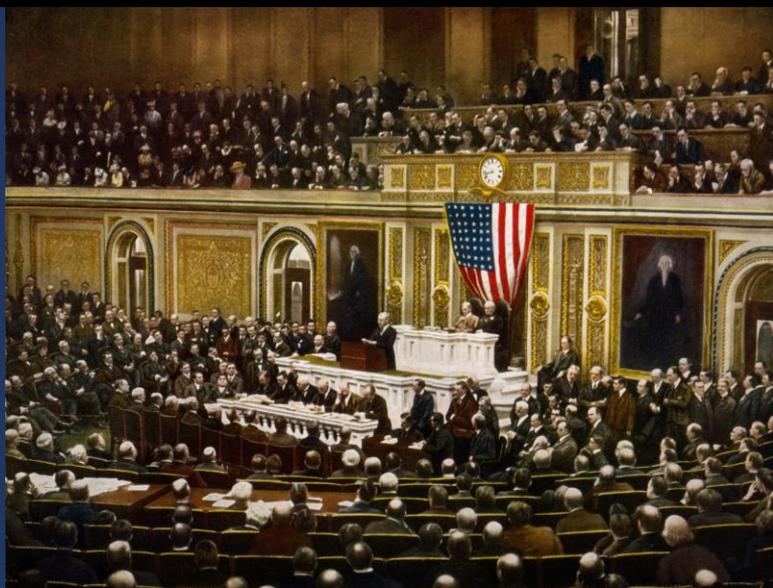


THE CHICO HISTORIAN

VOLUME 27
2017

The Journal of the CSU, Chico
History Department



The Chico Historian

The Chico Historian

"One cannot be a good historian of the outward, visible world without giving some thought to the hidden, private life of ordinary people; and on the other hand one cannot be a good historian of this inner life without taking into account outward events where these are relevant. They are two orders of fact which reflect each other, which are always linked and which sometimes provoke each other."

- Victor Hugo
Les Misérables

Cover Art & Design

Photomechanical print of Woodrow Wilson lobbying congress on April 2, 1917 to enter World War I. Wilson signed the official declaration of war against Germany only days later on April 6. (Used with permission: "For the Freedom of the World," LC-USZC4-10297, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress [ca. 1917]).

The Chico Historian

History Department
California State University, Chico
400 West First Street
Trinity Hall Room 223
Chico, California, 95929-0735
(530) 898-5366

The Chico Historian is an annual publication of the Alpha Delta Omicron Chapter of the Phi Alpha Theta National History Honor Society and the California State University, Chico (CSUC) Department of History. It aims to provide students the opportunity to publish historical works, and to train editorial staff members in producing an academic journal. Issues are published at the end of each academic year. All opinions or statements of fact are the sole responsibility of the authors, and may not reflect the views of the editorial staff. The authors retain rights to individual essays.

Phi Alpha Theta's mission is to promote the study of history through the encouragement of research, good teaching, publication, and the exchange of learning and ideas among historians. The organization seeks to bring students, teachers, and writers of history together for intellectual and social exchanges, which promote and assist historical research and publication by our members in a variety of ways.

**We dedicate this volume to
John Boyle**

Retired CSUC professor of Asian history John Boyle, a scholar in the area of pre- and post-war Japan, taught courses in East Asian history at Chico State from 1968 until his retirement in 1997. He is the author of *Modern Japan: The American Nexus*. His generous support of *The Chico Historian* has made the publication of this and many other issues possible, a fact much appreciated by everyone involved with this journal.

The Chico Historian



The Chico Historian

Volume 27: 2017

The Annual Publication of the
Alpha Delta Omicron Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta
and the Department of History
California State University, Chico

Chief Editors

Jeanette Adame & Chris Paintner

Editorial Board

Helen Ryan
Michael Muraki
Kyle Coiner

Rodney Thomson
Amy Foster

Advising Faculty

Dr. Stephen E. Lewis, *The Chico Historian*
Dr. Dallas Deforest, Phi Alpha Theta

Contents

Introduction & Acknowledgments	x
Editor and Contributor Biographies	xii

Articles

<i>The Prophet's Crucible: The Late Antique Near East on the Eve of Islam</i> RODNEY THOMSON	2
<i>From Agriculture to Ammunition: Lee Shaw and his Western Agrarian Family Before, During, and After the First World War</i> JEANETTE ADAME	34
<i>Ould and Anchient Custom: Cultural Change and the Rebellions of 1549</i> HELEN RYAN	68
<i>Laundry on Monday: Textiles in the West from 1850 to 1875</i> AMY FOSTER	82
<i>The Causes of Collapse: The Death of the Federalists and the Legacy of America's First Political Party</i> CHRISTOPHER FUQUA	94
<i>The Clutches of the Eagle</i> JUAN RAMIREZ	104
<i>The American National Exhibition in Moscow, 1959: How the A.N.E.M. Influenced the Cold War</i> MATTHEW WILLIAMS	112

*American Isolationism: An Explanation for the
United States Not Declaring War on Germany in May
1915*

JEREMY BAKKE 122

Appendix

Phi Alpha Theta 2017 Initiates 131

Introduction & Acknowledgements

On April 2, 1917, Woodrow Wilson appeared before the United States Congress to ask for a declaration of war against Germany. By April 6, Congress overwhelmingly supported Wilson's proposal, by a vote of 82 to 6 in the Senate, and 373 to 50 in the House. This year's publication of *The Chico Historian*, volume twenty-seven, is attributed in part to the 100th anniversary of U.S. involvement in the First World War. All of the articles included in this volume address conflict in both indirect and more explicit ways, and two directly discuss World War I. All of the contributing authors are some of the most talented students in the CSU, Chico History department, and this volume consists of a mixture of offerings from extremely gifted graduate and undergraduate students.

The first article, "The Prophet's Crucible: The Late Antique Near East on the Eve of Islam," written by Rodney Thompson, addresses inter-tribal conflict on the Arabian Peninsula on the eve of the rise of Islam. Jeanette Adame's "From Agriculture to Ammunition: Lee Shaw and his Western Agrarian Family Before, During, and After the First World War," directly engages WWI by examining the life of a Chico veteran, Lee Shaw, who served and died in the conflict. In "Ould and Anchyent Custom: Cultural Change and the Rebellions of 1549," Helen Ryan discusses cultural conflict in terms of rebellions in sixteenth-century England.

Amy Foster addresses conflict in a more indirect form in "Laundry on Mondays: Textiles in the West from 1850 to 1875" by exploring women and the implementation of Eastern ideologies in the American West. In "The Causes of Collapse: The Death of the Federalists and the Legacy of America's First Political Party," Christopher Fuqua examines political conflict in the early American Republic and within the Federalist party. Juan Ramirez also discusses political conflict in terms of an increasing resistance in Latin America against imperial pressure from the United States.

The final two articles in this volume address the most obvious manifestation of conflict: war. Matthew Williams examines the result of WWII by exploring the influence of American culture on the Soviet Union during the Cold War in "The American National Exhibition in Moscow, 1959: How the A.N.E.M. Influenced the Cold War." Jeremy Bakke's "American Isolationism: An Explanation for the United States Not Declaring War on Germany in May 1915" concludes this publication by exploring the reasons why the United States did not immediately get involved in World War One, and thus provides an

The Chico Historian

explanation as to why this volume commemorates U.S. involvement in the war in 1917, and not sooner.

We the editors would like to thank all the students who sent in submissions for this year's volume, as well as the faculty members who financially and intellectually support the journal. In particular, Professor John Boyle's generous contributions made the publication of this volume, and previous ones, possible. The editorial board also owes a tremendous amount of gratitude to Professor Dallas DeForest. *The Chico Historian* depends upon a close relationship with the CSUC chapter of Phi Alpha Theta and the History Club, and Professor DeForest's outstanding work advising both of these student organizations plays a critical role in maintaining the department's academic culture. We would also like to thank Professor Steve Lewis for his tireless work as the History Department Chair and the work of all the faculty, who mentor and inspire their students and foster the creative spirit essential to the historian's craft. Finally, we must thank the contributors themselves. Without their dedication, commitment, and passion, *The Chico Historian* could not exist.

The Chico Historian Editorial Board

Editor and Contributor Biographies

Editors

Jeanette Adame is currently attending her fifth year at CSU, Chico as a Master's candidate in History. Her primary area of focus is in early American studies, with an emphasis on gender and diversity. During the course of her graduate career, Jeanette intends to complete a thesis concerning free and enslaved African societies in colonial New Orleans from 1762-1800. After graduation, Jeanette plans to pursue a career in anti-human trafficking efforts on a global and local level. She wrote her paper for Professor Magliari's History 492 (Archival Research Seminar) in Fall 2016.

Rodney Thomson, at the time of this writing, is wrapping up his career as a graduate student in History at California State University, Chico. His contribution for this year derives from his thesis, "The *Khawārij* and Religious Identity Formation in Early Islam." His historical interests include religious sectarianism as socio-political phenomena and culinary history, followed closely by everything else. He hopes to spend the rest of his working life teaching history, researching and publishing for both academic and popular audiences.

Chris Paintner is a graduate student working on his M.A in History. He is continuing his research into the causes and the impact of Kett's Rebellion for a thesis project, particularly the role of popular culture in the rebel's worldview.

Kyle Coiner is a current undergraduate student at CSU Chico working on his B.A. in history. He expects to graduate in spring, 2017. While he has no immediate plans for graduate education, Kyle hopes to attend a Master's or PhD program in the near future, with a focus in the political history of eighteenth-and nineteenth-century Europe. He is currently working on his undergraduate thesis project on drinking, temperance, and prohibition in the United States and Russia and hopes to publish it when it is completed.

Helen Ryan is a fourth year student at California State University, Chico. She will be graduating Fall 2017 with a B.A. in History and a minor in Middle Eastern Studies. She is currently completing an undergraduate thesis that identifies themes of social realism in modern music. After graduation, Helen plans on pursuing an M.A. in History. She wrote her paper for Professor Jason Nice's History 423 course.

Amy Foster is a graduate student of history at California State University,

The Chico Historian

Chico. Her interests include textiles and women's history. After completing her M.A., she intends to teach at the community college level. She wrote this paper for History 442, The Westward Movement under Professor Emmerich

Michael Muraki is currently in his first year of graduate studies at CSU, Chico. His primary area of interest is in environmental history, specifically in studying the conservation movement on the Trinity River. Michael works as a T.A. for the History department, and also as a rafting guide for Adventure Outings.

Contributors

Matthew Williams is an undergraduate at California State University, Chico. He will be graduating in May 2017 with a Bachelor of the Arts in History. Post-graduation he plans to pursue a career in education at the high school level and continue his research, which has an emphasis on transportation development in the United States. In his time off, Matt enjoys writing, hiking, yoga, and tending to his 1966 Ford Mustang. He originally wrote this paper for Dr. Kate Transchel's *Historical Research and Writing Seminar* in Spring 2016.

Jeremy Bakke is an undergraduate student at California State University, Chico. He will be graduating in the Fall of 2017 with a Bachelor of Arts in History and a minor in Sustainability. Jeremy wrote his paper for Professor Matray's class on U.S. History from 1877 to 1945. When he is not contemplating the intriguing narratives of history, he is writing stories, leading an active lifestyle, and, if he can help it, keeping his bones in one piece. His post-graduation plans are uncertain, as is his future, but he boldly continues forth, awaiting whatever the universe has in store.

Christopher Fuqua is an undergraduate at California State University, Chico, pursuing a Bachelor of Arts in the Social Sciences - Pre-Credential program. Originally from Stockton, California, Chris plans to teach history and social sciences at the high school level while working on an advanced degree in History with hopes of becoming a college professor. His areas of interest in history include twentieth-century military history, Soviet history, and American political history. His hobbies outside of academia include writing fiction, playing disc golf, and collecting vinyl records. Chris's paper was written for Dr. Tinkler's Early American Republic course in Fall, 2016.

Juan E. Vega Ramirez is an undergraduate student at California State University, Chico. He is currently working toward earning a Bachelor of Arts in History and in Latin American Studies. After graduating Fall

The Chico Historian

2017, he plans to attend graduate school and pursue a career in teaching. When not engaged in scholarly work, Juan enjoys watching films, hiking, and spending time with friends. Juan originally wrote his paper for Dr. Stephen Lewis' Modern Latin America course Spring 2016.

The Chico Historian

Articles

The Prophet's Crucible



While painted centuries after the birth the Prophet, this piece reveals the lasting presence and influence of Late-Antique themes on Islamic culture. (Image Source: *The Birth of the Prophet Muhammad* from the *Jami' al-tavarikh (Compendium of Chronicles)*, ca. 714/1315, Edinburgh University Library (MS Arab 20, folio 42r), Cat. 6.)

THE PROPHET'S CRUCIBLE: THE LATE ANTIQUE NEAR EAST ON THE EVE OF ISLAM

| Rodney Thomson

Islam's genesis occurred in the context of the Late Antique world, a world dominated by two great regional superpowers: the Byzantine (Roman) and Sasanian (Persian) empires. However, until relatively recently, many scholars have functionally, if unintentionally, treated the appearance of the new faith as if it appeared in a vacuum. While no doubt dictated by authorial necessity, this approach divorces the complex world of the pre-Islamic Near East from any study of the nascent faith and its subsequent development. This tendency has often taken the form of a brief acknowledgement of the context in which Islam appeared in the early seventh century, perhaps presented with a few bits of convenient data, before the author moves ahead without ever looking back. The net effect of this practice is to allege some connections without ever explicitly making them.¹ But the Late Antique and Arabian milieu that constituted the environment for the genesis and formation of Islam demands greater attention in order to better comprehend the early trials and tribulations of the community of believers. Such an understanding only surfaces through a cross-cultural study involving the empires, their client states, the Arabs, and a web of relationships forged between ever-evolving tribal identities. Rather than offer any radically new interpretation of early Islam, the present paper identifies factors that formed the crucible in which the Prophet Muḥammad forged this new faith and continued to influence Islam's formation through subsequent generations.

¹ The field abounds with examples, of which a few must suffice here: Albert Hourani, *A History of the Arab Peoples* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991); William Ochenwald, and Sydney Nettleton Fisher, *The Middle East: A History* (New York: McGraw Hill, 2011); Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); and Fazlur Rahman, *Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979). The first three provide brief, stock discussions of the pre-Islamic context before moving on to Islam – a particularly disappointing authorial decision in the case of Hourani, considering the title of his book. Rahman limits his discussion of the Middle East before Muḥammad to a single paragraph in the introduction. (Cf., Patricia Crone and Michael Cook, *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977]; Jonathan P. Berkey, *The Formation of Islam: Religion and Society in the Near East, 600-1800* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003]; and Hugh Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates: The Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century* [Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2004]. These authors provide useful discussions that ground the appearance of Islam in its Late Antique context.)

Romans, Persians, and Arabs

The on-going conflict between the two principle powers of the Near East provided the single-greatest external influence on life in the Arabian Peninsula. Both engaged in active trade with Arab merchants, and with trade came cultural as well as material exchange. The empires also made use of vassal tribes or confederations to provide buffers against one another and to mitigate the impact of raids by the tribesmen themselves. Following a practice initiated by Constantius II (r. 337-61), the Romans made *foederati* ("barbarian" allies of the empire) of the Jafnids, and by extension the Banū Ghassān,² sometime in the late-fifth or early-sixth century CE after portions of that tribe migrated from south Arabia to Syria and displaced the previously-dominant tribe of Salīh, which until then had itself enjoyed a pact with Constantinople.³ The terms of the treaty between the Jafnids and the Romans included mutual defense, and a promise on the part of the Arabs not to meddle in the empire's Persian affairs.⁴ In return for their loyalty and, by implication, that of their people, Jafnid leaders received various imperial favors. On a material level, Constantinople granted them the *annona*, a material subsidy paid either in specie or goods.⁵ Less tangible but essential for legitimation of the authority subsumed by the federate chief over other tribal nobles, the Byzantine emperor also granted titles to his Arab allies. The Jafnid King al-Ḥārith held the Byzantine ennoblements *phylarkos* (phylarch) and *patrikios* under his Greek name, Arethas, when he visited the Emperor Justinian I (r. 527-65) in Constantinople in 564. The purpose of Arethas' trip was to declare which of his sons would succeed him in bearing his title, an essential process because the Romans forged their alliances with individuals, not polities or groups.⁶

² "Banū" means "sons of," and often forms a prefix to tribal identities. In this case, the "Banū Ghassān" are those who identify as descendants of a man named Ghassān.

³ Greg Fisher, *Between Empires: Arabs, Romans, and Sasanians in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 95; and *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition* (henceforth *EI²*), s.v. "Salih." While agreement among scholars has yet to coalesce, Irfan Shahīd argued that the phrase *ton tes thalabanes legomenon* found in the *foedus* (treaty) of 502 refers to the Jafnid leader al-Ḥārith; see: Irfan Shahīd, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*, vol. 1.1 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1995), 3-8.

⁴ Robert G. Hoyland, *Arabia and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 240-41.

⁵ Michael C. A. Macdonald, et al., "Arabs and Empires before the Sixth Century," in *Arabs and Empires Before Islam*, ed. by Greg Fisher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 77.

⁶ Theophanes the Confessor, *The Chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor*, trans. by Cyril Mango and Roger Scott (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 352-53; and Fisher, *Between Empires*, 3 and 45. The Romans bestowed the title phylarch on

Analogous to the Jafnids, to the east the Naşrids possessed a similar relationship with the Sasanians.⁷ Long associated with the Lakhm tribe, recent studies have established that as too facile a connection when in fact the situation in the Naşrid capital, al-Ĥirah, was in all probability much more diverse thanks to the city's placement on a major trade route astride the Euphrates River.⁸ As with the Romans and Jafnids, the Sasanians maintained a similar treaty with their Arab vassals that allowed the later to exert some measure of control over their environs in return for mutual aid and support. Consequentially, the Naşrids were able to extend their influence over other tribal confederations, including Ma'add, which simultaneously increased the reach and power of the Sasanian kings into the Arabian Peninsula.⁹

Religion also played a role in these imperial-Arab relationships. By the mid-sixth century the Byzantine Empire stretched from the eastern tip of the Black Sea to the Strait of Gibraltar in the west and included all of the Italian Peninsula, the Balkans, Egypt, the Levant, Anatolia, and the northern reaches of the Fertile Crescent. While Christianity, as defined at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, was the state religion, other expressions existed, most importantly Monophysite, Miaphysite, and Nestorian.¹⁰ These groups suffered occasional persecution, and some members fled to less-hostile states, including Persia, or lived in the further reaches of the empire and even beyond the *limes* in *Arabia Deserta*. Thanks to this sectarian diaspora,

the chiefs of their Arab federate tribes, while patrikios was an honorific with cultural cachet but no specific function (*The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.vv. “Phylarch,” and “Patrikios”).

⁷ While loose on details, Procopius provided a sense of the extent to which the Naşrid and Jafnid leaders possessed both responsibility and freedom of action under their respective patrons; see: Procopius, *History of the Wars: Books I-II*, trans. by H. B. Dewing (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 157-58, 167-73, and 421-23. For an example of a Sasanian-Naşrid alliance, see: al-Ṭabarī, *The Sāsānids, the Byzantines, the Lakhmids, and Yemen*, trans. by C. E. Bosworth, vol. 5, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, ed. by Ehsan Yar-Shater (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 341-43.

⁸ Fisher, *Between Empires*, 64-65.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 92-95.

¹⁰ As with all the early Christian controversies, the issues at Chalcedon revolved around Christology, in this case whether Jesus possessed human and divine natures, just one, or some merging of the two. Monophysites generally held that the Christ had only a single, divine nature, while the Miaphysite tradition professed that both exist, albeit merged into a single (*mia*) nature. The Nestorians possessed a duophysite Christology, believing that Jesus had distinct divine and human natures. By the later fifth century, Miaphysitism enjoyed an upsurge in popularity in the eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire (i.e. those in direct contact with Arabs), while Nestorianism proved the dominant Christian tradition in Persia (Peter Edwell, et al., “Arabs in the Conflict between Rome and Persia, AD 491-630,” in *Arabs and Empires Before Islam*, ed. by Greg Fisher [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015], 215).

Arabs had contact with proselytes from all these traditions as well as the Chalcedonians. Conversion accounts of Arabs exist in sufficient quantity to identify a pattern whereby a notable found cause to convert to Christianity after which his tribe followed suit. Fifth-century Palestinian historian Sozomen reported one such case that occurred in the later-fourth century when an Arab chief named Zocomus (or Zocomos), chief of Banū Ṣāliḥ, became Christian. Resolution of his personal "calamity," in this case childlessness, provided the pretext for his change of faith. In regards to the Christianization of the Arabs, Sozomen suggested that

Their conversion appears to have been the result of their intercourse with the priests who dwelt among them, and with the monks who dwelt in the neighboring deserts, and who were distinguished by their purity of life, and by their miraculous gifts.¹¹

According to the author, Zocomus' tribe followed him into the new faith. Sozomen's brief tale has all the characteristics of *topoi*, but it probably reflects reality in general if not in detail nonetheless. A tribal *sharīf* (noble, pl. *ashrāf*) convinced that the Christian deity had intervened for him personally would see the need for some sort of reciprocity. Such constituted the expected praxis in the pagan world, where a sacrifice would have been in order. In Christianity, a profession of faith provided suitable recompense. That some, most, or all of the tribe followed his example is equally unremarkable given the context.

A second, later, and more-detailed example further supports this conclusion. In the first-half of the fifth century Aspebetos, a tribal chief who formerly served the Sasanians as a *spahbedh* (a high-ranking military leader), converted to Christianity under similar circumstances as had Zocomus. After Persian resources failed to find a cure for his partially-paralyzed son, Terebôn, Aspebetos dropped everything to take him to Palestine in accordance with a vision in which Terebôn predicted his own healing at the hands of a monk named Euthymius. At the time, this eremite was literally holed-up in a cave twelve miles outside of Jerusalem, trying to live a pious life of separation. Unsurprisingly, Euthymius cured the young man, who then convinced his father to join him in embracing Christianity. Some time later, Aspebetos returned with many people from his tribe who likewise converted. These former "wolves of Arabia" built a church near the

¹¹ Sozomen, *Ecclesiastical History*, trans. anonymous (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1846), 319-20.

monk's cave, and established a tent community around it after which Euthymius made Aspebetos the first "bishop of the encampments."¹² Theoderet of Cyrrhus reported similar mass conversions later in the century thanks to the inspirational and vertically-imposing presence of Simeon Stylites the Elder. While at least some of these Arab conversion stories are no-doubt apocryphal – Simeon allegedly cured the infertility of the "queen of the Ishmaelites" via a long-distance request through intermediaries – those that describe Arab groups or individuals who adopted Christianity suggest that, under favorable circumstances, it happened with some frequency and perhaps a good deal of spontaneity, if not always heartfelt sincerity.¹³

The Jafnids significant involvement with Levantine Christianity is attested by inscriptions discovered at a church in Nitl and the village of Sammā' (both in present-day Jordan), and al-Ruṣāfa (Sergiopolis in northern Syria), the last two convincingly linked with known Jafnid leaders.¹⁴ In the past, scholars have identified these foederati with the Monophysites or Miaphysites. While Fisher observes that no evidence exists to definitively establish such a link, several of the ancient sources hostile to Chalcedonian Christianity believed it true.¹⁵ When in 579/80 al-Ḥārith tried to negotiate peace between the dissenting Miaphysite bishops, Jacob Baradaeus and Paul the Black, he may have been playing the role of phylarch and politician rather than Miaphysite apologist, but John of Ephesus remembered the phylarch as a defender of the faith, regardless.¹⁶

Similarly, Procopius reported that Justinian ordered one "Caïsus the fugitive" take command of an army of Banū Ma'add in an expedition against the Persians.¹⁷ Caïsus, also known as Amorkesos, a Hellenized form of the name Imrū' al-Qays, may have been the famous pre-Islamic poet and king of Banū Kinda, although that connection

¹² Cyril of Scythopolis, *The Lives of the Monks of Palestine*, trans. by R. M. Price (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1991), 14-17, and 20-21.

¹³ Theoderet of Cyrrhus, "The Life of Simeon Stylites," in *The Lives of Simeon Stylites*, trans. by Robert Doran (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1992), 76-81.

¹⁴ Fisher, *Between Empires*, 50-56; and Denis Genequand, "The Archaeological Evidence for the Jafnids and the Naṣrids," in *Arabs and Empires Before Islam*, ed. by Greg Fisher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 175.

¹⁵ Fisher, *Between Empires*, 56-64. Genequand notes that the mention of al-Ḥārith in the Nitl inscriptions has not been conclusively linked with the Jafnid leader (his was a very-popular name), but is probable (Genequand, 179).

¹⁶ John of Ephesus, *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John Bishop of Ephesus*, trans. by R. Payne Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1860), 284-87.

¹⁷ Procopius, *Wars*, 193. Banū Ma'add was a first-generation branch of 'Adnān, and highly respected for its size and accomplishments.

remains tentative thanks to the popularity of that particular name. Regardless, sometime late in the reign of Leo I (r. 457-74) an Amorkesos captured an island called Iotabe, most likely Jazīrat Tīrān at the mouth of the Straits of Tiran, if Procopius' description can be trusted. Formerly a Byzantine possession populated by “Hebrews” who probably originated from the kingdom of Ḥimyar in nearby south Arabia, Amorkesos preempted Roman vengeance by appointing a Christian bishop for the island and sent him to Constantinople as an emissary to request that Leo make Amorkesos phylarch of the Arab tribes adjacent to the province of *Arabia Petraea*. This action, followed by a personal visit to the emperor and a profession to Christian faith by Amorkesos, legitimated his conquest and the considerable status granted him, most likely because Leo saw in him a potentially useful ally against the Sasanians.¹⁸ This particular Imrū' al-Qays (regardless of any association with the Caīsus of Banū Kinda) appears to have adopted Christianity as a clever political ruse, one intended to deflect imperial anger and perhaps open the door to future self-aggrandizement, or at least that is what the Byzantine chronicler Malchus would have his readers believe.¹⁹

Some cultural syncretism resulted from the political relations between the contemporary super powers and Arab tribes. In particular, allied tribal leaders adopted methods of legitimation common to their patrons. A number of inscriptions indicate that the Jafnids participated in the construction of churches and at least one monastery (Qaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Gharbī in Syria), and possessed sufficient status as benefactors to be considered worthy of mention by others. Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, a fourth-century Iranian historian, listed many other Jafnid structures in

¹⁸ Ibid., 179; Malchus, *The Fragmentary Classicizing Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus, and Malchus*, ed. and trans. by R. C. Blockley (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1983-2009), 2.405-07; Fisher, *Between Empires*, 40 and 156-57; Macdonald, et al., “Arabs and Empires,” 85-86; and Greg Fisher, Philip Wood, et al., “Arabs and Christianity,” in *Arabs and Empires Before Islam*, ed. by Greg Fisher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 278.

¹⁹ Fisher and Edwell both point out the problems with associating the Kindite king, Imrū' al-Qays, with the character(s) in these stories, but the connection is possible nonetheless, and perhaps even probable. Just as the Romans offered the Jafnids foederati status after they defeated their Saḥīḥ predecessors, so could Justinian have desired that Amorkesos, as the latest power player in south Arabian politics, take charge of an anti-Sasanian program in that region. While much if not all of the Imrū' al-Qays al-Kindī story reads like a typical topos of the prodigal-son-turned-noble variety, not all of it constitutes a ninth-century fabrication because Procopius related its core elements in the mid-sixth century (Fisher, *Between Empires*, 157; Edwell, et al., “Arabs in Conflict,” 221 and 233; and Procopius, *Wars*, 193; for a distillation of the full story of Imrū' al-Qays al-Kindī as it had evolved by the ninth century, see Lady Anne Blunt, and Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, trans., *The Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia, Known also as the Moallakat* [London: Chiswick Press, 1903], 1-3).

his *Ta'rīkh sinī mulūk al-arḍ wa-al-anbiyā* (*History of the Dynasties of the Kings of the Earth and of the Prophets*). While many of the sites mentioned by al-İşfahānī have yet to be identified by archaeologists, and at least a few are actually of Umayyad construction, combined with epigraphic and other literary evidence it appears conclusive that the Jafnids engaged in construction on a significant level as a form of patronage, one that conformed to Byzantine norms.²⁰ Genequand points out that "no Jafnid 'dynastic architecture' defined by shared common elements" exists, and that architectural remains instead conform to "regional late Roman styles."²¹ Not only did Jafnid phylarchs choose to mimic the architectural styles of their patrons, they also located their structures in the same areas as those of Roman officials and aristocrats, a sure sign of cultural intermingling.²²

The situation in the Naşrid capital, al-Ĥīra, is less clear thanks to a paucity of archaeological work, a result of the political instability endemic to Iraq since the early 1990s. Those excavations that have taken place reveal a sprawling and prosperous city that grew organically over several hundred years, with at least two Christian (Nestorian) churches, and what is probably a monastery, along with numerous lightly-fortified luxury residences (*quşūr*, sing. *qaşr*). These were generously spaced apart from one another, and al-Balādhurī mentioned several by name in his *Futūḥ*: al-Qaşr al-Abyad, Qaşr ibn-Buqayla, and Qaşr al-'Adasiyyīn.²³ Most of the published excavation work to date reveals "a strong Christian character" beginning at least in the seventh-century CE.²⁴ Outside the *quşūr*, al-Ĥīra lacked defensive works, a fact that explains the city's quick capitulation in the face of the army of Khālīd ibn al-Walīd during the initial phase of the Arab Conquest of Sawād in 12-13/633-34.²⁵ But, similar to those buildings

²⁰ Genequand, 181-85.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 185.

²² *Ibid.*, 185-86.

²³ *Ibid.*, 207-12; C. E. Bosworth, "Iran and the Arabs Before Islam," in *The Cambridge History of Iran: Volume 3(1), the Seleucid, Parthian, and Sasanian Periods*, ed. by Ehsan Yarshater (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 594; and al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 391. Donner notes the prominence of Nestorian Christianity in pre-Islamic Iraq, including "a prominent Nestorian preacher in al-Ĥīra," although Judaism was also strong in the region, and Miaphysitism had likewise made some inroads through the followers of Jacob Baradaeus, the so-called "Jacobites" (Fred McGraw Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981], 168-69).

²⁴ Genequand, 211-12.

²⁵ All of the *akhbār* (reports, sing. *khbar*) provided by al-Balādhurī agree in regards to the city's near-instant capitulation at the appearance of Khālīd's army (Al-Bilādhurī [al-Balādhurī], Aḥmad bin Yahya bin Jābir, *The Origins of the Islamic State: Being a Translation from the Arabic Accompanied with Annotations, Geographic and Historic Notes of the Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*, trans. by Philip Khuri Hitti [New York: Cosimo Classics, 2011], 390-93).

linked with the Jafnids, church construction that can be plausibly associated with the Naṣrids appears to share regional architectural features rather than attempts to create a distinctly Naṣrid monumental style.²⁶

The privilege that both Jafnids and Naṣrids enjoyed came to an end on the eve of Islam. John of Ephesus and Michael the Great recorded how the Arab dynasty allied with Constantinople fell out of favor ca. 580 after a failed expedition against the Sasanians. Roman *Caesar* of the east, Maurice, accused the Jafnid phylarch al-Mundhir ibn al-Ḥārith of betraying the Byzantine strategy to the Persians.²⁷ This ultimately precipitated the collapse of Jafnid authority after the Emperor Tiberius II sent al-Mundhir and his son, al-Nu'mān into exile. Although the Banū Ghassān survived in the region and eventually converted to Islam after the Arab conquest of Syria, the dissolution of the Jafnid phylarchate resulted in a fracturing of its allied tribes as each sought to forge new relationships and find new sources of patronage in the highly competitive environment of the Late Antique Middle East.²⁸ The Naṣrid dynasty suffered a similar end. Around the turn of the seventh century, the last king of al-Ḥīrah, al-Nu'mān ibn al-Mundhir, managed to attract the ire of the Sasanian king, Khosrow II (Kisrā in Arabic; r. 590 and 591-628), although for what reason remains unclear. According to al-Ṭabarī, the Persian took an immediate dislike to the young Arab, and made him king of al-Ḥīrah only because he promised to control the tribes and keep them from raiding Sasanian lands.²⁹ Unfortunately for al-Nu'mān, some years later he earned Khosrow's wrath when the latter instigated a search for new wives and concubines that resulted in the Naṣrid's arrest and eventual death by plague; that, at least, is the story according to al-Ṭabarī.³⁰ Similar in structure and content to other Near Eastern tales wherein a subject runs afoul of his monarch, its content may have more topos than fact in content.³¹ Regardless, something did occur by the year 602 to terminate the Sasanian-Naṣrid relationship, although exactly what remains open to

²⁶ Genequand, 213; and Bosworth, "Iran and the Arabs," 612.

²⁷ John of Ephesus, 236-42, and 413-14; and Michael the Great, *The Chronicle of Michael the Great, Patriarch of the Syrians*, trans. by Robert Bedrosian (Longbranch, NJ: Sources of the Armenia Tradition, 2013), 127.

²⁸ Michael the Great, 127. Michael's history is perhaps a bit over-specific in claiming that the former Jafnid allies "split into fifteen different factions," but his claim that various tribes sought patronage under the Persians and the southern kingdom of Ḥimyar, while a few chose to remain under Byzantine authority is quite plausible within the contemporary tribal milieu.

²⁹ Al-Ṭabarī, *Sāsānids, Byzantines, Lakhmids, and Yemen*, 343.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 352-58.

³¹ E.g. the story of David and his pursuit of Bathsheba, wife of Uriah the Hittite in 2 Sam. 11.

debate, with specialists pointing to al-Nu'mān's professed Christianity, increasing signs of Naṣrid independence, or a Sasanian desire to expand westwards as motivators.³² As with the abolishment of Jafnid leadership, it appears that the consequences in the east were regional destabilization which led to tribes uniting against the Persians instead of under them, as witnessed in later raids that culminated with the defeat of Sasanian forces at the so-called battle of Dhū Qār, ca. 609.³³

Somewhat ironically, and perhaps predictably, the two Near Eastern superpowers suffered themselves thanks to their disassociation from their Arabian confederates. For the Byzantines, the western expansions under Justinian I stretched resources too thin for his successors and this opened the door for Sasanian aggression from 572. The revolt and usurpation of the Roman crown by Phocas (r. 602-10) further destabilized the empire. His successor, Heraclius (r. 610-41), could not halt significant Persian advances into the Levant, an assault that might have been averted or blunted had the Jafnids still been in place as phylarchs. To the east the Sasanians did not fare so well. Khusrow II's attempts at westward expansion mirrored those of Justinian in the previous century in that, while initially successful, it made the Sasanians vulnerable to a number of factors which lead to serious reverses starting around 626.³⁴ Adding to Khusrow's discomfort, nothing stood in the way of raids into Persian territory without the Naṣrids and their influence over the tribes. In the case of both empires, after decades of war with one another, neither could offer much in the way of effective resistance to the early waves of the Arab Conquests, a situation summed up nicely in the *Cambridge Medieval History*:

The balance of power in the Near East, sustained for so many centuries by the rivalry of Rome and Persia, had been destroyed by the catastrophic events of [Heraclius'] reign. Disorganized and exhausted by their internecine struggle,

³² Fisher, *Between Empires*, 184-86.

³³ Very little of substance is recorded about this encounter, for which Bosworth suggests that the descriptor "battle" might be "too grandiose a word." All that can be said with any degree of certainty is that the Persians suffered a defeat at the hands of Arab raiders, and the event went on to assume a place of importance in later Islamic myth (Bosworth, *Sāsānids, Byzantines, Lakhmids, and Yemen*, 338-39, and 338n794).

³⁴ Parvaneh Pourshariati, *Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire: The Sasanian-Parthian Confederacy and the Arab Conquest of Iran* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2009), 140-41.

neither of the two ancient empires was in a position to offer effective resistance to the fresh and vigorous forces of Islam.³⁵

The Sasanians succumbed to the Arab Conquests by the mid-seventh century, and the Byzantines suffered devastating losses in territory and resources, although that empire would not finally fall for another eight-hundred years.

The Roman and Persian empires both influenced life in the Arabian Peninsula by their presence, touching the lives of many through trade and their Arab vassals who made use of imperial means of legitimation to justify their roles as leaders among the tribes. The environment created by the withdrawal of both super powers likewise influenced the unfolding of events in the Near East, a vacuum made more compelling by the disappearance of an important Arab kingdom in the course of the sixth century.

Arab Kings

The southern portion of the Arabian Peninsula served as home to a number of ancient monarchies. The oldest known, that of Saba' (aka Sabaen), originated no later than the eighth-century BCE, and was eventually joined by the nearby polities of Qatabān, Ḥaḍramawt, and Ma'īn.³⁶ An agriculturally-fecund region – hence the Roman appellation *Arabia Felix* (fertile or fortunate Arabia) – it prospered thanks to the export of aromatics via the caravan trade and, later, by merchant shipping. In the Late Antique period, in the last quarter of the third century, these and other South Arabian kingdoms were absorbed by that of Ḥimyar.

In the first-century CE, Pliny the Elder called the Ḥimyarite tribe "the most numerous... their lands are fruitful in palms and shrubs, and... their chief wealth is centered in their flocks."³⁷ Archaeological and epigraphic evidence indicates a sudden conversion to an informal expression of Judaism by the rulers of Ḥimyar sometime around 320. Prior to this date the Ḥimyarites practiced polytheism, but no evidence of paganism dated after 380 exists.³⁸ The speed of the Ḥimyarite

³⁵ H. St. L. B. Moss, "The Formation of the East Roman Empire, 330-717," in *The Cambridge Medieval History: The Byzantine Empire*, vol. 4.1, ed. by J. M. Hussey, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 30.

³⁶ Hoyland, *Arabia*, 38-39; and Christian Julien Robin, "Before Ḥimyar: Epigraphic Evidence for the Kingdoms of South Arabia," in *Arabs and Empires Before Islam*, ed. by Greg Fisher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 94-96.

³⁷ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 6.32.

³⁸ Christian Julien Robin, "Ḥimyar, Aksūm, and *Arabia Deserta* in Late Antiquity: The Epigraphic Evidence," in *Arabs and Empires Before Islam*, ed. by Greg Fisher (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 129. Al-Ṭabarī, records a mythical

conversion is particularly impressive in comparison to that witnessed in the Roman Empire, where worship of the old gods continued for hundreds of years after the acceptance of Christianity as the state religion in the late-fourth century.³⁹ Eventually the kingdom's association with Judaism led it into conflict with the Christian kingdom of Akhsūm across the Red Sea at the outset of the sixth century. The latter came out on top of the conflict, and controlled Ḥimyar for approximately twenty years. In the third decade of the sixth century, the client king Yūsuf As'ar Yath'ar rebelled against Akhsūmite rule. Remembered in Arabic sources as Dhū Nuwās, he proceeded to oust his overlords from the southern Arabian Peninsula and, in the process, tried to eliminate Christianity as a source of external influence in Ḥimyarite affairs.⁴⁰ This policy led to an anti-Christian pogrom – probably not the first – the most notorious incident of which occurred in Najrān near the present-day border between Yemen and Saudi Arabia. Both Nestorian and Miaphysite communities called that city home, thanks to previous efforts on the part of Ctesiphon and Constantinople to influence local politics.⁴¹ Dhū Nuwās had the Miaphysite population of Najrān exterminated, likely due to their association with the Byzantines, a relationship shared by Ḥimyar's enemy, Akhsūm. But this led to another invasion by the latter, and a second period of Akhsūmite control that lasted until later in the sixth century when internal forces asked for and received Sasanian assistance in overthrowing the conquerors. These efforts succeeded but, when the individual put in charge of Ḥimyar declined to cooperate with his Persian patrons, the latter took control of the kingdom, a situation that remained in effect until the Arab Conquests.⁴²

Like the Romans and Persians, the Ḥimyarites held an interest in the affairs of the Arabian tribes, particularly those to the north of their kingdom, in the central regions of the peninsula. Ḥimyar had a vassal tribe of its own, Kinda, and in the fifth century it forged alliances through a line of descendants of that group's founding family, that of Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār. The Arab Kinda originated in the south but through

version of the tribe's conversion: Al-Ṭabarī, *Sāsānids, Byzantines, Lakhmids, and Yemen*, 170-71.

³⁹ See R. A. Markus, *The End of Ancient Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

⁴⁰ Klaus Schippmann, *Ancient South Arabia: From the Queen of Sheba to the Advent of Islam* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2001), 65-66. For al-Ṭabarī's account of Dhū Nuwās, see: *Sāsānids, Byzantines, Lakhmids, and Yemen*, 190-212.

⁴¹ Robin, "Ḥimyar, Akhsūm," 145-48; and A. F. L. Beeston, "The Martyrdom of Azqir," in *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabia Studies*, vol. 36, ed. by Rob Carter and St. John Simpson (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006), 113-15.

⁴² G. W. Bowerstock, *The Throne of Adulis: Red Sea Wars on the Eve of Islam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 111-21; and Hoyland, *Arabia*, 53-57.

the fourth and fifth centuries migrated into the central and northern parts of the peninsula where it came to dominate Ma'add, another large tribal group that traced its lineage to the eponymous Ma'add ibn 'Adnān. Irfan Shahīd pointed out that Kinda's expansion represented the "first attempt, however forcible, to impose unity on the tribes of central and northern Arabia," a feat accomplished only with Ḥimyarite support.⁴³ The early Ḥujrids helped establish and maintain Ḥimyar's influence in Najd (the heart of the Arabian Peninsula), where Qaryat Dhat-Kahl (today Qaryat al-Fāw) served both as an important and prosperous caravan hub and as a base for Kinda.⁴⁴ Ḥujr's direct descendents, the Banū Ākil al-Murār, enjoyed considerable success under Ḥimyarite patronage, and later under that of Constantinople and Ctesiphon, but fratricidal conflict broke out between his great-grandsons. Although Justinian bolstered the tribe's fortunes in the mid-sixth century by making it another foederati to use against the Sasanians, Kindite hegemony in the north and central regions ultimately dissolved, probably in conjunction with the decline and demise of Ḥimyar.⁴⁵

The dissolution of Ḥujrid leadership over the major northern tribal groups contributed to the increasing instability witnessed in the Near East in general, and in the Arabian Peninsula in particular.⁴⁶ Certainly the reduction in patronage from external sources in the form of material support exacerbated the situation. In times of want or insecurity, tribes in need often turned to raiding, within *Arabia Deserta* and across its borders into imperial lands. The Metropolitan of Nisibis, Barṣauma, reported of long-term and extensive raids into Roman territory in the late fifth century, motivated by drought:

For two successive years we have been afflicted by a shortage of rain and a lack of necessary commodities. The mob of the tribes from the south has assembled, and because of the multitude of people and animals, they have destroyed the villages of the countryside and of the mountain. They have

⁴³ *EJ2*, s.vv. "Kinda," and "Ma'add." Fisher points out that the exact composition of Ma'add remains a mystery. The present author accepts this, but will continue to call it a "tribal group" or similar herein as it eases communication without doing harm (Fisher, *Between Empires*, 86).

⁴⁴ Hoyland, *Arabia*, 50.

⁴⁵ Irfan Kawar [Shahīd], "The Arabs in the Peace Treaty of A.D. 561," *Arabica* 3, fasc. 2 (May 1956): 181-82.

⁴⁶ Bowerstock, *Adulis*, 121-22.

dared to pillage and capture animals and people, even in the land of the Romans.⁴⁷

The extent of the chaos and destruction wrought by the marauding tribesmen motivated the Romans and Persians to come together to resolve the crisis as it impacted both polities negatively. But, while the Sasanian *marzban* played host to the Byzantine *dux* during negotiations, Arab allies of the Persians raided their counterparts in Roman territory.⁴⁸ This derailed the talks in Nisibis, and provided an opportunity for counter-raids justified by tribal traditions of blood vengeance.⁴⁹ These were not exclusively-local incidents. Isaac of Antioch, a contemporary of Baršama, and Theophanes the Confessor reported similar circumstances throughout the Near East.⁵⁰ Suppressing this unrest required considerable expenditure of Byzantine military resources, and the chaos likely contributed to the demise of Banū Salīḥ as a Roman foederati and the consequent rise of Ghassān and Kinda.

The tribal unrest witnessed in the closing years of the fifth century derived from competition over scarce resources. Another form of scarcity evolved with the dissolution of the large Arab vassalages, a change that must have precipitated the termination of the subsidies paid by their respective patrons. While no hard data exists, it is safe to assume that this resulted in a significant reduction in wealth coming into the Arab tribes, particularly those of *Arabia Deserta* where natural resources and agricultural potential were minimal. While client kings used this income to support and legitimate their own dynasties, they did so by distributing it among their clients in various ways. When the Jafnid ruler al-Mundhir ibn al-Ḥarīth requested gold from Emperor Justin to recruit troops, he did so to fulfill his duty as phylarch to defend the eastern borders of the empire, but that money would have found its way into the purses of the Arab tribesmen hired for that purpose.⁵¹ Likewise the subsidies paid to the vassal tribal confederations and the income generated from lands allotted them for support. These resources, distributed as they were by the Jafnids, Našrids, Ḥujrids, and other vassal chiefs through stipends, gifts, and community philanthropy, provided a means for the maintenance of a

⁴⁷ Baršama, "Letter 2," in *Synodicon Orientale*, trans. by J. B. Chabot (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902), 526-27, quoted in Edwell, "Arabs in Conflict," 217.

⁴⁸ The equivalent titles of *marzban* and *dux* were given to border commanders who often also had civil administrative responsibilities.

⁴⁹ Edwell, et al., "Arabs in Conflict," 217.

⁵⁰ Macdonald, et al., "Arabs and Empires," 88; and Theopahnes, *Chronicle*, 216.

⁵¹ John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, 372.

measure of stability in hard times, and helped support the political status quo among allied tribes in general.⁵²

The instability created by the collapse of the political authority of the major tribal confederations and the attendant reduction in stipendiary income from imperial sources provides a plausible explanation for the level of contemporary inter-tribal competition testified to in Arabic poetry and the early Islamic literary and historiographic traditions on the eve of Islam. Such competition largely disappeared during the height of the Arab Conquests, when wealth flooded into the nascent Muslim community via what were essentially large-scale raids, but it returned once again when that flow slowed during 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān's caliphate (r. 644-56), with consequences both dramatic and disastrous for the community of believers.

Tribal Life and Structure

The relationship between the tribes, their imperial neighbors, and the latter's Arab federates contributed significantly to the complex political, economic, and cultural environment extant in the peninsula at the opening of the seventh century, but tribal life itself played the most influential role on subsequent events. Comprehension of contemporary Arabian culture and society is essential to a contextual understanding of the appearance and evolution of Islam in its early phases because competition between and within the tribes did not abate with the birth of the new faith. Over time Islam would provide a new paradigm within which to frame and justify dissent, but beneath the surface of this new mode of discourse lay the same motivators that fueled tribal competition before Muḥammad received his first revelation in a cave outside Mecca ca. 610.

At the most-basic level, tribes are extended kinship groups based on ties of common descent. Those ties may be biological in nature, based on blood; or fictive, forged through adoption or alliance. Unfortunately, no common nomenclature for tribal units and sub-units exists, not even among the Arabs themselves. And the designator "tribe," problematic for various reasons, tends to connote a culture

⁵² While the reader might justifiably question the historicity of John of Ephesus' report – his biases as an anti-Chalcedonian are well known – the relatively-sparse epigraphic and archaeological evidence is supported by sufficient literary evidence to conclude that the Jafnids engaged in what appeared to be Roman-style patronage. While excavations of communities linked with the Naṣrids has been minimal, there is no reason to doubt that they participated in providing a similar level of local patronage because they faced similar needs and challenges. This conclusion is further supported by the nature of inter- and intra-tribal support and relations between the ashraf and clan members among the Arabs themselves. For patronage among the Byzantines, see: *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.vv. "Patrons and Patronage," "Philanthropy," and "Poor."

somehow inferior to others. Regardless, in the absence of a sensible substitute, that label finds liberal use herein to designate extended kinship groups in general among the peoples of the Late Antique Near East and modern Middle East, without pejorative implication. When necessary to discuss intra- and inter-tribal relations, the present work utilizes those labels suggested by Jibrail S. Jabbur in his 1988 study of the Bedouins of Syria, from the largest to smallest unit: tribe (*qabaylah*); clan, subtribe, or sept (*'ashā'ir*); subclans (*buṭūn*); sections (*afkhādh*), sub-groups or sub-sections (*badā'id*); and the tribal "nuclear family" (*humūla*), led by a patriarch (*rabb*) who provides support, guidance, and protection for his children and their families.⁵³

The tribe of the Prophet offers an illustrative example of this structure, and of its fluidity. He belonged to the family of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Prophet's paternal grandfather who, as chief of Banū Hāshim, provided protection for the orphaned Muḥammad. The Hāshimites were a subclan of Quraysh, but several other clan identities lay between the two. The Banū Hāshim derived from Banū 'Abd Manāf, which came from Banū Kilāb via 'Abd Manāf's father, Qūṣayy. The male ancestors of Banū Kilāb were, in ascending order, Murrah, Ka'b, Lu'ayy, and Ghālib the son of Fihir, the ancestor of Quraysh with whom all these individuals and their families identified.⁵⁴

This particular group identity illustrates the difficulty in assigning labels to Arabian tribal structure, and their inconsistent application. For example, although Lu'ayy ibn Ghālib sired three sons who had families of their own, they did not together constitute a cohesive "Banū Lu'ayy."⁵⁵ Whether a particular family line generated

⁵³ Jibrail S. Jabbur, *The Bedouins and the Desert: Aspects of Nomadic Life in the Arab East* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1995), 268 and 287. For an alternative labeling system, see: William H. Lewis, "Feuding and Social Change in Morocco," *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 5, no. 1 (March 1961): 43.

⁵⁴ Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, *Genealogisch Tabellen der Arabischen Stämme und Familien* (Göttingen: Dieterichschen Buchhandlung, 1852), tab. O; and Ibn Ishaq, *Ṣirat Rasūl Allāh*, trans. by A. Guillaume (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 3. Tribal designators are most often based on an eponymous founder, real or legendary. In the pre-Islamic period one encounters names potentially derived from pagan totems, such as Banū Kalb, the "sons of dog." See: Jan Retsö, *The Arabs in Antiquity: Their History from the Assyrians to the Umayyads* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), 269-70; and W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1885), 17.

⁵⁵ Cf., in a verse attributed to Qūṣayy, he exclaimed "I am the son of the protectors, the Banū Lu'ayy" (Ibn Ishaq, 54). But, citing Watt and Werner Caskel, Donner points out that the identifier Banū Lu'ayy was a synonym for Quraysh, particularly those who represented the elite of Mecca (al-Ṭabarī, *The Conquest of Arabia*, trans. by Fred M. Donner, vol. 10, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, ed. by Ehsan Yar-Shater [Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993], 82n533). Watt and McDonald provided a useful Quraysh family tree that identifies those groups "commonly spoken of as clans" in: al-

its own unique tribal or clan identity had everything to do with the political success of its patriarch as a leader, and that usually depended on the size of his family (counted in sons), and his diplomatic, military, and economic fortunes.⁵⁶ By the seventh century, the descendants of Quraysh enjoyed local hegemony thanks to their mercantile activities centered on the city of Mecca.⁵⁷ But the Prophet's lineage represents only a single line of Quraysh, of which many existed by his lifetime, among them: Banū Taym, from which Abu Bakr, the first caliph, derived; Banū 'Adiy, the ancestors of 'Umar the second caliph; Banū Umayyah, the family of the third caliph, 'Uthmān, and of the first Islamic dynasty; and Banū 'Abbās, the line through which the 'Abbāsids legitimated their own rule.⁵⁸

Lineage and family identity were not set in stone, and could change for a variety of reasons, external and internal. The descendants of Sāma, a son of Lu'ayy ibn Ghālib, wished to legitimate their Qurayshite ancestry after moving to Basra, most likely for the prestige and increased share of the *fay*' it would bring them.⁵⁹ Basran genealogists, probably with the support of the majority in Quraysh, provided a narrative in which Sāma died before impregnating his wife, Nājiya, who subsequently became pregnant by a second husband who hailed from Bahrain. However, after returning to Mecca, Nājiya pretended that her first husband had sired her son Hārith. The "truth" thus revealed, the Quraysh denied the alleged descendants of Sāma ibn Lu'ayy, who thenceforth instead were known as Banū Nājiya, a somewhat less prestigious association considering the context. This incident of external identity formation may have cleared up the matter for some, but it did not for other genealogists who continued to uphold Banū Sāma's legitimacy, including some Qurayshites who saw in that subtribe potential allies against 'Alid claims of authority.⁶⁰

Ṭabarī, *Muḥammad at Mecca*, trans. by W. Montgomery Watt and M. V. McDonald, vol. 6, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, ed. by Ehsan Yar-Shater (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), xxx. The label Banū Lu'ayy seems to have provided a popular alternative to Quraysh for poets. For another example besides the sources already cited in this note, see: J. E. Montgomery, *The Vagaries of the Qaṣīdah: The Tradition and Practice of Early Arabic Poetry* (Cambridge: E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 2015), 226.

⁵⁶ Jabbur, 290-91, and 301-2.

⁵⁷ For a detailed and useful description of the rise of the Quraysh in Mecca, see: Mahmūd Ibrahim, "Social and Economic Conditions in Pre-Islamic Mecca," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 14, no. 3 (August 1982): 343-58.

⁵⁸ Wüstenfeld, *Genealogisch Tabellen*, tab. O.

⁵⁹ In this use, *fay*' referred to the lands owned by the caliphate (rather than those given to individuals as rewards for their loyalty), the usufruct of which went to fund the stipends paid to Muslims (*Eḏ*, s.v. "Fay").

⁶⁰ Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, ed. by S. M. Stern, trans. by C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1971), 1.173-75. For an example of the Banū Nājiya's opposition to the fourth caliph 'Alī ibn 'Abī Tālib and their

Of course, tribal identity formation also occurred internally, and could do so with as much conscious direction as the case just described. The label Quraysh appears to be a nickname generated around the time of Quṣayy ibn Kilāb, the great-great-great grandfather of the Prophet, who seized control of Mecca sometime in the first part of the sixth century. According to typical tribal nomenclature practices, one would expect the collective name Banū Fihr instead as Fihr ibn Mālik is the commonly acknowledged progenitor of the tribe.⁶¹ Early Muslim genealogists puzzled over this issue. Some proposed that Quraysh came from the word for shark, *qirsh*, but the majority concluded that it derived from *taqarrush*, which implies an association or banding together of some sort.⁶² The latter provides the more plausible connection, considering Quṣayy's representation in the *tārīkh* and *sīrah* literature. According to Muḥammad Ibn Iṣḥāq, Quṣayy decided to take control of Mecca and the Ka'ba, an important pilgrimage site long before Islam and a source of both prestige and income.⁶³ His allies included other clans that identified Fihr as their ancestor, and Kināna, an old tribe from the north. It appears Fihr himself identified as a member of that latter tribe, probably because Kināna ibn Khuzayma was his great-grandfather.⁶⁴ In spite of this connection, Quraysh did not identify as part of Banū Kināna, even though the former's members were technically direct descendants of that clan. Instead, the subtribes allied with Quṣayy in his bid to take control of Mecca and its assets, and joined him in the formation of a new identity, one based on a bond of kinship yet distinct from other branches of the greater tribe. While the reader rightly might question the details of the story, later history confirms that someone did indeed unite several groups who self-identified as descendents of Fihr, and the likely time period of Quṣayy's activity jives well with the rise of Qurayshite power in Mecca as recorded in various sources.⁶⁵

While the actions of Quṣayy set the stage for his creation to achieve local hegemony in Mecca, they also sowed seeds of future

resultant persecution at his hands, see: al-Ṭabarī, *The First Civil War*, trans. G. R. Hawting, vol 17 of *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, ed. by Ehsan Yar-Shater (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 171-97.

⁶¹ Daniel Martin Varisco, "Metaphors and Sacred History: The Genealogy of Muhammad and the Arab 'Tribe,'" *Anthropological Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (July 1995): 148.

⁶² *EP*, s.v. "Quraysh"; and Watt and McDonald, *Muḥammad at Mecca*, xxix.

⁶³ W. Montgomery Watt, *Muḥammad at Mecca* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1979), 8-9.

⁶⁴ Ibn Iṣḥāq, 3.

⁶⁵ *EP*, s.v. "Quraysh." Several versions of Quṣayy's story – including those told by Ibn Iṣḥāq – are related in: al-Ṭabarī, *Muḥammad at Mecca*, 19-26.

internal discord.⁶⁶ He settled the clans of Quraysh into various areas of the city in an organized fashion by which some lived in the immediate vicinity of the Ka'ba (*Quraysh al-Biṭāḥ* - composed of the descendants of Ka'b ibn Lu'ayy) and others lived in the outskirts (*Quraysh al-Zawāhir*). This resulted in the introduction of a socio-economic class structure into the community in which the former group enjoyed greater prestige and therefore political power. When conflict broke out within Quraysh, it did so among the clans of this group which divided into two factions: *al-Ahlāf* ("the allies" or "confederates") and *al-Muṭayyabūn* ("the perfumed") who vied for access to the important offices of the city.⁶⁷ Competition manifested in a number of forms, sometimes in an appeal to an arbitrator to determine which clan had the "right" (culturally defined as the one with the most prestige and power) to own a particular position in the city's socio-religious hierarchy. This allowed for titles to change hands peacefully, if not without acrimony. Such practices appear to have derived from a shared desire of all Qurayshite groups to get along for the sake of commercial success.⁶⁸ This did not preclude them from constant participation in political machinations aimed at benefiting one clan at the expense of others, but it did tend to avert significant intra-tribal violence within Quraysh in the pre-Islamic period.

In this regard Quraysh may have been an exception rather than an exemplar, because violence constituted part and parcel of the contemporary tribal structure, most famously in the application of *lex talionis*. While anarchic from a modern perspective, blood vengeance and other forms of personal retributive justice encouraged relative peace and stability by establishing boundaries within which individuals might achieve some measure of satisfaction when wronged. Not peculiar to nomadic cultures, it fulfilled similar needs in pre-Classical Greece, and in the empires of the Ancient Near East where rulers attempted to codify it in the earliest extant legal codes of the likes of Ur-Nammu, Lipit-Ishtar, and Hamurabi.⁶⁹ While it disappeared as an accepted practice in areas where settled populations became the norm,

⁶⁶ The rise of Qurayshite power over regional trade was in part due to the collapse of Himyar to the south: Ibrahim, "Pre-Islamic Mecca," 344, and 347-50.

⁶⁷ Watt, *Mecca*, 5-7; and Ibrahim, "Pre-Islamic Mecca," 350-51.

⁶⁸ Watt, *Mecca*, 19.

⁶⁹ For examples from these cultures, see: Hubert J. Treiston, *A Study in Ancient Greek Blood-Vengeance* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1923); "Code of Hammurabi, c. 1780 BCE," *Ancient History Sourcebook*, trans. by L. W. King, accessed August 13, 2012, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/ancient/hamcode.asp>; and Samuel Noah Kramer, *History Begins at Sumer: Thirty-Nine Firsts in Recorded History* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1956), 51-55. Contrary to popular understanding, Ur-Nammu and Lipit-Ishtar both precede Hammurabi by approximately 300 and 150 years, respectively.

in the Arabian Peninsula, where extensive nomadism persisted thanks to climate, geography, tradition, and the absence of any centralized political authority, blood vengeance continued to serve a useful societal function. This applied to Bedouin and settled alike, as most tribes consisted of a mixture of both. Beyond blood vengeance, which could take the form of reciprocal violence (*qiṣāṣ*) or acceptance of wergild (*diyya*), a tit-for-tat understanding existed in the case of raids. A response to scarce resources, they also served as a common means of income generation and wealth redistribution among the Arabs, who typically targeted tribes or clans not affiliated by family or alliance. When one group raided another it provided an excuse for a retributive raid if within the target-group's capabilities.⁷⁰

As a result of these and related practices, the tribes lived in a state of tension with one another wherein powerful groups often controlled access to resources while weaker clans and septs either accepted their lot or looked for opportunities to advance their status through alliances or scheming. While the potential for retribution generally kept things in check, at times the system accomplished the opposite by fueling a cycle of escalating hostility until violence resulted. The alliance of Quraysh and Kināna engaged its competitor, the large tribal confederation Qays-ʿAylān, in low-level scuffles in the later part of the sixth century that turned into warfare after a member of Kināna assassinated ʿUrwa al-Raḥḥāl. ʿUrwa belonged to Banū ʿĀmir ibn Ṣaʿṣaʿa, a sept of Banū Hawāzin which itself constituted a significant part of Qays-ʿAylān.⁷¹ Warriors from Hawāzin sought vengeance for their slain kinsman, and came across its enemies at a place called Nakhla where they routed the Quraysh-Kināna forces who then took refuge in the sacred environs of Mecca. This did not settle the affair, however, and the hostiles fought a second battle near the ʿUkāz market in Mecca the next year in which Hawāzin came out the victor once again. Two more battles fought over two more years followed in which Quraysh and its ally won the first and Hawāzin the last. Collectively called the “Sacrilegious War” (*Ḥarb al-Fijār*) because the battles took place during the sacred months when fighting was nominally prohibited, these engagements lasted four years in total. But, like Gavrilo Princip's assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in

⁷⁰ Sadik Kirazli, “Conflict and Conflict Resolution in the pre-Islamic Arab Society,” *Islamic Studies* 50, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 36.

⁷¹ Ella Landau-Tasserón points out the inconsistencies between the various versions of these events, including the number of engagements and their participants. She also notes that, while Quraysh was only involved in one of three of the initial clashes – scuffles really – that group did play the role of arbiter in the other two (Ella Landau-Tasserón, “The Sinful Wars: Religious, Social, and Historical Aspects of the *Ḥurūb al-Fijār*,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 8 [1986]: 37-38).

1914, the murder that precipitated this series of tribal conflicts in reality may have provided a convenient excuse for a long-brewing war. Montgomery Watt suggested that control of the trade routes through the region proved the real cause. When killed, 'Urwah was leading a Naṣrīd caravan from al-Ḥīrah bringing goods to sell at the 'Ukāz fair, a physical manifestation of the commercial competition Quraysh and its associates wished to remove from the scene. Likewise, Qays-'Aylān's cries for blood vengeance provided some legitimacy for their attempts to forcefully eliminate its increasingly powerful opponents. Conversely, Crone suggested that Meccan merchants did not push their commercial interests to such extremes, but that the incident evidences typical tribal behavior and nothing more.⁷² Landau-Tasseron instead proposes that the murder of 'Urwa actually ran counter to Qurayshite interests in Mecca, and that their alliance with Banū Bakr ibn Kināna derived from cultural expectations and the former's desire to retain its prestige.⁷³ Regardless of whose interpretation one prefers, the Sacrilegious War illustrates the potentially volatile compound of tribal relations and traditions of retributive justice.

Other paths to conflict existed. Because a tribe's honor contributed to its status and therefore its political power, seemingly trivial issues had the potential to destroy stability. Even genealogically-related groups might succumb, as Quraysh nearly did during the rebuilding of the Ka'ba in the opening years of the seventh century. The existing structure had relatively low walls and no roof, conditions that allowed for the theft of relics from its interior – two gazelle sculptures and a special stone, perhaps the sacred black stone.⁷⁴ After recovering the artifacts, and amputating the thief's hand, the Qurayshites decided to rebuild the shrine and make it more secure with the addition of a roof. Negotiations resulted in the various clans each taking responsibility for building a wall or a portion thereof but, when it came time to set the black stone, "they started to split up into factions, to form alliances, and to make agreements among themselves in preparation for battle" to determine which sept would have that honor.⁷⁵ Violence was only averted by the future Prophet, who had each clan participate in lifting the stone so that no one group contributed more than any other.⁷⁶ While the story of the rebuilding of the Ka'ba well may represent a whole or partial fabrication, it

⁷² *EP*, s.vv. "Fidjār" and "Hawāzin"; Ibn Ishaq, 82; and Crone, *Meccan Trade*, 145-46.

⁷³ Landau-Tasseron, "Sacrilegious War," 51-56.

⁷⁴ al-Ṭabarī, *Muḥammad at Mecca*, 53n72.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 58-59.

illustrates how questions of tribal honor could precipitate outbreaks of violence, even within kin groups.

The Arabian tribal system contained an interesting dichotomy. Technically, a tribe existed for its own sake, with individual identity subsumed to that of the community. On the other hand, an individual's autonomy of action possessed considerable cultural cachet, and extreme manifestations of self interest had the potential to create conflict.⁷⁷ Qūṣayy's assumption of power in Mecca provides an excellent example of how personal interest could guide communal affairs. While the other clans that comprised Quraysh undoubtedly benefitted from Qūṣayy's leadership, such altruism was not his only motivator, a conclusion suggested by the fact he kept all the important political and religious positions for himself instead of dividing them up among the other Qurayshite shaykhs and aḥsrāf as would be expected in the tribal milieu. This eventually led to conflict among his grandsons, as the line of 'Abd al-Dār ibn Qūṣayy continued to hold all these titles while the sons of 'Abd Manāf ibn Qūṣayy insisted they should possess them instead. This generated the aforementioned division of most of Quraysh into al-Aḥlāf and al-Muṭayyabūn, in which the Banū 'Abd Manāf ended up with the most lucrative positions as a result.⁷⁸

Conflict also occurred across a greater cultural divide, between nomads and settled populations, the desert and the sown. As previously noted, while all Bedouins belonged to a tribe, not all members of a tribe were necessarily nomadic pastoralists. Even as early as Late Antiquity, tribespeople pursued a variety of livelihoods, of which the patterned wanderings of the Bedouin represented but one. The various clans or sub-groups of a greater tribe often consisted of settled as well as transhumance populations, agriculturalists as well as pastoralists, merchants and mercenaries, and those engaged in the production of crafts or provision of services.⁷⁹ In general, however, settled populations maintained an edge over nomads because the former possessed resources the latter needed, while the latter often only had supplementary goods to offer. This did not exclude some Bedouins from acquiring wealth, but economic conditions favored established communities that relied on agriculture and/or trade. The situation also created disparity in access to resources, which fostered potential for

⁷⁷ Williams Lancaster and Fidelity Lancaster, "Concepts of Leadership in Bedouin Society," in *Elites Old and New in the Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, ed. by John Haldon and Lawrence I. Conrad (Princeton: Darwin Press, 2004), 32; and Jabbur, 259-60, and 264.

⁷⁸ Ibn Iṣḥāq, 56-67. N.b. the historicity of the Qūṣayy story is not critical to the present argument as it represents acknowledged behavior within the pre-Islamic tribal context.

⁷⁹ Retsō, *Arabs in Antiquity*, 581.

further conflict. This often manifested in the form of raids on settled populations during hard times, as witnessed in Barṣauma's reports of Arab marauders motivated by the need created by a long period of drought.

The relatively-harsh life lived by many in the Late Antique Near East – particularly on the Arabian Peninsula – contributed to the creation of the tribal mindset witnessed in the examples discussed herein. An individual's tribe provided refuge from one's enemies and ready allies in battle. It also fostered generosity on a competitive level, even to complete strangers. These seemingly diametrical aspects stemmed from the unavoidable need to rely on others for survival, at least on some level, even for the most powerful. The demands of tribal life also contributed to the notion of *murūwah*, the Arabian version of *machismo*, in which bravery, endurance, compassion for those in need, and defiance of stronger parties were among the most-valued of traits. Persistence in seeking revenge was another.⁸⁰ Since justice was both retributive and personal, the most noble of men were those who pursued it to the end. These cultural beliefs inextricably entangled *murūwah* with *sharaf* (honor) and tribal identity, a condition attested to in works of contemporary verse:

Take for your brother whom you will in days of peace,
But know that when fighting comes, your kinsman alone is
near.
Your true friend is your kinsman, who answers your call
for aid
With good will, when deeply drenched in bloodshed are sword
and spear.
Oh, never forsake your kinsman even when he does you
wrong,
For what he has marred he mends thereafter and makes
sincere.⁸¹

The attitude expressed in this poem of tribal valor places kinship over all else, including any putative notions of right or wrong. A second example admits as much without mincing words:

I am but of the clan of Ghazīya,
going astray

⁸⁰ Watt, *Mecca*, 20; and Reynold A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1953), 82-86, and 93-100.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 84. Nicholson extracted this verse from the anthology of Abū Tammām, *Kitāb al-Ḥamāsa*, originally compiled sometime in the ninth-century CE.

If it errs, and let right if it keeps on the way.⁸²

This statement makes perfect sense in a world where association with a tribe provided the surest means of survival, but this single-minded devotion to group identity also contributed to the foment of conflict in the pre-Islamic Near East.

Anthropological and sociological studies of nomadic groups in the modern Middle East and North Africa reveal that, while much about tribal society has evolved, a great deal remained essentially unchanged well into the twentieth century. The formation of nation states has had the greatest impact in that the still-young governments have largely usurped the role of protector formerly played by tribal leaders. As witnessed recently in the territories taken over by ISIS, however, the tribes are ready and willing to step in as protectors once again should the need arise.⁸³

But in other aspects the tribal structure and life witnessed in the pre-Islamic period have carried on with little substantial change. Jabbur studied the Bedouins of Syria throughout a career that spanned more than six decades of the twentieth-century, and his research revealed that many of the tribal values described in the present chapter existed at least into the waning years of the Cold War. Generosity remained paramount, and men were still expected to display bravery in battle, protect the weak, and act honorably. Competition in the form of raiding also continued well into the last century, even after governments outlawed such practices. When Bedouin men participated in raids – as they were expected to do by the age of fourteen – they did so for largely the same reasons as had their distant ancestors: competition for resources, redistribution of wealth, honor, and vengeance.⁸⁴ William H. Lewis’ research of nomadic life in Morocco in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries arrived at similar conclusions. In that community, “sanctioned patterns of conflict were traditional,” and usually involved disputes over resources (water and pasturage), violations of tribal holy space, other insults to clan honor,

⁸² Abū Tammām, *Hamāsa*, 1.343, cited in Jabbur, 267. Syntax modified for clarity.

⁸³ See: U.S. Department of Defense, “Iraq and Syria, ISIS’s Areas of Influence, August 2014 Through April 2016,” *Operation Inherent Resolve, Targeted Operations Against Terrorists*, accessed August 18, 2016, http://www.defense.gov/News/Special-Reports/0814_Inherent-Resolve.

⁸⁴ Jabbur, 298-302. A similar overall situation existed in Oman where tribes retained significant political influence until at least 1970; see: “The Past and Future of Tribes in Oman,” *Fanack Chronicle of Middle East and North Africa*, August 11, 2016, <https://chronicle.fanack.com>. Jabbur pointed out that governments had cracked down on raiding, apparently during his lifetime, although the tribes resisted this change – sometimes violently.

or fighting to gain prestige and thereby enhance political status.⁸⁵ Blood vengeance also persisted. In one case the tribe of Iburāsan went to war with their rival Aith al-Qāsim after a member of the latter killed a dog that belonged to a guest of the chief of the former group and refused to pay blood money. This unrepaired insult to the chief's honor as protector and host led to a shooting war in which the combatants killed more than one-hundred men over the ensuing years.⁸⁶ Although a somewhat extreme example from a famously fractious culture, it demonstrates the long-term existence and continuity of tribal life and tribal strife in the Middle East and North Africa.

Concluding Thoughts

These relatively-recent examples are important because they establish continuity between tribes in the pre-Islamic Near East and twentieth-century Bedouins, which in turn allows for making analogous comparisons between the latter – whose practices and identities are well documented by modern researchers – and the former, which are only remembered in problematic documentary sources. In regards to the study of early Islam, this understanding allows for the identification of events in the historiographic record that justifiably can be ascribed to tribal or tribe-like behaviors, and for the isolation of contextually-common motivations where the sources suggest pietistic ones of questionable validity.

One thing is certain: inter-tribal conflict did not cease with the appearance of Islam, and it continued to find motivation in the never-ending contest for control of resources, both physical, as in the case of trade goods and specie, or cultural, in the form of *sharaf*. One need look no further than Quraysh for an example. The *rāshidūn* (rightly guided) caliphs, the Umayyads, and 'Abbāsids all legitimated their claims to leadership of the Muslim world via genealogical ties to that tribal identity. It is probably no coincidence that many members of another powerful clan, the Banū Tamīm, eagerly joined Islam's first sectarian division, the *Khawārij* (seceders, sing. *Khārijī*) within a generation of the Prophet's death in 632. Before Islam, the Tamīmī enjoyed considerable prestige as the guardians of Mecca and through trade connections in the east, where the tribe lived in considerable numbers

⁸⁵ Lewis, "Feuding and Social Change," 44.

⁸⁶ David M. Hart, "An Ethnographic Survey of the Riffian Tribe of Aith Wuryaghil," *Tamuda* 2, (1954): 51-86, cited in Lewis, "Feuding and Social Change," 46.

both before and after the Conquests.⁸⁷ But the ascendancy of Quraysh through their claims to priority in Islam upset the Arabian balance of power. It is no wonder Tamīmī ashraf led several of the sectarians' earliest uprisings against 'Alī and, later, versus the Umayyads. While a number of notable scholars have ascribed pietistic motivations to the Khawārij, among their most-persistent complaints was the failure of the caliphate to justly distribute stipendiary income that derived from the Arab Conquests in the east.⁸⁸ In other words, the sectarians argued that the caliphs did not behave as expected, as tribal shaykhs dividing rewards and resources in a just manner among their clan mates. Indeed, the tribal struggles over resources and sharaf look a lot like those witnessed between the al-Ahlāf and al-Muṭayyabūn in pre-Islamic Mecca, albeit on a much-larger scale. The sources for the history of early Islam abound with such instances of inter- and intra-tribal conflict, most famously in the great clashes between Banū Kalb and the Qays at Marj Rāhiṭ in 684, during the Second Civil War. The former came out on top, a result that fostered a long-simmering feud between the two clans which proved a constant distraction to the Umayyad caliphs.⁸⁹ Perhaps most telling in regards to the influence of tribal tradition on the formation of Islam, the so-called Constitution of Medina reveals Muḥammad's attempts not to eliminate tribal tradition, but rather to mollify its more-deleterious consequences by introducing new boundaries for the execution of blood vengeance.⁹⁰

These and a host of similar examples reveal the continuity of pre-Islamic tribal culture and its impact on all aspects of life in the Muslim world. Other Late Antique cultures contemporary with the genesis of the new faith likewise had significant impacts on the formation of Islamic doctrine, praxis, and identity. At the most-foundational level, the power vacuum created when the Byzantines and Persians abandoned their tribal federates, combined with the collapse of

⁸⁷ *EP*, s.v. "Tamīm b. Murr," and M. J. Kister, "Mecca and Tamīm (Aspects of their Relations)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 8 (1965): 113-63.

⁸⁸ For examples of those who have argued for the preeminence of Khārijī piety, see: Julius Wellhausen, *The Religio-Political Factions in Early Islam*, ed. by R. C. Ostle, trans. by R. C. Ostle and S. M. Walzer (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1975), 39; Ignaz Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, trans. by Andras and Ruth Hamori (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 170-72; and Percy Smith, "The Ibadhites," *Moslem World* 12 (1922): 281-88.

⁸⁹ Hugh Kennedy, *The Armies of the Caliphs: Military and Society in the Early Islamic State* (London: Routledge, 2001), 33.

⁹⁰ Michael Lecker, *The "Constitution of Medina": Muḥammad's First Legal Document* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 2004), 32-33. Lecker's translation of this seminal document clearly illustrates the continuity of pre-Islamic tribal tradition during the Prophet's early-Medinan period.

Banū Kinda's hegemony in the central Arabian Peninsula, opened wide the door for the Arab Conquests and consequent spread of Islam. But this ousting of the former imperial rulers from the Levant and Iraq did not result in the elimination of their cultures. The Arab conquerors, unprepared for the level of success that accompanied their invasions, adopted local means of administration and governance as an expedient to ruling their new, non-Arab, non-Muslim subjects. Over time, even greater cultural syncretism resulted, a phenomenon most-evident in the east where Arab rulers adopted Sasanian styles of court and living.⁹¹ And, thanks to the translation of Classical texts into Arabic and continued contact with other monotheistic traditions, the formation of Islamic thought evolved under the influence of these pre-Islamic traditions.⁹²

Scholars have long acknowledged the influence of the Late Antique and Arabian tribal world on the genesis and evolution of the Muslim faith. An obvious connection to make on the surface, the study of early Islam has yet to establish these connections in any significant volume or detail through a systematic study of the sources. While rational reasons exist to justify this lacuna in the scholarship – to call the efforts required to rectify the situation “Herculean” fails to adequately describe the magnitude of the challenge – until such a study is made the potential for achieving a more-accurate understanding of the birth of the third great Abrahamic tradition remains limited.

⁹¹ Patricia Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 148-9.

⁹² W. Montgomery Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology* (New Brunswick: Aldine Transaction, 2009), 37-48.

The Chico Historian

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Abū Tammām. *An Ismaili Heresiography: The "Bāb al-Shayṭan" from Abū Tammām's Kitāb al-Shajara*. Translated by Wilferd Madelung and Paul E. Walker. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
- Al-Bilādūrī [al-Balādhūrī], Aḥmad bin Yaḥya bin Jābir. *The Origins of the Islamic State: Being a Translation from the Arabic Accompanied with Annotations, Geographic and Historic Notes of the Kitāb futūḥ al-buldān*. Translated by Philip Khuri Hitti. New York: Cosimo Classics, 2011.
- Cyril of Scythopolis. *The Lives of the Monks of Palestine*. Translated by R. M. Price. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1991.
- Ibn Ishāq. *Sīrat Rasūl Allāh*. Translated by A. Guillaume. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- John of Ephesus. *The Third Part of the Ecclesiastical History of John Bishop of Ephesus*. Translated by R. Payne Smith. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1860.
- Malchus. *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus, and Malchus*. Edited and translated by R. C. Blockley. 2 vols. Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1983-2009.
- Michael the Great, *The Chronicle of Michael the Great, Patriarch of the Syrians*. Translated by Robert Bedrosian. Longbranch, NJ: Sources of the Armenia Tradition, 2013.
- Pliny the Elder. *Natural History*. Translated by John Bostock. London: Taylor and Francis, 1855.
- Procopius. *History of the Wars: Books I-II*. Translated by H. B. Dewing. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Sozomen. *Ecclesiastical History*. Translator anonymous. London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1846.
- Al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr. *The History of al-Ṭabarī*. Edited by Ehsan Yar-Shater. 40 vols. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989-2007.
- Theoderet of Cyrrhus. "The Life of Simeon Stylites." In *The Lives of Simeon Stylites*. Translated by Robert Doran. 67-84. Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1992.
- Theophanes the Confessor. *The Chronicle of Theophanes the Confessor*. Translated by Cyril Mango and Roger Scott. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Secondary Sources

- Bearman, P., Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs. *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*. 12 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1960-2007.

The Prophet's Crucible

- Beeston, A. F. L. "The Martyrdom of Azqir." In *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabia Studies*. Vol. 36. Edited by Rob Carter and St. John Simpson. 113-118. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006.
- Berkey, Jonathan P. *The Formation of Islam: Religion and Society in the Near East, 600-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Blunt, Lady Anne, and Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, trans. *The Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia, Known also as the Moallakat*. London: Chiswick Press, 1903.
- Bosworth, C. E. "Iran and the Arabs Before Islam." In *The Cambridge History of Iran: Volume 3(1), the Seleucid, Parthian, and Sasanian Periods*. Edited by Ehsan Yarshater. 593-612. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Bowerstock, G. W. *The Throne of Adulis: Red Sea Wars on the Eve of Islam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Crone, Patricia. *Meccan Trade and the Rise of Islam*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987. Kindle edition.
- . *Medieval Islamic Political Thought*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012.
- , and Michael Cook. *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Donner, Fred McGraw. *The Early Islamic Conquests*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Fisher, Greg, ed. *Arabs and Empires Before Islam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- . *Between Empires: Arabs, Romans, and Sasanians in Late Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Goldziher, Ignaz. *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*. Translated by Andras and Ruth Hamori. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- . *Muslim Studies*. Edited by S. M. Stern. Translated by C. R. Barber and S. M. Stern. 2 volumes. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1971.
- Haldon, John, and Lawrence I. Conrad, eds. *Elites Old and New in the Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*. Princeton: Darwin Press, 2004.
- Hourani, Albert. *A History of the Arab Peoples*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991.
- Hoyland, Robert G. *Arabia and the Arabs: From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam*. New York: Routledge, 2001.
- Ibrahim, Mahmood. "Social and Economic Conditions in Pre-Islamic Mecca." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 14, no. 3 (August 1982): 343-58.

The Chico Historian

- Jabbur, Jibra'il S. *The Bedouins and the Desert: Aspects of Nomadic Life in the Arab East*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1995.
- Kawar [Shahīd], Irfan. "The Arabs in the Peace Treaty of A.D. 561." *Arabica* 3, fasc. 2 (May 1956): 181-213.
- Kennedy, Hugh. *The Armies of the Caliphs: Military and Society in the Early Islamic State*. London: Routledge, 2001.
- . *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates: The Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century*. Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2004.
- King, L. W., trans. "Code of Hammurabi, c. 1780 BCE." *Ancient History Sourcebook*. Accessed August 13, 2012.
<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/ancient/hamcode.asp>.
- Kirazli, Sadik. "Conflict and Conflict Resolution in the pre-Islamic Arab Society." *Islamic Studies* 50, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 25-53.
- Kister, M. J. "Mecca and Tamīm (Aspects of their Relations)." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 8 (1965): 113-63.
- Kramer, Samuel Noah. *History Begins at Sumer: Thirty-Nine Firsts in Recorded History*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1956.
- Landau-Tasseron, Ella. "The Sinful Wars: Religious, Social, and Historical Aspects of the *Ḥurūb al-Fijār*." *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 8 (1986): 37-59.
- Lecker, Michael. *The "Constitution of Medina": Muḥammad's First Legal Document*. Princeton: Darwin Press, 2004.
- Lewis, William H. "Feuding and Social Change in Morocco." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 5, no. 1 (March 1961): 43-54.
- Markus, R. A. *The End of Ancient Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Montgomery, J. E. *The Vagaries of the Qaṣīdah: The Tradition and Practice of Early Arabic Poetry*. Cambridge: E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 2015.
- Moss, H. St. L. B. "The Formation of the East Roman Empire, 330-717." In *The Cambridge Medieval History: The Byzantine Empire*. Vol. 4.1. Edited by J. M. Hussey. 1-41. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966.
- Nicholson, Reynold A. *A Literary History of the Arabs*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1953.
- Ochsenwald, William, and Sydney Nettleton Fisher, *The Middle East: A History*. New York: McGraw Hill, 2011.
- "The Past and Future of Tribes in Oman." *Fanack Chronicle of Middle East and North Africa*. August 11, 2016. <https://chronicle.fanack.com/>.

The Prophet's Crucible

- Pourshariati, Parvaneh. *Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire: The Sasanian-Parthian Confederacy and the Arab Conquest of Iran*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2009.
- Retsö, Jan. *The Arabs in Antiquity: Their History from the Assyrians to the Umayyads*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
- Schippmann, Klaus. *Ancient South Arabia: From the Queen of Sheba to the Advent of Islam*. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2001.
- Shahīd, Irfan. *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century*. 2 vols. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1995.
- Smith, Percy. "The Ibadhites." *Moslem World* 12 (1922):281-88.
- Smith, W. Robertson. *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1885.
- Treston, Hubert J. *A Study in Ancient Greek Blood-Vengeance*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1923.
- U.S. Department of Defense. "Iraq and Syria, ISIS's Areas of Influence, August 2014 Through April 2016." *Operation Inherent Resolve, Targeted Operations Against Terrorists*. Accessed August 18, 2016.
- Varisco, Daniel Martin. "Metaphors and Sacred History: The Genealogy of Muhammad and the Arab 'Tribe'." *Anthropological Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (July 1995): 139-156.
- Watt, W. Montgomery. *Islamic Philosophy and Theology*. New Brunswick: Aldine Transaction, 2009.
- . *Muhammad at Mecca*. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- Wellhausen, Julius. *The Religio-Political Factions in Early Islam*. Edited by R. C. Ostle. Translated by R. C. Ostle and S. M. Walzer. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company, 1975.
- Wüstenfeld, Ferdinand. *Genealogisch Tabellen der Arabischen Stämme und Familien*. Göttingen: Dieterichschen Buchhandlung, 1852.
- Hoyland, Robert. "Review of Albrecht Noth: *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: A Source-Critical Study*." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 60, no. 1 (1997): 130-31.
- Ibn al-Athir. *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-Ta-rikh; Part 1: The Years 491-541/1097-1146; The Coming of the Franks and the Muslim Response*. Translated by D. S. Richards. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005.
- . *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kamil fi'l-Ta-rikh; Part 2: The Years 541-589/1146-1193; The Age of Nur al-Din and Saladin*. Translated by D. S. Richards. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007.

The Chico Historian

- Ibn Munqidh, Usamah. *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in The Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usamah Ibn-Munqidh* [Kitab al-I'tibar]. Translated by Philip K. Hitti. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.
- Ibn al-Qalanisi. *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades: Extracted and Translated from the Chronicle of Ibn al-Qalanisi*. Translated by H. A. R. Gibb. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2002.
- Ibn Shaddad, Baha al-Din. *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin, or al-Nawadir al-Sultaniyya wa'l-Mahasin al-Yusufiyya*. Translated by D. S. Richards. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002.
- Imam Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj al-Naysaburi. *Sahih Muslim*. Accessed October 25, 2015. <http://www.sunnah.com/muslim>.
- Noth, Albrecht, and Lawrence I. Conrad. *The Early Arabic Historical Traditions: A Source-Critical Study*. Princeton: Darwin Press, 1994.
- Robinson, Chase F. *Islamic Historiography*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Salem, Elie Adib. *Political Theory and Institutions of the Khawarij*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1956.
- Al-Tabari. *The Conquest of Iran*. Vol. 14 of *The History of Al-Tabari*. Translated and annotated by G. Rex Smith. New York: State University of New York Press, 1994.
- . *The Conquest of Iraq, Southwestern Persia, and Egypt*. Vol. 13 of *The History of al-Tabari*. Translated and annotated by Gautier H. A. Juynboll. New York: State University of New York Press, 1989.
- . *The First Civil War*. Vol. 17 of *The History of al-Tabari*. Translated and annotated by G. R. Hawting. New York: State University of New York Press, 1996.

From Agriculture to Ammunition



Photograph of the Shaw Ranch. The current inhabitants of this residence found this image when they moved in two years ago and sent a scanned copy to the author of this article. Unfortunately, the date that this picture was taken is not given on the back of the picture, but it does list O.A. Shaw, Abbie Shaw, and Lee Shaw and notes that the home was built in 1904.

From Agriculture to Ammunition: Lee Shaw and his Western Agrarian Family Before, During, and After the First World War

| Jeanette Adame

Introduction

When Robert Livings Jr. embarked across the Atlantic Ocean for the North American colonies in the eighteenth century, he reflected settlers who came to the New World for two main reasons, opportunity and land. Livings could have only dreamed of the landowning success that his family accomplished in generations that followed. However, he also could have not fathomed that his great-great-grandson, Lee Shaw, would someday cross the Atlantic in the opposite direction for an entirely different reason. Drafted in 1917, Lee Shaw, a farmer residing in Butte County, joined the hundreds of thousands of Americans who served and died during World War I. Shaw centered his life on family and agriculture. He followed in the steps of landholders that preceded him, and seemingly sought to form a network of family-owned farms with his brother and father in Chico, California. The Shaw's dream of an agrarian coalition ended abruptly when their youngest son died in France, yet at his funeral both his family and the surrounding community celebrated his achievements and sacrifices. The agricultural and familial lifestyle that epitomized rural life in the American West surrounded Lee Shaw's life before, during, and after his service in the First World War.

The “Pre-Lee” Era

Lee Shaw's ancestors arrived in North America during the Colonial Era. While turmoil and insecurity surrounded arriving immigrants, the New World had one thing in abundance – land. No evidence is currently available for why his ancestors left the British Isles, but the limited availability of agricultural property, compounded with religious oppression, caused most Northern European immigrants to search for new opportunities in the colonies.

Unfortunately, there is no documentation to detail the Shaws' lives before they acquired land in the nineteenth century. From the available evidence, Lee Shaw's family in the U.S. started with Richard and Rachel Livings, both born in England around 1750. Rachel later gave birth to a son, Richard Livings Jr. circa 1767 in England. No documentation exists for when Richard Jr. left England, but sometime between his birth and 1781, he made the perilous journey to the colonies, perhaps with his family, or possibly on his own. In 1781, Richard Livings Jr. married a woman named Sarah Johnson in Monmouth, New Jersey. Sarah bore a plethora of children, not uncommon for the time, one of

From Agriculture to Ammunition

whom received her namesake. Sarah Livings, born on June 13, 1793 in New Jersey married a man named Samuel Shaw in 1811. Samuel Shaw, born in 1788 in Saratoga, New York, marks the first documented person with the surname Shaw related to Lee. The Shaw family's western migration and landholding ventures began with Samuel and Sarah when they moved to Boone, Indiana, sometime before 1875.¹

Regrettably, there is little evidence for the Shaw's western transit or the time they spent in Indiana. One of their children, Warren Shaw, born in Ontario, Canada, on July 6, 1834, wed Lydia Griffith in Lake Indiana on August 9, 1851. He later acquired land in Iowa, demonstrating his desire to establish himself and his family on an agricultural plot. On September 15, 1854, Warren Shaw acquired forty acres of land from the federal government through the General Land Office at Fort Des Moines, Iowa. Western migrants could buy land from the government through the Public Land Survey System. The system divided territory into townships of thirty-six square miles, further subdivided into 36 one-square mile sections. Each township used a singular reference point to establish the state's meridian and township base lines. Surveyors used this as a point of reference for each plot.² Located in section 31 of Township 85 North, Range 23 West, based on the Fifth Principal Meridian, in Story County, Iowa, Warren Shaw paid for his parcel on the date of attainment.³ Just over six months later, on May 1, 1855, Warren's father, Samuel Shaw bought a plot of land in the same township and range containing 320 Acres in section 28.⁴ The proximity and total amount of acres between the two plots suggests that the Warren patriarchs wished to establish a family farmer network in the

¹ "Familysearch.com," The information regarding Lee Shaw's extended ancestry stated here was derived from Familysearch.com under various anonymous users. While this site was able to trace the family back to the eighteenth century, the search engine yielded almost no documents or evidence to back up the exact data. However, the information given is still valuable and provides a general outline for Lee's family lineage. From the existing data, it should be argued at the very least that Lee Shaw's ancestry dates back to the colonial period in America and his family continued to move west after the establishment of the United States.

² "The Public Land Survey System (PLSS)," accessed November 28, 2016, http://nationalmap.gov/small_scale/a_plss.html#two.

³ "Patent Details for Warren Shaw Land Grant from the Bureau of Land Management," *U.S. Department of the Interior: Bureau of Land Management*, (Iowa: 1854), accessed November 10, 2016, http://www.glorerecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default.aspx?accession=IA0590__192&doClass=STA&sid=u2mazobu.utk#patentDetailsTabIndex=0.

⁴ "Patent Details for Samuel Shaw from the Bureau of Land Management," *U.S. Department of the Interior: Bureau of Land Management*, (Iowa: 1855), accessed November 10, 2016, http://www.glorerecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default.aspx?accession=IA0670__463&doClass=STA&sid=u2mazobu.utk#patentDetailsTabIndex=0.

The Chico Historian

region. Warren and Lydia later gave birth to two sons who assumed prominent roles in Lee Shaw's life: his father, Orrin Asa Shaw, and uncle, Samuel Marian Shaw.

In *History of Butte County California*, a biographical sketch regarding Samuel M. Shaw discusses not only his life, but also that of his father, Warren Shaw, and additionally details the corresponding ancestral line on Warren's mother's side of the family. The author described Samuel as being of Scottish decent, born on December 2, 1858. According to the biography, his ancestry traced back to a passenger on the first voyage of the Mayflower in 1620 by the name of John Griffith.⁵ Unfortunately, no such name or anything similar existed on the Mayflower passenger list.⁶

Regardless of their origins, it is clear that the Shaws took advantage of the opportunity that the New World had to offer. The family most likely migrated for economic or social reasons, as the promise of land was certainly alluring to them. By the 1850s, the Shaws strove to establish a network of farms in the West, demonstrating economic independence and family life as their intrinsic values. By acquiring land through the federal government, they participated in traditional means of land attainment available for Western migrants in the United States. The success of his predecessors allowed Lee Shaw to continue his family's dream of economic independence on family-owned agricultural land.

“Wee” Shaw

Although Lee Shaw's story ends in Chico, California, it began near Ames, Iowa, in the Milford Township. Lee Shaw was born on September 2, 1893, to his mother, Abbie Catherine Shaw, age 34, and father, Orrin Asa Shaw, age 40. His nuclear family consisted of three older siblings, with Lee as the youngest. Some evidence exists of a possible baby born later, but the documents available suggest that this member of the Shaw family died as an infant.

The first decade of Lee Shaw's life centered on agricultural values in the Midwest. Despite the vast distances that often existed between farms, agrarian families relied on their kinship bonds and the surrounding community to support their daily lives.⁷ During a typical day, everyone rose before dawn and ate a hearty breakfast together.

⁵ George C. Mansfield, *History of Butte County California with Biographical Sketches of The Leading Men and Women of the County Who Have Been Identified with Its Growth and Development from the Early Days to the Present* (Los Angeles, California: Historic Record Company, 1918).

⁶ “Mayflower Passenger List,” *MayflowerHistory.com*, accessed November 10, 2016, <http://mayflowerhistory.com/mayflower-passenger-list/>.

⁷ Karen A. Pastorello, *The Progressives: Activism and Reform in American Society, 1893-1917* (Chichester, England: John Wiley & Sons, 2014).

From Agriculture to Ammunition

While women completed domestic daily work, men labored in the fields from sun up to sun down. Children also followed the same pattern, but during the academic year they traveled mostly by foot to an often far away, one-room school house. Most families became largely self-sustaining on their farms, and supplemented their own produce with purchases at nearby general stores. Agrarian families remained on the fringes of urban life, yet they began to feel its encroaching influence by the end of the nineteenth century.⁸

The strain of railroad production on the U.S. gold reserves buckled domestic banks, causing the Panic of 1893. Railroad loans skyrocketed between the 1860s and 1890s. When these companies defaulted on their loans, foreign investors pulled out of American banks and demanded to be paid in gold. Small banks in the West and the South did not have enough gold reserves to return and went bankrupt. Small businessmen, and especially farmers, suffered directly from the economic crisis.⁹

As a result, the Populist Movement emerged in the political sphere during the 1890s. They presented a political platform that ensured democratic control of politics, currency and banking revisions, and the nationalization of railroads. While previous historians have argued that Populism centered on economic grievances, others have diverged from these theories. Populism rooted itself in the Great Plains, but did not in other mid-western states, including Iowa, as a result of the two-party system's dominance in the state.¹⁰ The Iowa Republican party further dissented internally between conservatives and Progressives. By the middle of the decade, Progressives gained prominence in Iowan politics.¹¹ Overall, Progressives mainly wanted to restore the power of the government to the people.¹² "Progressives were mostly middle-class women and men seeking to better a society they perceived as suffering from the pitfalls of industrialization."¹³ However, a large amount of dissention existed within the Progressive movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, causing heavy factionalism. Farmers

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Nancy M. Gordon, "Panic of 1893," *Salem Press Encyclopedia*, 2016.

¹⁰ Jeffery Ostler, *Prairie Populism: The Fate of Agrarian Radicalism in Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa, 1880-1892* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993), 154-174.

¹¹ Leland L. Sage, *A History of Iowa* (Ames: The Iowa State University Press, 1974), 222-225.

¹² Charles M. Hollingsworth, "The So-Called Progressive Movement: Its Real Nature, Causes and Significance," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 43 (1912): 32-48.

¹³ Pastorello, *The Progressives: Activism and Reform in American Society, 1893-1917*, 56.

The Chico Historian

emerged as one of the more prominent factions and began to back the Populist Party.¹⁴

The Shaws participated in these U.S. political movements. In 1914, both Orrin and Abbie Shaw listed themselves as Progressives in the Butte County Register of Electors.¹⁵ Despite the decline of the Progressive movement by that time, their declaration certainly alluded to their political, economic, and social position in regard to the larger country. Thus, when Abbie gained suffrage in the state of California in 1911, she registered herself as a member of the Progressive Party.¹⁶ It is likely that the Shaw's subscribed to the Progressive agenda well before 1914, and influenced the political atmosphere around them in Iowa and in their agrarian community. Lee Shaw thus grew up not only in a typical agrarian family that followed traditional patterns of farm life, but one that was also politically engaged.

During this period, the Shaw family consolidated their landholdings. By the turn of the century, both Warren and Samuel sold their lands and Warren began living with his son Orrin on his family's property.¹⁷ Orrin's plot was located in the township located directly south from where Warren and Samuel previously lived. In the Milford Township, coordinates Township 84 North, Range 23 West in lot 18, Orrin owned 201.1 acres. Orrin Shaw's name further appears in the *Atlas of Story County, Iowa* (1902) as one of the county's prominent farmers. Iowa boasted a wide variety of crops and livestock that could be raised appropriately there as the soil produced quality grains and fruits.¹⁸ The surrounding area, including Ames Iowa, enjoyed Progressive infrastructure, including improved agriculture, electricity, and education. Fortunately, the Shaws did not have to travel far to school houses or churches, as both establishments were located on their section of land in Milford. The surrounding farm community and family's principles thus centered on kinship and agriculture.¹⁹

Lee Shaw was raised in an environment that perpetuated the values he held in the future. The Shaws participated in a traditional agrarian lifestyle, and continued to hold steadfast to this ideal in the face of economic turmoil and industrial takeover. Instead of internally

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ "Butte County Register of Electors," *Butte County Clerk-Recorder*, (Butte County, 1914).

¹⁶ "California Women Suffrage Centennial | California Secretary of State," accessed December 7, 2016, <http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/celebrating-womens-suffrage/california-women-suffrage-centennial/>.

¹⁷ "U.S. Federal Census, 1900" (U.S. Government, 1900).

¹⁸ *Atlas of Story County, Iowa* (Story City, Iowa: Huebinger Survey and Map Publishing Co., 1902).

¹⁹ Ibid.

adapting to a changing American climate, the Shaws stood up for their beliefs and values in the political sphere, demonstrating the character that their youngest son would later embody. Continuing the Westward movement that previous generations participated in, the family moved to a new region that allowed them to continue their way of life. That place, was Chico, California.

The Shaws on the Move

Numerous push and pull factors affected the Shaws' decision to migrate west. As Lee Shaw grew into a young boy in Iowa, his uncle, Samuel M. Shaw, already looked westward for renewed opportunity. Immigration peaked in the U.S. during the last decade of the nineteenth century, and internal migration increased as well.²⁰ Using data from state census records, demographers determined that in 1900, thirty-two percent of adults born in the U.S. lived in a different state from the one they originated.²¹ At the turn of the century, California boosters worried about the state's obscurity in the United States, and rolled out campaigns to encourage immigration. The California Fruit Growers Exchange, supplemented by the Southern Pacific Railroad, advertised California especially in the Midwest, with a pointed emphasis on Iowa. The two companies covered the state with slogans that read "Oranges for Health – California for Wealth" tempting farmers with crop diversity and profitability.²²

Depression and political turmoil characterized the main push factors for migration out of Iowa. In 1900, seventy-one percent of people born in Iowa remained there, while the remaining twenty-nine percent mostly migrated to states in the Midwest, including Nebraska, Illinois, and Kansas. For the Shaw family, the growing prominence of the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts in 1898, located just four miles away from their farm, probably further influenced their decision.²³ Urban centers in the West typically formed around educational institutions. As agrarians, the Shaws desired to lead a life centered on farm and family, and thus sought to move to more rurally based community further west.

²⁰ "Immigration to the USA: 1900-1920," *Spartacus Educational*, accessed November 29, 2016, <http://spartacus-educational.com/USAE1900.htm>.

²¹ James N. Gregory, "Internal Migration," *Oxford Encyclopedia of American Social History* (New York: Oxford University Press), accessed November 29, 2016, https://faculty.washington.edu/gregoryj/internal_migration.htm.

²² Frank L. Beach, "The Effects of the Westward Movement on California's Growth and Development, 1900-1920," *The International Migration Review* 3, no. 3 (1969): 20–35, doi:10.2307/3002587.

²³ Eric Badertscher, "Iowa," *Salem Press Encyclopedia*, 2013.

The Chico Historian

California's pull factors, and specifically those of Butte County, heavily contributed to the family's move. Samuel M. Shaw joined the one percent of Iowans who moved to California at the turn of the century, just before a massive wave of migration to the state began.²⁴ By the 1870s, the pioneer age of California had ended and an increasingly "civilized" culture began to spread throughout the various cities and towns. Women, literary writers, scholars, newspapers, performance and art all enriched the budding Californian towns and cities. Agriculture also became a cornerstone of Californian society. While many states boast one or two crops, California began to grow nearly 200 different agricultural products. Citriculture became especially prominent and growers began to produce oranges and lemons for the entire country's consumption. As California is located in a Mediterranean climate, growers were able to experiment with a wide array of crops, including prunes, grapes, artichokes, and watermelons to name only a few. The agricultural nature of the state allured families like the Shaws. As farmers and farm laborers moved into the state, irrigation became a necessity for city and rural life. Improved water accessibility increased agricultural production and population, while simultaneously transforming the landscape and ecology of the state.²⁵

Butte County, located in the Northern region of California, underwent a similar process of transformation at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. The turn of the century brought an explosion of commerce, agriculture, and population. The 1890s included the arrival of hydroelectric power, irrigation projects, railway lines, both over the Sierra Nevada and directly to Sacramento, growth in lumber, mining, and fruit canning industries, in increasing commercial diversity, and more.²⁶ New industries supplemented each other as the county exploded in population and wealth. Improved irrigation methods also stimulated agricultural growth, which peaked the interest of farmers from within and across state lines. As local historian George Mansfield stated, "the whole life of the county was reanimated. Its cities were transformed. The spirit of progress with which the very air was surcharged speeded up civic improvements. In less than two decades'

²⁴ Gregor Aisch Robert Gebeloff and Kevin Quealy, "Where We Came From and Where We Went, State by State," *The New York Times*, August 14, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/08/13/upshot/where-people-in-each-state-were-born.html>.

²⁵ *California: A History*, 8th ed. (Chichester, England: Wiley Blackwell, 2015).

²⁶ Joseph F. McGie, *History of Butte County: 1840-1919*, vol. I (Butte County: Butte County Board of Education, 1982).

From Agriculture to Ammunition

time the people saw the county advance to a place of power, prestige, and commanding influence among the counties of the state.”²⁷

Irrigation efforts significantly improved agriculture in the area, and in 1905, thanks to Thomas Fleming and Duncan C. McCallum, water was officially released into the Butte County Canal, thirty feet wide and spanning fourteen miles in length. Further irrigation efforts led to a rise in the fruit growing industry, which began exportation in 1915. In 1909 the Durham Almond Growers’ Association was formed and in 1918 it officially affiliated with the California Almond Growers Association. In 1913 Butte County produced thirteen percent of all almonds in California. The federal government also stuck its hands in the rising profitability of Butte County’s agricultural endeavors, and funded the experimental growth of nearly 275 variations of rice in the county in 1908. By 1912, Richvale, located directly south of Chico, boasted 1,000 acres of rice to be sold for commercial use.²⁸

Due to the economic prosperity, numerous civic improvements emerged up during the turn of the century. As the region grew more populous, the county jail was completed in 1904, a steel bridge across the Sacramento River was finished in 1910, a state highway underwent construction in 1918, the first state postal bank was established in Oroville in 1910, and the first free county library opened in 1913.²⁹ The Pacific Railway Line provided a route through the Sierra Nevada Mountains and Feather River Canyon. The line both aided the development of the Diamond Match Company, and then subsequently prospered from its success. Furthermore, the Northern Electric Railway Line ran from Chico to Sacramento as a result of sugar and irrigation projects.³⁰ The county’s economic developments attracted the Shaw family, as they mirrored the progressive aspects of Ames, but did not present an increasingly urban educational institution. They could thus continue their life as farmers while still benefitting from new technology. County prosperity led directly to city prosperity and Chico emerged as one of the most prominent. In 1900, the city had a population of 2,640 inhabitants, which increased to 12,000 people by 1918. After General John Bidwell’s death in 1900, farmers sought out new opportunities for land when Bidwell’s property, the Rancho Arroyo Chico, was platted out into twenty-one subdivisions. The area included 12,000 acres parceled out farms and orchards, from ten to three hundred and fifty acres for purchase. “These lands were largely sold to colonists from the East and the Middle West. The arrival of these colonists greatly stimulated

²⁷ Mansfield, *History of Butte County California*, 340.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Mansfield, *History of Butte County California*.

³⁰ McGie, *History of Butte County: 1840-1919*, 186-188.

The Chico Historian

business in Chico, and in consequence a great forward movement began.”³¹ Lee Shaw and his family were among the so-called colonists of Chico in the early years of the 1900s, and thus contributed to the expansion of Chico. In this manner, the Shaws continued their lives as a family established in an agricultural community.

Samuel M. Shaw first arrived in Chico in 1898, joining his father-in-law who had lived in the area since 1896. Samuel initially rented seventy-six acres from L. H. McIntosh on property located south of Chico and set out to growing almonds, prunes, and peaches. Two years later, Samuel bought ten acres of the Bay Tract where he continued his prune and peach horticulture. Three years later he bought Dr. Rodley’s peach orchard, which added another ten acres to his land.³² It was during this time, in 1904, that Orrin Shaw, Samuel’s brother, brought his family to Chico in a covered wagon via Oregon.³³ Unfortunately, there is no evidence from the family regarding their exact reason for leaving Iowa, however the push and pull factors previously provided suggest their probable reasons. Orrin most likely maintained communication with his brother, and after hearing about the success of a budding town in California, he sought to take advantage of the new land available following John Bidwell’s death.

When Orrin, Abbie, Howard, Glenn, and Lee Shaw moved to Chico, they most likely moved in with Samuel initially. This would have perpetuated their intrinsic values of taking care of one’s family and community, and enabled Orrin Shaw to save money for a farm of his own. It is likely that Orrin Shaw sold his 201-acre farm in Iowa when the family moved to California, as few family members remained in the state by the 1900s. The revenue allowed him to settle in Chico with his brother, assist him on his farm, and wait for the opportunity to gain economically advantageous land, instead of wasting the money on rented property or on a poor agricultural plot. When the family arrived in Chico, ten-year-old Lee Shaw was still attending school, and the family continued its agrarian pattern of daily school and work life. Those who engaged in local agriculture did not call themselves farmers, but rather horticulturists, orchardists, vineyardists, or growers depending on their crop specialty.³⁴ While Howard Shaw listed himself accordingly as an orchardist on his 1910 Federal census record, Orrin did not, stating his

³¹ Mansfield, *History of Butte County California*, 361-62. Here, the term colonists refers to Western migrants, not European settlers.

³² Mansfield, *History of Butte County California*, 1046.

³³ “Howard Homer Shaw’s Grave and Interment Card” (Chico Cemetery: Section 17, Lot 82, Grave I, December 29, 1962).

³⁴ David Vaught, *Cultivating California: Growers, Specialty Crops, and Labor, 1875-1920* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1999).

From Agriculture to Ammunition

profession as a farmer instead, which suggested that he was still thinking like an Iowan.

Orrin Shaw's acquisition of land did not take long. On February 10, 1905, Orrin bought lots one and two of the seventh subdivision of the John Bidwell Rancho. Mr. Shaw bought lot one, which contained approximately twenty acres of land, from E. W. Stillman for a total of ten dollars. The deed stipulated that he take over the mortgage for the property at a sum of \$1,025, due to F. C. Lusk.³⁵ Orrin bought lot two, which held thirteen acres of land, from F. A. Schell for a total of \$1,625.³⁶ Combined, the two properties contained a total of approximately thirty-four acres, situated in the corner of subdivision seven, and bordered by the Lindo Channel. The price suggests that there was some sort of profitable agricultural, standing buildings, or other improvements already established, as Orrin later bought surrounding property for a far cheaper price.³⁷

On December 3, 1907, Orrin bought lot twenty-one of the seventh subdivision of the Bidwell Rancho, which contained seven acres of land, from Charles H. Sanders for ten dollars, paid in hand to the grantor at the date of purchase.³⁸ Two days later on December 5, Mr. Shaw bought the fifteen acres located on lot twenty-two of the seventh subdivision of the Bidwell Rancho from George H. Sanders for the same price, also paid in hand to him that day.³⁹ Both men, most likely brothers, are listed in the deed as living in different counties, the former in Napa County and the latter in San Francisco County. Low prices suggest that the land may have not been immediately profitable, or still required improvements, similar to the properties Orrin acquired in 1905. The price may also be indicative of two men who moved away from Chico and wanted to sell their property quickly. Whatever the price, the new plots totaled an additional twenty-two acres of land.⁴⁰ As a Christmas gift to the whole family, the Shaws now owned fifty-six acres, a significant

³⁵ "Butte County Deed Book 81," Butte County Clerk-Recorder, (Butte County, 1905), 358.

³⁶ "Butte County Deed Book 81," Butte County Clerk-Recorder, (Butte County, 1905), 360.

³⁷ *Ibid.*; "Butte County Deed Book 81," Butte County Clerk-Recorder, 358. H.G. Shackelford is listed as the surveyor on both deeds, but upon conferring with the Butte County Hall of Records, they do not currently have the notes from this particular surveyor.

³⁸ "Butte County Deed Book 100," Butte County Clerk-Recorder, (Butte County, 1907), 415-416.

³⁹ "Butte County Deed Book 100," Butte County Clerk-Recorder, (Butte County, 1907), 413-414.

⁴⁰ "Butte County Deed Book 100", 415-416.; "Butte County Deed Book 100,"413-414.

The Chico Historian

achievement for a household that centered their life in agriculture and family.

As the Shaw family established themselves on their new property, Lee continued his education. Lee Shaw enrolled in the Chico Normal Training School to prepare for his projected attendance at the Chico Normal School. The Chico Normal Training School offered hands-on practice for the student teachers at Chico Normal School. Students paid a small tuition fee for attendance and received a regular education that emphasized science.⁴¹ At the May Day sports entertainment celebration at the Normal School on May 3, 1910 Lee Shaw won the Tennis Tournament as a Training School student.⁴² In January, 1912, Shaw was listed as practicing with the Normal school's baseball team during tryouts in the hopes of earning a spot on the squad.⁴³ When he attended the Chico Normal School (still called the Northern Branch State Normal School of California), it consisted of a thirty-six room building that contained various science classrooms, surrounded by other structures, including a gymnasium, library, and museum. Curriculum in 1912 consisted of one year of school beyond ninth grade, and two additional years of teacher's training.⁴⁴ The attendees of the school boasted Young Men's and Young Women's Athletic Associations, a magazine titled the *Normal Record*, debating societies, and other extracurricular activities. The Normal School's ultimate goal was to provide trained teachers to the community and state. Under a decision by the Supreme Court of California, all counties and cities throughout the state recognized the graduates from the school as legitimate teachers who could instruct at any primary or grammar school.⁴⁵ In 1921, the school's name was officially changed to the State Teachers College at Chico. In 1935 it changed again to Chico State College and finally, in 1972, it became California State University, Chico.⁴⁶

Lee Shaw thus furthered his education in the new city. While his family centered their life on agriculture, they also foresaw the decreasing availability for one to continue this way of life. Shaw

⁴¹ *Course of Study for the Model and Training School of the State Normal School at Chico* (Sacramento: A.J. Johnston, 1892).

⁴² "Training School Pupils in May Day Festival," *Chico Record*, May 3, 1910. The author has looked in all yearbooks for evidence of Lee Shaw's attendance at either school, but the research has turned out to be unyielding.

⁴³ "Normal Team Begins Practice," *Oroville Daily Register*, January 31, 1912.

⁴⁴ "Name Change Is Fourth in CSU's 85-Year History," *Chico Enterprise-Record*, September 9, 1972.

⁴⁵ "California State Normal School Chico (1908)" (Chico: Chico State Normal School, 1908).

⁴⁶ "Name Change Is Fourth in CSU's 85-Year History."

From Agriculture to Ammunition

probably wanted to keep all of his options open so that he would not end up unemployed. Not only did he provide himself more opportunity through education, but also through communal connections. It is also probable that Shaw completed the additional year of school, and upon his teacher's training, decided that he did not like the profession and dropped out. He thus established his life as an agrarian and continued his family's values. Lee Shaw also valued community and friendship as a result of his upbringing in rural Iowa. During his attendance at the Chico Normal School, he appeared at numerous parties reported by local newspapers that his friends hosted.⁴⁷ As he socialized, the Shaw family became rooted more deeply in the greater Chico area, establishing themselves as one of the well-known farming families in the surrounding region.

Instead of taking up a career as a teacher, Shaw officially became a farmer when he bought property from his father in 1911. On August 7, Orrin Shaw deeded Lee Shaw "Lot twenty two (22) of the Seventh subdivision of the John Bidwell Ranch as the same is laid down and numbered on the official map or plat thereof."⁴⁸ The area contained fifteen acres, sold for the same price that it was bought for in 1907. On the same day, Orrin deeded Lee's brother, Howard, an adjacent plot of land on lot two, containing thirteen acres, also for a sum of ten dollars.⁴⁹ All Shaw property was platted next to each other according to H.G. Shackelford's survey maps.⁵⁰ In 1925, the U.S. Department of Agriculture commissioned the survey of soil types in Butte County, and found fine sandy loam on the Shaw property.⁵¹ Fine sandy loam is ideal for trees and orchards, especially for almond trees.⁵² It is probable, combined with evidence from their future land purchases, that the Shaw family continued to grow almonds, peaches, and prunes as had Samuel M. Shaw. By the 1910s, the family successfully established their agrarian family in Chico.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, Lee and Howard Shaw tended to their family's land. In their spare time, they attended weddings, including that of their sister Glenn, and other social

⁴⁷ "Birthday Party," *Chico Record*, December 7, 1913; "Miss Snyder Entertains," *Chico Record*, January 16, 1910.

⁴⁸ "Butte County Property Records - Deeds Vol. 127," *Butte County Clerk-Recorder*, (Butte County, 1911), 95-96.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 96-97.

⁵⁰ "7th Subdivision of John Bidwell Rancho" (Chico, California: M.S. Crocker Co., n.d.).

⁵¹ E.B. Watson, "Soil Map, Chico Area, California Soils Surveyed by E.B. Watson, in Charge, and T.W. Glassey, U.S. Department of Agriculture, R. Earle Storie and Stanley W. Cosby, University of California." (Bureau of Chemistry and Soils, 1925).

⁵² Clem Meith and A.D. Rizzi, *Care of the Orchard: Almond Production Parts 1&2* (University of California, n.d.).

The Chico Historian

events.⁵³ Additionally, the family belonged to the Episcopal Methodist faith and likely spent a good deal of time at church on Sundays, even attending extracurricular church activities and thereby seizing any opportunity to become more rooted in the community.⁵⁴ Most events included all members of the family, demonstrating their close kinship bonds.

Lee Shaw extended his civic involvement by connecting himself with the local Chico Republicans. While his parents believed in progressive ideals and joined the Progressive party, he registered as a Republican. In fact, the youngest son of the Shaw family actually rode a predictive wave of political change in popular United States culture. The broader population began to tire of the progressivism that sustained the previous twenty years, and the Wilson administration disheartened farmers with government controls on crop prices. 1918 to 1920 marked the turning point in American politics toward a Republican majority, and Lee joined the trend before this transformation.⁵⁵ Lee not only registered as a Republican, but even participated in Republican social events.⁵⁶ On August 6, 1916, Lee Shaw was part of a welcoming party for Willis H. Booth, a Republican candidate who ran for the United States Senate, and campaigned in Chico.⁵⁷ Shaw's life indicated that, similar to his family, he also valued being politically engaged with his community.

Lee Shaw also bonded with his family through recreational hunting. Various Butte County newspapers highlight his fervor and mishaps as a hunter. In 1910, Orrin Shaw reportedly went on a hunting trip with his son, and a fellow hunter E.V. Moore. Moore, tracking a pair of animals, was crushed by his horse when it fell off the side of a ledge. Able to survive the brutal fall, he made it back to camp the next morning where Orrin and his son waited.⁵⁸ Whether Lee or Howard experienced the event remains unknown, but it does detail common activities that the family participated in together.

By the age of at least twenty-two, Shaw began hunting with his companions. In January 1915, he accidentally shot his friend, George Luther, in the heel during a hunting trip, when his shotgun, pointed at the

⁵³ "Mather-Shaw," *Chico Record*, July 4, 1913.

⁵⁴ "Methodists Enjoyed Picnic in Iron Canyon," *Chico Record*, June 14, 1908.

⁵⁵ Donald Holley and Lewis L. Gould, "Republican Resurgence Ends America's Progressive Era," *Salem Press Encyclopedia* (Salem Press, January 2015).

⁵⁶ "Butte County Register of Electors," Butte County Clerk-Recorder, (Butte County, 1914).

⁵⁷ "Republicans to Rally for Booth Here Tomorrow," *Chico Record*, August 6, 1916.

⁵⁸ "Exciting Time Had by Hunters of Chico: E.V. Moore Has Narrow Escape from Death in Coast Range," *Oroville Daily Register*, August 2, 1910.

From Agriculture to Ammunition

ground, accidentally discharged.⁵⁹ Luckily, no permanent physical damage to either men resulted from the incident.⁶⁰ The *Chico Record* also mentioned Shaw and his shooting party for a different, more successful trip. Hunting in Lost Creek, Plumas County, Shaw killed a three point and four point buck with his companions, R.D. Moakhave and Jesse Sanders.⁶¹

As the family enjoyed recreational activities together, they remained focused on their economic goals. Lee and Howard Shaw contributed to their father's dream of building a network of family farms when they purchased thirty-two acres from Albert Gee on January 24, 1914. However, the land was not as cheap as the land the two brothers purchased from their father, and came out to a \$20,000 balance.⁶² The Shaws paid the enormous sum with the help of their father by mortgaging the land directly from Albert Gee at \$7,000, using the boy's lots as collateral.⁶³ Four years later, on January 28, 1918, they successfully paid off their mortgage and Gee released a lien on the property.⁶⁴ Lee and Howard Shaw's new land had potential, as it already contained almonds, peaches, and prunes, the same trees planted at their Uncle Samuel's farm.⁶⁵ With the sons' purchase, the Shaw family now collectively owned eighty-eight acres of profitable agricultural land. They undoubtedly sold their product to emerging fruit canneries and almond industries, economically elevating themselves as a unit.

Lee Shaw continued to work in other spheres even after his new land purchase. In 1915, perhaps in an effort to make extra money to help his family pay the daunting mortgage, Lee worked as part of a rice threshing crew in Richvale. In one day, the crew, in which Lee served as a teamster, threshed 1,628 sacks of rice, each averaging 100 pounds per sack, in just ten hours, breaking the previous record.⁶⁶ Rice threshing in the early 1900s usually consisted of three pitchers in the field, six teamsters to haul the rice, two band cutters, two stackers, two to fill up

⁵⁹ "Shot in Foot From Gun of Companion," *Oroville Daily Mercury*, January 18, 1915.

⁶⁰ "Accidentally Shot in Heel," *The Gridley Herald*, February 6, 1915.

⁶¹ "Personal Mention," *Chico Record*, October 19, 1916.

⁶² "\$20,000 Orchard Of 32 Acres on Oak - Howard and Lee Shaw Take Possession of Place of Albert Gee," *Chico Record*, January 28, 1914.

⁶³ "Butte County Property Records - Mortgages Vol. 70," Butte County Recorder-Clerk, (Butte County, 1914), 18.

⁶⁴ "Butte County Mortgages and Release Mortgages," Butte County Recorder-Clerk, (Butte County, 1918), 10.

⁶⁵ "\$20,000 Orchard Of 32 Acres on Oak - Howard and Lee Shaw Take Possession of Place of Albert Gee."

⁶⁶ "Crew Breaks Record of Threshing Richvale Rice," *Oroville Daily Mercury*, November 3, 1915.

The Chico Historian

the sacks, and two to sew and pile the sacks.⁶⁷ The same year that Lee Shaw and his rice threshing crew broke the record, he also signed up to be part of a different, more dangerous crew – the U.S. Army. Although he did not immediately join the military, in 1915, Shaw registered his name in Butte County as eligible for armed service.⁶⁸

On April 2, 1917, President Woodrow Wilson had requested a declaration of war against Germany from Congress. On April 4, 1917, the U.S. Senate supported the measure and on April 6, the House concurred. Only 100,000 men initially volunteered to serve in the Army. As a direct result of limited manpower, Wilson signed the Selective Service Act into law on May 18, 1917.⁶⁹ On February 19, 1918, the county called upon Lee Shaw to join the ranks of approximately ten million men who were drafted into service.⁷⁰ Shaw departed from Chico, for Camp Lewis in Tacoma, Washington, on April 30, 1918. When he arrived on the shore of American Lake at the western training ground, he began his life as a private in World War I, unknowing that he would never see his family again.

“Out of the Frying Pan and Into the Fire”

Daily life at Camp Lewis proved a rude awakening for draftees unused to the regimented order of a military training camp. However, the men adapted as the Allied forces desperately called for reinforcements. By the time U.S. forces traveled overseas, the Allies – Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Romania, Serbia, and Belgium – had lost one of the integral countries in the alliance: Russia. Without Russia, the Allied force not only lost manpower, but no longer held the advantage of forcing Germany, along with the other Central powers – Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria – to fight a two front war in Europe. The war previously constituted a Western Front in France, consisting of five hundred miles of trenches, an Eastern Front in Russia, and an Italian front, compounded with fighting in the Middle East, Africa, and the Pacific. As Russia withdrew, the German army shifted focus to the Western front. Low morale permeated Allied troops who had endured three years of

⁶⁷ Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, *Rice: Preparation, Cultivation, Flooding, Harvesting, and Noxious Weeds in Rice Fields* (State Board of Agriculture and Immigration, 1900).

⁶⁸ “Military Rolls, Part 2,” Butte County Recorder-Clerk, (Butte County, 1915).

⁶⁹ “U.S. Congress Passes Selective Service Act - May 18, 1917,” *HISTORY.com*, accessed November 30, 2016, <http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/u-s-congress-passes-selective-service-act>.

⁷⁰ *Oroville Daily Mercury*, February 20, 1918. The section of the *Oroville Daily Mercury* that this citation comes from was severely damaged and overexposed. The page was basically white, and the title of the article was impossible to make out, but the part of the article that listed Lee Shaw as a draftee was legible enough to decipher.

From Agriculture to Ammunition

deafening explosions, maimed and disfigured soldiers, and noxious mustard gas.⁷¹

While the elites in the U.S. government remained cohesive over war involvement in 1917, the American population was less convinced. In fact, Woodrow Wilson's campaign slogan for re-election in 1916 explicitly stated, "He kept us out of the war."⁷² Many members in Wilson's cabinet influenced the President's involvement in the war, taking a staunch pro-ally attitude during the years of neutrality. As Wilson pushed for loan and credit relationships with the Allied powers, the U.S. population became increasingly disgruntled with the support that the federal government provided to the war effort due to the economic effects it had at home.⁷³ However, as German U-boats increasingly violated neutrality agreements with the United States, the general public increasingly backed the war effort. On May 7, 1915, German forces torpedoed the *RMS Lusitania*, killing more than 1,100 passengers and crew members, including 120 American travelers.⁷⁴ The Zimmerman telegram further infuriated American citizens in January 1917. In an attempt to eliminate the threat of U.S. intervention in Europe, Arthur Zimmerman, German Secretary of State, sent a telegram to the Mexican government, calling for their alliance with Germany, which included war with the United States, financial backing from the German government, and increased U-Boat destruction. Upon their victory, Germany would help Mexico regain the territory lost to the U.S. in the 1840s.⁷⁵ With U.S. knowledge of the telegram, citizens more wholly backed U.S. intervention in the war. From a global perspective, 1917 developed into one of the lowest points in the war for Allied forces, yet the introduction of U.S. forces raised morale and, from an America perspective, turned the tide that ultimately led to the Allied victory in November 1918.

This was the war atmosphere that the men of the 91st Division entrained for at Camp Lewis. Lee Shaw was not among the first trainees at Tacoma, Washington. In fact, the first formations on the training ground began on September 5, 1917. The U.S. military land force contained three components during World War I: the Regular Army, the National Guard, and the National Army. As one of eighteen Divisions within the National Army, the 91st Division contained four infantry

⁷¹ Michael Magliari, "Lecture: WWI 'Basic Training,'" September 1, 2016.

⁷² Amanda M. Mancini, "Neutral in Spirit?: An Analysis of Woodrow Wilson's Policies and the United States' Involvement In WWI," *International Social Science Review* 72, no. 3/4 (June 1997): 136.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ "Lusitania - World War I," *HISTORY.com*, accessed November 30, 2016, <http://www.history.com/topics/world-war-i/lusitania>.

⁷⁵ Donald A. Watt PhD, "Analysis: The Zimmerman Telegram," *Salem Press Encyclopedia*, 2016.

The Chico Historian

regiments, three regiments of field artillery, trains for the division, two companies of military police, three machine gun battalions, an engineer regiment and a signal corps battalion, medical department and ambulance units. The 91st quickly earned the nickname of the “Wild West Division,” as the majority of men serving hailed from Western states. Of the two infantry brigades, Brigadier General Henry B. Styer commanded the 181st, which contained the 361st and 362nd infantry regiments and the 347th machine gun battalion. Although “the spirit of Montana dominated in the 362nd,” Lee Shaw, a Chico orchardist born in Iowa, joined their ranks.⁷⁶

On June 5, 1917, Lee Shaw’s draft Registration Card detailed him as a single, twenty-three year old Caucasian male, of medium height and build with dark blue eyes and light brown hair.⁷⁷ Among the approximately 1,500 to 4,000 soldiers (the typical size of a regiment), Shaw joined Company B, which consisted of approximately 100 to 200 men.⁷⁸ Lost to the annals of time, or located in a dusty attic of a distant relative, is any direct evidence of Lee Shaw’s personal experience in the war, which remains a mystery. Fortunately, the regiment and division that Lee belonged to recognized the importance of historical preservation, and published books on the war experience of the respective appeared parties within a few years after the war. Using these invaluable sources, Lee Shaw’s general experience in the war may be re-constructed.

Lee Shaw departed from Chico on Monday, April 30, 1918, at 2:05 pm for Camp Lewis with thirty fellow Butte residents.⁷⁹ The first trainees who had arrived in Washington in September 1917, met the Butte boys with unrelenting taunts and jeers. Many men in the 362nd Infantry, being away from home for the first time ever, succumbed to homesickness, as the strangeness of the camp and the reality of war began to sink in. The triumphant band songs and patriotic speeches present at the respective send-offs, now seemed a distant memory.⁸⁰

Just as they adapted to a new life, the men experienced another shift in environment. On June 23, 1918, the 362nd Infantry began the long

⁷⁶ *Order of Battle of the United States Land Forces in the World War.* (Washington, 1931), <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015060469494>.

⁷⁷ “Draft Registration Card” (U.S. Military, June 5, 1917).

⁷⁸ “How Many Troops Make Up A Brigade, Battalion, Company, Etc.?” *Tribunedigital-Orlandosentinel*, accessed November 30, 2016, http://articles.orlandosentinel.com/2003-03-29/news/0303290257_1_support-troops-battalion-divisions.

⁷⁹ “Our Liberty Boys Given Send-Off: Farewell Is Said to Selects of Butte County,” *The Gridley Herald*, May 4, 1918.

⁸⁰ T. Ben Meldrum, *A History of the 362nd Infantry*, (Ogden & Salt Lake: The 362nd Infantry Association Publishing Committee, 1920), <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b4009220>.

From Agriculture to Ammunition

journey to Europe. Traveling on the Milwaukee Railroad line to Chicago, the New York Central line to Buffalo, and the Lehigh Valley line to New York, civilians greeted the troops as they cheered the soldiers on their expedition. In Miles City, Aberdeen, Milwaukee, and Erie, they received sandwiches, hot drinks, and roaring welcomes from the inhabitants of each location. By July 1, the men of the 362nd waited anxiously at Camp Merritt on the bank of the Hudson River.⁸¹ At this point, Shaw found himself coalesced with a different type of family, but one that he remained loyal to nonetheless.

The voyage across the Atlantic proved more daunting. On July 5, the soldiers received their final physicals and departed on two ocean liners bound for Europe. Escorted by airplanes, dirigibles, cruisers, and torpedo-boat destroyers, the convoy scanned the sea for enemy war vessels, including perilous U-Boats. The journey took twelve days to complete as the liners zigzagged across the ocean in an effort to create confusion.⁸² The overcrowded *Empress of Russia* housed the 362nd Infantry, where the troops continued to be drilled in lifeboat emergencies. Food became scarce and proved inadequate, and soldiers spent their days cleaning the ship, dealing with seasickness, and watching the water for submarines. On July 17, 1918, the liners docked on the shores of Liverpool around noon, met by cheering crowds on the beaches of New Brighton.⁸³ The remainder of the Division arrived in Glasgow and received a similarly warm reception. Yet despite the cheering crowds, the dewy eyed conscripts got their first glimpse of the real effects of war here. Tragedy struck for both American and British morale upon arrival. The *San Diego*, an American convoy ship that had assisted the liners in their voyage to Europe, sank upon its return to the U.S. on the outskirts of New York, exploding from a mine or torpedo.⁸⁴ Similarly, the passengers of a recently sunken ship outside of Liverpool, who had hoped to make safe passage to America, sat disheveled and devastated on the docks. Hit by a German submarine the day before, many lost their lives to the violence.⁸⁵

While in Liverpool, the 362nd Infantry stayed at Knotty Rest Camp, a makeshift ground where they received only a couple of light blankets and a thin sleeping mat. Tent flaps billowed in the wind and the British cold infiltrated the Americans as children begged mercilessly for food or provisions after the years of war had depleted supplies in the

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² 91st Division Publication Committee San Mateo, Calif., *The Story of the 91st Division* (San Francisco: H.S. Crocker Co., 1919).

⁸³ Meldrum, *A History of the 362nd Infantry*.

⁸⁴ 91st Division Publication Committee San Mateo, Calif., *The Story of the 91st Division*, 5.

⁸⁵ Meldrum, *A History of the 362nd Infantry*.

The Chico Historian

United Kingdom. After two nights at Knotty Rest, the army boarded a train to Southampton where another rest camp housed them for one night. The next day the soldiers crowded the docks as they waited for boats to take them “somewhere in France.”⁸⁶ As the sun set, the convoy slipped into the English Channel. “It was a dark night, unusually cold, and the men grouped on the crowded deck for there were no sleeping quarters. The many partly destroyed ships, lying along the channel banks, only added to speculations which somewhat lessened the uncomfortableness and cold. It was with bleary eyes and heaving stomachs that the men looked out on rainy France the next morning, and disembarked amid strange scenes.”⁸⁷

As the sun rose on the 91st Division in La Havre, France, the troops enjoyed a happy turn of circumstances. Greeted on July 23 by pleasant weather and good food, the men spent the next two days recuperating from the long journey.⁸⁸ The mayor of La Havre additionally greeted the 362nd Infantry, accompanied by a little girl who bestowed flowers on the group. The innocent gesture was complemented later that night by the roars of far off machine gun fire, a reminder of what truly lay at stake. After a much needed rest, the soldiers resumed their journey to the front on the famous “Hommes 40 – Chevaux 8” (Men 40 – Horses 8) Trains. At 3:00 pm on July 25, the boys piled into the cars, in groups of forty, alternately lying down and peering out of the car doors when possible.⁸⁹

Tragedy struck the 362nd Infantry on this trip, when a heavy train crashed into them around midnight while stationed at a rest stop near the village of Bonnières. The errant locomotive, later reported to have been traveling at nearly sixty miles per hour upon impact, collided into the back seven cars of the troop train. Human carnage littered the surrounding wreckage, as blood, flesh, and bone protruded from the ground. When they heard the crash, the villagers came out in droves, bringing doctors and nurses from the local Red Cross with them to try and help those who appeared to still be alive. The unharmed members of the 362nd carefully removed the wounded, placing them on the side of the road as the local priest administered last rites to the dying. Thirty-two soldiers died on the scene or after the crash from injuries. An additional sixty-three were severely maimed. According to the unit’s history, “one poor fellow, with a leg gone and badly crushed, managed to whisper to his comrades round about him as he lay writhing in his death struggles,

⁸⁶ Ibid, 11.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ 91st Division Publication Committee San Mateo, Calif., *The Story of the 91st Division*.

⁸⁹ Meldrum, *A History of the 362nd Infantry*.

From Agriculture to Ammunition

‘Give them hell for me, boys!’ and passed away.”⁹⁰ The individuals who lay wasted from the incident never saw battle. Three officers and twenty-one men stayed behind to deliver a proper military funeral for the men who died. Buried in a nearby cemetery, the French furnished the coffins and flowers for the occasion, and 5,000 people came to pay their respects. While it is unclear if Shaw knew any of the dead, he experienced his first wartime loss in the tragedy.

In the wake of the grief and carnage, the 362nd Infantry continued its expedition. The troops trained for an additional six weeks at Montigny Le Roi in Haute Marne. General John J. Pershing organized the supplementary training in France in an effort to ensure his troops were adequately prepared for battle. Initially, the first batches of U.S. conscripts acted as they appeared – as civilians in uniform. After experiencing embarrassment for the first ill-trained troops that entered France, Pershing resolutely worked with the War Department to establish a more comprehensive training system. Pershing instructed the first four American divisions in France, while the remainder were drilled in open warfare at home, and in trench warfare in France. The training in Europe focused on cohesion and comradery, and was comprised of three parts: the first emphasized the importance of instructions from the battalion down, the second focused on numbing the boys to fire of any sort, and the third cemented the division as a comprehensive unit.⁹¹ “Incessant drilling, long marches and frequent exercises were the schedule for the entire Division.”⁹² After the sixth corps approved their readiness, the 91st Division embarked for the front. A few days after the Division got the order to move, Lee Shaw celebrated his twenty-fifth birthday on September 2, 1918.

The Division’s field clerk instructed the 362nd Infantry to march to Chauffort, and upon arrival, the men learned that the clerk made a mistake, as they were meant to have marched to Chalindrey. After a night’s rest, the Infantry made the twenty-eight kilometer march to Chalindrey on September 9. The extraneous adventure began as a pleasant, late summer day, but turned dismally bleak after rain began to pour four kilometers into the march. The raincoats supplied to the troops proved insufficient, barely large enough for a twelve-year-old child. Upon arrival at Chalindrey, they joined the 361st regiment on September

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 13.

⁹¹ James W. Rainey, “The Questionable Training of the AEF in World War I,” *Parameters*, Winter -93 1992, 89–103.

⁹² 91st Division Publication Committee San Mateo, Calif., *The Story of the 91st Division*, 7.

The Chico Historian

11, and boarded a train decorated with the machine gun battalion, set to shoot down any German aircraft.⁹³

Upon arrival at Houdlincourt, the 362nd moved around the area for seemingly no reason. After marching through the woods and arriving on the slopes of Lanueville, the Infantry learned that they had been stationed along the St. Mihiel salient, where they first encountered the war. The St. Mihiel battle marked the U.S. Army's first offensive as an independent force in the war in an effort to break the German line. The battle began on September 12 with an artillery barrage as the soldiers crept in the woods.⁹⁴ After three days of fighting, the U.S. forces drove back German troops, gaining 150 square miles of territory, 30,000 prisoners, and victory at St. Mihiel.⁹⁵ However, they did not break the line. While this attack exposed the 362nd to the war, it did not constitute their first direct involvement as they were placed in reserve during the battle.⁹⁶ After the conflict ended, American troops turned their focus to the Meuse-Argonne offensive.

The 362nd then commenced a marching tour, passing through Remembercourt on September 13, Jubrecourt by nightfall on September 16, and then into Parois, settling on the edge of the Parois woods. On September 19, the Germans commenced a heavy shelling of the woods as the soldiers tried to enjoy their breakfast. However, the men were not their target, which was instead the ammunition dump that lay behind them. The Infantry resumed its march to Rendezvous-de-Chasse, where the American headquarters were established. Troops adapted to the harsh conditions of the war-torn country, including sleeping arrangements of pup tents in knee deep mud. "In a few days men became very indifferent to anything German. As company D lined up for mess a German plane flew overhead and dropped bombs. Not a man moved out of line. Rather die than lose his place in the mess line."⁹⁷ Similarly, men initially feared the threat of noxious mustard gas, which severely maimed soldiers when inhaled without the proper protective masks. Men of the 362nd shouted "Gas! Gas!" when they heard another comrade yell out the warning, but by the third night they began to tire of this, and only yelled out when they began to smell the pungent fragrance.⁹⁸

On the eve of their first direct involvement in the war, the 362nd Infantry felt prepared in training, but poorly equipped in weaponry.

⁹³ Meldrum, *A History of the 362nd Infantry*.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ 91st Division Publication Committee San Mateo, Calif., *The Story of the 91st Division*.

⁹⁶ Meldrum, *A History of the 362nd Infantry*, 19.

⁹⁷ Meldrum, *A History of the 362nd Infantry*, 21-22. Grammatical errors occurred in the source.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

From Agriculture to Ammunition

While they had plenty of rifles, ammunition, machine guns, and bayonets, they were insufficient in the newest military technology, including grenades, telephones, rolling kitchens, compasses, trucks, ambulances, and more. According to the official unit history, the soldiers still maintained high spirits. This most probably did not describe the real emotions of the troops, but it does suggest an atmosphere of comradery and kith bonds, something that may have given Lee Shaw a degree of comfort as he plunged into the fire of war.

September 26, 1918 was scheduled for the “D” (Day of attack), with 5:30 am as the “H” (Hour). General Pershing marched personally to the front to ensure that all men received adequate preparation and training for battle. The Meuse-Argonne offensive not only marked Shaw’s first true fighting experience in the war, but also constituted the first serious threat to a German line in the war. This pivotal offensive marked an important moment for U.S. forces. “Never during the war had an essential German line been so seriously threatened; and its threatened severance was the controlling cause of the retirement and request for an armistice.”⁹⁹ Whether this statement was true or not shall be left for World War I historians to debate, but it nevertheless transformed the Allied position in the war, and reckoned the beginning of the path to victory.

Located in a hilly and broken landscape, the U.S. front extended over eighteen miles, beginning at the Argonne Forest in the west and spanning to the Meuse River in the east. The area had been fought over ever since the war began in 1914, and was home to some of the conflict’s most vicious fighting. Dominated by thick forests and speckled with open valleys and rolling uplands, it demanded the soldier’s endurance and strength. The woods provided protection for both the Allied and German sides, yet this also disadvantaged both combatants as it handicapped their observations of the other’s position.¹⁰⁰

On the eve of battle, the men of the American Expeditionary Forces wrote letters to home and made agreements with each other should they die in the attack. The offensive’s primary objective was to penetrate a German line for the first time in four years by going “over the top” into no-mans-land and taking the German trenches.¹⁰¹ With the 37th Division positioned to the right of the 91st, and the 35th to the left, companies moved into the front trenches during the hours leading up to midnight. “The air roared, the ground shook, the trees were swaying. Those shells whistled, sang, bellowed, screeched and, reaching their

⁹⁹ 91st Division Publication Committee San Mateo, Calif., *The Story of the 91st Division*, 10.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Meldrum, *A History of the 362nd Infantry*, 25.

The Chico Historian

target, exploded with heavy muffled bursts as they hit German trenches and dugouts.”¹⁰² Anticipation laced the air as the men prepared for what seemed to be an impossible task.

“The hours slowly passed, for at such waitings time has leaden [sic] feet.”¹⁰³ At 5:30 am the men of the 362nd Infantry fixed their bayonets and at 5:55 the order was given to advance. Lieutenants and sergeants led the charge up the steep slope as wire cutters worked before them to clear the path. No Germans attacked when the U.S. forces crossed no-mans-land, and upon arrival, the German trenches showed signs of a hurried retreat. After an hour-and-a-half of slow advance through the woods, the first German forces attacked the group. Lee Gautsche of Company I was the first man from the Infantry to die in battle. As the army advanced through the Chehemin woods, they reached Epinonville by late afternoon. Unable to find adequate cover, soldiers spent the night in the open, often using old shell holes as cover. During the night, German forces took Epinonville back. As U.S. forces worked to regain the territory, confusion occurred in communication lines and American shells began to tragically hit AEF forces. After many casualties, the U.S. took Epinonville once again. As the battle raged on, the German forces began to realize the significance of losing the Argonne Offensive, and began to fight with more fervor.

The 362nd regiment received orders to go through the woods and up the slope to Gesnes the following day at 7:00 am. “It was upon that day – September 29, 1918 – that the Kriemhilde Line, the German third line of defense in the Argonne, was broken for the first time by an American regiment – the 362nd.”¹⁰⁴ Lee Shaw and his comrades cleared the Bois de Cierges and approached the La Grange Aux Bois farm. There was no cover between their position and Gesnes. Frustration most likely resonated throughout the Infantry, as their mission almost guaranteed massive casualties, yet, “Colonel Parker, regimental commander, received the astounding order that the advance must be continued at all costs.”¹⁰⁵ At 3:45 pm the 362nd attacked the German troops and forced them to retreat without taking their wounded.¹⁰⁶

By 5:30 pm, the 362nd captured Gesnes and the U.S. Army reached its objective.¹⁰⁷ At least five hundred men from the Infantry died that day.¹⁰⁸ In the evening, the troops were called back to the original line

¹⁰² Ibid, 26.

¹⁰³ Ibid, 27.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 35.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 35.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ 91st Division Publication Committee San Mateo, Calif., *The Story of the*

91st Division.

From Agriculture to Ammunition

they held that morning to prepare for a counterattack. “No one can describe the feelings of the men when they received the order and realized what it meant: that the ground which they had taken at such terrible cost was to be given up and that the blood of their comrades had been shed in vain. Each man felt bitterly that he had participated in a veritable ‘charge of the Light Brigade’ – heroic, perhaps, but futile.”¹⁰⁹ It was later discovered that the commander who ordered the attack intended to withdraw it, but was too late. As the remainder of the Infantry receded to their previous line, men gathered their wounded compatriots.

As reported by his comrades, Lee Shaw died at 4:45 pm during the assault on Gesnes.¹¹⁰ Captain Andy Peters witnessed Shaw’s death and claimed he was killed instantly by machine gun fire, stating that “he was hit in the left temple after the company had advanced about 100 yds.”¹¹¹ In a letter to Orrin Shaw, Lieutenant Fred W. Hagan described Lee as a good soldier who was well-liked by his fellow comrades. This further attested to Shaw’s character. In his life as a family farmer, he learned values of friendship and discipline that he transposed into his days as a soldier.

Lee Returns Home

On November 21, 1918, nearly two months after Lee Shaw died, Mr. and Mrs. Shaw received official notification of their son’s passing.¹¹² After two of Lee’s comrades wrote to the Shaw family in November that they had seen Lee earlier in the month, Orrin hoped that there had been a mistake and reached out to the Adjutant General, asking him to confirm Lee’s death, “by cable if necessary.”¹¹³ On December 15, 1918, Lieutenant Fred W. Hagen, chaplain of the 362nd Infantry wrote a letter to Orrin, confirming the news. Hagen also mentioned that he did not know the location of Lee’s burial, but directed Orrin to Chaplain Calvin Smith, who was in charge of burial parties and might know the answer to his son’s location.¹¹⁴

During the correspondence, Lee Shaw’s body rested under a hill south of Gesnes, where he was buried on October 15, 1918.¹¹⁵ As one of the 116,516 American citizens who died overseas, Lee Shaw was not the

¹⁰⁹ Meldrum, *A History of the 362nd Infantry*, 36.

¹¹⁰ “Lee Shaw Killed by Hun Machine Gun Bullet,” *Chico Record*, January 9, 1919.

¹¹¹ Meldrum, *A History of the 362nd Infantry*, 67.

¹¹² “Lee Shaw Meets Death in France on September 29,” *Chico Enterprise*, November 22, 1918.

¹¹³ “Hope That Lee Shaw Is Alive Is Held by Father,” *Chico Record*, December 18, 1918.

¹¹⁴ “Lee Shaw Killed by Hun Machine Gun Bullet.”

¹¹⁵ Meldrum, *A History of the 362nd Infantry* ...

The Chico Historian

only one who would be exhumed and brought back to the United States to be reburied in his country. If families desired that their soldiers' bodies be returned, the U.S. government agreed to pay to ship them home, but their kin had to fund the interment if it was a private, local burial.¹¹⁶ In September 1921, Frank J. Sylvia personally returned Shaw's body home to be buried in the Chico cemetery.¹¹⁷

While the Shaw family waited for their son's remains, representatives of the French government traveled to Chico to honor the city's war heroes. On March 8, 1920, the Chico Normal School provided the venue for the international event. The Normal Choir sang the National Anthem to begin the affair, followed by opening remarks from Major W.H. White, post commander of the Chico branch of the American Legion. After the performance of various songs and addresses, Major White read out each name listed on the honor roll, and presented each dead hero's next of kin with the appropriate war scroll. The Normal choir sang a recessional, followed by a benediction by Father J. B. Dermody. The American Legion band then played an exiting march that ended the ceremony.¹¹⁸ Shaw was thus honored as an American patriot by the U.S. government, the French, and his surrounding community.

On September 25, 1921, Lee Shaw's funeral occurred at the Chico Methodist Episcopal Church on Fourth Street and at the Chico cemetery. Several hundred people attended the funeral to honor one of the city's war hero's, and a grand procession walked from the church through downtown and to the gravesite. The city of Chico, represented by the mayor, officially extended its gratitude and sympathy to the Shaws. The American Legion attended the service, and post Chaplain Dr. E. O. Osborn officiated the occasion. At the cemetery, an American flag was draped over his coffin, and Mrs. Shaw accepted the colors from Commander Turner. A firing squad, including Clifton Boysol, La Verne Hook, Charles Martin, Dorsey Miller, Albertus Vadney, Russel Vaughan, William Vaughan, and Herbert Walker, fired a salute of three volleys to end the funeral.¹¹⁹ Two days later, the Shaw family issued a "Card of Thanks" in the Chico Record, recognizing and appreciating the American Legion, the minister, and all other contributors and participators in Lee

¹¹⁶ "American Battle Monuments Commission - Honoring U.S. War Dead," *HistoryNet*, August 6, 2014, <http://www.historynet.com/american-battle-monuments-commission-honoring-u-s-war-dead.htm>.

¹¹⁷ "Bodies of Chico Heroes Brought Back for Burial," *Chico Record*, September 23, 1921.

¹¹⁸ "Honor Heroes of World's Battles," *Oroville Daily Mercury*, March 9, 1920.

¹¹⁹ "Throngs Attend Funeral Services for Chico Soldier," *Chico Record*, September 27, 1921.

From Agriculture to Ammunition

Shaw's funeral.¹²⁰ Today Shaw's grave remains in the Chico cemetery, surrounded by his family, and marked with a sign from the American Legion.

When a group of twenty American officers discussed different avenues in which they could raise veteran's morale, Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., proposed an organization of veterans.¹²¹ In 1919 Congress chartered the American Legion, initially comprised of ex-soldiers from WWI, which evolved into a powerful non-profit organization that sought to serve veterans, service members, and communities.¹²² In Butte County, the Chico branch of the Legion sought to commemorate and honor the veterans who served and died in the war in numerous ways. In addition to serving in the French commemoration ceremony, they further published an article in the *Chico Record* on May 29, 1923, that asked the community to bring forward any additional names of WWI veterans that the organization did not know about yet, in an effort to place flowers and American flags on all graves in the Chico cemetery.¹²³ Lee Shaw was among the men who received such honors. Fifteen years later, on November 11, 1938, the twentieth anniversary of Armistice Day, the American Legion commissioned a plaque, located in the Ringel Park near West First Street and Broadway Street in Chico, California, which listed all the names of veterans who lived and died during the war, including that of Shaw.¹²⁴

As Orrin and Abbie Shaw grieved their son's death, they ensured that his hard work as a farmer before his departure to Europe would not go to waste. In March, 1919, the Shaw parents began the process to legally acquire Lot twenty-two.¹²⁵ On October 6, 1919, a decree of distribution was finally issued by the County, formally recognizing Orrin and Abbie Shaw as the new landholders.¹²⁶ Regarding Lee and Howard's shared property, in February 1918, Lee deeded his land claim so that the plot was only in Howard's name.¹²⁷ Thus the family's dream of a collective network of farms remained intact although the family now missed one of their own.

¹²⁰ Orrin A. Shaw, "Card of Thanks," *Chico Record*, September 27, 1921.

¹²¹ "History - American Legion Auxiliary," accessed December 1, 2016, <https://www.alaforveterans.org/About/History/>.

¹²² "History - The American Legion," accessed November 23, 2016, <https://www.legion.org/history>.

¹²³ "Seek List of War Veterans Buried Here: American Legion Compiling Record of Names of Honored Dead," *The Chico Record*, May 29, 1923.

¹²⁴ *Plaque at Ringel Park*, unveiled on November 11, 1938.

¹²⁵ "Court Notices," *Chico Record*, March 12, 1919.

¹²⁶ "Decree of Distribution" (The Superior Court of Butte County, October 6, 1918).

¹²⁷ W.T. Baldwin, "The Daily Abstract Report," *Oroville Daily Mercury*, February 14, 1918.

The Chico Historian

Conclusion

Lee Shaw's life centered on familial and agrarian values. Beginning with his ancestral history, the Shaw family began owning land in Iowa during the nineteenth century. When his immediate family moved to Chico, the Shaws similarly set to establish a network of family farms. Their familial principles led them to participate in community events with each other, which established them as an agrarian family in the community. Lee Shaw's service during WWI embodied his beliefs, as he worked diligently and socialized with his comrades. This reflected his hard-working norms and relational values. While his death marked a tragedy for his family, both they and the community honored his life accomplishments, and valued the sacrifices he made for the country. Lee Shaw lived and worked with his family, but died with his fellow soldiers overseas. The Shaws' values are preserved in the Chico cemetery. Most of the family members are buried next to each other, signifying their cultural values and desire to be together in the afterlife. Before, during, and after his death, Lee Shaw surrounded himself in the agrarian lifestyle with his kin.

From Agriculture to Ammunition

Bibliography

Primary

- “\$20,000 Orchard Of 32 Acres on Oak - Howard and Lee Shaw Take Possession of Place of Albert Gee.” *Chico Record*. January 28, 1914.
- “7th Subdivision of John Bidwell Rancho.” Chico, California: M.S. Crocker Co., n.d.
- 91st Division Publication Committee San Mateo, Calif. *The Story of the 91st Division*. San Francisco: H.S. Crocker Co., 1919.
- “1900 U.S. Federal Census.” U.S. Government, 1900.
- “Accidentally Shot in Heel.” *The Gridley Herald*. February 6, 1915.
- Baldwin, W.T. “The Daily Abstract Report.” *Oroville Daily Mercury*. February 14, 1918.
- “Birthday Party.” *Chico Record*. December 7, 1913.
- “Bodies of Chico Heroes Brought Back for Burial.” *Chico Record*. September 23, 1921.
- “California State Normal School Chico (1908).” Chico State Normal School, 1908.
- Course of Study for the Model and Training School of the State Normal School at Chico*. Sacramento: A.J. Johnston, 1892.
- “Court Notices.” *Chico Record*. March 12, 1919.
- “Crew Breaks Record of Threshing Richvale Rice.” *Oroville Daily Mercury*. November 3, 1915.
- “Decree of Distribution.” The Superior Court of Butte County, October 6, 1918.
- “Deed Book 81 Page 358.” Butte County Hall of Records, n.d.
- “Deed Book 81 Page 360.” Butte County Hall of Records, n.d.
- “Deed Book 100 Page 413-414.” Butte County Hall of Records, n.d.
- “Deed Book 100 Page 415-416.” Butte County Hall of Records, n.d.
- “Exciting Time Had by Hunters of Chico: E.V. Moore Has Narrow Escape from Death in Coast Range.” *Oroville Daily Register*. August 2, 1910.
- “Honor Heroes of World’s Battles.” *Oroville Daily Mercury*. March 9, 1920.
- “Hope That Lee Shaw Is Alive Is Held by Father.” *Chico Record*. December 18, 1918.
- “Howard Homer Shaw’s Grave and Interment Card.” Chico Cemetery: Section 17, Lot 82, Grave I, December 29, 1962.
- “Lee Shaw Killed by Hun Machine Gun Bullet.” *Chico Record*. January 9, 1919.

The Chico Historian

- “Lee Shaw Meets Death in France on September 29.” *Chico Enterprise*. November 22, 1918.
- “Mather-Shaw.” *Chico Record*. July 4, 1913.
- “Methodists Enjoyed Picnic in Iron Canyon.” *Chico Record*. June 14, 1908.
- “Military Rolls, Part 2.” Butte County Hall of Records, 1915.
- “Mortgages and Release Mortgages.” Butte County Hall of Records, January 26, 1918.
- “Normal Team Begins Practice.” *Oroville Daily Register*. January 31, 1912.
- “Our Liberty Boys Given Send-Off: Farewell Is Said to Selects of Butte Count.” *The Gridley Herald*. May 4, 1918.
- “Patent Details - BLM GLO Records for Samuel Shaw from the Bureau of Land Management.” Accessed November 10, 2016.
http://www.glorerecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default.aspx?accession=IA0670__463&docClass=STA&sid=u2mazobu.utk#patentDetailsTabIndex=0.
- “Patent Details for Warren Shaw Land Grant from the Bureau of Land Management.” Accessed November 10, 2016.
http://www.glorerecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default.aspx?accession=IA0590__192&docClass=STA&sid=u2mazobu.utk#patentDetailsTabIndex=0.
- “Personal Mention.” *Chico Record*. October 19, 1916.
- Plaque at Ringel Park*. November 11, 1938.
- “Property Records - Mortgages Vol. 70.” Butte County Hall of Records, 1914.
- “Property Records - Deeds Vol. 127.” Butte County Hall of Records, 1911.
- “Register of Electors.” Butte County, 1914.
- “Register of Electors- Butte County,” 1914.
- “Registration Card.” U.S. Military, June 5, 1917.
- “Republicans to Rally for Booth Here Tomorrow.” *Chico Record*. August 6, 1916.
- “Seek List of War Veterans Buried Here: American Legion Compiling Record of Names of Honored Dead.” *The Chico Record*. May 29, 1923.
Shaw, Orrin A. “Card of Thanks.” *Chico Record*. September 27, 1921.
- “Shot in Foot From Gun of Companion.” *Oroville Daily Mercury*. January 18, 1915.
- “Thongs Attend Funeral Services for Chico Soldier.” *Chico Record*. September 27, 1921.
- “Training School Pupils in May Day Festival.” *Chico Record*. May 3, 1910.

From Agriculture to Ammunition

"-Unknown- Title Smudged out in Digital Reel." *Oroville Daily Mercury*. February 20, 1918.

Watson, E.B. "Soil Map, Chico Area, California Soils Surveyed by E.B. Watson, in Charge, and T.W. Glassey, U.S. Department of Agriculture, R. Earle Storie and Stanley W. Cosby, University of California." Bureau of Chemistry and Soils, 1925.

Secondary

"American Battle Monuments Commission - Honoring U.S. War Dead." *HistoryNet*, August 6, 2014. <http://www.historynet.com/american-battle-monuments-commission-honoring-u-s-war-dead.htm>.

Atlas of Story County, Iowa. Story City, Iowa: Huebinger Survey and Map Publishing Co., 1902.

Badertscher, Eric. "Iowa." *Salem Press Encyclopedia*, 2013.

Beach, Frank L. "The Effects of the Westward Movement on California's Growth and Development, 1900-1920." *The International Migration Review* 3, no. 3 (1969): 20-35. doi:10.2307/3002587.

California: A History. 8th ed. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2015.

"California Women Suffrage Centennial | California Secretary of State." Accessed December 7, 2016. <http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/celebrating-womens-suffrage/california-women-suffrage-centennial/>.

"Familysearch.com," n.d.

Gebeloff, Gregor Aisch Robert, and Kevin Quealy. "Where We Came From and Where We Went, State by State." *The New York Times*, August 14, 2014. <http://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/08/13/upshot/where-people-in-each-state-were-born.html>.

Gordon, Nancy M. "Panic of 1893." *Salem Press Encyclopedia*, 2016.

Gregory, James N. "Internal Migration." *Oxford Encyclopedia of American Social History*. New York: Oxford University Press. Accessed November 29, 2016. https://faculty.washington.edu/gregoryj/internal_migration.htm.

"History | The American Legion." Accessed November 23, 2016. <https://www.legion.org/history>.

"History - American Legion Auxiliary." Accessed December 1, 2016. <https://www.alaforveterans.org/About/History/>.

Holley, Donald, and Lewis L. Gould. "Republican Resurgence Ends America's Progressive Era." *Salem Press Encyclopedia*. Salem Press, January 2015.

Hollingsworth, Charles M. "The So-Called Progressive Movement: Its Real Nature, Causes and Significance." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 43 (1912): 32-48.

The Chico Historian

- “How Many Troops Make Up A Brigade, Battalion, Company, Etc.?” *Tribunedigital-Orlandosentinel*. Accessed November 30, 2016. http://articles.orlandosentinel.com/2003-03-29/news/0303290257_1_support-troops-battalion-divisions.
- “Immigration to the USA: 1900-1920.” *Spartacus Educational*. Accessed November 29, 2016. <http://spartacus-educational.com/USAE1900.htm>.
- “Lusitania - World War I.” *HISTORY.com*. Accessed November 30, 2016. <http://www.history.com/topics/world-war-i/lusitania>.
- Magliari, Michael. “Lecture: WWI ‘Basic Training,’” September 1, 2016.
- Mancini, Amanda M. “Neutral in Sprit?: An Analysis of Woodrow Wilson’s Policies and the United States’ Involvement In...” *International Social Science Review* 72, no. 3/4 (June 1997): 136.
- Mansfield, George C. *History of Butte County California with Biographical Sketches of The Leading Men and Women of the County Who Have Been Identified with Its Growth and Development from the Early Days to the Present*. Los Angeles, California: Historic Record Company, 1918.
- “Mayflower Passenger List.” *MayflowerHistory.com*. Accessed November 10, 2016. <http://mayflowerhistory.com/mayflower-passenger-list/>.
- McGie, Joseph F. *History of Butte County: 1840-1919*. Vol. I. Butte County: Butte County Board of Education, 1982.
- Meith, Clem, and A.D. Rizzi. *Care of the Orchard: Almond Production Parts 1&2*. University of California, n.d.
- Meldrum, T. Ben. *A History of the 362nd Infantry ...* Ogden & Salt Lake: The 362nd Infantry Association Publishing Committee, 1920. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b4009220>.
- “Name Change Is Fourth in CSU’s 85-Year History.” *Chico Enterprise-Record*. September 9, 1972.
- Order of Battle of the United States Land Forces in the World War*. 18 vols. Washington, 1931. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015060469494>.
- Ostler, Jeffery. *Prairie Populism: The Fate of Agrarian Radicalism in Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa, 1880-1892*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993.
- Pastorello, Karen A. *The Progressives: Activism and Reform in American Society, 1893-1917*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2014.
- Rainey, James W. “The Questionable Training of the AEF in World War I.” *Parameters*, Winter -93 1992, 89–103.
- Sage, Leland L. *A History of Iowa*. Ames: The Iowa State University Press, 1974.

From Agriculture to Ammunition

Station, Louisiana Agricultural Experiment. *Rice: Preparation, Cultivation, Flooding, Harvesting, and Noxious Weeds in Rice Fields*. State Board of Agriculture and Immigration, 1900.

“The Public Land Survey System (PLSS).” Accessed November 28, 2016. http://nationalmap.gov/small_scale/a_plss.html#two.

“U.S. Congress Passes Selective Service Act - May 18, 1917.” *HISTORY.com*. Accessed November 30, 2016. <http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/u-s-congress-passes-selective-service-act>.

Vaught, David. *Cultivating California: Growers, Specialty Crops, and Labor, 1875-1920*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1999.

Watt, Donald A. “Analysis: The Zimmerman Telegram.” *Salem Press Encyclopedia*, 2016.

The Chico Historian

Ould and Anchyent Custom



An engraving of Sir John Cheke, whose treatise on the rebellions of 1549 was one of the first contemporary accounts to suggest that they were multi-causal events (Image Source: Willem van de Pass, *Sir John Cheke*, from *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*)

OULD AND ANCHYENT CUSTOM: CULTURAL CHANGE AND THE REBELLIONS OF 1549

| Helen Ryan

Unsuccessful rebellions, indeed, generally establish the encroachments on the rights of the people which have produced them.

– Thomas Jefferson, *Letters of Thomas Jefferson*

Historians most often associate the tumultuous political events in Sixteenth-Century English History with the monarchy. However, the separation from Rome and subsequent religious turmoil, the economic downturn from ill-conceived tax policies and enclosure, and the waning of feudalism and paternalistic values as capitalism began to rise all had direct effects on the lives of England's peasants. This dramatic upheaval created the perfect conditions for discontent and led directly to the rebellions of 1549.

To argue that English peasant life changed dramatically, one must first present a rough idea of what such a life looked like. There are three major areas that can help create such a picture: religious practices, economic practices, and the role that feudalism and paternalism played in English peasant life.

Feudalism, in theory, dominated the social, political, and economic landscape of England for nearly half a millennium by the time Kett led a rebellion in Norfolk. The picture of an agrarian society organized around manors controlled by local lords and churches and worked by serfs bound to the land, with the ideals of paternalism binding everything together, is a common one. In truth, the entire system began deteriorating noticeably no later than the early fourteenth century. This was due in part to the end of the 'Medieval Warm Period,' which had been the cause of so much agricultural success and prosperity across Europe in the past two centuries. The onset of the 'Little Ice Age' ushered in a new period of devastating cold winters, inhospitable summers, and multiple crop failures. The recurrence of the Black Death in the later part of the fourteenth century decimated the population, with mortality rates of up to fifty percent in some areas.¹ The loss of peasants to work the land put the survivors in a position to negotiate wages, and as wages went up the profits of landlords went down. Fearing economic collapse, the government implemented poorly

¹ Ricardo A. Olea and George Christakos, "Duration of Urban Mortality for the 14th-Century Black Death Epidemic," *Human Biology* 77, no. 3 (2005): 291-303. This is an estimate for the city of London, rural mortality rates have been estimated both higher and lower.

planned legislation that made it unlawful for anyone under the age of sixty not to work, and for any of those workers to receive pay higher than pre-Plague levels. While demesne agriculture appears to have recovered fairly quickly, the psychosocial damage done by these events to the peasantry's confidence in feudalism cannot be overstated.² The system had failed to provide multiple generations of peasants with enough to live off of, and the labor laws passed by Parliament in response placed them in an even worse position.

At the same time as confidence in contemporary feudalism waned, the system of paternalism crumbled. Recently there has been much debate over whether it is accurate to brand the peasant rebels of the sixteenth century as conservatives, rather than people who wanted to keep their customs.³ Regardless of the term used, the examination of primary sources from the era, namely, the lists of demands produced by rebel groups, confirms that "their demands did not openly challenge the social structure of deference and obedience – on the contrary, they often insisted that their governors were the ones who had violated the hierarchical links of obligation that permeated society."⁴ These links of obligation are more commonly known as paternalism, a type of behavior that limits the freedom and autonomy of a person, or group of people, for their perceived benefit. Paternalism and feudalism go hand in hand, but, as demesne agriculture became less profitable, landlords resorted to behavior, such as enclosing property, that the peasantry felt violated the bonds of paternalism. The Mousehold Articles, presented by the leaders of Kett's Rebellion, as well as the list of demands produced by the rebels of the Prayer Book Rebellion, indicate a deep dissatisfaction with the perceived failure of the nobility to live up to their promises of paternalism.⁵ Indeed, Duke Somerset, the Protector of the Realm during the rebellions, wrote, "the causes and pretences of these uproars and risings, are divers [sic] and uncertain... [but] all hath conceived a wonderful hate against gentlemen."⁶ Whether the rebels wanted to return to a working form of paternalism is unclear; it likely

² Mavis Mate, "The Economic and Social Roots of Medieval Popular Rebellion: Sussex in 1450-1451," *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 45, no. 4 (1992): 341.

³ K. J. Kesselring, "Deference and Dissent in Tudor England: Reflections on Sixteenth-Century Protest," *History Compass* 3, no.1 (January 2005).

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Anthony Fletcher and Diarmaid McCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, 5th ed. (New Jersey: Pearson Education, 2008), 151-59.

⁶ Gilbert Burnet, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, comp. Nicholas Pocock, vol. 5 (England: Clarendon, 1865), 250.

The Chico Historian

varied from group to group, and the fact that both sets of articles appeal directly to the king, rather than any local authorities, indicates that the rebels did not feel they had any 'links of obligation' towards the nobility and gentry who had neglected their paternalistic duties. The rebels also indicated that an early form of class antagonism was at play, an unsurprising view as England's economic system slowly transitioned to capitalism, while the lords enclosing the common land expected the peasantry to believe that enclosure was for the good of all. By the sixteenth century, the paternalistic bonds between nobility and peasantry had seemingly dissolved. At the same time, England's official religion underwent dramatic change.

The religion of the English peasant, prior to the Reformation, was technically a form of Western Christianity, albeit heavily shaped by the old 'pagan' practices. Organized religion in rural settings tends to shift to accommodate and incorporate traditional practices, and Christianity in England was no exception. The clearest example of this is the seasonal festivals celebrated in rural areas, which were largely "forms of ritual observance."⁷ The Christianization of pagan festivals included the solstices becoming Nativity and the day of St. John the Baptist, as well as the incorporation of foliage (holly and ivy) into Nativity celebrations. The so-called 'cult of saints' was also a part of this, although to a lesser extent. Every parish had saints that acted as patrons, either of the area or of specific occupations, a practice reminiscent of Greco-Roman polytheistic practices. Devon and Cornwall were somewhat unique in that they had saints who had lived in those areas as their patron saints, which the local residents worshipped to such an extent that others often referred to them as a cult. Christianity in rural England was largely centered around these two practices, and had an interesting lack of emphasis on church attendance. The church itself seems to have been viewed as the house of a deity who did not need a congregation, merely a priest. While particularly devout parishioners might attend regularly, the practice of going to Sunday Mass every week was not a widespread one. As Hutton puts it, the religious practices of English peasants centered on "seasonal themes [that] were interwoven at festivals with key messages and passages from the New Testament, to express both to maximum effect. It was an appropriation of traditional ways as much as an adaptation to them."⁸ What the religious practices definitively were not were the approved practices of the organized Church.

⁷ Ronald Hutton, "How Pagan Were Medieval English Peasants?," *Folklore* 122, no.3 (December 2011).

⁸ *Ibid.*

Ould and Anchyent Custom

What exactly the approved practices of Western Christianity were was an issue being seriously contested by theologians at the start of the sixteenth century. Martin Luther published his *Ninety-Five Theses* in 1517, but a yearning for religious reformation had been brewing in England for a long time. The Lollards, or Wycliffites, who followed the teachings of John Wycliffe, posted the 'Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards' in Westminster Hall in 1395.⁹ Their ideas for reformation included a tendency towards iconoclasm, the discarding of confessing to priests as a useful method of absolution, and a stress on the importance of Scripture.¹⁰ These ideas lingered long after the group had largely subsided, and clearly influenced the Puritans and other Protestant sects in the following centuries.

Despite the existence of the Lollards, truly radical reformation does not seem to have been a consideration for many peasants until they were forced to confront it. This largely occurred in the 1530s, when Henry VIII began to enact theological changes in an effort to appeal to the German Lutheran princes, with whom he may have needed an alliance. This included the importation of Lutheran theological ideas, but more notably, the Injunctions of 1536 and 1538.¹¹ Among other things, the Injunctions abolished many feast days, discouraged pilgrimages, and led to icon burnings in multiple villages. This all coincided with the dissolution of the monasteries, an institution that often played an important role in the lives of England's poor. The disruption of the very social fabric of peasant life was beginning to take place, and it would have consequences.

With religious and societal changes came economic changes. An examination of the 1297 tax rolls shows that the assets of rural taxpayers were largely concentrated in livestock (62 percent total, with 34 percent being cattle, and 14 percent being sheep).¹² The tax rolls indicate that wealthier peasants held the vast majority of sheep, and their production and distribution of wool separated them from the poorer peasants, who were engaged in subsistence production. The stratification of peasant society was led by a developing economy, and

⁹ H.S. Cronin, "The Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards," *The English Historical Review* 22, no. 86 (1907).

¹⁰ Newton Key and R. O. Bucholz, *Sources and Debates in English History, 1485-1714* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004), 52-4.

¹¹ Walter Howard Frere and William McClure Kennedy, eds., *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, vol. 2 (London: Longmans, Green, 1910).

¹² Kathleen Biddick, "Missing Links: Taxable Wealth, Markets, and Stratification among Medieval English Peasants," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, no. 2 (1987): 283.

The Chico Historian

old customs “turned into a masquerade through which peasant households staged their struggles to control the means of distribution, a link in the chain of a changing political economy.”¹³

By the sixteenth century, economic changes were the regular cause of rebellions. Michael Bush theorizes that rebellions in 1489, 1497, 1525, 1536, and 1549 were all “reactions against changes in the tax system.”¹⁴ The early Tudor rulers attempted to rework what Bush describes as “an incredibly primitive fiscal system” by introducing taxes on the clergy, closing loopholes the nobles used to avoid paying taxes, and altering the fifteenth and tenth, which had remained unchanged since 1336.¹⁵ England’s tax system only allowed for direct taxation during emergency periods, and even that required parliamentary authority. As Tudor monarchs introduced direct taxation, they faced heavy resistance from subjects who felt that they should only need to pay taxes to fund the defense of the commonwealth, not to support the monarchy.¹⁶

It is important to note that few of these taxes, with the notable exception of the Poll Tax and Census of Sheep in 1549, significantly affected the peasantry. The subsidy of 1534, which led to a rebellion in 1536, raised the threshold of taxation to twenty pounds, which is estimated to have allowed between 5 and 10 percent of the population to go untaxed.¹⁷ Additionally, the subsidy payments were due in semi-annual installments, making the annual costs “at least half the rate of most Tudor subsidies.”¹⁸ In the case of the rebellion of 1536, the primary instigators were nobles unhappy at the tax increases they faced, and peasantry who felt that the introduction of an annual tax on clerical offices without the consent of Parliament, and created in perpetuity, was un-Christian. Bush argues that nobles stirred up popular support among the peasantry by spreading rumors that livestock, marriages, white bread, ploughs, and other items and events central to rural lives would be taxed directly.¹⁹ Although many of the taxes enacted had little effect on the peasantry, it is clear that, by the mid-sixteenth century,

¹³ *Ibid.*, 297.; *Ibid.*, 298.

¹⁴ Michael Bush, “Tax Reform and Rebellion in Early Tudor England,” *History* 76, no. 248 (October 1991): 379.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 381.

¹⁶ Michael Bush, “‘Up for the Commonweal’: The Significance of Tax Grievances in the English Rebellions of 1536,” *The English Historical Review* 106, no. 419 (1991): 300.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* The specific rebellion here is the Pilgrimage of Grace.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 301.; *Ibid.*, 300.

there was a general air of distrust and frustration regarding taxes, especially direct taxation.

The tax on sheep and cloth, approved by parliament in March of 1549, significantly deviated from a pattern of increasing taxation whose burden fell largely on the wealthier members of English society. “A novel tax which was heavy on its own right, and pregnant with sinister implications,” the tax was linked to a subsidy in order to specifically target those whose assets consisted of more sheep and cloth than “goods and chattels.”²⁰ In practice, this meant a heavier tax on the poor, who had been under the threshold for the tax on goods and chattels.²¹ To make matters worse, the tax was set to operate for three successive years. Many suspected that the subsidy, which would allow grazers and cloth-makers who had more valuable goods and chattels than sheep and cloth to go untaxed, would lead to the underselling or over-valuing of wool and cloth because those ineligible for the tax would have an advantage over those who were eligible for it.²² Parliament repealed the tax in November of 1549, “on the grounds that it was difficult to administer and harmful to the poor,” but only after the Prayer Book Rebellion, which will be discussed later in this paper.²³

One of the primary reasons for taxing sheep and cloth in 1549 was, of course, the growing value of wool cloth. Landlords began to find it more profitable to use their land for sheep farming, instead of having it worked by the peasantry. The formal term for this process was ‘enclosure,’ the enclosing of both the previously public commons, and the destruction of peasant towns so more land could be made available to graze sheep. In 1489, Parliament passed the ‘Act Against Pulling Down of Towns,’ in an attempt to address the growing problem. The preamble of the act condemned the “pulling down and willful waste of houses and towns...and laying to pasture lands which customarily have been tilled, whereby idleness ground and beginning of all mischiefs daily do increase,” and criminalized acts of enclosure.²⁴ Unfortunately, Parliament’s attempt to stop enclosure seems to have been ineffective: in 1516, twenty-seven years after Parliament passed the “Act Against Pulling Down of Towns,” Thomas More satirically addressed the enclosure problem, and the harsh punishment for thievery, in his book “Utopia.” In the novel, a fictional narrator named Raphael condemns

²⁰ Bush, “Tax Reform,” 391.

²¹ The sheep and cloth tax had a threshold of only ten pounds, which many of the peasantry met.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*, 392.

²⁴ Key and Bucholz, *Sources and Debates*, 9.

The Chico Historian

the execution of thieves as “too harsh...yet it isn’t an effective deterrent.”²⁵ Raphael points to the noblemen who “live off the labor of others, their tenants whom they bleed white by constantly raising their rents” as one reason why a peasant might be driven to stealing. A reason more specifically relevant to the English, however, was sheep:

‘Your sheep,’ I said, ‘that commonly are so meek and eat so little; now, as I hear, they have become so greedy and fierce that they devour human beings themselves. They devastate and depopulate fields, houses, and towns. For in whatever parts of the land sheep yield the finest and thus the most expensive wool, there the nobility and gentry, yes, and even a good many abbots – holy men – are not content with the old rents that the land yielded to their predecessors....they leave no land free for the plough: they enclose every acre for pasture; they destroy houses and abolish towns, keeping the churches – but only for sheep-barns.’²⁶

Parliament passed another anti-enclosure act in 1516, but it also failed to stop the increasingly common practice. By 1549, English peasants faced homelessness, high taxes, and dramatic change in an economic and tax system that had been a part of their lives for over 300 years. The English peasants of the sixteenth century were losing the land they had worked, the religious ceremonies they had practiced, and even the relationships with the lords they worked for.

As a result of this change, popular rebellion erupted across the country in 1549. In Devon and Cornwall, this took the form of the Prayer Book Rebellion.²⁷ As the name suggests, religion played a large role in the rebellion; Cornwall was a primarily Catholic area, and its residents received the changes of the Reformation very poorly. Tensions were high prior to the rebellion; in 1548 an angry mob had murdered William Body, a government official sent to oversee the burning of all Catholic symbols. Interestingly, one of the ringleaders of the mob called for the return of the religious laws and ordinances that had existed under Henry VIII.²⁸ The government only exacerbated the problem in 1549 when they published the Book of Common Prayer, and quickly followed it with the Act of Uniformity, which banned

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

²⁷ Also known as the Western Rebellion or the Western Rising.

²⁸ Fletcher and McCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, 54-55.

liturgical services in Latin.²⁹ Historically, the rebels have been represented as aggrieved Catholics; a contemporary ballad denounced the “popish masses” whose “hartes ware so toted in the popes lawes.”³⁰ However, the reasons for rebellion included more than religious grievances. As areas of sheep farming, Devon and Cornwall would have been heavily affected by the poll tax on sheep and woolen cloth. Rumors that the tax would be extended to include other livestock only worsened the problem. In a letter to the justices of the peace of Devon a few weeks after the rebels began organizing, Protector Somerset ordered them to “induce [the rebels] to retire to their houses” by “the best means,” which included the suspension of the poll tax.³¹

Evidence suggests that significant social and cultural issues played a role in rebellion. This is perhaps best indicated by the slogan of the rebels, “Kill all the gentlemen and we will have the Six Articles up again, and ceremonies as they were in King Henry's time,” which suggests a significant and widespread hatred of the gentry.³² The desire to return to Henry VIII's time was not merely misplaced nostalgia: the reforms led by the English government in the 1530s and 40s had a unique effect on the Cornish population. The Act of Uniformity targeted the Cornish identity with its mandate that all services must be performed in English, as lawmakers knew that in many areas of Britain, including West Cornwall, English was not the primary language. Likewise, the Cornish viewed the Reformation itself incredibly unfavorably, as the Catholic Church historically had “always proved itself extremely accommodating of Cornish language and culture.”³³ The various lists of demands produced by the rebels show changing priorities over the course of the rebellion. The Devon rebels wrote the first list, prior to joining with the rebels from Cornwall, and it was concerned entirely with changes to religious services (e.g. the use of ‘common bread’ instead of wafers, the services being in English instead

²⁹ Act of Uniformity, 1549, 3 Edw. 6., *Early English Books Online: Text Creation Partnership*.

³⁰ *Ballad on the Defeat of the Devon and Cornwall Rebels of 1548*, London, 1549, *Early English Books Online: Text Creation Partnership*. While the title of the ballad implies that it concerns events in 1548, the reference to Sampford Moor (“sandford mowre”), where the final defeat of the rebels in 1549 took place, makes it very likely that the song has been misdated.

³¹ Fletcher and McCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, 155.

³² Mark Greengrass, *Christendom Destroyed: Europe 1517-1648* (New York City: Viking, 2014), 96. See also Protector Somerset's previously mentioned remark from Burnet.

³³ Mark Stoye, "The Dissidence of Despair: Rebellion and Identity in Early Modern Cornwall," *Journal of British Studies* 38, no. 4 (1999): 423-44.

The Chico Historian

of Latin). The second list, drawn up by Devon and Cornish rebels, had a wider purview. A demand was made for services to be performed in Cornish, rather than Latin or English; the poll tax was explicitly mentioned; and concerns about the local clergy's focus on collecting fees for services were aired. The third and final list, and the only one of which a reliable copy still exists, was much closer to the first list originally drafted by the Devon rebels. Of the sixteen articles included, twelve are directly concerned with restoring Catholic practices, "and all other auncient olde Ceremonyes used heretofore."³⁴ There is only one reference to the Cornish specifically in Article 8, which calls for services to be performed in Latin again, as "we the Cornyshe men (whereof certen of us understande no Englysh) utterly refuse thys newe Englysh."³⁵ The Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, rebutted Article 8 specifically in his reply to the rebels, writing, "I would gladly know the reason why the Cornish men refuse utterly the new English, as you call it, because certain of you understand it not; and yet you will have the service in Latin, which almost none of you understand."³⁶ Cranmer's argument is sound, and highlights the rebels' desire (by the third list of demands) to return to traditional religious practices, regardless of their efficacy.

Unlike the Prayer Book Rebellion's overtly religious origins, Kett's Rebellion began as a protest over enclosures. On June 20, 1549, peasants began throwing down hedges of local landlords across villages in the county of Norfolk. The peasants specifically targeted a John Flowerdew of Wymondham, who was especially unpopular in the area, as he had begun demolishing unused areas of the local abbey church after the dissolution of the abbey, despite the fact that the areas had been specifically purchased from the Crown by local residents. Flowerdew attempted to convince the peasants to throw down the hedges of a nearby rival landlord, Robert Kett, a strategy that backfired tremendously when Kett agreed that he'd wrongfully enclosed common land, and promised to stand by the rebellion until the rebels achieved their goals. As the popular name of the rebellion indicates, Kett became the de-facto leader of the rebellion, and headed to Norwich, Norfolk's only city. By July 12, the rebels had a camp on Mousehold Heath, an open hillside right outside of the city, with over 16,000 people in it. Sometime during the month of July, Kett and rebels from Norfolk and Suffolk produced the Mousehold Articles, which reveal many of the causes that led to rebellion.

³⁴ Fletcher and McCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, 152.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Key and Bucholz, *Sources and Debates*, 67.

Ould and Anchyent Custom

The Articles begin with an entreaty to the king that “no man shall enclose any more,” and continue on to ask that “rivers be free and common to all men for fishing and passage.”³⁷ The diverse groups that made up the rebels in Norfolk were deeply concerned not only with the enclosure of land, but the very ability to continue the subsistence lifestyle of feudal peasants. This is not to say that the reinforcement of feudalism was the ultimate goal of the rebels; Article 16’s plea that “all bonde men may be made fre, for god made all fre with his precious blode shedding” indicates that the primary concern was with fixing the problems of a dysfunctional social and economic system that consigned the peasantry to a position of no recourse.³⁸ Those solutions, to the rebels at Mousehold Heath, included a mixture of radical change and a return to “ould anchyent costome.”³⁹

The Articles mention religion only three times, first in Article 4, which calls for a ban against priests buying land. The second is in Article 8, which requests that vicars and priests unable to take communion to their parishioners be replaced. The third time, in Article 20, is a request that capable clergy be responsible for teaching poor children their “cathakysme and the prymer.”⁴⁰ Despite the seemingly small role of religion on the Articles, it has been suggested, as early as 1549, that many of those involved in Kett’s Rebellion did so “partly for Gods cause, and partly for the commonwealths sake.”⁴¹ Similar to the second draft of the list of demands produced by the Prayer Book rebels, the Mousehold Articles address more local religious concerns rather than national policies.

Kett’s Rebellion and the Western Rebellion were only two of many peasant uprisings across England in 1549. A total of twenty rebel encampments have been documented, and nine rebel petitions still survive.⁴² Most followed the same pattern, and ended with bloody defeat. However, there is one significant exception to the rule: that of the budding rebellion in Sussex, and its handling by the Earl of Arundel, Henry Fitzalan. The Earl reportedly had a force large enough

³⁷ Fletcher and McCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions*, 156-57.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 158.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 157.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 157-58.

⁴¹ John Cheke, *The True Subject to the Rebel, or, the Hurt of Sedition, How Grievous It Is to a Commonwealth* (London: Oxford University, 1641), 3-6, *Early English Books Online: Text Creation Partnership*. While Cheke’s treatise was not published until 1641, it was written in 1549 during the rebellions.

⁴² Amanda Jones, “‘Commotion Time’: The English Risings of 1549” (PhD diss., University of Warwick, 2003), 4, <http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/1246/>.

The Chico Historian

to descend upon the small rebel encampment and crush it, but strangely enough, he did not. Instead,

The Earl sent a message to the peasants' encampment, appealed to them to put their trust in him, and summoned them along with the gentry of the shire to present themselves before him in the great hall of Arundel Castle, where open hospitality was offered to all comers both indoors and on temporary tables set up in the courtyard. Meanwhile the Earl sat day after day on the dais in the hall, listening to a stream of individual complaints, and issuing summary judgments, from which there was no appeal. Greedy gentlemen who had evicted tenants were ordered to reinstate them and destroy their enclosures; truculent peasants who persisted in grumbling and talking about armed rebellion were clapped in the stocks.⁴³

The Earl of Arundel's recourse to the bonds of paternalism is in this case the exception that proves the rule, the last triumph of feudalism. Elsewhere, the psychological bonds that had held together the society and economy of England for so long were breaking. Only one hundred years later, the people of England would execute their king. But at that moment, in the summer of 1549, the peasantry and gentry of Sussex knew who they were and whose word they would accept as law. After the tumultuous changes of the preceding centuries, few others could say the same. Ultimately, these changes created the perfect condition for the numerous peasant rebellions of 1549.

⁴³ Lawrence Stone, "Patriarchy and Paternalism in Tudor England: The Earl of Arundel and the Peasants Revolt of 1549," *Journal of British Studies* 13, no. 2 (1974): 21.

Ould and Anchyent Custom

Bibliography

Epigraph

Jefferson, Thomas. *Letters of Thomas Jefferson*. Edited by Frank Irwin. Tilton, NH: Hillside Press, 1975.

Primary Sources

Act of Uniformity. 1549, 3 Edw. 6. *Early English Books Online: Text Creation Partnership*.

Ballad on the Defeat of the Devon and Cornwall Rebels of 1548. London: n.p., 1549. *Early English Books Online: Text Creation Partnership*.

Burnet, Gilbert. *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*. Compiled by Nicholas Pocock. Vol 5. England: Clarendon, 1865.

Cheke, John. *The True Subject to the Rebel, or, the Hurt of Sedition, How Grievous It Is to a Commonwealth*. London: Oxford University, 1641. *Early English Books Online: Text Creation Partnership*.

Frere, Walter Howard, and William McClure Kennedy, eds. *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*. Vol. 2. London: Longmans, Green, 1910.

Secondary Sources

Biddick, Kathleen. "Missing Links: Taxable Wealth, Markets, and Stratification among Medieval English Peasants." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 18, no. 2 (1987), 277-98. doi:10.2307/204284.

Bush, Michael. "Tax Reform and Rebellion in Early Tudor England." *History* 76, no. 248 (October 1991), 379-400. doi: 10.1111/j.1468-229X.1991.tb01539.x.

---. "'Up for the Commonweal': The Significance of Tax Grievances in the English Rebellions of 1536." *The English Historical Review* 106, no. 419 (1991), 299-318. <http://www.jstor.org>.

Cronin, H. S. "The Twelve Conclusions of the Lollards." *The English Historical Review* 22, no. 86 (1907): 292-304. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/550569>.

Fletcher, Anthony and Diarmaid McCulloch. *Tudor Rebellions*, 5th ed. New Jersey: Pearson Education, 2007.

Greengrass, Mark. *Christendom Destroyed: Europe 1517-1648*. New York City: Viking, 2014.

Hutton, Ronald. "How Pagan Were Medieval English Peasants?." *Folklore* 122, no. 3 (December 2011), 235-249. doi: 10.1080/0015587X.2011.608262.

The Chico Historian

Jones, Amanda. "'Commotion Time': The English Risings of 1549." PhD diss. University of Warwick, 2003. <http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/1246/>.

Kesselring, K. J. "Deference and Dissent in Tudor England: Reflections on Sixteenth-Century Protest." *History Compass* 3, no. 1 (January 2005), 1.
doi:10.1111/j.1478-0542.2005.00163.x.

Key, Newton, and R. O. Bucholz. *Sources and Debates in English History, 1485-1714*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004.

Mate, Mavis. "The Economic and Social Roots of Medieval Popular Rebellion: Sussex in 1450-1451." *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 45, no. 4 (1992), 661-76. doi:10.2307/2597413.

Olea, Ricardo A. and George Christakos. "Duration of Urban Mortality for the 14th-Century Black Death Epidemic." *Human Biology* 77, no. 3 (2005), 291-303.
doi:10.1353/hub.2005.0051.

Stone, Lawrence. "Patriarchy and Paternalism in Tudor England: The Earl of Arundel and the Peasants Revolt of 1549." *Journal of British Studies* 13, no. 2 (1974), 19-23.
<http://www.jstor.org>.

Stoye, Mark. "The Dissidence of Despair: Rebellion and Identity in Early Modern Cornwall." *Journal of British Studies* 38, no. 4 (1999): 423-44.
<http://www.jstor.org>.

Laundry on Monday



W.E. Vilmer took this picture of a little girl playing at doing laundry around 1902 and titled it "Monday." (Image Source: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/91796707/>)

LAUNDRY ON MONDAY: TEXTILES IN THE WEST FROM 1850 TO 1875

| Amy Foster

This paper will examine textiles in the American West from 1850 to 1875. Although the discovery of gold in California in 1848 did not start the westward movement in America, it significantly accelerated the process by bringing American men to the west to seek their fortunes. By the early 1850s, Anglo-American women had begun arriving in California to join the men. They brought Eastern styles and expectations about culture with them, ideas that the men had temporarily abandoned during the first years of the Gold Rush.¹ The cult of domesticity placed women squarely at the center of the home and made the home man's refuge from the world.² This included notions of decoration and cleanliness that would have been absurd in the Gold mining camps. As the West was settled, women were expected to maintain their families and homes according to the same standards that applied in the East. A large part of that expectation included providing appropriate and clean clothing for the family and other textiles for the home.

The west coast was settled earlier than the interior western states, but advances in agriculture and the Homestead Act of 1862 encouraged settlement in the remainder of the West. Glenda Riley has argued that a woman's role in the home can be considered separate from her location. While men had different jobs and experiences depending on where they were in the West, women's role in the home determined the work and experiences she had.³ Because California was settled earlier than other Western areas and had its own ports, the items available to female pioneers in California were different, and often better, than in other western areas but the work expected of women was similar.

Washing, mending, and making clothes consumed much of the western woman's time in the nineteenth century. Textile work took up an enormous portion of a woman's weekly labor. There are several versions of chore rhymes from the 1800's and one found on a nursery

¹ Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2000).

² Pat Ferrero, et al., *Hearts and Hands: The Influence of Women & Quilts on American Society* (San Francisco: The Quilt Digest Press, 1987), 22-28; Sandra L. Myres, *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience 1800-1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982).

³ Glenda Riley, *The Female Frontier: A Comparative View of Women on the Prairie and the Plains* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1988).

rhymes website that reads, "Wash on Monday / Iron on Tuesday / Bake on Wednesday / Brew on Thursday / Churn on Friday / Mend on Saturday / Go to meeting on Sunday."⁴ These types of rhymes illustrate the expectations and duties placed on women by society. Laundry certainly took up the whole day. Furthermore, ironing and mending likely consumed much of their respective days as well, meaning that women were expected to spend about half of their working time on textile work. In addition, women sewed many of the items needed for the household. In their free time, women turned their hands to decorative work to try and decorate the house. While fabric and yarn production had moved into the factories in the East, some families in the West spun yarn and wove cloth to produce clothing and other fabric goods.

By the 1850s numerous publications were dedicated to illustrating for women the clothes and goods they should be making for themselves and their families. Newspapers circulated articles on how to make popular quilts and clothing patterns. Magazines, books, and pamphlets provided information on creating both plain and fancy work. In the 19th century, "fancy work" indicated patterns for decorative items while "plain work" gave instructions for clothing and housewares. In the East, women could easily access this kind of information. These publications also illustrated the way life should be led and how women should support their families. These publications were predominantly aimed at middle-class women and ignored the realities of life on the frontier. Women brought these magazines and pamphlets with them on their western journeys and asked their families and friends to send the publications to them once they arrived. While the publications did not reflect the realities of frontier lives, they illustrated the lives the western settlers hoped to create.

When people migrated to the American West, they expected to be successful. People came to California to find their fortunes and return to their families. Many of them stayed in California instead and had their families join them. Homesteaders were lured to western states by the promise of rich farmland that was easy to work and build wealth from. They worked hard in the belief that they could build a successful life. To them however, a successful life still looked like life in the East, just transplanted to a western landscape. They brought expectations about how their lives should look from the East.

Western European culture, the culture that was migrating to the West, used clothing to communicate status and wealth. Clothing indicated profession, class, race, and gender. Although it was frowned

⁴ "Wash on Monday," Nursery Rhymes, Lyrics, Origins & History, accessed November 6, 2016, <http://www.rhymes.org.uk/a125-wash-on-monday.htm>.

upon, women in the West did occasionally wear men's clothing for practical reasons.⁵ Creating clothing in a pre-industrial setting was a time-consuming chore. To create fabric and textiles, you first had to start with fiber. Fiber can come from many sources, but migrants to the West likely used flax or wool. The fiber was cleaned, prepared and spun into yarn or thread. Although the yarn was sometimes used to knit or crochet, it was usually woven into fabric.⁶ By the time people were moving west, most woven fabric was factory-made, while knitting and crochet were common and useful activities everywhere.

By the 1830s, yarn and fabric were readily available in the East due to well established textile factories.⁷ It was, however, more difficult to obtain fabric and yarn in western areas in the early years of migration. On the frontier, women had to revive old skills to clothe their families and furnish their homes.⁸ General histories of textiles show that the fabric industry in Eastern America was established about 1800 and weaving was fully industrialized by the 1830s. Traditional accounts of the textile industry in America discuss the factories and the people who work there, but largely dismiss hand weaving as obsolete by 1830. Most textile historians assume that by the 1830s hand weaving was a dying art and would remain that way until the hand weaving revival of the 1930s. Shirley Held argues that "The Industrial Revolution reached America very shortly after it had taken hold in England. With the coming of the machines, a factory system developed, and home weaving virtually ceased."⁹ Similarly, Elizabeth Chesley Baity asserts that "[a]fter the invention of the machines cloth was no longer made at home as it had been made during the days of the craftsman."¹⁰ Kax Wilson provides a broad history of textile weaving in the West. Wilson claims that "Some home weaving continued, especially in the South and Midwest during the war when cloth was scarce; but by the 1870s it was a thing of the past."¹¹ Despite this, historians such as Riley and Joanna Stratton have suggested that weaving was not an unusual activity on the western frontier.¹²

⁵ Riley, *The Female Frontier*, 4

⁶ Joanna L. Stratton, *Pioneer Women: Voices from the Kansas Frontier* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982), 65-69.

⁷ Elizabeth Chesley Baity, *Man is a Weaver* (New York: The Viking press, 1942); Shirley E. Held, *Weaving: A Handbook of the Fiber Arts* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978); Louise Lamprey, *The Story of Weaving* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1939); Kax Wilson, *A History of Textiles* (Boulder, Co: Westview Press, Inc., 1979).

⁸ Stratton, *Pioneer Women*; Myres, *Westering Women*.

⁹ Held, *Weaving*, 66.

¹⁰ Baity, *Man is a Weaver*, 256.

¹¹ Wilson, *A History of Textiles*, 257.

¹² Riley, *The Female Frontier*, 58; Stratton, *Pioneer Women*, 68.

Textile work was the province of women by the 1850s. During the initial Gold Rush period, men saw mending and taking care of their own clothes as work to be done only when there were no women to do it.¹³ As women began to immigrate to California in increasing numbers in the 1850s, textile work returned to women. Male tailors, who created men's clothing for men, represented one exception to this. Textile work was an acceptable job for women who needed to work outside the home. They worked as dressmakers and in millinery. Women who needed to earn extra money also took to sewing, mending, or doing laundry in their own homes.¹⁴ Furthermore, women gathered in groups to sew or quilt, presenting them with an opportunity to talk and socialize. This sense of community was especially important if they lived on farms with few opportunities to see other people.¹⁵ Women's groups sold items, such as quilts, that their members had made to raise money for causes they supported. Quilt patterns were named for their causes or for the journeys they had taken.¹⁶

Women in the West clothed their families and decorated their houses through a variety of types textile work. Many women in the West spun yarn. Some women grew flax or maintained flocks of sheep to obtain fiber for spinning. White yarn was bought or spun and dyed to obtain any color the woman wanted to use. Yarn was often available in colors that were difficult to dye. The 1875 *Montgomery Ward* catalog listed knitting cotton in white, dark blue, and blue and white mixed. They had wool yarn in four different blues, two whites, scarlet, and "fancy Balmoral."¹⁷ Yarn was needed if a woman wanted to weave, knit, or crochet items for her family. It was also used in some forms of embroidery.

There was a limited amount of weaving during the Gold Rush in California. The first weaving factory in California opened in 1859. Consequently, there was a very small window for women to weave their own fabric after the Gold Rush. Most women came from the East, where factory-made cloth was available. Shortages of all kinds were common place during the Gold Rush. It is likely that there was an unfulfilled demand for cloth, but it was unlikely that a woman coming to join her husband in California brought a loom with her. The type of loom utilized by the typical settler was large and heavy, making it a difficult item to transport by wagon or ship. Likely the only people who

¹³ Johnson, *Roaring Camp*, 122-123.

¹⁴ Myres, *Westering Women*, 240-246; Susan Strasser, *Never Done: A History of American Housework*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 141-143.

¹⁵ Ferrero, et al., *Hearts and Hands*, 58-62; Strasser, *Never Done*, 133.

¹⁶ Ferrero, et al., *Hearts and Hands*, 66-81.

¹⁷ *Montgomery Ward & Co. Catalogue No. 13*, (Spring and Summer, 1875),

were willing to transport a loom west were professional weavers who had been forced out of work by the factories in the East.¹⁸ While most people bought factory-made fabric, they sewed their own clothes and housewares because of a deficiency in finished goods of that type in the 1850s. By the 1875 *Montgomery Ward* catalog, many finished goods were available, including napkins, towels, table linens and handkerchiefs.¹⁹

The availability of fabric and supplies varied a great deal depending on when and where you lived. While California was farther from the great textile factories of the East, it was also settled earlier than many areas in the interior. Ports and trade networks established under Spanish rule and during the Gold Rush fostered a thriving textile industry. The first textile factory in California was established in 1859, only ten years after the beginning of the Gold Rush.²⁰ It is difficult to say how many types of fabric and the quality and prices that were available during the 1850s and 1860s, but it was not difficult to get fabric. Men's clothes were readily available by the 1850s as shown by the advertisements in California newspapers. One advertisement from 1858 in the *Daily Alta California* listed in part "...fine white and colored muslin shirts; flannel and merino shirts and drawers; cotton and woolen half hose; silk cravats, handkerchiefs, etc." The same advertisement also advertised fabric available from a different seller.²¹ By 1875, the *Montgomery Ward* mail-order catalog listed thirteen pages of fabric, and another five pages listing sewing notions. They also listed items available for sewing machines and noted that they can provide several different machines.²² Sewing machines were introduced in the 1850s. They quickly became a necessary item for the home sewer, not because of the labor they saved, but because fashions became more complex.²³

In addition to fabric for sewing and yarn for knitting, notions were needed to make textiles. Notions are any items other than fabric and thread that are needed to produce a finished textile item: In 1844, *The Ladies' Work-Table Book* suggested that "a neat work-box, well supplied with all the implements required—including knife, scissors (of at least three sizes,) needles and pins in sufficient variety, bodkins, thimbles, thread and cotton, bobbins, marking silks, black lead pencils,

¹⁸ Wilson, *A History of Textiles*, 256-264.

¹⁹ *Montgomery Ward Catalogue*, 14-16.

²⁰ "The First Woolen Manufactory in California," *California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences*, October 14, 1859, accessed November 6, 2016.

²¹ "Page 3 Advertisements Column 1." *Daily Alta California*, (May 17, 1858), accessed November 6, 2016,

²² *Montgomery Ward Catalogue*.

²³ Ferrero, et al., *Hearts and Hands*, 38.

india [*sic*] rubber, &c., should be provided, and be furnished with a lock and key, to prevent the contents being thrown into confusion by children, servants, or unauthorized intruders.”²⁴ Certainly by 1875, these items were easily available from the *Montgomery Ward* catalog. Women in the East, who had easy access to stores, treasured their needles and pins as they were difficult to make and comparatively expensive. It is likely that these were difficult to obtain in the West during the 1850s and 1860s. Women migrating to California and other western states brought the treasured sewing tools they already had. Most notions were small and easily portable, making it one necessity many women could bring with them.

Many women in the West practiced dyeing yarn or fabric. Dye materials can be gathered from nature and many require minimal knowledge to work. Some additives are needed to make fabric or yarn colorfast but women learned the art from their mothers, grandmothers, or their neighbors.²⁵ Yarn was available in few colors and dyeing allowed for much more variety. Fabrics were available in various colors and patterns but much variety was difficult to find in the West. As a result, dyeing or over dyeing again allowed for more variety, as well as the possibility of reviving stained fabric.

Sewing was the most common activity in the West. Finished goods were not easily obtainable, even when fabric was. Along with sewing, women mended anything that could be fixed. Any item of clothing that was too worn to mend was taken apart and usable fabric reused in other items.²⁶ For many household items, hemming was the only sewing needed: Hemming the edges of articles was necessary because woven fabric frays when it is cut. Sewing clothing involved cutting out the pieces for the item, fitting them together with pins, then taking needle and thread and hand sewing the pieces together, unless a sewing machine was available. Mending was done by sewing patches on or resewing ripped seams. Mending was also done by darning which is a form of patch weaving.

Clothing items were necessities usually made by the women of the family. Some items could be purchased in stores, but most clothing was made for an individual. Even items that were available for purchase were tailored for the person buying it. Tailors and dressmakers could be hired to make clothing in more populated areas if the money was available.²⁷ Women on isolated farms and homesteads did not have the luxury of hiring someone unless they had a way to

²⁴ *The Ladies' Work-Table Book*, (Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson [1844]), 37.

²⁵ Stratton, *Pioneer Women*, 67.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 68.

²⁷ Strasser, *Never Done*, 131.

reach a nearby town or a neighbor who took in sewing. For the most part clothing was made or tailored by the women of the family. Old or outgrown clothing was remade as new items, or cut down for smaller members of the family.²⁸

While clothing was important to make, women also made a variety of housewares and decorations. They needed towels, dishcloths and hot pads for the kitchen. They made curtains for the windows and rugs for the floors. Coverlets and quilts were also used as wall hangings in an attempt to insulate a drafty house. For decoration, they made doilies, which also protected tables from scratches or spills or acted as antimacassars. They also worked embroidery into many of these pieces or simply worked a saying or sampler onto a piece of cloth to be hung on a wall.²⁹

Even if an item was practical, necessary or useful, there was often a decorative aspect to it. The cult of domesticity played a large role in this ornamental emphasis. Women were, according to ideas of the time, the protectors of culture and society. Part of that included a very specific vision of the home. Americans viewed the home as a refuge from the world and an ideal spot for men to return to after wrestling with the world. The ideal vision of the home was of a comforting well-lined nest for relaxation, at least for men. Therefore, even in difficult conditions, women were expected to create that ideal home. Women in the West were expected to supply those idealized homes where a man could return to for comfort. That home included decoration and items to make life less distressing. It is human nature to want beauty around us. Beauty varies by culture but in the last half of the 19th century, for Anglo-American men, the idealized home represented beauty, comfort, and culture. Women justified spending their time on decorative items because they helped create the ideal home.

Clean clothes were very important. It was also important that all the house linens were clean. One of a woman's primary jobs was as housekeeper. Consequently, the cleanliness of her laundry was a reflection on her ability to keep the house clean. Cleanliness was considered an important attribute of an ideal home and the level of cleanliness reflected on the woman of the house. Green states that "A woman was measured by the state of her home. It was the prevailing orthodoxy that if the yard and garden were untended, the house unpainted, and the rooms neglected and unkempt, the family would be

²⁸ Stratton, *Pioneer Women*, 68.

²⁹ Stratton, *Pioneer Women*, 69; Harvey Green, *The Light of the Home: An Intimate View of the Lives of Women in Victorian America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 100.

Laundry on Monday

less moral and less successful than one residing in a carefully maintained home.”³⁰ Laundry was an important activity because it allowed women to control the cleanliness of the items most people saw first and most often. She also got the chance to see which items needed to be repaired or replaced.

Laundry was women's work whether they did it alone on their homestead or gathered with other women for help and community. Laundry was a very difficult job that took all day. First the tubs for the laundry had to be filled. Soap needed to be added to one of the tubs. In some areas, women needed to make the laundry soap required for the task. The laundry was put to soak in the soapy tub, and then moved to a rinse tub. Items were scrubbed on a washboard. Once items were rinsed, as much water as possible was squeezed out and items were hung on a clothesline to dry. If no bleach was available, items were spread in the sun to bleach naturally. Preferably items were ironed while they were still damp which made the ironing process smoother. Once dry, items needed to be ironed to get all the creases out. Irons were heavy and heated on the stove or by the fire. While laundry was being done, the women inspected each item for holes or other signs of wear. These items went into her mending basket for repair later in the week.³¹

Mail order changed the types of goods that were available to Western pioneers. *Montgomery Ward* was founded in 1872 with a mission to provide good quality items to farmers at a bargain price. Prior to this, stores that supplied farm towns in the West had provided low quality, cheap goods to farmers.³² By 1875, *Montgomery Ward* had a large catalog with pages of goods. They ensured that it no longer mattered too much where you were in the West, if you had access to the mail, you could receive the same goods that were available in St. Louis or Chicago. Mail order to the Western states was made possible by the construction of the trans-continental railroad which allowed mail and freight to be transported easily and quickly across the United States. Mail order made it easy to buy fabric, notions, yarn, sewing machines, and finished clothing.

Women's work is often ignored or overlooked. Even those scholars who focus on women often overlook one of the most ubiquitous of women's tasks; making and cleaning textiles. Textile

³⁰ Green, *The Light of the Home*, 59.

³¹ Myres, *Westering Women*, 151-153; Strasser, *Never Done*, 104-109; Stratton, *Pioneer Women*, 69-71.

³² Robin Cherry, *Catalog: The Illustrated History of Mail-Order Shopping*. (New York, US: Princeton Architectural Press, 2008.), accessed December 10, 2016, ProQuest ebrary, 18.

work has been an overwhelming domain of women at least since the industrial revolution. Numerous types of technology were invented in the last half of the nineteenth century to attempt to alleviate some of the burden textile work forced upon women. Sewing machines and laundry machines were both available for the home by the 1850s, even if they took some time to be adopted.³³ Next to feeding the family, textile work and clothing the family, were the most important work women took on and consumed as much if not more of her time.

For the most part, textile work for women in the West was the same as that of women in the East. Her labor was affected by the items available to her. Women arriving in the West in the 1850s had less fabric available to them than in the East, at higher prices. Some of the notions easily available in the East were rare or not available at all. By 1875, there were fewer differences between the East and West due to the trans-continental railroad and the advent of mail-order shopping. Some of the more isolated farms in the Western states had difficulty getting items easily, but still had more choices available to them by 1875 than in 1850. Almost no one wove cloth as fabric was easily available by mail order. Spinning was uncommon in California and many other western states by 1875, since yarn was readily available. Dyeing still was common since there were few colors of yarn available. Women still sewed most of their family's clothes, but many of them used sewing machines. Laundry was still a day-long chore, although some women used washing machines. Despite the new technologies, textile work in California by 1875 was still women's work and consumed much of their time and energy.

³³ Strasser, *Never Done*, 116, 138.

Laundry on Monday

Bibliography

- Baity, Elizabeth Chesley. *Man is a Weaver*. New York: The Viking press, 1942.
- Beaudry, Mary C. *Findings: The Material Culture of Needlework and Sewing*. New Haven, US: Yale University Press, 2007. Accessed November 6, 2016. ProQuest ebrary.
- Cherry, Robin. *Catalog: The Illustrated History of Mail-Order Shopping*. New York, US: Princeton Architectural Press, 2008. Accessed December 10, 2016. ProQuest ebrary.
- Ferrero, Pat, Elaine Hedges and Julie Silber. *Hearts and Hands: The Influence of Women & Quilts on American Society*. San Francisco: The Quilt Digest Press, 1987.
- “The First Woolen Manufactory in California.” *California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences*, October 14, 1859. Accessed November 6, 2016.
- Green, Harvey. *The Light of the Home: An Intimate View of the Lives of Women in Victorian America*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1983.
- Held, Shirley E. *Weaving: A Handbook Of The Fiber Arts*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978.
- Johnson, Susan Lee. *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2000.
- Joyce, Rosemary O. *A Woman's Place: The Life History of a Rural Ohio Grandmother*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1983.
- The Ladies' Work-Table Book*. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson [1844].
- Lamprey, Louise. *The Story of Weaving*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1939.
- Montgomery Ward & Co. Catalogue No. 13, Spring and Summer, 1875.
- Myres, Sandra L. *Westering Women and the Frontier Experience 1800-1915*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982.
- Nursery Rhymes, Lyrics, Origins & History. “Wash on Monday.” Accessed November 6, 2016.
- “Page 3 Advertisements Column 1.” *Daily Alta California*, May 17, 1858. Accessed November 6, 2016.
- Riley, Glenda. *The Female Frontier: A Comparative View of Women on the Prairie and the Plains*. Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1988.

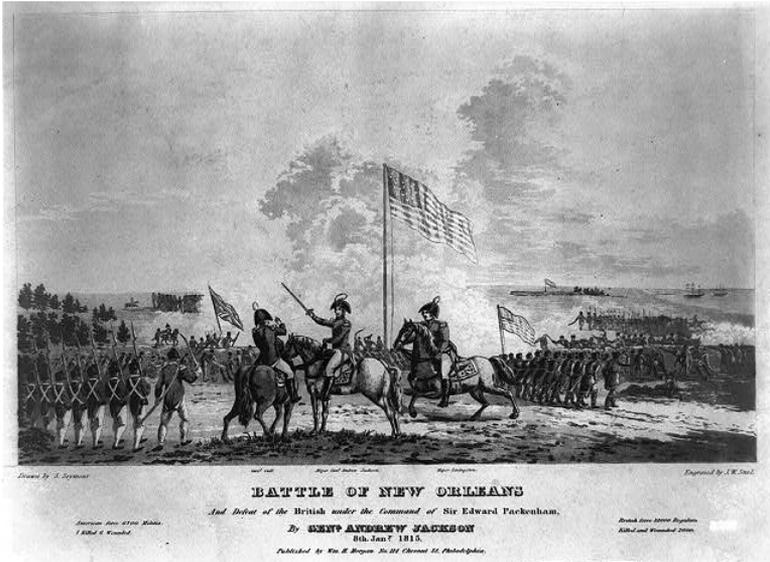
The Chico Historian

Strasser, Susan. *Never Done: A History of American Housework*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1982.

Stratton, Joanna L. *Pioneer Women: Voices from the Kansas Frontier*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982.

Wilson, Kax. *A History of Textiles*. Boulder, Co: Westview Press, Inc., 1979.

The Causes of Collapse



Steel, James W. "Battle of New Orleans and defeat of the British under the command of Sir Edward Packenham [sic] by Genl. Andrew Jackson." Engraving. January 8, 1815. From Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division (Image Source: <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2007683567/>)

THE CAUSES OF COLLAPSE: THE DEATH OF THE FEDERALISTS AND THE LEGACY OF AMERICA'S FIRST POLITICAL PARTY

| Christopher Fuqua

Though the two-party system of American politics has been in place since the late eighteenth century, exactly which two parties contended for control of the government occasionally shifts. One of the powerful political entities that formed during the founding period, the Federalist Party, built up a large, well-known presence in the early republic. The Federalists advocated for centralized government and banking, and a positive relationship with the British as the way forward for the burgeoning United States government during the period following the writing of the Constitution in 1789. This affinity for the United States-Britain relationship and the accompanying overseas trade practiced by the United States would eventually spell doom for the Federalist Party as a national political power. The Federalists' opposition to the War of 1812, along with issues of political organization, caused the collapse of the first American political party and paved the way for the first major shift in American political party dynamics. Opposing the War of 1812, particularly in the United States where the struggle for independence was still fresh in the minds of many early-nineteenth-century Americans, proved to be disastrous to the public image of the Federalists. The War proved to be both popular among Americans and politically successful, two descriptors never again used by Americans to describe the Federalist party following the United States' victory against the British; the Federalists ceased to matter as a national political force almost immediately following the War of 1812. Their legacy, on the other hand, proved to be tremendous; their political opponents, Thomas Jefferson's Democratic-Republicans, ultimately adopted many of the Federalist policies against which they formerly fought. Jefferson's Democrats, after the War of 1812, even established a central banking system (founding the Second Bank of the United States in 1816), a cause once championed endlessly by the Federalists. A conciliatory and cooperative relationship with Great Britain, later in the nineteenth-century, became an important pillar in American foreign policy that continues to exist today. The fact that Federalist policies were enacted by politicians following the collapse of the Federalist Party shows clearly that the Federalists did not fail due to policy issues, but rather the unfortunate circumstance of

being on the wrong side of public opinion following a risky war, a casualty of bad choices rather than bad policy.¹

The lead up to the War of 1812 and the War itself decisively affected American politics. For the Democratic-Republicans, and for many American citizens still reveling in the glory of independence, the War of 1812 was a true continuation of the American Revolution, a chance for the United States to establish itself on the world stage as capable of protecting its interests and territory against any and all threats to its sovereignty. For those Americans for whom the Revolution was still a very real, ongoing process, the treatment of the United States by Great Britain demanded reprisal, as it would stain the honor and image of the United States to allow the British actions to go unchallenged.² Particularly galling to Americans was the British use of impressment to capture American sailors and force them into duty on Royal Navy ships. On the issue of impressment, former editor of the *Baltimore Evening Post* and publisher of *The Weekly Register*, Hezekiah Niles passionately wrote, “the indignity, abuse and destruction of our seaman, and through them, the violent assault on the sovereignty of the country itself, has cried for revenge.”³ For many pro-war Americans, allowing the Britain’s Navy to impress American seaman without consequences would be kneeling at the foot of the throne of England all over again. Permitting such aggressive actions to go unchecked would dishonor those who died establishing American independence. No truly independent nation could allow another to treat its citizens in such a way.⁴ The Congress of the United States Committee on Foreign Relations wrote, “Our citizens are wantonly snatched from their Country and their families; deprived of their liberty and doomed to an ignominious and slavish bondage.”⁵ The reality of impressed sailors being deprived of liberty by the British Royal Navy was powerful for many Americans, particularly those who had either fought in the American Revolution themselves, or lost loved ones in the battle to establish American independence. For Jefferson and his Democratic-Republicans, to idly accept such injustice was repugnant to the ideals of the American Revolution, for the Revolution meant very little if it did not secure the liberty of Americans from foreign tyranny.

¹ Steven Watts, *The Republic Reborn: War and the Making of Liberal America, 1790-1820* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 282.

² “The Kentucky Legislature Calls for Action” *Niles’ Weekly Register*, I, January 11, 1812. <http://webs.wofford.edu/byrnesms/1812.htm>

³ Donald R. Hickey, *The War of 1812: Writings from America’s Second War of Independence* (New York, Library of America, 2013), 38-39.

⁴ Hickey, *The War of 1812*, 16-17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 17.

In addition to decrying impressment of American sailors, Democratic-Republicans saw Great Britain's and France's trade blockades as patently illegal under international law.⁶ With the Napoleonic Wars raging in Europe, both the British and the French were intercepting and blockading United States ships in an attempt to interrupt enemy supply lines.⁷ President James Madison called this British practice "a flimsy veil," and accused the British Navy, and by extension the British government, of "abandoning still more all respect for the neutral rights of the United States."⁸ The United States, neutral in the ongoing European conflict between Britain and France during this period, saw no cause for which Great Britain or France should prevent the United States from exercising its sovereign right to conduct trade with whomever it chose. The French sensed a possible conflict between the United States and Britain, and attempted to turn public opinion against Britain, France eased their own war-time trade restriction policy (particularly as it related to the United States) and implored the government of the United States to force Great Britain to respect her right to remain neutral and engage in trade as she saw fit.⁹

The Federalists held a very different perspective on the potential war. Rather than going to war, the Federalists sought to address the country's grievances through diplomacy. They feared war with Great Britain for several reasons, particularly the havoc that interrupting trade with Britain would bring to the nascent industrialization process of the Northeast, the region in which Federalist support was most concentrated.¹⁰ Additionally, the Federalists understood the danger of entering into a continental war in Europe, a war whose outcome was still undecided; Napoleon was still in the process of conquering mainland Europe and would not be turned back by the other great powers of Europe for several more years. For Federalists, the anger over Great Britain's embargo on US trade with France, largely felt by the plantation class in the American South, far away from the northeastern power center of the Federalists, and impressment of American sailors were not problems to be solved by war¹¹. In fact, in many cases, Federalists charged the French military and government with committing the same trespasses as the British

⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁷ Doron S. Ben-Atar and Barbara Oberg, *Federalists Reconsidered* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998), 212-213.

⁸ Hickey, *The War of 1812*, 4.

⁹ James H. Broussard, *The Southern Federalists, 1800-1816* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 129-130.

¹⁰ Hickey, *The War of 1812*, 77-78.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 34.

upon the sovereignty of the United States.¹² When Napoleon decided to loosen his own trade restrictions and end the practice of seizing of American ships, the Federalists did not see it as an honest and conciliatory decision by the French. Rather, the Federalists believed that the French were, at best, attempting to influence public opinion against the British, and possibly might be attempting to lure the United States merchant ships into a trap.¹³ Issues of nationalism did not play a key role for the Federalists and their supporters, who saw the war in Europe a potential political and economic disaster for the United States. There was no need to insert the United States into a war in which it had no obvious stake. Instead, the Federalists wanted to maintain ties and cooperation with Great Britain. The loss of trade revenue was simply unbearable and could not be allowed when there was potential for diplomatic redress of American concerns that would allow the United States to avoid a potentially costly war.¹⁴

The Federalists suffered from the circumstances of the War of 1812 in a number of ways. The fact that the war was against England, a power that the United States had already defeated in the American Revolution, made the Federalists seem cowardly, as if they were backing down from a Second War for Independence.¹⁵ The final blow to the Federalist position landed once the British invaded the mainland United States in 1814. In his work, *The Republic Reborn*, historian Steven Watts declares that by invading the land of the United States, “the English succeeded in making the war a justifiable defensive struggle and in kindling a new sense of domestic unity.”¹⁶ The war was no longer occurring far removed from Washington, with American involvement a subject for debate by Congress. The British raided and occupied American cities and burned Washington, the center of the American political system, to the ground. The war was no longer about impressment and trade restrictions. There were enemy forces on the ground in the United States. Although the Federalists understood the direction that public opinion was shifting and began to support the war as a necessary campaign, the public never forgot the Federalists’ initial distaste for the war.¹⁷ The Federalist position looked fearful and unwilling to unite with the people in the face of the enemy. This perception of the party ultimately led to public opinion turning strongly against the Federalists. Following the end of the war and a triumphant

¹² Broussard, *The Southern Federalists*, 129.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 130.

¹⁴ Samuel Taggart 12th Cong., 1st sess., *Annals of Congress* (December 1811), 1649-1650, 1652, 1662-1663, 1666-1667.

¹⁵ Henry Clay, 12th Cong., 1st sess., *Annals of Congress* (December 1811), 599-602.

¹⁶ Watts, *The Republic Reborn*, 282.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 299.

victory for war-supporting Democratic-Republicans, the Federalist party began to crack. America's first political party had reached the end of its lifespan, brought to its knees by a hard-learned political lesson: it is better to support an unsuccessful war, than to oppose a successful one. By the end of the post-war period, as David Hackett Fischer notes, "[Federalist] was an epithet, a smear word."¹⁸ By 1816, the Federalist party was in ruins, never to again hold the amount of power they once wielded.¹⁹

The structure and organization of the Federalist Party also proved a weakness and a major contributing factor to the collapse of the party in the wake of the War of 1812. The Federalist Party, shunted aside by the rise of Jeffersonian Republicanism, were forced into a role as the minority party for two consecutive presidential terms from 1800 to 1808. The Federalist fall from power can be attributed to a lack of party structure and organization, two areas in which the Republicans were gaining major traction. Shaw Livermore, Jr., in his work, *The Twilight of Federalism: The Disintegration of the Federalist Party, 1815-1830*, decries the lack of proper political machines in the structure of the Federalist Party. Livermore, describing the weakness of the Federalist Party as an organization, writes, "archaic was the internal organization of the party", and, "compared to the relatively sophisticated Republican machines which existed in most states by 1816, Federalists lagged well behind."²⁰ This lack of political organization, exposed by the inability of the Federalists to field a presidential candidate in the election of 1812, exacerbated fractures in the party and led to the infamous Hartford Convention. In Hartford, the more radical wing of the Federalist Party went so far as to suggest disunion for the New England states. Initially intended to help unify the flailing Federalist Party by deciding upon a common course of action and the establishment of a platform for the national party, the Hartford Convention instead displayed the weakness of the Federalists, exposed the radical elements of the party to public criticism, and openly flaunted the New England-centered bias of the Federalists.²¹ Though the main body of politicians that made up the delegation at the Hartford Convention never seriously entertained the idea of disunion,

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 180.

¹⁹ David Hackett Fischer, *The Revolution of American Conservatism: The Federalist Party in the Era of Jeffersonian Democracy*, (New York, Harper & Row, 1965), 128.

²⁰ Shaw Livermore, Jr., *The Twilight of Federalism: the Disintegration of the Federalist Party, 1815-1830*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1962), 29.

²¹ Livermore, *The Twilight of Federalism*, 29-30; Fischer, *The Revolution of American Conservatism*, 175-176, Ben-Atar and Oberg, *Federalists Reconsidered*, 212-213.

the Federalist Party's reputation suffered publicly, and the Party's lack of a clear consistent platform and structure prevented the Federalists from regaining positive public opinion.²²

Although the Federalists were never again a major party in American national politics, their legacy lived on through the policies championed by the Federalists during their time as a political force. Having defeated their main rivals, the Democratic-Republicans deftly adopted the most popular and useful piece of the Federalist platform and made them Democratic-Republican policies. Not only did this allow for the United States to move forward with industrialization, a necessity even the Jeffersonians couldn't deny following the War of 1812, it also consolidated what was left of the Federalists into the Democratic-Republican party. Following the disintegration of the Federalists, "wholesale adoption of the Federalist national program by Republicans...all but eliminated sharp policy divisions between the parties."²³ Most notable of these adopted policy positions were the creation of a strong United States Navy and the creation of a national banking system. The banking system, in particular, had been anathema to Republican values prior to the war.²⁴ The need for a central banking system was a distinctly Federalist position, one that lined up with the Federalist desire to increase industrialization, along with the desire in the South of large plantation owners for a banking system that would provide stable credit. The War of 1812 convinced the Democratic-Republicans that the need for a stable bank, particularly in times of war and fiscal instability, outweighed the danger of concentrating power in a single financial institution.²⁵ The need to maintain a strong navy and the absolute necessity of a central bank remain pillars of modern American policy in the military and financial sectors, respectively. These positions, along with the Federalists understanding of the need for the United States to be an industrial power in order to remain strong internationally, are the legacy that the Federalist Party left behind.

Although the entire span of the history of the Federalist Party in the United States only stretched across a period of thirty years, their rise, fall, and ultimate legacy are of great importance to understanding the way political parties operate in the United States. In a span of two decades, the Federalists fell from controlling the White House to not being able to field a candidate for President. The Federalists learned a hard lesson in those two decades, in which their opposition and reluctance to enter war saw them branded as fearful and unpatriotic.

²² Fischer, *The Revolution of American Conservatism*, 177-178.

²³ Livermore, *Twilight of Federalism*, 265.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 265.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 265-266.

The Chico Historian

Federalist affinity for a strong relationship with Britain led to Democratic-Republicans accusing them of putting business interests above American freedom. The lack of a strong nationwide political machine supporting the Federalist Party clearly exposed the risk of having political support too concentrated in a single area. The Federalist Party's sound policy positions proved insufficient to overcome their opposition to an increasingly popular war. As the fortunes of the United States in the War of 1812 rose, the status of the Federalists as a political power fell. The fact that their rival party, the Democratic-Republicans, adopted their most well known platform issue, the establishment of a national bank, only served to add insult to injury. The broken and destroyed Federalist Party's members would watch their rivals enact legislation that they themselves had devised. The Federalist Party lost two painful battles in the War of 1812: they opposed a popular and ultimately successful war and lost the battle for public opinion, and they lost the fight for control over the future of the United States to their main rivals, the Democratic-Republicans, who then went on to enact all the Federalist's signature policies. Though the sun had set on the fortunes of the Federalist Party, the implementation of their platform by the Republicans meant the legacy of Federalism would continue to influence American political thought in centuries to come.

The Causes of Collapse

Bibliography

Primary Sources

"The Kentucky Legislature Calls for Action" *Niles' Weekly Register*, I, January 11, 1812. Accessed December 1, 2016.

"They Call It a War for Commerce!" *New York Evening Post* (New York), January 24, 1812. Accessed October 1, 2016.
<http://webs.wofford.edu/byrnesms/1812.htm>.

U.S. Congress. *Annals of Congress*. 12th Cong., 1st sess., 599-602, 1649-1650, 1652, 1662-1663, 1666-1667.

Secondary Sources

Ben-Atar, Doron S., and Barbara Oberg. *Federalists Reconsidered*. Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1998.

Broussard, James H. *The Southern Federalists: 1800-1816*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978.

Cress, Lawrence Delbert. "'Cool and Serious Reflection': Federalist Attitudes toward War in 1812." *Journal of the Early Republic* 7, no. 2 (1987): 123-45.

Fischer, David Hackett. *The Revolution of American Conservatism: The Federalist Party in the Era of Jeffersonian Democracy*. New York: Harper & Row, 1965.

Greenberg, Amy S. *A Wicked War: Polk, Clay, Lincoln, and the 1846 U.S. Invasion of Mexico*. New York: Vintage Books, a Division of Random House, 2012.

Hickey, Donald R. "Federalist Party Unity and the War of 1812." *Journal of American Studies*, 1978., 23, JSTOR Journals, EBSCOhost (accessed October 1, 2016).

---. *The War of 1812: Writings from America's Second War of Independence*. New York, NY: Library of America, 2013.

Livermore, Shaw. *The Twilight of Federalism: the Disintegration of the Federalist Party, 1815-1830*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962.

Watts, Steven. *The Republic Reborn: War and the Making of Liberal America, 1790-1820*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.

The Clutches of the Eagle



A political cartoon depicting Theodore Roosevelt trampling over European powers as he rides into South America. (Image Source: Victor F. Gillam, "A True American Rough Rider," *The Judge* (c. 1903), New York: Judge Publishing Company.)

THE CLUTCHES OF THE EAGLE

| Juan Ramirez

The lack of unity among the people of pre-twentieth-century Latin America began with the class and ethnic distinctions that travelled across the Atlantic Ocean embedded in the psyche of the European Colonist. In Brazil, these distinctions became so intricately weaved into the culture that the abolition of slavery did not occur until 1888. Other countries faced similar problems after scientific racism and positivism spread throughout the western hemisphere in the twentieth century. This lack of cohesion within Latin American countries after independence coupled with the resulting dependency on their old colonial overlords stunted industrialization and subsequent development.¹ Fearing further European involvement, the United States legislated the Monroe Doctrine in 1820 in an attempt to curtail European interests and encourage economic growth in America. The Teller and Platt amendments of 1894 and 1901 gave the United States the right to intervene with military force in Cuba. Similarly, President Theodore Roosevelt's 1904 Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine advocated for the right to exercise an "international police power" over the western hemisphere.² This international police power quickly gained opposition as Latin American intellectuals and politicians increasingly began to interpret the United States as a malevolent imperialistic entity. Twentieth-century Latin America witnessed the rise of nationalism as a result of foreign imperialistic encroachment that resulted in a growing political consciousness for social justice which was catalyzed by the development of mass communication technology.

The revolutionary wave that swept through Latin America in the nineteenth century left the newly formed countries fragmented and vulnerable. Although overthrown and politically defeated, European countries increasingly garnered power in the Americas through economic strangleholds. U.S. military intervention in Cuba and Nicaragua established peaceful governments that were intended to loosen European constrictions but ultimately furthered the marginalization of the "folk." These people had previously experienced discrimination during the colonial and postcolonial eras because of scientific racism and positivist thinking. New revolutionaries emerged in the early twentieth century to counter the rampant government

¹ Alexander Dawson, *Latin America since Independence: A History with Primary Sources* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 65-71.

² U.S. Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, with the Annual Message of the President Transmitted to Congress, 6 December 1904* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1905) xli-xlii.

sponsored oppression of natives, blacks, and people of mixed descent. In response to Roosevelt's corollary, Nicaragua's Rubén Darío penned an ode "To Roosevelt" (1904) where he criticized the president for his use of "Big Stick Diplomacy." Darío played upon Latin America's ardent Christian beliefs through biblical analogies that painted the United States as a godless heathen desperate to devour his southern neighbors. More importantly, the poem established a commonality among Nicaraguans as descendants of "Moctezuma and Atahualpa" against the Goliath like "barbarous . . . Saxon" oppressors.³ Years later, a similar argument became one of the most influential mechanisms revolutionary Augusto Sandino used to aid his cause.

In the late 1920s, Sandino persuaded poor peasants, middle class people, and even some elites through rhetoric that encouraged solidarity by embracing "the blood of the American Indian . . . flowing through [their] veins" against "the colossus to the north."⁴ Nonetheless, opposition to Sandino in Nicaragua and in the United States negatively portrayed the group as "bandits" in mainstream media outlets. It wasn't until *The Nation* journalist Carlton Beal interviewed the revolutionaries that Sandinista support proliferated around the world. Augusto Sandino became a national hero following his assassination by the National Guard under the command of Anastasio Somoza in 1934 and the model for future Nicaraguan revolutionaries to emulate.⁵ The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) emerged to counter the dictatorship of Somoza but transformed into a legitimate political party after their successful coup d'état. Darío and Sandino's use of inclusionary rhetoric against the threat of foreign encroachment, aided by independent media outlets, successfully increased solidarity in Nicaragua.

Cuba's José Martí was one of the first to write about the "truth" of the northern "colossus" and its intentions in his essay published in 1894 entitled "The Truth About the United States." Martí shamed the United States for being "backward and war-minded European" people that remained "divided by hatred," and who spread their influence through "political piracy."⁶ The *Cuba Libre* movement

³ Rubén Darío, *Selected Poems of Rubén Darío*, trans. Lysander Kemp (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), pp. 69-70, quoted in Holden, *Latin America and the United States*, 95.

⁴ Marcus Bruce, *Nicaragua: Sandinista Peoples' Revolution Speeches by Sandinista Leaders. United Kingdom*, (London: Pathfinder Press, 1985); Dawson, *Latin America since Independence*, 154.

⁵ Dawson, *Latin America since Independence*, 152-160.

⁶ José Martí, "The Truth About the United States (1894)," Quoted in *Inside the Monster by José Martí: Writings on the United States and American Imperialism*, ed. Philip S. Foner and trans. Elinor Randall (New York: Monthly Review Foundation, 1975), pp. 49-54.

that emerged from his writings and was led by Martí himself, spread throughout the island, urging the people to rid the country of Spanish and U.S. economic and political influence. Martí championed a united Cuban people by emphasizing the equality of all ethnicities and races. His death in 1895 paused unification in Cuba and allowed the United States to infiltrate the island. Intervention in Cuba was originally sanctioned under the Teller Amendment, which gained support in the United States after embellished stories of terrorism onboard the recently exploded USS Maine circulated in the media. The United States captured the island after the defeat of the Spanish and established a “democratic” government. As in Nicaragua, the government placed by the United States to benefit U.S. interests marginalized a majority of the people and subsequently caused the rapid growth of nationalism, especially among young scholars. Cuba’s fields were returned to tobacco and sugarcane while Jim Crow Laws once again segregated the population.⁷

Fidel Castro emerged in the early twentieth century as the revolutionary leader who would pry the country from foreign hands for the benefit of all Cubans. Castro’s initial attack on the Santiago de Cuba army barracks on July 26, 1953 failed and landed the young revolutionary in prison alongside his comrades. During his trial, Castro passionately argued his cause by citing José Martí, outlining his revolutionary project, and ending his speech saying “History will absolve me” regardless of conviction.⁸ Castro sought to bring an end to all imperialistic encroachment on the island and believed his cause to be necessary and just for the betterment of all Cuban people. The revolutionary’s speech resonated with the Cuban population because of his appeal to unemployed, landless peasants by advocating for the redistribution of land and wealth. Following the trial, public support for Castro resulted in his release and exile to Mexico. A bloody civil war began upon his return against the government of sitting President Fulgencio Batista that became known as the 26th of July Movement. The United States intervened by supporting Batista through the use of covert military tactics that increasingly became more violent and desperate.⁹ Regardless of the massive opposition displayed by president Batista and the United States, Castro’s revolution gained the momentum necessary to persevere with assistance from the media. *New York Times* journalist Herbert L. Mathews interviewed Fidel Castro

⁷ Aviva Chomsky, *A History of the Cuban Revolution*, (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 37.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁹ Richard J. Aldrich, “American Journalism and the Landscape of Secrecy: Tad Szulc, the CIA and Cuba,” *History* 100, no. 340 (April 2015): 189–209.

from his guerilla base in the mountains of Cuba in 1957. Mathews showcased Castro as having “strong ideas of liberty, democracy, [and] social justice,” which gained his movement much needed domestic and foreign public support. Within the following year, victory over Batista’s forces was virtually assured.¹⁰ Imperialistic encroachment forced Cubans to unite in order to expel their country of the northern behemoth through Marti and Castro’s revolutionary leadership and ideas that propagated with help from pro-Castro sentiment in international media outlets.

In Brazil, the prevalence of radios among the public allowed for Latin American politicians to promote inclusion and social justice, which encouraged cohesion and nationalistic sentiment. Getulio Vargas rose to power through a military coup in 1930, but was later elected president in 1934. Upon his democratic nomination and inauguration as president, Vargas rewrote the Brazilian Constitution in an attempt to unify all classes under mutual interests by advocating for a populist agenda and encouraging import substitution industrialization. Vargas wrote legislation that encouraged radical labor reform including a maximum hour workday, a minimum wage, and an early form of social security. His reforms also included suffrage rights for women which were implemented in 1932 and reaffirmed in the 1934 Constitution. Vargas’ government envisioned education as a means for cohesion and worked to implement “education as a right for all.”¹¹ Radios among the Brazilian public had proliferated since the early 1920s and became a means to facilitate social reform. By decree, the *Rádio Escola Municipal do Distrito Federal* was created to transmit educational programming at all hours of the day. Another decree forced Brazilian radios to educate and update the public on official state news. The radio transformed into the main vehicle for state publicity and unification. Through this mechanism, the Vargas administration proudly bolstered all the accomplishments of the new government and censored any opposition.¹² This tactic of radio driven self-promotion, coupled with Vargas’ populist social policies, elevated Vargas into the status of folk hero even though his social reforms hardly had any substance. Women’s suffrage could never be exercised completely because few elections were held and electoral fraud was rampant. Work reform was redundant because it only benefited a minority of people living in cities, while completely ignoring the majority of people in rural areas. Nevertheless, Vargas’ impressive manipulation of the radio worked to

¹⁰ Chomsky, *A History of the Cuban Revolution*, 41.

¹¹ Sonia Virginia Moreira, “Nine Decades of the Radio Industry in Brazil,” *Journal of Radio & Audio Media* 18, no. 2 (July 2011): 322–32, 24.

¹² *Ibid.*

unify Brazilians through his pseudo-inclusive social reform.

Juan and Eva Perón similarly used the media in Argentina to spread their populist ideology, garnering the couple a devoted cult following united under the Perónist movement. Juan Perón's charisma and populist ideology made him popular among political circles while Maria Eva Duarte's small roles in film and talent as a voice actress made her popular among the Brazilian public. She used her celebrity status to advocate many of Perón's social reforms aimed at alleviating the *descamisados* who "had been victimized for decades."¹³ Their humble origins and crusade against enemies of poor, landless, and underprivileged Argentinians secured the public's approval and admiration. Proponents of Perónism identified imperialism as an interference to social justice because of its coercive and exploitative nature. Before Perónism emerged in Argentina, Jose Ingenieros advocated, like so many other Latin American intellectuals, for his country to rid itself of "the clutches of the eagle."¹⁴ The Peróns encouraged nationalism with their populist ideology, denunciation of imperialism, and shrewd usage of the media. They garnered a cult following as Argentinians increasingly began to think of the Peróns as surrogate parents protecting them from the evils of the world. With the untimely death of Eva in 1952 also came the demise of Juan's political career. Political impotence caused his displacement and exile in 1955 but the public's idolization allowed Perón to win the presidential election of 1973. Perónism in Argentina caused nationalism to arise by uniting the people under the "fatherly" arms of Perón's social justice, promotion of a sovereign state free of imperialism, and canny manipulation of the media.

European Colonists in nineteenth-century Latin America created societies that promoted class systems based on ethnic distinctions. These distinctions remained embedded in the cultures of Latin America long after the defeat of their colonial masters which led to stunted industrial growth as well as a lack of unity and nationalism. The United States, as an emerging super power, advocated for its right to intervene in Latin America on behalf of discriminated peoples in the twentieth century. This intervention was not always welcome by Latin American intellectuals and politicians who increasingly interpreted U.S. encroachment in the Americas as imperialistic and malevolent. In Cuba and Nicaragua, Fidel Castro and Augusto Sandino's use of inclusionary ideology against the threat of foreign imperialism, assisted by advances in communications technologies, successfully increased

¹³ Dawson, *Latin America since Independence*, 173.

¹⁴ Matthew B. Karush, "Blackness in Argentina: Jazz, Tango and Race Before Perón*," *Past & Present* 216, no. 1 (August 1, 2012): 215–45, 217.

nationalistic sentiment. Getulio Vargas unified the Brazilian people through his impressive manipulation of the radio which transmitted his pseudo-inclusive social reform and garnered the public's love even though his policies were ineffective. Argentinians similarly idolized Juan and Eva Perón for their humble origins, crusade against the enemies of the *descamisados*, and condemnation of imperialism. Latin American countries in the early twentieth-century experienced unification and the spread of nationalistic sentiment with the development of mass communication technology that spread populist ideology and aided the movements against foreign imperialistic encroachment by showcasing the virtue of the revolutionary groups and their leaders.

The Chico Historian

Bibliography

- Aldrich, Richard J. "American Journalism and the Landscape of Secrecy: Tad Szulc, the CIA and Cuba." *History* 100, no. 340 (April 2015): 189–209.
- Bruce, Marcus. *Nicaragua: Sandinista Peoples' Revolution Speeches by Sandinista Leaders*. United Kingdom. London: Pathfinder Press, 1985.
- Chomsky, Aviva. *A History of the Cuban Revolution*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.
- Dario, Rubén. Selected Poems of Rubén Darío. Translated by Lysander Kemp. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993, pp. 69-70 quoted in Holden, Latin America and the United States.
- Dawson, Alexander. *Latin America since Independence: A History with Primary Sources*. New York: Routledge, 2010.
- Holden, Robert H., and Eric Zolov, eds. *Latin America and the United States: A Documentary History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Karush, Matthew B. "Blackness in Argentina: Jazz, Tango and Race Before Perón*." *Past & Present* 216, no. 1 (August 1, 2012): 215–45.
- Martí, José. "The Truth About the United States." In *Inside the Master: Writings on the United States and American Imperialism*, edited by Philip S. Foner and translated by Elinor Randall, 49-54. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975.
- Moreira, Sonia Virginia. "Nine Decades of the Radio Industry in Brazil." *Journal of Radio & Audio Media* 18, no. 2 (July 2011): 322–32.
- U.S. Department of State. *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, with the Annual Message of the President Transmitted to Congress, 6 December 1904*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1905.

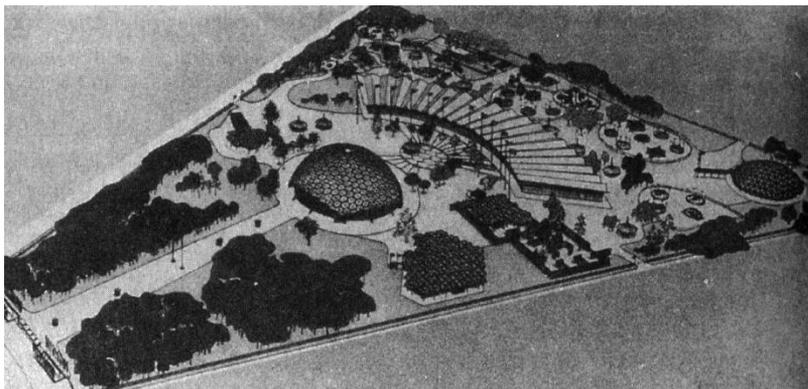


Illustration of plans for the American National Exhibition in Sokolniki Park, Moscow. (Image Source: Paleofuture, "Illustration of plans for the American National Exhibition in Sokolniki Park, Moscow," *The All-American Expo That Invaded Cold War Russia*, accessed April 7, 2016, <http://paleofuture.gizmodo.com/the-all-american-expo-that-invaded-cold-war-russia-550628823>.)

**THE AMERICAN NATIONAL EXHIBITION IN
MOSCOW, 1959: HOW THE A.N.E.M INFLUENCED
THE COLD WAR**

| Matthew Williams

The so-called Kitchen Debate of 1959 between Richard M. Nixon and Nikita S. Khrushchev was a pivotal point in the Cold War. Held at the American National Exhibition in Sokolniki Park in Moscow, its official purpose was to promote the sharing of ideas regarding consumer technology between the two superpowers. Not limited to simple appliances, the event instigated the sharing of ideas. The Kitchen Debate highlighted many differences: cultural, political, and technological. While the popular narrative considers the American National Exhibition to have contributed greatly to the overall outcome of the Cold War, it clearly did not influence the conflict in the way that is commonly thought.

The American National Exhibition was originally planned under a 1958 agreement, made between the United States and the Soviet Union, to hold expositions in each others' countries. A Soviet Exhibition was held in New York City's Coliseum and an American Exhibition was held in Sokolniki Park in Moscow. The intention of these expositions was to share ideas and show each others' populations what the other country was like.¹ This came at a time when the populations of the two nations knew little about their powerful adversaries. The Soviet Union and communism were taboo subjects in the United States, while conversely America and capitalism were taboo in the Soviet Union. Consequently, most people had little or no idea what life was actually like in either country. The American National Exhibition aimed to change this.

In early 1959, President Eisenhower approved Vice President Richard Nixon to represent the United States at the exhibition after a recommendation by the United States Information Agency.² Just before Nixon left for Moscow, the U.S. Congress passed the Captive Nations Resolution, which dedicated every third week in July to raising awareness concerning countries that were under the control of communistic and other non-democratic regimes.³ This resolution caused great tension prior to, and during, Nixon's visit to the U.S.S.R.,

¹ Susan E. Reid, "Who will Beat Whom?: Soviet Popular Reception of the American National Exhibition in Moscow, 1959," *Kritika, Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 9, No. 4, Fall 2008, p. 856.

² Richard M. Nixon, *RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (New York: Gossett & Dunlap, 1978), 203.

³ *Ibid.*, 205.

and it provided the subject of much of what Nixon and Khrushchev debated when away from the public eye.

The Exhibition itself included the latest-and-greatest technology and art, representing American “cutting-edge” culture. There was a model home, nicknamed “Splitnik” as a play off of the word “Sputnik.” This nickname derived because the structure was split in half to allow a large audience to view the interior. Inside, the yellow appliances of the General Electric kitchen created a bright, cheery background for the renowned Kitchen Debate. Adjacent to the house, a revolutionary color television studio provided the location where Nixon and Khrushchev would have their debate recorded on Ampex color videotape, later replayed on televisions throughout the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Separate from the house, there were three other kitchens, most notably a fully-automated Whirlpool “Miracle” kitchen designed to amaze Soviet and American audiences. Voting machines, demonstrated how American election processes worked on the individual level. These voting machines were used during the exhibition to collect data regarding Soviet reaction to the exhibits.⁴ An array of American art, including many sculptures, as well as a large selection of paintings and photographs rounded out the scene. These exhibits represented the diversity and creativity of modern American artists.

A particularly notable exhibit was a film entitled “Glimpses of the U.S.A.,” a slideshow-type film put together to show Soviets what an ordinary day for an average American family looked like. It contained images of wide-open prairies, densely wooded forests, mountains, urban metropolises, sprawling suburbs, and interstate highways; all presented to the tune of dramatic cinematic music with a narration that described a typical day in America. It really did capture the late 1950s U.S.A. quite well.⁵ The event organizers displayed the film on seven twenty-foot by thirty-foot screens inside another of the event’s main attractions, a 250-foot diameter geodesic dome, designed by distinguished architect and inventor Buckminster Fuller.⁶ It took more than all this, however, to truly impress the Soviets.

The most well-known events of the American National Exhibition were the debates between Nixon and Khrushchev in the model General Electric kitchen, hence the name “Kitchen Debate.” This was followed by a debate in the color television studio, which was

⁴ Reid, “Who will Beat Whom?,” 886.

⁵ Charles and Ray Eames, *Glimpses of the U.S.A. (1959) [excerpt]* (Eames Office, 1959), from YouTube, 4:23, <https://youtu.be/Ob0aSyDUK4A>

⁶ Eames Office, “Glimpses Of The U.S.A. Film,” *The Work: Multiscreen & Multimedia*, accessed April 3, 2016, (Eames Office 1959).

The Chico Historian

broadcast in the United States and Soviet Union. These two events are often collectively referred to as “The Kitchen Debate” although only one of them actually took place in a kitchen. The two leaders discussed the superiority of each country in specific areas. In what was probably the most famous scene from the whole event, Nixon and Khrushchev walked into the the General Electric model kitchen and Nixon pointed at a dishwasher:

Khrushchev: We have such things.

Nixon: This is our newest model. This is the kind which is built in thousands of units for direct installation in the houses. In America, we like to make life easier for women...

Khrushchev: Your capitalistic attitude toward women does not occur under Communism.

Nixon: I think that this attitude towards women is universal. What we want to do, is make life more easy for our housewives....⁷

This scene became famous primarily because it highlighted a significant difference in attitude regarding the status and role of women within the cultures. Under Soviet tradition, women worked just as men did and were respected for their labor, whereas in this era in the United States, women were often not employed for meaningful work. Women in the U.S. were also a frequent target of advertisers, attempting to sell products to supposedly improve their lives.

In another instance, Nixon admitted that although the Soviet Union was ahead of the United States in rocket technology at the time, the U.S. had an upper-hand in consumer technologies, such as color television. The two had very lively interactions: jabbing, joking, and debating throughout Nixon’s time in the Soviet Union. Though much was said between the two leaders, the moments captured by audio and video technology have become the foundation for scholarly interpretation of the Kitchen Debate.

In the color television studio, the two men deliberated more over their countries’ respective policies, trying in vain to answer a question that neither would agree on: which system was better? Each made valid points about the superiority of their own. When the topic of housing came up, Khrushchev argued that Soviets had a right to

⁷ Central Intelligence Agency (FOIA), The Kitchen Debate – Transcript, July 24, 1959, (The History Channel n.d.)(accessed 2/20/16), p.1.

housing — that one only had to be born in the Soviet Union to receive housing. In jest, he contrasted this to the United States, claiming “if you don’t have a dollar you have a right to choose between sleeping in a house or on the pavement,” meaning if you were penniless, you had to sleep on the street. Nixon rebutted, claiming that there were “a thousand builders building a thousand different houses,” and that no single individual in the government made anyone’s decisions for them.⁸ Khrushchev firmly convinced himself that, with the adoption of the 1960 five-year plan, the U.S.S.R. could catch up to the United States and eventually become superior, all thanks to the wonders of communism. He made it a point during the debate to share his confidence with the world.

Reception of The American National Exhibition

The American National Exhibition received mixed reviews. American news outlets reported that Nixon successfully debated his points and advocated peace between the powers. However, many sources collected from Soviet patrons to the exhibition revealed criticism of the event. The primary means of collecting information from the Soviets included a combination of voting machines that the event organizers used to record quantitative data regarding specific exhibits as “favorable” or “unfavorable,” as well as blank comment books that Soviets could write in. These sources, however, are not absolutely reliable due to so-called “agitators” present during the first few weeks of the event. The agitators confused American guides with bizarre questions, and left negative comments in the books with the hope that others would follow suit.⁹

The majority of the comments that Soviets wrote in the comment books were negative, often describing a feeling of “disappointment.”¹⁰ Many expected much more from the American exhibit. Some praises were accompanied by a criticism within the same comment. This was partly due to patrons’ tendencies to read previous comments in the books then formulate their own based upon them, and partly due to fear of seeming pro-American by Soviet secret police.

Based upon the data collected from the Soviet comment books (see Table 1), it is clear some exhibits proved very popular. American cars received frequent remarks as many Soviets quite liked the designs and features offered in U.S.-made vehicles not offered in Soviet cars. The tour guides were also, for the most part, viewed favorably. Yet,

⁸ Central Intelligence Agency (FOIA), *The Kitchen Debate – Transcript*, July 24, 1959, p. 2.

⁹ Reid, “Who will Beat Whom?,” 874.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 877.

despite these positive notes, most comments remained negative. Soviets did not find the technology and machine-related exhibits as impressive as expected. A 1959 *New York Times* article stated “a great number of the Russians complained of an absence of technical marvels at work before their eyes.”¹¹ Another very-common criticism related to technology was that many of the machines made simple tasks more complicated. Khrushchev himself criticized a lemon juicer to Nixon:

What a silly thing for your people to exhibit in the Soviet Union, Mr. Nixon! All you need for tea is a couple of drops of lemon juice. I think it would take a housewife longer to use this gadget than it would for her to do what our housewives do: slice a piece of lemon, drop it into a glass of tea, then squeeze a few drops out with a spoon. That's the way we always did it when I was a child, and I don't think this appliance of yours is an improvement in any way. It's not really a time-saver or a labor-saver at all. In fact, you can squeeze a lemon faster by hand. This kind of nonsense is an insult to our intelligence.¹²

Many Soviets shared the same sentiment regarding these time and labor saving devices. Simpler, better ways to do the same task existed that did not involve an expensive gadget. This held true for many of the devices showcased in the American exhibit.

One of the other items criticized even more harshly by Soviets were the art exhibits. Many Soviets thought the art was too risqué, too vulgar, and often just inappropriate. One of the most hotly contested aspects of the art exhibit was how it portrayed women. In this regard, Khrushchev had a particular issue:

There were a lot of paintings and pieces of sculpture in a style which the Americans consider modernism. Most of these didn't impress me much. In fact, I found them revolting. Some of them were downright perverted. I was especially upset by one statue of a woman. I'm simply not eloquent enough to express in words how disgusting it was. It was a monster-woman, all out of proportion, with a huge behind and grotesque in every other way.... How would this sculptor's mother feel to see how he depicts a woman? He must be abnormal in some way, a pervert or a pederast. No man who loves life and nature, who loves women, could depict a female this way!"¹³

Many Soviets agreed with this sentiment. American art simply did not sit well with them. At least five people—including

¹¹ Max Frankel, “U.S. Fair Derided By Soviet Press: Propaganda And Deception Alleged in New Attacks,” *The New York Times*, July 29, 1959.

¹² Nikita S. Khrushchev and Strobe Talbott, *Khrushchev Remembers: The Last Testament* (New York: Little Brown & Company, 1974), 365.

¹³ *Ibid*, 364-365.

Khrushchev—specifically commented on that sculpture unfavorably in the Soviet comment books.

One of the other problematic aspects discussed by Soviet patrons was the overall confusing nature of the exhibition. It lacked signage or organization which many Soviets did not appreciate. Soviets expressed a desire for more organization, signs, and descriptions of each item.¹⁴ Despite the harsh criticism, it is incorrect to call the American National Exhibition a failure. It did influence the Cold War, but not in the way many think.

U.S.-Soviet relations during the American National Exhibition reached a new milestone. The Kitchen Debate certainly showcased major differences in a relatively short amount of time. What made the debate significant in the grand scheme of the Cold War is that it was really the first time a leader from the United States and the leader from the Soviet Union met face-to-face and deliberated policy matters. It was also the first recording of such a debate on color videotape, which both governments translated and broadcast internationally. Seeing two high-ranking officials of two of the most powerful nations on earth jabbing at each other, interrupting one another, and telling jokes served to humanize them both. It showed both Americans and Soviets that, despite political and ideological differences, we are all human. Khrushchev and Nixon both handled themselves very well, especially given that they knew the world was watching. Nixon tried to incite peace by showing the Soviets that by converting their production from military purposes into consumer goods that they too could live like Americans. Khrushchev responded to these assertions by arguing that capitalism breeds corruption and oppression. In the end, the two men agreed to start a dialogue in order to share ideas and culture, to coexist rather than to try to overtake one another.

In terms of the rest of the exhibition, for the most part, Soviets did not believe Americans lived in the way the American National Exhibition portrayed them. Many Soviets doubted Nixon's claim that an average steel worker could comfortably afford a house such as the exhibit home making only ninety dollars a week. Even if they overcame that, many took issue with the supposed poor quality of the structure and felt that, while it might be alright for the Russian summer, it would not stand a chance in Russian winter.¹⁵

While the Soviets outwardly scoffed at the over-complicated American goods, a subtle image of what life *could* be like was inserted into the minds of everyone who attended the exhibition. This led to a very-gradual increase in desire for things Americans had. While there is

¹⁴ Frankel, "U.S. Fair Derided By Soviet Press".

¹⁵ Frankel, "U.S. Fair Derided By Soviet Press".

no quantitative data to reflect consumer demand itself, data showing the types and quantities of goods owned by Soviet families over time, as well as the quantity of specific goods produced by the Soviet Union do exist. Using televisions — including black and white as well as color — as a standard consumer product, an analysis of demand can be undertaken. In 1970, the Soviet Union produced 6,682,000 televisions. That same year, the United States produced 9,368,000 televisions. Seventeen years later, in 1987, the U.S.S.R. produced 9,081,000 televisions, while the U.S. produced 23,280,000.¹⁶ Over a seventeen year span, Soviet production of televisions increased by 2,399,000 units, while the U.S. increased its production by 13,912,000 units. In addition, in 1980, 249 out of 1,000 Soviets owned a television. Nine years later, in 1989, that number grew to 316 out of 1,000.¹⁷ It is clear that both production and consumption gradually increased over time, and this must have been caused by an increase in demand.

While the Soviets' initial response to the American National Exhibition was rather negative, the exhibition influenced the Cold War in long-term, indirect ways. The exhibition was most influential in introducing new ideas. At first, the ideas of capitalism and consumerism seemed laughable and inconceivable to Soviets who had long been accustomed to the ways of socialism. Soviets viewed many of the goods displayed at the exhibition as science fiction at first. Real change only began to take place around a decade later when the Soviet Union began trading with Western Europe and the United States. Though consumer demand did not skyrocket from the get-go like so many Americans hoped, it gradually increased after World War II until the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991. The 1959 exhibition influenced the gradual demise of the Soviet Union by showing the Soviets what was possible, and what their lives could be like if they focused more on consumer manufacturing and less on the military.

A direct correlation between the exhibition and consumer demand is difficult to establish due to a lack of hard data. Between the end of World War II and the exhibition fifteen years later, consumer demand increased, but not as fast as after the exhibition. It had at least some influence. The evidence lies in the production of consumer goods and the number of Soviets who owned these goods over time. Before the exhibition, relatively few Soviets had experience with, or access to, western goods. After the exhibition, consumer goods slowly became more commonplace. By the 1970s, people purchased consumer commodities like televisions, cars, Western-style clothing, stereos, and

¹⁶ U.S. Department of Commerce, *USA/USSR Facts and Figures*, August 1991, <https://www.census.gov/population/international/files/USSR.pdf>, 50.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 96.

other things Americans had in nearly every home. In a sense, it took a decade after the exhibition for the Soviet Union to begin to achieve the same level of production as the United States, and even into the late 1980s, it still had not caught up fully. Even with the introduction of consumer goods, the centralized economic planning was far too inefficient to keep up with fluctuating demand. It would require a conversion to capitalist practices to provide Soviet consumers with the products they desired. With that conversion came the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The American National Exhibition in Moscow of 1959 showcased the latest and greatest of American ingenuity, despite the fact that much of it was not available to Americans at the time. The point of the exhibition was to show the Soviet Union what the United States could do. By featuring a modern house, cars, appliances, whole kitchens, art, and ideas, it gave many Soviets a “too good to be true” type of first impression. Many Soviets doubted the legitimacy of the guides and the exhibits, partially due to Soviet propaganda, partially due to fear of being thought of as pro-American. In the short term, the exhibition had little effect on the Cold War: it simply built diplomatic relations. It opened dialogue between the United States and the U.S.S.R., but real change did not occur until nearly a decade later when consumer goods became more commonplace. Did the American National Exhibition cause the collapse of the Soviet Union? In a word, no. However, it did sow the seeds of consumerist dissent that blossomed in the mid 1970s and came to full fruition by the late 1980s. The Soviet Union would have collapsed regardless, for a variety of different reasons, but the American National Exhibition likely served to speed up the process at the very least.

The Chico Historian

Bibliography

- Central Intelligence Agency. "The Kitchen Debate - Transcript." *Central Intelligence Agency*. July 24, 1959.
- Glimpses of the U.S.A (1959) [excerpt]*. Directed by Charles Eames, & Ray Eames. Performed by Eames Office. 1959.
- "Glimpses of the U.S.A. Film: The Work: Multiscreen & Multimedia." *Eames Office*. July 24, 1959. <http://www.eamesoffice.com/the-work/glimpses-of-the-u-s-a-film>.
- "Out of Many, One: Glimpses of the USA and More: Scholars Walk: Notable Articles." *Eames Office*. July 24, 1959. <http://www.eamesoffice.com/scholars-walk/out-of-many-one-glimpses-of-the-usa-and-more>.
- Frankel, Max. "'U.S. Fair Derided By Soviet Press: Propoganda and Deception Alleged in New Attacks.'" *New York Times*, July 29, 1959.
- Khrushchev, Nikita S, and Strobe Talbott. *Khrushchev Remembers: The Last Testament*. Translated by Strobe Talbott. New York: Little Brown & Company, 1974.
- Larner, John W. "Judging The Kitchen Debate." *OAH Magazine of History* 2, no. 1 (July 1986): 25-27.
- Nixon, Richard M. *RN: The Memoirs of Richard Nixon*. New York: Gossett & Dunlap, 1978.
- Oldenziel, Ruth, and Karin Zachmann. *Cold War Kitchen: Americanization, Technology, and European Users*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009.
- PaleoFuture. "The All-American Expo That Invaded Cold War Russia." *PaleoFuture*. July 24, 1959. <http://paleofuture.gizmodo.com/the-all-american-expo-that-invaded-cold-war-russia-550628823>.
- Reid, Susan E. "'Who Will Beat Whom? Soviet Popular Reception of the American National Exhibition in Moscow, 1959.'" *Kritika, Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 9, no. 4 (2008): 855-904.
- . "Cold War In The Kitchen: Gender And The De-Stalinization Of Consumer Taste In The Soviet Union Under Khrushchev." *Slavic Review*, July 2002: 211-252.
- . "The Khrushchev Kitchen: Domesticating The Scientific-Technological Revolution." *Journal of Contemporary History* 40, no. 2 (2005): 289-316.
- The History Channel. "The Kitchen Debate Video: Richard M. Nixon Videos." *The History Channel*. n.d. <http://www.history.com/topics/us-presidents/richard-m-nixon/videos/the-kitchen-debate>.
- U.S. Department of Commerce. "USA/USSR Facts and Figures." *www.census.gov*. August 1991. <https://www.census.gov/population/international/files/USSR.pdf>.



The Sinking of the Lusitania

(Image Licensed under Bundesarchiv, DVM 10 Bild-23-61-17 / CC-BY-SA 3.0 via Wikimedia Commons, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sinking_of_the_RMS_Lusitania.)

AMERICAN ISOLATIONISM: AN EXPLANATION FOR THE UNITED STATES NOT DECLARING WAR ON GERMANY IN MAY 1915

| Jeremy Bakke

Historians have long debated the reason for the United States continuing its neutrality in the Great War following the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the loss of American lives on May 7th, 1915. When war first broke out in Europe in August of 1914, a wave of astonishment and uncertainty washed over Americans. The United States, so far removed from the conflict, pointedly proclaimed to the world its intention to be neutral. How, then, did the country manage to remain so, even after Germany threatened American interests and lives? Some historians point to the impartiality of the American public, who assumed the crisis had little direct relevance for the United States. Other historians have a much more refined view of the situation, identifying the nation's isolationist foreign policy. Finally, some point to President Woodrow Wilson's moral reservations as the core reason which kept the United States from participating in the Great War for over two years.

These three theories certainly provide a foundation for explaining American non-involvement in the early years of the war. Yet they do not go far enough—to fully explain U.S. motivations and reservations a synthesis of these ideas is necessary. President Wilson vigilantly upheld neutrality and maintained the government's isolationist foreign policy. Despite this fact, a flame of indignation swept over the once impartial American public after the loss of American lives aboard the *Lusitania*. Yet it did not bring war then because President Wilson held fast to a noble post-war vision.

When the war began in 1914, neutrality in thought was difficult to secure in the nation partly because of indifference but more so because of a clash of sympathies. All Americans of both parties, even Theodore Roosevelt, who later became an ardent advocate of intervention, approved Wilson's proclamation of neutrality.¹ There were wide ranges of sympathy, however. On one side there were those with ethnic or business ties to Britain and France, as well as many distressed by the German invasion of Belgium. On the other were over 8,000,000 German-Americans who sympathized with their ancestral homeland and over 4,500,000 Irish-Americans who had no interest in

¹ Patrick Devlin, *Too Proud to Fight: Woodrow Wilson's Neutrality* (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1975), 141.

helping Britain so long as it continued to deny Ireland's independence.² In the middle were those who did not care enough to be embroiled or who, if they were disposed to care, did not see the war as the nation's business until it threatened American lives.

On May 7th, 1915, at around 1 p.m., Herr Kapitan-Leutnant Walter Schwieger sighted "a great passenger liner" off the south coast of Ireland from his German submarine. At 2:10, he fired one of his three remaining torpedoes, successfully sinking the vessel just ten minutes later.³ Two-thirds of the passengers and crew aboard the *Lusitania*, 1,201 in all, perished, including 270 women, 94 children, and 124 American citizens. The event came as a shock to the American people, instantly transforming the stance of the United States toward entering the war. Gone were notions of viewing from afar a tragedy that was happening to others; gone were ideas about enduring and managing a gradual accumulation of small incidents that blockades and sporadic submarine attacks had caused. Contradictory opinions sprang up all over the country from many different viewpoints, each calling for the government to take a different stance on the war.⁴

The morning after the sinking, emotions ran high and staunch nationalists called for a confrontation with Germany. Theodore Roosevelt, upon hearing the news, announced that the barbaric attack represented outright murder on the vastest scale. "It seems inconceivable," he declared, "that we can refrain from taking action in this matter, for we owe it not only to humanity but to our own national self-respect."⁵ The *New York Herald* echoed this sentiment to readers in a banner headline that further criticized Wilson's pacifism: "WHAT A PITY THEODORE ROOSEVELT IS NOT PRESIDENT!"⁶ For a few days, it seemed as though the whole country agreed with Roosevelt's militant way of thinking.

As horrified as most Americans were at the thought of Germany attacking civilians without warning and leaving them to a cruel fate in the sea, they also recoiled at the thought of war. Less than a week after the sinking, public reaction had cooled considerably. Voices that only a few days prior had called for war now urged moderation. New York newspapers conducted the closest thing to a public opinion poll that was possible at the time, asking every editor in the country to telegraph his opinion of what the United States should

² Ibid.

³ Ibid, 216.

⁴ John Cooper, *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York: Vintage Books, 2009), 284.

⁵ Edward Renehan Jr, *The Lion's Pride: Theodore Roosevelt and His Family in Peace and War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 101.

⁶ Ibid, 102.

do. Out of the thousand who responded, only six called for war.⁷ The public's lack of belligerence was not surprising, considering the initial reluctance for intervention when the war began and the jarring newspaper and magazine coverage of the carnage on the Western Front. Reports about the use of poison gas and other horrors certainly did not influence anyone to favor the idea. President Wilson summed up the public reaction best when he said to William Jennings Bryan:

I wish with all my heart I saw a way to carry out the double wish of our people, to maintain a firm front in respect of what we demand of Germany and yet do nothing that might by any possibility involve us in the war.⁸

What followed was the first of four diplomatic protests President Wilson's government made to Germany, hoping to satisfy the public's "double wish" in stopping future German attacks while keeping the United States at peace.

When World War I began, American diplomacy was more concerned with maintaining neutrality than it was with the thought of joining Britain in punishing Germany's violation of Belgian neutrality. Sympathy ran hot, but, owing to the large English and German elements in the population, U.S. government leaders assumed that the nation could never take part on either side without inciting a civil war at home.⁹ The strength of these mixed loyalties, added to American traditions of isolationism and pacifism, seemed to preclude intervention. The U.S. government appeared to have no choice but impartial neutrality. Indeed, no other alternative even received consideration until American interests became involved in the conflict. This led to a dilemma with respect to how the belligerent nations dealt with the United States' pledge of neutrality.

It would not be true to suggest that the U.S. government was wholly passive, even at first. The requirements of rigid neutrality were by no means clear, and a number of minor, though potentially important, issues required clarification. First, the U.S. release of German cruisers or purchase of idle ships would hurt the Allies. To pen them up, on the other hand, would hurt the Germans. War trade was affected similarly. Should the United States permit the export of contraband to benefit the Allies? If Washington forbade such trade, it

⁷ Cooper, Woodrow Wilson: A Biography, 285.

⁸ Ibid, 286.

⁹ Ernest R. May, *The World War and American Isolation, 1914-1917* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959), 34.

greatly aided Britain's enemies.¹⁰ Issues of this nature were hard to manage in any case, and often put the United States at odds with the warring countries, making it exceptionally difficult when subject to the stress of attempting to maintain Wilson's formal policy of strict impartiality.

One such issue which greatly concerned the United States involved the use of peaceful nations use of the seas. The high seas belonged to all nations, being at once a right of way and common area so vast that two enemies could fight one another on it without interfering at all with peaceful traffic.¹² Merchant ships of belligerent nations held status as noncombatants on the rationale that they may be carrying neutral goods, but were still subject to be captured peacefully unless the vessel resisted. Neutral merchant ships were expected to receive safe passage so long as they complied with two conditions that constituted the greater part of the international law of the seas.

First, neutral ships would lose their immunity if they interfered in legitimate naval operations, such as the blockade of a given port. A blockade, as international law ordained, must be an effective one capable of keeping out any intruder who was not prepared to "run the gauntlet."¹¹ What became more important, however, was not the blockade of a port, but the blockade of an entire country or, at least, a whole coast line. This guaranteed the right to intercept a ship anywhere on the grounds that if it was proceeding to an enemy country, the vessel by definition was running the blockade. Second, neutral ships were not to assist the enemy by trading in military supplies, which was the foundation of the law of contraband. Contraband is by definition neutral cargo that is, by its nature, capable of being used to assist in the naval or military operations of the enemy.¹² This law drew the lines between peacetime and wartime trading, further subjecting neutral ships to submitting to belligerent inspection.

When Germany and Britain made it their aim to stop trade with one another in every sort of commodity in accordance with this law, the U.S. government had to either submit or risk involvement.¹³ If Washington chose the former, the United States would be hurt financially by the loss of foreign trade in pocket and perhaps also in pride. It became apparent that the United States could not have both non-involvement and neutrality according to prevailing international law. The issue, however, was not one that would demand a solution until German submarines began to take their toll on American lives.

¹⁰ Ibid, 35.

¹¹ Devlin, *Too Proud to Fight: Woodrow Wilson's Neutrality*, 159.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid, 144.

Germany's intensive submarine campaign was the answer to the system of Allied maritime control; logically an excuse might be found for Germany's employment of it. But its effects upon neutral rights were disastrous. To operate effectively, the submarines had to make their attacks without warning, destroy blindly, and then escape as speedily as possible. This left the merchant ship, which might be neutral or belligerent, and may or may not carry contraband, with no assurance of what would happen to their passengers and crew.¹⁴ The submarine campaign involved indiscriminate destruction of American property, permitting no distinction between contraband and free goods. Wilson might not have taken his firm stand against the use of submarines if Germany had threatened merely property rights, however. But the submarine warfare involved attacks upon American lives, whether sailors on merchant ships or passengers.

To Wilson, using submarines to attack passenger ships constituted a war on humanity. It was impossible for the submarine to visit and search or to capture peacefully. It could only sink and leave all on board to the mercy of the sea in small boats. Wilson issued a statement saying that he was "considering very earnestly, but very calmly the right course of action to pursue." This was all the country knew of his mind until that Monday evening, May 10, 1915.¹⁵ He then fulfilled an engagement in Philadelphia to address four thousand newly naturalized citizens. There he spoke to them about American ideals:

There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight.
There is such a thing as a nation being so right that it does not
need to convince others by force that it is right.¹⁶

While it had not occurred to Wilson that listeners might take what he said as related to the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the phrase "too proud to fight" had placed Wilson's image in a million minds and fixed it for years to come.

What did it mean to be "too proud to fight"? For some it was a coward's plea, while for others a fragment of Christianity tossed into a wicked world. To Wilson, the phrase epitomized the noble thought that might is not right and the powerful should not resort to force to prove their point. What Wilson meant was that a man might be proud enough

¹⁴ Charles Seymour, "American Neutrality: The Experience of 1914-1917," *Foreign Affairs* 14, no. 1 (Oct. 1935): 29.

¹⁵ Devlin, *Too Proud to Fight: Woodrow Wilson's Neutrality*, 288.

¹⁶ Woodrow Wilson, "Americanism and the Foreign Born" (Citizen Naturalization Address, Philadelphia, 1915), The American Presidency Project, <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=65388>.

to ignore provocation, too convinced of the justice of his cause to feel the need to prove it in battle—in essence, too proud to use fists.¹⁷ Expressing a deeply ingrained personal belief of Wilson, the utterance would survive as one of his best-remembered phrases—but to the president's chagrin. Wilson could not go to war with Germany if he intended at all to uphold his own belief.

What followed shortly after Wilson's speech was the first Lusitania Note; one of three letters which Wilson sent to Germany in response to the *Lusitania* sinking. In it, the president described Germany's use of unrestricted submarine warfare as an "inevitable violation of many sacred principles of justice and humanity."¹⁸ Wilson's note, that he first drafted on his own typewriter, was a call to Germany to abandon altogether the submarine campaign which it had just initiated. It went on to declare that any injury to American vessels or citizens would be "an indefensible violation of neutral rights" for which the United States would demand "strict accountability."¹⁹ Wilson and his government acted more as a mediator in calling for the "disavowal" of the German government's actions against neutral ships, further requesting reparations and steps to prevent reoccurrence. The note drew upon not only a legalistic sentiment, but a moral stance from Wilson, which continued to keep the country from joining the war.

President Wilson held onto an idealized notion of what the U.S. role should be in the war. He was intent on elevating American neutrality with what he thought was the country's duty to serve the world. This was the irresistible motivation for Wilson: not the safeguarding of American prosperity, nor the maintenance of American pride, though to this he was never indifferent.²⁰ But the wisdom and high-mindedness which Wilson wanted to dispense would not be acceptable unless the nations invited to partake of them could take seats at an impartial table. It required the strict adherence to law, as there was no other test of impartiality, to win American recognition as neutral. It was this sense of moral righteousness and desire for justice that urged Wilson to intermeditate between the belligerent nations, keep the United States from joining in the eruption of war, and not go to war before giving Germany a chance to meet his moral standard.

The sinking of the *Lusitania* was a rude awakening to the traditionally isolationist United States, one which challenged wholly

¹⁷ Devlin, *Too Proud to Fight: Woodrow Wilson's Neutrality*, 15.

¹⁸ Woodrow Wilson, *First Lusitania Note*, Washington D.C.: Foreign Relations of the United States, 1915.

https://www.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Wilson's_First_Lusitania_Note_to_Germany

¹⁹ May, *The World War and American Isolation, 1914-1917*, 138.

²⁰ Devlin, *Too Proud to Fight: Woodrow Wilson's Neutrality*, 175.

the temperament of her people, policy, and president. While the attack on American lives brought widespread feelings of alarm and fury to the country, the U.S. people abhorred the thought of participating in a conflict so far removed from their homes. As German U-boats challenged international law with their ghostly grip over the seas, so too did the U.S. government rise to confront those deemed as miscreants, not with military means, but armed instead with a moral rhetoric and steadfast fervor for neutrality. At the head of its assault stood Woodrow Wilson, a man swathed in a cloak of peace and wishing to extend his moral influence over warring nations far across the Atlantic to end the war and create permanent peace. It is a wonder the country's resolve held in pursuit of Wilson's idealistic purpose. Through it all, however, the United States remained resolute in maintaining its formal impartiality. The world now had something to learn from America's stance. "The example of America," as Woodrow Wilson said, "must be the example not merely of peace because it will not fight, but of peace because peace is the healing and elevating influence of the world and strife is not."²¹

²¹ Woodrow Wilson, "Americanism and the Foreign Born,"
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=65388>.

American Isolationism

Bibliography

- Cooper, John. *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography*. New York: Vintage Books, 2009.
- Devlin, Patrick. *Too Proud to Fight: Woodrow Wilson's Neutrality*. New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1975.
- Mary, Ernest R. *The World War and American Isolation, 1914-1917*. Harvard University Press, 1959.
- Rehman, Edward Jr. *The Lion's Pride: Theodore Roosevelt and His Family in Peace and War*. Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Seymour, Charles. "American Neutrality: The Experience of 1914- 1917." *Foreign Affairs* 14, no. 1 (Oct., 1935): 26-36.
- Wilson, Woodrow. *Americanism and the Foreign Born*. Citizen Naturalization Address. Philadelphia, 1915. The American Presidency Project.
<http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=65393>.
- Wilson, Woodrow. *First Lusitania Note*. Washington, D.C.: Foreign Relations of the United States, 1915.
https://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Wilson's_First_Lusitania_Note_to_Germany.

The Chico Historian

Appendix

2017 Phi Alpha Theta Initiates

It is with great pride and enthusiasm that the Editorial Board of *The Chico Historian* welcomes into the fold this year's new members of the Alpha Delta Omicron Chapter of Phi Alpha Theta:

Andrew Fowler

Joshua Furtado

Christopher Fuqua

Eric Isenberg

Brett Macek

Juan E. Vega

Richard McReynolds

Jazmin Meza

Naomi Ramirez

Elizabeth Stout

