in book reviews at the current time.

Ilya Vinkovetsky reviewed both Remnev's and Petrov's books in a very thorough book review in 2008 in the journal *Kritika: Explorations*

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115. Ibid., 343. At the time of the Russian Revolution in 1917, the Orthodox had 461 churches and chapels, 309 priests and deacons, and nearly 600,000 members in their former colony.

116. Norman E. Saul, Review of two texts: *Istoriia Russkoi Ameriki, 1732-1867* [History of Russian America, 1732-1867], vol. 1; and *Osnovanie russkoi Ameriki, 1732-1799* [The Founding of Russian America, 1732-1799], by Nikolai N. Bolkhovitinov, ed., *Journal of American History* 87, no. 2 (September 2000), 636-637.

117. Andrei A. Znamenski, Review of *Istoriia Russkoi Ameriki,1732-1867* [History of Russian America, 1732-1867], by Nikolai N. Bolkhovitinov, ed., *The Pacific Historical Review* 72, no. 3 (August 2003), 430-434.

118. Nikolay N. Bolkhovitinov, "The Crimean War and the Emergency of Proposals for the Sale of Russian America, 1853-1861," *The Pacific Historical Review* 59, no. 1 (February 1990), 15-49.

in Russian and Eurasian History.[119] Remnev wrote extensively about Siberia and examined Russia's Pacific colonies in an entirely different fashion. He described competition between Russian administrators for "attention, funds, resources, and prestige," with Nikolai Murav'ev-Amurskii being instrumental in changing the Russian focus from Russian America to the Amur region of Asia.[120] The presence of American traders in the northern Pacific (with their cheaper trading goods) worried Russian authorities about an American take-over, particularly of the region called Chukotka (the Kurile and Commander Islands).[121] Vinkovetsky also reviewed Petrov's book *The Russian-American Company: Activity in the Home and Foreign Markets, 1799-1867* in the same article, noting the extensive financial history of the Russian-American Company as playing the major role in its liquidation.[122] Unlike previous authors, Petrov documented Alaska's relative financial well being prior to its transfer to the United States, and challenged what he called the "incomplete and misleading" work of S. O. Okun from 1939.[123] In response, reviewer Vinkovetsky noted Okun's Marxist approach, but actually defended Okun and discounted Petrov for his silence on the Russian workforce (both Russian and native) and their compensation and treatment. She also noted company profits in later years from monopolistic stores selling wares at inflated prices, and criticized Petrov's ignorance of how the company devastated the region through the slaughter of fur-bearing animals both on land and in the sea.[124]

Lucien J. Frary also reviewed Petrov's work, noting a complete and helpful bibliography and review of management issues but rating the book

119. Ilya Vinkovetsky, Review of two texts: *Rossiisko-amerikanskaia kompaniia: Deiatel'nost' na otechestvennom i zarubezhnom rynkakh,1799-1867* [The Russian-American Company: Activity in the Home and Foreign Markets, 1799-1867], by Aleksandr Iur'evich Petrov; and *Rossiia Dal'nego Vostoka: Imperskaia geografiia vlasti XIX-nachala XX vekov* [Russia of the Far East: An Imperial Geography of Power from the 19th to the Early 20th Century], by Anatolii Viktorovich Remnev, *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 9, no. 2 (Spring 2008), 463-471.

120. Vinkovetsky, Review of *Russia of the Far East*, by Anatolii Viktorovich Remnev, 470.

121. Ibid.

122. Vinkovetsky, *Review of The Russian-American Company: Activity in the Home and Foreign Markets, 1799-1867*, by Aleksandr Iur'evich Petrov, 463.

123. Ibid., 463-464.

124. Ibid., 466.

as a "somewhat lifeless and meticulous description of bookkeeping."[125] He was kinder to the material than Vinkovetsky, noting that previous dividends from the Russian American Company had been greater to its stockholders until the Crimean War and Tsar Alexander II's modernization of Russia freeing the serfs.[126] Affecting the colony was the sharp decline in sea lions, seals, and otters in the 1850s, coupled with frustrations from "personnel issues, market fluctuations, and shipping costs."[127]

Steven Haycox described the stability provided by the Russian Orthodox Church for the Native Alaskans and survival of their languages during the sale of Russian America in his book, *Alaska, An American Colony* (2002).[128] Haycox also noted the discovery of gold in 1861 on the Canadian Stikine River as being more important for the fate of Russian America than inspections and evaluations by Russian officials.[129] He downplayed the purchase price of $7.2 million as being significant to the Russian economy, stating Russia's firm belief that the United States would rule North America in concluding the sale.[130]

Lydia T. Black documented the rich Russian culture of Sitka and other towns in her book *Russians in Alaska, 1732-1867* (2004). Black noted that the property of the Russian Orthodox Church, guaranteed in the treaty but lost without compensation to many "scoundrels," returned eventually to church ownership as tribes bought back churches and cemetery lands.[131] The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 finally restored the civil rights of the proud Russian creoles over one hundred years after the sale. The true Russian legacy in Alaska turned out to be its religious observances

125. Lucien J. Frary, Review of *Rossiia Dal'nego Vostoka: Imperskaia geografiia vlasti XIX-nachala XX vekov* [Russia of the Far East: An Imperial Geography of Power from the 19th to the Early 20th Century], by Anatolii Viktorovich Remnev, *Journal of the Early Republic* (Summer 2008), 291.

126. Ibid., 290.

127. Ibid.

128. Stephen Haycox, *Alaska, An American Colony* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 145-146.

129. Ibid., 141.

130. Ibid., 152.

131. Lydia T. Black, *Russians in Alaska, 1732-1867* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2004), 286.

passed on to Alaskan natives.[132]

Several authors examined further issues of the treaty and how it tarnished the reputation of the United States in particular. Paul S. Holbo was blunt in his title, *Tarnished Expansion: The Alaska Scandal, the Press, and Congress, 1867-1871* (1983) and stated that the Alaskan scandal from bribes and late payment put an end to the expansionists' movement.[133] Holbo noted the prominence of Robert J. Walker (former senator from Mississippi and secretary of the Treasury under President James K. Polk) in gaining Alaska, noting Walker's long-term advocacy for pulling all of the British Oregon Territory including British Columbia into the Union.[134] Newspapers of the time ignored hints of corruption by laughing at jibes like "Wal-russia" instead of thoroughly investigating possible scandal. Horace Greeley was the most vocal opponent of the treaty in the *New York Tribune*, but even he focused on dinner parties rather than the unstable finances of the United States after the Civil War with the government borrowing money to purchase Alaska.[135] The House of Representatives barely investigated the Alaskan scandal:

> They left allegations unresolved while exonerating the guilty with the innocent. Yet, the process of the congressional investigations of the Alaska scandal and the results of the inquiry embarrassed accusers and accused alike; and unwittingly further tarnished expansion.[136]

Claus-M. Naske and Herman E. Slotnick wrote *Alaska, History of the 49th State* (2002). Ratification of the treaty came after expenditure of money by Stoeckl as congressmen realized that to not ratify would have offended Russia, the United States' best friend during the Civil War.[137] They noted the legacy of Aleksandr Andreyevich Baranov in keeping the Russian American Company afloat as a viable commercial enterprise while being hampered by a small labor pool and continued warfare with the Tlingits

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132. Ibid., 287. Alaskan Aleuts carried the holy symbols of Russian orthodoxy back to Russian Kamchatka in 1993 after the fall of the Soviet Union.

133. Paul S. Holbo, *Tarnished Expansion: The Alaska Scandal, the Press, and Congress, 1867-1871* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 89.

134. Ibid.,, 89.

135. Ibid., 11-13.

136. Ibid., 35.

137. Claus-M. Naske, and Herman E. Slotnick, *Alaska: A History of the 49th State*, second edition, (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 4.

near Sitka. After his retirement in 1821, management of the colony went to naval officers with little business training and a primary interest in increasing their own bureaucracy while the fur trade declined.[138] Overall, the Americans were no better prepared to govern Alaska than the Russians had been.[139]

The one Seward biography reviewed for this period was by John H. Taylor, who noted Seward's penchant for secret negotiations at the time of the Alaskan treaty.[140] Seward pursued a deal for the Virgin Islands with Denmark in 1867, which complicated his credibility on the Alaskan purchase: "Seward's cause was not helped when a tidal wave caught a U. S. gunboat, the Monongahela, off St. Thomas and deposited it in the town square. Mark Twain wrote a humorous story suggesting that hurricanes and earthquakes had reduced the value of West Indian real estate.[141] Of the $7,200,000 purchase price for Alaska, a House investigation on possible bribery in 1868-1869 could not account for $135,000 of the purchase price.[142] While testifying to having no knowledge of bribery himself, Seward later blamed the bribery on Stoeckl on a picnic already noted with President Andrew Johnson, ignoring his own blunders in the treaty.[143]

The final historiographic period starting in the 1980s literally exploded with new material after the fall of the Soviet Union. Remarkably, Russian historians corrected previous Soviet dogma, noting the mistreatment of Alaskan natives similar to the imperialistic ventures of other nations in the Americas, Asia and Africa. Inclusion of American Lydia Black and Canadian James Gibson on the Russian research team signaled a new openness by the Russians in researching the sale of Alaska or cession of Russian America as they called it. Lydia Black contributed significant new material on the aftermath of the sale on Alaskan natives while Russian reviewer Ilya Vinkovetsky provided a very balanced review of new Russian material, neither whitewashing the past nor throwing out relevant material due to its Marxism. Overall, this was the most significant period of the historiography,

138. Ibid., 43-45.

139. Ibid., 63.

140. John M. Taylor, *William Henry Seward, Lincoln's Right Hand* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991), 274- 285.

141. Ibid., 275.

142. Ibid., 280.

143. Ibid., 280-281. Details were reported earlier in this paper, Dunning, 386.

either building upon or correcting earlier historical works. One can almost feel the excitement of historians awaiting the translation of Bolkhovitinov's three-volume work, as it will significantly add to the scholarship on the topic, much as Frank Golder's access to Russian documents in 1914 and 1917 first opened historical review on the sale of Alaska, and greatly assisted later researchers.

CONCLUSION

For the historiography of the sale of Alaska, five major periods are evident. The initial period of denial and omission by the Americans lasted from 1867 to the early 1910s, with inadequate biographies of Seward, and silence on the Russian side. The second period of collaboration between the Americans and Russians started in the 1910s, and continued through the 1930s. The Russians granted Frank A. Golder access to their papers in 1914 and 1917, and sent numerous documents to the Americans in 1937. These papers sustained scholarship during the third period of transition, with political coolness between Americans and Russians in the 1940s and 1950s. The fourth period from the 1960s through the 1970s saw increased interest in the sale of Alaska due to Alaskan statehood in 1959, the centennial of the sale in 1967, and the United States bicentennial of 1976. By far the most balanced and productive has been the fifth and current period from the 1980s to the present with Russian scholarship in the foreground and collaboration with both American and Canadian historians.

In addition, there were two styles of writing. Scholars either whitewashed American behavior in the implementation and payment of the treaty or looked at the entire literature with a fair degree of objectivity. The American military took over the colony long before payment was made, casting Russian residents out of company owned homes, mistreating them, and not protecting property and individual liberty according to the treaty agreement. Secondly, the United States House of Representatives essentially held the Russians hostage over payment, with the Russian minister resorting to bribes to grease the process of payment. On the side of objectivity, a number of scholars contributed greatly to a balanced analysis, including Frank A. Golder, Victor J. Farrar, S. B. Okun, Anatole J. Mazour, Hector Chevigny, Nikolai Nikolaevich Bolkhovitinov, and Lydia T. Black. The biggest progress in the historiography has come through the recent cooperation of Russians and Americans on a research team giving a much more accurate and detailed analysis of the history of the sale of Alaska.

Giving a synopsis of the issues involved in the sale of Alaska would be another paper in itself. The historiography makes three points very clearly. The sale of Alaska unexpectedly led to the end of Manifest Destiny. Secondly the treaty led Britain to grant commonwealth status to Canada to keep British Columbia from the Americans. Most importantly, the chaotic implementation of the treaty damaged the relationship between the United States and Russia, as well as damaging the colony itself. Russians in Sitka had to flee what had been a peaceful community, and natives with Russian blood lost their civil rights. By not paying for the treaty before taking over the colony, the acquisitions bill to pay for the sale was basically held hostage by the impeachment hearings for President Andrew Johnson and an obscure Perkins claim already settled with a cash payment out of court. Given the increasingly embarrassing situation to Russia which had taken Seward's word on prompt payment, Russian Minister Edouard de Stoeckl became impatient and greased the wheels of democracy with bribes to speed the process. Stoeckl initially wanted a normal real estate escrow account with payment prior to acquisition, which might have saved the relationship between the two countries. Without prompt payment, the once flourishing friendship between the United States and Russia would never be the same.

"Most importantly, the chaotic implementation of the treaty damaged the relationship between the United States and Russia, as well as damaging the colony itself. Russians in Sitka had to flee what had been a peaceful community, and natives with Russian blood lost their civil rights"

Why Europe?

Amanda Hale

Europe was not more advanced than its counterparts in the non-Western world preceding the Industrial Revolution; in fact, as many scholars argue, it was markedly lagging behind regions such as China and India. Janet L. Abu-Lughod, in her book, *Before European Hegemony*, Kenneth Pomeranz, in his book, *The Great Divergence*, and Arnold Pacey, in his book, *Technology in World Civilization*, each present explanations for the divergence of the European path that refute the idea of European exceptionalism. The Eurocentric contention that an intrinsic nature led to Europe's ascendancy to a world-hegemonic position lacks validity, as it fails to tackle the phenomenon from a world-historical point of view. Pomeranz' use of the term "divergence" is most appropriate as it does not imply a qualitative position regarding the debate. Pomeranz poses the central question—"Why wasn't the Yangzi Delta England?"[1] It is precisely this question that Abu-Lughod, Pomeranz, and Pacey address in their respective texts, collectively forming a valuable contribution to the historiography of world history.

All three historians draw attention to the developments of non-European regions, which has often been overlooked or abridged by scholars of western civilization. Abu-Lughod argues that the geographic, political, and demographic contexts were the most salient factors determining European development, rather than any inherent psychological or institutional factors. She highlights that there was not an intrinsic nature that predicated Europe's rapid escalation to world hegemony—"Europe pulled

1. Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 13.

ahead because the 'Orient' was temporarily in disarray."[2] Pomeranz argues that vital to Europe's pulling ahead was its exploitation of non-Europeans and its extensive access to overseas resources. Pomeranz acknowledges "internally driven European growth," but he emphasizes that "those processes were [similar] to processes at work elsewhere," and not unique to Europe. He notes that while some differences of potential significance existed, they would have mattered littler without "Europe's privileged access to overseas resources."[3] Lastly, Pacey's analysis of technology in world civilization illuminates, what he terms, "technological dialogues" (the phenomenon of similar technologies emerging concomitant of one another in different spaces of the world), that existed between various world regions—a concept that Abu-Lughod develops as well.

Abu-Lughod, Pomeranz, and Pacey develop compelling narratives explicating the rise of European hegemony, and their arguments are similar in a number of ways. However, synthesizing all three arguments set forth by the above-mentioned authors yields a more encompassing and accurate analysis of Europe's rise to world dominance. It was not solely the "disarray of the 'Orient,"' the invention of the steamship, or European's increased organizational inclinations that lead to Europe's escalating preeminence; rather, a combination of factors (some noted above), as well as the benefit of serendipitous timing, do more to elucidate Europe's rise to world hegemony.[4] As one will see, the serendipity factor perhaps had more to do with Europe's subsequent rise than any intrinsic European predisposition to world dominance.

Most would argue that up to the European divergence marked by the Industrial Revolution, largely populated areas, in various world regions, for the purposes of this work, primarily China, India, and Japan, were more alike than they were different, in fact in many respects, Europe was trailing behind the rest of the major world centers. Pomeranz writes, "Here we find differences that may well have differentiated China, Japan, and western Europe from other places, but not very much from each other."[5] Pomeranz's assertion would likely be shared by both Abu-Lughod and Pacey.

2. Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 18.

3. Pomeranz, 4.

4. Ibid., 207.

5. Ibid., 18.

Abu-Lughod argues, "It is necessary to look beyond her [Europe's] internal inventiveness and the virtues of her 'unique' entrepreneurial spirit." She goes on to note that during the thirteenth century "the other world powers had as promising a level of business acumen...and even more sophisticated set of economic institutions."[6] In several instances, Pacey highlights technological advances that are popularly held to be European inventions that actually had their origins in other parts of the world. He notes that it was commonly thought that though the Chinese invented gunpowder and used it for fireworks. However, there is convincing evidence that not only was gunpowder used in China in incendiary weaponry, gun barrels have been found in China that date from 1288 and 1332, predating their appearance in Europe.[7] Abu-Lughod, Pomeranz, and Pacey do much to undo a Eurocentric world view by highlighting likenesses as much as differences between the major world regions that they each tackle respectively.

"A web of innovation existed within the world that can be likened to ebb and flow, rather than any inherent trajectory toward advancement"

Another theme that the three authors explore is the reciprocal nature between different locales, in many respects, that existed prior to Europe's marked divergence in the eighteenth century. A web of innovation existed within the world that can be likened to ebb and flow, rather than any inherent trajectory toward advancement. Kenneth Pomeranz writes that,

> Our perception of an interacting system from which one part benefited more than others does not in itself justify calling that part the 'center' and assuming that it is the unshaped shaper of everything else. We will see, instead vectors of influence moving in various directions.[8]

Abu-Lughod and Pacey would likely concur with Pomeranz's metaphor. Pomeranz, much like Abu-Lughod and Pacey does not argue that if Europe is hegemonic, then China is not and vice versa. He does, like the other authors, acknowledge in a unifying sense that each world region possessed

6. Abu-Lughod, 18.

7. Arnold Pacey, *Technology in World Civilization* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1990), 47.

8. Pomeranz, 10.

specific attributes that facilitated divergent paths of development, not better or worse paths—various development emerged based on the conditions present in a given locale. Pomeranz argues that preceding the "European miracle," it possessed a "none-too-unusual economy; it became a fortunate freak." And, he explains that it was possible not from any inherent European positioning, but rather, "as part of a large global conjuncture."[9] It was the relationships and vectors of influence that made possible the divergent path that Europe took. Non-European centers were integral to this phenomenon, not peripheral to it.

Abu-Lughod suggests a world model with multiple cores: the "European Subsystem," "Mideast Heartland," and Asia. Similar to Pomeranz, Lughod explores how international relationships were formed, expanded, and fortified during the thirteenth century, the most historically important point being that the various players "each gained from the system but not to the detriment of others" (it is significant to point out that Lughod and Pomeranz are not comparing comparable time periods, though they are analyzing a comparable phenomenon). Lughod goes on to state that "when the system reached its zenith in the opening decades of the fourteenth century, no single power could said to be hegemonic; the participation of all was required for its perpetuation."[10] Abu-Lughod explicates cooperation that existed in her description of the Italian mariner nations steady assurance and supply to Egypt of "new military recruits to the slave elite." Thus, the Italians were supplying the labor needs for Egypt's continued strength, thereby ensuring their trading rights with Egypt, despite Egypt's blocking of Italy from the East.[11] In spite of much internal commerce and communication, Italy was not cut off from other world regions—quite the contrary. A monolithic trajectory did not exist—conversations took place that were integral to cooperation and continued development.

In accordance with Abu-Lughod and Pomeranz, Pacey describes the discourse between various world regions in terms of technological conversations. He explores how new knowledge and/or technologies were sometimes directly transferred, sometimes similar technologies developed in different places with no likely connection to one another, inventions were made as responses to others, and there were oftentimes losses of technology

9. Pomeranz, 207.

10. Abu-Lughod, 37.

11. Ibid., 149.

due to invasion. Pacey provides examples of phenomena that point to a dialectic between world regions. For example, Pacey notes that it is "striking how eagerly Indians and Europeans learned from each other" in his discussion of the transfer of shipbuilding technology between Indians and Europeans.[12]

It is evident that all three authors, although implementing different methods: economic history, world systems analysis, and technological history, come to a similar conclusion that prior to the marked rise of the West, more similarities existed between densely populated world regions and much innovation and technology was shared internally as well as globally. The authors ascertain that a multitude of factors contributed to a world-historical shift toward western European dominance; they then transition into explanations of what caused Europe to diverge to a position of world hegemony. Although there are more explanations to this can be posited in this piece, four preeminent explanations are central to the works of Abu-Lughod, Pomeranz, and Pacey: the rise of Europe was contingent and dependent upon its relationships with other world regions, the decline of China beginning in the fourteenth century, the invention of the Steamship, and, European access to overseas resources. Though each author acknowledge to varying extents the significance of these factors, without each of the said factors, in conjunction with serendipitous luck, Europe's divergent rise would not have been likely, i.e., a synthesis of the respective arguments gets on closer to a more comprehensive understanding of Europe's developmental rise.

The exchange of ideas and innovation was alluded to above; only a brief note will be made here. Pacey describes that transfer of European technology to the Americas was conducive to the expansion of silver production there. There was an exchange of an important technique for the extraction of silver that was later elaborated on in Europe.[13] Pacey writes that, "Few radically new inventions are made without some dependence on ideas already in circulation, and few transfers of technology involve a truly one-way transfer of machines or concepts." Rather, as Pacey notes, "Technical progress is more often the result of a dialogue—of exchanges of technical ideas."[14] Abu-Lughod states that, "What is remarkable is that, in

12. Pacey, 67-68.

13. Ibid., 69.

14. Ibid., 147

spite of the hardships and handicaps that long-distance trade then entailed, so much of it went on."[15] In addition, Pomeranz points out that "China and Japan circa 1750 seem to resemble the most advanced parts of western Europe...thus we must look outside these cores to explain their subsequent divergence."[16] One sees a predominantly reciprocal world historical situation prior to the middle of the eighteenth century in terms of dialogues between world regions. So, what changed?

Abu-Lughod explains that, "Europe pulled ahead because the 'Orient' was temporarily in disarray."[17] Did Europe only rise because of the opportunity provided by the decline of Asia? While a decline in China following the fourteenth century certainly provided an opportunity for Europe to pull ahead, it was not likely the sole cause. Abu-Lughod writes, "*When there was a period of congruence among the upward cycles of related regions*, these cycles moved synergistically" [italics by author]. She goes on to state that these upturns "were the result...of the linkages each region managed to forge with other parts of the world system, and feedbacks from that system, in turn, intensified local development."[18] One sees in this explication more to signify synergistic ebbs and flows and not steep decline followed by subsequent ascendance.

In keeping with a fluid model, Pomeranz argues that, "if we accept the idea that population growth and its ecological effects made China 'fall,' then we would have to say that Europe's internal processes had brought it very close to the same precipice—rather than to the verge of 'take-off.'" He then writes, "If, on the other hand, Europe was not yet in crisis, then in all likelihood China was not either."[19] So, while Abu-Lughod states that, "Of crucial importance is the fact that the 'Fall of the East' preceded the 'Rise of the West,' and it was the devolution of the preexisting system that facilitated Europe's easy conquest," Pomeranz and Pacey highlight a slightly different explanation.[20] Abu-Lughod undermines her own emphasis in regard to the rise of the West by her positing of a synergistic relationship between the East and West.

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15. Abu-Lughod, 33.
16. Pomeranz, 17.
17. Abu-Lughod, 18.
18. Ibid., 359.
19. Pomeranz, 12.
20. Abu-Lughod, 361.

Pacey does acknowledge that, "To some extent...the story of Asian technology in later centuries is a history of setback and loss during periods of institutional disruption and decay." However, throughout his work, Pacey is careful not to qualify technological innovations. He refers to 'different' emphasis in technology, not 'better.' He notes that, "lack of machines did not mean 'backward' technology." Sometimes certain innovations were not ideal for areas outside of their place of development.[21] Pacey describes a problem facing Europeans in Asia in that "their trade was chronically out of balance, because there were very few goods manufactured in Europe which Asians wanted to buy."[22] This phenomenon might envisage the inherent poise of an "Asian Miracle," and perhaps a "European stagnation" prior to Europe's divergence, and not the other way around, affirming the serendipitous nature of Europe's divergence.

All three authors suggest that Europe's divergence hinged on the development of the steamship. Abu-Lughod writes, "Not until the development of the steamship in the nineteenth century did the shape of the world system dramatically alter."[23] For Abu-Lughod, the steamship was a clear point of divergence for Europe. Pomeranz writes that "this central technology of the Industrial Revolution cold have been developed outside of Europe...we can never say definitively why it was in fact developed first in Europe."[24] Pomeranz offers the possible explanation of geographic accident and technical skill. Namely, wood was in short supply, and Britain in particular had access to coal mines. However, more to the point is the distinct effect that the steamship had for European Imperialism.

Pacey explores the near total breakdown of the textile industry in India (at least as it had existed prior to British colonization) as a result of Britain's expeditious ability to make trips to and from India via the steamship. Pacey writes that "when large railroad workshops were set up in Bombay, their chief function was to assemble locomotives and rolling stock from parts made in Britain." He notes that "India was viewed by the British as an agricultural country, and land taxes were manipulated to encourage the production of export crops such as raw cotton and indigo."[25] There is a dis-

21. Pacey, 29.

22. Ibid., 68.

23. Abu-Lughod, 354.

24. Pomeranz, 62.

25. Pacey, 147.

tinct argument for all three authors that brute force contributed to Europe's rise to dominance. Included should be an utter ignorance and/or disregard for the ramifications that European decisions had for local populations and for the land, i.e. exploitation of indigenous peoples.

Pomeranz elaborates on Pacey's argument in his assertion that ecological and geographic needs precipitated Europe's rise to hegemony. Pomeranz writes, "Europe's ability to take advantage of a new world...also required flows of various New World resources."[26] Pomeranz holds that the New World was vital to Europe mainly as a result of the abundant resources that it offered.[27] While population densities increased in more highly populated world regions (China, India, and western Europe for the purpose of this essay), western Europe possessed much needed access to overseas space and resources, not to mention the markets that they created for themselves in the New World. Pomeranz writes that, "it was through creating the preconditions for those flows that European capitalism and military fiscalism—as part of a large global conjuncture—really mattered."[28] Europe had necessarily increased access to raw materials: wood, minerals, cotton, *maize*, et cetera. Pacey argues that, "what mattered was not any particular discovery or invention, but rather a series of new methods for handling technical information."[29] In this regard he argues that "new ways of thinking about practical problems which were emerging, [and] relevant management, organization and technology."[30] While this is an intriguing and convincing point, he fails to show why he holds that Europe was more inclined to these adopt "new ways of thinking."

Perhaps Europe was poised for such an expansion. However, it is certain that without the global dialectic via long-distance trade, the movement of peoples that occurred in tandem with the rise of Islam, the movement across the Silk Roads, and even the invasion of the Mongols that made some movement safer; all of this phenomena in motion since the thirteenth century, Europe would certainly not have found itself in a position to diverge prosperously in the mid-eighteenth century. To conclude, Abu-Lughod encapsulates the rise of European hegemony when she observes,

26. Pomeranz, 207.

27. Ibid., 113.

28. Ibid., 207

29. Pacey, 94.

30. Ibid., 97.

"If the fulcrum tipped its balance, it was because many of the subsystems were simultaneously but cumulatively shifting in the same direction."[31] She states that it is important to recognize "that no simple, deterministic explanation can account for Europe's later hegemony."[32] Hence, while Abu-Lughod, Pomeranz, and Pacey present immeasurable contributions toward developing a non-Eurocentric story of Europe's rise to world hegemony, no single argument describes this ascension—to thoroughly explore the historiography of Europe's ascension to dominance in world history, one must take into account each of the authors respective works, and the economic circumstances, technological, and cultural transformations that they suggest a more holistic picture the said phenomenon.

31. Abu-Lughod, 38.

32. Ibid., 353.

Laboratory of Freedom: African-Americans and the West

David Schrumpf

The central question for historians of the American West in dealing with African-American immigrants has been, what was the nature of the "black Western experience?" The simple answer to such a broad question, of course, is that there is no single monolithic experience; life for African-Americans was quite different depending on the particular region and social circumstances in which they found themselves. The experiences of African-Americans in the Midwest were cut from different cloth than those in the Pacific Northwest, or the Southwest. Nonetheless, there are common threads that unite African-Americans in the West across regions and through the passage of time. The most obvious and arguably most important of such threads is the pursuit of freedom: African-Americans came to the West seeking freedom they could not find in the East or South. Over time, of course, the type of freedom African-Americans sought has evolved, and its definition has not been static, not even for individuals living in the same era. Figures as diverse as mountain man Jim Beckwourth, author Oscar Micheaux, and lawyer McCants Stewart shared a desire to be free, but disagreed about what freedom entailed. Black women, too, found new freedoms in the West. Women like Isabel de Olvera, Charlotte Brown, and Lucinda Todd, figures disconnected over hundreds of miles and centuries of time, all battled to make their dreams of freedom into reality. My goal is to give a brief account and summary of how African-Americans in the West conceived of freedom, and to explore the similarities and differences between traditions in several regions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Freedom has no single definition. Indeed, there were competing visions within individual African-American communities and the black

community at large about what freedom entailed. In the broadest sense, however, freedom meant the achievement of possibilities that were quite impossible in the racially-obsessed American culture that existed in the Eastern and Southern United States. African-Americans sought the chance for individual recognition, the ability to establish communities, economic opportunity, and the achievement of civil rights in the West—all of these struggles were part of the pursuit of freedom. The West thus became a laboratory of freedom in that it was a space in which African-Americans felt free enough to experiment with programs for making their dreams into reality. Though many African-Americans found it difficult to achieve these dreams—many, in fact, found that the West presented them with continuing racial struggles, some old, some new—all of them believed that the West offered hope and *possibility* that was unique. Going across time and space, one begins to see how the struggle for freedom came to define the black Western experience in all its myriad shapes and forms.

"African-Americans sought the chance for individual recognition, the ability to establish communities, economic opportunity, and the achievement of civil rights in the West—all of these struggles were part of the pursuit of freedom"

INDIVIDUAL RECOGNITION: JIM BECKWOURTH AND ISABEL DE OLVERA

Prior to the vast westward migrations of the middle and late nineteenth century, the Western United States was sparsely populated. Certainly, Native American tribes existed in much greater numbers than in the twentieth century, but disease and Spanish conquest had already begun to wreak havoc on their population.[1] In this vast wilderness, where white settlers, African-American migrants, and Native tribes frequently had to coexist, institutionalized racism was a luxury few could afford. In such an environment, black men and women saw the opportunity to be recognized as individuals with unique talents and ambitions. In the Eastern and Southern United States, and in the more urbanized areas of Mexico, race permeated civil discourse to the point where it would have been impossible

1. Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1998), 33. Compare Taylor's figures from 1590 to 1793.

for individuals easily identified as black to achieve any measure of social acceptance.[2] Their race would always come before their achievements, and frequently the only economic possibilities included various levels of servitude, or worse, slavery. Against this setting, two figures, Jim Beckwourth from the United States and Isabel de Olvera from Mexico, sought to break out of their oppressive societies and escape into the West.

James P. Beckwourth embodied the merging of two cultures; the son of an aristocratic white man and a black woman (or at least a woman of some African heritage), most likely a slave, he represented both the union of and tension between ethnic groups in Virginia.[3] Despite his multiethnic heritage, Beckwourth could never have followed in his father's footsteps; more likely, he would have been destined for a life of servitude like his mother had his father not guaranteed his emancipation. In the narrow racial categories of the South, James was simply a black man. By the end of his life, however, he was renowned by other westerners and pioneers as a trapper, guide, adventurer, and "gaudy liar," primarily because he did not stay in the land of his birth.[4] Rather, he traveled westward to seek fortune and opportunity; moreover, he sought the opportunity to make his own way and his own name, and to be recognized in his own right for more than his race.

In the West, Beckwourth came to exemplify the fluidity of racial identity that existed prior to larger immigration from the United States. At various times in his life, Beckwourth associated freely with Native Americans, even becoming war chief of the Crow Indians.[5] Frequently, in fact, multiethnic heritage was an advantage in the western territories and borderlands, as it was important for individuals to be able to deal effectively with whites, blacks, Indians, and any mix thereof that were particularly common in former Spanish lands. Individuals could effectively slip between ethnic groups by altering their dress, mannerisms, and relationships with others. In the East, Beckwourth was inescapably a black man; in the West, he was whoever he chose to be and could associate freely with individuals without having to worry significantly about being identified as an insider or outsider to that group. Indeed, Beckwourth became respected for his talents and his

2. Ibid., 53-54.

3. Elinor Wilson, *Jim Beckwourth* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 11-14.

4. Ibid., 3-5.

5. Ibid., 58.

association with diverse groups of people.[6] It was only in the West, where race was a reasonably amorphous concept in the early to mid-nineteenth century, that Beckwourth could choose his own identity and be recognized as a distinct individual rather than simply as a "negro." Additionally, Beckwourth had the ability in that unsettled region to alter his persona to fit into various groups.[7] The freedom to move between ethnic groups and be left alone, if desired, gradually lost feasibility as the West became more populated with settlers from the East after 1865, but for ambitious individuals like Beckwourth, for a time, the West was a bastion of freedom and a place where race was not an absolute category.

Hundreds of years before Jim Beckwourth sought refuge in the West, another individual sought to escape a racially repressive society to start a new life in sparsely-populated lands on the border between white and Indian society: Isabel de Olvera. To secure her rights in the northern territories of New Spain in 1600, Olvera requested documentation from the local court proving that she was "not bound by marriage or slavery."[8] Though New Spain was a far more multiracial society than the Eastern or Southern United States of the nineteenth century, Spanish society maintained a rigid system of racial hierarchy that tied one's social standing to his or her identity as a *mulatto, mestizo, castizo, morisco, lobo*, or any number of other categories as defined in Spanish law by one's exact ancestry.[9] In this environment, individuals like Olvera sought to move away from race-obsessed civilization in New Spain. On the edges of Spanish society, many people were known simply as "*de color quebrado*… 'all mixed up.'"[10] In such an environment, individuals like Olvera and Jim Beckwourth could pass through society with fewer stigmas because they were not ethnically outsiders. Olvera in particular is significant because her request to be seen as unbound by marriage adds a gendered component to freedom not present in the experience of Jim Beckwourth. It is important not to overlook the significance that gender played in African-Americans' conceptions of free-

6. Ibid., 60-63, 84-86, 124.

7. Ibid., 85, 147.

8. Shirley Ann Wilson Moore and Quintard Taylor, ed. *African American Women Confront the West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 31.

9. Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier* (New York: W. W. Nortion and Co., 1998), 33.

10. Dedra S. McDonald, "To Be Black and Female in the Spanish Southwest," in *African American Women Confront the West*, 39.

dom, because women have frequently faced oppression from males in their own ethnic group as well as from all individuals outside it. This intersection of race and gender continued well into the nineteenth century, when immigrants began flocking to the West for new reasons.

COMMUNITY AND CONQUEST

Following the Mexican-American War and American Civil War, settlers from the East began to move into the new dominions of the United States, and African-Americans were no exception. Though in some areas their numbers were small, African-Americans sought the right to set up their own communities where they could escape the oppression and discrimination they faced in the East and South. Frequently, black settlers followed the myth that has been enshrined in Frederick Jackson Turner's view of Western history, and sought to conquer "unclaimed" or "unsettled" lands.[11] However, as Richard White, Patricia Limerick, and other new Western historians have pointed out, it is impossible to talk about westward expansion outside the context of imperialism and colonial conquest, and satisfactory histories of the West must therefore speak in detailed ways about relevant class and gender conflicts.[12] Though African-Americans sought to escape racism, racism followed them westward, and frequently new racial conflicts came to bear on black and Indian populations. Thus, westward expansion offered new opportunities for African-Americans to forge independent communities. At the same time, however, it brought the prejudices of the East and South to new regions of the country.

"Though African-Americans sought to escape racism, racism followed them westward, and frequently new racial conflicts came to bear on black and Indian populations"

The Buffalo Soldiers, black army units formed after the Civil War, were a prime example of the imperialistic impetus behind westward expan-

11. Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1921).

12. Richard White, "Western History," in *The New American History*, ed. Eric Foner (Philadelphia: Temple Press, 1997); Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1987).

sion.[13] During Reconstruction years, Republican politicians were determined to recreate the South and West in the image of the North. They could not complete such a task without addressing the "Indian Question" in the West. Black soldiers, eager for the chance to depart from more racist areas of the country, flocked westward and were instrumental in American campaigns to "civilize" the West, which most frequently involved the pacification, relocation, or elimination of native peoples.[14] And in the West, geographically west of the 100th meridian, black soldiers were the government's preferred troops.[15] For one thing, black soldiers were easy to draw out of the South; for another, white commanders saw them as more expendable. One group of outsiders to elite American society thus became the instrument of oppressing a second group of outsiders. However, it is important to capture the depth of the situation—black soldiers and settlers were not simply exploited by greater white society or used just as tools of imperialism. African-Americans flocked *willingly* to the West to participate in American expansion. The Buffalo Soldiers saw the chance to gain respect in the West; the military, though segregated, provided more opportunity for many young black men than was possible in the East or particularly the South.[16] As the Buffalo Soldiers and black units pushed westward, settlers followed behind them, and many African-Americans saw the opportunity for a new life and the chance to create new communities in recently cleared lands.

Though homesteaders have traditionally been iconic figures of rugged individualism, newer scholarship has recognized that homesteading was frequently an important community project and collective effort. As conditions grew worse in the wake of sharecropping failures and the introduction of Jim Crow legislation, the West provided the opportunity for the development of new black communities free of the institutionalized oppression in the South. In South Dakota, for example, many African-Americans purchased land and hoped to follow the example of the successful black town in Nicodemus, Kansas.[17] Nicodemus was the clearest example of a true experiment in forming a new type of black community. It is only fitting that

13. Taylor, 164-191.

14. Ibid., 65-67, 76.

15. Ibid., 166.

16. Ibid., 169.

17. Betti Vanepps-Taylor, *Forgotten Lives* (Pierre, South Dakota State Historical Society Press, 2008), 93.

it should have been built in "bleeding Kansas," which had for decades been a focal point in the struggle for black freedom.[18] For a number of years, homesteading proved a successful means for community independence among African-Americans, and these early communities were instrumental in staving off white racism in later years when immigration increased.[19]

Homesteads existed on the boundaries of mainstream society, and frequently homesteaders themselves pushed at the boundaries of societal norms. Oscar Micheaux, a homesteader from South Dakota in the early 1900s, demonstrated both the bold vision for the freedom of African-Americans in the West and why community was crucial for black success in his semi-autobiographical novel, appropriately titled, *The Conquest*.[20] Micheaux's protagonist, Oscar Devereaux, comes to the West seeking refuge from restrictive Eastern communities, though he feels as much isolated from the black communities in the urban Northeast as he does from greater white society.[21] In fact, Devereaux finds limited acceptance from white communities in South Dakota, and he pushes the barriers of racism when he has an affair with a white woman. He is careful to keep the affair secret, however, as even in the West such an offense would be liable to get him exiled, beaten, or killed.[22] The titular conquest is both Devereaux's attempt to overcome racial stereotypes so that he can make a name for himself among the homesteaders, and the ultimate failure of Devereaux's attempt to go it on his own. By the novel's end, he is shackled with debt and abandoned by his wife, isolated from both white and black society.[23] Devereaux's experiment, and Micheaux's by extension, ends in failure, but his vision of freedom was hardly unique. Though his quest for community differed from other homesteaders, his motivation matched that of many African-Americans coming to the West. He, like many others, conceived of the West as the ideal place for economic opportunity.

18. Taylor, 138-141,

19. Vanepps-Taylor., 160.

20. Taylor, 155; Oscar Micheaux, *The Conquest* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1913).

21. Micheaux, 251.

22. Ibid., 98.

23. Ibid., 310-311.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY: THE "TALENTED TENTH" & WORKING-CLASS MIGRATIONS

There is sometimes a tendency to downplay the significance of economic and employment opportunity in the traditional narrative of black migrations westward. In part, this is because such stories do not conform to common notions of "freedom" and civil equality. However, economic incentive should not be discounted; many African-Americans came westward seeking a change of scenery to make a profit where it could not be had in the East or South. Several prominent African-American intellectuals even favored economic uplift as the means to gain further equality with whites. Booker T. Washington endorsed an assimilative program where African-Americans could learn important skills, procure gainful employment, earn society's respect, and increase the prospects for equality for their children.[24] W. E. B. DuBois charged the "talented tenth" of his race to go forth and set an example for other African-Americans to follow.[25] The West was thus a laboratory for experimenting both with middle-class black entrepreneurship, and later, for working-class movements aimed at securing a better life.

Oscar Micheaux is remembered as an author and filmmaker, but at his core, he was an entrepreneur who came to the West for economic success. His novels sought to capture his experience as a homesteader. Like his protagonist in *The Conquest*, Micheaux sought to break away from racial prejudice and stereotypes and prove his worthiness for respect on the frontier. The failure of his crops, his finances, and his marriage did not dissuade him, and he turned to writing as a secondary means of securing economic success and freedom.[26] Micheaux, as literary theorist Blake Allmendinger puts it, "was plagued by a profound double consciousness… he created fictional heroes who might inspire African American readers… by conquering the frontier in the tradition of Anglo-Americans."[27] Despite the pessimistic tone and ending of *The Conquest*, Micheaux did not give up on his goals or his belief that the West could be a fertile ground for black economic uplift. His subsequent novel, *The Homesteader*, retells much of the same story as

24. Albert S. Broussard, *African American Odyssey* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1998), 53.

25. Ibid., 65.

26. Blake Allmendinger, *Imagining the African American West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 14.

27. Ibid., 15.

The Conquest, but includes a more hopeful message and is more sweeping in scope, as well as more fictionalized.[28] Though Micheaux in some ways internalized white attitudes toward African-Americans, he believed, as did so many pioneers, that the West was uniquely suited to a program of economic uplift for blacks, in part because of the lack of established "traditional" work in that region for African-Americans. Micheaux, along with other middle-class black visionaries, had little patience for fellow African-Americans who were not prepared to undertake some hardship in the West.

T. McCants Stewart, a community leader and lawyer from New York, shared many similarities with Oscar Micheaux and his hero, Booker T. Washington. Dedicated to black prosperity by means of economic uplift, T. McCants championed independent black communities and enterprises from Liberia to the Virgin Islands in the latter half of the nineteenth century.[29] However, his children embodied the ambitious western spirit even more than T. McCants himself had. His son, McCants Stewart, set up a law practice in Portland, Oregon in 1902, despite the difficulty present for young black professionals, even in the West.[30] McCants' often deep disagreements with his father were indicative of the diversity of opinion within the African-American community about how best to pursue equality. Subsequently, though he had dreamed of the West as a land full of prospect and opportunity, McCants met with frequent disappointment and even despair, eventually taking his own life when he could not fulfill his ambitions.[31] The West occupied a significant place in the imaginations of many African-Americans, though sometimes their hopes were unjustified. Further west, however, economic opportunity and freedom appeared reasonable hopes.

Carlotta Stewart Lai, McCants' sister, managed more success and happiness than both her father and brother. In Hawaii, truly the "far West" by all accounts, she found modest success as a school administrator and lived a comfortable, middle-class life as a result.[32] Hawaii in the first half of the twentieth century truly offered what was imagined for the whole West. It was a place in which African-Americans could achieve some measure of equality and respect. Hawaii even boasted more racial integration than

28. Ibid., 24.

29. Broussard, 79-101.

30. Ibid., 128-129.

31. Ibid., 136.

32. Ibid., 153-154.

other areas of the West, and Carlotta herself married a man of Chinese descent.[33] While Carlotta Stewart Lai had more career and marriage prospects than in the South, East, or even other areas of the West, Hawaii was not free of restrictions. Black-white unions were still forbidden, and true equality with whites was still a dream that could not be achieved during Carlotta Stewart Lai's generation. The economic appeal and pull of the West, however, would soon bring the issue of civil rights to the forefront, especially as working-class blacks from the South poured into the West in droves during the twentieth century. The introduction of working-class men and women seeking economic uplift indeed changed the complexity of the racial dialogue.

Unlike Oscar Micheaux or the Stewart family, the generation of African-Americans who came westward during World War II were not middle class and rarely had lofty goals of making an example for other black men and women, though they would still serve in that capacity with considerably more success than their middle-class forerunners. African-Americans created close-knit communities, and many of them for the first time found economic success and stability during the war years. Some towns, like Richmond, California, became the site of tremendous hope for black immigrants to the West, and through unionization and high demand for their work in the wartime economy, these working-class men and women often made their dreams of economic success a reality, though not always without hardship.[34]

African-American women were frequently at the forefront of the movement for economic security and freedom in the West during the 1940s. Women, though they did find employment as well, "derived authority and self-esteem as family and community caregivers."[35] The vital community organizations that gave rise to economic cooperation and unionization would likely not have been possible without the sincere efforts of African-American women. Other women found economic opportunity for themselves, working in new boomtowns like Las Vegas, where their experience as domestic workers enabled them to find jobs with substantially bet-

33. Ibid., 159.

34. Shirley Ann Wilson Moore, *To Place Our Deeds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

35. Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo, "Women Made the Community," in *African American Women Confront the West*, 259.

ter pay and working conditions than had been possible in the South.[36] The introduction of so many new black families to the urban West facilitated the need for more housing, and in many cities from Kansas to Arizona to California, African-Americans who came seeking jobs found it necessary to challenge existing racism and new institutions like restrictive covenants that made it difficult for them to achieve economic success.[37] The struggle for economic opportunity in a region that many imagined to be devoid of institutionalized racism mobilized a new generation to seek true reform and social justice that would change the face of the nation in the coming decades.

The Civil Rights Movement as a Western Experiment

The traditional narrative of the Civil Rights Movement is that it was essentially a Southern movement reacting to hundreds of years of racial oppression and nearly one hundred of legal segregation under Jim Crow. While this is undoubtedly true, it is also the case that the pursuit of civil rights began as a Western experiment, since many African-Americans expected that they could achieve civil equality in a region that did not have the South's oppressive legacy. From the Pacific Coast to the ever-controversial Kansas, the spirit of the Civil Rights Movement was born in the West. It is important here not to interpret westward migration through the lens of a sort of "Whig history" conceiving of all struggles leading inexorably to the pursuit of civil rights. Nevertheless, it is important to point out the parallels between Western movements and the social pursuits of the 1950s and 1960s.

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Nearly one hundred years before Rosa Parks' famous refusal to give up her bus seat in Alabama, a woman named Charlotte Brown was ejected from a streetcar in

36. Claytee D. White, "Eight Dollars a Day and Working in the Shade," ibid., 281.

37. Taylor, 269; Matthew C. Whitaker, "Shooting Down Racism," *Journal of the West*, vol. 4, no. 2 (2005): 34-42.

San Francisco, leading to a mobilization of African-American women and men in protest of the Omnibus Company.[38] While one must not construe the parallels between Brown and Parks as *post hoc ergo propter hoc* reasoning, it is significant that the West represented a space in which African-Americans would not remain passive to white attacks on their rights. Further north, in the early twentieth century, women like Susie Revels Cayton and Beatrice Morrow were instrumental in the struggle for social justice for African-Americans. Here, an explicit link between economic opportunity and political rights began to emerge through membership in organizations like the communist party and the NAACP, and as Quintard Taylor explains, "[t]he Cayton and Cannady stories remind us that the quest for social justice transcends racial, gender, and regional boundaries."[39] The links between economic success, civil rights, and genuine freedom in the West became more explicit during and after World War II, when African-Americans flocked to Western cities in greater numbers than ever before.

In the San Francisco Bay Area, the aforementioned site of many wartime African-American triumphs, black men and women marched alongside white allies in pursuit of racial justice across the United States.[40] Though these movements ran in parallel with Southern movements, the existence of black social networks, combined with the determination not to be "Jim-Crowed" in the West, created a powerful social force that was instrumental in the movement's solidarity. Additionally, the movements of the 1960s had worked off the successes of another Western movement, this time in the heartland: school desegregation.

The achievement of civil rights was certainly not immediately possible in the South, particularly after Reconstruction's end in 1876. The West, on the other hand, though not devoid of racism, lacked the institutional legacy and long history of racism present in the South, and seeing the opportunity to seize the spirit of freedom, African-Americans in Kansas embarked on the ambitious experiment of school integration. Black women, often in concert with white women, were significant actors in this movement, and as explored previously, the West almost uniquely offered black

38. Barbara Y. Welke, "Rights of Passage," in *African-American Women Confront the West*, 77-78.

39. Quintard Taylor, "Campaign for Social Justice in the Pacific Northwest," ibid., 202.

40. Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier*, 289-290.

women a greater voice in the community.[41] The motion in the renowned *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 would not have been possible without the work of women like Lucinda Todd and her colleagues, and their work had a long tradition, as African-Americans in Kansas "had always felt a certain freedom to act against racism and discrimination… because [Kansas] offered the opportunity to homestead, to work on the railroad, and to be educated."[42] It is clear that the Civil Rights Movement did not arise in a vacuum. It borrowed from older struggles and brought them out of the West and into the South. A century of settlement, the establishment of vibrant communities, and increased economic opportunity made movements like that against the Topeka Board of Education possible. Once African-Americans in the South saw the success of Western social experiments in freedom succeed, the Civil Rights Movement could begin in earnest.

FINAL THOUGHTS

At least since Lawrence De Graaf's groundbreaking paper in 1975, historians have started giving serious reconsideration to traditional narratives of the American West.[43] In the past three and a half decades, historians have moved from simple recognition of an African-American presence in the West to revision of some of the crucial chapters of Western history. Most importantly, the role of class and gender has been reconsidered, and as explored above, women and working-class African-Americans not only participated in the making of black communities and conceptions of freedom—they were leaders in these movements.

To paraphrase Quintard Taylor, the African-American pursuit of freedom in the West was not bound by class, gender, region, or time. The West was a great laboratory in which men and women could experiment and pursue with their unique, and sometimes conflicting, visions of freedom. The West, many believed, had the potential to be fundamentally *different* than the South or the East; though they did have to confront racism, African-Americans defiantly challenged racist policies that they knew had no legitimacy and lacked the long history or violent reaction of Southern

41. Cheryl Brown Henderson, "Lucinda Todd and the Invisible Petitioners," in *African-American Women Confront the West*, 312-326.

42. Ibid., 315.

43. Lawrence B. De Graaf, "Recognition, Racism, and Reflections on the Writing of Western Black History," *The Pacific Historical Review* 44, No. 1 (Feb. 1975): 22-51.

institutions. Some African-Americans, like Jim Beckwourth and the young Oscar Micheaux, came westward to seek recognition as individuals apart from communities, even established black communities. Others, like the majority of Midwestern homesteaders and Bay Area urban workers, sought to establish *new* kinds of communities that could empower fellow African-Americans, both economically and politically.

African-Americans first came west seeking to escape racism, but they stayed to create new communities, either to empower themselves, or sometimes to set an example to other black men and women around the country. In any case, once African-Americans established communities in the West, there emerged the opportunity to defend rights they had gained in the West, and to seek new rights whenever possible. Once the rest of the country began to see the dream of freedom achieved in the West—whether that freedom was individual, communal, economic, or civil—particularly after World War II, the floodgates burst open, and what had begun as a Western project consumed the nation as a whole. The dream of freedom, rooted in the possibility offered by the West, became a national dream. The experiments in the laboratory of freedom gave new meaning and purpose to African-American communities, and the legacy of those experiments defined the black Western experience.

Reviews

Building a Better Race: Gender, Sexuality and Eugenics from the Turn of the Century to the Baby Boom, by Wendy Kline. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

Katie Healey

In *Building a Better Race: Gender, Sexuality and Eugenics from the Turn of the Century to the Baby Boom*, Wendy Kline traces several significant, and traditionally overlooked, trends in the American eugenics movement of the early to mid-twentieth century. Kline opens with a description of the 1915 San Francisco Panama Pacific International Exposition and two of the expo's architectural icons that aptly symbolize her central argument: the "Column of Progress" that separated exhibits featuring the world's underdeveloped countries from those of the advanced nations of the West, and the "Mother of Tomorrow"—a statuary representation of America's ideal modern woman. Both figures symbolized America's growing industrialization and urbanization as well as the exposition's theme of progress. However, it was clear that men and women were expected to play very different roles in America's modernizing process; the "Mother of Tomorrow" did not labor alongside her male counterparts in the public sphere but instead reverted back to her Victorian-era domestic sphere. Kline depicts a turn-of-the-century American society struggling to reconcile its honored, familiar past with its modern present. She describes how the eugenics movement was born from concern for women's (and by extension, America's) morality in the wake of the country's rapid change. She also attributes the popularity of the eugenics movement to its ability to address race and gender, two major causes of anxiety during this period. Further, Kline challenges the conventional notion that the eugenics movement declined in the 1930s; she provides a convincing argument that the post-World War II baby boom represented the zenith of American eugenics.

Kline describes how the eugenics movement emerged as a response to gender and racial anxieties engendered by industrialization and immigration. The rapid pace of change accompanying America's march toward modernization was unsettling to white middle-class men, who felt their societal domination was being challenged. As the Victorian concept of separate spheres was destroyed when young women embraced a more self-sufficient lifestyle earning their own keep through work outside of their domestic realm, the new role of women was cast as a threat to society. Kline points to the political expression of this idea with President Theodore Roosevelt's censure of white middle-class women's crime of "race suicide"—the voluntary limiting of offspring—that was occurring as a result of women's interest in pursuing education and work before raising a family (11). She also supports this idea by utilizing popular medical sources of the eugenics era; physician Beatrice Hinkle's statement in 1924 encapsulates the fears of women's transgression of gender roles: the American woman, she asserts, "is losing her instinctive adaptation to her biological role as race bearer, and is attempting adaptation to man's reality" (19). The encouragement of "fit" women (that is, middle-class white women) to bear and raise many children, called positive eugenics, indicated the patriotic duty of the "Mother of Tomorrow." The specific concern over white women's reproductive choices also demonstrates that race was a central component to the American eugenics movement. The rapid rate of immigration to the United States, particularly at a time when native white women were experimenting with various methods to limit the size of their families, was a definite cause for alarm to many native-born Anglo-Saxon Americans. The result was a shift to the practice of negative eugenics, or the limitation/prevention of reproduction by those individuals deemed "unfit". Kline points out that the proposed aim of race improvement was ambiguous as to whether it mean the betterment of the human race or strictly the Anglo-Saxon race.

Kline challenges the traditional timeline that places the eugenic movement's decline in the 1930s. She reveals that, though challenged by biologists and geneticists during this decade, eugenicists benefited from the concurrent rise of the social sciences. The eugenicists' argument shifted from one of nature to one of nurture; in other words, environment shaped children's development as much as their genetic makeup. Kline uses the case of Ann Cooper Hewitt to demonstrate her point. The daughter of a

millionaire, Hewitt was a healthy, young, white woman who was sterilized without her knowledge at the request of her mother. Hewitt hardly fit the category of individuals targeted for sterilization, but her mother's insistence that Hewitt would be an unfit parent (based on her "erotic tendencies") demonstrated that race improvement was not reliant solely on hereditary traits (117). This new emphasis on environment allowed eugenicists to argue that motherhood was not an inherent right but a privilege for the select individuals deemed "fit" by society to raise morally upright families. Kline asserts that this family-oriented quality of the morally responsible modern woman was eventually embraced by American women, as demonstrated by the pronatalism of the 1950s baby boom era.

Just as eugenicists drew on a variety of disciplines to bolster their claims—notably, biological and genetic sciences in the movement's early stage and social sciences after 1930—Kline also utilizes an eclectic assortment of sources to support her arguments. She draws conclusions from historical, sociological, and medical documents from the eugenics era; she also highlights concepts propagated by the popular media, such as articles from magazines and major newspapers on both the west and east coasts. Her inclusion of patient records from the Sonoma State Home for the Feebleminded features the unique participation of California in eugenics. Kline's use of such an array of sources provides readers with a more complete understanding of the development, course, and decline of the American eugenics movement. Kline's multidisciplinary approach also demonstrates the complicated, multifaceted nature of the movement. However, readers will detect a notable absence of detailed description on the scientific foundation of eugenics. Charles Darwin and his theory of natural selection gets but a brief mention in Kline's book; similarly, Gregor Mendel and his laws of segregation and independent assortment and Larmarck's theory of inheritance of acquired characteristics are also sidelined. This absence of scientific explanation seems inconsistent with a work focusing on eugenics—considered the scientific remedy for society's social ills. However, it also mirrors the lack of legitimate scientific credibility of the eugenics movement.

Kline challenges readers to consider the paradox of progress during the era of the American eugenics movement; while men worked for progress in the new industrial age, women were stagnated by nineteenth-century Victorian ideals of morality and gender roles. When women challenged

these outdated restraints on their capabilities, eugenics—heralded as a progressive advancement of science, technology, and medicine—was used as a tool to force women back into the domestic sphere. *Building a Better Race*, then, portrays an early twentieth-century American society desperate for a scientific "cure" for what it considered pervasive social ills.

Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of Its Mexican Past, by William Deverell. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

Ryan Lester

In *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of Its Mexican Past*, historian William Deverell analyzes the construction and maturation of modern Los Angeles. Deverell's focus is on ethnic relations between "native" Anglos and the Mexican community between 1850 and the beginning of World War II, and teases out the means by which city builders and popular memory created and maintained ethnic boundaries. It is Deverell's contention that Los Angeles cannot become the prophesized city of the future, defined by a diverse and harmonious multicultural makeup, without objective analysis of the city's historical past and the destruction of the containers that bind ethnic communities in the region. That deviation from Los Angeles's racist and paternalist patterns as a means to realize the city's promising future is the key motivation for this text.

Like many works on the social history of nineteenth-century America, *Whitewashed Adobe* is about ethnic relations, and the conflicts that arose as cities across the nation began to urbanize. *Whitewashed Adobe* carves its historiographical niche, however, in its analysis of the dominant Anglo group and their motives, perceptions, and actions as they worked to keep the Mexican population of Los Angeles simultaneously visible and excluded. Through this cultural study Deverell defines Los Angeles as a city constructed on a foundation of racial segregation and exclusion controlled by – and for the benefit of – powerful whites. Los Angeles was a city built by boosters who molded the city's people, image, and history as they desired. As Deverell illustrates, these boosters consistently defined, hid, and rewrote the aspects of the city that they deemed undesirable. The Mexican

population was thus contained by the Anglo-constructed boundaries in geography, memory, labor markets, and social hierarchies, which existed as both the direct products of racial prejudice as well as the evidence supporting its continuation.

Like Carey McWilliams, Deverell discusses the realities of labor conditions and Anglo-perceptions of the Mexican workforce, but he does so from a different point of reference. While consensus historians celebrated Californian achievements from the perspective of notable whites, and McWilliams critiqued California history from the perspective of the workforce, Deverell discusses the ethnic conflict by focusing on the notable whites who created and promoted prejudice. As Deverell points out, his approach follows the guideline established by Alexander Saxton's 1971 text, *The Indespensible Enemy*, which focused on Chinese-Anglo relations through the analysis of the dominant Anglo population (9). Although the evidence presented by McWilliams and similar authors provide in-depth interpretations of the day-to-day lives of repressed populations, *Whitewashed Adobe's* significance lies in its presentation of evidence illustrating how these conditions were created by whites, and how they can be deconstructed in the future. In this way, *Whitewashed Adobe* is meant to be as much a warning for the future as a presentation of the past.

Deverell's approach is not simply rooted in the creation of a social hierarchy, but also in the utilization of memory, popular culture, and geography to support and promote Anglo prejudice. The underlying goal of city builders was to create and present a city of the future. Deverell's multifaceted approach argues that whites constructed this city based solely on an invented image, and he illustrates the various ways in which the Mexican population was excluded from the both the city's history and the ideal final product. As nativism ran rampant through the nation, boosters promoted the city as an Anglo paradise, built on a quaint Spanish mission history, and matured from its "sleepy" Mexican past.

Lastly, *Whitewashed Adobe* argues that the popularization of an Anglo version of history, combined with the racist association of Mexicans with the polluted Los Angeles river, and the entrapment of Mexicans in cheap unskilled labor, geographically bound the Mexican population into communities along the newly built river system. Deverell points out that the circumstances in which the community lived were completely

constructed by whites who accepted poverty as an expressly foreign trait.

Whitewashed Adobe is a well written text, organized thematically rather than chronologically. Each chapter flows logically into the next as the narrative progresses through the continuation of ethnic violence after the Mexican American War, the Anglo projections of ethnic identities in La Fiesta de Los Angeles, the utilization of memory in the creation of the modern Los Angeles river, the Simons brick company's paternalist labor community, the Los Angeles plague outbreak, and the representation of history in "The Mission Play." Each chapter introduces another container created by Anglos to separate the Mexican population of the city, and shows how these racist boundaries further reinforced Anglo prejudices. Additionally, Deverell's sources are as multi-faceted as his analysis. *Whitewashed Adobe* relies on newspaper articles, diaries, Chamber of Commerce documents, letters, death records, photographs and a plethora of additional sources to support the author's claims. Despite its in-depth analysis, however, the text is a quick and entertaining read, as it presents a unique perspective on the history of Los Angeles.

Whitewashed Adobe is an important piece on the social history of California because it not only illustrates the prejudice that existed within the Anglo Community, but because it also breaks down the progression of circular logic on the part of the Anglo city builders. It shows that each container within which the Mexican community was placed became evidence for further restrictive boundaries. This perpetual cycle, completely lacking objectivity and self-reflection on the part of city builders, established and sustained the visible difference between the Mexican and Anglo communities of Los Angeles, allowing prejudice to continue as shared experiences were withheld from the city's multicultural community. In order to truly become the harmonious City of the Future, Deverell argues, Los Angeles must recognize and deconstruct the issues of ethnic containment within the community.

Historical Memories of the Japanese American Interment and the Struggle for Redress, by Alice Yang Murray. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008.

Fred Wilson

At 452 pages of text, not including the extensive bibliography, notes, or index, *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress* is not a quick, light read. Murray examines events and opinions spanning multiple decades. It is the best and most thorough history of the movement for redress yet produced, and comprehensive enough that it is also an excellent history of internment. Despite the impressive level of analysis Murray brings to bear in her book, readers new to the topic need not fear becoming lost in specialist jargon or finding themselves lacking important background knowledge. Murray defines all of the terms specific to her work as well as those specific to internment or the Japanese American community, and in the course of her analysis examines the background and basic history of internment and subsequent events. She herself notes that understanding the redress movement is impossible without also understanding the "different histories of internment."

As Murray clearly states in her title, the concept of historical memory drives her research and narrative. The result is a fascinating examination of the history of internment and redress, which describes the changing perceptions, and depictions of internment from not only one historical actor to the next, but also how time affects the same actors' perceptions and depictions. This additional level of description, the transformation of various individuals' memory of internment across time (or in front of different audiences), is fascinating, especially when Murray focuses on War Relocation Authority head Dillon Myer and other officials with numerous official statements on record. This kind of analysis is found sparingly in the second half of the book, when Murray begins to describe the redress movement.

In fact, the second half of the book has a remarkably different tone than the first half, as Murray dives into the details of the redress movement and the ideological parties that fought and cooperated all at the same time in the pursuit of their various goals. The later chapters of the book are a remarkable record of who advocated what and when. Even more remarkable is that Murray extends her narrative to related events that occurred prior to redress, such as the movement to pardon Tokyo Rose. Readers get a sense of a transformation of the larger community's understanding of internment and of the Japanese American community's hopes and ideals, moving above the individual level found in the first half of the book.

One of the benefits of Murray's focus on historical memory is that in the process of looking at recollections and accounts of internment, a reader new to the subject also receives an introduction into the historiography of internment. This examination of the scholarship surrounding internment is at its most focused in Chapter four, where Murray examines the independent Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study directed by Dorothy Swaine Thomas in addition to official efforts to study internees. Understanding these sources, from which so much of our primary material on internment originates, is vital to any scholar interested in life in the camps and Murray's description of the biases and difficulties faced by the various efforts is excellent. Throughout the book, Murray describes the historiography of internment from the 1940s into the 1980s. However, this is only a part of Murray's larger efforts in tracing historical memory, and so the historiography itself frequently appears in isolated snippets as it relates to the larger themes and events Murray is touching on in the central narrative.

Constant throughout the narrative is an unbiased, professional examination of motives and beliefs. While Murray is not afraid to state her obvious belief that internment was an unnecessary and gross violation of civil rights, her tone throughout the book is largely dispassionate. By focusing on describing the positions of all the various parties involved and their interaction with each other, Murray succeeds in fading into the background, her own beliefs or political preferences nearly undetectable. This is appropriate for the type of book *Historical Memories of the Japanese American Internment and the Struggle for Redress* is trying to be.

Murray's book is a must-read for any scholar that specializes in internment or Japanese American history, but it will prove worthwhile to a wide audience. The bibliography alone will be useful to a scholar beginning to explore internment or the redress movement. Anyone with an interest in historical memory can find much to use in this book, with its wide array of sources and lengthy period of focus. It even has considerable lessons to teach political activists, as the practical successes of the various wings of the Japanese American community are a result of a combination of strategies and cooperative effort (or lack thereof). While the size and subject of Murray's book may be a bit intimidating to those unused to scholarly tomes, readers with a little bit of interest and patience will find themselves rewarded.