

The Chico Historian

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*Dedicated in Loving Memory
of Professor Weikun Cheng, 1953-2007*

Obituary

Weikun Cheng was born on August 25, 1953, and grew up in Beijing. After he finished his freshman year of high school, turmoil in China forced him to delay his formal education for nearly a decade. The policies of the Cultural Revolution closed down all schools, including his. Two years later, when Weikun would have graduated from high school, he was sent to southern China to work on a state-run sugar plantation. He later spent two years in the army, where his commanders were quick to recognize his culinary skills. He soon became the lead chef of his company. As Weikun often told his students, the only way that he and his friends could read books during this time was to break into public libraries, all of which had been closed as part of the Cultural Revolution.

In 1977, China's government reopened the universities. One year later, and with only one year of formal high school training, Weikun took the university entrance exam and passed. He studied History at Sichuan University and received his Bachelor's degree in 1982. He returned to Beijing and completed a Master's degree at the People's University of China in 1984. For the next five years, he lectured at the Qing History Institute at the People's University of China in Beijing. He carried out extensive archival research on the social and economic impact of the 1911 Revolution and published twenty articles in Chinese professional journals. He married his wife, Xiaoping Lei, in 1985. Their son, Stephen Si Cheng, was born in 1986.

In 1989, Weikun came to the United States and began his doctoral work in History at the Johns Hopkins University. His research interest shifted to Chinese women and social history. He defended his dissertation in 1996 and was hired by the History Department at CSU Chico in 1997. Xiaoping and Stephen joined him in Chico in 1999.

At Chico State, Dr. Cheng taught nine different classes covering the political and social history of China, Japan, Southeast Asia, and ancient civilizations. He was a prolific scholar who authored several important peer-reviewed articles and book chapters in English on the history of women in twentieth century Beijing. In 2002, Dr. Cheng was tenured and promoted to the rank of Associate Professor.

In the area of service to the University, Dr. Cheng coordinated CSU Chico's Asian Studies program for eight years and took a group of students to Beijing in fall 2001 as part of the Beijing Semester, sponsored by the College of the Humanities and Fine Arts. Many students remember Dr. Cheng as the faculty adviser to the History Club. Beginning in 2002, he took students to local sites of historical interest (like Oroville's Chinese Temple and the Vina Monastery), made annual treks to San Francisco's Chinatown and the Asian Art Museum, and hosted lectures and movie nights.

At the time of his death, Dr. Cheng had three articles in press, including one in *Chinese Cultural Studies*, a leading journal in his field. His forthcoming book, *City of Working Women: Life, Space, and Social Control in Early Twentieth-Century Beijing, 1901-1928*, draws from a variety of original sources and will make a major contribution to the history of lower-class women and their use of urban space. It will be published by UC Berkeley's renowned Institute of East Asian Studies in late 2008. Dr. Cheng had also begun research on a new book-length project on

Chinese actresses. In December 2007, Dr. Cheng was posthumously promoted to the rank of Full Professor.

Those fortunate enough to have known Dr. Cheng were touched by his wisdom and his good cheer. He will also be remembered as a champion in the effort to internationalize CSU Chico. He viewed himself as a bridge between his Chinese homeland and our campus, and he worked hard to recruit Chinese faculty and integrate them into the local Chinese-American community. As we mourn Dr. Cheng's premature passing, we also remember his contributions to our campus and pledge to carry on his powerful legacy of wisdom, kindness, and international understanding.

Note from the Editors

After years of difficulties and delayed release dates *The Chico Historian*, reaching its eighteenth edition, has emerged stronger than ever. The work published in this annual journal is done completely by students at California State University, Chico and this spring's edition should prove to be among the best thus far. Graduate and undergraduate students have dedicated time and energy to a wide range of topics and we at the *Historian* have done our best to edit and include those papers that presented the best combination of originality, thoroughness, and overall scholarship. This journal is intended for historians and lay people, alike.

For a journal like this to be completed you need a lot of people willing to lend a hand. Needless to say we received this help, plus some. I would like to thank co-editor Bryce Havens and our new editorial board members who have made this project much more viscous and complete. Taking time out of a busy school schedule is not easy for students, but the extra help from our editorial board has greatly contributed to our ability to complete this edition much earlier than it has been in past years.

Once again, without the tireless contributions from Phi Alpha Theta advisor Stephen E. Lewis the *Historian* would be just a skeleton of its current state. Dr. Lewis has been a consistent supporter of hard working students and the time he has dedicated to the *Historian* is always greatly appreciated. Along with Dr. Lewis, we would like to thank every professor or instructor who has assigned research papers in their classes. It is this type of hands-on work that has allowed students to really love their developing trade and learn research and writing skills that translate in countless aspects of life after school.

Last but not least, we would like to thank the anonymous donor whose contribution will be more than enough to cover all of the costs of production for this eighteenth edition of *The Chico Historian*. Following the wishes of this anonymous donor, this issue is dedicated to the memory of Professor Weikun Cheng, whose untimely and tragic death in December 2007 has left a real void in the History Department.

I hope that readers enjoy the collection of student work and consider submitting a paper themselves for the nineteenth edition next fall.

Co-editor,
David J. Wysocki

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The Unwanted Nelson Boys: Child Saving in Minnesota, 1890 – 1930

Claudia Beaty

“The Nelson Boys have a bad reputation and are not wanted.”
Minnesota State Agent A. J. Haupman, September 9, 1912

During the Progressive Era, from approximately 1890 to 1930, enormous changes took place in almost every aspect of life in the United States, including social, political and economic transformations. Progressive reformers, consisting mainly of Protestant members of the middle-class, fought for causes such as women’s suffrage, prohibition, public safety, and bringing an end to government corruption. By the end of the nineteenth century, the matter of “child saving” had captured the attention of the nation, bringing it to the forefront of many of the reformers’ agenda. As with all issues during this era, the opinions and suggested solutions for helping orphaned and neglected children varied, as did the success of child-saving measures taken. In Chicago, for example, settlement houses such as Jane Addams’ Hull House provided schooling, food and recreational activities for neighborhood children, and assistance for their parents. Before Addams’ work, New York City minister and reformer Charles Loring Brace had instigated a system called “placing-out,” which involved sending children away from large urban areas to Midwestern farms on what became known as “orphan trains.” And some states, such as Minnesota, created and ran cottage-style institutions like the Minnesota State Public School for Dependent and Neglected Children (MNSPS), located in Owatonna, Minnesota.

This study examines the child welfare concerns of Progressive Era reformers, which led to the formation of facilities such as the MNSPS, as well as the impact that particular school had on the lives of the members of one Minnesota family. Although child-saving reformers sought, and often succeeded, to rescue needy and destitute children, as well as to preserve families, the opposite outcome also took place. Many of the “saved” children grew into troubled adults, losing their natural families forever, and never considered themselves saved.

Between 1830 and 1860, a number of factors contributed to a transformation of ideas regarding the treatment of orphans in the United States. During the 1830s, society, especially middle-class families, became more child-centered, regarding childhood as a separate, distinct stage of life. Also, religious groups involved themselves more in child-saving matters. The effects of industrialization, however, played the largest role in the growing number of institutions for the needy. As more and more immigrants arrived to work in factories, cities’ populations rose, causing increased poverty and dire conditions. Many children and poor people required food, shelter and guidance, which in turn led to a rise for the need of almshouses and asylums to house the needy.¹

¹ Timothy A. Hasci, *Second Home: Orphan Asylums and Poor Families in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 20-21.

As the use of almshouses and orphan asylums increased, so did dissatisfaction with the care these types of institutions provided for the disadvantaged, especially for children.

Almshouse populations swelled in the pre-Civil War era, brought on by epidemics and the growth in the number of immigrant workers. In many cases, asylums cared not only for orphaned children, but also for half-orphans--children with living, but poor, parents. A growing conviction developed among concerned members of the middle class that it was wrong to house these innocent children in facilities alongside adult paupers, the criminal, and the insane, which often happened in almshouses.²

On January 9, 1853, a group of concerned New York City citizens, in an effort to help the city's vast number of orphans and half-orphans, founded the Children's Aid Society, choosing a bright and dedicated child advocate, Charles Loring Brace, to lead the new organization.³ Brace and his contemporaries developed a new system of dealing with the increasing amount of dependent children, especially those living on the streets of New York City, called placing-out, a precursor to the foster-care system that exists today.⁴ Brace, convinced that children would benefit from an environment totally different from a large city like New York City, began communicating with farmers in the Midwest and West who agreed take in needy children, and in doing so, would (in Brace's opinion) provide salvation for the homeless waifs. On September 28, 1854, thirty-seven boys and girls boarded a train in Albany, New York, headed to Dowagiac, Michigan, where Children's Aid Society workers handed them over to their new foster families.⁵ Those children became the first of approximately 150,000 children who eventually found new rural homes via orphan trains between 1854 and 1930.⁶

The Civil War created the need for even more child asylums. In New York City alone, the war years led to a growth in the child population of almshouses by 300 percent. The war also created additional demands for labor in the western states. Charles Loring Brace and the Children's Aid Society responded to the call for more workers, sending more destitute New York City children to the West than had ever been shipped before. Post-war reconstruction and the continuing settlement of the West brought about new opportunities for the placing-out of children, and eventually southern states began receiving the urban poor, as did states in the Southwest such as Texas and Oklahoma.⁷

As the century moved on, the importance of the effects of the war lessened, but the nation continued to grow both more urban and more industrial. An ongoing influx of immigrants in the

² June Axinn and Herman Levin, *Social Welfare: A History of the American Response to Need* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), 46-48.

³ Stephen O'Connor, *Orphan Trains: The Story of Charles Loring Brace and the Children He Saved and Failed* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2001), 82.

⁴ Marilyn Irvin Holt, *The Orphan Trains: Placing Out in America* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 42-43.

⁵ Stephen O'Connor, *Orphan Trains*, 106.

⁶ James Marten, *Childhood and Child Welfare in the Progressive Era: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005), 14.

⁷ Marilyn Holt, *Orphan Trains*, 74-76.

large cities caused a growth spurt in the number of Catholic and Protestant asylums, and public facilities began to appear in significant numbers for the first time, particularly in the northern states.⁸ From 1860 to 1890, the population of the United States rose from 31 million to 63 million, and the number of orphan asylums tripled, going from 200 to approximately 600.⁹ During the 1880s, many socially conscious individuals began to turn their attention to the conditions inside orphanages, and to the fate of orphans and half-orphans housed in such facilities, and by the decade of the 1890s, the salvation of children developed into a major weapon for members of a growing political and social movement now known as the Progressive Movement.

By 1908, child welfare advocates and their causes gained the attention and support of someone no less influential and powerful than the president of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt. On Christmas Day of 1908, after Homer Folks and other prominent figures in the field of child welfare convinced him of the urgent need to respond quickly to concerns surrounding the matter of poor, orphaned, abandoned and abused children, Roosevelt called for a conference on the care of dependent and neglected children. More than two hundred delegates from charity societies, settlement houses, juvenile courts, children's institutions, and public relief programs, assembled at the White House for the conference on January 25, 1909, to grapple with the issue of the nation's growing number of needy children.¹⁰

The conference participants agreed upon the fundamental precept that children should not be deprived of a home life. With that concept in mind, the group issued a list of pronouncements regarding the sanctity of family life. Some of these declarations, as stated in the conference's published report included:

Children should not be removed from their families except for urgent and compelling reasons, and destitution was not one of those reasons. If necessary, poor families should receive financial aid so that they could support their children.

Children who had to be removed from their own families should be cared for, wherever possible, in family homes. If necessary, foster families should be paid to care for other people's children.

Only those children who could not be cared for in their own homes or in foster homes should be consigned to institutions, and those institutions should be made as homelike as possible.¹¹

These and other recommendations put together during the White House Conference of 1909, helped shape child welfare policy throughout the twentieth century.¹²

⁸ Hasci, *Second Home*, 27.

⁹ Ibid., 49.

¹⁰ Matthew A. Crenson, *Building the Invisible Orphanage: A Prehistory of the American Welfare System* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998), 11-12.

¹¹ Ibid., 15.

Politicians and citizens of the state of Minnesota had been active in child welfare issues at least a decade before the 1909 conference in Washington, D.C. For example, in the election of 1881, voters chose Lucius F. Hubbard, a proponent of Charles Loring Brace's ideas on social work and juvenile institutions, to serve as their governor.¹³ During his five-year term, Hubbard involved himself in many reform matters, including public health issues, regulation of the railroads, charities, corrections, and child saving. He established the Minnesota State Board of Charities and Corrections in 1883, choosing a former minister and one of the most innovative social workers of the day, Hastings H. Hart, as its secretary. Hubbard, with Hart acting as his top advisor, persuaded the Minnesota legislature to adopt many new health and welfare programs. The two men eventually developed a plan that led to Minnesota's legislature passing a law in 1883, which established the Minnesota State Public School for Dependent and Neglected Children.¹⁴

Both Hubbard and Hart agreed with the prevailing view of the era, which was that children should be removed from poorhouses and impoverished natural homes, and placed-out to farm families. The governor's strategy included a system of interim institutionalization of children in a cottage-style facility, so that the children maintained good health and received some manner of education until placement in a suitable home occurred.¹⁵ In accordance with Hubbard's plan, legislators set up the MNSPS "to provide for such children a temporary home only in said school until homes can be procured for them in good families."¹⁶

Hubbard's views differed from that of Brace and other activists in the use of indenture contracts. Brace favored the immediate placement of children in a family home, fearing an indentured situation would lead to abuse and prevent children from leaving bad homes. Hubbard and Hart felt confident in their plan for a temporary home-like state school, and the use of indenture, since they had modeled the MNSPS after a similar state public school in Coldwater, Michigan, which had been operating successfully since 1874.¹⁷

The law establishing the MNSPS provided for a governor-appointed board of five commissioners to select a location for the school, as well as hire a person to operate it. After an intense competition between a few Minnesota towns and cities, the board chose Owatonna, mainly for intersecting railroads, and its rural setting, yet close proximity to the most densely populated portion of the state. The commissioners picked Galen A. Merrill, former vice-

¹² John E. B. Myers, *Child Protection in America: Past, Present and Future* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press: 2006), 59.

¹³ Virtual American Biographies, Lucius Frederick Hubbard, <<http://www.famousamericans.net/luciusfrederickhubbard/>>, accessed via internet, May 5, 2007; Priscilla Ferguson Clement, "With Wise and Benevolent Purpose: Poor Children and the State Public School at Owatonna, 1895-1915," *Minnesota History*, Vol. 49 (Spring 1984), 4.

¹⁴ Clement, "With Wise and Benevolent Purpose," 4

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ *General Laws of Minnesota*, 1885, 173,

¹⁷ Clement, "Wise and Benevolent Purpose," 4.

superintendent of the Coldwater, Michigan state public school, to serve as the first superintendent of the school in Owatonna.¹⁸

Merrill firmly believed in not only the home-like cottages that housed the orphans of the MNSPS, but also supported the practice of removing children from almshouses and asylums, and placing them into traditional family homes. He outlined his ideas about the new state school in his first report to the school's governing board, writing that a model institution:

...is the one that builds up the system of caring for these children in homes...rather than the one which constantly enlarges its borders and becomes a source of increasing public expense. We may have cottages but let us have the most of them, not on the grounds at Owatonna, but all over Minnesota, and let there be only about one child in each cottage.¹⁹

With Merrill at its helm, the MNSPS opened its doors on December 10, 1886, and remained in operation as a child-welfare asylum in one form or another for almost eighty-five years.²⁰ Merrill ran the institution until his death on October 10, 1934, a remarkable forty-eight years.²¹ The MNSPS maintained steady growth during its first 25 years of existence, reaching its pinnacle during the Depression era. By 1937, the grounds had grown to 329 acres and the number of student cottages reached 15, and housed nearly 500 students.²² The narrator of a 2002 film documentary on the MNSPS described it as "a city on a hill, on the edge of town, in a world of its own, practically self-sufficient in its salad days."²³

The state-run MNSPS differed from private institutions because Minnesota required the absolute surrender of parental rights over all children entering its school. In Superintendent Merrill's opinion, the rule served several purposes, including acting as a deterrent for people who would try to "throw off the burden of supporting their children" by leaving them at the school and never coming back to reclaim them.²⁴ Merrill also believed that revoking parental rights would help achieve the ultimate purpose of the school, to "elevate the dependent classes and lessen their numbers," thereby breaking the cycle of destitution in individual families. According to Merrill, when children entered a cottage-style facility such as the MNSPS, "their old life is shut out, and they enter here a community governed and maintained under high moral

¹⁸ Nathaniel Winship and others, *History of Steele and Waseca Counties, Minnesota* (Chicago: Union Publishing Company, 1887), 274.

¹⁹ Galen A. Merrill to Board of Control, 7 Dec. 1886, Owatonna State Public School, Superintendent's Reports, Minnesota State Historical Society, St. Paul.

²⁰ Harvey Ronglien, "The State Public School for Dependent and Neglected Children: Remember the Children," *Owatonna Thursday Post*, 27 June 1996, 12.

²¹ "Galen A. Merrill Dies at his Home Here," *The Daily People's Press* (Owatonna), 11 Oct. 1934, 1.

²² Harvey Ronglien, "The State Public School for Dependent and Neglected Children: Remember the Children," *Owatonna Thursday Post*, 11 July 1996, 10.

²³ Kathleen Laughlin, producer, director, editor, *The Children Remember: Life at the Minnesota State Public School for Dependent and Neglected Children, 1886-1945*. Documentary film, 2002.

²⁴ Galen A. Merrill, "State Public Schools for Dependent and Neglected Children," in 1893 National Conference of Charities and Correction, *History of Child Saving in the United States* (Montclair, N. J.: Patterson Smith, 1971), 217.

and Christian standards...and during the few months which they spend here they are given a foretaste of the benefits awaiting them in the homes to which they are going.”²⁵

Since the MNSPS’s requirement of total surrender of parental rights differed from previous agencies and asylums, many Minnesota parents misunderstood the permanency of handing their children over to the state school. Unfortunately, once Merrill had placed a child into a home, either via adoption or indenture contract, he would rarely divulge the child’s whereabouts to his or her natural family, even if the parent had not fully understood the consequences of releasing guardianship to the state. An 1889 Minnesota law made the return of children to their families possible, if the parents could demonstrate they had become capable of supporting them. However, the law pertained only to children who had not already been placed-out. In most cases, by the time a family could prove it could provide for its children, the children no longer resided at the MNSPS, and the parents’ chance to regain custody had passed.²⁶

In general, no matter how frantic or heartfelt a parental plea, Merrill refused to tell them where a child had been sent. Many case files from former MNSPS inmates contain letters from mothers pleading with Merrill for information about their children. In one instance, Mrs. R., on June 28, 1905, wrote to the superintendent demanding to learn about the whereabouts of her four children. She stated, “It’s pretty hard to be deprived of a mother’s own children without a cause.” In his reply, Merrill wrote that he was “pleased to inform you that the last reports of your children were good. They are all in good homes and seem to be well liked by their guardians. I am not at liberty to give you the address of your children.” For the next 13 years, Merrill denied Mrs. R.’s repeated requests regarding the location of her children, telling her, “Do not be anxious. We will do what’s best for them,” or “it does not seem to be in the best interest of the children to give them your address.” Even after Mrs. R.’s son Ray had turned 18 and was headed overseas to fight in World War I, Merrill appeared hesitant to grant the young soldier’s request for his sister’s address. The superintendent told Ray R. that he “was not at liberty” to give out the address, but offered to contact the sister’s foster parents to find out if they would agree to the request.²⁷

Merrill’s steadfast refusal to aid in the reunion of family members seemingly contradicted his stated philosophy regarding the return of children to their natural parents. After serving more than forty years as superintendent of the MNSPS, Merrill ostensibly believed the separation of a child from its family should only take place as a last resort. In a circa 1930 report he wrote:

It must not be forgotten that there is no love like mother love and that before children are deprived of the enjoyment and influence of that love, we must be

²⁵ Ibid., 210-211.

²⁶ Matthew A. Crenson, *Building the Invisible Orphanage*, 162-164.

²⁷ History of the Children, Owatonna State Public School, 1886 - 1922, case 2751, Minnesota State Historical Society, St. Paul.; Merrill made a notation on Mrs. R.’s letter that “father deserted family” and “mother immoral. Mrs. R.’s four children were indentured to four separate homes. Separating siblings was common practice at the MNSPS.

reasonably certain that that which we purpose to substitute for it will be of equal value in its influence upon their character and lives.²⁸

He further stated, however, that since removal of the child from its natural home was considered the last resort, “it is often the case that we find such a record of conduct as to forbid the return of the children.” Merrill cited a survey that showed that of the children who had been returned to their parents 55% had done well, 27% fairly well, and 18% poorly, in contrast with 83% who were doing well in foster homes.²⁹ He clearly felt that foster care remained the better option.

Permanent adoption, the number one choice for placement at the MNSPS, took place in a small percentage of cases. The next best option involved the use of indenture contracts between the state and Minnesota families. Superintendent Merrill eventually utilized the indenture method extensively at the MNSPS, but only after he had employed full-time state agents to inspect and monitor future homes, both before placing a child and on an ongoing basis after placement. In order to obtain a child from the MNSPS, an interested citizen completed an “Application For A Child From The State Public School” form, submitting the paperwork, along with two dollars. After Merrill reviewed the request and found the applicant suitable, Merrill’s staff drew up a contract granting the new guardian custodial rights over a boy or girl from the school. Merrill made the final determination regarding the applicant’s acceptability.³⁰

Once approved, the applicant signed an indenture contract, agreeing to several terms regarding the welfare of the minor child. The guardian’s obligations included: ensuring the child would receive at least four months of education per year until age eighteen; providing training in a useful occupation; giving the child suitable and sufficient clothing; and treating the child “properly and kindly as a member of his family.” Each guardian agreed to give the child, at age eighteen, \$75 - \$100 and two suits of clothing. Some families met the conditions of the indenture contract, but more often than not the opposite occurred and children were only taken for their free labor. Abusers of the contract found methods to get around the terms, such as sending a child to school one day in four months, or listing the generic “farming” or “housekeeping,” for the occupational training.³¹

One family living in the small town of Montevideo, Minnesota, provides an example of an individual family’s experiences with the early twentieth-century Minnesota child welfare system. John Nelson and Betsy Mines, both Minnesota-born children of Norwegian immigrants, married on March 8, 1889.³² Betsy bore numerous children, six of who survived infancy. All sons, the six included Henry Benjamin (Ben), born 1890; Walter, born 1892; Clarence, born 1896; Joseph, born 1901; Arden, born 1904; and Orven, born 1908. Although John listed his

²⁸ Galen A. Merrill, “The Minnesota State Public School, Owatonna, Minnesota,” Owatonna State Public School, Superintendent’s speeches, 24-25.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Matthew A. Crenson, *Building the Invisible Orphanage*, 164; History of the Children, case 3977.

³¹ History of the Children, cases 3977, 3978 and 3979; Harvey Ronglien, *A Boy From C-11, Case #9164: A Memoir by Harvey Ronglien* (Graham Megyeri Books, 2006), 89-90.

³² State of Minnesota, County of Chippewa, District Court, Nelson v. Nelson, 9 Feb 1911.

occupation as “day laborer” on the 1900 federal census, witnesses in 1911 divorce proceedings between John and Betsy described him as a heavy drinker who had rarely contributed to the support of his wife and six children during the entire twenty years of their marriage.³³ By the time Betsy filed for divorce, John had been living in nearby Appleton, Minnesota, for at least a year, working as a bartender.³⁴ When asked on February 9, 1911, whether John G. Nelson had supported her lately, Betsy replied, “I haven’t seen him for over a year or got a cent from him since the first or middle part of September, I think it was, a year ago.”³⁵

John and Betsy Nelson had appeared in court at least once before the dissolution of their marriage. On December 29, 1906, Ole Johnsrud and C. A. Sherdahl, two Village of Montevideo Trustees, petitioned the Chippewa County Probate Court to have Judge J. M. Severens commit Clarence, Joseph, and Arden Nelson to the Children’s Home Society of Minnesota. Johnsrud and Sherdahl, two local businessmen, stated in the petition that, in their opinion, the three boys “are through the habitual intemperance and neglect and grave misconduct and cruel and bad treatment of their parents, are in peril of their life, health, or normality.”³⁶ John Nelson hired attorney C. W. Beusel to fight the lawsuit and the judge ruled that the children should remain with their parents.³⁷

The matter of removing the three younger Nelsons from their parents came before Judge Severens again in early 1910, and this time the petitioners won their case. Again, two local businessmen (and county commissioners) petitioned the Probate Court of Chippewa County to remove Clarence, Joseph and Arden Nelson from their home. According to court documents, the three boys were “all in a state of habitual vagrancy and mendicity (sic) and are ill treated and in peril of health and morality by reason of the habitual intemperance, neglect and misconduct of both parents.” Judge Severens jotted notes down during the hearing, writing, “father’s been away a year or more. Residence not know. Drunkard, immoral--worthless,” and “mother washes and irons for support. Lives in dirty, unsanitary place. Children on streets. Wholly neglected. Children had to steal coal for keeping them warm.” The court papers listed the causes leading to the condition of the children as:

...the habitual intemperance of their father, his abandonment of the family and neglect to properly provide for them the necessities of life and his moral depravity; the inability of the mother to earn sufficient to properly provide for the family, to her use at times of intoxicating liquors to excess, the filth conditions and surroundings and her lack of moral responsibility.

³³ Ibid.; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Twelfth Census of Population, Yellow Medicine County, Granite Falls City, 7, 1900.

³⁴ U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Thirteenth Census of Population, Swift County, Appleton Township, 9, 1910.

³⁵ Nelson vs. Nelson, 9 Feb 1911.

³⁶ State of Minnesota, County of Chippewa, Probate Court, Order for Hearing on Application for Commitment of Joseph, Arden and Clarence Nelson, 29 December 1906.

³⁷ Ibid.; Only three of the Nelson boys were included in the 1906 petition for commitment because Ben and Walter were over the age of ten, and Orven was not yet born.

This time, with no father present to hire a lawyer to prevent it, the judge signed a commitment order on February 14, 1910, sending the three boys to the MNSPS in Owatonna.³⁸

State Agent John Austin escorted the children to the state school, where they arrived on February 17, 1910, Clarence's fourteenth birthday.³⁹ According to another former MNSPS inmate, Eva Carlson Jensen, the check-in process was a frightening ordeal. She described her arrival at the school in 1921, in her memoirs:

We were taken into a large building, my brothers went one direction and I went the other. I was just petrified! People took my clothes off and started examining me, poking and prodding and checking my hair. I started to cry and I said, 'I want my mama.' A lady came over to me and slapped me across the face so hard I saw stars. She said, 'There will be no crying in here!'

After that night, Carlson never saw her brothers again. The state transferred the two boys to another facility shortly after their arrival. The three siblings never had a chance to say goodbye to each other.⁴⁰

A similar fate awaited the three Nelson boys. After a physical examination, at which time a physician declared them to be in good health, the children were each taken to separate cottages to reside with boys their age. None of them would remain at the MNSPS for long, however. The school indentured the Nelson children to three different farm homes in three different counties over the next several months. A farmer from Austin quickly took custody of Clarence on March 21, 1910; Joseph's new family resided in Mapleton; and Arden ended up in tiny Everett.⁴¹

Clarence, aged 14 and old enough to know where his natural family lived, hightailed it back home to his mother after spending less than a week with his new guardian. This started a pattern that lasted through the four years that he was under custody of the MNSPS. In those four years, Clarence resided in at least five homes, which included two farming homes with strangers, and three homes with various relatives. Although the MNSPS declared him to be self-supporting after two years, he remained a ward of the state until he turned eighteen. The school's file on Clarence is large, and filled with reports of fighting and misconduct. In a periodic report, one state agent described Clarence's moral condition as "saucy, independent, and profane." Another agent reported, "he is not a good boy, is dishonest." And just a few months before he turned eighteen, a county attorney told Merrill that Clarence "is getting into considerable trouble, and if you still have control of him, think it would be well to have him looked after."⁴²

³⁸ State of Minnesota, County of Chippewa, Probate Court, Petition for Admission to State Public School, 25 January 1910.; Interview with Shirley Nelson Heinen, July, 2003; Again the petition only involved Clarence, Joseph and Arden. Ben and Walter were old enough to take care of themselves. Betsy was still breastfeeding her youngest child, Orrie, so he was not taken.

³⁹ History of the Children, case 3977.

⁴⁰ Eva Carlson Jensen, *No Tears Allowed*, memoirs, obtained via the Minnesota State Public School Orphanage Museum, Owatonna, Minnesota.; The separation of siblings was common practice at the MNSPS.

⁴¹ History of the Children, cases 3977, 3978, and 3979.

⁴² History of the Children, case 3977.

Joseph fared the best of the three Nelson boys, at least in the beginning. On July 14, 1910, he arrived at the farm home of Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Atcherson. As evidenced from subsequent state agent reports, the Atchersons were good, caring people, who treated Joseph as a member of the family. He eventually received his own pig to raise, and had his own bank account. County superintendent reports show that Joseph had almost perfect attendance at school, a somewhat unusual occurrence for an indentured child. Mr. Atcherson described Joseph as a “very nice boy,” who seemed happy and would “most likely remain with us the full term of his indenture.”⁴³

Unfortunately, Joseph’s story did not have a happy ending. A few days after his thirteenth birthday, Atcherson allowed Joseph, without supervision, to manage a full team of horses pulling a weeding machine. Because of his relatively short stature, handling the long reins proved difficult and Joseph made the fatal mistake of tying them around his waist. A mechanism holding the reins together, called a whiffletree, broke apart and spooked the horses. Being of slight build and unable to control the frightened horses, Joseph was dragged to death. Atcherson and his family clearly felt terrible about the tragedy. The guardian sent a newspaper clipping describing the accident to Superintendent Merrill, along with a heartfelt letter lamenting the tragedy. Merrill sent his condolences, and agreed with Atcherson’s suggestion that he spend Joseph’s small bank account on funeral expenses. Merrill also notified Betsy Nelson of her son’s death, in a short, perfunctory letter. A note in Joseph’s file indicates John Nelson’s whereabouts was unknown.⁴⁴

Arden Nelson turned six years old during his first few months in residence at the MNSPS. Not long after his birthday, Merrill approved the application of a childless, somewhat elderly couple named Carlson, who specifically asked for a young, Scandinavian boy. The couple wished to raise a child as their own, so they would have someone to inherit their property when they died. A MNSPS agent delivered Arden to the Carlsons on November 16, 1910. The youngster did quite well in his new situation until the winter of 1915, when Mr. Carlson passed away. As Arden grew into a preteen, more and more behavioral problems developed, and he became a difficult and unmanageable problem child, especially for the aging widow. She regretfully sent him back to the MNSPS in August 1916, telling Superintendent Merrill that she just could not handle Arden any longer. Mrs. Carlson wrote Merrill a month later to inquire about her former charge, stating that she sincerely hoped he would become a good boy.⁴⁵

Arden’s second stay at the MNSPS lasted only two months, but in that time, he learned of his brother Joseph’s death. Before long, the school placed him with another farmer, Mr. Roy Miller, on September 18, 1916. For the first two years of his placement with Miller, Arden displayed no serious behavior problems. By the summer of 1919, however, agents reported

⁴³ History of the Children, case 3978.

⁴⁴ Ibid.; “Dragged To Death: Little Joe Nelson, State School Boy Meets Untimely End in Runaway Accident,” *Blue Earth County Enterprise*, 12 June 1914, 1.

⁴⁵ History of the Children, case 3979.

trouble between the ward and his guardian. One agent remarked, “Arden has an ungovernable temper, is disobedient and uses profane language.” The agent also reported on Arden’s addiction to chewing tobacco, but wrote that Mr. Miller had successfully broken Arden of the habit. The relationship between the two grew more combative, and came to a head in April of 1921. After receiving a fairly severe beating from Miller, Arden ran away. Afraid of a return to the state school’s custody, or another abusive home, the teenager managed to live on his own, staying out of Minnesota until he turned eighteen.⁴⁶

Clarence, Joseph, and Arden’s MNSPS files all contain evidence of contact, and attempted contact, from their mother, their older brothers, and other relatives. And visa versa, the three boys tried at various times to obtain information about their natural family. For instance, month after the children arrived at the school, their brother Ben wrote to Merrill, asking the superintendent to send information about his brothers, “if it isn’t to (sic) much trouble.” Merrill sent his usual curt reply, informing Ben that the boys were doing well and “getting along nicely.” MNSPS records show that Clarence had a visit from a cousin and his mother during one of the several times he was in residence at the school. Betsy sent letters to both Joseph and Arden while they lived with their foster families, but Arden never received his. The state school’s agent in charge of the case told Arden’s guardians to “pay no attention to any letters from his mother.” Years later, after Arden had run away from his abusive guardian, Merrill denied the young man’s request for his mother’s address. Arden spent more than three years traveling through various areas of Minnesota, searching for his natural family, with no assistance from the MNSPS. In 1924, he finally located his mother and brothers, all of whom, at that point, lived in Montevideo.⁴⁷

Although its founders created the MNSPS to serve as a temporary, home-like atmosphere for needy children, many of its inmates ended up living at the MNSPS for several years, becoming precisely what progressive reformers had fought against-- institutionalized. Harvey Ronglein, who spent 11 years as a resident of the MNSPS, discussed his contradictory views on the state school and institutionalization in his memoir. He appreciated the clean environment, warm bed, getting a good education, and receiving three meals a day, especially since he lived there during the Depression. He loved his fellow students, many of whom remained life-long friends, and states that he learned a good work ethic. However, according to Ronglein, even though the facility strived to duplicate a family atmosphere, it was nevertheless an institution, and after a few years of residing there, he became institutionalized.⁴⁸

Ronglein described his years at the MNSPS as “rigid, loveless, void of appreciation, and very similar to life in a prison.” He compared the lives of children residing in a large institution to animals living in a zoo, writing, “you feed them, bed them down and protect them. They are healthy specimens. But, after a few years of captivity, eighty percent of them fail to survive in a

⁴⁶ Ibid.; Shirley Nelson Heinen interview.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Harvey Ronglien, *A Boy From C-11*, 177-178.

natural environment because they didn't learn the skills outside the zoo." He further explained that growing up without learning basic emotional skills caused problems for him throughout his adult life, as it did for many of his fellow MNSPS inmates. He wrote, "You don't have to be an intellectual giant to realize that this unnatural stifling of emotions and feelings will forever affect the character of that child."⁴⁹

Progressive Era reformers in Minnesota and elsewhere certainly had the best intentions regarding their child-saving efforts. They responded to the genuine need for innovative methods of dealing with the multitude of orphaned and destitute children that resulted from industrialization, immigration and over population. Undoubtedly, thousands, if not tens of thousands of children, fared better living with foster families or as inmates in facilities like the MNSPS, than they would have starving on the streets. However, child welfare advocates tended to ignore the emotional repercussions of separating a child from its parents and siblings forever, or transporting a child hundreds of miles to live in a foreign place with strangers. Lost in the good deeds and noble intentions of progressive child savers was the fact that special circumstances existed for each child and every family, factors that had caused their desperate plight. Reformers, judges and social workers could not possibly have had the time or the means to deal with an individual child or family, so instead they attempted to fix the multitudes.

Ordinary people such as the Nelsons did not ask for help, nor did they feel the courts and the MNSPS had saved them. Many children grew up with drunken parents, or were abandoned by a father or a mother, but if they managed to stay with the remaining parent, no matter how dreadful the living conditions, it was still their own family. Even though the older Nelson brothers, Ben and Walter, both had trouble with the law, and were considered troublesome by the community, they cared about their mother and brothers, and made sincere efforts to keep in touch with their younger siblings during their time with the MNSPS. Betsy Nelson evidently consumed too much alcohol, kept a dirty house, and failed to watch over her children, but it is debatable whether a potential lifetime separation from three of her sons, and the brothers from each other, was a justifiable response.

It is also questionable whether the MNSPS fulfilled its intended mission of providing an ideal, temporary home-like setting for needy children. Although many of its inmates benefited from their experiences with the state school, others underwent abuse and neglect living in foster care, or suffered from emotional trauma brought on by institutionalization. No easy solution existed for abandoned, abused or neglected children in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and unfortunately, the need for solutions to the plight of such young people continues to exist today.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 179.

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Embracing Genocide: Allied Strategic Bombing and the Destruction of Dresden

James Morey

In early February 1945, a squadron of British bombers dropped a large amount of incendiary bombs on a city that the war had not touched. The resulting firestorm destroyed a city that had been architecturally and aesthetically compared to Florence. This city, swollen with refugees fleeing from the Soviet Armies pillaging through the eastern sections Germany, lacked much in the way of militarily significant industry. Despite all this the bombers set it aflame. The next day the American air force came to contribute their gifts from above. Vast numbers of the civilian population burned alive in one of the worst firestorms in history. This was nothing new. The wholesale bombing of civilians had, by the time of the Dresden bombings, become a matter of policy. To understand how Dresden became a funeral pyre it is essential to understand how that policy evolved.

The bombing of Dresden was based on the two key principles that underlay strategic bombing. The most commonly touted motivation for strategic bombing is the destruction of enemy industry. This justification finds its strongest early advocate in the theories of Carl von Clausewitz, a Prussian officer famous for his military treatise on the practice of war. In the early nineteenth century Clausewitz argued that success in warfare depended on destroying the opponents ability to make war. After his death Clausewitz theories saw application during the American Civil war with Union General Sherman’s celebrated “March to the Sea.”

However, it was in the twentieth century that fundamental war strategy truly embraced the destruction of industry. As the decades progressed military doctrine gradually embraced an ever-expanding list of targets that met Clausewitzian criteria. The destruction or capture of strategic resources, industrialized cities, ports, naval facilities, and general infrastructure led to a great deal of collateral damage and civilian casualties.

For most of the nineteenth century the limitations of military technology kept the majority of carnage close to the front. This ended with the invention of the airplane. The use of military aircrafts during World War One changed everything. Strategic bombing entered the military playbook in January 1915 when “German Zeppelin airships...dropped bombs on the east coast of England.”¹ The limited payloads and fuel supplies of early aircraft prevented significant damage or casualties. Nonetheless, the shock and awe that these early attempts inspired left an impression far surpassing actual effectiveness. Over the next few decades air strategists would examine air and its future from a variety of angles. Each country came up with different ideas about how to apply this new miracle weapon.

¹ Robin Nellands *The Bomber War: The Allied Air Offensive Against Nazi Germany* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 2005) 12.

The strategic bombing conducted during the First World War was largely ineffective. This did not prevent the concept of strategic bombing from being enthusiastically embraced by military strategist throughout the world. “British defence (sic) planning, from 1935 onwards, envisaged the design of a generation of heavy bombers capable of penetrating deep into Germany.”²

The Germans, under Hitler’s strong guidance, embraced the bomber as a tactical asset. Despite this approach the Germans advanced the cause of civilian bombing in many significant ways. The German zeppelin and subsequent Gotha campaigns of World War One would be repeated with far more catastrophic result when the Germans, under the guise of supporting Franco, tested their new Stuka-based air force on Spanish citizenry in Guernica and Madrid. The “moral arguments against bombing cities took a severe knock in the Spanish Civil War”³ when the German Condor Legion bombed the Basque town of Guernica. The aerial assault of Guernica stands out as “a milestone on the trail that leads to Nanking, Warsaw, Rotterdam, London, Coventry, Berlin, Dresden, Tokyo, Hiroshima, and Nagasaki – each a step on the road to total destruction.”⁴

The seeds planted in Spain bore wicked fruit in the Polish campaign. Germans bombed Warsaw in the opening weeks of the war claiming that a refusal to surrender made the city a legitimate war target. German dive-bombers pounded the city until the defending garrison offered its surrender. A similar excuse was given for the bombing of Rotterdam during the conquest of the Low Countries in May 1940.

Nonetheless, despite the excesses of Warsaw and Rotterdam, the deliberate bombing of civilian populaces remained somewhat taboo in the initial conflict between British and German air forces. It was a gentleman’s agreement of sorts. It seemed that both Germany and England would refrain from “terror” bombing. However, this idyllic state was not to last. An accidental bombing of London led to an escalation of civilian bombing culminating in the London Blitz. If the British held any lingering doubts about the morality of bombing civilians the German bombing of Coventry dispelled them on November 14. The bombing of Coventry with “60,000 building destroyed”⁵ meant that using aerial bombardment as a means of “terrorizing the enemy population into surrender”⁶ would not be questioned on ethical grounds. After Coventry the British Bomber Command “held moral attitudes...that did not forbid such bombing but rather

² M. Kirby; R. Capey “The Area Bombing of Germany in World War II: An Operational Research Perspective” *The Journal of the Operational Research Society*, Vol. 48, No. 7. (Jul., 1997), pp. 661-677.

³ Robin Nellands *The Bomber War: The Allied Air Offensive Against Nazi Germany* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 2005) 31.

⁴ Nellands 36.

⁵ Robin Nellands *The Bomber War: The Allied Air Offensive Against Nazi Germany* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 2005) 47.

⁶ “Naval and Air Campaigns as Critical to Allied Victory” Richard Overy in *Major Problems in the History of World War II* eds. Mark A. Stoler and Melanie S. Gustafson (Houghton Mifflin: Boston, 2003)140.

made it permissible.”⁷ From this point on British commanders embraced the concept of civilian bombing. The British embraced strategic bombing with an intensity that was previously unmatched.

Following Coventry, the British launched a punitive campaign against the industrial city of Mannheim. In December of 1940 British bombers “destroyed the centre of this fine city in reprisal for the German attack on Coventry.”⁸ Subsequent aerial reconnaissance revealed that, militarily, the bombing of Mannheim was largely ineffective. However, the line had been crossed and city bombing now an “accepted policy”⁹ that required no justification. After Mannheim the British turned their attention to the city of Berlin. Berlin would suffer aerial bombardment on a relatively constant basis throughout the war. Although damage was slight in the early years bombing the German capital proved effective for British morale and helped sustain popular support for area bombing.

Early in the war British Bomber Command campaigned for public support of its bombing campaign with propaganda that was “expert, modern, and unrelenting.”¹⁰ In August 1941 Bomber Command released a particularly effective documentary entitled *Target for Tonight*. This documentary, “shown as the main feature in many cinemas”¹¹ proved quite successful in winning over the British citizenry.

This propaganda campaign helped compensate for the bitter realities of the early stages in the air war. Strategic Bombing came at high cost with a “ghastly mortality rate.”¹² During the opening stages “Bomber Command suffered more fatal casualties than the Germans at the receiving end.”¹³ Furthermore, for the first few years of the war, the bombing did not prove that successful. British Intelligence estimates in 1943 concluded that “German morale was resilient in the face of aerial attack and the impact on armaments production was limited. The evidence, however, was poorly corroborated and this fact, in itself, independent of Sir Arthur Harris's personal commitment to the aerial offensive, effectually insulated Bomber Command from the

⁷ Ronald Schaffer “American Military Ethics in World War II: The Bombing of German Civilians” *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 67, No. 2. (Sep., 1980), pp. 318-334.

⁸ Robin Nellands *The Bomber War: The Allied Air Offensive Against Nazi Germany* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 2005) 358.

⁹ Nellands, 48.

¹⁰ Deighton, Len. *Blood, Tears, and Folly: An Objective Look at World War II* (Castle Books: Edison NJ, 1993) 407.

¹¹ Deighton, Len. *Blood, Tears, and Folly: An Objective Look at World War II* (Castle Books: Edison NJ, 1993) 407.

¹² Kenneth D. Rose *Myth and the Greatest Generation: A Social History of Americans in World War II* (Routledge: New York, 2008) 50.

¹³ Deighton, Len. *Blood, Tears, and Folly: An Objective Look at World War II* (Castle Books: Edison NJ, 1993) 407.

constraints of critical evidence.”¹⁴ Area bombing remained a matter of policy throughout the war.

Although the bombing campaign proved largely ineffective in the opening years of the war, by 1943 things had changed considerably. By 1943 the weight of the British and American air forces combined with Soviet pressure on the Eastern Front and began the gradual destruction of the German Air Force. In 1943 the “great raids: increasingly powerful daylight missions”¹⁵ began. In July 1943 “round-the clock attacks [on Hamburg] led to huge casualties and the first identifiable “firestorm” condition that thereafter the British Royal Air Force deliberately sought after.¹⁶ Although the destruction inflicted on Hamburg “disturbed”¹⁷ at least one member of the bombing crew, it delighted Bomber Command and plans were laid to try and recreate the event. The Hamburg firestorm, however, remained a relatively unique experience for Bomber Command, the necessary factors required to produce a firestorm being a “concentration of high buildings and bombers...produc[ing] so many huge fires ...that the air above the city became superheated.¹⁸ These conditions occurred infrequently at best, especially in light of the fact that as time went on German cities had fewer tall buildings.

A year later, in August of 1944, Dresden’s name began to surface as a possible target for a plan to destroy a city. A memo from Charles Portal, Chief of the British Air Staff, noted that “immense devastation could be caused if the entire attack was concentrated on a single big town...and the effect would be especially great if the town was one hitherto undamaged.”¹⁹ Codenamed THUNDERCLAP, the plan was shelved during the winter of ’44, but revived in January of 1945. When the Soviet Armies crossed the Oder River on January 25, the very evening British Prime Minister Winston Churchill telephoned Sir Archibald Sinclair, British secretary of the state for air demanded “to know what Bomber Command had in mind for ‘basting the Germans in their retreat from Breslau.’”²⁰ Echoing this statement, the head of Bomber Command, Sir Arthur Harris, declared that the “bombing of Germany assumed great political importance as a means of persuading Russians that we were doing all we could to come to their help.”²¹

¹⁴ M. Kirby; R. Capey “The Area Bombing of Germany in World War II: An Operational Research Perspective” *The Journal of the Operational Research Society*, Vol. 48, No. 7. (Jul., 1997), pp. 661-677.

¹⁵ Robin Nellands *The Bomber War: The Allied Air Offensive Against Nazi Germany* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 2005) 182.

¹⁶ Alexander McKee *Dresden 1945: The Devil’s Tinderbox* (E. P. Dutton. Inc.: New York, 1984) 59.

¹⁷ Kenneth D. Rose *Myth and the greatest generation: a social history of Americans in World War II* (Routledge: New York, 2008) 32.

¹⁸ McKee 59.

¹⁹ Robin Nellands *The Bomber War: The Allied Air Offensive Against Nazi Germany* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 2005) 361.

²⁰ Nellands 362.

²¹ Sir Arthur Harris *Bomber Offensive* (The Macmillan Company: New York, 1947) 79.

Although traditionally the decision to bomb Dresden has been attributed to Arthur Harris, the Portal memo of August 44 and the demands of the Prime Minister indicate that Dresden was part of larger planning sessions. Portal, in fact, advocated a campaign as early as November 1942 that “to launch attacks that would kill or maim some 2 million civilians- a kind of aerial Auschwitz.”²² “Bomber” Harris also embraced the concept of area bombing. Harris, in his memoir *Bomber Offensive* defended his actions concerning Dresden arguing that the served as the “main centre of communications for the defense of Germany on the Southern Front”²³ as well as a “large center of war industry.”²⁴ This rather disingenuous excuse fails to account for the fact that the industrial areas, lying on the outskirts of town, suffered little or no damage.

Dresden, then, was not an accident but a deliberately planned catastrophe. The people of Dresden learned, to their horror that its relatively undamaged status led to its being chosen for one of the worst bombing runs in Western history. “The attraction that Dresden had for Bomber Command was that the centre of the city should burn easily and magnificently”²⁵

Provided that civilians were accepted as the primary target, then Dresden was a nearly flawless success. First, a scouting squadron targeted the area with flares that waves of British bombers followed and, in the process, began the long sought firestorm. The next day the Americans arrived and continued the job. No one is sure how many people died in the attack, but the lowest figures agree on minimum casualty estimates of at least thirty thousand dead.

There were several reasons that the bombing raid proved so effective. By 1945 area bombing became quite a technical ballet of destruction. Dresden lacked significant antiaircraft defense as “all the vital 88 mm guns”²⁶ were stripped from the city and sent to face the Soviet armor. The German Air Force, largely non-existent at the time of the bombing on Dresden, could do nothing to counter the bombardment. The Allied bombers, safe from high-altitude flak and facing no aerial challenge, had plenty of time and opportunity to destroy the city. Moreover, choked with refugees, Dresden proved a “target-rich” environment.

From any other military standpoint the operation failed. Like all large cities, Dresden served as a regional transportation hub and its targeting was “entirely consistent with the transportation campaign.”²⁷ Additionally, “area attack was devised, in part, with transportation

²² Robin Nellands *The Bomber War: The Allied Air Offensive Against Nazi Germany* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 2005) 186.

²³ Harris 242.

²⁴ Sir Arthur Harris *Bomber Offensive* (The Macmillan Company: New York, 1947) 242.

²⁵ Alexander McKee *Dresden 1945: The Devil’s Tinderbox* (E. P. Dutton. Inc.: New York, 1984) 111.

²⁶ Robin Nellands *The Bomber War: The Allied Air Offensive Against Nazi Germany* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 2005) 365.

²⁷ M. Kirby; R. Capey “The Area Bombing of Germany in World War II: An Operational Research Perspective” *The Journal of the Operational Research Society*, Vol. 48, No. 7. (Jul., 1997), pp. 661-677.

targets in mind.”²⁸ However, the railroads in Dresden were operable within days and the industrial parts of the city remained largely untouched.

For Bomber Command, Dresden stood out as the high-water mark of destruction in the European Theatre. The campaign would draw to a close soon thereafter, due largely to a lack of targets. Germany was literally flattened. The bombing campaign “probably killed 600,000 German civilians, about ten times the number of British civilians killed by German bombs and missiles.”²⁹ In the end, Germans paid a heavy price for initiating the bomber war.

Unfortunately for German civilians, in the waning days of the bomber offensive, another form of aerial mayhem threatened their lives and property. A new campaign that American planners instigated targeted the civilians outside of the major cities. Codenamed Operation CLARION, this plan “sent American fighters and bombers all over Germany to attack targets in small towns and villages. Its purpose was to persuade the German people that they were defenseless against air attacks and that additional resistance was futile—in other words, to break civilian morale.”³⁰

Although the horrors of Dresden led to some public outcry, strategic bombing policy remained unchanged. The following months would see the devastating firebombing of Japanese cities. However this paled in comparison to the final acts of the war. Area bombing reached its final crescendo in the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

²⁸ M. Kirby; R. Capey “The Area Bombing of Germany in World War II: An Operational Research Perspective” *The Journal of the Operational Research Society*, Vol. 48, No. 7. (Jul., 1997), pp. 661-677.

²⁹ The Strategic Bombing of Germany in World War II: Costs and Accomplishments

Kenneth P. Werrell *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 73, No. 3. (Dec., 1986), pp. 702-713.

³⁰ Ronald Schaffer “American Military Ethics in World War II: The Bombing of German Civilians” *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 67, No. 2. (Sep., 1980), pp. 318-334.

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Newman Johnson: Life of a Colusa County and Chico Pioneer, 1850-1900

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In the late 1840s and early 1850s California was the latest western frontier that Americans set forth to conquer. With the discovery of gold in 1848 and the subsequent Gold Rush of 1849-1852, thousands of Americans packed up their belongings and headed out west. Many believed that the gold just lay in the hills waiting to be plucked by anyone passing by and the idea of heading to California and becoming instantly rich became an allusive dream held by many. But in truth, few people actually came out ahead financially. The large majority of the Forty-Niners and their immediate followers who came west were faced with hardships and continually down on their luck. Relatively few were able to rise above these shortfalls and make a name for them self in California. One of those few, however, lived a man named Newman Johnson; a man who failed several times but eventually succeeded in finding his niche becoming a successful farmer with the aid of purchased federal lands, as well as a businessman, fireman, grocer and a founding father of the small upstart Sacramento Valley town of Chico.

Before moving to Chico Newman Johnson and his family lived and thrived in the Colusa County town of Monroeville. Monroeville, located 15 miles north of Butte City near the mouth of Stony Creek was one of many boomtowns that appeared during the gold rush but later disappeared.¹ The town came into existence in 1850 when the steamship *California* sailed up the Sacramento River only to run aground and sink near the mouth of Stony Creek. On the Colusa County side of the river lived a man named Uriah P. Monroe.² He saw this fine pile of finished wood just wasting away in the river so he salvaged it from the steamer to build a hotel. A far from humble man, Monroe named his new hotel Monroehouse. The hotel, a two-story building that had several rooms for rent and a restaurant that soon won a reputation for large portioned hearty meals.³ Since his hotel profited quite nicely he decided to expand and the town of Monroeville was born.

The Monroeville that had existed and the Monroeville, U. P. Monroe had envisioned varied drastically. Monroe pictured a modern American city full of wide streets, a college, village square and even a grove of Poplar Trees.⁴ But unfortunately for Monroe, these visions never materialized. In reality the town was inhabited largely by transients and teamsters, nearly all of whom were male.⁵ The male majority led to obvious rough housing and rabble rousing which was fueled by the town's two main vices: gambling and drinking. With all its endearing qualities, Monroeville still had one of the most famous residents of California residing there,

¹ David L. Durham, *California's North Sacramento Valley* (Clovis: Quill Driver Book, 2001), 198.

² Thelma White, Dorothy Hill and Lois H. McDonald, *Glenn County Sketch Book sponsored by Butte County Branch, National League of American Pen Women.* (Chico: The Branch, 1995), 51-60.

³ Durham, *California's North*, 198.

⁴ White, *Glenn County Sketch*, 51-60.

⁵ Ibid.

William Brown Ide. Ide was the leader of the Bear Flag Rebellion that declared California independence from Mexico. California became an independent Republic for a short stint before the Mexican American War broke out and it was formally accepted as a state. Ide had remarked about the locals, he said, “Nine tenths of our population are here today and tomorrow somewhere else. They are like birds of passage, except their migrations are not exactly periodical.”⁶ The town had very few businesses besides the Monroehouse. Monroeville had a blacksmith, open air jail and a barn that served also as a livery stable. The permanent residents lived out away from the main town itself, living in small cabins along the river. These primitive cabins were described as being one or two story construction with dirt floors and an open fire for cooking and heat.⁷ Despite all of its visible shortcomings Monroeville did play a large role in county politics in the early 1850s.

Following California’s admission to the Union, the state was divided into counties. Colusa County was one of the original twenty-seven counties and two small river towns were in contention for the county seat: Colusa and Monroeville. Uriah Monroe traveled to Butte County and asked Judge Bern to use his influence to make Monroeville the county seat. It worked.⁸ Monroeville now acted as the county seat and there were many important positions to be filled. But due to the lack of sober and capable men, William Ide stepped up and filled many of the important jobs himself; he served as the Judge, Treasurer and Deputy Clerk all at once! The county operated like this for two years from, 1851 through 1853; then in 1853 the residents of Colusa felt that the seat should be moved there. The decision was put to a vote and the town of Colusa came out victorious and the seat was permanently changed.⁹ After the county seat moved, Monroeville continued on a downward spiral. First the post office that had been established in 1853 was soon removed in 1862.¹⁰ The town continually lost more and more residents; with no effort made to establish a permanent ferry or a bridge, the trade with neighboring cities in Butte County was nearly impossible. In 1875 or 1876 the Monroehouse, the symbol and the heartbeat of Monroeville, was torn down and the remaining buildings became a ghost town. Today nothing remains of the original town of Monroeville but about four miles south of the town of Hamilton City there is a marker commemorating the life and achievement of William B. Ide and not far from the marker is the cemetery of Monroeville that was recently restored and rededicated. Monroeville is in current day Glenn County because in 1891 Colusa County was split in to two counties.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Mrs. Sima Baker and Mrs. Florence Ewing, *Glenn County Story, Days Past and Present* (Willows: Glenn County Schools Office, 1968), 32-37.

⁸ Baker and Ewing, *Glenn County Story*, 32-37.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Durham, *California’s North*, 198.

Newman Johnson lived on the outskirts of Monroeville from 1860 and quite possibly was one of the last residents to reside there, they moved in 1874. While Johnson resided in Monroeville for fourteen years he was finally able to settle down and start a new life and a family with Ameila. The Johnson family began to grow when in 1857 the family's first daughter, Alice Johnson was born. But, unfortunately for the Johnson family, she would not make it past her twentieth birthday. It is estimated that she died somewhere between 1870 and 1880.¹¹ Unfortunately for Ameila and for the family this would be a fateful reoccurrence. She would eventually have seven children, only three of whom survived to adulthood. This was an unfortunate reality for many mothers in the 19th century, death rates amongst infants was high due largely to disease. In 1859 a son was born, Charles Newman Johnson. Charles would survive into adulthood and would become an important figure in early Chico. Over the next several years Ameila will have a total of five more children. In 1863 a son, Ulysses was born and in 1865 he would pass away.¹² Next came, Louise in 1866, she would pass as well in 1875. In 1868 another daughter, Hattie was born, she barely survived a year before she died in 1869.¹³ The next two sons to be born would both survive into adulthood. First came Melvin L. Johnson in 1872, the last child to be born in Monroeville and the last child was Frank, who was born in 1874 in Chico.¹⁴

Despite Monroeville's shortcomings as a new and modern city, the land of Colusa County was rich and full of potential. A man named John Quincy Adams Warren was traveling in 1861, up the Sacramento River in route to Red Bluff; he described the rich countryside that he passed through. He focused mainly on the raising of livestock, wheat farming and the fruit raised along the Sacramento River. Mr. Warren described the land along the Sacramento River as very fertile and perfect for farming wheat and barley as well as corn, tobacco and boom straw.¹⁵ He depicted Colusa County by stating, "The area of the county is about 4,000 square miles, part of which is valley land and extremely fertile while the rolling hills and mountainous districts are admirably adapted for grazing being covered with wild oats, grasses, clover affording excellent ranges for stock of all kinds for which they furnish a rich pasturage."¹⁶ He stayed for a short stint at R.J. Walsh's estate just north of Monroeville and described it as having lots of cattle and swine. It is not clear whether Mr. Warren's descriptions included Newman Johnson's farm but they very well could have.

¹¹ U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of the Census, *1870 Federal Census* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1871.) n.p.; U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of the Census, *1880 Federal Census*, film: 1254063, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1881).

¹² Johnson Family Plot, Chico Cemetery, visited by author, November 11, 2007.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ *1880 Federal Census*.

¹⁵ Paul W. Gates, ed., *California Ranchos and Farms 1846-1862 Including the letters of John Quincy Adams Warren of 1861 Being largely devoted to livestock, wheat farming, fruit raising and the wine industry* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1967), 151-154.

¹⁶ Gates, *California Ranchos*, 154.

While the Johnson family resided in Monroeville, Newman worked as a farmer and bought real estate for speculation purposes. In 1860 Newman Johnson bought three plots of land from the General Land Office under the Land Sales Act of 1820. The Land Sales Act originated in 1820 after the vacation of lands, up until that point Native Americans held them. With the Natives forced to leave their land and to live on reservations, a surplus of land became available for sale to eager yeoman farmers. In 1820 this was occurring in “the West” or in trans-Appalachian America, the Ohio territory and neighboring territory.¹⁷ While this was its original use, it was still being used in 1860 when Newman walked into the local GLO office. Newman could purchase either 40 or 80 acres of land for \$1.25 an acre under the 1820 law. This was the pre-cursor to the more famous Homestead Act, which stated that 160 acres could be acquired but the family must live and improve the land. The act of 1820 had no such stipulation, it could just be purchased outright and no improvement of the land was required.¹⁸

On December 1, 1860 Johnson purchased three tracts of land in Colusa (now Glenn) County. The first two purchases were for forty acres respectively and the third purchase was for an additional eighty acres.¹⁹ All three tracts were located next to each other near the border of Colusa (now Glenn) County, on the Stony Creek. Notice Figure 1, located in the appendix, to see the breakdown of the three different. Patents and where they are in orientation with one another. On January 1, 1861 Johnson purchased an additional 128 acres from John G. and Mary W. Anderson for \$2,000.²⁰ This land he developed and lived on, while the remaining 160 acres purchased in 1860 was left undeveloped. Johnson’s primary means of income in 1860 were the 15 milk cows that he had purchased.²¹ Along with the milk cows he also owned a substantial amount of other cattle, 45 of which most likely were beef cattle. But unfortunately for Newman the fifteen milk cows would die in a flood soon after he purchased them.²² Besides the cattle on the farm there were also 30 pigs. Johnson was not only limited to livestock on his lands but he grew several different varieties of grains. In 1860 he produced 200 bushels of wheat and an additional 250 bushels of barley. The average amount of bushels his neighbors produced, of wheat was 300 bushels and for barley the average, 255 bushels. In comparison with neighboring farmers Johnson’s farm seems to be the average of the majority of farmers in Monroeville, only a select few other farmers had larger crop yields. The value of his land and the equipment on it amounted to around \$1,500.²³

¹⁷ National Parks Service, “Land Sales Act of 1820,” National Parks Service web resource page, <http://www.nps.gov/history/history/online-books> (accessed December 3, 2007).

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, “Land Patent Search,” <http://www.blm.gov> (accessed December 3, 2007).

²⁰ Colusa County, Clerk/Recorder, Deeds, Book D, 545.

²¹ U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of the Census, eighth census of the U.S., 1860 California, *Populations of Agriculture Alameda- Yuba County* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office), 1861.

²² *Memorial and Biographical History*, 586.

²³ U.S. Department of the Interior, *Statistics of Agriculture*, 1861.

In 1867 Newman's land holdings increased once again as he purchased more land from the Federal Government once again using Land Sales Act of 1820. He purchased another three tracts of land in the same general area as the past three; adding to his current real estate an additional 120 acres. As Figure 2 located in the appendix shows he increased his land holdings but not quite as much land as was added in 1860. In 1870 Newman Johnson's farm looked drastically different than it did a mere 10 years earlier. Other than growing larger in size, the crops have changed as well. In 1860 Newman had a greater concentration on raising livestock where as in 1870 he has moved away from that and focused more on crop production. He now produced 1,100 bushels of wheat and 500 bushels of barley as well as an additional twenty tons of hay.²⁴ He also planted an orchard producing some sort of crop possibly a citrus crop or walnuts, amounting in a 100-dollar profit.²⁵ If you examine Figure 3, the side by side comparison it appeared, that there was a great increase in crops produced from 1860 to 1870 and in fact it was a large increase but it is all relative to the other farms in the area. While the amount of wheat per bushel increased nearly five times, Johnson's neighbors were averaging 5,500 bushels. The same thing can be said for both barley and hay production. Johnson produced double the amount of barley and twenty tons of hay; in contrast his neighbors were producing on average 1,800 bushels of barley and sixty-five tons of hay (see appendix, figure 3.) What does all of this mean in terms of Newman as a farmer? It meant that he was not a wealthy man; he made enough money for his family to get by, but by no means rich. Some of the neighboring farms were worth as much as \$200,000. For Johnson farm life was not his destiny there was always something bigger and better out there to be conquered, like many California pioneers there was a common thread connecting them they were "eager to test and taste life to the fullest and ready to tackle any occupation... all of which could lead to something bigger and better."²⁶ In 1874, Newman and the Johnson family yearned to move onto bigger and better things, with the dying town of Monroeville behind them; their future was bright in the town of Chico.

Upon the Johnson family's arrival Newman was right in the middle of his life at 45 years old and Amelia, 35. Their children were: Alice seventeen, Charles fifteen, Louise eight, Melvin two and soon after their arrival in Chico another addition, Frank, born in 1874. But unfortunately for Amelia another two of her children were going to pass before 1880. Louise

²⁴ U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of the Census, ninth census of the U.S., 1870 California, *Statistics of Agriculture, Alameda-Yuba County* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office), 1871.

²⁵ Ann Foley, ed., *A Guidebook to California Agriculture* (Berkeley: University of California press, 1983), 38.

²⁶ Virginia Paul, *This was Cattle Ranching Yesterday and Today* (Seattle: Superior Publishing Company, 1973), 25.

died on September 16, 1875 and sometime in between 1870 and 1880 Alice passes on as well.²⁷ Newman wanted to start fresh, to break away from the farm of Colusa County but making sure not to forget where he came from; as soon as he arrived in Chico, he purchased property on the corners of Fourth and Wall Streets and on the corner of Third and Broadway. The building on Fourth and Wall served as the Johnson family home for the next twenty-six years. The house was purchased from Charles Coggins on August 17, 1874 for the price of \$1,500.²⁸ The house formerly was on the North West corner of Fourth and Wall;²⁹ today an engineering firm occupies it. The building in Newman's day was a two-story building made by wood frame construction and with a brick chimney.³⁰

The second and perhaps more important building purchased by Newman in 1874, was the building on Third and Broadway. This building would be the site of Newman's business for the next twenty-two years; after he purchased the building he opened his grocery store. The grocery store was an essential place in American History in the post Civil War years. It not only served as an indispensable place to purchase food items for people of the city and surrounding areas but it also functioned as an important meeting place for local residents. It served as the driving force behind the growth of commercialism, what once may have been a small town would likely grow into a city.³¹ The grocery store served as a middle ground for America, everyone needed supplies and while there, they were the same as everyone else; their social status was left at the door.³² Before the 1800s people purchased their goods from open-air markets but as cities began to develop and get larger, small independently owned grocery stores began to appear.³³ In order for the independent grocery store to survive the storekeeper had to be a jack-of-all-trades. Being able to manage all aspects of the store, maintain trade amongst others citizens, buying wholesale goods, selling them as well and serving customers making sure to leave an impression on them in hope of their return as regular customers.³⁴

While the building that housed Newman's grocery store no longer stands (it's the present day Wachovia Financial Building), it is possible to visualize what it most likely looked like in 1874. In general, grocery stores were situated at crossroads for obvious visibility reasons and they were generally two stories. The buildings in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were generally built out of wood, with wood floors and a large porch was placed around the outside of

²⁷ U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of the Census, *1870 Federal Census.*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office), 1871.; U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of the Census, *1880 Federal Census*, film: 1254063, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office), 1881.

²⁸ *Chico Record*, 17 December 1900.

²⁹ Butte County, Recorder, Deeds, Book N, 1871-1877, 103.

³⁰ Chico Sanborn Maps, *block 15*, 1886, CSUC Special Collections, G4363 C4.

³¹ Gerald Carson, *The Old Country Store* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954), 51.

³² James M. Mayo, *The American Grocery Store: The Business Evolution of an Architectural Space* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1933), 1.

³³ Ibid., 13.

³⁴ Ibid., 43.

the building where the hitching posts were located for horses. The first floor was where business was conducted and where patrons could purchase items; the second story was reserved for the shopkeeper to do business. This was exactly what Newman's grocery store looked like initially; the building he purchased in 1874 was already a two-story structure.³⁵ By the later part of the nineteenth and heading into the twentieth century, grocery stores began to drastically change architecturally. Buildings were built out of brick to prevent less a chance of fire damage. The outside became more visible with the implementation of glass windows and eventually store displays. The stores prominently displayed the name of the building on the outside, sometimes accompanied by advertisements.³⁶ One aspect that revolutionized the industry more than anything was mass distribution of products. With the coming of railroads and the improvement of river travel, wholesale goods arrived faster and more frequently than ever before. "The American small town and its business on Main Street became unavoidably intertwined with the growing economic force of mass distribution."³⁷ This was something happening not only in Chico but all across the nation people were feeling the effects. Things that were once a luxury could be purchased faster and cheaper than ever before.

As cities like Chico continued to grow the competition amongst grocery stores grew; this prompted stores to specialize. This happened only in cities where there were a large number of grocers for smaller towns, a small country store was sufficient in supplying their needs.³⁸ As stores became specialized it came with a consequence; since they focused on only one thing they lost a substantial portion of their previous income. In order to fill these gaps they had to diversify their capital. "By diversifying their capital, storekeepers could expand their opportunities to prevent a total loss in any one business as well as being able to profit in one or more of their ventures."³⁹ Newman is a prime example of this; in 1885 he and his son Charles Newman Johnson expanded the family business by adding onto the existing grocery store and creating The Johnson House.

The Johnson House was originally a two story wooden building but in 1881 Newman purchased the lot to the south of the Johnson House and built a two story brick addition.⁴⁰ The upper portion of the building housed Ms. A. P. Hart's Broadway Restaurant and sleeping rooms, but in 1885 Charles purchased the upper half of the store from Ms. Hart and officially the name was changed to The Johnson House.⁴¹ Newman was in charge of the grocery store downstairs while Charles, now twenty-six years old, ran the upstairs, which was a hotel. While it was officially regarded as "The Johnson House Boarding, Lodging and Grocery" it was more

³⁵ Carson, *The Old Country Store*, 52-53.

³⁶ Ibid., 65.

³⁷ Ibid., 67.

³⁸ Mayo, *The American Grocery Store*, 44.

³⁹ Ibid., 45.

⁴⁰ John Waterland, "Purchased lot and built Johnson House," *Waterland Papers* no. 4, 225:1.

⁴¹ John Waterland, "Bought Broadway Restaurant," *Waterland Papers* no. 5, 307:1.

commonly referred as The Johnson House Building and improvement continued into 1886, when construction of a third story began in order to create more room for hotel rooms.⁴² As of 1886 the building was constructed half out of brick and the other half out of a wood frame. The building housed a dinning room, sitting room, kitchen, Chinese cook room and four brick chimneys. The outside housed a large awning or open porch which connects to the neighboring business, a gunsmith.⁴³

Entrepreneurship was high in the city of Chico and Newman was far from the only grocer or hotel proprietor in town. Within a one block radius there was one other grocery store. J.H. Sawtell, who was actually the first grocer in Chico, had a store right next to Newman's on the opposite side of Third Street. On Third and Main Street sat a large hotel, the Union Hotel. On the corner diagonal from The Johnson House was the building where the International Order of Odd Fellows (I.O.O.F) met; Newman was an active member and at one time served as the Director of the Chico chapter. The building currently houses a Starbucks but up until a few years ago it was the site of well-known Lee Pharmacy. Chico was far from a small outpost in Northern California, it was a fast growing city full of rivalry and competition. In order for people like Newman to survive he had to adapt, and that he did, he diversified his capital creating two businesses in one building.

Newman Johnson not only served as an important business leader in early Chico, he also helped shape the new city as he served on the board of trustees and was the Mayor of the city. Johnson entered political life in early 1881 when an issue confronted Chico; a bridge was proposed to cross the Sacramento River near Chico. Up until this time the primary means of crossing the river was by ferry. The board of trustees wanted a bridge, a bridge that would not only connect two counties but one that would be free of charge to everyone who crossed it. In 1881 the California Stage Legislature passed a bill that allowed the construction of bridges to cross the streams and rivers that dissected California. This bill granted city and county boards of supervisors the ability to raise money and build bridges to connect highways. In 1882 the first of many bridges was completed downstream in Colusa, the proposal of a Chico span soon followed. Nearly everyone was in favor of building the free bridge; farmers in Orland complained of the high fee for ferries and estimated that they spent over \$3,000 per year in fees to cross the river.⁴⁴

Soon after the completion of the bridge in Colusa local business leaders led by Newman Johnson began rallying people for support of a free bridge at Chico Landing. The county of Butte had already committed \$10,000 to the bridge construction fund while a committee was set up to gather the remaining funds from businesses and farmers. The supervisor from the second district, George H. Crossette, was appointed chairman of the bridge building committee. He

⁴² John Waterland, "Third Story Started," *Waterland Papers* no. 5, 299:1.

⁴³ Chico Sanborn Maps, *block 15*, 1886, CSUC Special Collections, G4363 C4.

⁴⁴ John Waterland, "Right of Way Given," *Waterland Papers* no. 3, 206:3.

appointed Newman Johnson along with other several others to try and drum up support for the bridge and to come to a town hall meeting on December 16, 1881. At the meeting Johnson informed the citizens that he had been in correspondence with Colusa farmers and he informed them that people in Colusa and Tehama counties were eager to trade with Chico but only if they didn't have to pay ferry fees.⁴⁵ Since Johnson was a farmer in Colusa County he could connect with the farmers and was able to sway the people of Chico into realizing the great importance of connecting two and ultimately three counties. Following the meeting it was decided that the people of Chico would donate \$10,000 for the construction of the bridge, an executive committee was established to oversee the construction of the bridge and the committee consisted of: General Bidwell, Newman Johnson, J. M. Hoyd, Z. M. Burnham, Wm. Earl, A. M. Barley, P. Peters, A. H. Crew and J. O. Rusby. After conferring with the supervisors in Colusa County the site was officially decided to be at Chico Landing and landowners (Bidwell on Butte Co. side) on both sides of the river gratefully gave permission to build the road through their land.⁴⁶ The next step was taken on March 7, 1882 when proposals for the bridge were opened for submission. The requirements for the bridge were lengthy but it in general the bridge was to be of sturdy construction and have a draw to allow barges and steamers to pass through safely. Three companies submitted plans for the bridge with prices ranging from \$25,000 to \$29,000 in the end the committee choose The California Bridge Company out of Oakland to begin construction in June of 1882, for the price of \$25,000.⁴⁷

The bridge was completed in September 23, 1882 and a huge celebration commenced. The festivities were marshaled by the prominent Gen. John Bidwell and assisted by the newly appointed mayor of Chico, Newman Johnson. The bridge was six miles from Chico but the distance did not stop anyone. Carriages from every shape and size crowded the road, school was let out early so the children could attend the commencement, and carriage loads of people came dressed for a celebration and made sure to pack a nice picnic lunch with them. By eleven o'clock 4,000 citizens had gathered to take part in the festivities. The celebration began by General Bidwell settling the crowd, a band played and a Reverend from the Baptist Church provided a blessing, the whole church choir came along to sing "The Star Spangled Banner." Some of the men who worked for the bridge company said a few words and that were followed by a presentation by the Broom Brigade. Finally a delegation of sixteen children, eight boys and eight girls came forward to tap the final golden spike into the bridge thus signaling its completion. Mayor Johnson escorted the children who were dressed in appropriate patriotic attire. The eight girls wore white dresses with accents of red scarves and blue rosettes (ribbon in the shape of a rose); while the boys wore blue sashes and had white rosettes. Each one of the

⁴⁵ John Waterland, "Chico Landing Span," *Waterland Papers* no. 3, 206:1-3.

⁴⁶ John Waterland, "Right of Way Given," *Waterland Papers* no. 3, 206:3.

⁴⁷ John Waterland, "Colusa Bridge First," *Waterland Papers* no. 3, 206:2.

girls and each one of the boys tapped the spike into place; one of the boys was Newman Johnson's son Frank who was eight years old. With the last ping of the hammer on the spike and a cannon fired to signify the completion to people on both sides of the county.⁴⁸ One last person rose to speak, Annie Bidwell came forward to pour water over the spike and said in a clean and distinct voice, "in the name of Christian fellowship, to be known as the Chico Free Bridge."⁴⁹ Thus ending the formal ceremonies, people began to disperse and enjoy their picnics by the river as they watched the largest barge on the river passed under the open draw; commerce had only just begun.

A year after the bridge had opened the man who ran the draw counted how many boats passed under the bridge in a three month span, he reported forty two barges passed underneath, forty of which carried grain and the other two carried logs. He also counted what passed over the bridge in a one-week span. He recorded, "82 buggies and carriages, 61 two horse wagons and teams, 24 large teams and wagons, 32 Chinese peddling wagons, 3,000 pounds of grain, 4,200 pounds of flour, 3,500 pounds of bran, 4,500 feet of lumber, 3,200 brick, 3,300 sheep."⁵⁰ It is obviously apparent what a profound impact this bridge had on the course of Butte and Colusa County commerce. Chico was bound to have profited extremely well and this quite possibly helped lead to the growth that it has today. Newman helped get the wheels turning on the bridge project but he also had his hand in other civic situations in Chico.

Besides serving as Mayor he also served one term as a city trustee and as the chairman of the board.⁵¹ There is conflicting data, in Wells and Chambers it stated that Newman was President in 1872 while all other data collected said the Johnson family moved to Chico in 1874. The best estimate is he served on the board sometime between 1872-1882.⁵² While he served these posts he always put the city first, as one person said, "he filled (as chairman) in a most creditable manner, never loosing an opportunity to advance the best interest of the city."⁵³ One large issue that cities around California had to contend with in the late 1870s through the 1890s was the Anti-Chinese movement. In Chico this anti-Chinese belief festered and in 1877 culminated in the horrific murder of four Chinese laborers. On March 13, 1877 four Chinese workers were chopping wood on a ranch just outside of the city limits of Chico. As the sun began to set the workers retired to their cabins to rest; around nine o'clock five armed white men and a boy entered the men's cabin. First the boy searched the cabin for anything of value before the five-armed men picked their targets and fired. Their deadly deeds were not complete; the

⁴⁸ John Waterland, "Chico Landing Bridge Opened," *Waterland Papers* no. 3, 208:1-3.

⁴⁹ John Waterland, "Water Poured on Spike," *Waterland Papers* no. 3, 208:2-3.

⁵⁰ John Waterland, "Tender Appointed," *Waterland Papers* no. 3, 209:1.

⁵¹ *Chico Record*, 17 December 1900.

⁵² Harry Wells and W.L. Chambers, *History of Butte County, California 1882 and Biographical Sketches of its Prominent Men and Pioneers* (Berkeley: Howell-North, 1973) 225.

⁵³ *Memorial and Biographical History*, 586.

men then doused the bodies in coal oil and set the bodies ablaze.⁵⁴ The time that followed these murders became known as “the Reign of Terror” in Chico. Two large groups the Order of the Caucasians and the Labor Union both sent out letters to prominent business leaders threatening action if they did not fire their Chinese workers, letters were sent to such prominent people as John Bidwell and prominent business such as the Union Hotel.⁵⁵ The Chico Board of Trustees did not tolerate this form of lawlessness in Chico. They hired detectives to find the culprits of this heinous act. Eventually all five men were captured, tried, found guilty and sentenced to five to twenty-five years in prison. With the aid of prominent men in Chico, the town was rid of threats and law and justice triumphed.⁵⁶

Chinese workers and families faced very similar discrimination that African-Americans would face eighty years later in the 1960s with the civil rights movement. D. F. Crowder reminisced about the time in the 1870’s to a local newspaper during the twentieth century, he said, “Racial hatred then, as now was most unreasonable... on the basis that the Chinese were competing with whites... The fact of the matter is that the Chinese at no time competed with the white man, especially in those days... The Oriental did the work that the white man would not do.”⁵⁷ Nevertheless in cities across California anti-Chinese leagues were formed in opposition to the growing Chinese population. These leagues wanted to promote anti-Chinese sentiment; they wanted eventually to have an anti-Chinese league in every city. The anti-Chinese league in Chico began to sprout in the 1880’s after the deaths of the Chinese workers. The league did not support violent acts towards the Chinese instead they choose to boycott any business that used Chinese workers.⁵⁸ The Chico league had several prominent men, including Charles Johnson, Newman’s eldest son.⁵⁹ While Newman on the other hand was the complete opposite on the issue, a true believer in the Republican ideas laid down by President Lincoln, he favored law and order over the Chinese question. A group was formed to counter act the ideas of the Anti-Chinese League they named themselves the Chico Committee of One Hundred; the committee consisted of the influential business and leaders of the town. The Committee included John Bidwell and quite possibly Newman Johnson; they believed that legislation should be passed to limit or stop the amount of Chinese immigrants that moved to Chico but it was completely out of the question to dispel the current residents or to harm them in any way.⁶⁰ Since Newman was a prominent man it was said, “By his influence and that of a few others the city of Chico was saved

⁵⁴ Wells and Chambers, *History of Butte County*, 229-230.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ 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: Historic Record Company), 274.

⁵⁸ Mansfield, *History of Butte County*, 306.

⁵⁹ Chico Anti-Chinese League Minute Book, 1894, MSS 172, Merriam Library, Special Collections California State University, Chico.

⁶⁰ Mansfield, *History of Butte County*, 306.

from humiliating disgrace.”⁶¹ He always put the interests of the city first; he didn’t want Chico to have to take any unnecessary heat.

Besides all of the civic donations and commercial interests in the city Newman was also a prominent member in many brotherhoods and clubs. He served as the Director of the International Order of Odd Fellows (I.O.O.F) they Odd Fellows met on the corner of Third and Broadway the corner opposite of Newman’s store. He also was a member of the Ancient Order of United Workmen (AOUW) and the Knights of Honor.⁶² Johnson like many citizens of Chico served in the volunteer fire department. Newman served as a fireman of Engine Company Number one. His son, Charles, served with the Deluge Hose Company a separate engine that sometime competed with Engine Company Number One. In 1896 the aged Newman Johnson retired from public life, selling his grocery store and hotel.

Over the next four years Johnson’s health continually deteriorated and in 1900, when he suffered two strokes, it became apparent that he was never going to recover. On December 16, 1900 Johnson suffered a serious paralytic stroke and by 2:00 in the afternoon on the following day he had died. He had lived a long and prosperous seventy-one years, six months, and fifteen days. At the time he was one of the oldest residents of Chico and one of the oldest original Chico residents.⁶³ A large number of friends and family members had gathered at his house on Fourth and Wall Streets where a small service was conducted. Then a funeral procession marched his remains to the Chico Cemetery where he was laid to rest; he was buried alongside his fellow I.O.O.F members in their designated section of the cemetery.⁶⁴ The Johnson estate was transferred into his widow’s name and those of his three sons, Charles, Melvin and Frank.

By the year 1900 Amelia was sixty-one, Charles forty-one, Melvin twenty-eight, and Frank twenty-six. Charles still lived in Chico but no longer ran the Johnson House Hotel; instead he worked at J. H. Sawtell, the large grocery store that sat opposite to the Johnson House. Melvin was currently living in Willows and Frank was now a doctor of dentistry practicing in Chico. Following the years after Newman’s death Amelia was forced to watch yet another one of her children’s health deteriorate. Charles, her eldest was suffering from an unknown problem that forced him to remain at home for several years and it progressively got worse. On June 6, 1904 Charles succumbed to his sickness, which was brought on faster after a bout of Pneumonia, he was only forty-five years old. He had lived his entire life in Chico, from its early days into the twentieth century. Charles was a prominent businessman and a fireman like his father. He was married to Emma Roberts and he had two children with her, Alice and Llewellyn. He was laid to rest next to his father and siblings the following day in the family plot. Many people were in attendance including all of Chico Fire Department, Engine Company Number One. Charles

⁶¹ *Memorial and Biographical History*, 586.

⁶² *Chico Record*, 17 December 1900.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

was given full burial rights as a fallen fireman with a delegation of firemen in full uniform escorting the remains and the fire department bell tolled in his honor.⁶⁵ Amelia would live another four years following the death of Charles; she lived out the rest of her years taking care of her grandchildren Alice and Llewellyn.

Amelia had been a member of the Presbyterian Church on the corner of First and Main as long as she had been a resident of Chico. She attended Sunday services regularly and January 12, 1908 was no exception. She walked from her home on Fourth and Wall to the church. Her grandson, who was walking with her, noticed she was walking brisker than normal. Amelia went and sat next to her friend Mrs. Bruce in the pews, she began to have a conversation with her friend when she suddenly stopped mid sentence. Mrs. Bruce immediately saw the look of death on Amelia and immediately sent for the doctor, but it was too late, she was already dead. It came very suddenly because she had a fatal heat attack and even if the doctor was there nothing could have been done. Dr. Enloe was summoned but she had already passed, she was sixty-seven years old and had lived in Chico for nearly thirty-five years.⁶⁶ She was put to rest next to Newman the following day the service was performed by Reverend White of the Presbyterian Church and it took place at the Beulah Rebekah Lodge, the female constituent of the I.O.O.F.⁶⁷ Newman and Amelia went through thick and thin like many married couples. She was married to Newman for nearly forty-five years and had lived a life full of adventure. From Baltimore, Maryland to Chico, California her life spanned almost seven decades and she, like Newman, were true California pioneers.

Johnson saw things many things that people today could only dream of. He witnessed a country divided and reunited, land unclaimed by anyone except by Uncle Sam, he helped conquer the west and establish cities where years prior nothing existed. He was a man that failed at many things but always persevered, never giving up always pushing forward. Johnson helped shape the city of Chico, even if today you do not see his name etched on a plaque or a building named after him he still had a profound influence. He helped to establish the first bridge connecting Chico to the valuable farms in Colusa County; he helped save Chico from humiliation and disgrace over the anti-Chinese movement. He was one of many who dreamed of owning a business and belonging to city, Newman Johnson may have just been an average citizen of Chico but he was one of many that helped build Chico's colorful past and quite possibly shaped its future.

⁶⁵ *Chico Semi-Weekly Record*, 7 June 2004.

⁶⁶ *Chico Record*, 14 January 1908.

⁶⁷ *Chico Record*, 15 January 1908.

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A President's Influence on HIV & AIDS in South Africa

Meghan Bigley

Throughout our history mankind has combated a multitude of adversaries. We have struggled to make ourselves triumphant over the perils of life such as war, famine and the misuse of power. Yet we have been unable to triumph over one of our greatest adversaries, the outbreak of disease. Our history has been bombarded by the catastrophe of disease since the beginning of man and poses a constant threat to the world's current populations. There are numerous examples of catastrophic diseases throughout time that have forever changed the world in which we live; whose presence even to this day has the power to threaten our species' progress. But in recent history there is no better example of this than the pandemic of AIDS. For a great deal of the present global community, AIDS and the HIV virus have become a combatable foe. Western medicine through the use of education and antiretroviral drugs (ARV's) has made the progress of AIDS against mankind less and less each day. Yet there are places in the world, where HIV and AIDS are just as terrifying and catastrophic as they were at their initial onset. South Africa has the sad recognition of having the highest number of citizens infected by HIV in the world today and has the third highest rate of death due to AIDS.¹ Only in recent years has the government begun to take necessary steps toward fighting this ongoing calamity. Why is South Africa still so terrorized by HIV and AIDS, when so much of the world has been able to make serious strides towards the combat of these messengers of death?

The answer to this lies in the history of South Africa. It is a complicated muddle of backward thinking, political agendas, diluted intentions and very poor leadership among the South African community. We must look towards South Africa's former president Thabo Mbeki, his administration, and the specific laws and precedents that they set and enforced. We must also look to the government's stubborn disregard of science and global pressure. All of these things have allowed AIDS to not only endure but to gain strength and momentum.

Let us begin by looking at AIDS in South Africa from its first recorded case in 1982.² South Africa was experiencing one of its most turbulent points in history. Apartheid was in full force and no black South African was safe. The majority of the black population lived in ghettos like Soweto or Umpumulanga where deprived living conditions ran rampant. There was very little sanitation, no real education, and families basically lived in tiny shacks with no fresh water. Often the men would have to leave to go work in factories and workhouses for months at a time and they would leave their women behind in these ghettos.³ It is during these key years of serious degradation, from 1982 to 1998 that the HIV virus and subsequently AIDS, managed to

¹ Dominique De Santis, Sophie Barton-Knott, Sub-Saharan Fact Sheet, Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, http://data.unaids.org/pub/GlobalReport/2006/200605-FS_SubSaharanAfrica_en.pdf, 2006

² Rob Noble, *South African HIV & AIDS Statistics*, Avert International AIDS Charity, <http://www.avert.org/safricastats.htm>, 2006.

³ Jim Wooten, *We are all the Same* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2004).

gain a foothold in South African life. Although it was thought to be the disease of gay men, it became rapidly apparent that every social group in the world could become infected, which was made even clearer when the prevalence percentage amongst pregnant mothers began to rise.⁴

In 1998, the year before Thabo Mbeki became president, HIV had a prevalence rate of 17.0% amongst pregnant women. The pressure group of Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), an independent group “supporting the rights of those with HIV and AIDS,”⁵ and the Partnership Against AIDS (PAA) came out with the stunning statistic that every day 1,500 people were becoming infected in South Africa.⁶ Then in 1999, the year Mbeki became president, the percentage rose to 22.4% prevalence amongst pregnant women.⁷

On the forefront of this calamitous devastation was President Thabo Mbeki. His policy and the policy of his administration was to ban all ARV’s coming into South Africa, preventing even pregnant mothers infected with HIV from being given AZT, a scientifically FDA supported anti-HIV drug at clinics.⁸ The government even went as far as to ban the use of *Nevirapine*, a generic and less expensive form of the AZT. These policy decisions were directly associated with Thabos’ close advisors. His Health Minister Dr. Manto Tshabalala-Msimang made the claim that “foods like garlic and beetroot can stave off AIDS complications”⁹ and publicly told “South African television audiences that she would not recommend AZT.”¹⁰ Jacob Zuma, the Deputy President of South Africa up until 2005, made the statement after he allegedly raped a young girl who was HIV positive, that he “was convinced that his chance of contracting HIV was small and that he took a shower after sex to minimize the risk.”¹¹ This statement was even more devastating outside of its obvious ignorance, with the fact that “Mr. Zuma was perhaps the leading government official responsible for women’s rights and the effort against AIDS.”¹²

Another one of Mbeki’s advisors was Charles Geshekter, a former California State University Chico professor and one of only a handful of professionals who believe that HIV has nothing to do with AIDS. He believes that AIDS is a symptom of poverty, not a possible correlated effect to the infection of HIV.¹³ In his essay “The Plague that Isn’t” published in *The Globe and Mail* in March of 2000, he sums up the opinion he directed towards Mbeki:

The scandal is that long-standing ailments that are largely the product of poverty are being blamed on a sexually transmitted virus. With missionary-like zeal, but

⁴ Noble, *South African HIV & AIDS Statistics*.

⁵ Noble, *South African HIV & AIDS Statistics*.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Arthur Whitmore, “AZT Approved for Preventing Maternal-Fetus HIV Transmission,” *Food and Drug Administration*, <http://www.fda.gov/bbs/topics/answers/ans00593.html>.

⁹ Michael Wines, “AIDS Cited in the Climb in South Africa’s Death Rate,” *New York Times*, September 8, 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/09/08/world/africa/08safrica.html>.

¹⁰ Charles Geshekter, “The Plague that Isn’t,” *The Globe and Mail*, Mar. 14, 2000.

¹¹ Michael Wines, *AIDS Cited in the Climb*.

¹² Michael Wines, *AIDS Cited in the Climb*.

¹³ Geshekter, *The Plague that Isn’t*.

without evidence, condom manufacturers and AIDS fund-raisers attribute those symptoms to an ‘African sexual culture’...Once AIDS activists consider the non-contagious, indigenous-disease explanations for what are called AIDS, they may see things differently. The problem is that dysentery and malaria do not yield headlines or fatten public-health budgets. ‘Plagues’ and infectious diseases do...yet in South Africa, which will host the International AIDS Conference in July, criticism is on the rise. Some journalists and physicians are challenging the marketing anxieties and questioning the epidemic.¹⁴

This is the kind of advising Mbeki was lapping up and using as the backbone for his political decisions in his fight to keep ARV’s out of South Africa.

Though obvious to most of the world, this course of blatant denial was the tactic Mbeki decided to take. In 2000, he attended the International AIDS Conference in Durban, South Africa, where a young advocate for AIDS awareness was speaking. Eleven-year-old Nkosi Johnson was a child born with AIDS because his mother was one of the percentage of pregnant women living with HIV in South Africa, whom Mbeki had refused AZT. He had the fortune of being adopted by a wealthy woman named Gail Johnson just before the death of his biological mother Daphne, due to AIDS. He gave the opening speech at the ceremony in Durban and publicly gave the world an opportunity to gain insight into the life of a child with AIDS. Nkosi even made direct confrontation to Mbeki when he said:

I hate having AIDS because I get very sick and I get very sad when I think of all the other children and babies that are sick with AIDS. I just wish that the government can start giving AZT to pregnant HIV mothers to help stop the virus being passed on to their babies. Babies are dying very quickly and I know one little abandoned baby who came to stay with us and his name was Micky. He couldn't breathe, he couldn't eat and he was so sick and Mommy Gail had to phone welfare to have him admitted to a hospital and he died. But he was such a cute little baby and I think the government must start doing it because I don't want babies to die.¹⁵

During this very speech, apparently annoyed by the boy’s attention to his abusive policy, Thabo Mbeki, the President of one of the highest HIV infected countries in the world, walked out of the International AIDS Conference. The prevalence of HIV amongst pregnant women at this time was then 24.8% and rising and over 1,476,276 people had died since he had taken office.¹⁶

Over the next few years Mbeki and his administration began to feel the pressure of the global community. In 2002 the rate amongst pregnant mother’s was at an all time high of 26.5%.² A total of 499,494 deaths in that year alone were attributed to AIDS and Mbeki began

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Nkosi Johnson, Speech at the International AIDS Conference, (Durban, South Africa, July 2000), <http://www.simplytaty.com/bios/nkosi.htm>.

¹⁶ Noble, *South African HIV & AIDS Statistics*.

to realize he needed to make at least a small concession to the AIDS community.¹⁷ So he slowly began to allow small amounts of ARV's to be available in selective clinics throughout the region.

This obviously meager attempt however could not deter the percentage rates of HIV infected and AIDS deaths from rising. In 2002 with Mbeki's administration under serious fire from the global community including the United Nations, the conflict between Mbeki's policy and the need of South African citizens came to a climax when a lawsuit was filed by the Treatment Action Campaign, a "coalition of South African AIDS-related organizations to promote affordable treatment for all people with HIV infection or AIDS."¹⁸ The lawsuit was about the government's refusal to allow generic medicines into the country, such as the generic AZT, *Nevirapine*. The lawsuit was brought before the South African Constitutional Court, and was decided in favor of the plaintiff, the Treatment Action Committee. The court ruled that preventing pregnant mothers the right to *Nevirapine*, "is not reasonable and is an unjustifiable barrier to the progressive realization of the right of healthcare."¹⁹ The constitutional court also ruled that "the government's *nevirapine* policy violated the health care rights of women and newborns under the South African constitution."²⁰

After the *Nevirapine* case, Mbeki and his administration were forced under the laws of their constitution to change most of their AIDS policies. The ban on *Nevirapine* was finally lifted making it available to all pregnant mothers with HIV. The government opened the country to ARV's accepted by the scientific community, and in 2004-2005, "GlaxoSmithKline and other pharmaceutical companies agreed to allow low-cost generic versions of their drugs to be produced in South Africa. This made South Africa one of the first African countries to produce its own AIDS drugs."²¹

Yet despite these improvements, the government in the hands of Thabo Mbeki still managed to damage the fight against AIDS in its own country. The laws of a court are well and good in a theoretical sense, but what is really necessary is action. The government has yet to this day supplied the clinics with the tools and medications necessary to make ARV's available to everyone in the public sector. A revealing interview between NPR and Thembi Ngubane, a young South African woman with AIDS, brought out the point that "It is improving—slowly. It's also patchy. Some places, like Khayelitsha, are doing well. In many parts of the country, the rollout is pitiful, such as Limpopo and Mpumalanga provinces. These areas are less urban and less wealthy."²² She also spoke about the poor record keeping that is being done by the government to monitor the giving of AZT, when she said, "Of pregnant women attending public

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ George J. Annas, J.D., M.P.H., "The Right to Health and the Nevirapine Case in South Africa," *New England Journal of Medicine*, no.8 (2003).

¹⁹ Annas, *The Right to Health*, no.8 (2003).

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Noble, *South African HIV & AIDS Statistics*.

²² Thembi Ngubane, interview by Maureen Pao, *Global Health*, National Public Radio, April 19, 2006.

antenatal clinics, 29.5 percent are HIV-positive. More than 90 percent of pregnant women use the public service. No one knows how many receive ARV's for prevention of mother-to-child transmission, because the government is failing to monitor the program.”²³

Thembi Ngubane’s criticisms are very pertinent to the welfare of her country, but South Africa cannot afford to hold its concerns to these alone. Too many lives were held in the palm of a man whose obvious disregard for human life and suffering had been apparent throughout his entire presidency. Mbeki tried in the last years of his presidency to move the spotlight from his mistakes to those around him, such as his Minister of Health Dr. Manto Tshabalala-Msimang, who had been quietly moved to the back of his administration and no longer had any power over AIDS policy.²⁴ He fired Jacob Zuma from the position of Deputy President, but then later voiced his approval for the man’s capability to perhaps be the next president of South Africa.²⁵ He even realized that his image would be better served if he didn’t run for another term of office. Yet this does not excuse the millions of people that died due the lack of government healthcare under Mbeki. It doesn’t excuse the millions and millions of people who are infected and who will most likely succumb to their disease. It will never forgive the orphans like Nkosi Johnson who had to watch their mother’s die, only to be made aware that they too will probably share this same fate. Defenders of Mbeki would make the claim that these are gross accusations, which are far too massive in scale to be blamed on one person. And there is truth in that defense. Catastrophic diseases like AIDS are so horrendous and massive in impact that the damage caused cannot be attributed to one man alone. But I would counter with this: waiting for the masses to intercede and change the course of history does not solve problems. Change must also lie in the actions of the few whose power dictates responsibility for the progress of mankind. It is up to the individual leader to lead by example and set the spark for the rest of us to follow. So when that leader not only fails to take action in the best interest of his fellow man, but also in turn makes a concerted effort to add to the ferocity of the challenges against humanity, then that man must be held accountable. Mbeki is guilty of assisting HIV and AIDS in ravaging South Africa and killing millions of people through his neglect, through his acceptance of ridiculously poor counsel, and through his policy. And like all leaders, he must be held responsible for the welfare of the people he rules. He owes it to Thembi Ngubane, to Nkosi Johnson, and to the millions of South Africans who have died and who will soon die due in part to his actions. Nkosi Johnson said it best during his speech at the International AIDS Conference, when he said, “Care for us and accept us—we are all human beings. We are normal. We have hands. We have feet. We

²³ Ngubane, *Global Health*.

²⁴ Michael Wines, “Under Fire, South Africa Shakes Up its Strategy Against AIDS,” *New York Times*, November 3, 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html>.

²⁵ Michael Wines, “A Highly Charged Rape Trial Tests South Africa’s Ideals,” *New York Times*, April 10, 2006, <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/04/10/world/africa/10africa.html>.

can walk, we can talk, we have needs just like everyone else—don’t be afraid of us—we are all the same!"²⁶

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²⁶ Wooten, *We are all the Same*.

Theodore de Bry and the Historia Americae: A Case Study of Early European Publishing
 Bryce Havens

Johannes Gutenberg's invention of the printing press in the mid-fifteenth century stands among the major events in the history of early modern Western Civilization. Although the impact of the ability to easily and rapidly spread information, as well as preserve the written word, was vast, the magnitude of its consequences on historical events has only begun to be widely studied in the last thirty years. The principal scholar on the subject of the "Printing Revolution" is Elizabeth Eisenstein and her 1979 *magnum opus* The Printing Press as an Agent of Change.¹ Eisenstein's work itself revolutionized the study of print history and print culture, and radically altered the ways in which scholars interpret the significance of the printing revolution and its many consequences. Her thesis meticulously shows the importance of "the book" and its place within the cultural, political, and social network of early modern Europe. Eisenstein argues that the consequences of shifting from a scribal culture to a print culture, such as the rapid dissemination of texts, easier access to books due to mass production, and the standardization of information, directly impacted the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Scientific Revolution. Without such consequences, these events would have most likely not occurred, or at least not to the degree that they did.

One book, or rather a series of books, that had a vast, though still not fully understood, influence on Europe during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was the *Historia Americae* series published by Theodore de Bry.² This series was the first set of published works that juxtaposed personal travel-narratives of the New World with superbly detailed and accurate illustrations.³ These accounts cover European exploration of such lands as the Americas, India, Asia, Africa, and the East Indies; and the illustrations primarily, though not exclusively, depict the native inhabitants whom the Europeans encountered on their voyages. These images gained fame because of their superior quality, scandalous representations of cannibalism, and controversial depictions of European atrocities.⁴

¹ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979). For this paper, I will be working from the abridged version of the work *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

² The series as a whole is known as *Collectiones peregrinationum in Indianam orientalem et Indianam occidentalem*, or "Collected Travels in the East Indies and West Indies." However, among scholars of the book and the history of printing it is usually referred to as *Grands et Petites Voyages*, or the "Great and Small Travels." The *Grands* voyages made up fourteen volumes and the *Petites* thirteen volumes. Other than a difference in content, the only variation between the "Great" and "Small" publications was a 27-millimeter size difference in the printed folio. For a brief introductory history, as well as an excellent publication history of the *Grands et Petites Voyages*, see Jacques-Charles Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire et de L'Amateur de Livres* Vol. 1 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1966), 1310-1363.

³ A number of other works had been published prior to de Bry but they either contained poor quality pictures or no pictures at all.

⁴ Michael Alexander, ed., *Discovering the New World Based on the Works of Theodore de Bry* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1976), 7-11.

This paper will undertake a case study of Theodore de Bry and his role as an early modern European publisher. The *Historia Americae* will be examined within the political, cultural, religious, and economic confines in which it appeared in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Both will be studied in their separate and distinct relations to early printing and publishing as described by Eisenstein, with special attention given to de Bry's depictions of European atrocities, the native inhabitants, as well as the political and religious ideas that sustain his work.

Theodore de Bry was born in Liège in the year 1528. Now part of modern Belgium, Liège formed part of the Spanish Netherlands during de Bry's life. Knowledge of de Bry's early years consists of what he tells us in a brief preface to his printed work *Icōnes quinquaginta virorum illustrium* (1597), a book about the "lives of worthy men."⁵

I was the offspring of parents born to an honourable station, and was in affluent circumstances and in the first rank of the more honoured inhabitants of Liège. But stripped of all these belongings by the accidents, cheats, and ill terms of fortune and by the attacks of robbers, I had to contend against such adverse chance that only by my art could I fend for myself. Art alone remained to me the ample patrimony left me by my parents. On that neither robbers nor the rapacious bands of thieves could lay hands. Art restored my former wealth and reputation, and has never failed me, its unwearied devotee.⁶

One can extrapolate certain idiosyncrasies from this brief and vague passage. It is obvious that de Bry's family was relatively wealthy and was most likely part of the middle, or perhaps upper, class. Accustomed to wealth and a degree of prestige, he clearly suffered from some calamitous event that stripped him of his social status and, perhaps, his inheritance. One could assume that he learned his professional skills from his father, as art was the only "patrimony" left to him by his parents. And, as will be explained later, his work as an artist "restored" his wealth and prestige.

De Bry was a Calvinist during the violent religious and independence wars in the Netherlands. During the mid-sixteenth century, the Netherlands large Protestant population resisted their Catholic ruler Philip II, King of Spain and the Low Countries. Calvinism in the Netherlands appealed to the middle class "because of its intellectual seriousness, moral gravity, and emphasis on any form of labor well done." By 1560, Calvinists had developed into a "militant minority" that "encouraged opposition to...civil authorities."⁷

In the late 1560s, Philip II sent some twenty thousand troops into the Netherlands to suppress the Calvinists. The Duke of Alva commanded the Spanish army and brutally put down

⁵ Ibid., 8.

⁶ Quoted in M. S. Giuseppi, "The Work of Theodore de Bry and His Sons, Engravers," in *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London* 11 (1916): 204-205.

⁷ John McKay, Bennett Hill, and John Buckler, *A History of Western Society*, Vol. B, *From the Renaissance to 1815* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2006), 494-495.

“religious and political dissidents.” In early 1568, the Duke created his own tribunal, appropriately called the “Council of Blood,” which executed 1500 rebels on 3 March 1568.⁸ In 1570, de Bry and his family fled to Strasbourg to escape the persecution.⁹ There he opened a goldsmith shop and worked “under the influence of Etienne Delaune,” an engraver from France who was also a Huguenot refugee.¹⁰ He also took work as an engraver of copper plates, most likely to subsidize his income, as was common at the time.¹¹ De Bry would spend almost two decades in Strasbourg before beginning work on the *Historia Americae*.

The Life and Work of a Publisher-Engraver

Between 1570 and 1590, the only known work that can be attributed to de Bry were a collection of engraved copper plates depicting the funeral procession of Sir Philip Sidney.¹² Sidney, an English nobleman, had died in the Netherlands fighting on the Protestant side against the Spanish. These plates were engraved in 1587 or 1588 and were designed after the work of one Thomas Lant. Another collection of plates depicting the Procession of the Knights of the Garter (1576) has been attributed to de Bry, but the supporting evidence is minimal.¹³ It was not until late 1588, after he moved to Frankfurt am Main that De Bry began to work on what would ultimately become the *Historia Americae*.¹⁴

De Bry lived in London between 1586 and 1587 while he was working on the plates for the funeral procession of Sir Philip Sidney. There he met the English scholar Richard Hakluyt, who himself was a publisher among other professions. Hakluyt had, in 1586, published the “manuscript journal” of Réné de Laudonnière in Paris.¹⁵ In 1564, Laudonnière led an expedition of Huguenot colonists to explore what is now Florida and South Carolina. The expedition ended terribly when, on 20 September 1565, Spanish troops attacked and killed many of the French

⁸ Ibid., 495.

⁹ Most sources on de Bry simply state that he fled, or was forced to flee from Liège. However, in Bernadette Bucher’s work, *Icon and Conquest: A Structural Analysis of the Illustrations of de Bry’s Great Voyages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), she states that de Bry “In 1570,” was “accused of sympathizing with the Reformation, [and] he had to go into exile, robbed of all his wealth.” She also confusingly states on the prior page that de Bry was “exiled for his religious opinions,” 6-7. Whether he was exiled or went into self-imposed exile is unclear. Giuseppi says “enforced departure” in the year 1570. “The Work of De Bry,” 205. Also, Arthur M. Hind states that de Bry lived in Strasbourg “between 1568 and 1590,” showing that it is uncertain exactly when de Bry fled the Netherlands. *A History of Engraving and Etching from the 15th Century to the Year 1914* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923), 125.

¹⁰ Bucher, *Icon and Conquest*, 7. As an interesting side note, Bucher says that de Bry worked “under the influence of” Etienne Delaune, but Giuseppi says that, while in Strasbourg, de Bry “would have known his fellow co-religionist, the Huguenot goldsmith-engraver Étienne Delaune,” and not that he worked under him. “The Work of De Bry,” 207.

¹¹ Alexander, *Discovering the New World*, 8; Giuseppi, “The Work of De Bry,” 206.

¹² Bucher mentions that during this time de Bry “did work to order for the courts and the Protestant nobility.” *Icon and Conquest*, 7.

¹³ Giuseppi proclaims that “the attribution [of the Procession of the Knights of the Garter to de Bry] seems to be made on very insufficient grounds.” “The Work of De Bry,” 206. Hind attributes the work to “Marcus Gheraerts the elder.” *A History of Engraving and Etching*, 136.

¹⁴ Giuseppi, “The Work of De Bry,” 206.

¹⁵ Ibid., 208.

settlers.¹⁶ One of the surviving Huguenots was Jacques le Moyne de Morgues, who was the expedition's chief artist. De Morgues recounts his duties as the expedition artist in his personal journal:

Upon this he [Laudonnière] promised that no services except honorable ones should be required of me; and he informed me that my special duty, when we should reach the Indies, would be to map the seacoast, and lay down the positions of the towns, the depth and course of rivers, and the harbors; and to represent also the dwellings of the natives, and whatever in the province might seem worthy of observation: all of which I performed to the best of my ability, as I should his majesty when, after having escaped from the remarkable perfidies and atrocious cruelties of the Spaniards, I returned to France.¹⁷

According to M. S. Giuseppi, de Bry, who most likely read Hakluyt's Paris edition of Laudonnière's narrative, "was deeply interested in the story" because of his concern for "those who suffered for the reformed religion."¹⁸ For some reason, perhaps because of his own personal persecution by the Spanish, de Bry, at this time, became "anxious to publish a book on the sufferings of the Huguenots, which he planned to illustrate with true and artistic engravings."¹⁹ Since de Morgues was living in London under the protection of Sir Walter Raleigh during de Bry's visit, he sought "him out...to obtain his consent to the reproduction of his Florida drawings..."²⁰ Giuseppi contends that this "was the object of de Bry's first visit to London," however, de Bry had been in London since 1586 to work on the funeral procession engravings of Sir Philip Sidney. Depending on when in 1586 Hakluyt's Paris edition of Laudonnière's journal was published, when de Bry read it, if he even did, and the time it would take to travel from Strasbourg to London, it would seem unfeasible that de Bry traveled to London solely seeking de Morgue's drawings.²¹ In any case, de Morgues refused to sell his drawings to de Bry, who only obtained them after he returned to London for the second time in 1588, this time from Frankfurt, and purchased them from de Morgues widow.²²

¹⁶ Stefan Lorant, ed., *The New World: The First Pictures Of America, Made by John White and Jacques Le Moyne and Engraved by Theodore de Bry* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946), 30.

¹⁷ William Appleton, *Narrative of Le Moyne, an Artist who Accompanied the French Expedition to Florida under Laudonnière, 1564. Translated from the Latin of De Bry, with Heliotypes of the Engravings taken from the Artist's Original Drawings* (Boston: Rand, Avery & Co., 1875), 2. [Accessed via Google Books].

¹⁸ Giuseppi, "The Work of De Bry," 208-209.

¹⁹ Lorant, *The New World*, 31.

²⁰ Giuseppi, "The Work of De Bry," 209.

²¹ There is some confusion here among the sources. Giuseppi states that de Bry's first visit to London was "paid probably in 1586" and that he most likely read Laudonnière's narrative in 1586 when it was published in Paris by Hakluyt. Alexander states that de Bry did not arrive in London until 1587, where he might have read Hakluyt's English edition of Laudonnière's narrative, which was published the same year in London. Like Giuseppi, Alexander states that de Bry came to London "to see if he could obtain" de Morgues drawings, though it is obvious that the fact of when de Bry read Laudonnière's narrative (if he did), and when we first arrived in London is unclear. Giuseppi, "The Work of De Bry," 207-209; Alexander, *Discovering the New World*, 9.

²² Giuseppi, "The Work of De Bry," 209.

De Bry was overjoyed at finally having acquired de Morgues drawings. Perhaps he would have simply published them along with a copy of Laudonnière's narrative, and never worked as a publisher again. However, de Bry's career as a publisher would forever be changed after Hakluyt persuaded him to postpone his publication of de Morgues drawings and take up another project. Hakluyt, a man "more interested in the future of English colonization than in the past abortive French settlements," convinced de Bry that it would be in his better interest to publish a work depicting the drawings of John White.²³ In 1585, White had traveled to Virginia as part of an expedition chartered by Sir Walter Raleigh. He acted much as de Morgues had on his expedition, for he painted much of the Virginia colony, including the "American Indians and the flora and fauna of the country."²⁴ His watercolors are said to be the "first authentic pictorial records of life" on the North American continent.²⁵

Another Englishman who traveled on the same expedition as White was Thomas Hariot. As the official "geographer and historian" for the expedition, Hariot wrote the authorized account of the colony entitled *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*.²⁶ This report of the colony had first appeared in Hakluyt's 1588 publication *The Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation*. Due to his many contacts, White and Hariot among them, Hakluyt arranged for de Bry to obtain White's watercolors and a copy of Hariot's report. It was "directly due to the suggestion of Hakluyt" that these items became the first volume of the *Historia Americae*.²⁷

This first volume of the *Historia Americae* appeared in 1590 and was published in Frankfurt, along with all subsequent editions. The first edition met with some success and de Bry continued to publish until his death. "At his death in March of 1598," says Brunet, "Theodore de Bry had already published, from 1590 to 1596, six volumes of the *Grands Voyages*. After his death, his widow and his two sons, Jean-Theodore and Jean-Israel," continued publication of the series.²⁸ The series stayed within the de Bry family down to its final 27th volume, which was published in 1634 by de Bry's grandson-in-law Mathieu Merian.²⁹

De Bry the Publisher

If little is known about de Bry's life in general, even less is known about his career as a publisher. This is primarily due to the fact that de Bry's publishing career was relatively short,

²³ Lorant, *The New World*, 31.

²⁴ Ibid., 180.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Bucher, *Icon and Conquest*, 7.

²⁷ Giuseppi, "The Work of De Bry," 210.

²⁸ A sa mort, arrivé en mars 1598, Théodore de Bry avait déjà donné, de 1590 à 1596, six parties de Grands Voyages. Après lui, sa veuve et ses deux fils, Jean-Théodore et Jean-Israël, Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, 1311 [my translation].

²⁹ Giuseppi, "The Work of De Bry," 224; Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, 1310.

only lasting from 1590 to his death in 1598. What little we do know, however, paints an interesting portrait of an early modern European publisher.

According to Eisenstein, “The advent of printing led to the creation of a new kind of shop structure; to a regrouping which entailed closer contacts among diversely skilled workers and encouraged new forms of cross-cultural interchange.”³⁰ Although we do not know exactly how de Bry operated his print shop, these “cross-cultural” interchanges can be seen in three ways. First and foremost, de Bry worked with many people, primarily intellectuals, in order to publish his *Historia Americae*, the most influential, at least in the early stages, being Richard Hakluyt. As mentioned above, Hakluyt “inspired” de Bry to publish his *Voyages*, and put him in contact with John White, Jacques le Moyne, and Thomas Hariot, whose works appeared in the first two volumes of the *Historia*. Hakluyt’s work with de Bry stopped after the publication of the second volume, though he continued to be an influence as de Bry’s sons “adapted several reports which had previously appeared in [his *Principal Navigations*]” after their father’s death.³¹

Second, de Bry worked in close contact with multiple people in his shop. He worked, undoubtedly, in close contact with his sons, both of whom learned their father’s trade as an engraver. As de Bry states in his introduction to Hariot’s report on Virginia, “I obtained...them [John White’s drawings] in London and brought them here to Frankfurt, where I and my sons have taken the most earnest pains in engraving them carefully on copper, since the subject is one of great importance.”³² De Bry also had a “workshop assistant [named] Gisbert van Veen.”³³ Whether this man was an apprentice or a simple subordinate is unknown, but it would not be unexpected for a printer to have many people working in his shop. Lastly, de Bry worked with translators. “I have had the text of both narratives,” said de Bry, “translated into excellent French and Latin by a very learned friend on mine.”³⁴

Finally, de Bry was a truly skilled craftsman, for he worked as more than just a publisher and an engraver. De Bry published the first two volumes of the *Historia*, but he had them sold by his personal bookseller Sigismund Feyerabend.³⁵ This was not uncommon at the time, as printed manuscripts were usually printed in one location only to be shipped elsewhere for binding and selling. However, after the publication of the second volume, de Bry’s bookseller

³⁰ Eisenstein, The Printing Revolution, 27.

³¹ Bucher, Icon and Conquest, 8.

³² Quoted in Lorant, The New World, 228.

³³ Henry Keazor, “Theodore de Bry’s Images for America,” *Print Quarterly* 15 (1998): 134.

³⁴ Quoted in Lorant, *The New World*, 228. Curiously, de Bry states that the narratives of both Hariot’s report on Virginia, which appeared in the first volume, and the narrative from the French expedition to Florida, which appeared in the second volume, were translated into French. This is odd because the only volume that contained French text was the first, for it was simultaneously published in Latin, German, French, and English. The remaining 26 volumes of the *Grands et Petites Voyages* were only published in German and Latin. Bucher, *Icon and Conquest*, 11.

³⁵ Giuseppi, “The Work of De Bry,” 212-213.

died, thus forcing de Bry to “became a bookseller and publisher himself.”³⁶ De Bry’s diversified skills as engraver, publisher, and bookseller, and the intellectual interchange that clearly took place in his print shop, proves that de Bry fits Eisenstein’s description of an early modern print shop.

Another interesting aspect of de Bry’s career as a publisher was his clientele. After gaining fame as a publisher after to the success of the first few volumes of the *Historia*, de Bry “earned...the friendship of some distinguished literary men, like himself staunch adherents to the reformed religion, and their works he was ever ready to produce with all the skill at his command.”³⁷ De Bry acted as the personal printer for such men as Jean-Jacques Boissard, a noted French writer, historian, and poet, Denis Lebey de Batilley, a French lawyer and poet, and Pierre Joly “Sieur de Bionville,” a French nobleman.³⁸ In a preface to a book written by Boissard, Joly says this of de Bry:

Undoubtedly posterity will have cause to be grateful to Théodore de Bry of Liége. He has so spent the whole of his past life as always to have before his eyes these objects—the promotion of literature by his studies and the increase of the public good by his infinite labours, combining pleasing entertainment with utility. In all this I know not whether we should admire most his art, his genius, or his diligence. For there is nothing done by him in which accurate industry and ingenious invention are not apparent; whereby not only does he feed the minds of his readers, but delights the eyes of those who gaze on his work.³⁹

Joly also mentions de Bry’s “infinite number” of published works, showing that de Bry undoubtedly worked as the publisher for many other men than the above three.⁴⁰ De Bry’s fame had undeniably grown, and it is intriguing how a man, who originally had no skill or training as a publisher, built a successful career working as one.

One specific feature of de Bry’s role as a publisher that deserves attention is his concern of piracy. Eisenstein notes that the advent of printing greatly impacted the notions of copyright and plagiarism:

By 1500, legal fictions were already being devised to accommodate the patenting of inventions and assignment of literary properties.... Competition over the right to publish a given text also introduced controversy over new issues involving monopoly and piracy.⁴¹

In his introduction to the first volume of the *Historia*, de Bry voices his concerns about piracy:

In conclusion, I ask most earnestly that if anyone else should be found attempting to pirate *this book of mine* (for nowadays there are many dishonest people who try

³⁶ Bucher, Icon and Conquest, 8.

³⁷ Giuseppi. “The Work of De Bry,” 213.

³⁸ Ibid., 215-216.

³⁹ Quoted in Ibid., 216.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Eisenstein, The Printing Revolution, 94.

to get the benefit of another's work), that no credit should be given to the counterfeit copy, for I have put many secret marks *in my drawings* which will certainly cause confusion if they are omitted.⁴²

Despite these concerns, it appears that de Bry may be guilty of piracy himself.

Henry Keazor, in his article “Theodore de Bry’s Images for America,” staunchly argues that de Bry freely took from other peoples’ work and “adapted their pictures according to his own needs, supplementing them, for example...with landscape backdrops or paraphernalia.”⁴³ Keazor examines a number of images, created prior to the first publication of the *Historia Americae*, that de Bry apparently plagiarized entirely. Lastly, Keazor shows the many influences of other artistic works on de Bry’s images. By examining specific stylistic qualities, such as the positioning of a body or stance of a person, Keazor shows the de Bry was deeply influenced by other artists. Keazor criticizes de Bry by saying “given that [he] doesn’t seem to have felt any need to name the authors from whom he adapted whole compositions to his own purpose, it seems highly unlikely that he should have cared to acknowledge the sources for particular figures he took from other artists.”⁴⁴

Though Keazor may be right, his argument that de Bry copied from other artists solely based on the position of a body within an image is rather weak. Of all the paintings and other works of art in Europe at the time, many would have likely had similar attributes in the composition of a particular character. De Bry’s works might have similar character composition, but that does not prove that he outright copied the image. The outreached hands of one person, or the stance of another is simply not enough proof.

It is clear though, that de Bry’s statement regarding his engravings of White’s watercolors, “I copied exactly from the originals,” is an exaggeration, and one can understand why de Bry might have wanted to adapt his engravings.⁴⁵ While de Bry’s “landscape backdrops or paraphernalia” adaptations are misrepresentations of the originals, they make perfect sense when one considers de Bry’s position as a publisher. He clearly wanted his images to be of the highest quality and show as much detail as possible. So, if that meant he had to alter an image to make it more appealing to his readers, he would understandably do so, and without hesitation. Since de Bry’s audience was solely European, it is no wonder that one of the primary ways he adapted his images was by “Europeanizing” his depictions of Indians. In the words of Robert F. Berkhofer, “Under the hands of De Bry’s engravers, the portraits and posture of the Carolina Indians became more classical in pose and composition than the more accurate watercolors of

⁴² Quoted in Lorant, *The New World*, 228. [Emphasis added]

⁴³ Keazor, “Theodore de Bry’s Images,” 134. Examples of this can be seen in the differences between de Bry’s engravings and the original watercolors of John White. See the Appendix.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 138

⁴⁵ Quoted in Lorant, *The New World*, 227.

John White, from which the engravers worked.”⁴⁶ Perhaps de Bry’s Protestant faith led him to judge the Indians less harshly than a Catholic, and subsequently alter his images to make the natives of the America’s seem more “human.” De Bry’s statement about the Amerindians, “For although these savages have no knowledge of the true God or of His holy word and are without any learning, yet they surpass us in many things,” is somewhat telling.⁴⁷ His personal views aside, de Bry certainly altered his images for specific purposes.

Now that de Bry’s role as a publisher has been scrutinized, it is time to examine his masterpiece of publishing and its impact on European society.

The Historia Americae

The published history the *Historia Americae* series is well known and established; however, a comprehensive knowledge of its impact on European readers, and its potential influence during de Bry’s life (and his sons lives) is relatively unknown. Although most sources contend that it was the first “great series of printed books...[that] brought to the European public the first realistic visualization of the exotic world opened up across the Atlantic,” just how exactly the European public received de Bry’s images remains a mystery.⁴⁸ By examining certain features of the work, such as its languages of publication, readership, the narratives de Bry chose to publish, and his political, religious, and economic motives for doing so, one can gain insight into the power of its publication.

The first volume of de Bry’s *Americae*, as noted above, appeared simultaneously in four editions, Latin, German, French, and English. It is apparent that de Bry, as Bernadette Bucher states, “was seeking a wider European public” that was “beyond the Protestant world.”⁴⁹ However, the subsequent volumes were only published in Latin and High German, and the attempt to publish French and English editions “was abandoned probably because it was not profitable.”⁵⁰ This is rather ironic, considering that an Englishman interested in promoting English colonization helped to spur the series’ publication. Whether the English and French reading publics were simply not interested in the *Voyages* is unknown, though that is unlikely when one considers de Bry’s English contacts and noted French friends.

Despite its failure in four languages, the *Historia* still had a large reading audience. Any educated German would have understood the High German editions and the Latin editions undoubtedly appealed to scholars and the educated that lived in “the Catholic countries.”⁵¹ Although the national languages of Europe slowly replaced Latin throughout the sixteenth and

⁴⁶ Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man’s Indian* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc, 1978), 18. See Appendix for examples.

⁴⁷ Quoted in Lorant, *The New World*, 227.

⁴⁸ Alexander, *Discovering the New World*, 7.

⁴⁹ Bucher, *Icon and Conquest*, 10.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

seventeenth centuries due to “Divisions between Latin- and vernacular-reading publics,”⁵² its prominence among the educated, the nobility, and those with a religious education, would have left a large Latin audience for the *Historia*.

With these restrictions in mind, one can reasonably assume that the readership consisted of nobles and the educated. Bucher states that “there were members of the European aristocracy and in particular the German courts,” among de Bry’s readers.⁵³ Several surviving volumes of the *Historia* “contain a dedicatory epistle to a prince, accompanied by his coat of arms.” Some of these names are “Maximilian, the king of Poland; of Guillaume, count of Palatine; of Christian, duke of Saxony; and of Louis, *landgrave* of Hesse.”⁵⁴ Bucher also mentions that a European interest in “accounts of cross-Atlantic voyages” existed among merchants and the bourgeoisie “because most people, even those of modest means, had a stake in this kind of enterprise.”⁵⁵ Whether the accounts were read as a source of news, general fascination, or entertainment, is unknown, but one can easily understand why a merchant or a stockholder in a firm such as The Dutch East India Company would be interested in the material. Also, because of the many illustrations found in each volume of the *Historia*, there certainly would have been an audience of illiterate people who were simply interested in the New World images.⁵⁶ Although the exact numbers are unknown, it is safe to assume that many Europeans read and or purchased a copy of the *Historia Americae*, whether it was a single volume, or the entire series.

One can also gain insight into the readership by perusing the chosen narratives that appeared throughout the twenty-seven volumes of the *Grands et Petites Voyages*. Within the series, narratives appear from such people as Thomas Hariot, Réné de Laudonnière, Hans Staden, Jean de Léry, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Raleigh, John Smith, Girolamo Benzoni, and Bartolomé de Las Casas. What all of the narratives have in common is that either a known Protestant wrote them, or they described the wanton violence and foul treatment of native peoples by the Spanish.⁵⁷ According to Anthony Grafton:

[De Bry’s] choice of the accounts illustrated was guided by a clear editorial program. That program was shaped by the struggles between Catholic and Protestant that plunged Germany, then France into brutal wars, touched off the Dutch Revolt...and lit the fires that consumed heretics in small German towns.⁵⁸

⁵² Eisenstein, The Printing Revolution, 36.

⁵³ Bucher, Icon and Conquest, 11.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 11-12.

⁵⁷ For a complete publication history see Brunet, *Manuel du Libraire*, 1310-1363. Also, excellent listings of the various publications can be found online at <http://www.historical-prints.co.uk/Theodore.htm> and at the Library of Congress site [http://international.loc.gov/service/rbc/rbdk/d031/inalytics_america.html](http://international.loc.gov/service/rbc/rbdk/d031/inanalytics_america.html).

⁵⁸ Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Boston: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1995), 128.

Grafton also states that de Bry's "political agenda pitted the Protestant nations of Europe against the sixteenth-century superpower and defender of Catholic orthodoxy, Spain."⁵⁹ It is obvious that throughout his life, de Bry carried a great resentment of the Spanish for forcing him to flee his home in the Netherlands.⁶⁰

Due to the exceedingly anti-Catholic and pro-Protestant nature of the works published in the *Historia Americae*, accompanied by de Bry's graphic illustrations of Spanish barbarism and cruelties to native populations, it is not surprising that a number of volumes were placed on the Catholic Index of prohibited books.⁶¹ According to Chester M. Cate:

[The] first eight volumes of the *Oriental India* [the *Petites Voyages*] were condemned in part by the Church and placed on the *Index Expurgatorius*. On the back of the title-page of volume one appears a manuscript statement in contemporary hand, stating that the first ten volumes have been corrected to conform to the *Index Expurgatorius* of 1612, and this statement is followed by another...stating that the volumes also conform to the *Index* of 1632.⁶²

Since there was so many excisions found within this particular set of the *Petites Voyages*, Cate concludes, "it may be well that these were the 'official' copies used by the Spanish censor at Seville."⁶³ Cate also notes the "three classes" under which a book could be censored, one being an author and all his works; the second being an author and some of his works; and the third being "books which might be read after certain passages had been deleted." It appears that these volumes fell under the third category of the *Index Expurgatorius* of 1612.⁶⁴

As a printer, de Bry's religious and political motives for publishing are certain, but what of his economic purpose? As noted above, he said that art helped restore his wealth and reputation. Because de Bry was the first publisher to print New World travel narratives accompanied by superior quality illustrations, one could argue that he held a monopoly share on this unique type of publication. As a printer, Eisenstein best describes his economic motives. "They [early printers] not only sought ever larger markets for their own products," she says, "but they also contributed to, and profited from, the expansion of other commercial enterprises."⁶⁵ De Bry's enterprise, then, was the publication of illustrated travel narratives. According to Bucher,

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ There is a curious statement of de Bry's that is worth noting here. In his introduction to Hariot's report on Virginia, he briefly describes the English expedition that was charted by Sir Walter Raleigh and ended in the year 1588. He then says, "At the request of my friends, and because the memory of that recent feat is so fresh, I am publishing first the account of...Virginia." Quoted in Lorant, *The New World*, 227. The "recent feat" he refers to is, without doubt, the destruction of the Spanish Armada, which occurred in early 1588. It is doubtful that de Bry chose to publish the first volume of the *Historia Americae* simply to glorify England, but his political motive of praising English might in the face of Spanish defeat is obvious.

⁶¹ For Examples of de Bry's anti-Catholic/anti-Spanish images, see the Appendix.

⁶² Chester M. Cate, "De Bry and the Index Expurgatorius," in *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 11 (1917): 137-138.

⁶³ Ibid., 138.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 139.

⁶⁵ Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution*, 33.

the “profusely illustrated” nature of the *Historia* “increased considerably the size of the potential market share.”⁶⁶ Bucher also notes that it was “a common practice at the time to display frontispieces in the streets for publicity purposes.”⁶⁷ One can imagine that the popularity of de Bry’s works certainly lead to their display in many a bookseller’s store window.⁶⁸

It is now clear the de Bry’s *Historia Americae* carried a great deal of influence throughout Europe. Although the vastness of its reach among European readers will never be known, it was evidently read, and most likely admired, by many Protestants, while concurrently being despised by Catholics. It is also unequivocal that de Bry had motives for publishing his work, and a well-defined audience that he sought to satisfy. Having studied de Bry and his *Voyages*, the last important focus shall be the contemporary and modern impact of the two. De Bry and the Legacy of the *Historia Americae*

Judging the impact of the *Historia Americae* is a difficult task. De Bry and his work clearly had an enormous influence on Europe during his lifetime, but the legacy of that influence is uncertain. Because most, if not all, of the texts that appeared throughout the *Grands et Petites Voyages* appeared in printed form before de Bry republished them, the influence of his work most certainly was, and still is, the pictures that accompanied the texts. According to Berkhofer, their power was greatest in the depictions of American Indians. “Likened to classical statues in poses and garb,” he states, “these images of noble Indians became standard illustrations for texts about Native Americans for two centuries.”⁶⁹ Other scholars seem to agree. Randolph G. Adams says, “No wonder illustrators of books, pictures, and maps have continued to plagiarize De Bry’s engravings of [John] White’s Indians for more than three hundred years.”⁷⁰

Another, if not slightly odd, way that de Bry’s images affected the European impression of Native Americans involves the practice of scalping. In their article “The Unkindest Cut, or Who Invented Scalping,” James Axtell and William C. Sturtevant examine the use of scalping, and the issue of whether it was an Indian practice first, or, as many have argued, that Europeans introduced it. According to the authors, “The single most important picture in this regard [that scalping was an Indian practice] is Theodore de Bry’s engraving of Le Moyne’s drawing of

⁶⁶ Bucher, *Icon and Conquest*, 11.

⁶⁷ Ibid. For an example of a de Bry frontispiece see the Appendix.

⁶⁸ As mentioned earlier, de Bry was only known to have used one bookseller prior to taking on the role of bookseller himself. Due to the great popularity of his *Americae* series, and the fact that they were printed over a span of more than forty years (1590-1634), it is hard to imagine that de Bry and his family were the only sellers. If they indeed were, the likelihood of counterfeit copies ending up in another bookseller’s window would have been quite high.

⁶⁹ Berkhofer, *The White Man’s Indian*, 73.

⁷⁰ Randolph G. Adams, “An Effort to Identify John White,” *The American Historical Review* 41 (1935): 89. Although Bucher does not use the same words, she would most likely also agree. Her work *Icon and Conquest* was originally written as a doctoral dissertation and it deals heavily with de Bry’s images of Native Americans. Her conclusion of de Bry’s work is, “The *Great Voyages*, one of the first examples of mass communication through pictures in Europe, give us an overview of the semantic richness and insidious power of iconic signs,” 172.

‘Treatment of the Enemy Dead by Outina’s Forces’.”⁷¹ This image, “the first public representation of Indian scalping,” was first published in the second volume of the *Grands Voyages* in 1591, which included the narrative of Laudonnière’s 1564 French expedition in Florida.⁷²

Other images of natives, ones that had a lasting and most likely shocking effect on Europeans, portrayed acts of cannibalism. Many of the *Historia*’s narratives contained pictures of native cannibalistic practices. Although such depictions were a reoccurring theme, most scholars argue that they were not intended to dehumanize the Indians. According to Frank Lestringant, de Bry’s images of cannibalism “were really intended to denounce the cruelties of the Spanish *conquista*.”⁷³ Even if this were true, it would seem feasible that such images only served to reinforce the European impression of indigenous people as barbaric savages who ate human flesh.

The most prominent influence of the *Historia Americae* during de Bry’s life was, conceivably, its contributions to the idea of the Spanish “Black Legend.” Since many of the published texts and images found throughout the series deal with Spanish violence committed against Native Americans, and that the Spanish government attempted to censor these publications by placing them on the Index of banned books, it is obvious that they had the most immediate effect on European readers. According to Benjamin Keen, “No name is more important in the diffusion of the Black Legend than that of Theodore de Bry.”⁷⁴ Grafton also agrees. “True, he did not create the Black Legend,” he says, “according to which the Spanish were hypocrites, acting out of avarice rather than religious zeal,” though his “scenes of brutality and duplicity...must have resonated especially powerfully in the minds of European Protestants keenly aware of Spanish atrocities in the Netherlands.”⁷⁵ De Bry certainly did not set out to create or aid in the diffusion of the Black Legend, nor could he have possibly predictable that his images would have such an affect. However, the end result is undeniably clear.

Conclusion

Having examined de Bry’s life, his unique role as a publisher, and the history and influence of the *Historia Americae*, what final remarks can now be made? Various scholars have their own opinions. Grafton states that “Although he was motivated by contemporary political and religious concerns, de Bry also gives evidence of a growing intellectual trend” in Europe that

⁷¹ James Axtell and William C. Sturtevant, “The Unkindest Cut, or Who Invented Scalping,” *The William and Mary Quarterly* 37 (1980): 465-466. For an example of this picture see the Appendix.

⁷² Ibid., 466.

⁷³ Frank Lestringant, *Cannibals: The Discovery and Representation of the Cannibal from Columbus to Jules Verne* trans. by Rosemary Morris (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 26. For an example image see the Appendix.

⁷⁴ Benjamin Keen, “The Black Legend Revisited: Assumptions and Realities,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 49 (1969): 717. Keen also notes that neither de Bry nor his sons held any hatred for the Spanish nation or people as a whole, but that they made a distinction between those who were good and those who were bad.

⁷⁵ Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts*, 129.

can be seen in his many images.⁷⁶ Such images led some Europeans to believe that “rather than inevitably deteriorating, [human societies] progressed through increasingly sophisticated stages of civilization.”⁷⁷ Giuseppi views de Bry’s life and work as the culmination of his Protestant “moral fibre that could endure persecution and exile, with loss of wealth and rank, rather than renounce the dictates of conscience.”⁷⁸ Bucher believes that de Bry’s work was “one of the first examples of mass communication through pictures in Europe.”⁷⁹ All of these answers are correct in their own way. But what must not be forgotten are the many ways that de Bry and his work serve as pristine examples of Eisenstein’s descriptions of early European publishers and printing practices. Once all these issues are considered, de Bry can be seen as the epitome of an early European publisher whose work was meticulously designed to conform politically and religiously to its Protestant audience.

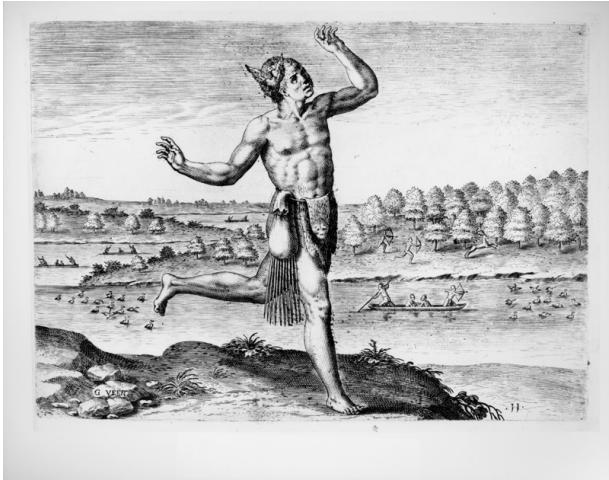
⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Giuseppi, “The Work of De Bry,” 219.

⁷⁹ Bucher, *Icon and Conquest*, 172.

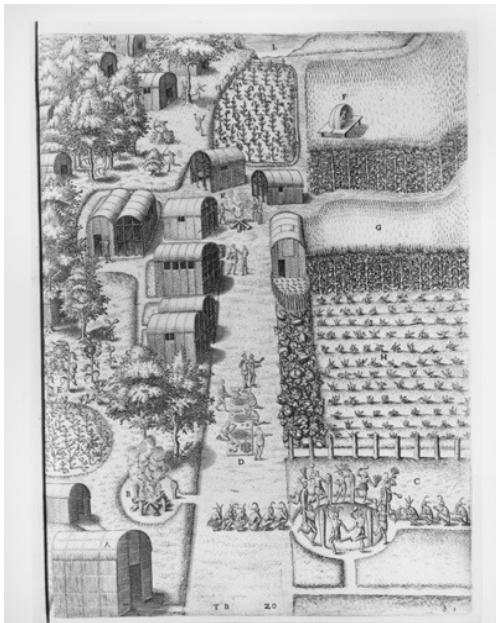
Appendix



Theodore de Bry's *The Flyer*



John White's *The Flyer*



Theodore de Bry, *The Town of Secota*



John White, *The Indian Village of Secoton*



Theodore de Bry, *Their sitting at meate.*
Note how much less rounded the
woman's face is.



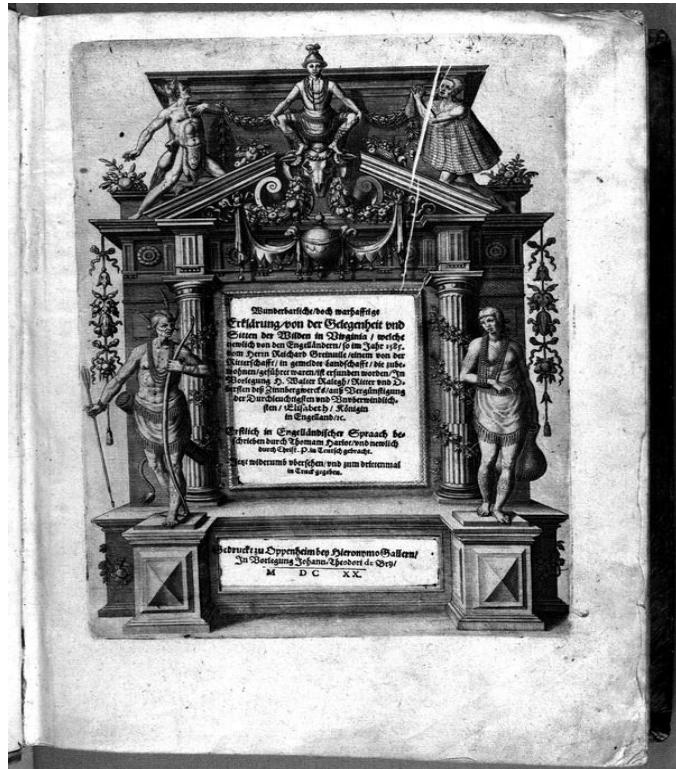
John White, *Indian Man and
Woman Eating.*



Theodore de Bry, *A weroan or great
Lorde of Virginia.* Note the more
defined classical stance.



John White, *Indian in
Body Paint.*



De Bry's frontispiece to the first volume of the
Historia Americae.



This image accompanied the publication of Bartolomé de las Casas' *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, which was published by De Bry's sons in 1599.



More Spanish cruelties.



Theodore de Bry, *Sodomites Savaged by Mastiffs*. Note how entertained and jubilant the Spanish appear in the background.



Theodore de Bry, *Treatment of the Enemy Dead by Outina's Forces.*



Depictions of Cannibalism. This image accompanied Hans Staden's account of his encounter with the Tupinamba Indians of Brazil. Entitled *Warhaftige Historia und beschreibung eyner Landschafft der Wilden Nacketen, Grimmigen Menschfresser-Leuthen in der Newenwelt America gelegen* [True History and Description of a Country of Wild, Naked, Grimm, Maneating People, Situated in the New World of America] and was published in the third volume of the *Grands Voyages*. Staden is the bearded man in the background with his arms raised.

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Allegory and History in Joseph Conrad's Heart of Darkness

Jesse Pluim

Modern examinations of Joseph Conrad's Heart of Darkness have yielded two distinct allegorical interpretations that are best articulated in Edward Said's essay, *Two Visions in Heart of Darkness*. The first analysis posits that Heart of Darkness was a clarion call for a change in contemporary imperial aesthetics and politics.¹ However, always the imperialist, Conrad did not propound metropolitan abdication, rather he posited a transformation in the metropole-peripheral relationship. The second interpretation explicates Conrad's illustration of the intrinsic darkness of man whether in Europe or in Africa manifested in Kurtz and his atrocities.² The flaw in both literary views is the presupposition of a manifold imperial condition during the latter half of the nineteenth-century. This is the case in the Congo especially, where King Leopold II exercised sole prerogative over imperial administration.

Heart of Darkness was not a manifold allegory of man's intrinsic turpitude or a critique of imperial aesthetics and politics. Rather, it was the exemplification of the abject extremes represented in both interpretations; the representation of potential realized: the ignominious capacity of imperial stratagems and the man's capacity for sinister machinations. To grasp Conrad's intended allegory, one must first understand the historical context. *Heart of Darkness* was after all, as Joseph Conrad proclaimed, an "experience pushed a little (and only very little) beyond the actual facts of the case."³ This essay will attempt to, first, establish a history of Leopold II's Congo as outlined in Heart of Darkness and, second, provide a literary critique of Said's *Two visions in Heart of Darkness*.

The anonymous "company" that employs Conrad's protagonist, Charlie Marlow, was likely *le Société Anonyme Belge Pour le Commerce du Haut-Congo* (SAB). In April 1890, SAB hired a young Joseph Conrad as captain of *Rio des Belges*, a Congo steamer. Conrad was to replace Danish Captain Johannes Freiesleben, who, at Tchumbri, Congolese natives assassinated on January 29th, 1890.⁴ Correlating with Conrad's personal account, Marlow narrated:

[T]he Company had received news that one of their captains had been killed in a scuffle with natives . . . Fresleven—that was the fellow's name, a Dane—thought himself wronged somehow in the bargain, so he went ashore and started to hammer the chief of the village with a stick . . . till some man—I was told the chief's son—made a tentative jab with a spear at the white man—and of course it went quite easily between the shoulder blades.⁵

¹ Edward Said, Culture and Imperialism (New York, 1993), 25.

² Ibid., pp. 29-30.

³ Quoted in Norman Sherry, Conrad's Western World (Cambridge, UK, 1971), 9.

⁴ Death Certificate reprinted in Sherry, Conrad's Western World, p. 375.

⁵ Joseph Conrad, Heart of Darkness (New York, 2006), 11.

Furthermore, Marlow's depiction of the Company's managing director as "an impression of pale plumpness in a frock coat"⁶ characterizes Albert Thys, founder of *Société Anonyme Belge* (SAB) and the man who interviewed Conrad.⁷

Founded in 1888, *le Société Anonyme Belge Pour le Commerce du Haut-Congo* represented conglomerated private commercial interests in the Congo.⁸ Even though the Berlin Act of 1885 guaranteed that the Congo basin was to remain a free trade zone in actuality it was anything but. Throughout the Congo, Leopold, sovereign of the Congo state, controlled most commercial transportation infrastructures and dictated the administrative hierarchy. SAB, with Thys at the vanguard, decried Leopold's utilization of slaves and constant violations of the Berlin Act. Leopold's brutally authoritative administration *ensured de facto* regental monopoly; only enterprises that could maintain an independent capital or pay the exorbitant tariffs Leopold imposed were able transact business.⁹

E.D. Morel, the most vocal critic of Leopold, lauded SAB as "pioneers of honest Belgian trade in the upper Congo." He railed Leopold's use of slave labor and posited SAB's policy of nominal recompense as an alternative to Congolese slave labor.¹⁰ SAB and other merchants paid for ivory and rubber—the predominate Congolese exports—with brass rods called N'kata while state recompense was limited to shards of cloth, knives, beads, and slaves.¹¹ Not only did the N'taka replace the traditional barter system, the N'taka themselves provided a new form of technical specialization. N'takas were often formed into bracelets and other jewelry instead of being circulated in the monetary system.¹² Conrad writes:

[T]hey [SAB agents traveling with Marlow] had given them [enlisted indigenous peoples traveling with Marlow] every week tree pieces of brass wire, each about nine inches long; and the theory was they were to buy their provisions with that currency in river-side villages. You can see how *that* worked. There were either no villages, or the people were hostile, or the director . . . didn't want to stop the steamer for some more or less recondite reason.

As a result, metallurgical occupations such as smelting and smithing became salient in the tribal hierarchical structure. Through the introduction of monetary currency, European traders modified social and patrimonial social structures to one that was commercially beneficial.

European traders did not create trade structures; rather they appropriated indigenous trade establishments. Before Henry Morton Stanley's famous expedition through the Congo, a

⁶ Ibid., p. 12.

⁷ Sherry, *Conrad's Western World*, pp. 12-13.

⁸ Neal Ascherson, *The King Incorporated: A Biography of Leopold II* (Garden City, NY, 1964) 174, 198-200.

⁹ Ibid., pp. 134, 159-163.

¹⁰ E.D. Morel, *Great Britain and the Congo* (New York, 1969), 79.

¹¹ Herbert Ward, "Life Among the Congo Savages", *Scribner's Magazine* (1890), 145; Robert Harms, *River of Wealth, River of Sorrow: The Central Zaire Basin in the Era of the Slave and Ivory Trade*, (New Haven, CT, 1981) 45-51.

¹² Harms, *River of Wealth, River of Sorrow*, pp. 45-51.

complex trade network extended throughout the Zaire basin. Due to the time and expense of overland travel, inland tribes brought trade goods to fluvial villages, which acted as trading entrepôts.¹³ The serpentine Congo and its tributaries—most importantly the Lulonga—provided an intertribal highway throughout Central Africa.¹⁴ European conquerors desiring to establish an economic hegemony needed only to subdue riverside entrepôts, thus controlling the lucrative inland ivory market. This was a particular advantage to the European naval powers whose soldiers were susceptible to the myriad of Congolese diseases. By bombarding villages from a well-armed steamer, one could conceivably annex regional commerce without setting a foot on land.

The cornucopia of disease prevented long term European establishment beyond fluvial entrepôts, thus, the advent of European trade networks established a complex division of labor. George Washington Williams, historian and contemporary of Conrad in the Congo, depicts three forms of labor: white Europeans, quasi-enslaved imported Africans and enslaved, indigenous Congolese. Even though the Congo was not a Belgian protectorate as many as seventy Belgian army officers were stationed at major trading posts. Williams described these soldiers as young, impatient, inexperienced, and often “stained the uniform of the Belgian officer with murder, arson, and robbery.”¹⁵ Williams observed that when a village refused to accede to a raiding party’s demands, the white leaders razed the village, enslaved men, and sold or kept women as concubines.¹⁶

The initial raiding parties were usually comprised of African soldier-slaves imported from Zanzibar, Sierre Leone, Accra, Lagos, and Liberia. Williams noted that these mercenaries were often as sociopathic as their European counterparts:

They are ignorant and cruel, *because* they do not comprehend the natives . . . They make no report as to the number of robberies they commit, or lives they take.¹⁷

Furthermore, fetid conditions and poor wages tempered anti-European roiling among the imported laborers and soldiers. Soldiers stationed at clandestine trading posts were forced to subsist upon the natives for food, while laborers were only provided two meals of rice a day. Of the laborers, Conrad writes in Heart of Darkness:

[E]ach had an iron collar on his neck, and all were connected together with a chain whose bights swung between them. . . They were dying slowly—it was clear. They were not enemies, they were not criminals, they were nothing earthly now,—nothing but black shadows of disease and starvation, lying confusedly in the greenish gloom. Brought from all recesses of the coast in all legality of time contracts, lost in uncongenial surroundings,

¹³ Ibid., pp. 71-73.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 76-79.

¹⁵ George Washington Williams, “An Open Letter to Leopold II” reprinted in John Hope Franklin, George Washington Williams: A Biography (Chicago, IL, 1985) 247.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 248-49.

¹⁷ Ibid.

fed on unfamiliar food, they sickened, became inefficient, and were allowed to crawl away and rest. These moribund shapes were free as air—and nearly as thin.¹⁸

Soldiers—predominantly from Zanzibar—were officially paid sixteen shillings per month; however, they were often compensated with cheap handkerchiefs and low-quality—and often poisonous—gin.¹⁹

Exploiting extant tribal tensions, the State armed tribal enemies against one another. This was a common method that the Leopold's agents utilized to conduct slave raids and perpetuate “cruel, unjust wars against natives.”²⁰ Through the arming and training of the indigenous populous, the state actively formed squadrons of semi-autonomous, peripheral troops that would carry out the State’s bidding. The State bought able-bodied slaves for military service and labor at three hundred N’taka (roughly three British pounds) and sold them for nearly ten times as much to commercial agents at the coastal trading posts.²¹ In attempt to suppress news of the Congolese slave trade, Leopold bribed journalists to print articles that laid blame on “nefarious Portuguese traders”²² in the west and Arab slave traders in the east.

Leopold's white European leadership preferred to recruit men from the Bangala and Babangi tribes of the upper Congo as ivory and rubber gatherers as well as raiders. Williams refers to these tribes as “blood thirsty cannibals” and the most savage that the state recruited.²³ Europeans rarely dealt with the upper Congolese directly. Instead they utilized the lower Congolese Bakongo tribes who in turn dealt with the Bateke tribe around Stanley Pool as intermediaries.²⁴ Several sources have noted the physical prowess of the Bateke warriors as well as their effectiveness in procuring ivory from nearby villages.²⁵ Kurtz—station agent of Inner Station—, positioning himself around Stanley Pool, was able to circumvent the Bakongo tribes of the lower Congo and deal with the Bateke tribes directly, thus maximizing profit. Indicative of this, Marlow affirmed that Kurtz’s ivory shipments to the lower stations were “more [profitable] than all the other agents combined.”²⁶ Although the SAB station at Stanley Pool has long been construed as Marlow’s “Inner Station”, however, Marlow’s description of the Inner Station contrasted the actual SAB station at Stanley Pool. Marlow portrays the Inner Station as series of decaying huts atop a hill, barely suitable for human habitation.²⁷ In reality, the SAB

¹⁸ Conrad, Heart of Darkness, pp. 18, 20.

¹⁹ Williams reprinted in Franklin, George Washington Williams, p. 248.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 250.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 250-252.

²² Ward, “Life among the Congo Savages”, pp. 140, 155.

²³ Ibid., pp 138-141. Williams reprinted in Franklin, George Washington Williams, p. 246.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ward, “Life among the Congo Savages”, p. 140; Sherry, Conrad’s Western World, pp. 114-117; Williams reprinted in Franklin, George Washington Williams, p. 246; Harry Johnston, George Grenfell and the Congo (New York, 1969), 291-294.

²⁶ Conrad, Heart of Darkness, p. 31.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 57-59.

station was a well-organized trading post with several maintained buildings with a staff of at least ten SAB functionaries.²⁸ Conrad's primary inspiration for the Inner Station remains unclear, as does Kurtz.

The historical Kurtz was a combination of several SAB agents in the Congo. It is widely debated among historians and literary critics as to what role certain actors contributed to this amalgamation. The most obvious figure was Georges Antoine Klein, the station agent Conrad was contracted to retrieve during his journey through the Congo. Just as Kurtz, Klein succumbed to dysentery on the return trip on the *Rios des Belges*.²⁹ However, Klein is only similar to Kurtz in his SAB status, his death, and his burial near Leopoldville. Klein had only been appointed to head agent status two months before he had succumbed to dysentery and according to all reports he was a marginal ivory collector.³⁰ Arthur Eugene Constant Hodister, the agent whom Klein succeeded, is a likely source for the more unorthodox aspects of Kurtz. Although Conrad probably never had met Hodister, he likely had heard of him. As head agent of the trading post at Stanley Pool, Hodister harvested more ivory for SAB than any single agent before or after him. Just as Kurtz, Hodister was considered a 'universal genius' and his relationship to the natives mirrored Kurtz's.³¹ Hodister penetrated deep into the Congo and was well versed in tribal culture, to the extent of participating in indigenous rituals, earning the trust and respect of the native tribes.³² Furthermore, Kurtz's famous last words, "The horror! The horror!"³³ can be attributed to Hodister. In a detailed description of an intertribal slave raid Hodister exclaimed, "Ah! quel tableau, qui donc pourra en dire l'horreur?"³⁴

Captain Léon Rom of the Force Publique—an organized peripheral force that enforced the collection of ivory and rubber—is another prototype for the more macabre aspects of Kurtz. Marlow's first impression on the Inner Station is similar to Rom's actual station house:

Then I went carefully from post to post with my glass, and I saw my mistake. These round knobs were not ornamental but symbolic; they were expressive and puzzling, striking and disturbing . . . they would have been even more impressive, those heads on the stakes, if their faces had not been turned to the house.³⁵

And in an 1897 article in Century Magazine Rom was mentioned:

Many women and children were taken, and twenty-one heads were brought to the falls, and have been used by Captain Rom as a decoration around a flower-bed in front of his house.³⁶

²⁸ Sherry, Conrad's Western World, pp. 63-65.

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 72-74.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 75-78.

³¹ Ibid., p. 99; Conrad, Heart of Darkness, p. 29.

³² Sherry, Conrad's Western World, pp. 99-101.

³³ Conrad, Heart of Darkness, p. 81.

³⁴ Quoted in Sherry, Conrad's Western World, p. 102.

³⁵ Conrad, Heart of Darkness, p. 68.

³⁶ E.J. Glave, "Cruelty in the Congo Free State", *Century Magazine* (September 1987), 706.

Furthermore, Conrad may have met Rom in the Congo. During his overland journey to take command of the *Rio des Belges*, Conrad stayed at a lesser settlement of Leopoldville where Rom was the chief station agent. However, neither of the two recorded any encounter with each other in their respective diaries.³⁷

These are only the visages of a single station agent. The methods of Kurtz were far from unorthodox. Standard procedure upon encountering tribal chiefs was to create a perception of the “white god.” Agents would surreptitiously hide an electrified metal ribbon in the palm of their hand; upon the initial handshake, a tribal chief would receive a shock from the white agent, creating an impression of superior strength. White agents would light their cigars with glass lenses and tell the natives that they commanded the power of the sun. After demonstrating the destructive force of their firearms, the agent would covertly load a blank cartridge into a gun and command a tribe member to shoot him. When the firearm failed to elicit damage, the agent would inform the natives that white men are impervious to bullets.³⁸ These machinations were the epitome of European mastery over indigenous persons and a common theme of the imperial condition.

In terms of empire, Heart of Darkness was a work of imperial humanism based within a theoretical capitalist artifice. Said was essentially correct in interpreting Heart of Darkness as being aesthetically and politically imperialistic.³⁹ However, he was incorrect in his conclusion that there were two visions in Heart of Darkness. Rather, there was only one vision: the interrelationship between capitalism’s devolution into slavery as a mode of production and the degeneration of human morality. Conrad experienced the nadir of this dynamic in his voyage through the Congo Free State, and he saw the potential for similar exploitation in his voyages to India and Brazil. Furthermore, Said was inaccurate in his analysis of what he refers to as “Belgian” imperialism and its relationship to commercial enterprise.

The timing of Conrad’s voyages to India and Brazil are salient to interpreting Heart of Darkness. He visited Bombay, India in 1883 during the British imperial zenith.⁴⁰ In the latter half of the nineteenth-century, El Niño related drought events plagued greater India, China, Brazil, the South Pacific, and East Africa. High grain prices in rural sectors and epidemics in urban centers quickly turned drought into famine and created a massive poor, starving class. British famine relief policies consisted of employing starving Indians as laborers on public works projects. Living conditions of Congolese laborers and Indian laborers were remarkably comparable. Each received a similar caloric intake and was forced to reside in comparable fetid

³⁷ Adam Hochschild, King Leopold’s Ghost (Boston, MA, 1999), 145-46.

³⁸ Williams reprinted in Franklin, George Washington Williams, pp. 244-45.

³⁹ Said, Culture and Imperialism, p. 24.

⁴⁰ See Joseph Conrad’s The Nigger of the “Narcissus”

conditions.⁴¹ There is little doubt that Conrad's experiences in Bombay—the epicenter of famine—most likely affected his perceptions of empire and its relationship to commerce. In the Congo, Conrad perceived the next stage in the development of the trans-national imperial-commercial association: the development of a slave labor force.

However, Conrad is careful not to mention state functionaries. Rather, he creates a monolithic commercial enterprise in the form of “the Company.” The fact that he fails to provide a name for the company is indicative of his desire to indict the commercial establishment and not the political artifice as such. Said was accurate in stating that, in the 1890s, the empire of business transposed the business of empire.⁴² However, his essential fault in this respect was that he assigned the Congo Free State to the *Belgian* empire. In actuality, the Congo Free State was under the dominion of King Leopold II, King of the Belgians and de jure associations with the Belgian political hierarchy were non-existent.

Said was exact in his interpretation that the theme of Heart of Darkness was one of European mastery over African darkness and the creation of a European version of African “reality,” although, he was incorrect in interpreting the agents that perpetuated this theme. Said assumed a quasi-manifold imperial condition of distant state rule rather than a distant individual sovereignty—King Leopold II in this case. This is important to understand the intentions of his strategems in the Congo. The popular motivation for Congolese expansion and exploration, and one Leopold publicly espoused was the semi-altruistic “civilizing” of the Congolese natives. The lack of schools, hospitals, and other public facilities was one of the chief indictments of George Washington Williams in his *Open Letter to King Leopold*.⁴³ In reality, Leopold’s Congo was an empire of profit. Commerce was the agent and motivation of European mastery. Like Athena springing from the forehead of Zeus, the Congo Free State was born a manifestation of the last stage in the evolution of the commercial-imperial relationship. British India was in the process of developing into this stage. If Leopold’s Congo was the heart of darkness then British India was a peripheral dusk. The remaining impediment for British India’s transition to a slave mode of production was the solidification of class divergence to the level of slave and master on a both a moral and social level. A socio-moral fabric that is primed for the introduction of slavery antecedes and also perpetuates economic exploitation. Once a community’s collective consciousness is ready to accept the idea of slavery, commercial integration of this ideal is the next logical step.

Kurtz represented the focal point of microcosmic morality and macrocosmic economy. Before Kurtz set about raiding missions, he first established a squadron of native soldiers. In order to recruit these soldiers and more importantly, to have these soldiers recognize him as their

⁴¹ See Mike Davis, Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World (New York, 2002).

⁴² Said, Culture and Imperialism, p. 23.

⁴³ Williams reprinted in Franklin, George Washington Williams, pp. 248-9.

superior, Kurtz first created a “reality” for these warriors. By instituting himself as a quasi-deity, the reality that Kurtz created enabled him to maximize his profit. In this sense the accomplishment of Kurtz is not so much in his ability to garner profit, rather it is his ability to prevail his essential superiority over the indigenous peoples, and their concession to his dominance. Thus, through the restructuring of the social fabric, Kurtz created a microcosmic milieu within his own “tribe” that not only accepted his expansion of macro-commerce, but also was willfully participatory to it. Consequently, Heart of Darkness was a caveat against the incipient “Kurtzs” in the expanding empire of global economics and commerce whether in British India, French Indochina, South America, or Africa.

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A United States Senate Debate: United States Imperialist Policy in the Philippines, 1898-1899
 Sarah Emmerson

On December 10, 1898, the United States and Spain signed the Treaty of Paris thus ending the Spanish-American War, relinquishing Spain's sovereignty over Cuba, ceding the Philippine Islands, Guam, and Puerto Rico to the United States, and arranging the payment of twenty million dollars by the United States to Spain for the territory of the Philippine Islands.¹ Immediate controversy erupted in the United States Senate between Republican Party imperialist and Democratic Party anti-imperialist factions.² The United States Senate, charged with the responsibility of ratifying the Treaty of Paris, quickly became embroiled in a heated debate not only about whether President William McKinley's overseas expansionist policy should be implemented by ratifying the Treaty of Paris, but also whether or not the role of the United States government's power and interest should be acquiring foreign territory. Because the most contentious issue resulting from the Treaty of Paris centered on the acquisition and potential annexation of the Philippine Islands, the timeliest discussions held concerning the Treaty of Paris and the United States' overseas imperialist policy occurred in the United States Senate.³

When the third session of the Fifty-Fifth Congress reconvened on December 6, 1898, much to the McKinley administration's dismay, the Treaty of Paris immediately encountered strong resistance by anti-imperialist senators who opposed the possibility of the United States permanently controlling and colonizing the Philippine Islands. When word reached the Senate that the Treaty of Paris would be signed, the anti-imperialist senators quickly began introducing joint resolutions to challenge President McKinley's attempt to redefine United States international powers.⁴ Unlike regular legislation introduced in the Senate, which must be filtered through Senate committees, joint resolutions bypass this committee route and are debated in open Senate sessions as daily business on the Senate floor. Whereas the ratification of the Treaty of Paris, submitted to the Senate on January 4, 1899, would be debated in closed executive session, not open to the public, Senate debates on the joint resolutions would not only be open to the public, but would be entered into the *Congressional Record*.⁵

Due to time limits, Senate deadlines, and the urgency of the situation as a result of the looming February 6, 1899 ratification vote on the Treaty of Paris, the six anti-imperialist senators

¹ E. Berkeley Tompkins, *Anti-Imperialism in the United States: The Great Debate 1890-1920* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970) 179.

² Imperialist and anti-imperialist political factions in the Senate did not always follow party lines; of the ninety members in the Senate in 1898-1899, consisting of forty-three Republicans, thirty-five Democrats, six Silver Republicans, five Populists, and one Silverite, a few were mavericks who ignored their political party's official position. Tompkins, *Anti-Imperialism*, 179.

³ Paul T. McCartney, *Power and Progress: American National Identity, the War of 1898, and the Rise of American Imperialism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006) 224.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Tompkins, *Anti-Imperialism*, 178-179, 184.

offering joint resolutions, Senator George G. Vest (D-MO), Senator William E. Mason (R-IL), Senator Augustus O. Bacon (D-GA), Senator William Lindsey (D-KY), Senator William V. Allen (Pop-NE), and Senator Samuel D. McEnery (D-LA), were under tremendous pressure to extract a conditional promise and guarantee from Congress as well as President McKinley's administration that the United States would not permanently acquire the territory of the Philippine Islands.⁶ This paper will focus on the efforts of Senator Augustus Bacon, one of the six anti-imperialist senators, as he fought Senate rules, time constraints, and political maneuverings in his effort to gain the passage of his resolution, S.R. 211, in the United States Senate to ensure that the United States would not exercise permanent sovereignty over the Philippine Islands.

Augustus Octavius Bacon, the distinguished, anti-imperialist Democratic senator, was born on October 20, 1839 in Bryan County, Georgia. Prior to serving in the United States Senate, Bacon practiced law in Atlanta, Georgia, served as a captain in the Confederate army during the Civil War, and dedicated fourteen years of service in the Georgia House of Representatives, including serving as speaker pro tempore for two years and speaker for eight years. In 1894, the Georgia General Assembly selected Bacon to represent Georgia in the United States Senate, where he subsequently served for nineteen years. During his four terms in the Senate, Bacon gained the reputation of being a frequent debater on nearly all-important matters considered by Congress, especially those concerning foreign relations and constitutional questions. Senator Bacon died in 1914 at age seventy-five, while serving as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations in Washington, D.C.⁷

On January 11, 1899, Bacon submitted to the Senate a four-part joint resolution, S.R. 211, containing his conditions for the ratification of the Treaty of Paris.⁸ First, S.R. 211 stated that the United States waged war against Spain not for the acquisition of foreign land but for the purposes set forth in Congress's declaration of war against Spain. Therefore, any possession of Spain's foreign territory through the act of war would be incidental. Second, upon the acquisition of the Philippine Islands, the United States had no intention of maintaining control over the Philippine Islands, of forcing Philippine Island residents to become citizens, or of ruling over residents of the Philippine Islands as subjects of the United States. Third, because the residents of the Philippine Islands were at war with Spain at the time of the United States' declaration of war against Spain, the United States recognized that the residents of the Philippine Islands had a right to independence and required Spain to withdraw its governmental and military authority from the Philippine Islands. Fourth, S.R. 211 declared that the United States did not intend to control the people and government of the Philippine Islands. Rather, the United

⁶ Ibid., 178-179; *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Vest, George Graham," "Mason, William Ernest," "Bacon, Augustus Octavius," "Lindsay, William," "Allen, William Vincent," "McEnery, Samuel Douglas."

⁷ *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Bacon, Augustus Octavius."

⁸ McCartney, *Power and Progress*, 228.

States would decide, in time, whether a stable and independent government had been established in the Philippine Islands. At that point, the United States government would recognize the sovereignty of the Islands, granting the new, independent government full control of its territory and people.⁹

On January 18, 1899, Senator Bacon addressed the Senate to defend the purpose of his resolution against imperialist criticism.¹⁰ Imperialist senators believed that the United States, having freed the Philippine Islands from its oppressor, Spain, was under obligation to remain involved in the affairs of the Philippine Islands. However, Senator Bacon reasoned that when someone was under obligation to someone else, the person under obligation must contribute something of value to the person to whom he was under obligation. It was the obligor who must pay the debt, make the sacrifice, and bear the burden, while it was the obligee who acquired the benefit. Senator Bacon contended that the senators who believed the United States was under obligation to the Philippine Islands also happened to be the same senators who favored acquisition of the Philippine Islands and believed that the United States should receive the Islands as repayment for fulfilling the United States' obligation. Senator Bacon thought the imperialist senators' reasoning regarding a United States obligation to the Philippine Islands to be illogical.¹¹

There were other, related explanations why Bacon disagreed with the imperialist view on obligation. Senator Bacon did not believe the United States owed any more obligation to the Philippine Islands and its inhabitants than it did to any other territory possessed by Spain. Bacon acknowledged, however, that the United States did have one obligation to the Philippine Islands, which it had already fulfilled. Upon arrival in the Philippines, the United States found the inhabitants already in active rebellion against their ruler, Spain, and accepted the military assistance and alliance of the islands' inhabitants to further America's interest in breaking Spain's control. After the United States gave the Philippine people weapons and ammunition, Spain was attacked by inhabitants of the Philippine Islands on land and by the United States at sea. This cooperative alliance between the Philippine Islands' inhabitants and the United States put the United States under only one obligation: to not leave the Philippine Islands without first ensuring the surrender of Spanish power. Senator Bacon reasoned the United States had fulfilled this responsibility, and thus was no longer under any other obligation to the Philippine Islands.¹²

Senator Bacon argued that the Philippine people would be overpowered by the dominating, aggressive policies of an imperialistic presence. He believed it was erroneous for imperialist senators to argue that, by removing Spain's power in the Philippine Islands, the United States was under obligation to take Spain's place by seizing control of the Philippine

⁹ Cong. Rec., 55th Cong., 3d sess., 1898-1899, 32, pts. 1-3: 733.

¹⁰ Tompkins, *Anti-Imperialism*, 179.

¹¹ Cong. Rec., 55th Cong., 3d sess., 733.

¹² Ibid.

Islands for itself. Bacon made the analogy that if the United States seized the power in this way in the Philippine Islands, it would be akin to France seizing power over the former British colonies in America after having helped the American colonies remove the British. Just as France left the newly independent American colonies to enjoy their freedom, the United States should allow the Philippine Islands to do the same. Bacon implored that, although it was the duty of the United States to assist the rebellion of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands against Spain, it was now the duty of the United States to recognize their freedom, to ensure that the people of the Philippine Islands, not the United States, received the benefits of Spain's departure from their territory.¹³

In addition, Senator Bacon realized the cost of a long distance military occupation would be draining on the American economy while projects closer to home needed attention. Bacon did not believe that the United States was obligated to ensure that other foreign governments did not interfere with, take possession of, or divide the Philippine Islands. Such an obligation to a far-distant territory would be an enormous task for the United States to undertake, extending far into the future, requiring the United States to be constantly armed, ready to protect the Philippine Islands. Senator Bacon opposed risking the lives of young American soldiers, as well as infinite amounts of the United States treasury, to guard the Philippine Islands, for he believed there were better uses for both American lives and resources than to use them protecting islands halfway around the world.¹⁴

Although the foreign policies of other European powers focused on expansionism and colonialism, the United States needed to carefully consider the correctness of acquiring and annexing foreign territory, for Senator Bacon surmised if the Philippine Islands were to be annexed to the United States, one of two possible outcomes would transpire. Either the Philippine Islands would be admitted as a state to the Union, their people becoming citizens of the United States, or the Philippine Islands would be held as a colony, with their people kept as vassals and subjects of the United States. Because of his experience in Georgia, a southern state with a large Negro population, after Civil War Reconstruction, Bacon noted that public opinion in the United States would never accept the Philippine Islands as another state, nor grant full citizenship and participation rights to a country so far away, inhabited by people of foreign religions and races, whom they felt incapable of being assimilated, as well as unqualified to participate in the United States government. Therefore, according to the Georgia senator, statehood for the Philippine Islands was not an option. If annexation occurred, the only option available would be to turn the country into a colony of the United States.¹⁵

In addition, Bacon reasoned that annexation of the Philippine Islands would contradict

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., 736.

¹⁵ Ibid.

the very principles on which the United States was founded. The United States' obligations to its own people, Bacon believed, were more important than the questionable obligations imperialist senators felt the United States owed the residents of the Philippine Islands. Because the possibility of war was an ever-present danger when in search of empire, Bacon asked the senators not to be lulled into thinking military encounters overseas would always be small skirmishes, with little loss of life, as the United States recently experienced in the battles of the Spanish-American War. He beseeched his peers to remember the consequences of the Civil War, which many of them personally remembered as claiming the lives of so many of America's young men, as well as requiring such great sacrifice from America's people.¹⁶

With the United States on the brink of adopting an expansionist policy in the Philippine Islands, anti-imperialist senators struggled to gather a majority opinion. Senator Bacon explained that he intentionally wrote S.R. 211 in broad, open-ended language in order to gain the support of a majority of senators, despite the fact that senators held differing views on the nature and future of United States policy in the Philippine Islands, as well as the obligations the United States owed its inhabitants.¹⁷ Although difficult to write a resolution that would gain the support of imperialist as well as anti-imperialist senators, Senator Bacon concluded that coalition building and compromise in the Senate had its place, even if it meant he needed to author legislation with which he personally disagreed.¹⁸ In fact, Senator Joseph R. Hawley, Republican from Connecticut, a supporter of the Treaty of Paris, rose during Bacon's opening remarks on S.R. 211 to point out that Bacon's resolution, which would require a United States presence in the Philippine Islands until such time that an independent and stable government had been established, taking an undetermined amount of time, directly contradicted all of Bacon's anti-expansionist views as previously expressed on the Senate floor.¹⁹ Acknowledging Hawley's observation to be correct, Bacon stated that he would have preferred to draft a resolution that did not include such an open-ended timetable for the United States to extricate itself from the Philippine Islands. Therefore, he craftily worded the resolution in such a way so if any senator did not support a colonial policy in the Islands, he would still be able to support S.R. 211.²⁰

On January 23, 1899 in a speech addressing S.R. 211, Senator Stephen M. White, Democrat from California, an opponent of the Treaty of Paris and a supporter of Bacon's anti-imperialist arguments revealed the beliefs of a man who supported the ideas of freedom and self-government but also believed some people deserved neither. Even though Senator White viewed the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands as a lesser race than Anglo-Saxons, he believed it incorrect for imperialist senators to imply that the jurisdiction of the United States Constitution

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid., 733.

¹⁸ Ibid., 738.

¹⁹ Cong. Rec., 55th Cong., 3d sess., 738; *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Hawley, Joseph Roswell."

²⁰ Cong. Rec., 55th Cong., 3d sess., 738.

did not extend over new territorial acquisitions.²¹ According to White, the inhabitants of newly acquired territories should not be denied the equal protection by law as guaranteed in the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, relegating such inhabitants to the status of colonial dependents. In addition, White argued that simply because the United States held the power and military might to annex foreign territory did not mean it was proper to do so.²² On the other hand, White reasoned the United States had no obligation to assume responsibility for the alien race that populated the Philippine Islands, for if that population of people were meant to be highly educated and civilized, they would have already accomplished these feats on their own.²³

Bearing in mind that the federal Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 had already banned Chinese laborers from entering the United States, California's Senator White spoke passionately about the importance of not allowing the United States to associate with another Asian ethnicity, that of the Philippine people.²⁴ Pointing out that the United States should not foul the purity of its nationality, institutional systems, or governmental establishments by including people who were unfit to exercise self-rule and not on the same high-minded level as people in the United States, Senator White suggested that the Philippine Islands were populated by "a very peculiar mass, a heterogeneous compound of inefficient oriental humanity."²⁵ Furthermore, he declared the United States should not burden itself by including irresponsible people who were not fit to self-rule and unqualified to establish a free government. According to White, the United States should leave the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands alone regardless of whether they knew or did not know how to self-rule. White believed that assuming control of the Philippine Islands would not be a valuable or desirable acquisition. Inhabitants of the Philippine Islands could offer nothing to the United States, for they would not supply anything that would make the United States a more civilized or enlightened country. Similarly, Senator White reasoned the United States had nothing to offer the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, for they were not requesting benefits from the United States government, whether it be civilization or guardianship.²⁶ White appeared to have forgotten the historical ethnic mixture of America.

With such a great deal of time being taken in the United States Senate on the discussion of the future of the Philippine Islands, Senator White believed political deceptions were at play. According to Senator White, a double standard existed in the Treaty of Paris, declaring the United States' position regarding Cuba but not regarding the Philippine Islands. White felt wary of the fact that the Treaty of Paris declared Cuba to be "relinquished" while the Philippine Islands were to be "ceded."²⁷ For this reason, White believed it better for the United States

²¹ Cong. Rec., 55th Cong., 3d sess., 921; *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "White, Stephen Mallory."

²² Cong. Rec., 55th Cong., 3d sess., 921.

²³ Ibid., 922.

²⁴ McCartney, *Power and Progress*, 238.

²⁵ Cong. Rec., 55th Cong., 3d sess., 921-922.

²⁶ Ibid., 922.

²⁷ Ibid., 930.

government to deliberate the Philippine Islands' policy before the Senate ratified the Treaty of Paris to prevent future complications from occurring after ratification.²⁸ Predicting the Senate would not adopt Senator Bacon's resolution, S.R. 211, White questioned the ulterior motives of President William McKinley's administration and his supporters in the Senate as to their intentions regarding United States policy in the Philippine Islands. For, if the United States government had no intention of permanently holding dominion and sovereignty over the Philippine Islands, as claimed, there would be no reason to not support Senator Bacon's resolution.²⁹ White accused the president and imperialist senators of deception regarding their interest in the Philippine Islands.³⁰

Although California's Senator White addressed the issue of race relations with regard to the Philippine Islands, anti-imperialist Senator Benjamin R. Tillman, Democrat from South Carolina, an opponent of the Treaty of Paris, raised the bar on racist arguments against expansionism to a higher level.³¹ Rising to address S.R. 211 on January 31, 1899, Senator "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman expressed his fear that upon ratification of the Treaty of Paris, the United States would be overrun with ten million inhabitants from the Philippine Islands, competing in local labor markets, and thus taking jobs from Anglo-Saxons.³² Tillman declared that "coming as a Senator from Africa," or, "if you please, South Carolina, with [a] 750,000 colored population and only 500,000 whites," he had a greater knowledge of the future consequences of the United States being overrun by a foreign race of "Asiatics" than Republican senators from the northern states.³³ Conjuring up memories from the Civil War, Senator Tillman argued that he did not want to see the United States go through a second costly, bloody war over another question of race based on the decision to permanently acquire the Philippine Islands.³⁴

Meanwhile, imperialist Senator Thomas H. Carter, Republican from Montana, a supporter of the Treaty of Paris, closed the door to compromise.³⁵ Rising to address S.R. 211 on January 30, 1899, Carter exclaimed the United States was one of the great world powers, having recently become a dominating force in world affairs around the globe.³⁶ Because the Senate would be deliberating and voting on the Treaty of Paris in the near future, Senator Carter believed it petty and beneath the United States Senate to bicker over anti-imperialist resolutions, such as that of Senator Bacon. Additionally, to vote on Bacon's resolution prior to voting on the peace treaty would be a preliminary rush to judgment. Such a vote, moreover, would signal to

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid., 923.

³⁰ Ibid., 930.

³¹ *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Tillman, Benjamin Ryan."

³² Tillman earned the nickname "Pitchfork Ben" from his searing attacks against his opponents, as well as a fistfight on the Senate floor. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Tillman, Benjamin Ryan."

³³ *Cong. Rec.*, 55th Cong., 3d sess., 1280.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ McCartney, *Power and Progress*, 252.

³⁶ *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Carter, Thomas Henry."

the world that the United States Senate did not have confidence in the patriotism or intelligence of its own Constitution, nor did they trust the people negotiating the treaty to do a competent job. Senator Carter contended that just as it would have been irresponsible for the United States' First Congress to have passed resolutions that would have limited and controlled legislation in the United States for decades to come, it would be a mistake if the current Congress passed a resolution on the Philippine Islands that would limit and control congressional legislation for decades to come. Carter felt it would be foolish of a country as grand, strong, and noble as the United States to make trifling promises to the lowly people of the Philippine Islands, for the United States owed no such promises of honesty, decency, and law, or incorporation of the spirit of the Constitution. Finally, addressing the subject of United States economic interests overseas, Carter stated in order for the United States to continue to grow vigorously, it needed a new foreign policy, including a new trade policy with the Philippine Islands as the key to its success.³⁷

Other imperialist senators agreed with Senator Carter. Rising to address S.R. 211 on January 31, 1899, Senator Orville H. Platt, Republican from Connecticut, a supporter of the Treaty of Paris and an imperialist himself, concluded that since Bacon's joint resolution, S.R. 211, advised that the United States should not maintain permanent control over the Philippine Islands, should not incorporate the islands as part of the United States, should not give United States citizenship to the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, and should not turn the islands' inhabitants into vassals or subjects, Bacon's resolution basically proposed that if the United States acquired the territory of the Philippine Islands through the Treaty of Paris, the United States must immediately hand over the territory to its inhabitants.³⁸ Of even more concern to Connecticut's Senator Platt, because of wording in S.R. 211 suggesting that it was not the purpose of the United States government to "secure and maintain permanent dominion over" the Philippine Islands or to "incorporate the inhabitants thereof as citizens of the United States," announcing in S.R. 211 "that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and that "the government of the United States recognizes that the people of the Philippine Islands of right ought to be free and independent," was the foreseeable situation in which Emilio Aguinaldo, leader of the Philippine people's independence movement, could demand immediate independence for the Philippine Islands.³⁹ Here Platt reasoned that if S.R. 211 became law, which stated that governments could only derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, Aguinaldo could claim that he did not consent to the United States

³⁷ Cong. Rec., 55th Cong., 3d sess., 1244.

³⁸ Platt was known for the Platt Amendment, passed on February 25, 1901, which dictated America's intervention in Cuba and became the basis of America's foreign policy in the Caribbean. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Platt, Orville Hitchcock;" Cong. Rec., 55th Cong., 3d sess., 1300.

³⁹ Cong. Rec., 55th Cong., 3d sess., 1302; David Healy, *US Expansionism: The Imperialist Urge in the 1890s* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), 140.

occupying the Philippine Islands, thus expelling the United States, for Bacon's resolution declared that the Philippine people had a right to be free and independent.⁴⁰

Platt's approval of the McKinley administration's policy was extremely evident in his verbal support of United States expansionist policy on the Senate floor.⁴¹ Senator Platt accused Senator Bacon, as well as the five other anti-imperialist senators offering joint resolutions prior to the ratification of the Treaty of Paris, of disliking the Treaty of Paris and proposing these resolutions before the Senate as a way to amend or defeat the Treaty of Paris. Additionally, Platt accused the six senators of demanding their resolutions be voted upon and adopted in return for their support on the Treaty of Paris ratification vote. Platt viewed the behavior by these anti-imperialist senators as irresponsible and reckless. According to Platt, ratification of the Treaty of Paris would officially declare that the United States controlled the Philippine Islands, while defeating the treaty in the Senate would push the United States to a war in which Aguinaldo would be able to take over the Philippine Islands and oust the United States from the territory. Likewise, if the United States Senate rejected the Treaty of Paris and refused to take possession of the Philippine Islands, Spain would have every moral and lawful right to demand that Spain be reinstated as sovereign ruler over the Philippine Islands.⁴² Consequently, Platt argued, it was unwise for any senator to presume at such an early stage in the peace process that they knew what the United States government should be doing in regard to the Philippine Islands. Finally, Platt argued that even if such a resolution as Bacon's were to be passed by the Fifty-Fifth Congress, it would not be binding on future congresses, for a drastic situation could occur, with which a future Congress would have to deal, causing them to sweep aside any previous laws and act in a different manner than what had previously been outlined.⁴³

Senator Bacon immediately requested time to reply to Platt's critical comments. When he responded, Bacon denied the accusations that he and five other anti-imperialist senators, who had offered joint resolutions with the purpose of ensuring that the United States not permanently acquire the Philippine Islands, were trying to force the Senate to adopt their resolutions in order to gain their votes on the ratification of the Treaty of Paris, for he did not believe in forcing senators to vote on resolutions with which they did not agree. Rather, the purpose of Bacon's S.R. 211 was to propose a sense of direction for the Senate prior to the ratification vote on the Treaty of Paris.⁴⁴ Bacon contended that he offered his resolution not to defeat the treaty but to secure its passage, and he believed a majority of the senators would be in favor of the resolution if a vote were allowed to take place. Senator Bacon affirmed that he would not vote for the Treaty of Paris unless either his resolution, or some other lawmaking declaration by the Senate,

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ McCartney, *Power and Progress*, 226-227.

⁴² Cong. Rec., 55th Cong., 3d sess., 1300.

⁴³ Ibid., 1302.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 1301.

had been passed. Furthermore, an identical declaration would have to be passed by the House of Representatives as well as approved by President William McKinley for Bacon to vote in favor of the Treaty of Paris, for a resolution passed in the Senate without the approval of the House and the president would be worthless.⁴⁵ Additionally, Bacon denied that his joint resolution, S.R. 211, was trying to prematurely formulate policy in the Philippine Islands prior to the acquisition of the Islands through the Treaty of Paris. Rather, S.R. 211 was trying to obtain the United States government's word that it would not maintain a permanent dominion over the Philippine Islands.⁴⁶

Imperialist Senator Henry M. Teller, a Silver Republican from Colorado and supporter of the Treaty of Paris, took a more moderate tone in opposition to Bacon's resolution.⁴⁷ Rising on January 31, 1899 to address S.R. 211, Teller announced that he would also not vote in favor of Senator Bacon's resolution, S.R. 211, for although he would like the Senate to oppose the acquisition of territory in the Philippine Islands, Teller believed it futile for the Senate to pass a resolution that would have no power unless it also passed the House and received the president's signature.⁴⁸ Thus, Teller reasoned, not enough time existed to accomplish these steps, for sufficient support did not exist in the House or with President McKinley on these measures. Senator Teller pointed out it might be wiser for Senator Bacon to focus his efforts on obtaining a sense of the Senate statement, or perhaps trying to attach an amendment to the Treaty of Paris itself when the Senate voted on the treaty the following week.⁴⁹ At this point, Bacon's resolution appeared to be caught in the power struggle between the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Thus, the battle lines were drawn in the Senate: should the United States permanently annex the Philippine Islands or should the acquisition of the Philippine Islands be temporary? With the deadline for a vote fast approaching, California's Senator White understood that stalling tactics and backroom deals abounded. White noted that imperialist senators in favor of the Treaty of Paris reassured Senator Bacon and other anti-imperialist senators in favor of the joint resolutions that the resolutions would be voted on and passed after the ratification of the Treaty of Paris. However, White acknowledged those imperialist senators' opinions and promises could change so that once the Senate ratified the Treaty of Paris it was unlikely that the anti-imperialist senators in opposition to the treaty would be able to obtain passage of their resolutions.⁵⁰ According to White, it would be a mistake to trust imperialist senators who favored permanent

⁴⁵ Ibid., 1300-01.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 1302.

⁴⁷ Teller was best known for the so-called Teller Resolution, passed in 1898 at the beginning of the Spanish-American War, which stated that the United States would support Cuban independence but not annexation. *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Teller, Henry Moore."

⁴⁸ Cong. Rec., 55th Cong., 3d sess., 1301; *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Teller, Henry Moore."

⁴⁹ Cong. Rec., 55th Cong., 3d sess., 1301.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 923.

possession of the Philippine Islands to deal with these resolutions after the Senate ratified the Treaty of Paris.⁵¹

Perhaps equal to the amount of time spent debating the content of Bacon's resolution was the time spent by imperialist senators debating the need for a vote at all. First of all, imperialist senators in favor of blocking a vote on Senator Bacon's resolution, S.R. 211, claimed there were not enough senators in the chamber for a quorum to allow a vote.⁵² Next, imperialist senators talked for long periods of time, either about Senator Bacon's resolution or other Senate business, to run out the clock, until two o'clock, by which time all new business on the daily calendar must be concluded in open session.⁵³ Perhaps the most frustrating stalling tactic to Senator Bacon occurred when other senators pronounced there should not be a vote on S.R. 211. While there were senators who wished to discuss its content, they made no effort to participate in a discussion.⁵⁴

After the fiery speeches on the Senate floor, most imperialist senators switched to political maneuverings to block Bacon's resolution.⁵⁵ Soon after Bacon introduced his resolution, imperialist Senator William E. Chandler, Republican from New Hampshire, a proponent of the Treaty of Paris, proposed a motion to refer Bacon's resolution, along with the five other anti-imperialist resolutions addressing the same subject, to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Senator Chandler felt that the Senate should not vote on legislation that had not first been considered by a committee.⁵⁶ This strategy used by Senator Chandler, of proposing that the resolution be sent to a Senate committee for consideration, was a very clever one, for it successfully prevented Bacon's resolution from being voted on for weeks. Once Chandler placed his motion, the Senate was prevented from ever considering Bacon's resolution without first considering the motion by Senator Chandler. Each time Senator Bacon tried to remove Chandler's motion in order to have his own resolution considered, other senators in favor of the Treaty of Paris would request more time for discussion, until the two o'clock mark ended new business for the day in the Senate's open session.⁵⁷ At this point, realizing he had been outmaneuvered once again, Bacon would, in frustration, admit that his resolution was being laid on the table again "just the same as if it had not been called up."⁵⁸

Senator Bacon continued to demand Senate floor time for S.R. 211 to the very end.⁵⁹ His request for a Senate vote denied daily, Bacon would then renegotiate with the Senate's presiding

⁵¹ Ibid., 930.

⁵² Ibid., 1299.

⁵³ Ibid., 1212, 1244, 1303, 1349.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 1240.

⁵⁵ McCartney, *Power and Progress*; 247.

⁵⁶ Cong. Rec., 55th Cong., 3d sess., 1242; *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Chandler, William Eaton."

⁵⁷ Cong. Rec., 55th Cong., 3d sess., 1299.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 1212.

⁵⁹ Tompkins, *Anti-Imperialism*, 179.

officer, always a Republican who supported the Treaty of Paris, to reschedule a new time on the Senate calendar when S.R. 211 could be considered. Often, much to Bacon's dismay, no time would be available on the calendar for another week. Senator Bacon forcefully pleaded the urgency of his resolution, noting the limited time frame within which the resolution must be considered, including the time necessary for its consideration by the House of Representatives as well as the president.⁶⁰ A handful of anti-imperialist senators offered Bacon support on the Senate floor in his efforts. Anti-imperialist senators, including Senator James K. Jones (D-AR), Senator George F. Hoar (R-MA), Senator William E. Mason (R-IL), Senator Matthew S. Quay (R-PA), and California's Senator Stephen M. White, would stand to urge the Senate to take up Bacon's resolution, all to no avail.⁶¹

Eventually, by the end of January, Senator Bacon and other anti-imperialist senators felt the pressure from the McKinley administration to cease their protests against the Treaty of Paris.⁶² Senator Bacon's resolution, S.R. 211, was last brought up in the Senate on February 1, 1899, with the ratification vote on the Treaty of Paris only five days away on February 6, 1899. Once again, Senator Chandler's motion to send the anti-imperialists' joint resolutions concerning the Philippine Islands to the Committee on Foreign Relations first had to be addressed. However, this time Pennsylvania's Senator Quay rose and forcefully requested that Senator Chandler withdraw his motion, which Chandler agreed to do, noting that it had not been his intention to hold up the vote on Bacon's resolution for three weeks, as he had genuinely believed it would be better to obtain the advice of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. Even then, while he was withdrawing his motion, Chandler still requested that Bacon's resolution not go to a vote. Senator Bacon then reasoned that since his resolution had been before the Senate since January 11, 1899, no excuse existed to postpone the vote any longer.⁶³ Unfortunately, Senator John H. Gear, Republican of Iowa, a supporter of the Treaty of Paris, then requested the resolution be read aloud in its entirety, taking up more crucial time, and, before long, the session ended.⁶⁴ Although at the end of that day's agenda the Senate agreed to allow time the following day for the consideration of Senator Bacon's resolution. February 1, 1899 became the final day Senator Bacon's resolution was considered in the Senate chambers.⁶⁵

Although Georgia's Senator Augustus Bacon, along with other anti-imperialist senators, prior to the Senate's ratification of the Treaty of Paris, lobbied tirelessly from December 1898 to early February 1899 in favor of several resolutions to prevent the United States from

⁶⁰ Cong. Rec., 55th Cong., 3d sess., 1212, 1244, 1303, 1349.

⁶¹ Cong. Rec., 55th Cong., 3d sess., 927-928, 930-931, 1211, 1241, 1348; *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Hoar, George Frisbie," "Jones, James Kimbrough," "Mason, William Ernest," "Quay, Matthew Stanley."

⁶² Tompkins, *Anti-Imperialism*, 190.

⁶³ Cong. Rec., 55th Cong., 3d sess., 1348.

⁶⁴ Cong. Rec., 55th Cong., 3d sess., 1349; *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Gear, John Henry."

⁶⁵ Cong. Rec., 55th Cong., 3d sess., 1349.

permanently occupying the Philippine Islands, they lost the battle.⁶⁶ No matter how hard the anti-imperialists in the Senate pushed, this handful of senators were unable to halt the powerful, swelling expansionist movement, spearheaded by Republican President William McKinley's dominance over the Treaty of Paris, supported by a Republican, imperialist controlled Congress.⁶⁷ The anti-imperialists had neither the power nor the votes necessary to prevent the acquisition of the Philippine Islands.

Nevertheless, the anti-imperialists' minority in the Senate did not deny Senator Bacon from making one last effort to secure a promise that the United States would not permanently possess the Philippine Islands. On February 6, 1899, hours before the Senate's ratification vote on the Treaty of Paris, Senator Bacon introduced an amendment to Senator Samuel D. McEnery's joint resolution regarding United States policy in the Philippine Islands, S.R 240, which attempted to secure a guarantee that the United States would eventually grant independence to the Philippine people.⁶⁸ The vote on the Bacon Amendment to S.R. 240 proved imperialist and anti-imperialist tensions in the Senate to be intensifying, with the vote on Bacon's amendment being closer than projected and much closer than the subsequent ratification vote on the Treaty of Paris.⁶⁹ Because the vote on the Bacon Amendment ended in a tie, 29 to 29, with thirty-two senators abstaining, Republican Vice President Garrett A. Hobart, acting as President of the Senate, cast the tie-breaking vote against the Bacon Amendment.⁷⁰ With Bacon's amendment defeated, Senator McEnery's weakened joint resolution went on to pass by a vote of 26 to 22.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Tompkins, *Anti-Imperialism*, 194.

⁶⁷ Healy, *US Expansionism*, 228.

⁶⁸ Tompkins, *Anti-Imperialism*, 193-194.

⁶⁹ Healy, *US Expansionism*, 229.

⁷⁰ The twenty-nine senators in support were: Bacon (D-GA), Bate (D-TN), Berry (D-AR), Caffery (D-LA), Chilton (D-TX), Clay (D-GA), Cockrell (D-MO), Faulkner (D-WV), Gorman (D-MD), Gray (D-DE), Hale (R-ME), Harris (Pop-KS), Heitfeld (Pop-ID), Hoar (R-MA), Jones (D-AR), Jones (Silverite-NV), Lindsay (D-KY), McLaurin (D-SC), Martin (D-VA), Money (D-MS), Murphy (D-NY), Perkins (R-CA), Pettigrew (Silver R- SD), Pettus (D-AL), Quay (R-PA), Rawlins (D-UT), Smith (D-NJ), Tillman (D-SC), and Turner (Silver R-WA). The twenty-nine senators in opposition were: Allison (R-IA), Burrows (R-MI), Carter (R-MT), Chandler (R-NH), Deboe (R-KY), Fairbanks (R-IN), Frye (R-ME), Gear (R-IA), Hanna (R-OH), Hawley (R-CT), Kyle (Pop-SD), Lodge (R-MA), McBride (R-OR), McEnery (D-LA), McMillan (R-MI), Mantle (Silver R-MT), Morgan (D-AL), Nelson (R-MN), Penrose (R-PA), Platt (R-CT), Platt (R-NY), Pritchard (R-NC), Ross (R-VT), Shoup (R-ID), Simon (R-OR), Stewart (Silver R-NV), Teller (Silver R-CO), Warren (R-WY), and Wolcott (R-CO). *Cong. Rec.*, 55th Cong., 3d sess., 1846.

⁷¹ The twenty-six senators in support were: Allison (R-IA), Burrows (R-MI), Chandler (R-NH), Deboe (R-KY), Fairbanks (R-IN), Faulkner (D-WV), Frye (R-ME), Gear (R-IA), Gray (D-DE), Hale (R-ME), Hanna (R-OH), Harris (Pop-KS), Kyle (Pop-SD), Lodge (R-MA), McEnery (D-LA), McLaurin (D-SC), McMillan (R-MI), Mantle (Silver R-MT), Mason (R-IL), Nelson (R-MN), Perkins (R-CA), Pettus (D-AL), Platt (R-NY), Quay (R-PA), Sullivan (D-MS), and Teller (Silver R-CO). The twenty-two senators in opposition were: Bacon (D-GA), Bate (D-TN), Caffery (D-LA), Carter (R-MT), Clay (D-GA), Cockrell (D-MO), Hawley (R-CT), Hoar (R-MA), Lindsay (D-KY), McBride (R-OR), Martin (D-VA), Money (D-MS), Morgan (D-AL), Murphy (D-NY), Pettigrew (Silver R- SD), Platt (R-CT), Rawlins (D-UT), Ross (R-VT), Simon (R-OR), Smith (D-NJ), Stewart (Silver R-NV), and Warren (R-WY). *Cong. Rec.*, 55th Cong., 3d sess., 1847.

With Bacon's final attempt defeated, the Senate proceeded to address the ratification of the Treaty of Paris, which was debated and voted on in closed executive session on February 6, 1899.⁷² Despite all the power plays and maneuverings by the imperialists to push their expansionist agenda, the final tally in the Senate ended up being the narrowest of margins. The United States Senate ratified the Treaty of Paris by a vote of 57 to 27, just one vote more than the two-thirds super majority required to ratify a treaty.⁷³ With the help of some Democrats who crossed over, forty-two Republicans, eleven Democrats, two Populists, and two Silver Republicans voted in favor of the treaty, as opposed to two Republicans, twenty-four Democrats, two Silver Republicans, and one Populist who voted against the Treaty of Paris.⁷⁴

Despite the perseverance of Senator Bacon, the Philippine Islands became a piece of property whose fate senators tossed back and forth in the United States Senate. At the whim of these imperialists and anti-imperialists, the destiny of this small developing nation on the other side of the world was left in the hands of men who knew little about the Philippine Islands or its inhabitants. Such are the spoils of war.

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⁷² Tompkins, *Anti-Imperialism*, 193.

⁷³ The twenty-seven senators who voted against the Treaty of Paris were: Bacon (D-GA), Bate (D-TN), Berry (D-AR), Caffery (D-LA), Chilton (D-TX), Cockrell (D-MO), Daniel (D-VA), Gorman (D-MD), Hale (R-ME), Heitfeld (Pop-ID), Hoar (R-MA), Jones (D-AR), Mallory (D-FL), Martin (D-VA), Mills (D-TX), Mitchell (D-WI), Money (D-MS), Murphy (D-NY), Pasco (D-FL), Pettigrew (Silver R- SD), Rawlins (D-UT), Roach (D-ND), Smith (D-NJ), Tillman (D-SC), Turley (D-TN), Turner (Silver R-WA), and Vest (D-MO). Tompkins, *Anti-Imperialism*, 192-193.

⁷⁴ Although William Jennings Bryan, Democratic Party nominee in the 1896, 1900, and 1908 presidential elections, was an anti-imperialist, he publicly sided with the imperialists in favor of the Treaty of Paris. Bryan used his influence as the Democratic Party figurehead to sway enough Democratic senators to secure the approval of two-thirds of the Senate for the ratification vote. Tompkins, *Anti-Imperialism*, 192-193.

From Sermon to Print: Savonarola in Florence and the World Beyond

Brett Boston

Savonarola reached out to the world around him in a wide variety of ways. As we shall see, he used print, music, and illustrations in both Florence and in the world outside Italian borders. While surely Savonarola is not a household name, he appealed to the modern age and undoubtedly many of the greatest historical movements in the western world can at least be partially attributed to him. This paper is an attempt to understand how Savonarola came to such an influential position, his modes of diffusion, and the tools of reception and transmission that quickly spread his program across Europe in his time and the years following his death.

Girolamo Savonarola (1452-1498) was born in Ferrara the grandson of a prominent and scholarly doctor, although he is best known to history as a militant friar who steadily rose to become the moral dictator of Florence after the first fall of the Medici in 1494. As the prior of the convent of San Marco, Savonarola gained a reputation for austerity, piety, and learning. Towards the height of his career he was widely renowned for his impassioned preaching as a self-proclaimed prophet. As Gods' agent for Florence, Savonarola began a program to cleanse the city of its long-cherished humanistic vanities. Obsessed with images of perceived human wickedness, he worked diligently to rid Florence of all forms of vice. The friar met all frivolity, poetry, sex, gambling, fine clothes and jewelry, with stern condemnation. There were to be no more images of the nude form, no more artistic reverence for pagan deities. Sadly, for a period of over four years, nothing could be considered sacrosanct in Florence except the word of God.¹

Savonarola began his career in the Order of Dominicans. An interesting choice for the young man when we consider the fact that the Dominicans were militant preaching friars, their first and foremost task being the propagation of the word of God. While the Franciscan emphasis on poverty may have also suited the austere nature of Savonarola, according to his biographer Lauro Martines, his desire to join the Dominicans clearly demonstrates that the friar was a militant fighter for Christ from the very beginning. The Dominicans allowed him to "transform people by disseminating the word of God. The same combative power he found in the Order of Dominicans he would also find in the printing press."²

As a young and principled Dominican friar, Savonarola quickly became disillusioned with the wealth and ostentation he saw all around him. This partly stemmed from childhood memories of ducal courts, and partly from the prevalence of nepotism and patronage shamelessly used by those in Rome and elsewhere. While many of his peers were disgusted by the horrid actions of the temporal and papal hierarchies, as this was a matter of common knowledge, very few of his colleagues would go so far as Savonarola in advocating their demise. He would often

¹ "Execution of Savonarola." *History Today* 48, no. 5 (May 1998): 34.

² Lauro Martines, *Fire in the City. Savonarola and the Struggle for the Soul of Renaissance Florence*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 91.

suggest that many evil men and liars had taken holy orders and thus, in some instances just by their mere presence, were perverting the Catholic faith in favor of an “external, pompous, and heartless” model of Christianity.³

Savonarola also championed unprecedented political enfranchisement, which ensured he would never be without friends or enemies. The powerful political families who had been robbed of power by republican reforms were among Savonarola’s most potent adversaries.⁴ However, the friar was welcomed with open arms by citizens calling for a broadly based republican constitution as well as those disenfranchised by the Medici’s long political tenure.⁵

Savonarola’s main target was Pope Alexander VI (1431-1503). He considered the Borgia Pope to be the greatest of all liars. As the most corrupt man in the holiest of offices, his papacy was seen as a slap in the face to the tradition of St. Peter. Savonarola often suggested that he must take his war for piety to the very top. Unquestionably, this meant he would violently clash with the Pope Alexander, and while the fight may seem somewhat one-sided, a lowly friar versus the most powerful man in Christendom, Savonarola had the greatest combination of weapons the world had ever seen; print and charisma.

To account for Savonarola’s rise to prominence in Florence one must note his millenarian views. He reinforced the consistent theme in Florentine history that they were a people marked by God for a special destiny. He portrayed the millennium as a time that would leave the Florentine people purified and foremost in the new Kingdom. Another of the many aspects that explains Savonarola’s appeal was that his erudition which, “neither profound nor original, was broad enough to interest humanist scholars such as Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494)” as well as a great number of literate educated Florentines.⁶

The printing press made its first appearance in Florence in 1471, six years after the establishment of the first printing presses in Italy. In fact, Italy had become the most important publishing region in Europe long before the incunabula period had come to an end. Italy’s wealth, paper production, and large literate population made it a fertile ground for publishing. Furthermore, Church and State were largely ignorant of the press in this period because independent entrepreneurs working outside church sanctions dominated the industry.⁷ Thus Italy, and Florence in particular, provided the perfect context for a man like Savonarola to reach minds with a version of events that was otherwise unavailable. The printing press was an undetected avenue for taking “control away from the controllers.”⁸ Savonarola also realized quite early that the press was possibly the only way to achieve a mass circulation of sermons, treatise, scathing

³ Martines, 91.

⁴ “Execution of Savonarola.” 34.

⁵ J.R. Hale, *Dictionary of the Italian Renaissance*. (New York: Thames and Huson, 1991), 292.

⁶ Hale, 292.

⁷ Hale, 268.

⁸ Martines, 86.

letters, and other written material. In fact, only Martin Luther would exploit the resources of print as effectively as Savonarola, and that would not be for another quarter century.

While Savonarola began to criticize the rich laity and lax clergy in his treatise as early as 1491, he did not move into the realm of politics until 1494. However, Savonarola might argue that he never attempted a foray into politics. Whatever the case, the number of enemies he made after 1494 increased exponentially as attacks began to swirl around him with some regularity. These vehement charges, mostly by a group identified as the *Arrabbiati* (Mad Dogs), were also often published. They usually consisted of woodcut prints depicting Savonarola in obscene dress or a “lurid stance of some sort – an image surely to be counted among the first cartoons in the history of Europe.”⁹ When the charges of heresy became more pronounced as the years passed, Savonarola used the press as a defensive weapon to thwart the charges of profanation. Savonarola would repeatedly put forth that all he had ever preached had been printed in some form or another. Moreover, since print was a matter of public discourse, his published works also protected him from charges of political intrigue by his numerous enemies.

The success of Savonarola’s printing works are also interesting in light of the fact that he was a resident of the most literary city in the world at the time. Surely Savonarola’s prose must have been eloquent and refined to appeal to the senses of men who were accustomed to Florentine literary giants such as Dante Alighieri and Luigi Pulci. In fact, Savonarola’s success is truly astounding when we consider the fact that the aforementioned poets have only 28 published works between them. Compared to the Friars 108 incunables, it is easy to see how Girolamo Savonarola was the most published author in the period before 1500. Furthermore, Savonarola’s prose must have been, above all else, rational. He would have the difficult task of swaying people who, as the Archbishop of Florence wrote a generation earlier, were not “obedient sheep, meek and innocent” but rather “proud lions, cruel bears, rapacious wolves, dishonest pigs, and other wild beasts.”¹⁰

Judging by the sheer volume of work he produced and published, Savonarola certainly swayed the independent-minded Florentines. Seven editions of Savonarola’s treatise on *The Love of Jesus Christ* made its way to print between 1492 and 1496. However, the fortunes of his sermons were even more astounding. The political sermons of June 8th and October 11, 1495 received even wider popularity. “The Amos and Zechariah sermons of 1495 were issued early in 1497, and three homilies from the final series” of the 11th, 18th, and 25th of February 1498 were “immediately printed.”¹¹ Over a period of approximately eight to nine years (1491-1500) Savonarola’s writings can be seen in the offerings of at least six different Florentine presses. The Bonaccorsi, Libri, Miscomini, Morgiani, Petri, and Tubini presses all carried his work at some

⁹ Martines, 171.

¹⁰ Martines, 88.

¹¹ Martines, 88.

time or another during the Italian incunabula period. Although, it should be noted that this brief catalogue of Florentine publications barely scratches the surfaces of the number of editions printed during Savonarola's lifetime in Florence and abroad.

Savonarola's wish to appeal to the largest possible audiences, the same desire that moved him toward print in the first place, also led the friar to translate the vast majority of his doctrinal works from Latin into the vernacular. Savonarola's "Simplicity on the Christian Life" was introduced in Latin at the end of 1496, and published two months later as an Italian translation by the Benivieni brothers, Girolamo and Dominico. Thus we may assume that "the translators worked either with the Friar's manuscript or – as it came from the printer – with page proofs in hand."¹² Although the brothers were skeptical of the friar at first, they soon developed a close working relationship with Savonarola.¹³ The brothers worked closely with Savonarola to improve his Florentine dialect, both in print and in speech.¹⁴ While these two brothers were responsible for a vast majority of the translations of Savonarola's doctrinal works, one of his best; "The Triumph of the Cross," appears to be translated by his own hand. As a matter of fact, Savonarola became renowned in the printing industry as a scrupulous editor, as well as a "conscientious corrector of proofs before the final printings."¹⁵

Savonarola also published letters as a means to advance his bold agenda. The friar also seems to have reinvented the genre of circulating the open letter, which he often released with the intention of shaping public opinion. Eleven of these letters were published during his lifetime, most of which he directed towards the kings of Spain and France, and to the Emperor Maximillian urging them to "convene a universal Church Council, with a view of deposing a man who 'was not Christian and had no faith of any kind.'"¹⁶ His last open letter assailed Pope Alexander VI (1431-1503), boldly warning him to "worry about the state of his immortal soul."¹⁷

Savonarola's warning could not stave off the inevitable. Pope Alexander officially excommunicated the friar in June of 1497. Savonarola had become so controversial and embarrassing to the papal chancellery that they aimed to wipe out the memory of the man, as well as his printed works.¹⁸ Furthermore, the weapon of print that Savonarola had once used with such mastery was now being used against him. After the excommunication order was sent out by the papacy, the *Arrabbiati* quickly translated the papal brief from Latin into Italian and had it rushed off to the presses for widespread distribution among the Florentine population. They also countered Savonarola's popular *Epistola a un Amico*, which appeared in three Florentine editions

¹² Martines, 88.

¹³ Roberto Ridolfi, *The Life of Girolamo Savonarola*, trans. by Cecil Grayson (New York: Alfred A. Knopff, 1959), 46.

¹⁴ Ridolfi, 34.

¹⁵ Martines, 91.

¹⁶ Martines, 207.

¹⁷ Martines, 207.

¹⁸ Martines, 166.

simultaneously, with *Epistola Responsiva a Frate Ieronimo da L'amico Suo.*¹⁹ While Savonarola's *Epistola* was meant to be conciliatory and apologetic, reflecting on the charges of heresy, schism, and false prophecy leveled against him, the work induced increasingly vicious attacks.²⁰

In these times of increasing danger and dislocating change Savonarola was no longer the "great inspirer of Florentine confidence," rather the friar had become Florence's "nagging conscience and then its scapegoat."²¹ Savonarola was eventually tortured, hanged, and burned on Palm Sunday 1498 in the Piazza della Signoria. His ashes were thrown into the River Arno so his memory would be forgotten sooner. However, as we shall see, his printed works lived on.²²

An excellent example of Savonarola's posthumous celebrity in Florence is seen as early as 1505. After his death Savonarola became so popular within underground circles that printers of Savonarola's sermons contracted to strike off a minimum of one sheet printed on both sides, known as almanco uno foglo interno (eight octavo leaves) in a thousand copies each working day. However, this ambitious schedule was never met as printers could not reach such speeds. While one could simply guess that these contracts were never met because evidence is available through financial records that show slow payment of the agreed amount, they provide a superb example of continued demand for Savonarola's works.²³

This matter of reception is especially interesting in light of the fact that Savonarola and Luther were both pamphleteers in the vein of St. Paul with a resemblance of format and layout in their tracts that are too striking to be accidental. So much so that we can assume that either Italian tracts were familiar enough in Germany by Luther's time or that they "hit on similar means because both addressed themselves to middle-class city dwellers. Savonarola and Luther, or their printers, knew the basic requirements of getting publications into the hands of readers."²⁴ Both of the reformers works were issued in the quarto size (paper folded twice to make an eight page section) and both displayed the title rather plainly on the front page, although Luther's titles "ramble down most of the page in several sizes of black letter, for he wrote, as he spoke, in torrents."²⁵ Conversely, Savonarola's presents his titles "in a line or two of plain Roman" because he recognized the difference between oratory and written communication.²⁶

Savonarola and Luther also enlivened their title pages, and often their back covers, with beautiful woodcuts. These illustrations would not only enhance the text, since it would reappear

¹⁹ Ridolfi, 148.

²⁰ Ridolfi, 149.

²¹ Hale, 292.

²² "Execution of Savonarola." *History Today* 48, no. 5 (May 1998): 34.

²³ Hyatt, A Major, "Renaissance Pamphleteers: Savonarola and Luther," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 6, no. 2 (Oct. 1947): 67.

²⁴ Major, 72.

²⁵ Major, 72.

²⁶ Major, 72.

on various works they served as a way to advertise the books in much the same way a distinctive cover attracts attention to a contemporary magazine. When townsman out for a stroll in the city's plaza saw a familiar woodcut illustration on a bookshelf, in a man's pocket, or in a reader's hands, he would know that the latest work by that author had been put into print.²⁷

While these woodcuts surely serve to advertise the author's work, they also are meant to have a moralizing influence on readers. Figure 1 is an illustration of a nobleman standing before the city of Florence with death pointing to the heavens. The sinner in question is pointing his head downwards as if to understand the consequence of eternal punishment. Touching on many of the same themes, figure 2 clearly depicts the art of dying well. Another nobleman on his deathbed is being tempted by the devil that has come to claim his soul by making him doubt his faith. While the elements of salvation are also in the room performing the ritual of last rights, death is literally knocking on the door. Thus, Figure 2 serves as an impetus for questioning how one will approach their death. Will they be strong and hold their faith, or will they be swayed by Satan?

Figure 3 depicts Savonarola writing alone in his cell in San Marco where he finds himself appointed to be the secretary of God. This woodcut shows his belief that God speaks to him directly and therefore he must transmit God's dictation to man. It is easy to imagine how thousands of minds could be swayed by "this mental voice composing sentences in a room as blank as a broadcasting station."²⁸ Figure 4 is the best surviving illustration of the friar in action as the dramatic artist of the pulpit. Down the length of the naïve a low canvas fence separates the men from the women. The audience has been waiting since dawn to hear Savonarola speak and they tightly pack themselves to the point of fainting. The picture records a clamor and conflagration that to this day has not ceased to echo. Clearly, this woodcut carried a "viva voce" that moved men towards salvation long after Savonarola had been hanged. As we can see from the figures 1-4, Savonarola's woodcut illustrations are earnest and eloquent, although never satirical. Clearly, he wanted his works to "be correct, but not ornate."²⁹ While these illustrations provide insight into the simple character of Savonarola, the art historian Hyatt A. Major believes that the illustrations are also quite telling about the nature of the Florentine press itself. He argues that the Florentine press of the late 1590's was known for its "sober elegance and striking restraint."³⁰

Reformers before Savonarola rarely took advantage of print's ability to use illustrations. The printing press had come to Florence only eleven years before Savonarola had issued his first sermon within the city walls. While his first dated tract appeared in 1491, the use of woodcuts in

²⁷ Major, 72.

²⁸ Major, 70.

²⁹ Major, 72.

³⁰ Major, 72.

Florence had scarcely been going on for a year.³¹ However, by this time printing made it possible to reproduce illustrations almost indefinitely and identically. It helped religious reformers such as Savonarola to “drive home their invective with telling draughtmanship.”³² Moreover, illustrations helped to give Savonarola’s tracts a certain degree of persuasive force among townspeople. These city-dwellers were already sensitized to art in a way in which peasants were not. Savonarola’s awareness of the arts as a political force helped him to make an impact in a city that, above all others, is accustomed to a connection between art and politics

In referring to the Florentine woodcuts of the late incunabula period Major suggests that the partnership between preacher and publisher gave printed art a “young poignancy that is never again so intense in all printmaking.”³³ These intricate and gorgeous illustrations helped to speed Savonarola’s tracts to reprints in Venice, France, the Netherlands, and widely throughout the Holy Roman Empire almost immediately. In fact, they traveled so fast that Savonarola’s *Exposition on Psalm 51*, “Have mercy on me, O God” appeared in Latin and German at Alost, Augsburg, Magdeburg, and Nuremburg only a year or two after it was written in Florence.³⁴ Thus, such wide diffusion clearly suggests that Luther’s printed sermons were, at least in part, taken from Savonarola’s example.

Of all the countries outside Italy, France would be the most likely recipient of Savonarola’s thoughts and ideas. This reception took place for a variety of reasons. For one, Florence had a long-standing political and economic relationship with France. Secondly, Savonarola strongly believed that the French King Charles VIII (1470-1498) was the modern Cyrus, the scourge of God and the instrument of renewal that would cleanse the earth of its sins.³⁵

The first Frenchman to write about Savonarola was the historian and diplomat Phillippe de Commynes (1447-1511).³⁶ Commynes’ *Memoirs* records a discussion with Savonarola on his prophecies that concerned the King of France.³⁷ These writings on Savonarola would be often be used in the next few decades as sources for works by Florentine historians such as Jacopo Nardi (1476-1563). Dominican hagiographers of the friar, such as Bernado Castiglione and Serafino Razzi, would also appropriate several passages of Commynes’ *Memoirs*, which remained in manuscript form for twenty-three years until first published by Galliot du Pre in 1524.³⁸ It is of further note that Michel Nostradamus (1503-1566), the famed astrologer, was quite familiar with

³¹ Major, 67.

³² Major, 67.

³³ Major, 68.

³⁴ Major, 68.

³⁵ Konrad Eisenbichler, Review of *Savonarola in Francia: Circolazione di un eredità politico-religiosa nell’Europa del Cinquecento*. Attained from the personal electronic correspondence of Lawrence Bryant, CSU Chico. 2007: 1.

³⁶ Eisenbichler, 1.

³⁷ Myron P. Gilmore “Freedom and Determinism in the Renaissance Historians.” *Studies in the Renaissance* 3 (1956): 54.

³⁸ Philip de Commynes. *The Memoirs of Philip de Commynes*. Trans. Jean de Troyes (France: G. Bell, 1906), ix.

the prophecies of Savonarola. So familiar in fact, that his *Epitre a Cesar*, which serves as the preface to his collection of prophecies “shamelessly and silently” plagiarized Savonarola’s introduction to the *Compendio di Rivelazioni* word for word.³⁹

In examining the bibliographical fortunes of Savonarola in France it is surprising to note that very few of the friar’s temporal works were published. Almost without exception the works that were published were almost exclusively his devotional and spiritual tracts. Nonetheless, while many of Savonarola’s works were not published, French printers knew the friar’s spiritual tracts sold very well and thus “were quick to seize the opportunity in the French market.”⁴⁰ Among those who were eager to publish Savonarola’s writings were Josse Bade, who is best known as Desiderius Erasmus’ printer. In 1510 alone, Bade published eight different editions of the friar’s works. Bade was followed shortly thereafter by the Lyonnaise printer Sebastien Gryphe in the 1530-40’s. Savonarola’s bibliographical fortunes continued to thrive throughout the later part of the sixteenth century as the French Wars of Religion raged with untold terror. Huguenots, as well as Catholics employed Savonarola’s works. Oddly enough, French Catholics looked upon Savonarola and “suddenly found in him a paladin of the Roman Church.”⁴¹ In spite of Savonarola’s official condemnation by the Church under Pope Alexander IV, many Frenchman saw him as an example of orthodoxy that should be imitated. After the Wars of Religion, Savonarola continued to be printed in France and translated into French by a plethora of scholars. Most notable among them was the Huguenot intellectual Phillippe du Plessis Mornay (1549-1623) and the Parisian Calvinist printer Guillaume Auvray.⁴²

In the realm of music, Savonarola’s continental fortunes fared very will indeed. In the century after his death, many sixteenth century musical composers saw Savonarola as a prophet, martyr, and saint.⁴³ This is abundantly clear from the “musical settings they made of texts associated with, and even written by, the friar.”⁴⁴ Savonarola was renowned for his reform effort to simplify sacred polyphony and toward this end he wrote several laude texts intended to be sung to simple tunes by the populace.⁴⁵ The laude is a devotional song that has roots in Florence that go back as early as 1244 when a laudesi company was founded at Santa Maria Novella.⁴⁶ Savonarola promoted the use of the laude as a way to help sustain the spirit of Savonarolan reformers and rally his followers (*Piagnoni*). The most popular of these musical hymns was surely the *ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum habitare fratres in unum* which was sung daily in

³⁹ Eisenbichler, 1.

⁴⁰ Eisenbichler, 2.

⁴¹ Eisenbichler, 2.

⁴² Eisenbichler, 2.

⁴³ Giovanni, Lucia, *Contributo alla Bibliografia della Opere del Savonarola: Edizioni dei secoli XV e XVI*. (Florence, 1952): 1.

⁴⁴ Lowinsky, Edward, “A Newly Discovered Sixteenth Century Motet Manuscript at the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome.” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 3 (1950): 201.

⁴⁵ Giovanni, 3.

⁴⁶ Patrick Macey, “The Laude and the Cult of Savonarola” *Renaissance Quarterly* 45, no.3 (Autumn 1992): 441.

public by thousands of Savonarola's child followers (*fanciulli*).⁴⁷ The *ecce quam bonum*, as it is more popularly known, is the opening verse of Psalm 132 and in the sixteenth century served as the basis for three motets and a parody mass.⁴⁸ The *ecce quam bonum* psalm verse and tune held a special attraction for French composers. Phillippe Verdelot's six-voice motet, *Letamini in Domino*, is based almost entirely on the *ecce quam bonum*. It was also used by Jean Richafort (1480-1547) and Jean Mouton (1459-1522) in some of their works. These composers worked in Italy under the auspices of the French Royal Chapel in 1515, and the verse would have surely reached them there.⁴⁹

During the time of second Florentine republic of 1527-1530, Savonarola's memory was greatly venerated and thus we find two more Florentine sources that use a lauda version based on the *ecce quam bonum*.⁵⁰ One is preserved in an undated choir-book, which cites Phillippe Verdelot (1485-1532) as well as Giovanni Animuccia (1520-1571). The other source comes from Serafino Razzi's *Libro Primo*.⁵¹

One sees the influence of Savonarola is not only in music, but in Florentine art as well. Michelangelo (1475-1564), the greatest of all Renaissance artists, who had heard Savonarola preach as a young man, had such admiration for the man that he included Savonarola in his paintings. Savonarola can be seen rising from the dead in the lower left-hand corner of his *Last Judgment*.

As we have seen earlier, art was extremely important element to Savonarola's cultural program. While much has been made of Savonarola's "burning of vanities" during Carnival by recent scholars, it is often an attempt to portray the friar as a firebrand conservative. While no doubt a moralist, Savonarola's burning of Renaissance art may not have been an act of cultural holocaust as most scholars presume. Couldn't Carnival bonfires of Renaissance "vanities" be meant to "magnetize art toward salvation rather than to destroy it?"⁵² While clearly this is a matter left to the minds of seasoned cultural historians, it is a possibility that should not be ignored.

While Savonarola is best remembered today for his attempt to rid Florence of humanistic art, in the century after his death his writings served as the vehicle for remembrance. Savonarola's meditations on Psalms 30 and 50, written in a prison cell shortly before his death, became his most famous and often published works.⁵³ Since Psalm 50 is one of the seven penitential psalms and Psalm 30 is a staple of the liturgy it is quite clear that any intelligent evaluation of these passages would be well received for many years to come. In terms of motets

⁴⁷ Macey, "The Laude and the Cult of Savonarola," 439.

⁴⁸ Macey, "Savonarola and the Sixteenth-Century Motet," 428.

⁴⁹ Macey, "Savonarola and the Sixteenth-Century Motet," 429.

⁵⁰ Macey, "Savonarola and the Sixteenth-Century Motet," 435.

⁵¹ Macey, "Savonarola and the Sixteenth-Century Motet," 436.

⁵² Major, 68.

⁵³ Macey, "Savonarola and the Sixteenth-Century Motet," 427.

once more, five major composers of the sixteenth century would use the opening paragraph of Savonarola's *Meditation on Psalm 50* as the basis of their motets. Among them were the Flemish composers Adrian Willaert (1490-1562) and Cypriano de Rore (1515-1565), the Italian Nicola Vicentino (1511-1575), the French Orlande de Lassus (1532-1594), and William Byrd (1539-1623), the foremost composer of Elizabethan England.⁵⁴

Aside from motets, Savonarola's meditations on the aforementioned psalms became extremely popular in print after the friar's death. By 1502 they had appeared in at least fifteen Latin editions in Italy and in several northern cities including Antwerp and Louvain.⁵⁵ After 1502 there were several more Venetian editions (1513, 1517, 1524, 1535, 1538, and 1548) as well as multiple editions in the north. Paris (1510, 1515), Augsburg (1522, 1534), Erfurt (1523), Strasbourg (1523, 1524), Lyons (1531), and Antwerp (1536).⁵⁶ Furthermore, vernacular translations of the psalms were issued in Italian, German, French, Flemish, Spanish, and even Swedish translations.

However, the greatest number of translations undoubtedly occurred in English. At least 14 English-language translations of the *Meditation on Psalm 50* were issued between 1534 and 1578.⁵⁷ Thus, Savonarola appears in English as an "instrument in the gradual transition from a Catholic to a Protestant way of thinking."⁵⁸ Furthermore, Savonarola's commentaries on Psalms 30 and 50 were often included in the primers and popular guides for the religious instruction of layman. His interpretive methods of biblical exegesis, with their emphasis on the application of Scripture to the inward experience of the individual Christian must have been highly valued for their own sake. Surely, Savonarola's expositions fit protestant England's growing need for direction in the reading the Bible.⁵⁹

While it is clear that Savonarola's sixteenth century continental fortunes are astounding, what can we make of the friar's fortunes in his birthplace of Ferrara? The historical record suggests that the sixteenth century Ferrarese nourished a strong interest in Savonarola.⁶⁰ In 1513 and 1516 two editions of Savonarola's sermons were issued in Ferrara. The preface to the former referred to the friar as the "trumpet of Christ" and "our venerated Ferrarese citizen."⁶¹

Savonarola's works not only stimulated the citizens of his birthplace but others as well. Martin Luther's first volume of Letters suggests that Savonarola's writings were so powerful that many men were inspired to take holy orders. Such is the case of Lancelotto de' Politi, otherwise

⁵⁴ Macey, "Savonarola and the Sixteenth-Century Motet," 428.

⁵⁵ Macey, "Savonarola and the Sixteenth-Century Motet," 437.

⁵⁶ Giovanni, 3

⁵⁷ Macey, "Savonarola and the Sixteenth-Century Motet," 437.

⁵⁸ Olga Zorzi Pugliese, "English Translations from the Italian Humanists: An Interpretive Survey and Bibliography." *Italian Literature in English Translation* 50 no. 3 (Autumn, 1973): 413.

⁵⁹ Pugliese, 414.

⁶⁰ Ireneo Farneto, "Giovanni Manardo e gli Ambienti Savonaroliani a Mirandola e Pichinaco a Ferrara." *Ferrara Viva* 5 (1965): 304.

⁶¹ Farneto, 305.

known as Ambrosius Catharinus of Siena. As a doctor of philosophy and theology, he became a Dominican in 1515 and was even commissioned by the Pope to reply to Luther's attacks concerning the primacy of the Holy See. Although, much like his hero Savonarola, Catharinus gradually became a controversial figure within the Dominican order due to his stances on the Immaculate Conception and predestination.⁶²

Luther also mentions Savonarola in his *Defense and Explanation of All the Articles* (1521). In the 33rd article, *The Burning of Heretics is contrary to the will of the Holy Spirit*, he argues that the papacy has condemned many good Christians to the fire. His prime example is none other than Savonarola and argues that Pope Alexander VI was “fulfilling the prophecy concerning the Antichrist that he will cast Christians into the oven.”⁶³ Moreover, Luther refers to the friar as the “godly man of Florence.”⁶⁴

As we have seen, Savonarola’s “godliness” is not the reason he continues to capture the minds of historians today. He skillfully used print as a medium to transmit his message to the world. Today we can view a man like Savonarola through the lens of print culture due in large part to the work of Elizabeth L. Eisenstein. Because *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* has made us aware of new causal forces in history it is clear that Girolamo Savonarola affected Florence and the world beyond so profoundly because print transmitted and gave permanence to his ideas.

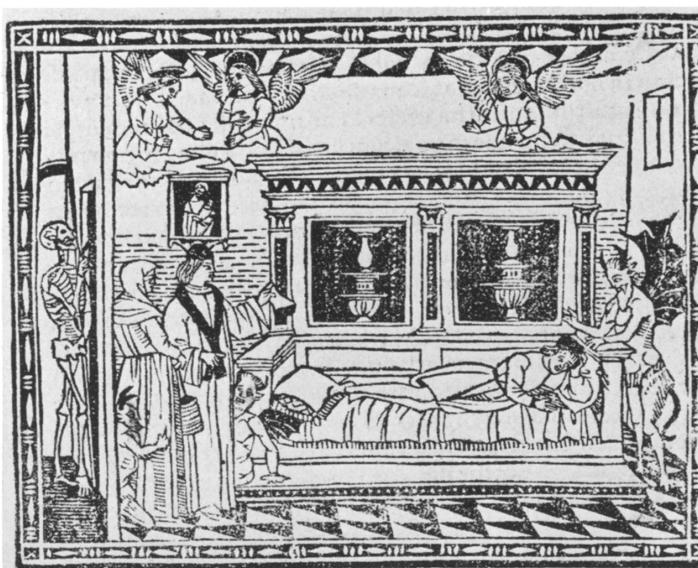
⁶² Martin Luther, *Letters I*. ed. Gottfried G. Krodel. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1963): 291n.

⁶³ Martin Luther, *Career of the Reformer II*, ed. George W. Forell. (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958): 88.

⁶⁴ Luther, *Career of the Reformer II*, 88.

Appendix

(Fig. 1) Death showing a man, heaven, and hell.
Woodcut from Savonarola's "*Predica del ayte del
bene morire*," Florence, Dick Fund, 1925.



(Fig. 2) Death knocking at a sick man's door.
Woodcut from Savonarola's "*Predica del arte del
bene morire*." Dick Fund, 1925.



(Fig. 3) Savonarola writing in his cell in San Marco.
Woodcut from his "*Semplicita della vita christiana*,"
Florence, Morgiani for Pacini, 31 October, 1496. Dick
Fund, 1925.



(Fig. 4) Savonarola preaching in the cathedral of Florence.
Woodcut from "*Compendio di revelatione*," Florence,
Pacini, 23 April, 1496. Dick Fund, 1925.

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Butte County Wheat in 1867: Production, Markets, Transportation, and Land Holding at the Dawn of California's Bonanza Wheat Era

Curtis Jeffords

Wheat had been a periodic staple of subsistence farming in California since the time of Spanish Missionaries. Not until after the discovery of gold in 1848 and the frenzy that followed did California begin to produce a surplus of wheat that not only provided subsistence for farmers and local markets, but also created a surplus of exportable wheat. Although it would be more than a decade before finding a suitable market, the surplus of the 1867 harvest would be introduced in the United Kingdom, creating an explosion in California wheat production and laying the foundation for the Bonanza Wheat Era that ran from 1867 to 1902.¹

Butte County was no exception to the California model, with its production sharply increasing following California wheat's introduction to Great Britain. The 1867 Butte County harvest provides an excellent window into a productive county at the dawn of an era when wheat replaced gold. As production, markets, transportation, and land holding are explored in that window Butte County will exemplify both norms and uniqueness in the Bonanza Wheat Era's infancy. It will become clear that although the international market was fully understood by Butte County's wheat proprietors who increased production accordingly, it still catered to local markets of the surrounding area. Furthermore, issues of transportation and land holding will reveal themselves as unique aspects of Butte County's wheat production.

Production and Markets

Major growth in the wheat industry did not occur until after the early years of the gold rush era, however its roots in California can be traced back to Spanish Missionaries, who at times produced enough wheat for surplus. However, the small-scale success of the missions could not survive Mexican independence, and following the secularization of the missions in 1834 the cultivation of wheat would begin to fade into obscurity. However by 1847, wheat began to rebound and it seemed as though "agriculture would soon resume its old dimensions." Unfortunately this happened on the eve of the discovery of gold in California, in 1848. With farmers and available labor running to the gold fields in hopes of striking it rich, wheat was left to rot in the field due to the fact that agriculture had all but been "abandoned throughout the northern part of the state."²

Following 1852, gold fever died down and California resumed stable wheat production. As feeding miners became more profitable and stable than seeking gold in the mines, many former farmers-turned-miners sought their original trade. By 1854 California had reached its first wheat surplus and that year and the following a few shipments were sent out to test both east

¹ Jim Gerber, "The Origin of California's Export Surplus in Cereals," *Agricultural History* 67 (Autumn 1993): 42; Rodman W. Paul, "The Wheat Trade Between California and the United Kingdom," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 45 (December 1958): 396.

² Horace Davis, "Californis Breadstuffs," *Journal of Political Economy* 2 (September 1894): 518, 520, 521, 523; Horace Davis, "Wheat in California," *Overland Monthly* 1 (July 1868): 442-443, 444; Gerber, 46.

coast and international markets. Even though California had again begun to relish agricultural success in the 1850s hindrances remained, preventing the wheat explosion witnessed in the 1860s. Despite the obvious absence of a stable international market, wheat producers had to solve the dilemma posed by the unique climate of California's inland valleys, as well as compete with the large landholdings of cattlemen and the destruction caused by roaming cattle.³

By the 1850s more large-scale wheat production began to spread from the coastal counties into the San Joaquin and Sacramento Valleys, Butte County being part of the Sacramento. The first obstacle for these early farmers proved being how to deal with the Mediterranean climate of the California interior and the adobe soils the summer created. Unlike the eastern United States, long hot dry summers and short mild winters with moderate rainfall characterize the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys. This led early visitor's to label these valleys as wastelands unsuited to support agriculture. Persistence prevailed, and farmers learned that plowing begins after falls first rain has softened the soil, with winter providing water with its annual rainfall, and harvesting taking place during the summer months. Following the mastery of sowing winter wheat these two valleys proved to be adequate and large scale producers in California wheat and gained favor in England due to the hardness and dryness of the wheat in comparison to the dark and soft nature of coastal wheat.⁴

Substantial gains of the cattle industry during the California gold rush provided a second problem. Caused by the necessity of beef in mining camps wheat growers had to compete with cattlemen. Because the "No Fence" law did not require cattlemen to fence their ranges, roaming head of cattle would often destroy cultivated soil. Any farmer caught shooting cattle would also be held liable for damages. Although the prosperity of the cattle industry caused by the gold rush was short lived due to reckless spending, debt, and superiority of American cattle driven in from overland routes, it did prove an obstacle to early wheat farmers in both the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys.⁵

Eventually finding the aforementioned problems subdued, Californians again found themselves facing the problem of finding a market for their growing grain surplus by 1859 and 1860. With reports of European crop deficiency, California found an outlet shipping almost half its total amount of wheat and flour to Great Britain in 1860. Doubts loomed however, about the difficulties of trade with England due to the length of the 14,000-mile nautical trip around the southern tip of Cape Horn. Despite these doubts trade commenced and England found California

³ Davis, "California Breadstuffs," 524; Lawrence J. Jelinek, "Property of Every Kind: Ranching and Farming During the Gold-Rush Era," *California History* 77 (Winter 1998/99): 243; Gerber, 49; Paul, "The Wheat Trade," 392; Rodman W. Paul, "The Beginning of Agriculture in California: Innovation vs. Continuity," *California Historical Quarterly* 52 (Spring 1973): 22; Joseph A. McGowan, *History of the Sacramento Valley*, vol. 1 (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1961): 49.

⁴ Kenneth Thompson and Richard A. Eigenheer, "The Agricultural Promise of the Sacramento Valley: Some Early Views," *Journal of the West* 18 (October 1979): 33; McGowan, 245; Davis, "Wheat in California," 447-449; Davis, "California Breadstuffs," 526-527.

⁵ Jelinek, "Property of Every Kind," 234; McGowan, 49; R.H. Allen, "The Spanish Land Grant System as an Influence in the Agricultural Development of California," *Agricultural History* 9 (July 1935): 131.

wheat more than capable of making such a journey due to its hard nature as a result of the hot, dry climate of California summers. Logically one would assume this the take off point for extensive trade between California and Great Britain and the roots of explosion in the California wheat industry. California's surplus, however, would be short lived.⁶ Indeed there could not be truer a statement than that of Horace Davis: "The ten years from 1860 to 1870 divide themselves naturally into two equal periods, at June, 1865."⁷

It proved to be natural occurrences that detoured growth of California wheat in the first half of the 1860s. The first of these two conditions was heavy rainfall and floods in the winter of 1861-1862. The second came in the form of drought in 1863-1864, proving far more devastating than the harsh winter just years before.⁸ California production decreased during this period from around 3.5 million centals produced in the 1862 harvest to below 2 million during the 1864 harvest.⁹ The 1864 harvest roughly produced only slightly more than half of the harvest recorded in the 1860 United States Census.¹⁰ For those years California again had to resort to importing wheat from abroad. Even during the few years of decent production during this time, conditions for export were crippled by the shortage of available ships caused by the Civil War, and the opening of new internal markets, such as the Nevada market created by the Comstock Lode.¹¹

Following the 1865 harvest wheat regained its former momentum within California. From this point onward, California wheat grew at a rapid pace, and again the English market presented itself as an attractive option to the California wheat producer. As early as 1865 the markets in Australia, China, the Atlantic Coast and Britain proved favorable enough that "the price paid for California grain was so high that all available lands in the valley were sowed with wheat."¹² However, Britain became the main attraction of the international market for California, and in 1867 it consumed about 80 per cent of California's exported wheat, in a year in which twice as much wheat and flour as any previous season found its way to external markets. Due in large part to the powerful demand for California wheat emanating from the United Kingdom, the total production of wheat in the state almost tripled by the end of the decade, rising from 5,928,470 bushels recorded the 1860 census to 16,676,702 bushels recorded

⁶ Paul, "The Wheat Trade," 394-395; McGowan, 247.

⁷ Davis, "California Breadstuff," 526.

⁸ Davis, "California Breadstuff," 526; Paul, "The Wheat Trade," 395.

⁹ Davis, "California Breadstuff." The statistics in that statement were derived from chart II, and did not have a page number. Furthermore, clarification may be needed to decipher the difference between the cental and bushel in regards to the measurement of wheat volume per unit. The cental is a hundred pound measurement adopted by California because of its trade with the Liverpool market. The bushel was assumed to be sixty pounds.

¹⁰ Davis, "California Breadstuffs." Statistics can be found on chart II; United States, Department of the Interior, Bureau of the Census, *Agriculture of the United States in 1860* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), 11.

¹¹ Paul, "The Wheat Trade," 395-396.

¹² McGowan, 247; Paul, "The Wheat Trade," 396.

in 1870. Parallel to the aforementioned comparison both the 1866 and 1867 harvest almost triple the production of 1860, coming in at 14,080762 and 14,432,883 bushels respectively.¹³

Reflecting these statewide trends, Butte County made large strides in wheat production during the 1860s, producing almost six times as much in 1870 than it did in 1860, jumping from 130,058 to 746,162 bushels. Most of this growth occurred later in the decade, with total wheat production in 1866 equaling 231,041 bushels and production in 1867 climbing to 482,470.¹⁴

While the trend of growth in Butte County shadowed California it did have some differences and certain points of interests present themselves. First, is the fact that while California's wheat production grew only minimally between 1866 and 1867 while Butte County's production sharply increased. Furthermore, in 1867 only ten of the forty-nine counties counted produced more wheat than Butte. Of those ten only Colusa, Sonoma, and Stanislaus raised production as sharply from the previous year as did Butte. Notably Napa, Santa Clara, Solano, and Yolo counties, all larger producers than Butte in 1867, encountered losses.¹⁵

Another interesting point regarding Butte County's Growth in wheat production is that in 1867 it cultivated over one thousand less acres than in 1866 and only six-hundred and thirty more acres than in 1863. Of the top ten wheat-producing counties, only Santa Clara and Solano cultivated less acreage in 1867 than in the previous year, and they both received diminishing returns.¹⁶

One explanation for increased production with less cultivation may reside on the shoulders of mechanization. Aside from regularly running Baker and Hamilton ads titled "Harvesting Machines for 1867," the *Chico Weekly Courant* ran this article titled "New Thresher," in June of 1867:

One of the new steam threshing machines has been at work on Colby's ranch this week, and in two days and a half turned out 2000 sacks of wheat...The thresher is owned by Colby and McCargar of this county [Butte County], and can be made to thresh 3,000 bushels a day, without cracking a kernal....The whole was supplied by Baker & Hamilton of Sacramento, and Mr. Colby informs us that it is the best ever gotten up, and that he could not be bothered with the slow horse process after having seen this machine at work.¹⁷

¹³ Paul, "The Wheat Trade," 396; United States, Department of the Interior, Bureau of the Census, *1860*, 11; United States, Department of the Interior, Bureau of the Census, *Ninth Census vol. 3: The Statistics of the Wealth and Industry of the United States, 1870* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1872), 105; California, Legislature, *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly, of the Seventeenth Session of the Legislature of the State of California*, Volume III (Sacramento: D.W. Gelwicks, State Printer, 1868), 548; California, Legislature, *Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly, of the Eighteenth Session of the Legislature of the State of California*, Volume III (Sacramento: D.W. Gelwicks, State Printer, 1870), 132.

¹⁴ United States, Department of the Interior, Bureau of the Census, *1860*, 11; United States, Department of the Interior, Bureau of the Census, *1870*, 105; California, Legislature, *Appendix*, 1868, 548; California, Legislature, *Appendix*, 1870, 132.

¹⁵ California, Legislature, *Appendix*, 1868, 548; California, Legislature, *Appendix*, 1870, 132. George C. Mansfield, *History of Butte County* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, 1918), 239.

¹⁶ *Chico Weekly Courant*, 12 April 1867, 21 June 1867.

Threshers, which completed the task of shaking the kernel from the wheat stock, were primarily horse powered at this time and only averaged about fifteen hundred bushels a day or two to three hundred sacks. Obviously, a steam thresher, capable of averaging above three thousand bushels or twelve hundred sacks a day, would add efficiency to any wheat operation. John Bidwell, another Butte County resident, had heavily invested in technology necessary for the success of any large-scale wheat operation, doing so in the early stages of the Bonanza Wheat Era.¹⁸

According to Michael J. Gillis and Michael F. Magliari, Bidwell had acquired by 1870 “twenty-five gang plows, three headers, nine header wagons, and a ten-horsepower steam separator that could thresh 1,200 bushels per day.”¹⁹ All of the aforementioned items should lead one to believe that increased efficiency would be imminent. While one can only speculate as to how much of the aforementioned farming equipment Bidwell owned during the 1867 harvest, his move towards the mechanization of Rancho Chico makes it worth mentioning.²⁰ Regardless of Rancho Chico’s level of mechanization, proof of farm technology exists within Butte County at the time of the 1867 harvest, which possibly explains Butte County’s ability to produce substantially more wheat without the cultivation of more acreage.

Setting aside the explanation of how Butte County produced more wheat on less acreage, it is clear that the availability of a foreign market gave rise to increased commercial production and surpluses. Butte County newspapers recognized both California’s and its own reputation as a producer of some of the world’s finest grain. Using its surplus and reputation Butte County certainly took advantage of the new market. In fact, newspapers within the county took every opportunity to remind citizens of the high esteem in which both California and Butte County wheat were held. The *Butte Record* ran an article from the *United States Gazette*, dated December 20, 1866, reviewing California wheat: “The flour is as beautiful as any ‘lilly white’ that does duty as a cosmetic.” The article continued: “Very certain it is that finer flour never was made in any country.”²¹ Another article published part of a letter written by a man from New York with similar praise: “My wife has tried the flour in biscuit, bread and cake, and finds it tip top. You may smile but I assure you money cannot buy such flour here.”²² Not to reserve all its good reviews for California wheat, the *Butte Record* also ran articles in praise of wheat raised in Butte County. One particular article stated that “If California is to be the granary of the world, Butte County will be the garden of the state.” Likewise, the *Chico Weekly Courant* ran several articles referring to the fine nature of both California and Butte county wheat. One article spoke

¹⁸ McGowan, 249; Michael J. Gillis and Michael F. Magliari, *John Bidwell and California: The Life and Writings of a Pioneer, 1841-1900* (Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2003), 135.

¹⁹ Ibid.; Worth noting is the job completed by headers during the wheat harvest. Proving inefficient on large wheat ranches, horse-drawn reapers were replaced by headers, which cut the stock inches below the kernel, from which they fell onto a revolving belt, which delivered them to a header wagon. Furthermore, the term “separator” refers to the steam-powered thresher. McGowan, 248-249.

²⁰ Gillis and Magliari, 135.

²¹ *Butte Record* (Oroville), 2 February 1867.

²² Ibid., 17 August 1867.

of Butte County: "...the rich and immense yield of grains from the soil, and the fine quality of wheat raised, should make this the garden spot of California."²³

With the British market opened and a large surplus on hand, 1867 production in Butte County flouring mills was in full swing. With thirteen flouring mills in Butte County, daily ads for the Chico Flour Mill and Butte Mills lined the papers.²⁴ Particularly mentioned by the *Butte Record* were the Orphir Mills:

These mills have been running to their fullest capacity since March 1st, and have got a supply of wheat on hand sufficient to keep them running until new wheat comes into market, which will be about the 25th of June. They are at the present executing a large order, destined for Philadelphia...the proprietors of those mills, have shipped within six weeks 200 tons of extra family flour, in part to Marysville, Sacramento and San Francisco, which, had it been shipped in one day would have required a train of 30 cars, with two locomotives...²⁵

The *Record* reported again in August that the Orphir Mills were running at "maximum speed," and "turning out one thousand sacks per day, with orders ahead for the next two months."²⁶ Priding themselves on the quality of the flour produced, the productivity of these mills shown as a bright spot for the community, with the *Butte Record* declaring: "This kind of institution has long been needed in this town [Oroville]."²⁷

Certainly, the opening of markets abroad is at the root of Butte County's wheat explosion, productivity, and reputation. California wheat, after leaving San Francisco found several markets abroad including America's Atlantic states. However, it was the English market that created such large-scale prosperity in the wheat trade. England's poor wheat production and the huge demand of the Liverpool market became common topics for local papers. In an article addressed to farmers, the *Butte Record* told them to wait for the highest market prices possible, assuring them that "England will have to buy 20,000,000 quarters (a quarter is a quarter of a ton, or eight bushels), of grain from somewhere..."²⁸ Another article informed readers of California wheat fetching a higher price than other wheat competing in the Liverpool market, claiming that fact as "evidence of its superior quality."²⁹ San Francisco, mentioned just as often as if not more than England, played a significant role serving as both a large domestic market and as middleman to the Liverpool market. Both the *Record* and *Courant* ran prices and changes in the San Francisco market regularly. In August of 1867 the *Courant* declared that Chico had been attracting San Francisco businessmen for the purpose of purchasing "wheat for shipment to foreign countries."³⁰ Talk of the amounts of wheat being shipped out proved common in the text of the *Record* and *Courant* as well. Both papers kept an eye the size of shipments leaving San

²³ *Chico Weekly Courant*, 23 August 1867.

²⁴ *Butte Record* (Oroville), 6 April 1867.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 18 May 1867.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 31 August 1867.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 18 May 1867.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 13 October 1866.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 26 January 1867.

³⁰ *Chico Weekly Courant*, 23 August 1867.

Francisco and especially those leaving Butte County. One article mentioned a one thousand ton shipment of wheat headed for Europe, adding, “The wheat was all raised in the vicinity of Chico...”³¹

While it is easy to focus fully on the San Francisco market and trade with England, the *Record* and *Courant* clearly suggest that local markets still played a major role. Consequently one finds mention of the Orphir Mills’ frantic pace, with orders from “Marysville, San Francisco, Downieville, La Porte, Howland Flat, Gibsonville, and Virginia City, and nearly every place that has wagon road or pack trail communication with this point of supply.”³² The *Courant* ran an article from the *Alameda Gazette*, dated July 6, that spoke of Yosemite receiving one thousand sacks of Butte County wheat.³³ Other trade is mentioned although wheat not specifically. However, as the *Record* points out “Oroville will be found one of the most accessible points for the center of an extensive mountain trade.”³⁴ In another article the *Record* supports ideas of wheat trade by speaking of mining around the valley increasing.³⁵ These circumstances are worth paying special attention to. It would stand to reason that with the roads leading to mountain communities going through Butte County and an increase in mining within those communities, not only would they rely on Butte County for wheat, but that their consumption would go up. Communities such as Downieville, La Porte, and Susanville lay in counties (Sierra, Plumas, and Lassen) of poor wheat production. Furthermore, all three counties supported saw mills with Sierra sawing over six million feet in 1867, and both Plumas and Sierra supporting quartz mills, with Plumas producing roughly ten percent of the entire states production of crushed quartz in 1867.³⁶ The Liverpool market certainly caused the explosion in Butte County wheat production, that seems safe to say. Without it Butte County’s production would not have had inflated the way it did. However, it is not a careless assertion to conclude that production would have remained healthy from its interaction with the local markets.

Transportation

The introduction of a foreign wheat market in 1867 presented Butte County with an interesting situation involving transportation. While Butte County served multiple markets, the transportation covered in this section will focus on the shipment of wheat to San Francisco because that was the market responsible for the county’s large increase in wheat production. The transcontinental railroad had not yet been completed, and Butte County had limited access to any railway. California was a state for twenty years before “rail connection was opened to the east” in 1869 and, by 1872, the new California and Oregon Railroad reached only fifty miles north of

³¹ Ibid., 5 April 1867.

³² *Butte Record* (Oroville), 10 August 1867.

³³ *Chico Weekly Courant*, 19 July 1867.

³⁴ *Butte Record* (Oroville), 4 May 1867.

³⁵ Ibid., 24 August 1867.

³⁶ California, Legislature, *Appendix*, 1870, 132,150,152.

Sacramento into the Sacramento Valley.³⁷ Butte County, still without any major rail service, continued to rely on limited railway, wagons, and primarily river steamboats.

Although a major railway would not be prominent in the Sacramento valley until 1872, the California Northern Railroad provided Butte County small-scale service via rail during the 1867 harvest. The California Northern ran from Oroville to Marysville in Yuba County. The line connected stages from the “Shasta, Oregon, Chico and Idaho, Quincy and Indian Valley and La Porte roads,” with steamboats capable of carrying freight up the Feather River to Marysville.³⁸ Certainly, the California Northern provided a service to mountain communities and had the potential to provide significant aid to Butte County wheat farmers by supplying transportation to a town that had easy river access.

The other option provided for getting wheat to market was direct business with steamship companies. Despite the continual “silting” and deposit of “debris” caused by mining and the increased difficulty of navigation, access of the upper Sacramento River was possible as far as Red Bluff as well as to Oroville via the Feather River.³⁹ Butte County had access to the route to Red Bluff through Chico Landing, a navigable stop in Butte County on the Sacramento, which ran on the west side of the county. Butte County papers, well aware of steamships’ ability to navigate these two rivers continually ran ads for the California Steam Navigation Company, which offered transportation for both passengers and freight and ran from Sacramento to Red Bluff with “intermediate landings.”⁴⁰ One particular article spoke of increased river traffic due to the growing amounts of wheat: “In order to afford conveyance to the enormous quantities of grain on the upper Sacramento river, the California Steam Navigation Company have put on additional boats.”⁴¹ Navigable water proved a necessity to the transportation of Butte County wheat in 1867. Even with use of the California Northern Railroad, freight found the ride by rail short and introduction to a steamer imminent.

Regardless of the route Butte County wheat took to get to market, the most daunting challenge for wheat farmers was moving the wheat or flour by wagon to a point in which the freight could be shipped to other markets. Access to the Sacramento River and Oroville could be challenging for smaller farmers who lived in northern, eastern, or inland areas of the county. For larger farming and grain operations the difficulty of the task, would logically, seem not to be as challenging given their freedom from the cost effects of shipping. Interestingly enough, it is the middleman that may have helped small farmers get their wheat to market as well as provided

³⁷ John M. White, “The Railroad Reaches California: Men, Machines, and Cultural Migration,” *California Historical Quarterly* 52 (Summer 1973): 136; Lawrence J. Jelinek, *Harvest Empire: A History of California Agriculture* (San Francisco: Boyd and Fraser Publishing Company, 1979), 34; Jelinek, “Property of Every Kind,” 243; Paul, “The Wheat Trade,” 397.

³⁸ *Butte Record* (Oroville), 5 April 1867.

³⁹ Joseph F. McGie, *History of Butte County* vol. 1, 1840-1919 (Butte County, Ca.: Butte County Board of Education, 1982), 98; Michael F. Magliari, “Populism, Steamboats, and the Octopus: Transportation Rates and Monopoly in California’s Wheat Regions, 1890-1896,” *Pacific Historical Review* 58 (November 1989): 455; *Butte Record* (Oroville), 2 February 1867.

⁴⁰ *Chico Weekly Courant*, 6 September 1867.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 2 August 1867.

service to larger farmers in 1867. Options presented themselves to sell wheat within the county to mills and private businessmen for money.⁴² Different entrepreneurs forming partnerships for the purchase of wheat, ran ads weekly with titles like, “Gold for Wheat,” and offered to pay the “highest prices” and “in cash.”⁴³ Money making partnerships and the option to sell to mills might have provided the only opportunity available for small farmers unable to pay the cost of transportation. The utilization of the middleman most likely served all practical purposes of larger farmers as well. On large quantities of wheat, a lesser price than that received at larger markets may have proved worthwhile for large farmers, who could then cut transportation costs, as well as the hassle of loading and moving massive amounts.

Land Holding

In California, large land holdings or monopolies seemed to be a common theme around 1867. Indeed, not only did monopoly present itself in the 1860s but predates it. It would become a common theme of California Agriculture throughout its history into current times. Paul W. Gates contended that Mexican land claims “were the well-spring of monopoly,” with the United states confirming 8,850,143 acres of those claims, or roughly nine percent of the state.⁴⁴ Following the issue of the repercussions of Mexican land claims on monopoly, remained unlike other states; the fact that California did a poor job of establishing a state agency to administer the selling and surveying of public lands. During the 1860s the unorganized nature of California’s enforcement of land laws led to eight million acres of public land being passed into private ownership and the allowance of land set aside for settlers for the creation of 50,000 farms of 160 acres, to lead instead to the creation of only 7,008. Gilbert C. Fite sums up the occurrence of these problems nicely when he referenced the State Agricultural Society, and their recognition that despite the natural advantages of California agriculture, the state had a deficient number of farmers.⁴⁵ Gates even goes so far as to declare:

Prominent Californians seemed determined to bring about the greatest possible concentration of land in large ownership and bent their energies to shape state and federal legislation to contribute to that end, while paying lip service to the small-family-farm concept.⁴⁶

The reputation of California being a place in which the poor pioneer could find success and opportunity seemed an illusion in the 1860s and 1870s. Much of the good government land set aside for disbursement had been mismanaged and gobbled up by large proprietors.⁴⁷ The 1860 census shows that within the twenty-four counties in Northern California (Butte included), that

⁴² *Butte Record* (Oroville), 26 October 1867.

⁴³ *Chico Weekly Courant*, 2 August 1867.

⁴⁴ Donald J. Pisani, “Land Monopoly in Nineteenth Century California,” *Agricultural History* 65 (Autumn 1991): 19; Paul W. Gates, “Public Land Disposal in California,” *Agricultural History* 49 (January 1975): 159.

⁴⁵ Jelinek, *Harvest Empire*, 28; Gilbert Fite, *The Farmers’ Frontier, 1865-1900* (New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston, 1966), 162.

⁴⁶ Gates, 160.

⁴⁷ Fite, *The Farmers’ Frontier*, 163.

the wealthiest one percent of white males over twenty owned 28.9 percent of real and personal property.⁴⁸

Butte County proved an exemplary case of large land holding with little opportunity for entry into the market. Drawing data from the 1860 census, Robert A. Burchell labeled Butte County an “extreme regional” case. His findings showed only 24.4 percent of white males claimed ownership of real and personal estates, leaving seventy-five percent of its white, male population without ownership or property of any kind. However, in 1867, Butte County’s wealthiest one percent had only been asked for 19.6 percent of taxes. This statistic could point to the possibility that although concentration of land was reserved for the few, those who did own, resided in an area where ownership presented a good opportunity for financial success.⁴⁹ As early as 1850 an assessor in Yolo County, a large wheat producer in 1867, “estimated that ten of the hundred taxable persons-out of a population of perhaps 1,000 white adult males-owned 59.3 of taxable wealth.”⁵⁰ Although the opportunity for landholders would change, with one percent making up 43.5 percent of taxable assets by 1876, the early stages of the Bonanza Wheat Era seem to have been prosperous for Butte County landholders. Unfortunately, rising land value in Butte County during the 1860’s most likely made it hard to purchase land in hopes of tapping into the wheat industry. While landholders became increasingly wealthy from the rising value of their holdings, establishing oneself or a farm in this era in Butte County seems to have been near impossible.⁵¹

1867 Butte County Wheat Harvest

Butte County has proven through its 1867 wheat harvest to provide an excellent window from which the county and the state of California can be observed during the beginning stages of the Bonanza Wheat Era. Just as other areas of California, Butte County exemplified sharp increase of production, the utilization of the foreign market for that growth, alternative modes of transportation in the absence of the railroad, and lack of opportunity for small farmers within the system. While the era when wheat was gold would last little more than thirty years, its effect on California agriculture would prove more far reaching, and certainly Butte County left its mark on this unique episode in agricultural history.

⁴⁸ Robert A. Berchell, “Opportunity and the Frontier: Wealth Holding in Twenty-Six Northern California Counties, 1848-1880,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 18 (April 1987): 180.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 180-181, 187. Burchell does acknowledge the fact that tax records for Butte County are incomplete.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 185-186; California, Legislature, *Appendix*, 1870, 132.

⁵¹ Ibid., 187. To add to the 1876 statistic, John Parrott, O.C. Pratt, G.W. Gridley, C.W. Wilson, D. M. Reavis, Henry Gerke, and John Bidwell were assessed for 22.2 percent and the Spring Valley Mining and Irrigation Company for another 12.8 percent, offering further proof of land concentration in Butte County.

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An Overzealous Argument: R.A Reiss' Account of Austro-Hungarian Atrocities Committed Against the Kingdom of Serbia in 1914

Christopher Lasley

Investigation into Austro-Hungarian conduct, during their campaign of 1914, against the Kingdom of Serbia has not progressed since the conclusion of World War One. The Serbian Government commissioned the only report, which alleged atrocities were committed against Serbia's people. The report, by R. A. Reiss, concluded that the Austro-Hungarian Army "methodically carried out a mission of extermination, and the butchery of children, women and old men."¹ Unfortunately, Reiss's official report of atrocities failed to provide the evidence needed in order to support his conclusion. The report was politically motivated, and deceptively written; ignoring all counterevidence. Despite this, the report has remained to this day the definitive, and unquestioned account of atrocities against the Serbian people.

Modern Historians of the First World War can be placed into two camps regarding Serbia; those who simply regurgitate Reiss's findings, and those who avoid the matter altogether. Hew Strachan's *The First World War*, falls into the first camp. Strachan, in his brief synopsis of the Serbian front, relied solely on Reiss's findings. Unlike Strachan, the vast majority of historians avoid the claims entirely. Current publications focus on the military aspects of the war and attempt neither to deny, nor support Reiss. A need has been created for the claims to be compared with other contemporary accounts, in order to determine their validity.

Before evaluating the individual claims that Reiss charged we must first examine the desperate state in which Serbia found herself, prior to the Great War's outbreak. The last thing Serbia needed in early 1914 was another war. The First and Second Balkan Wars (1912-1913) had forced the Serbian government to spend three times its entire national budget exclusively on the military in 1912. The wars nearly doubled the size of Serbia, as it gained Macedonia. Unfortunately agriculture, and industry were left devastated. Though the most irreplaceable loss was that of human lives. This left Serbia ill prepared to handle another war.²

One month prior to Reiss's arrival in Serbia, Europe was descending into the chaos of the First World War. Austria-Hungary declared war against Serbia on July 28th. Transportation problems delayed the army's advance until August 12th. The Serbian Army roughly matched the size of the Austro-Hungarians, man for man (350,000), though more than half of the Serbians over the age of 31, and it wasn't uncommon for a man in his late 50's or early 60's to serve. The Serbians also lacked the most basic of equipment. Some soldiers entered battle with forty-year-old black powder rifles. Despite massive logistical problems, Serbia held the advantage of an

¹ R. A. Reiss, *Report: Upon the Atrocities Committed by The Austro-Hungarian Army During The First Invasion of Serbia* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co, 1916), 145.

² James M. B. Lyon, "A Peasant Mob: The Serbian Army on the Eve of the Great War," *The Journal of Military History* 61 no. 3 (1997): 483.

experienced army, and possessed the superior leadership of General Radomir Putnik, the mastermind behind Serbia's victories in the Balkan Wars. Through a series of successful battles, many of which caught the invaders by complete surprise, Serbia ejected the Austro-Hungarians from Serbian soil on August 24th; a mere twelve days after the first Austrian troops crossed the border.³

Serbia's August victory would later be described as "among the major upset victories of the last century."⁴ The invasion ended in a masterful victory for Serbia, and an embarrassment for Austria-Hungary. Despite the crushing victory, Serbia claimed that the invaders had attempted to not only annihilate the nation of Serbia, but her people along with it. The first outcries of genocide were heard amidst the cheers of victory on August 24th. First published in France, the official complaint was then reprinted in the *London Times* on the 29th. The complaint was titled "Barbary of Austria Hungary" which claimed that the official policy of the Austro-Hungarian Army had been to destroy homes, kill civilians including; women, children, and old men.⁵

Within a few days of the publication, Serbia invited Dr. Rudolph A. Reiss, a Swiss professor of criminology, to immediately travel to Serbia, and investigate the claims himself. Reiss's own written reaction, at first, was that he "was not convinced"⁶ by the charges. Reiss was either promoting the illusion that his investigation would levy the burden of proof upon the accusers, as his role demanded, or Reiss legitimately understood the possibility that Serbia could be overplaying the entire event as a tool of propaganda. Serbia in fact had a reputation in Europe for creating and spreading information that was blatant propaganda. Serbian children, from 1907 on, were being taught with geography textbooks claiming that Bosnia, and Croatia belonged to Serbia, but that currently those lands were occupied by the aggressive and tyrannical foreign power of Austria-Hungary. De-propagandizing textbooks had in fact been one of Austria-Hungary's demands upon Serbia before the declaration of war.⁷

Reiss arrived in Serbia in early September and investigated during, Austria-Hungary's second attempt to conquer the tiny nation of Serbia. Reiss investigated every claim the Serbian Government purported. He was led around Serbia by members of the government and based his conclusions on witnesses and evidence supplied by the state. By December Reiss had completed his investigation. His final report contained four major arguments. The use of explosive and

³ John R. Schindler, "Disaster on the Drina: The Austro-Hungarian Army in Serbia, 1914," *War in History* 9 no. 2 (2002): 170-174.

⁴ John R. Schindler, "Disaster on the Drina: The Austro-Hungarian Army in Serbia, 1914," *War in History* 9 no. 2 (2002): 159.

⁵ "Barbary of Austrian Troops: Servian Protest," *The Times of London*, August 29th, 1914, Late War Edition.

⁶ R. A. Reiss, *How Austria-Hungary Waged War in Serbia: Personal Investigations of a Neutral* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1915), 4.

⁷ Charles Jelavich, "The Issue of Serbian Textbooks in the Origins of World War I," *Slavic Review* 48, no. 2 (1989): 214-215.

dum-dum bullets, the shelling of cities, deliberate targeting of hospitals, and the killing of civilians.

Reiss began his report with what is arguably the most damning point in the entire case against Austria-Hungary, the use of dum-dum, and explosive bullets. Both types of bullets are designed to flower, expand, or fragment as it enters a victim. Explosive and dum-dum bullets were first developed by the United States during the Civil War. The explosive bullets resembled standard issue rounds, with the exception of a ring in the center where the two halves of lead were joined after being filled with black powder and an explosive primer.⁸ Shortly after invention, they were banned, first in 1868 as part of the *St. Petersburg Declaration*, and later in the *Hague Conventions* (1899, 1907). The leaders of Europe Banned their use, understandings how unnecessarily damaging these rounds were to the human body.⁹ The wound inflicted by a standard round to an extremity would end a soldier's contribution to the war, but they would be left with a good chance of recovering. That same wound became a nearly guaranteed death sentence either by blood loss, or massive infection if a dum-dum, or exploding bullet inflicted it.

The Serbian Army had both explosive, and dum-dum bullets used against it. This fact definitively makes the Austro-Hungarian leadership guilty of committing war crimes. Though the use of a banned weapon on an enemy solider doesn't support Reiss's original claim that Austria-Hungary was out to slaughter the Serbian populace. Perhaps Reiss was considering the bigger picture of racism in military tactics. European nations at the beginning of the Twentieth Century fought wars in Europe differently from those in their foreign colonies. Europeans created larger caliber weapons, and more destructive bullets intended solely for "non-European antagonists."¹⁰ This alludes that Austria-Hungary considered itself fighting a war to quell a lesser people, and not wishing commit genocide in Serbia. Therefore, even this interpretation fails to qualify Reiss's argument.

The facts provided, by Reiss, regarding contraband ammunition must be put into perspective. Reiss's argument, regarding dum-dum and explosive bullets, is that the weapons were introduced during Austria-Hungary's second invasion, in September.¹¹ Reiss, contradicted himself, in a different publication, by stating that explosive and dum-dum bullets weren't being used until December.¹² Not mentioning in his report that Austria-Hungary spent the month of December fleeing Serbia, after the second failed attempt to capture Serbia. Interestingly, the first

⁸ R. A. Reiss, *Report: Upon the Atrocities Committed by The Austro-Hungarian Army During The First Invasion of Serbia* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co, 1916), 2-4.

⁹ Detlev F. Vagts, "The Hague Conventions and Arms Control," *The American Journal of International Law* 94 no. 1 (2000): 33-34.

¹⁰ Detlev F. Vagts, "The Hague Conventions and Arms Control," *The American Journal of International Law* 94 no. 1 (2000): 35.

¹¹ R. A. Reiss, *Report: Upon the Atrocities Committed by The Austro-Hungarian Army During The First Invasion of Serbia* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co, 1916), 13.

¹² R. A. Reiss, *How Austria-Hungary Waged War in Serbia: Personal Investigations of a Neutral* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1915), 8.

protest against the use of dum-dum bullets was Germany protesting against France and England's use against German troops.¹³ The most important thing that Reiss failed to mention is that Austria-Hungary wasn't a signer of the *Hague Convention* of 1907.¹⁴ The Austrians lacked a formal agreement with the rest of Europe, as to what the rules of war included. Therefore, the use of dum-dum and explosive bullets is more telling of Austro-Hungarian war strategy, than of Reiss's conclusion of genocide.

The shelling of cities was also banned by international treaty. Reiss believed that the bombing of the Serbian capital, Belgrade, furthered his argument that genocide had been attempted. He specifically argued that the destruction of civilian homes had been a military goal of the Austro-Hungarians. Reiss traveled to Belgrade, in October. Toward the end of a 36-day, unrelenting, artillery siege. The pictures provided by Reiss clearly show the destruction inflicted to the ancient cit. The artillery bombardment left Belgrade looking less like a city, and more like a rubble pile.¹⁵

Though the city of Belgrade was left in ruin, civilian homes were not the aim of Austrian artillery. Though Reiss's description of the length and magnitude of shelling is consistent with accounts of tactics used by the Central Powers during the third (and successful) attempt to conquer Serbia.¹⁶ Reiss was correct on that account, but his statistics fail to match his conclusions. For as many artillery shells that could be fired in a 36-day siege, the number of homes destroyed was astonishingly low, only 640.¹⁷ This number is more consistent with collateral damage than with deliberate shelling.

Reiss continued his thesis that civilians were the targets of shelling, by arguing that hospitals had been military targets of the Austro-Hungarian Army. He offered no other explanation as to why Austria-Hungary targeted hospitals other than his belief that they wanted to exterminate the people of Serbia.¹⁸ Reiss failed to mention that hospitals were set up in factories. Serbia was war ravaged before World War One, and was forced to make the most out of whatever facilities it did possess, occasionally this meant setting up a hospital inside a working munitions factory.¹⁹ Reiss also failed to mention that when the Austro-Hungarians attacked Belgrade, the Serbian Army entrenched themselves outside the walls of a military hospital,

¹³ "Dum-Dum Bullets: Kaiser's Charge Against The Allies," *The Times of London*, September 10th, 1914, Late War Edition.

¹⁴ Hew Strachan, *The First World War* (New York: Penguin Books, 2004), 27.

¹⁵ R. A. Reiss, *How Austria-Hungary Waged War in Serbia: Personal Investigations of a Neutral* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1915), 11.

¹⁶ "Nurse's Adventures in Serbia: Wounded in Siege of Belgrade," *The Times of London*, November 5th, 1915, Late War Edition.

¹⁷ R. A. Reiss, *How Austria-Hungary Waged War in Serbia: Personal Investigations of a Neutral* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1915), 11.

¹⁸ R. A. Reiss, *Report: Upon the Atrocities Committed by The Austro-Hungarian Army During The First Invasion of Serbia* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co, 1916), 18.

¹⁹ M.I. Tatham, *Memoirs & Diaries: The Great Retreat in Serbia in 1915* (1915), (April 2007), www.firstworldwar.com.

forcing the closure of a few wards due to shrapnel and stray bullet fire.²⁰ Also, many of the doctors and nurses working in Belgrade were American Red Cross volunteers. Some of which published their war experiences in which none suggested that the Austro-Hungarian Army deliberately targeted hospitals.

The Austro-Hungarian military didn't target hospitals, but soldiers may have deliberately killed Serbian citizens. Reiss argues that the Austro-Hungarian goal was to "destroy everything Serbian".²¹ Modern historians believe that the military goal was not genocide but rather to "avenge a humiliation and remove a tiresome threat."²² Austria-Hungary never published a diplomatic document that either supported or contended with Reiss's charges. The Austrian statement on the issue of war crimes and genocide was simply that a deceitful enemy invented the accusations, and that in fact the Serbians were grateful for the way in which they have been treated by the invaders.²³ Reiss devoted the largest portion of his report to documenting the massacre of civilians. Estimating that the total number of civilian deaths ranged from 3500 to 4000. Reiss believed that the worst of the killings came while Austria was retreating out of Serbia. Revealing the hatred of the Austro-Hungarians toward the Serbians.²⁴

Reiss's estimate of 4000 civilian deaths is a terrible number, but there are crucial problems with it. Reiss concluded that this number supported his claim that Austria-Hungary slaughtered women, children, and old men. Here it becomes extremely important to examine the fine details that Reiss provided. The deaths were presented in a chart, which was categorized by gender and individual age. Old men: 182 deaths, boys age twelve and under: 62, women of all ages 293. These numbers account for only 537 deaths. The remaining 3,463 had been men of army service age.²⁵ The Austro-Hungarians had to be vigilant of anyone who was old enough to lift a rifle, and young enough to handle a day's march. Since only men between the ages of 18 and 31 were issued a uniform, and even then that might only consist of a hat, or a jacket.²⁶

The issue with Serbian uniforms, and the overwhelming proportion of dead consisting of army-aged men, counters Reiss's argument. Though this fails to explain the deaths of women, children, and old men. Reiss believed that the deaths were the military policy of the Austro-Hungarian government. More correctly the deaths were the product of a mismanaged army.

²⁰ Agnes Gardner, "American Red Cross Work in Serbia," *The American Journal of Nursing* 16, no. 1 (1915): 37-38.

²¹ R. A. Reiss, *Report: Upon the Atrocities Committed by The Austro-Hungarian Army During The First Invasion of Serbia* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co, 1916), 38.

²² Charles Fryer, *The Royal Navy on the Danube* (New York: Columbia University Pres, 1988), 123.

²³ R. A. Reiss, *The Kingdom of Serbia: Infringements of the Rules and Laws of War Committed by the Austro-Bulgarian-Germans; Letters of a Criminologist on the Serbian Macedonian front* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1919), 73.

²⁴ R. A. Reiss, *Report: Upon the Atrocities Committed by The Austro-Hungarian Army During The First Invasion of Serbia* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co, 1916), 142.

²⁵ R. A. Reiss, *Report: Upon the Atrocities Committed by The Austro-Hungarian Army During The First Invasion of Serbia* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co, 1916), 136-141.

²⁶ James M. B. Lyon, "A Peasant Mob: The Serbian Army on the Eve of the Great War," *The Journal of Military History* 61 no. 3 (1997): 489.

Austria-Hungary's two consecutive defeats, in 1914, were in large part due to poor leadership of soldiers by Austrian junior officers who frequently were ignorant, as to where their soldier were, or what they were doing.²⁷ Coupled with this were terrible supply issues, which the Austro-Hungarian Army was plagued with.

Austria-Hungary's second invasion, in September, started off successfully. Serbia was depleted of small arms, and artillery ammunition. Forcing the Serbians to fall back rapidly into the interior of their nation. Closely behind, the Austro-Hungarians gave chase at a speed that exceeded their ability to transport supplies. The invading army's leadership, fearing mutiny, gave their soldiers a few days to rest and allow for food and supplies to arrive. Fate intervened for the Serbians, as the French arrived with fresh supplies and artillery. Thus the tide was turned, and the belligerents were chased from Serbian lands for the second time in four months.²⁸ While the Austro-Hungarian Army was dealing with food shortages, individual soldiers took matters into their own hands. Serbian homes were raided by malnourished Austro-Hungarian troops acting on their own behalf, killing women who tried to bar them from taking what little food they had.²⁹

Though Reiss's argument of genocide has been ruled out, there was indeed ethnic animosity toward the Serbians. The Austro-Hungarians believed they were the racial superiors of all Balkan nationalities, Serbia included.³⁰ The belief in ethnic superiority, motivated the Austro-Hungarians to try and control the Serbians in the same manner that they controlled various other nationalities. The Austro-Hungarian Empire would be acting against its own interests by committing genocide on a nation that they wished to rule. Doing so would in turn destabilize control over their smaller nationalities, like the Czechs.

Reiss's conclusion that Austria Hungary "methodically carried out a mission of extermination, and the butchery of children, women and old men"³¹ was formulated based on evidence supplied by the Serbian government. The report deliberately ignored all counterevidence. Reiss offered no explanation for atrocities other than being a premeditative plan of extermination. The Austro-Hungarian government did use banned weapons. They bombed cities, and civilians were killed at the hands of Austro-Hungarian soldiers. Though these events did indeed occur, it was R.A. Reiss who manipulated and misinterpreted the facts in order to create a tool of propaganda for the Serbian government.

²⁷ John R. Schindler, "Disaster on the Drina: The Austro-Hungarian Army in Serbia, 1914," *War in History* 9 no. 2 (2002): 173.

²⁸ John R. Schindler, "Disaster on the Drina: The Austro-Hungarian Army in Serbia, 1914," *War in History* 9 no. 2 (2002): 174-189.

²⁹ R. A. Reiss, *Report: Upon the Atrocities Committed by The Austro-Hungarian Army During The First Invasion of Serbia* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co, 1916), 120.

³⁰ Erich von Falkenhayn, "The Fall of Serbia" (1915), (April 2007) www.firstworldwar.com.

³¹ R. A. Reiss, *Report: Upon the Atrocities Committed by The Austro-Hungarian Army During The First Invasion of Serbia* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co, 1916), 145.

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The Role of Women in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam

By Lindsey Shirah

The religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam have acted as perhaps the most powerful forces shaping the societies and cultures in the Western and Middle Eastern Worlds. The ideals and practices of these ethically monotheistic religions have contributed to the formation and evolution of cultural and ideological practices that have influenced history as well as contemporary society. The perceived role of women within these organized religious and social movements has thus greatly influenced, and in some cases, dictated the treatment and perception of women within numerous prevalent societies. In this paper, I will exam the evolution of the roles and perceptions of women within Judaism, Christianity and Islam in their formative stages. I will first examine the depiction of women in each of the religions' prospective sacred texts, emphasizing the portrayals of female figures as well as the female role in early church development. I will secondly examine the supplemental religious texts and their interpretations of the original scriptures. From there I will consider the mutual impacts of the religion and its prospective social environment on the formative role of women within the organized faith and its community.

I. DEPICTION OF WOMEN IN THE SCRIPTURES OF JUDAISM, CHRISTIANITY & ISLAM AND THEIR ROLE IN EARLY CHURCH DEVELOPMENT

Hebrew theology traces the beginnings of Judaism back nearly four thousand years to the story of Abraham, the first Hebrew to receive a revelation from God (Renard, 65). Believed to have been composed over a period of a thousand years, the Jewish sacred texts are known variously as the Torah, the Pentateuch, or the Five Books of Moses (Renard, 66). Judaism has served as a minority religion for a greater part of its existence, its exilic experiences shaping the Jewish self-perception as members of both a religion as well as an ethnic group. Judaism's foundations are based on the central belief that the Jews serve as God's chosen people. The Jewish in turn share a covenant with God in which they must serve as an example to humanity by living morally as well as both serving and suffering the trials of Yahweh, or God (Smith, 307). God is traditionally portrayed as a male figure communicating to male human figures the revelations that establish the Jewish faith (Young, 526). Judaism has often been regarded as one of the most patriarchal religions consequent of the exclusion of females from many of its traditional practices (Young, 526). In spite of this fact, however, women have indeed played key roles within the Jewish belief system.

Examining the depiction of women in Jewish sacred text requires analysis of the first book of the Hebrew Bible. The first depiction of women occurs in the second book of Genesis's account of the Fall of Mankind. In his book, *Women in Judaism: The Status of Women in Formative Judaism*, Leonard Swidler argues that within the Bible there exists two significant female traditions. According to Swidler, the first tradition depicts woman as equal to man. After

the occurrence of The Fall, however, the second and lasting female tradition takes root, depicting woman as subject to man (Swidler, 25). Swidler examines the sequence of God's creations in Genesis beginning with Man, Adam, the Garden of Eden, the animals and lastly Woman, Eve (Genesis 2:18-25) Swidler asserts that the fact that woman is created last by no means attests to her lack of importance. The all-knowing essence of the Hebrew God insists upon Eve's creation as the final perfecting element to humanity (Swidler, 27).

Genesis goes on to depict Eve's submission to temptation and the subsequent Fall of Mankind. Eve comes to represent a woman dominated now by sexual desire as well as the desires of her husband, and thus must live with the pains of pregnancy accompanied with the curse of the Fall of Mankind (Swidler, 27). From a historical perspective, the author of Genesis stands fully aware that the society from which he writes is far from Eden and that the contemporary role of women is no longer one of perfection. The story acknowledges the state of the current world as well as retains a sense of longing to the return to Paradise (Swidler, 28). Swidler writes that within Hebrew biblical text:

There were two traditions about woman. The one corresponded to the order of society, in which woman, though protected by many laws, was inferior to man.

The other echoed the legends of the origins as recorded in the Yahwist text: originally, woman was the higher and better part of mankind (Swidler, 28).

According to Swidler's analysis, we can see the influence of these diverse traditions within Hebrew society to this day. Thus, Judaism's first depiction of women within the sacred text proves a formative one.

The occurrence of the Exodus and the subsequent revelation at Mount Sinai serve as the pivotal foundations upon which Jewish belief in God and the covenant are based (Smith, 306-307). According to rabbinic literature, the Jewish Biblical text and oral tradition were transmitted at Mount Sinai. The Torah and other Jewish literature account women as being present throughout this monumental occurrence in the Jewish faith, and thus were included in God's covenant (Young, 526). However, the Ten Commandments are perceived as addressed to men, and through men to women, establishing the gender moral foundations of Judaism (Young, p. 529). According to the Covenant ratified in the Bible, Jews are obligated to fulfill the mitzvoth, or divine commandments in return for God's care of the Jewish people (Young, 526). Although women were present at the revealing of the Torah, only men are obliged to observe all of the mitzvoth, leaving women as secondary figures within the religion (Young, p.526). Interpretations of the oral tradition were recorded and systemized in the Talmud, including much of the *Halakah* (Renard, p.69). *Halakah*, the Jewish legal system, emerged with the rabbinic age and established women's unequal obligation to perform mitzvoth, either exempting or excluding women from certain practices (Ross, p. 11-16). However, new scholarship suggests that women played a formative role within Judaism in spite of these perceptual inequalities.

Recent study has revealed that traditions besides those set forth in the Bible and Talmud both existed and were prevalent during the influential years of the established Jewish faith. Although traditionally viewed as purely monotheistic, new evidence suggests that syncretistic worship of goddess figures and pagan deities along with the God of Israel continued long into the eighth century B.C.E. (Young, 526). In spite of the fact that women were prohibited from serving as Temple priests in ancient Israel, women were widely accepted as charismatic leaders, judges, prophets and substantial monarchs (Young, 527). Many important Jewish practices developed during the period of the Second Temple, including those regarding female participants. During this time women were excluded from leadership of the Sadducees, a hereditary Temple priesthood as well as the monastic group the Essenes at Qumran. However, some women did indeed achieve prominence among the interpreting scribes of the Bible, the Pharisees. The teachings and Biblical interpretation of some of these women are even included in the canonical texts, the Mishnah and Talmud (Young, 527). Thus, new studies have revealed a more dominant and influential female role within the formative stages of Judaism, deconstructing the purely patriarchal reputation of the Jewish faith.

Christianity began with the teachings of Jesus and spread into a vast missionary movement that would eventually grow to become the world's most widespread religious faith (Renard, 125). Collectively called the New Testament, Christian scriptures are traditionally believed to be human authored and divinely inspired (Renard, 130). Although Christianity went on to accept the divine revelations of the Hebrew Bible, it alleged that the Jewish covenant with God had been superceded by the divine-human relationship embodied in Jesus Christ. Disregarding this ancient Jewish law, Christian teachings began to highlight that a balance of grace and actions served as the true connection to God in Christ, all the while building from the theological foundations of the Hebrew Old Testament (Renard, 131). Thus to analyze the role of women within the establishing Christian faith, one must go back to the first accepted female depiction in the second book of Genesis.

Early Christian theologians interpreted the Old Testament's account of Eve as the bearer of blame for the Fall of Mankind and the subsequent sin and disaster that followed (Heine, 17). The Bible depicts Eve as an individual who was deceived and in turn acted to deceive, thus creating a figure of theological disobedience (Miller, 289-90). Timothy 2:11-15 of the New Testament states:

11 Let a woman learn in silence with all submissiveness...13 For Adam was formed first, then Eve; 14 and Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor. 15 Yet woman will be saved through bearing children, if she continues in faith and love and holiness, with modesty (Timothy 2:11-15)

The traditional perception of the female sex as the “daughters” of Eve created a powerful and lasting Christian image. Eve’s mistake in the second book of Genesis thus provides early

Christian theology with an image of human sin as well as served to establish a justification for viewing women as secondary and submissive to men (Miller, 289). Eve as a representation of “woman” thus stands as the basis to which women were denied equal institutional status within the establishing Christian Church. The Christian church, however, went on to highlight and ultimately emulate the female image of the Eve arch-type in their depiction of the Virgin Mary.

Beginning in the second century of the Common Era, the Pauline depiction of Jesus as the “second Adam” redeeming the paradise lost in Genesis became increasingly emphasized. Mary, mother of Jesus, was thus presented as the opposite of Eve, ultimately recovering what Eve had destroyed in her act of sin (Miller, 289). In her book *Women in Early Christianity*, Patricia Cox Miller suggests that in seeking to understand the meaning of the life of Jesus, Christian theologians began to look at Christianity as the “fulfillment of the promises and prophecies of the Old Testament” (Miller, 291). Written around 135 C.E., Christian apologist, teacher, and Philosopher Justin Martyr wrote:

Christ became man by the virgin, in order that the disobedience that proceeded from the serpent might be destroyed in the same manner in which it had its origin. For Eve, who was a virgin and defiled, having conceived the word of the serpent, brought forth disobedience and death. But the Virgin Mary received faith and joy when the angel Gabriel announced to her the good news...And by her has Christ been born...and by whom God destroys the serpent... (Miller, 291.)

Thus Mary is perceived as the saving opposition to the cause of destruction represented by the Biblical depiction of Eve. In 431 CE, the Council of Ephesus moved to officially grant the title of *Theotokos*, or “God-bearer,” to Mary. Early Christian theology thus emphasizes Mary’s motherhood as highly significant in the history of human salvation (Cox, 291). It is also through the Gospels’ depiction of Jesus’ relationship with his mother that suggests his own attitudes toward women (Ide, p.33).

As the central figure of Christianity, Jesus serves as a model to his followers. Attempts to discern Jesus’ attitude toward women have mostly centered on contrasting the Gospels with highly negative accounts of the roles of women in Judaism (Young, 156). Uncommon of many Jewish sons of the period, all accounts depict Jesus as showing the utmost respect for his mother (Ide, 21). The Gospels and acts also portray an active participation of women within Jesus’ movement. Matthew, Luke and Mark all mention women traveling with Jesus as he preached, attesting to their active role in the spreading of the original Christian teachings. The Gospels also account that women were among the first to encounter Jesus after he is resurrected, arguing their significance as followers and children of God (Young, 156). Women are portrayed as being among those healed by Jesus and are frequently mentioned in his parables (Young, 156). Arthur Fredrick Ide suggests in his book, *The Teachings of Jesus on Women*, such depictions illustrate that “Jesus had no fear of women. Women were not vile and corrupting...Women had value,

purpose, dignity, and rights-on par with men” (Ide, 23). However, subsequent to the Gospels’ accounts of Jesus, the New Testament’s depictions of women tended to vary.

Paul’s undisputed letters of the New Testament depict a prevalent female role in Christianity’s beginnings (Young, 155). Paul refers to one woman, Junia, in Romans 16:7 as an apostle, and many others as missionary “laborers” and “co-workers” (Young, 155). Women are also depicted in Corinthians as Prophets and even as holders of leadership roles. Such female leadership positions, however, were perhaps obtainable by the early communities’ practice of meeting in houses where women possessed more authority. The Galatians 3:28 statement that “there is no ‘male and female,’” supports the presence of the idea of female leadership and communal tradition to at least an extent (Young, 155). However, other Paul and Deutero-Pauline letters include contradicting statements regarding women that ultimately undermine the idea of egalitarian roles of the sexes within the early Church (Young, 158).

The New Testament also includes numerous misogynistic depictions of women. Statements made in Corinthians 11:2-16 move to enforce the gender distinctions of Genesis through the mandatory wearing of head coverings on women. Thessalonians portrays a male dominated picture of marriage and Corinthians 7 even goes on to endorse both marriage and celibacy in misogynous ways that identify women with sex (Young, 155). Corinthians 14:34-35 requires that women be silent in assembly. The interpreters of Paul, whose works are known as the Deutero-Pauline Letters, are thought to have authored Colossians, Ephesians, 1 Timothy and 1 Peter in the New Testament. These writings insist upon the submission of women to their husbands and also highlight women’s salvation as dependent on childbearing and rearing, highlighting the accommodation of Christianity into the imperial Roman concept of “family values” (Young, 156). Thus, the roles of women became increasingly restricted through the canonization process of the New Testament, contributing a lasting influence on the female position in the Christian church.

The religion of Islam accepts Judaism and Christianity as part of its history (Renard, 187). Islam asserts that God sent the Prophet Mohammed in approximately 610CE to reveal His complete message to humans and correct the misinterpretations of the earlier divine revelations given through the prophets of Judaism and Christianity (Young, 488). Islam thus stands as a culmination of the monotheistic tradition, its sacred scripture, the Qur'an, even recounting the Biblical stories of Judaism and Christianity. Through Mohammed, the Qur'an revealed God’s will that humanity create a just and equal society for all human beings, encouraging humankind to submit to the will of God (Young, 488). With an emphasis on social reform, teachings in the Qur'an highlight human equality and the dignity of women more than any other religious text (Young, 488). However, to first examine the comparative role of women in Islam, one must look to the Qur'an’s account of humankind’s expulsion from the Garden of Eden.

The Qur'an's telling of the Fall of Mankind differs in multiple aspects from the Hebrew and Christian Biblical accounts. The Qur'an neither gives the name of Adam's female counterpart or the nature of her creation (Young, 490). Woman is instead first mentioned as Adam's wife and partner in the Garden, and like Adam, is equally warned that Iblis (Satan) is their enemy (Stowasser, 26). In one version of the account, Satan tempts Adam and he is the one who disobeys the Lord. In another version Iblis tempts both Adam and his wife and they both act to disobey (Young, 490). Both accounts differ from the Hebrew and Christian version in that woman is not held completely responsible for the fall of mankind (Young, 490). According to Sura 7, both man and woman ask for God's forgiveness and mercy and are granted the "garment of righteousness" (Stowasser, 26). The Qur'an depicts humans, both male and female, as free and equal individuals called upon by God to live righteously (Stowhasser, 27). The Qur'an also defies the Christian belief of Original Sin, failing to insist that man's banishment from the Garden of Eden causes humankind to forever live with the burden of the curse (Stowhasser, 27). Thus, the Qur'an depicts women as possessing equality with men in the eyes of God from the very beginnings of human creation.

Islamic scripture presents numerous depictions of pious women who have played significant roles in the faith. Although the Qur'an does not specifically mention her name, later Islamic oral tradition refers to Abraham's female companion as Hagar. Hagar is depicted as a righteous person of great perseverance in her journey of exile with her son Ishmael to Arabia, essentially acting to ensure Islam's future establishment (Young, 490). The Qur'an states that God spoke directly to the mother of Moses, instructing her to save her son who would become a great prophet, thus asserting that women can also receive divine revelation. Another woman to receive instruction from God, Mary, mother of Jesus, serves as the only female figure identified in the Qur'an by name (Stowhasser, 27). The Qur'an refers to Mary as "an example of righteous" (66:12), her obedience to God, devoutness in His service and truthful testimony to His revelations serving as exemplary qualities by which Muslim women are encouraged to emulate (Stowhasser, 85). The wives of Mohammed are also granted special status in the Qur'an. Numerous divine reprimands addressed to Mohammed's wives in the Qur'an emphasize their responsibility to overcome human fault and seek individual worthiness, serving as female models of ethical individualism and righteousness in Islam (Stowhasser, 85). Islamic scripture thus portrays numerous significant and pious female figures. However, the Qur'an also addresses the issue of the treatment of women directly.

Women are considered more extensively in the Qur'an than in any other religious scripture, reflecting the greater social status and religious equality of women within Islam (Young, 488). The Qur'an openly acknowledges the degradation of women in the time and society in which it was written. It sharply criticizes those who disvalue women, condemning female infanticide (sura 16:59-60) as well as the practice of men inheriting wives from their

fathers (Young, 489) (Young, 489) The Qur'an establishes greater economic independence for women, insisting that they be given their dowry (sura 4:4) and be allowed to keep anything in which they earn (sura 4:3). Unlike any of its contemporary religions, Islam required that females receive inheritance (sura 4:7). The fact that the scripture mentions that female family members are only to receive half of that of their male counterparts reflects the reality of women's economic dependence on men during that time period (Young, 489). Many interpret the Qur'an as prohibiting forced marriage and even allowing women to be the initiators in divorce procedures (Young, 489). Islam thus granted women unprecedented rights and instituted great social reform for women. However, the Qur'an also distinguishes between male and female responsibilities.

Multiple statements in the Qur'an act to differentiate between the roles of men and women. In reference to marriage, women are stated to "have rights similar to those of [of men], but men are a degree above them" (sura 2:229), emphasizing that men are in charge of women. Thus, the Qur'an seems to assert that although women indeed have rights, they are to be obedient to their husbands and fathers (Young, 489). Also in consideration to marriage, women are required to remain strictly monogamous whereas men are allowed up to four wives (sura 4:3) (Young, 489). However, historically most societies of this time period set no limits whatsoever on the number of wives a man could take. In addition, the Qur'an also highlights that such polygyny only stands permissible in times of war, where there existed a lack of male availability for female support, and only if the male could manage to treat all of his wives equally (Young, 490). In other regards, women are given economic independence whereas men are required to continually support their wives (Young, 490).

The tradition of female seclusion in the Islamic culture is believed to come from a Qur'anic requirement in sura 33:56 that states that women be dignified and cover themselves with their cloaks. However, the verse directly preceding the verse is a stanza establishing the same requirement for men (Young, 490). Although the Qur'an distinguishes between the social responsibilities of men and women it consistently highlights women's moral and spiritual equality. The concept of the submission of women that is popularly associated with Islamic culture is actually misrepresented. In reality it is the obedience and submission of both man and woman to God, not woman to man, that stands fundamental to the Islamic faith. Unfortunately, such concepts of human equality were not always reflected in the practiced social structure. I will now proceed to examine the events and perceptions that influenced the establishment of the traditions and perceptions of women within the institutionalized faiths of Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

II. THE DEVELOPING ROLE OF WOMEN WITHIN THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF WESTERN RELIGION

The Talmud serves as the basis of the established Jewish thought and practice (Young, 530). The Talmud stands as the accepted interpretation of Jewish sacred scripture, the Torah, and its subsequent oral traditions (Renard, 68-69). Established customs and oral interpretations of Torah are believed to have existed from the very beginnings of Jewish belief. This oral tradition served as a guide to Jewish ritual, law and order throughout and leading up to the time of the First Temple in Jerusalem (Ross, 11). However, disagreements regarding the interpretation of the oral tradition began to emerge between the Sadducees and Pharisees during the time of the Second Temple. Pharisaic Judaism would emerge dominant, establishing and recording the *halakhah*, the Jewish legal system (Ross, 11). During the Rabbinic Period of Judaism that spanned the first five or six centuries of the Common Era, rabbis interpreted and expanded the instructions of the Torah, subsequently instituting a decisive female role within the established Jewish religion.

After the destruction of the Second Temple of Jerusalem in 70 C.E., Judaism began to transform its original sacrament-based rituals into a more communal and home-based faith as means of continuing devotional and traditional practices (Young, 529). A greater differentiation between the roles of men and women within the faith grew more prominent during this time. Rabbinic literature assigned increasing religious obligation and legal privilege to men, all the while decreasing women's religious obligation and further disenfranchising them from many aspects of the faith (Ross, 17). For example, the rabbinic period resulted in the ban of the teaching or reading of sacred text by women (Young, 531). Women were thus excluded from participation in the formation of Jewish law (Ross, 16). The halakhah prohibits women from holding any positions of authority or public office (Ross, 17). This precedent was formally established through the Torah's interpreted reference to a king, but no queen. Although Jewish tradition has glorified the woman's position at home, Jewish law gives men the position as the official head of a Jewish family, granting them full legal custody and responsibility to raise and educate the children (Ross, 17). There also exists a general assumption in halakhic tradition that a woman's earnings belong to her husband in exchange for his support of her, making wives dependent and subject to their husbands both domestically and financially (Ross, 17). However, such law did not always remain so oppressive of females.

By the end of the Talmudic period women began to gain more equality within marriage. The *ketubah*, a document guaranteeing a married woman certain rights and protections began to be used. The abolition of the bride price and the requirement of the woman's consent in marriage also contributed to granting women greater status legally as well as privately (Young, 530). Also, the practice of male polygamy became prohibited in the 10th century by a Franco German rabbi, Rabbenu Gershom (Young, 530). However, the power to divorce remained an exclusively male right up to the late twentieth century (Young, 530).

In spite of such legal and traditional restrictions, Jewish women served as charismatic and significant leaders within the communal and domestic spheres (Young, 527). Although excluded from study and public worship, evidence shows that many women related their domestic responsibilities with religious significance (Young, 527). Many Jewish rituals of the home became apart of the traditional female domain as women maintained the dietary laws of the faith through family meals and prepared special holiday foods and clothing. Jewish women's most significant and respected roles lay in her responsibility to impart basic Jewish belief and behavior to her children (Young, 531). In communal life, Jewish women worked frequently as midwives and healers as well as organized the charitable work related to their faith (Young, 527). Jewish law traditionally permitted women to travel and operate businesses independently as well as allowed leniency in regards to the use of birth control, granting Jewish women greater power over their bodies and lives compared to many of their Christian contemporaries (Young, 527). Thus Jewish women were granted increasing independence and status as time evolved.

Biblical Judaism stands as a patriarchal establishment with men serving as dominant figures in both the social and religious spheres. Although complete equality of the sexes has yet to be officially recognized within Judaism, study reveals a gradual weakening of misogynistic practices and ideals overtime (Young, 529). As a mostly minority religion, many Jewish women were in fact more confined by restrictions within their non-Jewish societies (Young, 527). Even many feminist scholars are re-examining rabbinic text and uncovering broader definitions and roles of women within the established Jewish tradition (Young, 528). Thus, although perceived as perhaps the most patriarchal of religious establishments, women indeed served as significant figures in the establishment and continuation of the Jewish faith.

The canonization process, growth, and institutionalization of the Christian church acted to further limit women's religious and social roles. Certain passages from the Pauline and Deutero-Pauline Letters acted as great shapers in the treatment and perception of women within the Christian church and communities. In Corinthians 12:2-6, Paul emphasizes women's need to wear headcoverings in public, explaining that "man is the image and glory of God, whereas woman is the glory of man; that woman was created from man and for man" (Genesis 2:21-22) (Young, 158). Such depictions establish the view of women as derivative of men and thus secondary human beings (Young, 158). The Deutero-Pauline letters of Colossians and Ephesians describe hierarchical household codes common of the Roman era. However, the letters compare a wife's subordination to her husband with the church's submission to Christ (Young, 158). Such canonical writings established an inferior view of women as submissive subjects to both the Church and men.

As Christianity expanded and divided, its perceptions and the treatment of women became more systemized. Any form of public teaching apart from monastic or familial roles was soon forbidden to women by the early church. Those who attempted to teach publicly were

accused to be heretics (Miller, 17). However, writings from followers and new scholarship suggest the presence of strong female leaders and teachers in spite of such restrictions. For example, the female-led group called “Carpocrations” was deemed heretical by the 2nd Century church for teaching a form of Christianity that emphasized the equality of the sexes and rejected the ideas of private property and marriage (Miller, 17). Although disputed, women held some very significant roles in early Christian movements. Women served as prophets in some very early Christian communities, only to later be deemed heretics by the Christian church (Miller, 31). Many women also served as martyrs during the last Roman persecutions of Christians, sacrificing themselves for the preservation of Christian theology (Young, 149). After the support of Constantine and the recognition of Christianity as the religion of the Roman Empire under Emperor Theodosius in 392 C.E., the Church grew to gain greater authorization and power (Dictionary, 126).

Around 400 C.E., misogynist theories of women’s nature combined with developing qualifications of an ordained male priesthood acted to exclude women from a large majority of formal ministry within the church (Young, 149). In spite of such restrictions, however, women remained active participants in the establishment and practice of Christianity. Some upper-class women joined ascetic communities while numbers of women from all classes lived in monastic orders (Young, 150). As monasticism grew to become a more common establishment in the West, more women joined monastic communities as an alternate life option, enabling them to pursue various vocations and gain status (Young, 150). The Rule of St. Benedict in 530 C.E. offered women of every class increased educational opportunity and refuge within the monastery. However, many male monasteries refused to recognize these female religious institutions (Young, 150).

Christianity also enabled women to play significant political roles. Many Christian women married to pagan kings were often responsible for the Christian conversion of the Germanic kingdoms that became dominant after the fall of Roman Empire (Young, 150). In the eastern Roman stronghold of the Byzantine Empire, women rulers, such as the Empress Irene, are credited for further evangelizing the political policies of their state by overturning many pagan-inspired directives (Young, 150). A small number of privileged women in the West even produced some substantive Christian literature (Young, 150). However, it was not just women of power and privilege who were able to contribute to Christian establishment.

As the Middle Ages progressed, urban and cultural growth allowed many women to seek their own forms of religious participation outside of the monastery (Young, 150). Similar to Judaism, women took over charitable organizations and focused on communal and personal penitence (Young, 150). Some Christian women would become renowned mystics and visionaries, gaining much popularity with their believers and followers. The clerical hierarchy stood highly suspicious of such women, however, condemning and executing as many as three

thousand women between the 14th and 17th centuries for witchcraft and heresy (Young, 150-51). Later on, many Protestant Anabaptist women would serve as martyrs, visionaries and prophets within their religious communities (Young, 151). Similar to their female Jewish contemporaries, a majority of Christian women found ways of participating and influencing their faith through the domestic sphere.

Although female exclusion prohibited women from participating in much of the institutionalized rights and practices of the church, many women went on the greatly influence the evolution of the Christian faith through the domestic environment. Both Protestant and Catholic women were credited with nurturing and instilling the morals and beliefs of their faiths into their children (Young, 153). Women took over many of the traditional practices in the home that emphasized family and community (Young, 152). Many Roman Catholic women created alters for prayer and ritual within their homes (Young, 153). Female Catholics have also taken on a uniquely personal relationship with their individually chosen saints, a highly spiritual religious relationship free of any clerical authority (Young, 153). Consequent of the Protestant faith's focus on home-worship and Bible-reading, women were able to have greater participation within religious ritual (Young, 153). A majority of Protestant sects focused on women as the moral center of the community and the basis for example on Christian living (Young, 153). Although excluded from many institutional roles within the Christian Church, women would ultimately create their own ways of participating in the faith and influencing their prospective religious communities.

The Islamic legal structure, known as *Shari'a*, was mostly developed throughout the seventh and ninth centuries and is considered to be of divine origin (Young, 491). The sacred scripture of the Qur'an as well as the collection of oral traditions known as the hadith served as the basis for the formation of the *Shari'a* (Renard, 193). The customary practices of the region and time period of the *Shari'a*'s creation also acted to greatly influenced its substance (Young, 491). Nearly two centuries after Mohammed's death, Islamic scholars began to collect oral stories and traditions relating to his life (Renard, 193). These stories were meant to serve as examples by which the Islamic people could base their lives (Young, 491). The hadith accounts were collected, authenticated, codified and committed to writing by the 10th century, enormously influencing the formation of the *Shari'a* (Young, 491). It is the inclusion of existing Roman and Persian legal codes and the hadith's emphasis on the distinction between the sexes that would ultimately alter the role of women in the establishing Islamic faith.

Hadith literature served as the basis for a large portion of Islamic legislation and perception (Young, 491). For example, the 10th Century Islamic scholar Al-Tabari wrote a hadith-based commentary in which he names Adam's wife as Eve. Al-Tabari further follows the Christian interpretation by blaming Eve for the fall of mankind and the subsequent curse, adding however that Eve felt no remorse for her disobedience (Young, 491). Such female portrayals in

hadith literature serve to depict women as moral inferiors to men. These depictions led to the re-interpretation of much of the Qur'anic scripture regarding women. For Instance, the sura 2:283 statement in the Qur'an suggests that business deals should be witnessed by two men or one man and two women (Young, 491). Post-hadith interpretations of this verse would contribute to the legal stance in that a woman's worth stands half that of a man and that a woman's testimony should be excluded in most cases consequent of her moral inferiority (Young, 491).

This perception of female moral and mental deficiency serves to explain other Islamic laws requiring women to have a male guardian responsible for all major life decisions, including marriage. According to the law, a Muslim woman may only marry a Muslim man, while a Muslim man may marry a woman of any of the recognized Western scriptural religions (Young, 492). Such laws act to blatantly disregard the Qur'anic female marriage reforms. Further ignoring the Qur'an's emphasis on moral equality under God, Islamic law states that male apostates are subject to capital punishment, and women are to be forced by any means to return to their religion. In the case of both men and women, this law interferes with the Qur'anic verse "There is no compulsion in religion" (sura 2:257) (Young, 492).

Rooted in the extra-Qur'anic descriptions of Eve, Islamic law considered women extremely powerful and dangerous, withholding a power similar to Satan's to distract men from virtuous activities. For this reason, the law sought to keep women under control through covering their bodies and limiting their public interactions (Young, 492). Many restrictions on women are attributed to their impurity as a result of their menstrual and postpartum bleeding. During this time women are prohibited from praying, touching a Qur'an, or visiting a mosque, further excluding them from the Islamic culture (Young, 491). In her book, *Woman's Identity and the Qur'an*, Nimat Hafez Barazangi insists that through being excluded from reading the Qur'an, some populations of Islamic women have been denied a basic right and requirement as a Muslim. Barazangi goes on to assert that "the lack of reading and interpreting of the text by women from within the text has resulted in three additional shortcomings: exclusion, prevention, and deprivation" (Barazangi, 33). One must highlight, however, that not all hadith literature conveyed such a negative portrait of women. Unfortunately it was the negative female depictions that became incorporated in Islamic Law and restricted women's roles to such an extent. Such female shortcomings can also be seen as a reflection of the customary practices of the regions and era of the Islamic law's creation (Young, 492).

Despite gender segregation and social restrictions established during Islam's institutionalization, Muslim women still found unique ways to participate in their faith. Religious activities served as outlets in which women could express themselves as individuals and as Muslims (Young, 494). The devotional duties of both male and female Muslims are outlined in the Five Pillars of Islam (Young, 494). Especially during the early centuries of Islam, however, many women found themselves more restricted by familial and household obligations, making

them less likely to fulfill their religious devotional duties to the same extent as men (Young, 494). Nevertheless, women did not tend to view themselves as personally less pious individuals.

Women often played active roles in other Islamic rights and practices, usually within a collective group of other women, creating a sense of female solidarity in connection with their religious devotions (Young, 494). Similar to their Jewish and Christian contemporaries, a small portion of female Muslims found themselves drawn to mysticism, some Islamic women joining female orders of Sufism (Young, 494). Unlike Jewish and Christian societies, the duty of giving alms traditionally belonged to Islamic males. However, women commonly sought to donate food and other household resources to those in need out of their own charitable desires (Young, 494). Also similar to their Jewish and Christian counterparts, Muslim women were responsible for many aspects of religious rituals and traditions practiced within the home. The responsibility of cleaning, welcoming guests, and preparing and serving foods were associated with a woman's domestic sphere. Such tasks allowed significant female participation in the organization of important home-based religious rituals (Young, 494). Thus, despite gender and social restriction within the establishing Islamic societies, Muslim women found their own ways of participating in their faith.

III. CONCLUSION:

The religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam have indeed had enormous impacts on the societies and cultures of the Western and Middle Eastern worlds, including the roles and perceptions of women. Upon closer examination it has become evident that women did indeed play an incredibly significant part in the formation and establishment of these three influential faiths. In spite of their patriarchal reputations and eventual female restrictions, the basic messages of Judaism, Christianity and Islam succeeded in truly moving their men and women followers equally. Both sexes not only participated in, but also risked their lives for the continuation and traditions of their faiths. In regards to female restriction and exclusion, one must consider that Judaism, Christianity and Islam were impacted by the social environment and existing perceptions of which they were formed just as much as they in turn shaped their subsequent cultural atmospheres with their beliefs and traditions. Thus, the roles and perceptions of women within Judaism, Christianity and Islam mirror the eras and societies in which they were formed. Regardless of circumstance or time period, however, religious scholarship has shown an undying female determination to be apart of these powerful and inspiring faiths.

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