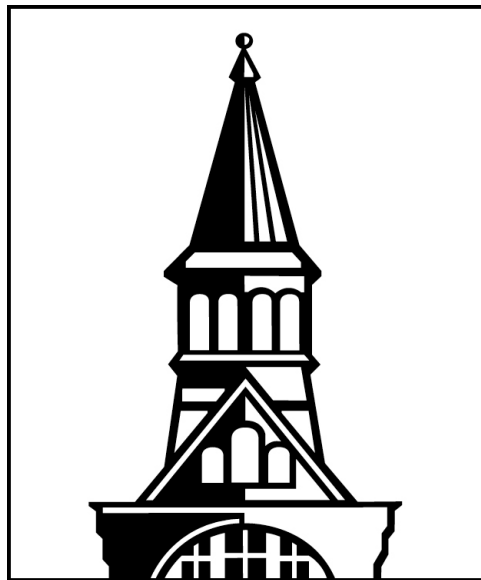


**THE UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
HISTORY REVIEW**



*Volume XXIII
2012-2013*

The UVM History Review is a yearly publication of the University of Vermont History Department. It seeks to publish scholarly essays and book reviews of an historical nature from current and past UVM students.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Senior Editor Derek Salisbury
Faculty Advisor Dr. Sean Field

Fall 2012

Mark Alexander
Kayleigh Carreño
Alanna Freedman Mahnke
Sam Turner Mitchell
Sarah Virginia Wilds
Clayton Willets

Spring 2013

Kayleigh Carreño
Alix Heintzman
Patrick Maguire
Alanna Freedman Mahnke
Clayton Willets

For ordering information please contact Kathy Carolin at
The University of Vermont History Department
201 Wheeler House
133 South Prospect Street
Burlington, Vermont 05405

Cover: Engineering Blueprints for Wheeler House, which now houses UVM's History Department. Courtesy of the University of Vermont Library Special Collections

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR	III
URBAN PLANNING AND THE IDEOLOGY OF MODERNIZATION IN VENEZUELA, 1870-1888 <i>BY JIM OSBORN</i>	1
IMPERIAL SEXUALITY: A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL OVERVIEW <i>BY RUBY DAILY</i>	13
A TALE OF TWO INTELLECTUALS: RACHEL CARSON AND MURRAY BOOKCHIN ON SCIENCE, NATURE, AND HUMANITY <i>BY ERIK WALLENBERG</i>	29
THE DIRE CONSEQUENCES OF IMPERIALIST DESIRES: UNITED STATES TERRITORIAL EXPANSION, 1840-1917 <i>BY MATT LAURO</i>	39
VERMONT’S SHORT LIVED REBELLION: EDITORIAL REACTION TO THE 1850 FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT AND THE STATE HABEAS CORPUS LAW <i>BY TOM MCMURDO</i>	47
KEEP YOUR POWDER DRY: MOTION PICTURE PRODUCTION AND THE PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN SOLDIERS DURING WORLD WAR II <i>BY BRANDON MOBLO</i>	67
THE STORMTROOPER: PARAMILITARY POLITICS AND THE RISE OF THE <i>STURMABTEILUNG</i> <i>BY MICHAEL ANDREW STURGES</i>	81
CONTINUITIES AND THEIR COMPLEXITIES: GERMAN CONQUEST AND GENOCIDE IN SOUTHWEST AFRICA AND EASTERN EUROPE <i>BY G. SCOTT WATERMAN</i>	94
TRANSFORMATIVE SLAVERY IN MADAGASCAR: FROM SMALL BEGINNINGS TO INDUSTRIAL CENTER <i>BY SAM VANDERWATER</i>	108
THE FAILURES OF NICARAGUAN SOCIALISM: HOW MISKITU PARTICIPATION IN THE CONTRA WAR CONTRIBUTED TO THE FALL OF THE SANDINISTAS <i>BY SAM MITCHELL</i>	121
DEPARTMENT NEWS	134
ABOUT THE EDITORS	137
ABOUT THE AUTHORS	138
2012 INDUCTEES TO THE UVM CHAPTER OF PHI ALPHA THETA	139

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

Dear Readers,

I am pleased to present to you the *2012-2013 University of Vermont History Review*, which collects the very best historical work composed by the UVM undergraduate and graduate student body. Below you will find a host of interesting and well-researched articles from post-independence urban planning in Venezuela to German conquest and genocide in Africa; from a historiography of British imperial sexuality to the consequences of US imperial aspirations; from the successful intellectual revolution of American environmentalism to the failed revolution of Nicaraguan socialism; from the rise of the Sturmabteilung, a paramilitary wing of the Nazi party to WWII American cinema's depiction of women in *Keep Your Powder Dry*; and finally from the use of slavery to industrialize Madagascar to the reaction of Vermont's press to the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850.

The temporal, thematic, and regional scope of the papers collected here are not only indicative of the high caliber of students currently enrolled in the university's history program but also the quality of the department's faculty who have helped shape the intellectual pursuits of their students. In this regard I am proud to have played a small role in showcasing the history program's academic output. I am also very proud to have worked with such an excellent editorial staff over the course of the past year. The editors of the *History Review* collaborated closely with the authors to ensure that each article was refined and revised until it was ready for publication. Their tireless work and scholarly input, for which I owe a considerable debt of gratitude, were invaluable in creating this year's *Review*.

As senior editor, I would like to thank each author and editor for his or her contributions to this year's publication. I would also like to give special thanks to Professor Sean Field, the publication's faculty liaison, for repeatedly aiding me throughout the year and keeping the whole process on track. I would also like to express my gratitude for the work of Kathy Truax and Kathy Carolin who have graciously endured my many emails and questions over the past nine months. Lastly, I would like to thank the staff at the University of Vermont's Library Research Annex, specifically Ms. Sylvia Bugbee and Mr. Chris Burns who went above and beyond to find and scan the cover image.

D. A. Salisbury, 9 May, 2013

URBAN PLANNING AND THE IDEOLOGY OF MODERNIZATION IN VENEZUELA, 1870-1888

--
JIM OSBORN

The reality of urban spatial evolution is an amalgam of factors both planned and unplanned. As such, a city's conglomerate identity can only be discussed in terms of the tenuous interaction between these factors, wherein the observer inevitably articulates conclusions about the place that reflect a middle ground between the aspirations of the various actors instrumental in its planning and the space's authentic usage and conceptualization. To study cities on these terms, it is thus important to understand the spatial and ideological objectives of the city's literal and theoretical architects, as well as the public's response to and interpretation of these projects.

This paper seeks to apply such an analytical framework to the evolution of Caracas, Venezuela, during the *Guzmanato* of 1870–88. This period, punctuated by the three presidencies of Antonio Guzmán Blanco, witnessed the first intense and widespread series of attempts to develop and modernize Caracas into the urban nucleus of Venezuela. In addition to architectural and infrastructural projects, this paper will examine many of the political and administrative changes that affected the city's composite identity. Guzmán Blanco's idea of modernization was spatially manifest through his imposition of European architectural and social patterns taken primarily from the Haussmanian Parisian model. Furthermore, his efforts were neither complete successes nor blatant failures, but his ambitions could not fit the veritable context of his city, nor the Caracas that remained after his departure from office did not fully resemble his ideological ideal. This paper will prove these assertions by contrasting the personal identity and ideology of Guzmán Blanco with the nature of his public works projects, and by studying the trajectory of urban schematics for Caracas throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This paper will also examine secondary sources containing both qualitative and quantitative analyses of demographic and social change in Caracas during this time period.

Due to the disparities in subject matter and disciplinary approach throughout this study, this paper is divided into four sections and a conclusion. The first section provides historical context for the *Guzmanato*. It introduces the specificity of this period and explains *why* it is of utmost interest to Caracas' urban development, giving the reader ample context to understand the more specific and analytical arguments appearing later in the paper. The second section is more theoretical, exploring the ideologies that Guzmán extolled both privately and spatially throughout Caracas during his time in power. What were his theoretical foundations, what influenced them, and how can we conceptualize them in the context of Latin American urban development occurring elsewhere in the period? This ideological foundation leads into the third section, the most deliberately argumentative, which confronts the principal concern of *how* these ideologies were reified spatially and conceptually through Caracas' urban development. The paper's fourth section reflects upon Guzmán's efforts, focusing on the social, occupational, residential, and demographic realities that challenge the fluidity of his objectives. This section introduces nuances to his ideological ideals, and investigates how these nuances compromised the consummate identity of Caracas as an urban environment at the end of the nineteenth century.

Historical Context

The *Guzmanato* began on April 27th, 1870, when Antonio Guzmán Blanco entered Caracas and took control of the government from José Ruperto Monagas. This date, the victory of *la Revolución de Abril*, is significant not as an utter absolution of the troubled century that preceded it, but as the beginning of the nation's first extended period of relative peace.¹ Economic hardship, political fragmentation, and incessant violence had plagued Venezuela since its independence. The central and most chronicled struggle was between the Federalists and the Centralists, two factions that were ideologically distinct in similar ways to competing factions elsewhere in the continent. In Venezuela, however, the conflict was augmented for several reasons, the most salient being the country's difficult geography, which kept its marginally developed cities significantly isolated from one another. Regional allegiances to *caudillos* were therefore strong, and the formation of a cohesive national identity was slow when existent well into the century.²

In 1859, the nation's enduring political hostility climaxed with the Federal War. Guzmán Blanco's father, Antonio Leocadio Guzmán, was an instrumental figure in the events leading up to the formalization of the war. After being dismissed from the conservative, centralist government of José Antonio Páez, he founded the liberal newspaper, *El Venezolano*, the first openly politicized articulation of the federalist/centralist conflict and the first visible evidence of the Liberal party in Venezuela, completely absent from public discourse until 1840.³ This deliberate mobilization of a named political entity made conservatives, the ideological camp still in power, particularly uneasy. In 1847, new conservative president José Gregorio Monagas ordered Leocadio Guzmán's arrest and execution for conspiracy and attempting to overthrow the government. Monagas, however, proved to be a more moderate ruler than Páez, and submitted to pleas of mercy for Leocadio Guzmán's life delivered by Leocadio Guzmán's wife and a young Guzmán Blanco.⁴ By the late 1840s, Monagas' moderation moved him to introduce a number of liberal reforms, including the abolition of the death penalty for political crimes, the abolition of slavery, and the introduction of the state's right to intervene against abuses of individual liberties by private actors.⁵ Nonetheless, he garnered a great deal of criticism from conservatives, whose allegiance remained with Páez, as well as from liberals, who felt his rule was too personalist. In 1855, Monagas' brother became president, José Tadeo Monagas, and the criticisms from both camps magnified. Julián Castro, liberal governor of Carabobo, was able to lead a successful coup in March of 1858 due to this coalition of liberal and conservative opposition.⁶

¹ Robert Lavenda, "Social Urbanization and Caracas: A Historical Anthropological Analysis," *Urban Anthropology* 8, no. 3 (1979): 365-381 at 366.

² George Wise, *Caudillo, a Portrait of Antonio Guzmán Blanco* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951) 35-37.

³ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁵ Rafael Lucca, *Venezuela: 1830 a nuestros días: Breve Historia política*. 1a ed. Caracas, Venezuela: Editorial Alfa, 2007. 49 – 51.

⁶ George Wise, *Caudillo, a portrait of Antonio Guzmán Blanco*. 48 – 49.

Not surprisingly, the liberal/conservative coalition that had opposed one president did not engender the unanimous support of the next. It was not long before both groups grew frustrated with Castro, the conservatives unhappy with his liberal past, the liberals unhappy with his economic concessions to conservative demands. As such, shortly after Federalists revolted in the state of Coro, vice president Manuel Tovar took leadership of the country's official centralist government.⁷ From 1859 to 1861, official political leadership of the centralist party passed back and forth between Tovar and Pedro Gaul, a constitutionalist whose main objective was to end the violence of the conflict without resolving its disputes. However, before and during the war, the ideological and military leader of the centralists was José Antonio Páez, former president, who assumed a military dictatorship of the country from 1861 through the war's reluctant peace accord in 1863.⁸

During Páez's two years as dictator, Antonio Guzmán Blanco ascended the ranks of the Federalist party. He worked beneath the party's official leaders, often acting as a mediator between the varying attitudes toward the presence of violence and hostility in the conflict. Fortunately, both men liked and respected Guzmán a great deal, delegating to him a variety of diplomatic and military responsibilities that accelerated his fame and importance. Undoubtedly the most important of these was his negotiation of the Treaty of Coche, an agreement reached with Secretary General Pedro José Rojas of the Páez government, ending the Federal War in 1863. Supporters stressed the utter destruction of the War throughout Venezuela, with the demolition of Caracas looming, and they pointed out that compromising with Páez had prevented further agitation from his followers. Ardent Federalists, however, were largely unimpressed. Many felt that Guzmán was acting primarily in self-interest; with his military prowess already proven, he could end the war without adequately fulfilling the party's goals.⁹ This sort of controversy would remain characteristic of Guzmán's time in the public sphere, but it never grew pervasive enough to prevent him from retaining high authority. In 1863, Falcón became the Federalist President of Venezuela, a position he would hold until 1867, but it was quickly apparent that he was merely a puppet for vice-president Guzmán Blanco.

As Falcón's vice-president and Minister of the Treasury and Foreign Relations, Guzmán Blanco accomplished many of his personal goals. His first was to negotiate large foreign loans, primarily with England, to infuse money into the Venezuelan economy for modernizing development. In 1864, he was able to consummate such a loan.¹⁰ Another goal was to indoctrinate Federalist principles into the country's new constitution, which was promulgated in 1864. The clear establishment of several autonomous states, suffrage without financial requirements, the abolition of the death penalty, and heightened freedoms of expression and the press, among other provisions, embodied tenets of Federalist liberalism.¹¹ As Falcón's nominal leadership continued to weaken, Guzmán also established a Bank of Discounts and Deposits in Caracas, and began an immense transportation project connecting Caracas to other cities throughout the country by rail.¹²

⁷ *Ibid.*, 52 – 53.

⁸ Rafael Lucca, *Venezuela: 1830 a nuestros días: Breve Historia política*. 66 – 67.

⁹ George Wise, *Caudillo, a portrait of Antonio Guzmán Blanco*. 61 – 62.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 69.

¹¹ *La Constitución de los estados unidos de Venezuela de 1864*

¹² George Wise, *Caudillo, a portrait of Antonio Guzmán Blanco*. 71 – 72.

Eventually, however, Falcón's willingness to let Guzmán orchestrate his presidency faltered. Seeing this internal weakness, a coalition similar to the one that rose against Castro before the Federalist War, formed and took power in 1868 under the initial leadership of José Tadeo Monagas. Shortly thereafter, José Tadeo died, and his nephew, José Ruperto Monagas, replaced him.¹³ Amidst this political chaos, Guzmán chose to reside safely in Paris, a city for which he held unbridled adoration, as will be discussed further in the second section of this paper. However, when he learned of the increasingly conservative influence pervading over José Ruperto's presidency, he eventually decided to return to Venezuela and lead the Liberal party, headquartering his opposition in Curaçao, alongside other exiled liberals.¹⁴ Probably due to a combination of Guzmán's personal fame and the widespread fatigue of incessant political conflict, most regional *caudillos* supported his proposed coup, as did their constituents, which together represented the majority of the populace. With relatively little difficulty, Guzmán entered Caracas on April 27th, 1870, and became the provisional president of the country. Although the personal controversies that preceded him would remain prevalent far longer than his periods of rule, he would go on to be elected president in 1873, 1879, and 1886.¹⁵ Despite presidential shifts between his second and third terms, the period from *la Revolución de Abril* to the closure of his final presidency in 1888 is known as *el Guzmanato*, a period characterized as much by the transformations and political impact he imparted upon Venezuela as by the persona of *el caudillo nacional* himself.

Ideology

In 1887, a year before his final presidency officially ended, Guzmán Blanco had made Caracas an extremely different place than the city he entered in 1870. He modernized the city, but the type of modernization he enacted is a particularly nuanced product of his own personal ideologies and political ambitions. The physical and developmental results of the *Guzmanato* rendered the city a spatial manifestation of Guzmán's theoretical principles and those of the globally conscious bourgeoisie growing throughout Latin America at the end of the nineteenth century. Before approaching a study of these manifestations, however, it is imperative that one investigate the ideologies that predated them.

Guzmán Blanco was an unabashed Europhile. The city closest to his heart, certainly in terms of urban space, was Paris. The ways in which this affinity developed are rooted in his childhood and the privileged position awarded him by his father's governmental position. He was educated in law at the College of Montenegro (in Caracas) and shortly thereafter entered the foreign services, spending several years in the United States and throughout Europe.¹⁶ Upon returning to Venezuela, as was discussed in the previous section, he became heavily involved with the liberal Federalist cause of his father. This liberalism, which is partially characterized by its modeling after the American and French Revolutions, equated progress and modernity with Europeanization and the introduction of bourgeois social and aesthetic culture. Angel Rama summarizes this preference as a desired transition from *la ciudad romántica* (the romantic city) to *la ciudad moderna* (the modern city), efforts toward realizing *el mito metropolitano*, the myth of the metropolis as cradle of civilization. Guzmán

¹³ Rafael Lucca, *Venezuela: 1830 a nuestros días: Breve Historia política*. 81 – 82.

¹⁴ George Wise, *Caudillo, a portrait of Antonio Guzmán Blanco*. 75.

¹⁵ Rafael Lucca, *Venezuela: 1830 a nuestros días: Breve Historia política*. 85.

¹⁶ Wise, George. *Caudillo, a portrait of Antonio Guzmán Blanco*. 59.

Blanco's Caracas, however, was much further from resembling this ideal than other Latin American capitals at the time, such as Buenos Aires or Río de Janeiro.¹⁷ This fact helps to partially explain the feverish nature of his initial construction booms, which will be discussed further in the paper's third section.

Other factors contributed to Caracas' impending Europeanization as well, including economic dependency. As was previously discussed, Guzmán felt that foreign loans were essential for his modernizing ambitions, which created one layer of dependency on European capital. Another layer stemmed from foreign firms' owning the vast majority of Venezuela's increasingly lucrative agricultural exports. At the beginning of Guzmán's presidency, world prices for coffee and cacao increased significantly, stimulating heightened involvement with European businesses and capital. This interaction fed Guzmán's pre-existing desire for foreign investment and European migration to the capital, necessitating a capital inspired by the European model that also appealed to Europeans themselves.¹⁸

More concretely, however, modernization within the European model stipulated several transformations that Guzmán sought to enact through his processes of urban development. Principal among these was the secularization and rationalization of society; northern European notions countering the traditional Ibero-Catholic values were still entrenched in Venezuelan culture. This imperative generated a need to fill the vacancies left by secularization with alternative sources of veneration, a space filled by Bolívar and a general sense of cohesive Venezuelan nationalism.¹⁹ Similarly, it also mandated a reasonable, intelligent, and presentable society. To maintain this, education and hygiene were prioritized early in Guzmán's career. In reference to bourgeoisie culture, this meant arenas for public entertainment and leisure, as well as the eventual development of urban/suburban havens which departed from the traditionally concentric orientation of Iberoamerican city planning.²⁰

Finally, the ideological foundation that informed so much of Caracas' development cannot be understood without examining its principal influence: Georges-Eugène Haussmann, prefect of the Department of Seine under Napoleon III and principal visionary behind the development of Paris in the mid-nineteenth century. Although a thorough summary of his contributions to Paris' identity is beyond the scope of this paper, certain elements of his projects pertain to Latin America. He avoided of the Iberian tendency to orient the city concentrically, with the plaza at its center and wealth diminishing as the circle develops outward. Instead, Haussman and his contemporaries sought to disperse public services and monuments throughout the city to enhance its spatial cohesion.²¹ This effort toward aesthetic continuity relates to the construction of "principal buildings" that provided cohesive monumentality on a scale needed to adapt to an ever-expanding numeric and geographic population. He improved public hygiene by removing urban spaces that served as blatant sources of contagious infection, and facilitated transportation by linking rail and car

¹⁷ Arturo Marte, *Urbanismo europeo en Caracas: (1870 - 1940)*. 2. ed. Caracas: Fundación para la Cultura Urbana [u.a.], 2006. 16 – 17.

¹⁸ Robert Lavenda, "Social Urbanization and Caracas: A Historical Anthropological Analysis." 367 – 368.

¹⁹ Arturo Marte and Lorenzo González Casas, "Caracas: Territory, Architecture, and Urban Space." In *Planning Latin America's capital cities, 1850-1950*. London: Routledge, 2002. 241-270. 222 – 223.

²⁰ Robert Lavenda, "Social Urbanization and Caracas: A Historical Anthropological Analysis." 371 – 372.

²¹ Jorge Hardoy, "Theory and Practice of Urban Planning in Europe, 1850 - 1930: Its Transfer to Latin America." In *Rethinking the Latin American city*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1992. 20-49. 23.

lines with central gathering destinations. Most importantly, he integrated naturalist ideals into fundamentally urban areas, such as juxtaposing busy avenues with tree-lined sidewalks, and building many parks within the city limits.²² Finally, Haussman was significant for his insistence on architecture as an academic discipline, and helped catalyze the instruction of architecture in universities throughout the western hemisphere.²³

Reification

In 1870, Caracas was a small and underdeveloped capital city, even by Latin American standards. The physical reality that Guzmán confronted at the outset of his presidency was scarcely different from the urban schematics established prior to independence. Authors have cited a variety of reasons for this, some of which date back to trends emerging as early as colonial times. Caracas' colonial underdevelopment can be attributed principally to its lack of precious metals for exporting—coffee, cacao, and other agricultural exports did not prove financially viable until well into the nineteenth century—and its lack of a sedentary indigenous population to enslave or exploit for labor.²⁴ After independence, while the economy did in fact become more export-focused and orient itself toward the ports of Caracas, incessant violence, poverty, natural disasters, and political disunity prevented noteworthy population or developmental growth.²⁵ From 1830 to 1869, the population grew by only 17,013. Over the course of the *Guzmanato* alone, the increase was 23,532.²⁶ While these numbers are not tremendously different, the average rate of increase grew from 436 more people per year to 1,307 more people per year, meaning that the population grew about three times as rapidly during Guzmán's modernization processes than at any previous point in the country's history.

The demographics of this population increase are also telling: the 1891 census reveals that 20% of Caracas' population was born in Venezuela but outside of the capital, and 11% was foreign born.²⁷ Although these figures are not remarkable and do not represent incoming populations tantamount to those emerging in cities such as Buenos Aires or Río, they do speak of Guzmán's relative success in highlighting Caracas as Venezuela's cultural nucleus and central destination. These observations lead to some of Guzmán's first and most crucially important public works projects, his communication and transportation systems that had the dual intention of unifying the country into a navigable and cohesive nation, as well as accentuating Caracas as its political and cultural center. These projects exemplified the ideological imperative of organization, and related to his constitutional refinement of the nation's external and internal borders as well. In leading the newly reified Venezuela, it was

²² *Ibid.*, 27 – 28.

²³ *Ibid.*, 33.

²⁴ Gerald Michael Greenfield, "Venezuela." In *Latin American Urbanization: Historical Profiles of Major Cities*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994. 486-509. 496.

²⁵ Rafael Valery, Marta Vallmitjana, and Alberto Morales Toker, *Estudio de Caracas: Evolución del patrón urbano desde la fundación de la ciudad hasta el período petrolero, 1567/1936*. Caracas: Universidad Central de Venezuela, 1981. 18 – 19.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 99.

²⁷ Robert Lavenda, "Social Urbanization and Caracas: A Historical Anthropological Analysis." 369 – 370.

imperative for the nation to have a clear, inarguable definition of precisely what constituted the state.²⁸

The only significant highway project instigated before Guzmán's rule was *la Carretera de La Guaira*, begun in 1845. Still unfinished while Guzmán was vice-president under Falcón, he prioritized its completion and also began construction of *la Carretera de Occidente*, connecting Caracas to the country's west via the coast. With Guzmán formally in office, similar highway construction delved into the country's South and East, in 1873 and 1875.²⁹ While these developments technically existed outside of Caracas, they are nonetheless relevant to Guzmán's physical assertion of the political imperatives of organization, cohesion, and centralization, efforts that would be strengthened even more in his second and third presidencies with the Central Venezuelan Railroad and the expansion of telegraph lines.³⁰

Within Caracas, an examination of maps and schematics at different points throughout the century can help to illuminate the city's changing aesthetic reality and ideal. Perhaps the most transparent shift is the secularization of both the city itself and its cartography. 1806's *Plan de la Ville de Caracas* represents a small, pre-independence Caracas, the map implying its veritable city limits to be about 16 blocks by 12 blocks, with ravines, mountains, rivers, and small agricultural holdings establishing its perimeter. The schematic denotes a number of civic and administrative buildings, such as the prison, the college, military barracks, the grand plaza, the hospital, and the homes of some wealthy elites. The only indications of public leisure, a notion not yet prevalent, are the public fountains, about four blocks northwest of the Grand Plaza. The rest of the map, however, focuses on naming and situating the different parishes, churches, monasteries, and convents. Within the 16x12 block area, there are at least fifteen named locations with definite affiliation to religious institutions.³¹ A map of institutional services from Caracas in 1810 reveals a similar dichotomy, indicating seven convents and twelve churches to seventeen total governmental buildings within the city limits.³²

The most significant urban design of Caracas to emerge from this period is *El Plano Topográfico de la Ciudad de Caracas, Capital de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela, 1875*, a map and city plan ordered by Guzmán himself. While the normal civic and societal evolution occurring in the seventy-year gap between *Plan de la Ville* and *El Plano Topográfico* should not be ignored, the dramatic differences from both a spatial and cartographic perspective are undeniable proof of Guzmán's political tendencies. All 264 *esquinas* (corners) and 57 streets in the city have been named at this point. Additionally, there is an extensive section on public buildings, monuments, and plazas. While the churches are still listed, they are afforded only a

²⁸ Arturo Marte and Lorenzo González Casas, "Caracas: Territory, Architecture, and Urban Space." In *Planning Latin America's capital cities, 1850-1950*. 221.

²⁹ Rafael Valery, Marta Vallmitjana, and Alberto Morales Toker, *Estudio de Caracas: Evolución del patrón urbano desde la fundación de la ciudad hasta el período petrolero, 1567/1936*. 85 – 87.

³⁰ Arturo Marte and Lorenzo González Casas. "Caracas: Territory, Architecture, and Urban Space." In *Planning Latin America's capital cities, 1850-1950*. 222.

³¹ "Plano de la Ciudad de Caracas, 1806." In *Cartografía histórica de Venezuela 1635-1946 Selección de los principales mapas publicados hasta la fecha*. Caracas: Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e historia, 1946.

³² "Servicios Institucionales." In *Estudio de Caracas: Evolución del patrón urbano desde la fundación de la ciudad hasta el período petrolero, 1567/1936*.

small section and are outnumbered by most other categories.³³ In an 1888 map of land use, the visible share of land with religious affiliation, though still prominent, has decreased significantly against the introduction of commerce and personal service industries.³⁴

A cursory examination of the locations designated by *el Plano Topográfico* demands consideration of how these new spots affected the city's spatial reality. As discussed, Guzmán sought to mimic Haussmanian examples of public parks, integration of open spaces, spaces for recreation, hygiene, and monumental cohesion throughout the city. The juxtaposition of nature within the city's framework represented the "rural-urban continuum," exemplifying both romantic naturalist ideals and the imperative to civilize through metropolitan culture.³⁵ Limited by its size, however, Caracas was unable to realize the scope of naturalist incorporation characteristic of the cities that inspired it. Instead, plazas were designed in ways that allowed visibility from their centers to the roads and buildings outside of them, which increased the city's perceived spatial depth and continuity. These planning decisions incorporated European values of inclusion and opportunity, sparked by the emerging bourgeois middle class on both sides of the Atlantic.³⁶ The 1875 map of Caracas indicates fifteen plazas scattered throughout the city.³⁷ Public gardens were another way to invoke ideals similar to those of parks but on a scale more appropriate for Caracas, and they were frequently situated either within plazas or in such a way that one was visible from the other's position.³⁸ Some additional tenets of bourgeois culture were recreation and leisure, two elements that Guzmán introduced in a variety of ways. While the frivolity accompanying visual-spatial continuity and public gardens partially addressed similarly superficial values, buildings such as the National Bolivarian Museum, National Pantheon, and National Theater reinforced the idea that the city was a center of culture as well as administration.³⁹

However important these European architectural cues, perhaps their usage's most important objective was to create a modern Venezuela, a distinction that is nuanced but integral to understanding the monumentality and discourse that Guzmán enforced. While modernization meant Europeanization, this very same ideology demanded a visible sense of unified nationalism, wherein European tactics could be adapted but European characters could not. For Guzmán, it was clear that Venezuelan nationalism needed to emanate from a secular popular cult to replace the antiquated (and Iberian) religious one. The obvious hero was Simon Bolívar, and monuments to him were erected throughout the city. Within the first year of Guzmán's presidency, the Grand Plaza was renamed *Plaza de Bolívar*. Public and

³³ "El Plano Topográfico de la Ciudad de Caracas, Capital de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela, 1875." In *Atlas de Venezuela*. 2. ed. Caracas: Ministerio del Ambiente y de los Recursos Naturales Renovables, Dirección General de Información e Investigación del Ambiente, Dirección de Cartografía Nacional, 1979. AND Zawisza, Leszek. *Arquitectura y Obras Públicas en Venezuela: Siglo XIX*. Vols 1-3 ed. Caracas: Ediciones de la Presidencia de la República, 1988. 67.

³⁴ "Usos de la Tierra, 1888." In *Estudio de Caracas: Evolución del patrón urbano desde la fundación de la ciudad hasta el período petrolero, 1567/1936*.

³⁵ Arturo Marte and Lorenzo González Casas, "Caracas: Territory, Architecture, and Urban Space." In *Planning Latin America's capital cities, 1850-1950*. 218.

³⁶ Arturo Marte, *Urbanismo europeo en Caracas: (1870 - 1940)*. 25.

³⁷ "El Plano Topográfico de la Ciudad de Caracas, Capital de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela, 1875." In *Atlas de Venezuela*.

³⁸ Leszek Zawisza, *Arquitectura y Obras Públicas en Venezuela: Siglo XIX*, Vol. III. 171.

³⁹ Arturo Marte, and Lorenzo González Casas, "Caracas: Territory, Architecture, and Urban Space." In *Planning Latin America's capital cities, 1850-1950*. 225 – 226.

administrative buildings increasingly bore his name and image, making him the predominant mascot of Venezuela's cultural nucleus.⁴⁰ Many of the monuments that celebrated his heroism stood above residential buildings, thus becoming easily visible and memorable landmarks.⁴¹ In addition to statues, crests, and the renaming of buildings, Guzmán also coined the national currency, the *Bolívar*, making *El Libertador*'s importance and the value associated with it ubiquitous.⁴²

All of this veneration culminated with the 100th anniversary of Bolívar's birth, conveniently occurring in 1883, the final year of Guzmán's second presidency. Much of 1882 was dedicated to the event's preparation, including the assurance that several national public works projects would be completed in that year. The Guaira Highway was on top of the list, as were *el Parque Carabobo*, the Venezuelan Academy of Languages, and the National Exposition.⁴³ The formal centenary exhibition was a lavish expenditure that featured many lofty speeches by Guzmán himself and other statesmen, and invoked the nation's glorious tradition in the honor of the continent's liberator. Many of Bolívar's belongings were collected and displayed in the National Pantheon, and new monuments of him were erected.⁴⁴ While not as many monuments were erected to Guzmán, and even fewer remained in the years following his presidencies, he would frequently place statues of himself near those of the National Hero. The most prominent of these was in *Plaza Bolívar*, where the two "heroes" stood facing each other.⁴⁵ In this way, Guzmán intend not only to unite the country under national veneration and cultural heritage to Bolívar, but also to imply that the same virtues resonated with him, the modern prototype of federalism.

In addition to all of these architectural and visual developments, Guzmán made administrative decisions that indirectly affected the city's aesthetic. He delegated a great deal of responsibility to the city's police with the Ordinance of 1871, including the maintenance of hygiene and public organization. The former of these was only strongly enforced in the city's central, wealthy, commerce-oriented blocks, but it accomplished the purpose of enhancing the supposed purity of bourgeois culture, a European and notably Haussmanian design objective. Nonetheless, further into the city's periphery, this same ordinance demanded the long-overdue removal of rubble from earthquakes that had damaged the city's infrastructure decades prior.⁴⁶ Additional provisions included inspections of public health facilities, supervision of food production systems, and the movement of dumping facilities to the city's outskirts.⁴⁷ Sanitation reform movements in Great Britain undoubtedly influenced these measures.

In terms of public organization, Guzmán's presidency is notable for its incredible progress in record-keeping and public statistics. In 1873, he called for the first national

⁴⁰ Leszek Zawisza, *Arquitectura y Obras Públicas en Venezuela: Siglo XIX*, Vol. III. 187.

⁴¹ Arturo Marte and Lorenzo González Casas. "Caracas: Territory, Architecture, and Urban Space." In *Planning Latin America's capital cities, 1850-1950*. 226.

⁴² Rafael Lucca, *Venezuela: 1830 a nuestros días: Breve Historia política*. 94.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 95.

⁴⁴ "Descripción de la exposición del centenario." Guinan, Gonzalez and Adolfo Ernst in *Arquitectura y Obras Públicas en Venezuela: Siglo XIX*, Vol. III. 391-395.

⁴⁵ Arturo Marte and Lorenzo González Casas. "Caracas: Territory, Architecture, and Urban Space." In *Planning Latin America's capital cities, 1850-1950*. 226.

⁴⁶ Arturo Marte, *Urbanismo europeo en Caracas: (1870 - 1940)*. 104.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 106-107.

census.⁴⁸ His is also the first political period during which the sort of cartographic analysis necessary for this study would even be possible. In addition to his *Plano Topográfico*, the 1881 census made available an extensive number of statistically-generated geographic figures and cartographies. This attention to numerical accountability reflects the modern value of scientific reason as integral in decision-making processes, and also hearkens back to the unifying objective of clearer articulation of the Venezuelan identity.⁴⁹ Guzmán sought to impart Venezuela with an intellectual appreciation aided in large part by his introduction of public, free, and compulsory education. This was one of his earliest acts, enacted only two months after his victorious entrance into Caracas in 1870. In addition to facilitating modernization, this was also an important way to diminish the control of the church.⁵⁰

Reflection

Shortly after Guzmán's third and final departure from the presidency in 1888, the country experienced decades of economic stagnation due to an inability to pay off the huge foreign debts amassed in his modernization processes. As such, *Guzmancista* spatial manipulation continued to dominate the city's aesthetic until the oil boom of the mid twentieth-century, after which Caracas would undergo its veritable, and far more famous and widely studied, period of intense urbanization and development.⁵¹ While increasing disdain for Guzmán as a personalist caudillo resulted in the destruction or belittling of many monuments bearing his image, his modernizing impact was incredible.⁵²

The economic or technological opportunities to significantly enlarge Caracas never presented themselves. As such, many of the Haussmanian architectural practices that characterized his style could not come to fruition in the Venezuelan capital. Tree-lined avenues were impossible with roads as narrow and enclosed by buildings as those in Caracas. These problems were magnified with the idea of parks and open urban spaces that departed from traditional plazas.⁵³ Monuments, though frequently cited as among Guzmán's main contributions, were really only successful in their celebration of Bolívar. Guzmán's incessant desire to reify his own personal glory evoked more criticism than veneration, and eventually depreciated the perceived value of his contributions as a whole. Level de Goda, in his anti-Guzmán book, *Venezuela y el General Guzmán Blanco*, mocked the president's public works projects as pathetic attempts to imitate Paris, saying that such attempts only magnified his personal flaws in the context of the nation's developmental and financial inadequacies.⁵⁴ Modern in intent, Guzmán's lavish expenditures may have been more successful in illustrating the socio-economic gaps between Venezuela and Europe than in bridging them.

Another criticism is that Guzmán's efforts were almost entirely dedicated to the capital itself, and that, aside from his focus on highways to direct this nucleus to its

⁴⁸ Arturo Marte and Lorenzo González Casas. "Caracas: Territory, Architecture, and Urban Space." In *Planning Latin America's capital cities, 1850-1950*. 221.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 220.

⁵⁰ Rafael Lucca, *Venezuela: 1830 a nuestros días: Breve Historia política*. 87.

⁵¹ Gerald Michael Greenfield, "Venezuela." In *Latin American Urbanization: Historical Profiles of Major Cities*.

⁵² Arturo Marte and Lorenzo González Casas, "Caracas: Territory, Architecture, and Urban Space." In *Planning Latin America's capital cities, 1850-1950*. 227.

⁵³ Arturo Marte, *Urbanismo europeo en Caracas: (1870 - 1940)*. 26.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 122.

subordinate cells, he ignored the rest of the country. Guzmán's failure to incorporate the entire nation into his modernizing plan was an unintentional result of his ambitions toward making the capital its cultural center. By ignoring, or severely overlooking, the rest of the country and making Caracas its overwhelming cultural and economic lifeline, he instigated a cyclical process that invited domestic migration of impoverished rural peoples whose increasing share in the city's population challenged the deliberate bourgeois aesthetic of its development.⁵⁵ Had he initially included other regions in his modernization processes, migration would have been less imperative, and he may have been able to preserve the visual cultural supremacy he so ardently desired in Caracas.

With Guzmán's statistical transparency, it is easy to verify the reality of these disparities. At the onset of the *Guzmanato*, only 12% of *Caraqueños* lived in interstitial settlements (settlements not located within planned residential areas), but in the 1891 census, with the repercussions of the full *Guzmanato*, this number jumped to a quarter of the city's population, the majority of which being internal migrants.⁵⁶ In other words, this number doubled in 21 years. This increase reflects the dissemination of the idea that Caracas' urban development was the cultural and economic model for the entire country. Conversely, however, it also shows that these modernization processes disregarded the masses unable to afford or integrate into this genre of modernization. By attracting demographic groups to a geographical concept that does not offer realistic opportunities for their assimilation, the foundation of this original attraction is forced to decline. This was certainly the case in Caracas, and the subsequent movement of many upper class residents outside of city limits evidences Guzmán's failure to create a haven of bourgeois ideals directly within the capital.⁵⁷

As interstitial settlements flourished and laboring classes and manufacturing facilities were pushed to the city's periphery, the intended nationalist cohesion of the city also diminished. Monuments and spatial ideals did not long resonate with the same continuity that was idealized in their construction. Hygienic efforts thus focused mostly on commercial districts, which proved unable to transcend the Iberian tradition of remaining close to the city's geographic center.⁵⁸ An urban schematic of Caracas from 1908 reveals a city with broader physical limits, but with little attempted development of public services or monumental attractions into the new periphery.⁵⁹ It is difficult to determine whether these factors should be attributed primarily to Guzmán's ideological or financial oversight, but in either case, they demonstrate an incomplete realization of his goals.

Conclusion

Foreign visitors to Caracas such as Colombian Jorge Urdaneta and American Herman Spence appreciated the city's social civility early during the *Guzmanato*. They noted its lack of crime and cleanliness, compliments which would undoubtedly have resonated significantly with Guzmán.⁶⁰ Certainly, one cannot claim that the president's effort to

⁵⁵ Arturo Marte and Lorenzo González Casas. "Caracas: Territory, Architecture, and Urban Space." In *Planning Latin America's capital cities, 1850-1950*. 222.

⁵⁶ Robert Lavenda "Social Urbanization and Caracas: A Historical Anthropological Analysis." 368 – 369.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 371.

⁵⁸ Arturo Marte. *Urbanismo europeo en Caracas: (1870 - 1940)*. 105.

⁵⁹ "Plano de Caracas, Enero 1908." In *Atlas de Venezuela*. 45.

⁶⁰ Arturo Marte. *Urbanismo europeo en Caracas: (1870 - 1940)*. 108 – 109.

spatially manifest many of his ideological ambitions was a failure. Social realities such as good hygiene and lack of crime were realized early in the *Guzmanato*, because these projects most affected the urban bourgeoisie already present in the city or with the immediate ability to assimilate. As such, his systems of transportation and communication invited national unity, similar to the monumental and spatial continuity created within the confines of the capital. As time progressed, however, this national cohesion faltered, unable to address the needs of a population that identified a sole hub of economic opportunity that did not have the physical potential to incorporate them. Guzmán's ambition, which was further bolstered by his own self-adoration, articulated his ideology without establishing adequate means to preserve it for any meaningful length of time or across any meaningful constituency. After his exit from office and in the years that followed, Caracas' predominant spatial reality was not as much the object of his ambition as he had desired.

Nonetheless, the infrastructural modernization and administrative steps that Guzmán took were not in vain. No other ruler left a comparable physical footprint from the nation's independence through the oil boom of the twentieth century. He did, in fact, turn Caracas into a city deserving of its title as capital, and did imbue the nation with modern ideals that, though not universally applicable, were widely desirable once understood. Although the influx of internal migrants highlighted the city's physical inadequacy, it also proved that Guzmán's efforts were nationally recognized for positioning the framework of Caraqueño society as the central cultural model of the nation.

Caracas' conglomerate identity at the end of the nineteenth century was distinct from Guzmán's ideal. By deferring all attention and resources to building this Parisian utopia, he reluctantly and unwittingly attracted the Venezuelan masses without establishing any means to absorb them. In reality, the absorption of a truly Venezuelan population was never the goal, for it was decidedly against the bourgeois, European fantasy that dictated Guzmán's myopic developmental ambitions. That the arrival of internal migrants equated the failure of a domestic project speaks to its inherent shortcomings. Working so far outside of his context, Guzmán's objectives only be fulfilled in the realms of aesthetics and infrastructure, and much more in the short- term than the long-term. Despite becoming a more modern city, it could not ideologically sustain illusions of bourgeois grandeur.

The final spatial reality of one particular city did not fully resemble the objectives of its primary ideological architect. In reality, no manipulated space can ever be authored by only an individual, a political party, or a movement, and so this conclusion should come as no surprise. However, the example of Antonio Guzmán Blanco demonstrates a case in which the objectives of spatial manipulation were very nearly achieved. It shows the opportunities and challenges uniquely present in a late nineteenth-century Latin American society, less than a century out of independence, riddled with hardship and fragmentation, wherein its prime political actors yearn for a European modernization that scarcely takes the subaltern into consideration. Understanding urban space in the context of its historical manipulators imparts a great deal of insight into its political and social development, and Caracas' transition from a small port-town to the oil-booming metropolis of the late twentieth-century cannot be appreciated without an examination of the *Guzmanato*.

 IMPERIAL SEXUALITY: A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL OVERVIEW

 --
 RUBY DAILY

The first academic overview of sexuality in Britain's age of high imperialism—*The Other Victorians: A Study of Sexuality and Pornography in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England* by Steven Marcus (1966)—confined its focus to those living in the metropole. This parochial approach is unsurprising considering the disciplinary scope of British history at the time. While the age of high imperialism (roughly 1830 to 1914) represented a zenith of global power for Britain, Empire and the Nation were thematically segregated, and the two resultant disciplines largely immured to theoretical exchange. The integration of empire, nation and sexuality did not occur until 1986, a twenty-year epistemological lag that palpably demonstrates the ongoing rift between the history of Britain and the history of Empire. Today, the topos of sex, sexuality and particularly sexual regulation, are recurrent and prolific sites of historical inquiry for the history of Empire. This host of new approaches was contingent on the adoption of interdisciplinary methodologies of gender, identity, and power—all modes of insight ultimately subsumed under the general subheading of “cultural analysis.”

The hybridity of cultural analysis is helpful for tackling a fluid concept like sexuality, which has increasingly been handled by historians as a discursive concept. Yet, charting sexuality within the modus operandi of Empire is especially tricky: attempting to identify the subject and the wielding of agency is both politically and metaphorically explosive in the context of regimented subjugation, racism and violence. Sexuality necessarily encompasses topics like prostitution and rape, never agreeable subjects notwithstanding the double-dose of domination inherent to colonization in the forms of formal regulation and informal cultural forces. In this vein, dialogues that surfaced in the 1980s in the field of Imperial history become especially important, as more historians called for emphasis on the impact of colonization for everyone involved. Rather than addressing colonization as something happening outside of Britain, some historians became interested in the fact that imperialism must be enacted in many places (both “here” and “out there”). Moreover, formulas of imperialism were (and are) reliant on concepts like “race,” “whiteness,” and “masculinity,” which “cultural turn” epistemology views not as *a priori* but performative, interactive and complex. Thus, while the subject and intertwined agency still lack fixity, scholarship possesses mechanisms for navigating their loaded potential. Sex is inherently a site of contact, and the recognition that colonial contact was both prescriptive and productive, hopefully allows historians to more fruitfully analyze the participants beyond their roles as perpetrator or victim, conqueror or vanquished, penetrating or penetrated.

“The Body” is also naturally concerned in any discussion of sexuality, a fact that, for many historians inexorably ties gender and race to sexuality, as concepts scripted onto the same medium. Tensions remain regarding euro-centrism, the prospects (or total impossibility) of recovering the experiences and voices of the colonized and the still disputed capacity of abstract postmodern methods to illuminate history with substantive accuracy. The following examination of extant work in the field of sexuality/sexual regulation in the British Empire demonstrates these more general tensions, in addition to the specific hurdles encountered by historians hoping to probe and contextualize sexuality and Empire.

Prior to the late twentieth century, Imperial history concerned "...the study of treaties and their makers, diplomacy, administration, agriculture and trade, and only occasionally relieved by the odd war,"⁶¹ occupations and activities carried out by white (inherently male) colonizers and adventurers. Moreover, it was a receding discipline mired in traditionalism and frequently perceived as lacking vigor. This traditional, empiricist history was challenged in the 1960s and 1970s, as the subject of colonization was taken up by another realm of scholarship. Postcolonial theorists and historians shifted the object of imperial history from the administrative ruling of former colonies to the experiences and activities of native inhabitants (i.e. the colonized). Often, their analytic lens was one of regional, anti-colonial nationalism, an approach that explicitly rejected conventional imperial history as a colonizer- and male-centric universe reliant on traditional political and strategic narratives.⁶² Moreover, this emergent scholarship voiced suspicion that conventional history of empire was filtered through a sympathy and nostalgia for colonization, and constructed their own oppositional work accordingly: the colonial subject and their concomitant victimization and/or resistance was the new focus. The mechanics (be they political, economic, militaristic, cultural) of control, or how the powerful interact with the powerless, are the point of interest.⁶³ "Pure" (meaning mostly literary) postcolonial theorists have not been particularly hospitable to "postcolonial history" and regard it as another discourse of western mastery, a sometimes-salient critique in the light of pervasive historicism and its innate devotion to positivism.

Some scholars noted that while this splintering created competing objectives (political history of empire building vs. history of subjugation, history of white elite vs. history of the subaltern), both elided the context of empire, namely that empire was both included in and interacting with the home base—Britain. The escalating insistence of historians in the 1980s on the integration of metropole and colony constituted a recognition that this binary relationship was, at least in part, an artificial construction of colonizers themselves. Demarcating the boundaries between "us" and "them," "here" and "out there" was not an organic or static process. Essentially, this is a realization that Imperialism is a Foucauldian discourse; a pattern of knowledge formation. From this perspective, "culture" operates as a constellation of discourses, which prescribe the collective knowledge of a society. The metropole and the periphery obviously exist in reality, but modern historians are more interested in the contemporary cognizance and construction of their relationship. The majority have come to the conclusion that the rigid imperial boundaries (be they geographic, cultural, racial or social) erected by nineteenth-century Britons and twentieth-century historians alike, are less homogenous or innate than previously suspected.

What is especially relevant for the history of empire is French philosopher Michel Foucault's insistence that the power of discourse is inextricably bound to the illusion of language, by which he means that the pervasive inclination to conflate words with reality endows linguistically defined discourse with the apparent authority of reality.⁶⁴ Furthermore, Foucault claimed that discourses are never benign, but naturally vie with one another for

⁶¹ Linda Colley, "What Is Imperial History Now?" in *What is History Now?*, edited by David Cannadine (London: Palgrave Macmillan Ltd, 2002), 133.

⁶² Stephen Howell, *The New Imperial Histories Reader*, edited by Stephen Howe (London; New York: Routledge, 2010), 1.

⁶³ Rochona Majumdar, *Writing Postcolonial History* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2010), xi-xiv.

⁶⁴ Elizabeth A. Clark, *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London: Harvard University Press, 2004), 115.

authority, for the power to delimit “truth”⁶⁵ (for Foucault, knowledge is never indifferent). According to Foucault, discourses operate as truth claims and exist as a means of legitimizing power structures; hence knowledge is a cultural construct, but both a symptom and facilitator of power. The relevance of this theory for imperialism (a system of domination and subordination) cannot be overstated. The same can be said for basic understandings of the history of sexuality, where the gendered and literally penetrative dynamics of sex invoke power both in the abstract and the material.

For the imperial historian concerned with context and connection, this theory of discourse and power is essential. Historian Linda Colley identifies the objective of the contemporary imperial historian as being “sensitive to and willing to investigate the manifold, often paradoxical connections that have operated between different territories and peoples over time, and acknowledge as well the full diversity of power systems and actors involved.”⁶⁶ Imperial scholarship that accepts this premise and the utility of cultural analysis techniques (gender, literary theory, post colonialism, queer theory) is known as “new imperial” history.⁶⁷ This history strives to “treat metropole and colony in a single analytic field” through the recognition that Imperialism is not only material and political, but also discursive and heterogeneous. While the binaries of colonized and colonizer, white and not-white, metropole and colony are suspect, the hope of constructing a history which looks at the interstices of these relationships—without naturalizing them—is the goal.

Unlike the late-blooming “new imperial” history, early scholarship on sex in nineteenth-century Britain did not arise concurrently with the widespread dissemination of postmodern/cultural theory. Thus, British history on sex did not initially grapple with the cultural ambiguity of identity or agency. Surfacing in the 1960s with Steven Marcus’ book, *The Other Victorians*, this scholarship developed in the milieu of social history; its models of sexuality and desire are reflective of that background. The Freudian concepts of Victorian “prudery” and repression are used as the diagnostic planks explicating nineteenth-century moralizing and intolerance of desire.⁶⁸ Most historians would not deny that from late eighteenth century gender and race definitions (and therein prescribed sexualities) both sharpened and hardened in the wake of middle-class assertions of identity and a unique social order.⁶⁹ The exclusionary cultural and social politics of the middle class necessitated the definition of deviance, which (once identified) inversely supported the normative. As Freudian handling of sexuality presumes the inherent nature of desire, its object is to trace the psychological drama of its suppression, release or contortion by outside forces. The conversation is not about discourses of desire because “desire” itself is not in question, rather this model examines the social pressures exerted on individuals.

Ronald Hyam was one of the first historians to aver that sex plays a part in the mechanics and maintenance of empire. Scripting sexual desire onto sites of colonization was a long-standing trope in the western world, which perceived regions like Africa, the Americas and Asia as mysterious, “other” places and people defined by sexual excess,

⁶⁵ Ibid., 114.

⁶⁶ Colley, 134.

⁶⁷ Howe, 2.

⁶⁸ Susan Mednus, *Sexuality and Subordination: Interdisciplinary Studies of Gender in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Susan Mendus and Jane Rendall (London; New York: Routledge, 1989), 1.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 2.

aberration and monstrosity.⁷⁰ Edward Said, in his classic 1978 book *Orientalism*, was the first to point out this “eroticization” of the east by the west, as an exemplar of the long-standing western inscription of the “Orient” as an oppositional “other,” collapsing nations, cultures and histories into a simplified standard that could effectively foil an idealized “west.” Said noted that this hegemonic “Othering” was often couched in the terms of sex and penetration, an allegory for the west’s penetrative conquest of a feminized land; however, he mentioned only in passing that “the Orient” was perceived “as a place where one could look for sexual experience unobtainable in Europe.”⁷¹ Said slips from the symbolic to the real enactment of sex and imperialism as an illustration of an overarching theoretical point.

Hyam was undoubtedly aware of Said, but he was not Said’s disciple as he utilizes a literal “sensual east” model as the axis of his evaluation. This hyperbolic deployment of what Said principally sees as an allegory constitutes Hyam’s entire argument. In his 1986 article, “Empire and Opportunity,” Hyam claimed the centrality of sex for empire, arguing that while the desire for sex did not drive men to colonize, it was nevertheless one of the main (if only) incentives for the sustained enactment of colonization. Thus, while the search for sex might not have driven men to colonize, a redeeming factor of traveling to and remaining in the (inherently boring, dangerous and uninviting) colonies was the rich and diverse “opportunity” for sexual liaison which was repressed and condemned in Britain itself.⁷² In his subsequent book, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience* (1991), Hyam only marginally alters this “sexual opportunity” theory by appending a further premise in which empire serves as a recipient of “surplus sexual energy” redirected away from the metropole; essentially, what British historian Paul Deslandes has called “a safety-valve function.”⁷³ Hyam girds his “sexual opportunity” theory with detailed enumerations of *many*, specific incidents of colonizer-colonized sex acts, presumably clustered together to provide a sort of numeric case for the ubiquity of colonial sexual experience. He charts the expansion and enforcement of Victorian prudery as a form of repression that drives men out into the empire and then subsequently (read: sinisterly) expands into colonial space. Hyam presents an impressive and truly non-pejorative array of colonial sexual activity, making no distinction between male-female, male-male or even male-child sexual couplings—in all configurations of positions, contexts and scenery. Hyam’s inclusion of so many specific instances of colonizer-colonized sexual contact is the best features of the book.

Hyam’s groundbreaking study of imperial sexuality is still utilized by British and imperial historians today. However, despite the pioneering nature of his work (namely his insistence that imperial history *should* address sex), his justification for doing so reveals one of the biggest weaknesses of his analysis:

I have argued so far that imperial history should take account of sex not only because it is a fact of empire, but also because the sex-drive, even in its

⁷⁰ Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York; London: Routledge, 1995), 22-23.

⁷¹ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 190.

⁷² Ronald Hyam, *Understanding the British Empire* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 371.

⁷³ Paul R. Deslandes, ‘Curing Mind and Body in the Heart of the Canadian Rockies: Empire, Sexual Scandal and the Reclamation of Masculinity, 1880s–1920s’ *Gender & History* 21 No.2 (August 2009), 364.

weakest manifestations, has repercussions on how men relate to other people and how they go about their work.⁷⁴

Clearly Hyam believes that sex only has import for empire as far as it affects the colonizing male and their perceptions. Male sexual desires foreground any act, and thus sex in the colonies becomes a simple “question of engaging in gratification or not.”⁷⁵ One might reasonably ask whether “opportunity” encompasses rape and coercion, or the recognition that white male license to take advantage of the supposed “sexual flexibility” of non-western populations is precisely that, taking advantage. For Hyam, sex in colonial settings is “opportunity” not exploitation; “seduction” not rape. He, rather perfunctorily, insists on the agency of women and children (with little evidence) and moreover the potential of their liaisons with white colonizers to improve their economic situation. The inequalities of imperialism are glossed over and what is more, the operations of gender and race are either totally ignored (the former), or simplified (the latter). For example, he suggests that racism could be profitably understood as white men being threatened by the sexual virility and generous endowments of native peoples; an argument reliant on a racist discourse of the “primitivism” of native peoples.

Moreover, Hyam blames the increasingly enforced divide between colonial men and colonized women in beginning in the early nineteenth century (represented by the diminishment of concubinage and prostitution) not only on the arrival of dreaded Victorian repression, but on shrewish white women, who apparently “blighted racial harmony” in their jealous objection to men enjoying the sexual buffet of colonized people.⁷⁶ Hyam blames their entrance for increasing administrative discomfort with miscegenation and therein the end of “the only real contact they [colonial men] had with indigenous peoples,” that “mitigated the harshness of race relations.”⁷⁷ Hyam buys into the “sensual orient” that Said is so critical of, while minimizing (or outright ignoring) violence, race, agency and power. He sees through the prism of the male, colonial elite, while gleefully trumpeting the “unabashed sexuality and erotic variation of the Arab and Asian worlds,”⁷⁸ and lamenting the alleged end of this happy state of affairs. Despite writing his article and book after the formative years of feminist and post-colonial theory and during the summit of gender theory, Hyam explicitly rejects these modes of analysis and thereby contributes to the “orientalist,” and sexist hegemony that had already become so stale in traditional imperial history. Nonetheless, subsequent scholarship did benefit from his demonstration that sex, desire and regulation could be viable topics for imperial history. Hyam provides a framework for the study of sexuality and empire even in his resolute, credulous championing a “golden age” of sexually promiscuous empire. Even the critique that Hyam only countenances the experiences or realities of elite white males must be tempered by the fact that he is interested in every variation of their sexual desires, including homosexuality. Indeed, Hyam was the first historian to point out an apparent omnipresence of homoeroticism among the colonizing, white male population of empire.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Hyam, 271.

⁷⁵ Angela Woollacott, *Gender and Empire* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 89

⁷⁶ Hyam, 210.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 215

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Woollacott, 89.

While Hyam has offered some productive mechanisms of analysis for the study of sexuality and empire, there are essentially no subsequent historians of imperialism and sexuality who so whole-heartedly reject the theoretical proffering of identity discourse. Hyam is operating within the contexts of traditional philosophy, which had treated the self as autonomous, responding to external forces rather than constituted by them. Poststructuralist theorists like Foucault turned conventional “self” on its head by maintaining that identity can only be understood as part of the differential network of “discourses and practices that install a particular regime of truth.”⁸⁰ Identity, reoriented as a discursive construct, thus becomes a clash of truth claims, which compete to define the human subject. What is more, the identity discourse of gender is of prime importance to sexuality. One can argue that gender and sexuality operate in tandem, but while gender can potentially be understood outside the context of sexuality, sexuality must be foregrounded by the operations of gender, desire generally being moored to the sexual orientation of an individual. The theoretical codification of gender theory occurred in the 1980s, as the field of women’s history shifted from the feminist project of recovering the historical woman, to the cultural project of locating gender. This system was one in which structured relationships are recognized and analyzed, but not validated as “real” or fixed. Yet, in terms of sexuality, the anatomical components of coitus are associated with biological sex categories, which are then in turn, layered upon by social and cultural discourses of gender. This is an especially important point when discussing sexual behaviors labeled “deviant” by nineteenth-century Britons, particularly same-sex desire.

Most history of sexuality and empire operates either tacitly or overtly in this epistemological milieu; however, epistemological fissures are apparent. Indeed, imperial historians struggle with the quandaries produced by relying on a discursive analytic, particularly in relation to sexuality and desire. Many historians have chosen to study the state-regulation of prostitution in colonial regions, not only because the archival sources exist but because it offers an avenue for the “new imperial” analysis, which privileges comparative studies, “connexity” and the discursive frictions of identity generated by colonial encounters. But the argument could be made that these methods might not be particularly effective for understanding the *exercise* of agency, as much as attempts at its *constraint*. Eminent imperial historian Catherine Hall has synthesized much scholarship in her comment that “...in the end, there was no panoptic imperial state, but only a partially realized range of efforts to specify the use of public space and to dictate what cultural affinities and styles and what distribution of affection would prevail in the street and in the home.”⁸¹ While this is a clear-sighted description of administrative agency, one might ask, “where are the people?”

Part of the difficulty in utilizing Foucauldian discourse is that Foucault was not particularly interested in individual consciousness. Foucauldian theory insists that sex is a crucial site for discourse, scripted not only by “disciplines” of the body but the explicit regulation of populations—what he calls “technologies of sexuality” or “biopolitics.”⁸² Regulation of sexuality hopes to affect the corporeal enactment of sex and desire, but exists in the realm of social and cultural *imaginings* of sex. Sexuality and desire are problematic because, unlike gender or race, it has not been *conclusively* disconnected from some kind of

⁸⁰ Ibid., 119.

⁸¹ Catherine Hall, “Review of ‘Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power. Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule by Ann Laura Stoler,’” *Social History*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Nov., 2004): 534.

⁸² Mendus, 5.

biological or emotional interiority. The majority of “new imperial” historians accept that that sexuality is implicated and enmeshed in the production of “unfixed” categories like race, masculinity and femininity. However, the analysis of their discursive interaction is muddled by the unavoidably “real” act of coitus, and therein the unavoidable fact that the operative locus of sex and desire is within individuals. Thus, while almost all “new” imperial historians of sexuality agree on discursive readings of gender and race, the primacy given to sexuality/desire as discourse or interior production varies.

This is demonstrated by an examination of three loosely defined categories of imperial sexual history, which are unfortunately artificial categorizations employed for analytic utility rather than as a reflection of some absolute truth. All “new imperial” historians utilize sexuality as an ingress into the mechanics of imperialism—whether broadly discursive or highly individualized. All historians under discussion also reflect a healthy skepticism of imperialism, informed by a belief that power is unequal and hegemonic, be it generated through violence or realized through abstract cultural forces (and few would claim these would ever be mutually exclusive). In any case, the major topics of sexual, imperial history are generally regulation, discursive productions of “Othering” imbricated by race, class and gender, and studies of personal subjectivities.

The study of imperial regulation is one of the most prolific and established sectors of the field. As Ann Stoler has commented, “who bedded and wedded whom in the colonies of France, England, Holland, and Iberia was never left to chance.”⁸³ Specifically, these historians focus on the Contagious Disease Acts and similar legislation that ostensibly aimed to control the transmission of venereal disease, but structured this mission as it pertained to prostitution.⁸⁴ These laws were most vigorously enforced and long-standing in the colonies, demonstrating how colonial rule and military efficiency is inextricably bound up in the passage of Contagious Disease (CD) legislation. The mid 1860s saw the widespread enactment of CD legislation in a whole host of colonies, and while their domestic repeal was achieved through the agitation of activists in 1886, these regulatory policies were maintained throughout the colonies by British administrators, both formally and informally, up until the 1920s.⁸⁵ Though CD legislation did not overtly concern the military, its enactment certainly correlated to post-1857 Indian mutiny anxieties regarding the health and welfare of colonial troops.

Hyam claims regulatory measures are symptomatic of Victorian “repression,” yet nineteenth-century CD laws were contemporaneously accused of being a tacit endorsement of prostitution. CD laws operated by policing prostitutes, requiring registration, intrusive medical inspections, and the sequestration of infected prostitutes into “lock hospitals,” supposedly to diminish rates of sexually transmitted diseases but also implicitly to “protect” the men who procured their service. Responding to Hyam in *Race, Sex and Class under the Rag: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and their Critics, 1793-1905* (1980), Kenneth Ballhatchet views regulatory practices not as Victorian “prudery,” but as a consequence of anxieties about the performance and maintenance of elite imperial prestige and racial

⁸³ Ann Stoler, “Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the intimate in Colonial Rule” in *The New Imperial Histories Reader*, edited by Stephen Howe (London; New York: Routledge, 2010), 181.

⁸⁴ Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (New York; London: Routledge, 2003), 38.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 44.

purity.⁸⁶ Administrative elite were unwilling to permit lower ranking military officials to marry due to concern that these officers could not bear the expenses associated with the “appropriate” household maintenance of white women. At odds with this attitude was their concomitant belief that the health and wellbeing of British soldiers necessitated sexual release, lest they turn to the “insanity producing” devices of masturbation or homosexuality.⁸⁷ Thus, prostitution expedient, but also implicitly dangerous as soldiers could become afflicted by venereal diseases. Regulation was, to colonial administrators, the obvious solution: “lock hospitals” and inspection were instituted. Systems of concubinage were also viewed as a conduit for gaining knowledge of local society and culture while providing a female domestic who satisfied domestic needs as both a sexual outlet and a housekeeper.⁸⁸

Ballhatchet’s contribution is in exposing the facilitation of prostitution and concubinage for lower ranking soldiers, and simultaneous discouragement or even prohibition of similar behavior in high-ranking officers. He attributes this hypocrisy to the civil administrations anxiety to preserve both class and race prestige in the elite, who are assumed to be more capable of exercising the rationality and morality necessary for continence than lower-class grunts. Colonial administrations feared disruptions of imperial hierarchies, and Ballhatchet notes that in the latter half of the nineteenth century they increasingly organized against perceived threats to an explicit *racial* prestige, registering a decided mistrust of Eurasians and condemnation of miscegenation.⁸⁹ Ballhatchet rejects Hyam’s condemnation of white women as architects of discord between colonizing males and native populations, but nevertheless views their arrival as “widening the distance between the ruling race and the people,” while creating a drive in Englishmen to protect them from the “lascivious Indians.”⁹⁰ The eroticization of native populations is thus noted, but not linked to gender categories.

In *Prostitution, Race & Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire*, Philippa Levine views discourses of the body, specifically the female body, as imperative to the production and enactment of CD regulations in the colonies. She agrees with Ballhatchet that prostitution/regulation was justified both by class politics and rhetoric of the naturally licentious native, which insisted that “local immorality was a convenience that could be censured even while it was sampled.”⁹¹ But Levine emphasizes that it is the *female* colonial body that is equated with prostitution, therein inscribing the colonies “as a giant brothel” where every female colonial body is available for purchase. For colonial administrators, the fortuitous correlation between sexual supply and demand only required regulation due to the wide spread of venereal disease. Levine punctures the validity of this explanation by explicitly bringing the colonial, female body into her argument, demonstrating that the CD acts were remarkably silent about male agency and responsibility. While the male colonizer is simply asserting his masculinity, the prostitute is portrayed as a dangerous and immoral site of sexual disorder and disease that could literally or figuratively “infect” the white male.

⁸⁶ Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex and Class under the Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and their Critics, 1793-1905* (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1980), 2.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁸⁸ Woollacott, 92.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁹¹ Levine, 180.

Levine ties the increasing fervency and anxiety attached to the “victimization” of white men by colonial bodies to increasingly medicalized fears about racial purity. Like Ballhatchet, Levine invokes the anxious attempts of colonizers to maintain prestige, but locates their terror in the female, colonized body that late nineteenth-century medicine and administration hoped to control and discipline. Related issues like contraception, age of consent, genital mutilation and prostitution also experienced the effects of shifting official attitudes, playing out differently in some regions according to the needs of the colonizer and the level of resistance from native populations.⁹² Clearly, moral and/or medical contexts were less constitutive of official regulation than was insisted on by British authorities.

Though these histories of regulation navigate the hierarchies of politics, power, gender and race, all hope to explicate the production and operation of regulation, usually in martial contexts. Cultural and social discourses are often central to their argument, but not the explicit subject of study. Conversely, for scholars like Ann Stoler, Mrinalini Sinha and Anne McClintock, the racial and gendered production of imperialism is at the heart of their scholarly inquiries. The most explicitly theoretical of these scholars is Ann Stoler who, as an adherent of Foucault, focuses on discursive ontologies and frequently delves into the historiographical implications of “new imperial”-ist history. In *Race and the Education of Desire* (1995), Stoler states that colonial studies owes huge epistemological debts to Foucault and thereafter Said (who was explicitly inspired by Foucauldian theory), but questions how conscious “new imperial” historians have been of the implications of these theoretical appropriations.⁹³ Much of her book is also devoted to asking why historians have been so quick to overlook or dismiss Foucault’s arguments on the historicity of imperial sexualities, race and gender. Stoler’s point is that while many historians, even specifically post-colonial historians, have taken up the theoretical framework of Foucault, they are less likely to have countenanced his “empirical” historical points. Foucault asserted “the hysterizing of women’s bodies, the pedagogic expertise applied to children’s sexuality, the socialization of procreative life, and the psychiatric analytics of perverse pleasure” all worked as “intense sites of power relevant to imperial history”.⁹⁴

She contends that many colonial historians have conflicting allegiances to both Foucauldian discourses (like the biopower-model) and a technically oppositional Freudian hypothesis of repression and the “psychodynamics of empire.”⁹⁵ What is most important to Stoler in outlining this conflict is that discourses of race and gender are not simply mechanisms that empower the state but are productive of cultural sentiment and discursive identities. Freudian notions of interiority make empire and empire building the site of psychological exploitation, a perspective that privileges the acts of the colonizer and minimizes the power dynamics that mark the processes of inclusion and exclusion, (i.e. “Othering”). Stoler advocates studying the management of sexualities, but moreover locates its productive authority as the foundation for the “grid of intelligibility” that underwrote all European bourgeois identities.⁹⁶ For Stoler,

⁹² Ibid., 150.

⁹³ Ann Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault’s History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 1995), 3.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 13.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 53.

... European women and men won respectability by steering their desires to legitimate paternity, and intensive maternal care, to family and conjugal love; it was only poor whites, Indies-born Europeans, mixed-bloods and natives who...focused too much on sex. To be truly European was to cultivate a bourgeois self in which familial and national obligations were the priority and sex was held in check—not by silencing the discussion of sex, but by parceling out demonstrations of excess to different social groups and thereby gradually exorcising its proximal effects⁹⁷

This “European” identity was more than the power-politics of empire, more than excessive sexuality being vented upon native populations; it was a hierarchy of categories that delimited a bourgeois self. Discursive genealogies of categories as important in that “...there was no bourgeois identity that was not contingent on a changing set of Others who were at once desired and repugnant, forbidden and subservient, cast as wholly different but also the same.”⁹⁸

In *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power* (2002) Stoler applies her theoretical meditations to research on the French and Dutch empires to show comparative “patterns and rhythms in strategies of colonial intervention focusing on issues of racial mixing and sexual control.”⁹⁹ Her approach borrows from the “human geography” trend, labeling spatial and racial workings of the colonial home and domesticity as venues of imperial anxiety and prescriptive identities. Again, Stoler identifies sex as a “transfer point” of power, but also sees it as an entry point into the “how and why micro-sites of familial and intimate spaces figure so prominently in the macropolitics of imperial rule.”¹⁰⁰ Her concrete subjects of study are childcare, servants, the emigration of white women, and state perceptions of mixed-race offspring. Her continuing mission is to “identify colonial categories, their changing criteria, and their moving parts” through “genealogies of the intimate.”¹⁰¹ “Unions” always draw Stoler’s eye, their productive nature, either in literal offspring or palpable power dynamics (as with concubinage), often inscribing or reinforcing racial categories. Stoler emphasizes that sex is also an act of reproduction, the material effects of which create a literal and physical focal point for concepts of racial production. While “whiteness” and “blackness” were often in flux, knowledge of parentage created an understanding of racial hierarchy that was supposedly fixed. The ascent of eugenics underwrote and emphasized the authority of this narrative.

Contrary to Stoler’s claims that most historians unconsciously and unsuccessfully bridge Foucauldian and Freudian theory, some have deliberately attempted to marry psychoanalysis and discursive categories. In *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (1995), Ann McClintock attempts to mesh the overarching discursive elements of imperialism with lived experience. McClintock seizes on the “new imperial” belief that imperialism was as fundamental to constructions of the self in the metropole as in the colonies (a claim not so different from Stoler) but goes on to say that the “triangulated

⁹⁷ Ibid., 182-183.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 192-193.

⁹⁹ Hall, 533.

¹⁰⁰ Ann Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press, 2002), 19.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 21.

themes” of gender, race and class produced through the imperial medium were used to police all dangerous others (read: deviants), including “the working class, the Irish, Jews, prostitutes, feminists, gays and lesbians, criminals, the militant crowd.”¹⁰² For McClintock, “race and ethnicity” are not “synonymous with black or colonized”; moreover, sexuality is contingent on gender as an unfixed dynamic of “masculinity” and “femininity” volleyed between the individuals and institutions who give it meaning.¹⁰³ McClintock deploys this methodology as a means of marking the intricacies of agency, equally refusing to see unequivocally black or gendered bodies or explicit victimization, the latter creating “...a tendency [to] equate agency with context, body with situation, and thus annulling possibilities for strategic refusal.”¹⁰⁴

As a professor of English, McClintock utilizes historicized literary theory to demonstrate how domestic space was racialized and colonial space was domesticated, insisting that the “imperial project” was meant to bring intellectual order to unknown territories, but likewise was a process that mediated personal interiorities. Utilizing “fetish” and “abjection” as psychoanalytic tools, McClintock ties their implications to social hierarchies of class and race, insisting that the transgressions they imply are predicated on social and cultural structures, indeed on a sort of implicit recognition that such structures are invented and thus susceptible to reinterpretation and scripted re-ordering.¹⁰⁵ McClintock relies upon Freudian theory, but also rejects some of its tenants, especially any theory predicated on the phallus or lack thereof. She does not see the subjective site of “deviant” sexual behavior as an interior “crisis in category” but rather as a paradigm of “triangulated contradictions” that reflect the failure of society to offer resolutions to concurrent oppositional values, like the insistence that femininity was produced by domesticity while, nevertheless, the lower class female toiled.¹⁰⁶ Thus she creates a construct that can be identified in an individual, and then tied back in to social and cultural structures.

Clearly, all discussions on the discursive production of empire are interested in the power of categories, the production of their authoritative hierarchy and their implications for both individuals and cultural/social constructs. Levine neatly outlines the basics of this topos by stating that “...racial difference comes to occupy a role parallel to that of sexuality as a critical political and cultural conduit. Race and sex as categories deployed by colonial authority to damn morally questionable societies worked invariably in tandem, inseparable in their very fashioning as well as in their material effects.”¹⁰⁷ While Stoler and McClintock treat nationality as a facet of the imperial ontological prism governed by gender and race, some historians conversely position these discourses an interface for nationalistic identities. *Colonial Masculinity: The ‘Manly Englishman’ and the ‘Effeminate Bengali’ in the Late Nineteenth Century* (1995), by Mrinalini Sinha does exactly that. The “European” identity or unfixed frictions of “white” and “black” represented by Stoler and McClintock are examined in a specific circumstance, namely the productive tensions of British male identity and Indian

¹⁰² McClintock, 5.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 14-15.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 140.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 129-140.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 180-203.

¹⁰⁷ Levine, *Prostitution, Race and Politics*, 182.

male identity, formed by the “axes along which power was exercised in Colonial India.”¹⁰⁸ Sinha demonstrates not only the unfixed nature of “colonizer” and the “colonized” (and thus the need to constantly rearticulate the boundaries of these categories), but that this process occurred in Britain *and* in India.¹⁰⁹ Investments in masculinity by Britons and Indians were constitutive processes, where intersections of local and global politics were always at play.

Since Sinha’s book is a political history of discursive nationality interconnected with masculinity, it approaches sexuality differently than either Stoler or McClintock. Stoler clearly does not believe that questions of masculinity are actually central to questions of *sex per se*. For her, masculinity is about the subordination of men by men; sex and racism are part of that assertion but their relationship is incidental. Yet, Sinha bases much of her argument on the concept of “effeminacy” as a delimiting tactic of the British conditioned by sexuality, desire and sexual control. The “effeminate Bengali” is an ideological tag affixed to the Indian male by the British, and is characterized as ineffectual and weak due to overindulgence in sex beginning at a young age and often masturbatory in nature.¹¹⁰ The converse of this archetype is the British male, who is controlled, powerful, hyper masculine, and, more specifically, is advanced beyond the primitive systems of “premature consummation,” (i.e. child wives).¹¹¹ Yet the converse masculine ethos that was constructed by Indian nationalists utilized a similar exclusionary model and thus argued that signs or practices of “effeminacy” were Western imports that diminished the virility of Indian men.¹¹² For example, while many of the British assumed or insisted that homosexuality was rife among Indians (a consequence of their “effeminacy”), Indians alleged that same-sex acts were introduced by the British and signaled their Western moral decay. Indian nationalists also accentuated an inferior and chaste portrayal of Indian women to foil the power and agency of the Indian man. Clearly, Sinha’s point that colonial masculinity was mutually productive (rather than shipped in from the metropole) and predicated on sexual control and correlated ladders of sexual morality is salient for understanding discourses of colonial sexuality.

The previously discussed histories are concerned with the interplay between discourses with little to no sustained focus on individuals (excepting McClintock). Clearly, discursively constructed sexuality and desire offers a venue for historical inquiry. While the productive digestion of Foucault, headed by Joan Scott, caused an epistemological explosion in the historical field, these sorts of broad and arching categories are perhaps less fruitful for the micro-implications of sexualities and desires rendered “devious” or non-normative. McClintock explores the “fetish” (clearly non-normative) in a case study of Cullwick and Munby, rendering their histories important as they demonstrate interior engagements with socially discursive patterns. The interior process that produces their behavior is interlocked with an epistemological system at-large. Yet how does sexual orientation fit into this model? The nineteenth-century pathologizing and criminalization of same-sex desire obviously operate as discourse, yet it is indicative that work in the field of imperial same-sex desire/homosociality/homosexuality is mostly engaged in a process of reclamation, expressed

¹⁰⁸ Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The ‘manly Englishman’ and the ‘effeminate Bengali’ in the late nineteenth century* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), 1.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 158.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 158-159.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 159.

as the exploration of interiority. Many of these historians continue to utilize discursive categories of gender, yet pursue individual experience as a means of retrieving the history of subordinated groups.

While these works (excluding Hyam) still rely on poststructuralist and Foucauldian gender theory of unfixed “femininity” and “masculinity,” they turn to Freud as their analytic model. This is not to imply that these historians are swallowing Freudian theory whole (except perhaps in the case of *Forever England: Reflections on Masculinity and Empire* by Jonathan Rutherford) but instead are interested in Freudian notions of interiority and personal subjectivity, as opposed to broad social and cultural production of discourse. This interplay of broad “discourse”—represented by the acceptance of Joan Scott/Foucauldian gender theory—and the mining for subjective sexual experience is different for each.

Colonialism and Homosexuality (2003) by Robert Aldrich, is at the far end of the spectrum in its minimal engagement with Foucault. He chooses a broad range of places (aiming for a comparative study) including Australia, the East Indies, North Africa, South and South-East Asia and Polynesia. Yet despite the multiplicity of setting, from the outset he proclaims his disinterest in recovering the “voices” of natives.¹¹³ His sole subject is the white colonial male. He attempts to contextualize native sexual mores, but the colonized partner (willing or unwilling) is largely a silent module of the homoerotic act rather than a historical agent. *Colonialism and Homosexuality* is formatted as a string of biographies on a wide variety of white colonizers (explorer, administrator, writer, artist), including Alexander von Humboldt, Richard Burton, Nikolay Przhevsky, Henry Morton Stanley and Cecil Rhodes. Aldrich’s argument, taken as a whole, is that the colonies were a site where men with homoerotic or homosocial tendencies could enjoy more flexibility and opportunity for fulfillment—a theory analogous with that of Ronald Hyam. Aldrich occasionally notes the dynamics of racial and gendered power, stating that

...[homosexuals] renegade position as sexual heretics at home had led them to sexual opportunities in foreign countries, yet cast them in an ambiguous position...although representatives of the ‘master race’ and imperial power, they did not fit into the mold of heterosexual life (or even concubinage) and child rearing.¹¹⁴

Yet he absolves the hierarchies of racial discourse by insisting that the subordinate position of homosexuals in the metropole rendered them sympathetic to colonial subjugation and thus they were likely to critique or oppose imperialism. While some personal subjectivities of *some* men are clearly reflected in this argument, the broad implications of power (namely that the imperialist project facilitated these men’s travels, conquests and implicit authority) are ignored by Aldrich. The hierarchies of power are not displaced simply because a historical actor notes their imbalance. In any case, Aldrich does succeed in recovering rich, personal inventories of homoerotic behaviors and desires throughout empire that are detailed and compelling on a narrative level.

In a similar vein, but one more indebted to cultural dynamics, John Tosh in *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (2005) positions the appeal of empire for white colonizing men as an escape from metropole strictures of social expectation,

¹¹³ Robert Aldrich, *Colonialism and Homosexuality* (New York; London: Routledge, 2003), 8.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 367.

domesticity and respectability.¹¹⁵ He links this rejection of normative values to a pervasive homosocial culture, in which “comradship was valued, domesticity disparaged and sexual escapades overlooked or approved.”¹¹⁶ For Tosh, men raised in the homosocial spaces of public schools looked to the colonies as testing grounds for “manliness,” foregrounded by “adventure, sexual license, personal authority and violence.”¹¹⁷ He explains that this yen for colonial environments and adventure was specific to the upper classes, who achieved “manliness” through structures and systems entirely devoid of women. Tosh also correlates this exodus of middle and upper class men to colonial settings to some men’s explicit homoerotic inclinations; however, the colonial site is broadly a “more relaxed sexual regime” rather exclusively a potential paradise for same-sex desires.¹¹⁸

While Tosh relies upon a model of “manliness” and “masculinity” in his arguments, he also utilizes a concept of “repression,” whereby middle and upper class men fear and disdain the regulatory effects of domesticity and act to circumvent its jurisdiction. Tosh is speculating about the interior productions of self and identity that are threatened by an external force and guide personal initiatives. This external force is represented both by anxieties about degeneration and the fitness of British manhood, the threat of “new women,” and the constraints of domesticity (a venue that does not permit the articulation of “manliness”). Tosh invokes the sexual freedom of colonial settings without questioning the “Orientalist” perspective of an erotic east. Perhaps, as the personal motives and interior experiences of elite white men are his main focus, the validity or discursive connotations of these convictions is not really the point. “Regulation” and “repression” are equated, and the answer to both is to flee women and enter a homosocial world. The imperial project, for Tosh, is undeniably sexed and psychologically produced.

In *Forever England: Reflections on Masculinity and Empire* (1997), Jonathan Rutherford takes a similar tack, albeit an entirely Freudian one, in positing the implicit homosocial nature of Victorian masculinity, but views all colonization as British men projecting their homosexual urges and desires through conquest, displacing their same-sex inclinations onto deviant native populations.¹¹⁹ Without getting into his claims about the role of mothers in this process, Rutherford posits that the imperial project is contingent on male “troubled subjectivities” in which sexuality is shaped by trauma and concomitant reactionary responses. Rutherford does see the bourgeois home as the foundation for male perceptions of sexuality and empire, but psychologically rooted familial relationships are given primacy in this cause-effect model of imperialism.

In “Curing Mind and Body in the Heart of the Canadian Rockies: Empire, Sexual Scandal and the Reclamation of Masculinity, 1880s–1920s” (2009) the psychological implications of same-sex desire in the colonial context is explored by Paul Deslandes, who sees masculinity, homosocial camaraderie and medical discourses of perversity and insanity at work. Deslandes posits that

¹¹⁵ John Tosh, *Manliness and Masculinities in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2005), 200.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 203.

¹¹⁸ Tosh, 208.

¹¹⁹ Jonathan Rutherford, *Forever England: Reflections on Masculinity and Empire* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1997), 29-30.

“rather than simply providing a contrast to the more restrained and superior sexuality of Europeans, imperial contexts also provided venues and genuine opportunities not only for the articulation and enactment of desire but also for introspection and reflection on one’s position within the modern world.”¹²⁰

Thus, Tosh and Deslandes both explore colonial space as the operative site of escape. Taking the personal history of a James Outram, Deslandes shows the complexity of medical practice at the turn of the century when scientific conjectures about the causality of homosexuality were in flux. Outram was a vicar whose same-sex desires/behaviors led his distressed upper class family to engage the services of doctors to both explain and correct his behavior.¹²¹ In the case of Outram, the Canadian west was chosen as a primordial “site of recovery,” mirroring suspicions that same-sex desire was the ill effect of modernization; therein, rustic settings possessed the power to realign disordered (manly) mental states.¹²² Deslandes demonstrates that in his enthusiastic embrace of mountain climbing and Canadian life, Outram similarly viewed the colonial environment as a place of restoration and moreover as an opportunity to assert an imperial, masculine identity based on “assertiveness, aggression and a conquering spirit.”¹²³ Outram utilized imperial travel as a means of negotiating and demonstrating his identity, perhaps sublimating his sexual desires through the gendered conquest of rugged space. Outram’s family eventually deems the restorative powers of this environment inadequate (apparently a “relapse” has occurred), and thus they pursue a more stringently medicalized treatment by placing Outram in a Hartford psychiatric hospital, where he continues to plead for the remedy of travel, climbing and camping.¹²⁴ Deslandes contends that Outram views the Canadian west as a site of sanctuary, linking this perception to both the innately homosocial environment and the psychological opportunities for a personal exploration of identity. In essence, he is taking a middle ground between discourse and the subjective constructions of identity produced through and within colonial contexts.

All scholars of this last thematic category are interested in recovering the personal subjectivities of individuals or categories of individuals (like elite white men). As has been noted, this focus on interiority is usually rendered by scholars through Freudian theory augmented by Foucauldian assumptions about gender. Interestingly, most of these historians only address the construction of masculinity but neglect to note that Foucauldian discourse is predicated on power. The difference between using Freud and using Foucault is that Freud believes in innate desire and the (deleterious) effects of repression, whereas Foucault does not believe in desire except as discourse produced by power relations. Foucauldian desire is concomitant with power. To use Freud is usually to naturalize desire and thus mitigate power hierarchies; to use a truly Foucauldian discourse is to denaturalize desire and assume the centrality of power to its production. Many of the aforementioned historians such as Tosh, Rutherford, Deslandes, and Aldrich sidestep discussion of the power hierarchies implicit in the agency of their subjects, seemingly because their subjects are an “other” in their own society (homosexuals etc.). The unspoken implication of this elision is that they are absolved of complicity in the racialist and sexualized operations of empire because of their parallel

¹²⁰ Deslandes, 359.

¹²¹ Ibid.,

¹²² Ibid., 367.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 372.

subordination. They are “repressed” and thus occupy similar historical territory as the colonized, despite the fact that many of these historians focus on white elite males, a position of power regardless of non-normative sexual proclivities. Contemporary scholars should question whether the experience of social, cultural or medicalized repression categorically produces (and excuses) participation in, or exploitation of imperial contexts. “Sexual opportunity” does not mean the same thing for the colonized and the colonizer, for both material (economics, violence) and abstract (power, culture) reasons. While the project of reclamation is very important, “women’s historians” have demonstrated the pitfalls of viewing historical subjects as victims whose narratives reflect suffering or self-redemptive agency. Personal narrative and subjective reality can, and should acknowledge the mechanics of power and complicity.

All of this extant work on sexuality and desire by historians of empire is (unbelievable as it may seem) not thematically exhaustive. Little research has been conducted on lesbians in colonial contexts, a project that has been called for since the 1990s but has yet to be undertaken. The perpetual difficulty of retrieving the perceptions/agency of the colonized is also a source of constant disparity, the experience of the white colonizer still commanding the bulk of historical study if only due to the availability of existing source material. Perhaps postcolonial theorists were correct that history does little to nothing for the colonial subaltern, possibly even reinforcing imperialist domination by being seemingly unable to retrieve imperial experience through anything but the white colonizer lens. While all “new imperial” historians hope to destabilize imperial categories, is this act of deconstruction enough? Many “new imperial” historians like Levine, McClintock, Sinha and Stoler claim that imperial history has important contemporary implications for the nationalistic, imperialist behaviors of today, especially in the context of twenty-first century American global hegemony. Antoinette Burton devotes the entire introductory chapter of her book *Empire in Question: Reading, Writing and Teaching British Imperialism* (2001), to her first-hand experience of teaching imperial history to students who specifically view this history as salient for a post-9/11 world of American global domination.¹²⁵ All of these historians insist that imperialism is “unfinished business,” that “post” terms like “post-colonialism” belie the ongoing performance of imperialism across the globe as a means of articulating nation, or indeed “empire.” These historians claim that in deconstructing imperial authority, they are not only revealing the historicity of its effects, but the moving parts that enable it, which include gender and sexuality now, as much as ever.

¹²⁵ Antoinette Burton, *Empire in Question: Reading, writing and Teaching British Imperialism* (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2001), 2-3.

A TALE OF TWO INTELLECTUALS: RACHEL CARSON AND MURRAY BOOKCHIN ON SCIENCE, NATURE, AND HUMANITY

--
ERIK WALLENBERG

Introduction

Rachel Carson began her career working as a scientist and then as editor-in-chief for the United States Fish and Wildlife Service. At the end of her life, as she battled cancer, she testified before a United States government panel in order to try and set regulations for the agency she once worked for, and recommend policies to the field in which she had spent her career. Her book, *Silent Spring*, published in 1962 and read by millions of people around the world, secured her position as a central figure in the modern-day environmental movement. Earlier that year, the social ecologist Murray Bookchin published *Our Synthetic Environment* under the pseudonym Lewis Herber. *Our Synthetic Environment* is an indictment of the pesticide and chemical industry in much the same way as *Silent Spring*. But while Rachel Carson is a renowned figure in the environmental movement, Murray Bookchin, was neither recognized at the time, nor popularly known today, despite his active role in environmental movements. This paper examines why these two monographs on humans' impact on the ecosystem had such different receptions.

The primary subject of Carson's and much of Bookchin's writing was the chemical industry, exemplified by its production of the pesticide dichloro-diphenyl-trichloroethane (DDT). DDT was marketed for commercial and civilian use after the chemical industry lost its primary buyer at the end of World War II. Historian Donald Worster has suggested that *Silent Spring* should be seen as a response to this war-generated technology, represented by nuclear waste and DDT.¹ There were rapid advancements in science in American society in the early 1960s, which caused great public anxiety. Carson and Bookchin were interested in these advancements and their public reception.

In this field of scientific advancement the zoologist Robert Rudd, who had published two articles on the harmful effects of pesticides in 1959, influenced both Carson and Bookchin. Rudd, a professor at the University of California at Davis, was ready to publish his book, *Pesticides and the Living Landscape*, before both of them, but was held up by an academic publishing committee under the sway of the chemical industry. Rudd was tied to an academic institution and an academic press, and the process limited what he could say. Rudd pushed forward with the fight for academic freedom to pursue his research unimpeded. While he might be considered an intellectual in a traditional sense, Rudd found that he was hindered by institutional constraints on making his work publicly accessible in 1960. This was a particular constraint that Carson and Bookchin never had, freeing them to pursue their intellectual interests without restriction.²

¹ Donald Worster. *Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas* (New York: Cambridge University Press), 1994, 348-349.

² John Bellamy Foster. *The Ecological Revolution: Making Peace with the Planet* (New York: Monthly Review Press), 2009, 75-78; Linda J. Lear. *Rachel Carson: Witness for Nature*. (New York: Henry Holt), 1997, note 70, 551. Eventually Rudd published his book to great praise, but not before being fired from UC Davis. After a difficult process, he found a publisher and won back his teaching appointment. Because of this delay in

This paper considers the transition Rachel Carson went through from one of many government employees, scientists, and writers, to a single public figure seeking to intervene in the direction of U.S. society and shape the ideas of what was in the interest of public good. The focus here is on the ideas, not the implementation of policy, but speaking to power, and speaking to the public in order to shape what that policy might be. Coming into her role as a public intellectual, Carson found herself speaking to large groups of people about topics seemingly far removed from her academic training in biology, zoology, and oceanography. Murray Bookchin's path, from Communist Party youth organizations and left opposition to Stalinist Russia, to trade unionism, utopianism, anarchism, and libertarianism seems to be a long way from Rachel Carson's intellectual development. From fairly early in his life Bookchin integrated ideas of ecology into his political outlook. With no special training as a scientist, but fluent in the language of politics and democracy, Bookchin came at the question of ecology from a different place than Carson.

In comparing their divergent paths as ecologists and authors of books that sounded an alarm and put forward a different vision of society, we can gain a better understanding of what it meant to be an intellectual, thinking and speaking about environmental issues and humans' relationship to the non-human world, in 1960s America. Both Carson and Bookchin employed different approaches in this process. While talking about the problems of pesticides, each identified a different cause and therefore argued for a different solution. These differing approaches and ideas were one factor that affected how many people they could reach and who would be interested, but there were other reasons as well that need to be investigated. Ultimately, Carson's role as a known public intellectual meant she already had an audience to consider her message, whereas Bookchin's relative anonymity destined a smaller impact.

Historiography

There are at least a half dozen major biographies of Rachel Carson in publication and many major articles in various popular and academic journals about her life and work. While there is not, as of yet, a full biography written of Murray Bookchin, there are numerous academic articles and alternative press publications dealing with his ideas. Though Rachel Carson makes no mention of Murray Bookchin in her published works, it does appear, according to her biographer Linda Lear, that she read *Our Synthetic Environment*.³

Linda Lear only mentions Bookchin once in the main text of her 500-page biography, *Rachel Carson: Witness for Nature*, and twice in her footnotes.⁴ In an earlier article published in *Environmental History Review* in 1993, Lear also mentioned Bookchin in a footnote, but only to remind us that he was not relevant to the pesticide debate because President Kennedy did not cite him, as he did Carson, as a reason for the initiation of his science advisory committee.⁵ So while Lear notes that Bookchin never got the attention of the White House, she does not venture to ask why that was or explain why that might be important. Lear's work implicitly suggests that the attention of the White House is what

publication until after *Silent Spring* we have no way of knowing if his work might have had as big of an impact as Carson's.

³ Lear. *Rachel Carson*, note 94, 572.

⁴ Lear. *Rachel Carson*, 613.

⁵ Linda J. Lear. "Rachel Carson's 'Silent Spring,'" *Environmental History Review* 17:2 (July, 1993): 23-48; note 57, 47.

made *Silent Spring* important and ultimately a catalyst for change. Is White House attention what matters? Would *Silent Spring* have gotten the attention of the White House without its popular reception?⁶

In an article in *Feminist Studies* in 2001, historian Michael Smith takes up the question of why Bookchin's monograph had such a muted reception in comparison to Carson's. He posits:

Because Bookchin's polemic viewed pesticides merely as a symptom of an economic system that was pathological to its core. Without social justice, he argued, there could be no environmental justice. He hoped to leverage a popular overthrow of the status quo through his exposé of government and corporate complicity in the poisoning of the environment and people. Bookchin's critique of society was simply unpalatable to even many of those "fringe" groups with whom Carson was speciously associated.⁷

In addition to this partial explanation, the historian Yaakov Garb attempted a more developed explanation in an anthology, *Minding Nature*. Garb's thesis is that Carson tempered her ideas to make them palatable to the greatest number of people. He starts by noting that Carson did not talk about her ideas of nature having intrinsic rights, and that she tempered her considerations of the social causes of natural destruction by focusing on the "arrogance" of some scientists. On the other hand, Bookchin, Garb notes, had an "unabashedly political orientation."⁸ Both Garb's and Smith's discussion of Bookchin's and Carson's differing receptions are helpful advances over the earlier citations of Bookchin that contain no discussion of why *Our Synthetic Environment* had such a muted reception compared to *Silent Spring*. But does this answer the question of their differing reception thoroughly enough? Before taking up this question, it will be helpful to first look at the role of the intellectual in public discussions of ecology and humans' role in shaping the non-human world.

Ecological Intellectuals

In order to discuss humans' relationship to nature, argues the environmental and intellectual historian Donald Worster, we must talk about ecology. Indeed he argues that there was a central intellectual role played by ecologists, Rachel Carson included, in shaping the formation of the modern environmental movement.⁹ He argues that today environmentalism is a "decidedly public engagement." Further, that with the loss of so much wilderness, the growth of cities, and the growth in human population and development, there is little ability to retreat to uncharted territory. Ecologists, environmentalists, scientists, and

⁶ As noted in Lear. "Rachel Carson's 'Silent Spring,'" note 49, 567-568, President Kennedy remembered reading a serialized portion of *Silent Spring* in *The New Yorker* before eventually reading the entire book. Interestingly, Stewart Udall, Secretary of the Interior under Kennedy, contributed the introduction to Bookchin's follow-up to *Our Synthetic Environment*, *Crisis in the City*, also published under his pseudonym Lewis Herber, in 1968. See Murray Bookchin. *Crisis in Our Cities: Death, Disease and the Urban Plague* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall Press), 1968.

⁷ Michael B. Smith. "'Silence, Miss Carson!' Science, Gender, and the Reception of 'Silent Spring.'" *Feminist Studies* 27:3 (October 2001): 733-752; 745.

⁸ Yaakov Garb. "The Politics of Nature in Rachel Carson's 'Silent Spring,'" in David Macauley, ed., *Minding Nature: The Philosophers of Ecology* (New York: Guilford Press), 1996, 240, 246.

⁹ Worster. *Nature's Economy*, ix.

activists all must engage in the world of human actions rather than retreat, as some more famous American ecologists and environmentalists have done in the past.¹⁰ Worster cites scientist and public intellectual Barry Commoner, who called for the public role of the intellectual and the scientist to restrain the worst aspects of profit driven corporate America as early as the 1960s.¹¹ Certainly Carson achieved a degree of “public engagement” while Bookchin surely tried. Tellingly, Bookchin is not cited nor mentioned once in Worster’s authoritative history of ecology. If he is not written into the history, and not read or known widely, how can he have an influence on society? Is he a public intellectual? Using the definition of philosopher and intellectual Theodore Adorno, Bookchin may fit the role even better than Rachel Carson, in that he promoted ideas that were not palatable to a mainstream audience, a sort of “message in a bottle” to be discovered at a future date when society might be ready to hear his ideas.¹²

There are many different notions about the role played by the intellectual in society, who qualifies as an intellectual, and what constitutes an intellectual pursuit. Edward Said, in his 1993 Reith Lectures, discussed these questions. He ultimately summed up his notion of the intellectual as someone who “speaks truth to power,” relying on the intellectual’s hold on the public’s ear to speak up for those who don’t have a public voice.¹³ By this definition, we can certainly see how Rachel Carson fits neatly here. She gained notoriety as a popular science writer with her best-selling 1951 *The Sea Around Us* and achieved a degree of financial independence with the 1955 publication of *The Edge of the Sea*.¹⁴ However, not all best-selling authors are intellectuals.

Carson went further in writing her next book, *Silent Spring*, which very directly “spoke truth to power.” In *Silent Spring*, Carson made a case in defense of the non-human world, a world that has no direct voice to speak up for itself, and writes forcefully for the human world, in the interest of public health. She made a clear and directed case against the “decision...of the authoritarian” in the form of the chemical industry and the government that has failed to regulate it.¹⁵ Carson toured the country and gave speeches to groups of health professionals, women’s groups, garden clubs, and university audiences.¹⁶ Finally, she presented public testimony in front of congress using her ideas, knowledge, and voice in the role of the public intellectual to “speak truth to power” in a very concrete way.

Speaking for the Reith Lecture Series twenty-four years before Edward Said, Frank Fraser Darling discussed environmental issues facing the world but sounded a more pessimistic note than Rachel Carson. Delivered in 1969, seven years after the publication of *Silent Spring*, Darling implied that there was a scientific slackness in Rachel Carson’s work, saying “the possibly less scientifically equipped publicist must usually precede the scientist in arousing attention” and that *Silent Spring* had a larger affect “than more erudite scientific opinion.”¹⁷ In implying that she was less scientifically minded and more of a popularizer,

¹⁰ Worster. *Nature’s Economy*, 351.

¹¹ Worster. *Nature’s Economy*, 355.

¹² See Theodore Adorno. “Messages in a Bottle,” *New Left Review*, I/200 (July-August 1993).

¹³ Edward W. Said. *Representations of the Intellectual: The 1993 Reith Lectures* (New York: Vintage Books), 1996.

¹⁴ Lear. *Rachel Carson*, 208, 273.

¹⁵ Rachel Carson. *Silent Spring* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin), 1994, 127.

¹⁶ Rachel Carson. *Lost Woods: The Discovered Writing of Rachel Carson* (Boston: Beacon Press), 1998, 197.

¹⁷ F. Fraser Darling. *Wilderness and Plenty: The Reith lectures 1969* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin), 1970, 39.

Darling mentions Robert Rudd as that more scientific mind. Of the twenty citations Darling uses for the whole of his lectures, including Carson and Robert Rudd, the work of Murray Bookchin is not cited. Certainly if Rachel Carson hovered on the edge as a popularizer but not a legitimate scientist, Bookchin could hardly be considered worthy of mention to the Reith's world-wide audience.

Bookchin fits well into another definition of the intellectual, that of Antonio Gramsci's "organic intellectual." He is a product of his working-class reality and served his class "as an organizer of men" with "specializations that they need."¹⁸ Growing up in a working-class immigrant family in New York City, working in a car parts manufacturing plant, and serving the interests of his class in trying to win economic and political justice, Bookchin is a perfect model of the organic intellectual.¹⁹ His union organizing and his philosophical writings were both attempts to shape the direction of society in the interests of the working class and humanity in general. Bookchin argued that to "resolve our fundamental ecological problems...the solution...must be as historic, as fundamental, and basically social, as the sources of the problems themselves."²⁰ Bookchin was a revolutionary, and through revolution he thought that there could be a restoration of humanity's relationship with the natural world. This is what he wrote about. However, unlike Carson, Bookchin's audience was limited by his anonymity.

Politics and Prescriptions

Rachel Carson and Murray Bookchin saw the world through a different lens. Their intellectual viewpoints, while in accord on the manifestations of environmental distress, differed in the cause of the problem. Bookchin's outlook was systemic and he looked at the question of economics and democracy, targeting the very foundations of society. Carson, on the other hand, looked to the greed, the arrogance, and the drive for profit from *some* sectors of society as the problem. She looked to reform those sectors through channels of governmental oversight and by arousing public outrage to force government action. In this effort, Carson was specific in her solutions, presenting seemingly achievable and acceptable paths to correct the problems presented in *Silent Spring*. Bookchin, on the other hand, said the problem was "humanity's split with nature" and he made a less concrete call for decentralization of people out of cities and for a radical change in how democracy functioned in the society.²¹

However, both of them were writing books that they hoped would be widely read and influential in changing humanity's relationship to nature. They were both exposing the dangers of chemicals and pesticides in the environment and their effects on public health. It seems Rachel Carson masked some of her more radical ideas and perhaps started drawing more radical conclusions after the publication of *Silent Spring*. It is also true that Bookchin was likely doing the same in *Our Synthetic Environment*. We know Bookchin had radical ideas, but beyond his vague discussion of the source of environmental problems in society, in

¹⁸ Antonio Gramsci. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (New York: International Publishers), 1972, 5 and chapter 1 in general.

¹⁹ Janet Biehl. *A Short Biography of Murray Bookchin* (Anarchist Archives, accessed by the author 11/25/2011), http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/bookchin/bio1.html

²⁰ Murray Bookchin. *Our Synthetic Environment* (New York: Harper & Row), 1974, lxix.

²¹ Bookchin. *Our Synthetic Environment*, introduction to the second edition and especially chapter 8.

the concluding section of his book, he says that “(t)he time is approaching when the *ad hoc* measures with which we have tried to stave off the problems of environmental change will have to be supplanted by lasting ecological solutions.”²² This appears to be an opening to a discussion about revolution, but it is far from it. Bookchin first suggests some ideas for those who might be more comfortable with “individual rather than social action,” including small-scale farming, healthier diets, and quitting smoking.²³ And, while he says the legislative option may be better than individual action, he outlines a long list of the failures of legislative regulation. This is in marked contrast to Rachel Carson’s consistent call to regulate. While this may be why the President was not interested in inviting Bookchin to testify to his science advisory committee, it is more likely that Kennedy had never heard of Murray Bookchin and neither had most people. Carson wanted to reform and regulate the industry and the scientists acting in corporate service. She made the case for restrictions and regulations but her main message was the need for ethical change and an understanding of ecology and the interdependence of life.²⁴

In the fall of 1962, after the publication of *Silent Spring*, Rachel Carson had that broader audience when she delivered a speech in which she argued that science was being compromised “to serve the gods of profit and production.”²⁵ Her statement at this time touches on a topic well beyond her science writing about the sea. Less than a decade earlier she had written the bestseller *The Sea Around Us* and achieved a degree of notoriety and perhaps more importantly, independence from any institution that might regulate what she would choose to write. Here we remember the fate of Robert Rudd’s book, held up for publication by a university committee. Carson had certainly moved in a more radical -- but mainly a more political -- direction. She was not calling for a revolution, but rather reforms to make the world a better place. Many heard this call, and regardless of what Carson saw as the core problem, they took her call and headed in many different directions with many different analyses to try and win change to the status quo and try to restore the balance in nature that Carson wrote and cared so much about.

In the end, Carson maintained a clear hope in her friendship with Stewart Udall and the Kennedy administration, counting on them to enact meaningful regulations. She became so close to Udall, mainly in their shared outlook on the importance of good science and in the need for regulation, that he was a pallbearer at her funeral. When Udall said, “In the sense of a change in our thought, I think she was a revolutionary” he captured best what Rachel Carson’s legacy has become.²⁶ She certainly never considered herself a revolutionary in the sense that Bookchin did, but in terms of shaping ideas, she has paved the way for many environmental writers, activists, and intellectuals who have attempted to shape our ideas of nature and to speak truth to power in order to change the direction of society and restore a “balance of nature.”

Reviews

²² Bookchin. *Our Synthetic Environment*, 210.

²³ Bookchin. *Our Synthetic Environment*, 215-226.

²⁴ Worster. *Nature’s Economy*, 349; Carson. *Silent Spring*, chapter 17.

²⁵ Carson. *Lost Woods*, 197.

²⁶ Peace River Films. *Rachel Carson’s Silent Spring* (New York: WGBH Educational Foundation, WNET), 2007.

While it is important to consider the difference in content between the two books and the ideological outlook of the authors, the following reasons help explain why *Our Synthetic Environment* never had a chance to make the impact that *Silent Spring* did. Both *Silent Spring* and *Our Synthetic Environment* were widely reviewed and in many of the same publications. Each had a *New York Times* review as well as a review in *The Times Literary Supplement*, *Kirkus*, *The Economist*, *Natural History*, the *Library Journal*, *Chemical and Engineering News*, and *Booklist*. Even with this impressive list of reviews for Bookchin, comparable to those for Carson's work, she still added many more including *The Christian Science Monitor*, *The Atlantic*, *Bookmark*, *The Chicago Sunday Times*, *Christian Century*, *Commonwealth*, the *Nation*, *The New York Herald Tribune*, *The San Francisco Chronicle*, *The New Statesman*, and *Saturday Review*. Looking even more closely, Carson received front-page reviews in the *New York Times Book Review*, *Chicago Tribune Magazine of Books*, *New York Herald Tribune Books*, and *Saturday Review*.²⁷

The review for *Silent Spring* in the *New York Times* was also much longer than the review that appeared for *Our Synthetic Environment*. *Silent Spring* made a holiday book list in December as well as a "symposium by best-selling authors" that placed Carson in the company of James Baldwin among over a dozen others whose books were published in 1962.²⁸ In addition, the *New York Times* reviewed *Silent Spring* just days before its official release, while they waited nearly a year after publication to review *Our Synthetic Environment*. The authors of the *Silent Spring* review, titled "There's Poison All Around Us Now," were a pair of authors of the book, *The Balance of Nature*, while Bookchin's reviewer is simply noted as writing for the *New York Times* "around issues of science" and quotes the book only once in the entire review.²⁹ From both the title of the review and of the authors' own book, it should be clear that Carson had a sympathetic review, while Bookchin's reviewer was ambivalent at best.

Both Carson and Bookchin secured prominent book publishers with a large reach. Carson published with Houghton Mifflin who had printed her previous book, *The Edge of the Sea*, in 1955. Murray Bookchin secured publication with Alfred Knopf, another major publisher, though this was his first book. He bemoaned the book's poor sales "despite the encouragement of a prestigious publisher" in a new introduction for the second edition published twelve years later by Harper.³⁰ The *New York Times* carried multiple full-page ads for *Silent Spring*, including one on Oct 9, 1962, that notes there were 100,000 copies of the book in print, while only one small ad for *Our Synthetic Environment* appeared a week later and said very little.³¹

The advantages for Carson begin with the most basic fact printed on the cover of each book; the author's name. For Murray Bookchin, publishing his first book under a pseudonym

²⁷ *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co, 1962-1963).

²⁸ James Baldwin, Rachel Carson, et al. "What's the Reason Why: A Symposium by Best-Selling Authors." *The New York Times Book Review*, December 2, 1962.

²⁹ Lorus and Margery Milne. "There's Poison All Around Us Now: The Dangers in the Use of Pesticides Are Vividly Pictured by Rachel Carson," *The New York Times Book Review*, September 23, 1962; John Osmundsen. "Man Against Nature," *The New York Times Book Review*, May 19, 1963.

³⁰ Bookchin. *Our Synthetic Environment*, xii.

³¹ *New York Times*, "Display Ad 161 -- No Title," October 9, 1962; "Display Ad 230 -- No Title," October 16, 1962.

meant his name was unknown, having not previously used it in other publications. It is also true that he had not published a book, though he had published articles under Bookchin. The reasons for using a penname are most likely found in his radical politics and his earlier affiliation to, and publications in, various socialist and communist magazines and newspapers. If we consider the atmosphere in 1962, not too far removed from the communist show trials of 1950s McCarthy-era America, then we can understand the pressure that Rachel Carson is known to have felt about appearing too radical, and can speculate that Murray Bookchin had even more reason to feel the same way. Perhaps he was hoping to publish a book that would be widely received, and calculated that a pseudonym would give him a chance where otherwise he might have found difficulty publishing at all. As late as 1974 he published, *The Limits of the City*, under his penname, before the second edition of *Our Synthetic Environment* was released under Bookchin's actual name. After this, Bookchin seemed to find more of a following and published regularly until the end of his life, though his work is not widely seen as having an impact on the modern environmental movement.

This naming issue leads to many clear advantages for Carson. Carson spoke widely after the publication of *Silent Spring* and indeed she was forced to turn down most requests as her health would not allow her to travel.³² Bookchin could not as readily publicize his work, though he did manage to do some publicity. There are a number of radio listings in the *New York Times* for Bookchin giving talks on his book, including a discussion on WBAI-FM on October 5, 1962 under the name Lewis Herber.³³ But his anonymity and inability to lay the serious ground work that Carson did in her serialization in *The New Yorker* is an obvious impediment to higher sales and recognition.

Carson was, at the point of publication, already well known to a section of readers and was quickly becoming more widely known. Her name and her book were referenced by a reporter who asked President Kennedy to comment on the pesticide issues, and the article ran on page nine of the *New York Times* with a large photograph of Rachel Carson beside it. This was all one month before *Silent Spring* was even released.³⁴ Her well-known and well-sold books also helped, as the expectations were high that she could produce another best-seller. In 1951, her second book, *The Sea Around Us*, had such a popular reception that she obtained a degree of financial independence that allowed her to quit her government job and focus full time on her science writing. *The Sea Around Us* spent 86 weeks on the bestseller list. She was recognized widely as a popular science writer, publishing in the *The New Yorker*, *The Atlantic*, *Readers Digest*, and other popular magazines.

Ultimately, we need to acknowledge that Carson was already a public figure, while Bookchin had not yet made a name for himself. He did not have a specialty that he was well known for, and so he did not have the audience to bring with him when he wanted to “speak and write about broader matters,” in the words of Said.³⁵ Like Said's ideal intellectual, Carson had come down from her expertise, investigated an area of science with which she had some familiarity, and used her book, her talks, and her testimony on a government panel to speak truth to power to senators and the President of the United States. The science of the day pushed her to grapple with the dangers faced by humanity and the natural world. While it

³² Lear. *Rachel Carson*; Carson. *Lost Woods*.

³³ *New York Times*, “RADIO,” October 5, 1962, 49.

³⁴ Marjorie Hunter. “U.S. Sets Up Panel to Review The Side Effects of Pesticides,” *New York Times*, August 31, 1962, 9.

³⁵ Said. *Representations of the Intellectual*, chapter 5, especially 87-88.

is certainly true that Carson had scientific training, as historian Yaakov Garb argues, Carson had no background to prepare her to talk about structural determinants.³⁶ In fact her background as a government scientist makes the perfect profile for someone writing for the victory of science in winning *reforms*. Carson was not making an argument against technology per se or for changing the fundamental basis for chemical production or profit making. She was writing and arguing for the regulation of the chemical industry in the name of good science. Nearly every chapter of *Silent Spring* ends with a plea for sanity, reform, and more science to deal with pest problems.

Legacy

While their political outlooks contrasted, this cannot be the sole reason for the differing receptions and divergent legacies of Carson's and Bookchin's works. Certainly there were differences in their politics, and ultimately in their belief in the need for reform or revolution, but these ideas were not totally clear in each of their books at the time. As Garb has argued, Carson was trying to shield her more radical ideas, and we certainly see this in the talks she delivered after *Silent Spring* was published. But it also appears that Bookchin was doing some shielding himself. The use of his pseudonym and vague calls for decentralization, a return to the countryside, and even advice on individual solutions is a far cry from revolution. If anything, the main political difference in the books was Carson's call to regulate the chemical and pesticide industry while Bookchin made the case to eliminate the divide between the city and the country by creating "agronomized townsmen" and the "urbanized farmer."³⁷ Carson's was a limited call for reform while Bookchin's was likely perceived as too big of a change, too unrealistic, and too abstract. Ultimately, the contents of their books are complementary, but Rachel Carson's name was bound to draw people's attention in 1962, while the name Lewis Herber was not.

Both Bookchin and Carson called themselves ecologists. In looking at how they defined ecology, the work they did, and the impact they had on the world, we gain an understanding of what it meant to be an ecologist and a public intellectual in the mid-twentieth century. Grappling with questions of government regulation, corporations' role in creating pollution, and public health scares, Carson and Bookchin had to decide what could be done to change society, to regulate it, or to overturn it. Both attempted to write and speak for a popular audience, but Carson had success where Bookchin did not. Carson's focus on a single issue and her moral call and insistence on reform through the best science available found a hearing and practical results. Bookchin's argument, that legislation does not work and his vague call to decentralize the population, was mostly ignored.

Regulation of pesticides, as Garb argues, leaves the ultimate question of ecology and the human-nature relationship unresolved. Barry Commoner, in an interview that was cut from a film commemorating the forty-fifth anniversary of the publication of *Silent Spring*, addressed the limited nature of the reforms enacted since Carson's time. Commoner opined that the "way to improve the quality of the environment is to prevent pollution in the first place...in the few instances in which pollutants like DDT and PCB have been banned and lead has been taken out of gasoline, that's the only area in which we get a significant

³⁶ Garb. "The Politics of Nature in Rachel Carson's 'Silent Spring,'" 245.

³⁷ Bookchin. *Our Synthetic Environment*, 242.

improvement in the environment. All of the controls haven't really worked."³⁸ So we must consider the few moments in history where pollution was halted by bans instead of regulations. Bans have had a positive effect, while regulations are regularly ignored. Since Commoner did this interview CFC's have been banned while carbon dioxide has not. The negative impact of CFC's, the hole in the ozone layer, has begun to repair, while the negative impacts of carbon emissions, global warming, has become a runaway problem.

Rachel Carson, in a preface that she wrote for an animal rights book in 1964, the year she died, sounded a more radical note than can be found in *Silent Spring*. She wrote, "The modern world worships the gods of speed and quantity, and the quick and easy profit, and out of this idolatry monstrous evils have arisen...As for the general public, the vast majority rest secure in a childlike faith that "someone" is looking after things – a faith unbroken until some public-spirited person, with patient scholarship and steadfast courage, presents facts that can no longer be ignored."³⁹ Carson was writing this introduction for another author, but sounds very much like she could be writing about herself. This "public-spirited person" who can "no longer be ignored" is the intellectual that Rachel Carson had become by the end of her life in 1964. We cannot know where she might have ended up, but this preface she wrote and the questioning of profit give an indication that she could have started to draw more radical conclusions for what solutions society needed. Maybe she would have ended up in the government, making good policy or defending bad. Perhaps she would have found herself a place outside the halls of government putting pressure on politicians for reform, or maybe even arguing for a revolution with the 1960s generation that followed in the wake of *Silent Spring*.

Today, there is more pesticide use than ever, while DDT use is still widespread in the developing world. Barry Commoner discussed this concern by pointing out that the motivation of corporations that pollute the environment, chemical companies included, "is to maximize profit." In doing this, we can see "that environmental quality, the environmental crisis opens a window on a very fundamental political and economic question which is – should private corporation(s) govern what is produced and how it's produced even if it has an effect on all of society or should society as a whole have something to say about that? That's a tough political question and it remains with us today."⁴⁰ There are environmental problems well beyond what Carson and Bookchin wrote about in 1962, but the question of corporate control, government regulation, and profit motives in opposition to public health and democracy remain with us in a very familiar form. Revisiting questions of how to popularize ecological issues to motivate a popular movement and governmental change is more important than ever. This implies that revisiting issues of reform and revolution--issues raised in the writings of Rachel Carson and Murray Bookchin--and how public intellectuals gain a hearing, will be just as essential.

³⁸ Barry Commoner Interview from "State of the World," 9/19/1989, from the Linda Lear Collection of Rachel Carson Books and Papers, Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives, Connecticut College Collections and Archives, file 14, box 32.

³⁹ Carson. *Lost Woods*, 194.

⁴⁰ Barry Commoner Interview from "State of the World," 9/19/1989, from the Linda Lear Collection of Rachel Carson Books and Papers, Linda Lear Center for Special Collections and Archives, Connecticut College Collections and Archives, file 14, box 32.

THE DIRE CONSEQUENCES OF IMPERIALIST DESIRES: UNITED STATES TERRITORIAL EXPANSION, 1840-1917

--
MATT LAURO

In the span of 141 years, the United States exponentially increased the size and scope of its territorial holdings. Beginning with the outbreak of the American Revolution in 1776, reaching a fever pitch during the era of Manifest Destiny in the 1840s, and ending with the entry of the nation into World War I in 1917, the United States asserted itself as one of the largest and most powerful nations on the face of the Earth. The country conquered land from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific coast, fighting off the nations of Great Britain, France, Spain, the Philippines, and Mexico, as well as a plethora of Native American tribes, in the process. Yet the rise of the United States as an international power was also met with unintended consequences, the collateral damage incurred from territorial expansion and its accompanying ideology. The primary and gravest consequence of this territorial expansion was the development and application of a uniquely American form of imperialism that was utilized in Asia and Latin America, and would come to divide the nation along ideological lines by the early 20th century.

While the United States had acquired a significant amount of territory prior to 1840 (notably President Jefferson's purchase of the Louisiana Territory in 1803¹), it was the decade of the 1840s in which territorial expansion rooted itself in the heart of the American government as well as the American public. American Romantic writer John Louis O'Sullivan first employed the term "Manifest Destiny" in 1845. While it was initially coined in reference to the annexation of the Republic of Texas, it became such a popular term within the American lexicon that it would come to characterize the period of western expansion.² The belief rapidly disseminated and transcended partisan and geographical boundaries. The concept of Manifest Destiny came to be characterized as the idea that America was uniquely favored by a higher power because of the structure of the government. Due to this, it was believed that God (often referred to as Providence³) desired to see the American people expand their nation from coast to coast: "sea to shining sea". America was meant to push west, spreading democratic self-government and liberty along the way. In this respect, the nation was to be to democracy what Johnny Appleseed was to apples.

The dream of Texas annexation soon became a reality when President Tyler, in one of his final actions as the sitting President, formally annexed the Republic in March 1845 via a joint resolution.⁴ The push for Texas annexation was aided by pro-annexation members of the Democratic Party, who feared that the British were conspiring to annex the territory for themselves and establish a satellite state within the United States, through which they could exert influence over the region and prevent the spread of slavery into new territories, a fear

¹ Jed Handelsman Shugerman, "The Louisiana Purchase and South Carolina's Reopening of the Slave Trade in 1803," *Journal of the Early Republic* 22 (Summer 2002), 265.

² R.W. Johannsen, "The Meaning of Manifest Destiny," in *Manifest Destiny and Empire: American Antebellum Expansionism*, eds. Sam W. Haynes and Christopher Morris (Arlington, TX), 7-8.

³ R.W. Johannsen, "The Meaning of Manifest Destiny," 9.

⁴ Piero Gleijeses, "A Brush With Mexico", *Diplomatic History* 29, No. 2 (April 2005): 226.

which resonated with the Southern states in particular.⁵ The United States' annexation of the Republic of Texas led to a war with Mexico beginning in July of 1845. However, the Mexican government was essentially broke, plagued by a series of civil wars and fragmented by internal strife; several Mexican territories had pushed for independence in the same way Texas, which had previously been the Mexican territory of Tejas, had done. Mexico's declaration of war on the United States was, for all intents and purposes, a futile show of self-respect in the face of resounding defeat. Mexico acknowledged that it could not defeat the American military, but it simultaneously recognized that to allow the United States to swoop in and acquire Mexican territory without a fight would, from an international as well as a governmental standpoint, portray Mexico as a nation of pushovers.⁶

As was anticipated, war with Mexico was an easy victory for the United States. The expansionist ideology that was espoused by the doctrine of Manifest Destiny, however, was merely beginning. With the acquisition of Texas, the United States began to decrease the scope with which it looked at itself in relation to the world; no longer satiated by the territory of the continental United States, the government (and consequently the American public) began to focus on outlying lands such as the Kingdom of Hawaii. This is the point at which the ramifications of the drive for territorial expansion and the accompanying ideology of divinely-ordained conquest slowly became evident. As George Catlin, a painter who lived and traveled with Native American tribes throughout the 1840s, stated: "I have seen this splendid juggernaut rolling on, and beheld its sweeping desolation."⁷

One of the first consequences of territorial expansionism, aside from extension beyond its original borders, was the development of filibustering. Contemporaneously associated with the political act of verbally halting a piece of legislation in Congress, the term "filibuster" in its original conception entered into the American vocabulary during the 1850s. Filibusters were non-state agents of a nation (most often the United States) that planned, developed, and often participated in the invasion of foreign nations with which their nation was diplomatically at peace. It constituted a new form of conquest, one shaped by citizens rather than the government, yet still rooted in violence as a means to an end. Fittingly, John Louis O'Sullivan, the man who coined the term "Manifest Destiny", was himself a filibuster, participating in an invasion of Cuba along with a revolutionary, Narciso Lopez, in 1849-1850.⁸

The act of filibustering was unique because it was an illegal action that was condemned by the government, yet also aided the same government with its overarching goal of expansion. Filibustering was illegal, yet it was basically a miniaturized version of an American military invasion and was characteristic of an extension of the ideals of Manifest Destiny on an individual level. This was equal parts inspiring and problematic for the US government. On the one hand, it showed that a plurality of Americans were intellectually and emotionally invested in the related notions of Manifest Destiny and territorial expansion; on the other hand, it showed a reckless regard for the hegemonic power of the United States

⁵ Sam W. Haynes, "Anglophobia and the Annexation of Texas", in *Manifest Destiny and Empire: American Antebellum Expansionism*, eds. Sam W. Haynes and Christopher Morris (Arlington, TX), 116-117.

⁶ Piero Gleijeses, "A Brush With Mexico", 227-228.

⁷ T.R. Hietala, "This Splendid Juggernaut: Westward a Nation and its People", in *Manifest Destiny and Empire: American Antebellum Expansionism*, eds. Sam W. Haynes and Christopher Morris (Arlington, TX), 49.

⁸ Robert E. May, "Manifest Destiny's Filibusters", in *Manifest Destiny and Empire: American Antebellum Expansionism* (1997), eds. Sam W. Haynes and Christopher Morris (Arlington, TX), 148-149.

government over its own denizens. It may have also been troubling for the government, in the wake of a military dismantling of Mexico, to see myriad groups of filibusters attempting to acquire additional Mexican lands in the name of the USA. Between 1848 and 1865, filibusters attacked the territories of Yucatan, Camargo, Reynosa, Matamoros, Mazatlan, Sonora (twice), and Piedras Negras.⁹ For antebellum America, filibustering was intricately intertwined with territorial expansionism. This was of particular emphasis amongst Southerners, who believed that by filibustering in Mexico, they could spread both democracy and the economically critical system of slavery, which would increase the power of the Southern United States and could also plausibly add more slave states to the Union in the future.¹⁰ For the federal government, the most vexing characteristic of filibusters was that from an international perspective, there was little difference between the actions of the United States government and the actions of its citizens; this made international relations all the more difficult for American representatives, consuls and ambassadors, who were tasked with differentiating governmental and citizen actions to the nations with whom they interacted.

The limits of American expansionism were further stretched in the mid-1850s through an unlikely source: the Guano Islands Act of 1856. The act allowed any US citizen to claim unclaimed, uninhabited lands in the name of the United States government, provided those lands had deposits of guano (dried animal droppings used as an organic fertilizer).¹¹ The bill was distinct because of its language, which stated that lands acquired under such circumstances were to be considered as “appertaining to” the United States, an inherently ambiguous term. As argued by Christina Burnett, this was done intentionally by the United States so that it could exert power over foreign lands in an imperialist manner without having to also take responsibility for those lands in the way that a country normally would be required to do.¹²

The language of the Guano Islands Act created an interesting scenario, as it was the first attempt by the United States in drawing a line of demarcation between what constituted lands *of* the United States and what constituted lands *belonging to* the United States. This can also be viewed as drawing a line between who was a citizen *of* the United States and who was part of a nation controlled *by* the United States—this notion was also often premised upon a racial hierarchy, with white Anglo-Saxons at the top. This demarcation was an unexpected side effect of territorial expansion and was characteristic of imperialist nations, who employed similar deceptive means in establishing “protectorates” that allowed them to assert sovereignty without taking on inherent sovereign responsibilities.¹³

The drive for territorial acquisition in the name of Providence was temporarily derailed by the onset of the Civil War in 1865 and the following period of Reconstruction. Territorial expansionism reappeared by the time that the Reconstruction era had ended in 1877, but its character had begun to shift from a regional to an international phenomenon, and it was precisely this shift in character that would come to strip the veneer and romance away from the notion of Manifest Destiny.

⁹ Robert E. May, “Manifest Destiny's Filibusters”, 155-157.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 163-166.

¹¹ Christina Duffy Burnett, “The Edges of Empire and the Limits of Sovereignty: American Guano Islands”, *American Quarterly* 57, No. 3 (2005), 779-780.

¹² Christina Duffy Burnett, “The Edges of Empire”, 796-800.

¹³ Burnett cites an example given by Martti Koskenniemi. *Ibid.*, 798-799.

The Gilded Age and the Progressive Era, two successive eras that encompassed American history between 1877 and 1917, was the time period in which the veil of liberty was removed from the face of Columbia, laying bare the sharp teeth of economic imperialism that had been masked. Specifically, the 1890s was the decade in which the United States began to employ economically imperialist measures throughout the Western hemisphere as well as in various locations around the globe. This American imperialism is best characterized by the Spanish-American War, a war that the United States entered into more because of the notions of “manhood” and “masculinity”¹⁴ than out of necessity or territorial protection.¹⁵ The United States ravaged the reeling Spanish empire, engaging in warfare for the brief period of three-and-one-half months before an armistice was declared. In return for a show of mercy, the United States was given a multitude of territories, including Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines.

The acquisition of the Philippines became highly problematic for the United States. The US wanted to gain a foothold in the Chinese market, a market that the American public had been fantasizing about since the Centennial Exposition of 1876.¹⁶ Related to this was the rise of the “Orientalist” phenomenon in American homes; women from all walks of life and economic classes began to perform home decoration and early interior design, with an emphasis on emulating décor from around the globe. The most popular of these was Oriental décor and chinoiserie; many women created Oriental rooms modeled after opium dens, while those with less excess income to spend created Oriental “cozy corners” in one or more rooms of their homes.¹⁷

This Orientalist movement was popular beginning in the 1870s, peaking in the late 1880s and 1890s alongside the interest in the Chinese market. It was particularly curious, however, in light of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. A dichotomy is clearly evident: Americans desired Chinese goods, trade with the Chinese, and a stranglehold on the Chinese market, yet they had no desire to interact directly with actual people of Chinese ethnicity. When thought of on an individual scale, Chinese citizens were stereotyped and placed into the caricature of “John Chinaman”, a base, sneaky and utterly deceptive creature that was barred from inclusion in the United States and derided for its inability to assimilate to American culture. When Americans thought of the Chinese as an aggregate nation rather than as individuals, the Chinese were suddenly worthy of interaction with Americans, so long as they remained in their own country.¹⁸ Xenophobia and sentiments of racial purity and

¹⁴ The differences between “manhood” and “masculinity” in late 19th century political rhetoric and discourse are detailed by G. Bederman. Gail Bederman, “Remaking Manhood Through Race and ‘Civilization’”, in *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago, IL), 18-20.

¹⁵ Kristen Hoganson, “The Spanish-American War and the Martial Ideal of Citizenship”, in *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, CT), 107-109.

¹⁶ Matthew Frye Jacobson, “Export Markets: The World’s Peoples as Consumers”, in *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York, NY), 31.

¹⁷ Kristen Hoganson, “Cosmopolitan Domesticity: Importing the American Dream, 1865-1920”, *American Historical Review* 107, No. 1 (2002), 62-63.

¹⁸ Stereotype of Chinese citizens as illegal immigrants and the caricature of “John Chinaman” is detailed at length. Erika Lee, “Enforcing the Borders: Chinese Exclusion Along the U.S. Borders with Canada and Mexico, 1882-1924”, *Journal of American History* 89, No. 1 (2002): 65.

superiority thus appeared to fall by the wayside when commercialism and international trade were in play.

The concept of the Chinese population as being a “nation of consumers” was enhanced by former Naval officer and noted advocate of Naval expansion Alfred Thayer Mahan, whose 1890 book *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783*, argued that controlling the world's major bodies of water was paramount to control the economic fate of the nation. This helped cause the importance of American penetration of the Chinese market to reach a high-water mark in the eyes of the American public.¹⁹

The renewed emphasis upon market penetration in Asia was a primary factor in the United States choosing to enter into a war with the natives of the Philippines, who fought proudly and valiantly, in what was a notable (though ultimately futile) attempt to prevent their country from being overtaken by another foreign power after being briefly freed from Spanish control. Led by the revolutionary leader Emilio Aguinaldo, the Filipinos fought off the American military for three years beginning in 1899 before amnesty was declared. Following this victory, the American focus shifted to a debate over arguably the most popular subject matter of the late 19th and early 20th centuries: annexation. The debate raged between two sharply-divided factions of American imperialists and American anti-imperialists. The imperialists, most of whom were white Anglo-Saxons who may or may not have also had a vested interest in the Chinese market-penetration fantasy, believed that annexation was the logical next step for the Philippines, followed by a period of cultural assimilation on the part of the Filipinos.

Those who subscribed to imperialist beliefs based their argument upon the precedent created by the federal government's treatment of Native Americans. Native Americans had, at the beginning of the 19th century, been defined by both the Supreme Court and the American government as being “domestic dependent nations”, responsible for their own sovereignty and self-government. By the 1890s, Native Americans had their citizenship unilaterally redefined by the federal government; they had become “local dependent communities” rather than domestically independent nations. This began in 1873 via the Bureau of Indian Affairs, whose Chief (an ironic term, given the context) made it explicitly known that Native Americans were no longer to be considered anything but subjects of the federal government,²⁰ and was strengthened by the United States Supreme Court in 1885, after the reach of federal jurisdiction over crimes was expanded to include Native American reservations.²¹ This was also the point at which the United States first exercised plenary power over Native Americans, making them “wards” to the government's “guardians”.²²

Imperialists were able to make the argument that citizens of the Philippines, if annexed, should be afforded the same treatment that was given to Native Americans: they should be considered “dependent communities” who were citizens of the Philippines but a subsidiary of the United States. This argument was extremely effective due to the fact that

¹⁹ Matthew Frye Jacobson, “Export Markets”, 23-24.

²⁰ Chief of Bureau Affairs Edward P. Smith: “All recognitions of Indians in any other relation than strictly as subjects of the Government should cease.” Walter L. Williams, “United States Indian Policy and the Debate over Philippine Annexation: Implications for the Origins of American Imperialism”, *Journal of American History* 66, No. 4 (1980), 812.

²¹ Verdict reached in *United States v. Kagama*, 118 US 375 (1885). *Ibid.*, 812-813.

²² David E. Wilkins, “The U.S. Supreme Court's Explication of 'Federal Plenary Power': An Analysis of Case Law Affecting Tribal Sovereignty, 1886-1914”, *American Indian Quarterly* 18, No. 3 (1994), 352-353.

there was a widespread belief amongst white Americans that expansion over Native Americans had been, without a doubt, the correct decision.²³ Theodore Roosevelt, the sitting President at the time, was one of the most outspoken imperialists; he made explicit comparisons between Native Americans and Filipinos, arguing that Americans needed to “...still exercise authority without 'consent of the governed', [and] we must proceed in the Philippines a with the same wise caution.”²⁴ It was likely no coincidence, then, that eighty-seven percent of the generals sent in by the United States military to control the Philippines were men who had previous experience fighting Native Americans on the western frontier.²⁵

The success of the imperialists' argument allowed them to later recycle it in regards to citizens of Puerto Rico, who became the next area whose citizenship rights were up for debate because of the American imperialist impulse. The United States, which had formally annexed the island in April 1899, applied the doctrine of non-incorporation to Puerto Rico. Through this doctrine, Puerto Rico was “foreign in a domestic sense”. Consequently, its citizens were Puerto Rican citizens rather than full United States citizens.

In 1904, the Supreme Court heard the case of *Gonzalez v. Williams*, the first case to address the citizenship status and associated rights of people whose territories were acquired by the United States during the 19th century. The argument was made, on behalf of a Puerto Rican single mother named Isabel Gonzalez who had been detained upon entry at Ellis Island, that the United States had diluted much of the content of American citizenship. Due to this, they could allow Puerto Ricans to become full citizens of the United States while still being imperialistic in nature. The Supreme Court, likely also fully enveloped in the imperialist-against-non-imperialist debate on an individual level, decided to completely ignore the question of Puerto Rican citizenship. The justices chose to be intentionally unclear as a means of not having to rule on such a delicate topic.²⁶ Ultimately, the Supreme Court ruled that Puerto Ricans were to be given “actual incongruent status – neither Americans nor foreigners.”²⁷

The final consequence of territorial expansion was the full realization of economic imperialism, which came about at the turn of the century and was utilized through 1917. After the Boxer Rebellion and subsequent anti-American protests throughout China, the United States relinquished the fantasy of conquering the Chinese market and turned its sights back to the Western hemisphere. Specifically, the American government turned its gaze upon Latin America, setting out to subjugate and plunder foreign economies for America's gain.

As America continued to receive international and domestic criticism for its imperialistic tendencies since the end of Reconstruction, the nation strove to rid itself of the “antiquated” notion of formal territorial colonialism. In its place was the ostensibly de-politicized development of capitalist contracts with foreign nations, a development which

²³ Walter L. Williams, “United States Indian Policy and the Debate over Philippine Annexation”, 813-815.

²⁴ Roosevelt, noted white supremacist (as with most of his contemporaries of the age), also stated that all acquired territories contained “savages ... that will require military force to keep in subjection.” Walter L. Williams, “United States Indian Policy and the Debate over Philippine Annexation”, 816-820.

²⁵ Walter L. Williams, “United States Indian Policy and the Debate over Philippine Annexation”, 820-821.

²⁶ Sam Erman, “Meanings of Citizenship in the U.S. Empire: Puerto Rico, Isabel Gonzalez, and the Supreme Court, 1898 to 1905”, *Journal of American Ethnic History* 27, No. 4 (2008), 18-22.

²⁷ Isabel Gonzalez, quoting the ruling of the court. *Ibid.*, 24.

Emily and Norman Rosenberg have termed “colonialism-by-contract”.²⁸ For the federal government, the beauty of capitalist contracts was that it shielded the United States from being scrutinized in the way it had been for colonizing through public treaties; this was due to the fact that on their face, contracts appear to be bilateral, created through mutual consent and enforced by neutral forces. This latter notion was most certainly not the case, however.

Colonialism-by-contract essentially allowed the government of the United States of America to coerce, under duress, a smaller foreign nation into acquiescing to America's economic demands. This began in 1898 in the newly acquired territories of Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Each country was placed on the gold standard, new tariffs were introduced, new forms of accounting were introduced, and a centralized state bank was created. The United States, around this same time, also pressed Mexico and Panama into adopting the gold standard. In 1904, the United States developed the policy that would come to be known as “Dollar Diplomacy”, trumpeted by President Roosevelt. First enacted in the Dominican Republic, the United States introduced the same aforementioned fiscal policies that it had enacted in Puerto Rico and the Philippines. In addition to this, it consorted with investment bankers to reform the “backwards” financial policies of the island, using secret supervised loans to quickly build up a nation's credit. This became a critical issue when bankers would change the terms of the loan given to the foreign nation after the US government had approved that loan, exploiting the country for personal profit. The US government could not plausibly back out of the loan, as it would then be revealed that they had backed the loan in the first place, so it simply allowed the bankers to have free reign over a foreign country's economy.²⁹

Through the buildup of national credit and the establishment of a national bank with a gold standard, the Dominican Republic appeared to rapidly rectify its economy. Subsequently, the United States was given (or rather, took) credit for “Dollar Diplomacy” and employed the same or similar policies in Nicaragua, Panama, Haiti, and Liberia through 1912. This spread of economic imperialism was of great benefit to the American economy, as it allowed the government to gain hegemony over foreign economies and profit from each country's increased dependence on the United States for foreign trade and foreign capital. It also brought a period of political, social, and economic stability to the United States prior to its entry into World War I in 1917.³⁰

Over the course of the 19th and early 20th century, the United States demonstrated the malleability that it attributed to the idea of citizenship. On multiple occasions, the federal government pulled a bait-and-switch tactic, changing the rules for people not of Western European heritage as a way to oppress them and deny them full rights, both qualities indicative of the imperialist form that territorial expansion had adopted.

A nation that at the time held strong beliefs in a racial hierarchy as well as in white supremacy, the United States exhibited xenophobic tendencies on an individual and group level. What was so unique about this inherently racist form of imperialism was that it was rooted in economic penetration of foreign markets. Moreover, when economic imperialism was occurring or being attempted (as in the cases of China, the Dominican Republic,

²⁸ Rosenberg, Emily S., and Norman L. Rosenberg, “From Colonialism to Professionalism: The Public-Private Dynamic in United States Foreign Financial Advising, 1898-1929”, *Journal of American History* 74, No. 1 (1987), 65.

²⁹ Rosenberg, Emily S. and Norman L. Rosenberg, “From Colonialism to Professionalism”, 64-67.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 65-73.

Colombia, and a multitude of other nations), notions of racial superiority and American exceptionalism were suppressed, but only until the action either succeeded or failed. It was, in a sense, the ultimate “good cop, bad cop” routine, with both roles being played by a single entity. Considering all of this, it appears that the Progressive Era was only advantageous for the hegemonic race in the United States; that is to say, the “Progressive Era” was “progressive” in name only for the majority of people controlled by the United States federal government during its foray into imperialism.

VERMONT'S SHORT LIVED REBELLION: EDITORIAL REACTION TO THE
1850 FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT AND THE STATE HABEAS CORPUS LAW

--
TOM MCMURDO

We very cordially invite every Fugitive Slave in the United States to take Vermont on his way towards FREEDOM in Canada. We are willing to guaranty that he can get a night's lodging and a free pass over the Lines, without any particular danger from that elevated species of the human race known as 'Slave catchers.' If one of them exhibits his 'ugly mug' in the old Green Mountain State, we 'calkelate' all the 'wool' he will get, he might have found on a hog, at home. Vermont is getting to think that the man who *steals himself* and runs away, don't violate any Law laid down in the Decalogue, whatever he may have done in contravention of the Virginia 'Resolutions of 93.' If he should steal a white man or two from Georgia, the law defining and punishing petty larceny might embarrass him. We hope, however, no *respectable nigger* will run any such foolish risk.

— D.W.C. Clarke, editor of the *Burlington Free Press*, Oct. 11, 1850¹

We therefore unhesitatingly condemn, and without reservation, the conduct of those who 'rescued' this person, arrested by due process of Law.—We believe the course they have pursued is the very one which the reasonable opponents of the Fugitive Slave Law have most occasion to deprecate. It will only tend to strengthen Public Opinion *in favor* of an enactment by Congress, which, if fairly and honestly carried out, will in due time work its own destruction. Our doctrine is: Obedience to Law; —our remedy for bad Laws: —Repeal or modification. Outside of this, we do not go an inch.

— D.W.C. Clarke, editor of the *Burlington Free Press*, Feb. 21, 1851²

In the fall of 1850, many of the Whig press editors in Vermont shouted with indignation against the Fugitive Slave Act, but by the spring of 1851, after a Boston mob freed captured fugitive slave Shadrach Minkins, these same Whig editors reversed course and lined up behind gradual change and allegiance to federal law. Though Vermont carries a well-deserved reputation as an opponent of slavery, the return in 1851 to a doctrine of gradual change—and for some, indifference to slavery—was more in line with the long term prevailing values in the state than that of defiance and immediate change. The reaction in 1850, and the nullifying Vermont Habeas Corpus Law passed as part of that reaction, can be seen as anomalous in a larger view of the period. Certainly, the majority of Vermonters disliked slavery in 1850 and 1851, but that dislike was generally not defiant, except for a brief window. By examining editorial reaction from this fascinating time it is possible to see the brewing up and calming of this defiance over just a few months as it traced its way across newspaper pages.

¹ D.W.C. Clarke, *Burlington Free Press (Burlington, Vt. : 1827)*, Oct 11, 1850, 2.

² Clarke, Feb. 21, 1851, 2.

On September 18, 1850, President Fillmore signed into law “An Act to amend, and supplementary to, the Act entitled ‘An Act respecting Fugitives from Justice, and Persons escaping from the Service of their Masters,’ approved February twelfth, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.”³ This law, called “The Reclamation of Fugitives from Labor Law” in Congress, and generally known as the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, greatly enhanced the power of the slaveholding states to extend the tendrils of Slave Power into the Free States. The Act, a *quid pro quo* for allowing California to enter the Union as a free state, greatly enhanced the legal power southern slaveholders could use to recapture fugitive slaves in the North. The Act allowed any person of color to be seized and held in jail on the word of anyone claiming that they were an escaped slave, without the protection of habeas corpus. A slave catcher might only state that a given person is an escaped slave, and by the provisions of this law, that person could give no testimony in defense.

The Act provided for rewards issued for the capture of fugitive slaves, to be paid out of the treasury, of five dollars for captured individuals who are judged not to be fugitive slaves and ten dollars for those that are affirmed to be fugitive slaves. The higher reward for a positive identification naturally set up a motive to affirm the identity of an individual as a fugitive slave. These provisions made no free black person anywhere in the United States safe from kidnapping and abuse of the law. Section five of the act was perhaps the most egregious. It ascribes a fine of \$1,000 for any marshal that did not “use all proper means to execute” a warrant against a suspected fugitive slave, and to be liable for a civil suit from a claimant “for the full value of the service or labor of said fugitive.”⁴ The threat of such a large fine would have the effect of pushing ambiguous law officers to enforce the law, even if they did not fully agree with it. Section five also allows the appointing of agents by the courts to arrest fugitive slaves. These agents would effectively be court condoned—and treasury paid—slave catchers operating at will in states that had outlawed slavery.

Though many citizens considered these provisions to be strong enough, it is the language later in section five that was most irritating to moderately anti-slavery citizens of the North.⁵ The act allowed these agents to “summon a call to their aid by bystanders,” and demanded that “all good citizens are hereby commanded to aid and assist in the prompt and efficient execution of this law, whenever their services may be required.”⁶ Essentially, any person, regardless of their beliefs about slavery, and regardless of the state or local laws concerning slavery, could be compelled to assist in the capture of suspected fugitive slaves.

Predictably, this act caused a panic amongst African Americans—both free and fugitive slaves—in the North. Warrants were not necessary, and the threshold for proof that a person was a fugitive slave could be as low as a simple verbal claim entered as testimony.⁷ Not only was the defendant prevented by the law from testifying on his or her own behalf, outside evidence or testimony could be blocked by the judge presiding over the case.⁸ Free blacks had virtually no guarantees of judicial fairness under the law, and rumors of

³ Fugitives from Labor, Reclamation of, (*Stats. At Large of USA* 9:462-465), 462.

⁴ Fugitives from Labor, Reclamation of, (*Stats. At Large of USA* 9:462-465), 462.

⁵ H. Robert Baker, *The Rescue of Joshua Glover : A Fugitive Slave, the Constitution, and the Coming of the Civil War* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2006), 52.

⁶ Fugitives from Labor, Reclamation of , 463.

⁷ Baker, 31.

⁸ *Ibid.*

kidnappers and the very real fear of illegal seizure by unscrupulous agents gripped the black population of the Free States. Those who could armed themselves, and some left for Canada.

Northern whites reacted with indignation at the notion that they could be conscripted into a posse to capture blacks and return them to slavery. Many northern whites were forced into a choice of defying the law or acting against their conscience. H. Robert Baker writes that the Act “removed the possibility of neutrality through noncooperation.”⁹

Vermont was the first state to officially act on this imbroglio by passing the “Habeas Corpus in Case of a Person Claimed as a Fugitive Slave” Statute on November 13, 1850.¹⁰ The law became known as the Vermont Habeas Corpus Law. The statute was remarkably unambiguous in its rejection of the Fugitive Slave Act, though it does not specifically name the 1850 federal law. Section two states: “No sheriff, deputy sheriff, high bailiff, constable, jailer, or other officer or citizen of this state shall, hereafter, seize, arrest, or detain, or aid in the seizure, arrest or detention, or imprisonment in any jail or other building, belonging to this state, or to any county, town, city, or person therein, of any person for the reason that he is or may be claimed as a fugitive slave.” Section three prevented the removal of fugitive slaves from the state. The law also assigned fines up to one thousand dollars and imprisonment of up to five years for anyone acting in defiance of the statute. The statute also extended habeas corpus to anyone arrested under suspicion of being a fugitive slave, including trial by jury.

Horace K. Houston Jr. notes that, “The state’s courageous pursuit of racial justice and human freedom emphatically deserves rescue from historical oblivion.”¹¹ As the first of the so-called “personal liberty laws” that sprung up in the decade of the 1850s in several Free States in defiance of the Fugitive Slave Act, Vermont’s Habeas Corpus Law is remarkable and worthy of the rescue Houston recommends. Indeed, the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act was a major factor in the coming Civil War. The unrelenting Slave Power, personified by this bill, was a primary reason the Whig Party dissolved and the Republican Party rose in the North. A slaveholder in defiant South Carolina could now virtually reach into a Northerner’s house, roust him from his bed, and compel him to capture his slave under this law. To say this was galling to many northerners would be an understatement, but it may be something of an overreach to ascribe a motive of “racial justice” to Vermont’s law as Houston does.

Vermont has a complicated history regarding attitudes about slavery and race. Vermonters can rightfully boast of their 1777 state constitution that banned adult slavery, the first of its kind in the union. Historian Kevin Graffagnino states, “Every Vermont schoolchild hears the famous words of Vermont Supreme Court Judge Theophilus Harrington, who demanded ‘a bill of sale from Almighty God’ from a slave-owner seeking the return of his runaway property.”¹² There were many safe houses and agents of the Underground Railroad in Vermont. It may be plausibly argued that Vermont, from the beginning, maintained a constant opposition to slavery amongst much of its population. Though ambivalence is usually not as detectable in the historical record, one could argue that opposition to slavery

⁹ Baker, 52-53.

¹⁰ Habeas Corpus in Case of a Person Claimed as a Fugitive Slave, Vt. Rev. Stat., Title 27, Chp. 101 (Passed Nov. 13, 1850), 537.

¹¹ Horace K. Houston, Jr. “Another Nullification Crisis: Vermont’s 1850 Habeas Corpus Law,” *The New England Quarterly* 77, no. 2 (June 2004): 254.

¹² J. Kevin Graffagnino, “Vermont Attitudes toward Slavery: The Need for a Closer Look,” *Vermont History* 45, no. 1 (1977):31.

exceeded indifference to it for all of Vermont's history. But it is important not to confuse opposition to slavery with opposition to racism.

Looking back on the attitudes of nineteenth century Vermonters regarding slavery, it is tempting to cast the constitutional prohibition of adult slavery in a light that fits in with modern values regarding racial equality and equal opportunity. If we recognize that such attitudes were scarce in that period anywhere in the United States, then it may be attractive to ascribe a kind of altruism to the opposition of slavery; a selfless or "Christian" concern about the welfare of those in distress. Perhaps there is a degree of truth to this, but aside from a small minority of abolitionists in Vermont in the first half of the nineteenth century, it is probably fair to say most opposed slavery out of self-interest. The 'Free Soil versus slave state' debate concerned many Vermonters because it was their children who were moving west to the unsettled territories. With all of the arable farmland settled or claimed in Vermont by this time, a third or fourth son of a farmer had no hope of inheriting land and had to go west.¹³ Opposition to slavery in the North is often cast in the light of craftsman and farmers who did not want to compete against the slave labor of the South. This is certainly a valid argument, but as the century progressed, slavery became a personal concern as Vermonters' relatives came in close contact with slavery in the territories. Vermonters opposed slavery because they did not want their children, brothers, cousins and friends to have to compete against unfree labor in the territories.¹⁴

John M. Lovejoy argues that Vermont outlawed slavery in its constitution *because* Vermont entered the Union as a new state, and not as an original colony.¹⁵ With few precedents and laws regarding slavery, "and possessing a negligible black population, Vermont's 'outlawing' of adult slavery came easily and, viewed in context, may have been regarded by lawmakers as an inevitable, relatively simple move."¹⁶ Despite this prohibition, slavery existed in Vermont in some form into the early nineteenth century, though it was not widespread.

Lovejoy describes numerous racially motivated incidents in Vermont in the antebellum period. He notes disturbances taking place in protest of abolitionist speakers by summarizing several incidents in 1835 across the state.¹⁷ These incidents from Bradford, Middlebury, Montpelier, and Newbury, show a general hostility to abolitionism amongst a segment of the population.¹⁸ Lovejoy states: "There was a real fear that antislavery policies would lead to the disunion of the Republic. Moreover, the idea of eventual amalgamation between a white and a 'lesser' race was unsettling to mid-1830s Vermonters, as well as to others in the New England states. This was the face of antebellum racism."¹⁹ Like most in the North, Vermonters sought to preserve the Union, and many would not stand for abolitionists in their towns and villages preaching immediate emancipation—a policy that they believed would lead to direct conflict with the South.

¹³ H. Amani Whitfield, "African Americans in the Anglo Atlantic World" (lecture, University of Vermont, Burlington, VT, March 19, 2012).

¹⁴ Whitfield, March 19, 2012.

¹⁵ John M. Lovejoy, "Racism in Antebellum Vermont," *Vermont History* 69, Issue Supplement (2001) 48.

¹⁶ Lovejoy, 49.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 55-58.

¹⁸ It should be noted that Bradford was the residence of the Secretary of the Vermont Colonization Society, Rev. Silas McKeen.

¹⁹ Lovejoy, 58.

Perhaps the best example of this combination of anti-slavery and racist attitudes is the American Colonization Society (ACS). The ACS sought to raise funds to send blacks, both free blacks and fugitive slaves, to Liberia. Vermont formed the first state level society, the Vermont Colonization Society (VCS), in 1818. The Society's inaugural meeting was held in Montpelier, and boasted membership of many of Vermont's important citizens, including three former Governors, three former US Senators, and numerous ministers.²⁰ When William Lloyd Garrison arrived in Vermont in the 1820s, he was a supporter of the VCS, though he turned away from colonization to embrace immediate abolition by the time he moved to Boston. Racist attitudes about blacks formed the core of this effort, based largely on stereotypes that African-Americans were incapable of becoming equal citizens, and a belief that blacks and whites could never live together in peace in the United States.

Reverend John Wheeler, who would serve as President of the University of Vermont from 1833-1849, gave a sermon before the VCS in 1825 in which he expressed the notion that blacks could never live on an equal level with whites in the United States:

Every one can, in a moment, perceive how utterly impossible it would be to elect a coloured man a representative to congress; and how inconceivable it would be to regard one as filling the highest office in the nation. Indeed, such is the feeling of society in regard to them, that office is out of the question: that an introduction to all the lights of citizenship is impossible. You must alter the whole man; you must take from him the very feature and colour of nature, if you would advance him to equal privileges, with our common population.²¹

In this sermon, Wheeler explains that the goal of the society is nothing short of the complete "removal of the coloured population"²² from the United States. Though Wheeler, and the VCS, were opponents of slavery, freeing slaves from bondage was only a step on the path to pushing blacks, both free and slave, from America's shores to Africa. This was the fundamental goal of the society.

In a sermon Rev. Silas McKeen delivered to the VCS in 1828, he stated: "Of course, the freed blacks, poor, ignorant, and vicious, without any means of support, without any prospect of happiness, became a burden to the community; and furnished a large share, as they do still, of the convicts yearly immured in the penitentiaries of the nation."²³ Throughout this sermon, McKeen railed against the growing African American population of the US, both free and slave.

Historian Wilbur H Siebert writes, "The objects of the colonization movement were to remove all negroes, free and enslaved, from the United States to Liberia, introduce civilization in Africa, and eradicate the slave trade. Gradually, however, the colonizationists came to stress the removal of the free blacks, which aggravated the abolitionists more than

²⁰ Lovejoy, 52.

²¹ John Wheeler, "A Sermon Preached Before the Vermont Colonization Society, at Montpelier, October 25, 1825." (Sermon, Montpelier, VT, Oct. 25, 1825), 13.

²² *Ibid.*, 8.

²³ Rev. Silas McKeen, "A Sermon, Delivered at Montpelier, October 15, 1828, Before the Vermont Colonization Society" (Sermon, Montpelier, VT, Oct. 15, 1828), 9.

ever.”²⁴ This anti-free black attitude remained at the center of the Society’s philosophy. The 1852 VCS annual report, discussing the condition of free blacks stated: “But what is the condition of that portion of these blacks who are nominally free? They are nowhere on an equal footing with the white race, while intermingled with that race, nor will they ever be.”²⁵ The report goes on to state: “It may be assumed, that the Anglo-Saxon and African races can not live side by side, in equal numbers, and on terms of equality.”²⁶ The colonizers blamed African Americans for their status as outsiders, choosing to believe that the laws and white social norms that kept free blacks from full participation as citizens were inexorable. There was no talk of literacy and education in the VCS, or transformation of society. Because racism towards African Americans remained unquestioned, the only strategy colonists embraced was removal of freed slaves.

The VCS grew from its inception steadily into the early 1830s. The formation of the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society in 1833 began to gradually pull members and donations away from the VCS. In 1841, the VCS collected just \$250, down from over \$1000 per year during the first twenty years.²⁷ Some Vermonters supported both societies, and held myriad hybrid views that mixed emancipation and colonization.²⁸ As the difficulties in settling Liberia were publicized by newspapers—such as crop failures and native hostility, opponents of the society used the shortcomings of the colony to criticize the colonization movement.²⁹ The VCS survived these difficulties, and received a substantial boost and reinvigoration after the Compromise of 1850, drawing over \$2000 per year in donations some years in the 1850s.³⁰ The passage of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act revitalized the VCS. Vermonters were pro-Union, but anti-slavery, so the compromise some came to was to try to remove the problem: African Americans in the US. The VCS reemerged as a practical alternative to emancipation societies, which seemed more unlikely to succeed than ever in 1850. These were not the only popularly held attitudes in Vermont. By 1850, a number of Vermonters identified with abolitionism and the Free Soil party, and did not support colonization. Others found the slave issue to be an annoyance and sought first and foremost to maintain the union.

²⁴ Wilbur H. Siebert, *Vermont’s Anti-Slavery and Underground Railroad Record* (Columbus, OH: Spahr and Glenn, 1937), 13.

²⁵ Rev. J.K. Converse, Secretary, *Thirty Third Annual Report of the Vermont Colonization Society at their Annual Meeting in Montpelier October 21, 1852* (Montpelier: Watchman Press, 1852), 14.

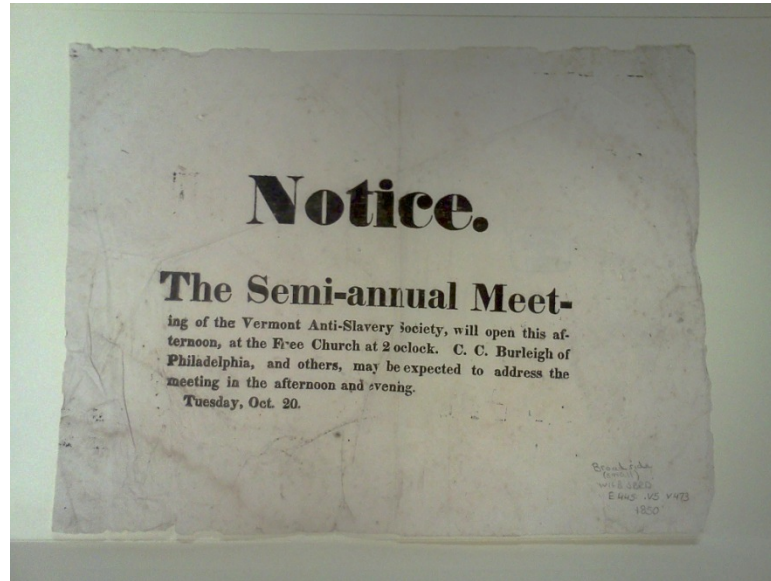
²⁶ *Ibid.*, 14-15.

²⁷ Siebert, 16.

²⁸ Siebert 18-19.

²⁹ Matthew Hannon, “From Vermont to Liberia: An Examination of the Vermont Colonization Society” (master’s thesis, University of Vermont, 2008) 53.

³⁰ Siebert, 19.



An 1850 broadside for the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society semi-annual meeting.

These different attitudes were reflected in the newspapers and politics of Vermont in 1850 to 1851. Just fewer than fifty percent of the roughly 48,000 votes cast in the 1848 Presidential election were for the Whig victor Zachary Taylor.³¹ The remaining votes were split: close to 14,000 for the Free Soil candidate, former President Martin Van Buren, and nearly 11,000 for Democrat Lewis Cass.³² The Whigs held a decisive advantage in the state since the 1836 election, but the 1848 election was the first since then that they did not capture over 50% of the vote.³³ The Free Soilers had claimed equal blocs from both the Democrats and the Whigs and were a growing power in Vermont by 1850. Yet, this redistribution was not reflected in the newspapers in the state. Vermont's newspapers overwhelmingly identified themselves as Whig. This disparity was roughly eighty percent Whig to twenty percent Democratic titles, plus a few Free Soil newspapers in 1850 Vermont.

As was the practice in the rest of the United States, Vermont newspaper editors had no qualms about operating their newspapers as biased party organs. It was common in the nineteenth century for newspapers to openly adhere to a given party's views and to proclaim that allegiance publicly in their pages. Editors used disdainful and pejorative language to ridicule the platforms of other parties. Vermont's Whig newspapers almost exclusively referred to Democrats as "locos" or "locofocos," a derisive term that originated during the Jackson presidency. Vermont's newspapers were not shy to fire the term "doughfaces" when attacking opposition newspapers and politicians, either. A "doughface" was a person in the North, usually a politician, thought to have sympathies with the South and slavery, or one who capitulates to the demands of southern politicians. Daniel Webster's support for the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 in his Seventh of March Speech is an example of this. "Doughface" would come to be replaced by the term "copperhead" during the Civil War, for those thought to have Southern sympathies.

³¹ *Congressional Quarterly's Guide to U.S. Elections* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, Inc., 1985), 761.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

Ten Vermont newspapers were examined for this article, from September 1850 through the spring of 1851. Eight identify themselves as Whig: *Burlington Free Press*, *The Caledonian*, *Middlebury Register*, *Rutland Herald*, *The Semi-Weekly Eagle*, *Watchman and State Journal*, *St. Albans Messenger*, and *Vermont Journal*, one identified as Democratic: *The Spirit of the Age*, and one Free Soil / Abolitionist: *Green Mountain Freeman*. These newspapers were chosen for their geographic diversity and their editorial content. The Whig titles are from each region of Vermont, and encompass the most important cities, including the capital Montpelier, but these titles also take in regional centers and historic towns and villages. The *Spirit of the Age* was from the Southeast Vermont town of Woodstock. The Montpelier *Green Mountain Freeman* was the most well known abolitionist title in the state.

In this context of veritable statewide Whiggery of the Vermont press, it would be reasonable to expect a fair degree of unanimity of opinion regarding the Fugitive Slave Act and Vermont's Habeas Corpus Law from those editors. In true partisan spirit most Whigs dedicated a fair degree of column space to blaming the Democrats for the passage of the bill, but otherwise there was an interesting variety of reactions by these editors. The Whig newspapers responded with differing degrees of indignation to the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act, and with differing degrees of approval or reprobation to the Habeas Corpus Law, which was signed by a Whig Governor and passed by a Whig-dominated legislature. But as the months passed into 1851, particularly after the February 15 rescue of fugitive slave Shadrach Minkins from a Boston jail by a mob, the Whigs lined up in their opinions on the side of adherence to the Constitution, backed off their support for the Habeas Corpus law, and toned down their rhetoric regarding the Fugitive Slave Act. The Whig party was holding together a fragile national coalition, and as slavery was thrust more and more into the center of the national debate, and these Whig editors pushed to ignore or deflect it as best as they could as they embraced a "law and order" stance by mid-1851. This is evinced quite plainly by the two quotes from *Burlington Free Press* editor D.W.C. Clarke at the start of this article. In just four months, Clarke moves from open defiance of the law to rigid adherence to it. Most of the Whig editors followed a similar course, as they slowly realized the distinct possibility that the issue would rend their already faltering Whig coalition apart.

The *Spirit of the Age* expressed condemnation for the Habeas Corpus Law, and saw the Fugitive Slave Act as a matter of law, and not principle. Conversely, the *Green Mountain Freeman* continued its protestations against slavery, only louder, after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act, and did not let up. As the spring of 1851 came, the editor, D.P. Thompson, predicted the coming of the Civil War and the rise of the Republican Party, though not by name. Thompson could see the national debate becoming more about slavery, and seemed to understand that this was good for abolitionists, at least in the sense that Northerners now *had* to choose sides.

The *Burlington Free Press* was published in the Lake Champlain port city of Burlington. The title persists today, in continuous publication since 1827. In 1850 it was edited and published by D.W. C. Clarke, and it was one among three newspapers in Burlington, in competition with the Democratic *Burlington Sentinel*, and the Free Soil *Burlington Courier*. The *Free Press* published both a daily and weekly edition. The Weekly edition is surveyed here. Clarke was firmly Whig, and often had negative words for the *Sentinel* and the *Courier*. As with the Whig and Democratic papers in this study, discussion of the Fugitive Slave Act and Habeas Corpus Law in the *Free Press* was rarely the main topic of a given issue, but was usually one amongst several items of interest that the editor

discussed. All of the newspapers in the fall of 1850 were dominated by the fervor surrounding Swiss singer Jenny Lind's American concerts. These editors also discussed local politics, roads and bridges, other local concerns, and dedicated a great deal of column space to doings over the Federal Tariff, railroad routes, and the admission of California as a state. This is not to minimize the Fugitive Slave Act as a matter of great importance to these editors, but to provide a notion of the context in which it was presented.

The *Burlington Free Press* took the tack that the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act would have a negligible effect on standing law. In the September 20, 1850 issue, immediately after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act, D.W.C. Clarke decried the passage of the bill. Implicit in his stance was the notion that Vermonters would not comply with it:

We care not if Congress Pass a law making it the duty, under penalty of fine and imprisonment, of every man, woman and child North of Mason & Dixon Line, to aid and abet the capture and restoration of human beings to Slavery. We would cut off our hand, and pull out our tongue, before we would *vote for* such a bill, but we should look upon it, nevertheless, as more harmless than the straw 'manned against Othello's breast!' The passage of the infamous Fugitive Slave Bill (for which we are glad to say, no Vermont representative voted) does not add to nor take from 'the guaranties of the Constitution' a feather's weight. It neither increases nor diminishes by the thousandth part of a hair, the chances of escape for the Slave, not the chances of recapture by the Master. Things remain '*in statu quo ante bellum.*' The *passage* of such a bill is undoubtedly a disgrace to the American Congress, and we are sorry for it. But anybody that supposes that *it amounts to anything further*, is 'not familiar with the facts in the case.' If our Southern friends would only believe this, they would be wiser men.³⁴

This statement seemingly good enough, Clarke did not take up the issue again until the October 11 issue, with a much more defiant and racist statement (see quote on page 1). Clarke expresses an unmistakable defiance of the law, and would seem to offer a sympathetic stance for fugitive slaves, but that sympathy is tempered by his use of the racial slur "nigger" at the end of the article. The use of this racial slur is disturbingly common in the pages of the Whig and Democratic newspapers in this survey. These men were not using this slur in private; *they were printing it in their newspapers*, in opinions written by themselves. Their audience did not complain. They were anti-slavery, but they certainly were not pro-black.

Clarke addressed the Habeas Corpus Law on November 29: "Vermont is opposed to Slavery and its extension: —but she neither seeks to interfere with it (beyond the expression of her opinion) where it Constitutionally exists, nor to exclude it where it may not be Constitutionally excluded. She is a Law-loving and Law-abiding State: —content to leave with Congress the decision of all National questions, and infinitely preferring 'repeal or modification' to resistance or rebellion!"³⁵ Considering the stipulations of the Habeas Corpus Law, which ascribe fines for adhering to the Fugitive Slave Act, Clarke's nullification argument is about as high on the fence as one could get. He seemingly affirmed the right of Vermont to refute federal law through nullification, while simultaneously embracing the authority of federal law. In the following weeks, leading into 1851, Clarke continued to

³⁴ D.W.C. Clarke, *Burlington Free Press* (Burlington, Vt. : 1827), Sept. 20, 1850, 2.

³⁵ Clarke, Nov. 29, 1850, 2.

defend the law as a state right, but repeatedly insisted that Vermont was a law abiding, union upholding state: “[Vermont] proposes neither disunion, rebellion, treason, nor nullification. She leaves that kind of ‘demonstration’ to South Carolina. She has ‘cast her lot’ with the Union, and will abide by it. But she will, by every means not prohibited by the Constitution, PROTECT HER OWN CITIZENS.”³⁶ Many Whig editors adopted this tactic, reluctantly embracing Vermont’s nullification quietly, and did not celebrate it like South Carolina did following their own nullification. This is part of the reason it has remained a relatively low profile event in the antebellum period.

In the months following passage of the Habeas Corpus Law, many of these newspapers printed attacks launched by out of state newspapers against Vermont and the Law. A frequent charge was that Vermont would never have to deal with the consequences of the Habeas Corpus Law because Vermont had so few African Americans. The *Rutland Herald* reprinted such an attack in the December 19, 1850 issue: “We presume that there are no fugitive slaves in Vermont. She has manifested a rebellious revolutionary spirit merely for the sake of manifesting it. The law seems to have been passed solely for the purposes of mischief, to the end of doing something that might furnish just cause of offence without the chance of answering any useful object.”³⁷ This charge had some merit, as no cases came out of Vermont’s law, and the Fugitive Slave Law went unenforced in Vermont.³⁸

The tone changed dramatically in the Whig titles after the rescue of arrested fugitive slave Shadrach Minkins by the Boston Vigilance Committee on February 15, 1851, three days after his arrest. Minkins was seized from the courtroom by a mob that overwhelmed the undermanned police force. Shadrach made his way to Montreal on the Underground Railroad. The reaction to this rescue was swift and loud. H. Robert Baker describes the aftermath: “Henry Clay demanded an investigation. Secretary of State Daniel Webster accused the rescuers of treason and zealously pursued their prosecution. President Fillmore requested clarifying legislation allowing him to use the army, navy, and militia to help execute the law.”³⁹

The Whig editors could now see the very real consequences to the law. Opposition to the law had moved from rhetoric and symbolism to a very real, violent rejection of the law. These men wanted no such scenes in Vermont. Clarke’s backpedaling in the February 21, 1851 issue could not be more pronounced (see the quote on the first page of this article) while still retaining much of his dignity. In the following issue, Clarke pointed out South Carolina’s threats to leave the Union, and said: “But New England stands by the Union—whether her own citizens are treated like Slaves at the South, or Southern Slaves are treated like freemen at the North. What she cannot legally remedy she will endure.”⁴⁰ Elsewhere in the issue, Clarke characterized the rescue of Shadrach as a “recent nigger stampede in Boston, by which a few ‘colored individuals’ rushed in, scared Mr. Deputy Marshal Riley half to death, and hustled SHADRACH out of any recognized existence.”⁴¹ Further entries by Mr. Clarke in the successive months reflect similar sentiments.

³⁶ Clarke, Dec. 27, 1850, 2.

³⁷ *Rutland Herald*, Dec. 19, 1850, 2. Reproduced in this issue from the *Republic* from Washington, D.C.

³⁸ Houston, Jr., 271.

³⁹ Baker, 53.

⁴⁰ Clarke, Feb. 28, 1851, 2.

⁴¹ Clarke, Feb. 28, 1851, 2.

The *Caledonian*, from St. Johnsbury, Vermont, was published by A.G. Chadwick. St. Johnsbury is situated as the regional center for Vermont's Northeast Kingdom, the lightly populated northeast quarter of the state. The *Caledonian* faced no competition from other newspapers in St. Johnsbury, though other newspapers in the region were in publication. Of all the Whig titles surveyed here, Chadwick avoided the topic of slavery the most. His mentions of the Fugitive Slave Act and the Habeas Corpus Law were as infrequent as events would allow.

Chadwick first addressed the Fugitive Slave Act on September 21, 1850, and began by blaming the Democrats for its passage, and reprinted an article from the *Boston Atlas* decrying the passage of bill: "Words are almost inadequate to express our mortification and disappointment at this result."⁴² On October 5, Chadwick reprinted an article about the first arrest under the law in New York City.⁴³ The following week he offers an opinion on the law: "The law is in contravention of certain fundamental principles of human rights which no Constitution or Law can rightfully invade; therefore no citizen is under obligation, either to his conscience or to the Constitution of his country to respect it."⁴⁴

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.—At a meeting of the citizens of Westboro', Mass., in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:
Resolved, That as the recent Fugitive Slave Law is in direct violation of the commands of God, we are bound by a law higher than any human enactment, utterly to disregard its provisions.

An item printed in the Oct. 19, 1850 edition of the Caledonian.

Chadwick printed a few items over the next few weeks regarding events surrounding the law, but did not address it again until after the passage of the Habeas Corpus Law. In a column entitled "Vermont Nullification" he stated only the matter-of-fact details of the Vermont Law, essentially that it extended habeas corpus to fugitive slaves.⁴⁵ The following week he defended the Habeas Corpus Law against charges that it was rushed through the legislature without due consideration: "We doubt not that it was passed by the House and Senate deliberately: and we predict it will never be repealed or amended until it shall be shown in conflict in its provisions with the Constitution of the United States. Then it will be time enough to denounce and repudiate it."⁴⁶

Chadwick's matter-of-fact approach is on display in his discussion of the Shadrach Minkins case in Boston. He stated that the South, in demanding the enforcement of the Law, only exacerbates the sectional problem in the country, and for little reason: "The fruits of the

⁴² A.G. Chadwick, *Caledonian*, Sept. 21, 1850, 2.

⁴³ Chadwick, Oct. 5, 1850, 2. The article Chadwick reprints is from the New York Tribune.

⁴⁴ Chadwick, Oct. 12, 1850, 2.

⁴⁵ Chadwick, Dec. 21, 1850, 2.

⁴⁶ Chadwick, Dec. 28, 1850, 2.

‘compromise measures’ can easily be enumerated: —the South will recover very few of their fugitives—the majority will seek safety in Canada—and the country be thrown into a deeper and wilder excitement than ever.”⁴⁷

On March 1, 1851, Chadwick printed a remonstrative column in the *Caledonian* that discussed the overreaction in Washington to the Shadrach case: “It is the duty of those in authority to see that the laws are duly executed; but, it seems to us, that the ado made at Washington about this trifling affair—trifling compared with many no very recent violations of law—hardly falls short of the ridiculous.”⁴⁸ On the fifteenth of March, Chadwick reprinted a “story” from the *St. Albans Messenger* that was reprinted by virtually all of the Whig newspapers:

Hon John Van Buren, and ‘Shadrach’ passed through St. Albans on Thursday last. One was travelling towards the South, the other *appeared* to be going North. Shadrach, we understand, intends spending the winter in Canada; his return, when it occurs, will be duly chronicled.

The Messenger doesn’t mention whether John and Shadrach had an interview. We have heard, however, that the following brief dialogue occurred:

Shadrach. Well, massa Van Buren, we niggas greatly obliged to you and your ‘lustrious fader, for that Buffalo Platform, where de nigga and de white man can stand on de same plank.”

John. You be darned, with your Buffalo Platform! That is one of the ‘obsolete’ fossil remains of an extinct party. It was built up to defeat Cass, and hasn’t been used since. It has all gone to pieces.

Shadrach. But, Massa Van Buren, de *influences* ob de Buffalo Platform hab been grand on de rights ob de cullered people.—We can now ‘escape’ from Slabery ebery time we try!—*Darfore*, we jis as tankful to you and your ‘lustrious fader as dough you was honest men.

John. (*In an under tone and getting into the Stage*) What a fool!⁴⁹

The widespread reprinting of this “anecdote” by the Whig editors shows the disdain they have for Shadrach, and all blacks, through the use of slurs, and exaggerated and foolish language. It is notable that Chadwick reprinted this article, as it frames his dispassionate language regarding the Fugitive Slave Act differently; it can be seen as indifference rather than discretion. The partisan attack on the Free Soiler John Van Buren is notable only because of its context. Such partisan attacks were part of virtually every issue of these newspapers.

The *Middlebury Register*, edited by J.H. Cobb, was also a party line Whig paper, published in west central Vermont, in the region between Rutland and Burlington. The *Register* faced no competition in Middlebury, though other titles were published in the region. Though the issues for September 1850 have been lost, the dialogue in the *Register*

⁴⁷ Chadwick, Feb. 22, 1851, 2.

⁴⁸ Chadwick, Mar. 1, 1851.

⁴⁹ Chadwick, Mar. 15, 1851, 2. John Van Buren, second son of Martin Van Buren, was a champion of the Free Soil party. Martin Van Buren ran on the Free Soil ticket in 1848 and lost, but split the Democratic vote, allowing the Whig Zachary Taylor to be elected.

follows an interesting course from fall to spring, and differs most from the other Whig papers. J.H. Cobb had few objections to the Fugitive Slave Act, seeing it as simply an extension of the 1793 Law. Cobb wrote in the Oct. 29, 1850 issue, in relation to the opinion of US Attorney General Crittenden affirming the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Act: “It will be well for our readers to bear in mind, that President Fillmore with his usual precaution, required an *official* construction of the Law, before he would affix his signature.—It seems that we are not alone, in our opinion that the present Law is equally *constitutional* with the Act of 1793.”⁵⁰

Cobb’s views of the Habeas Corpus Law are not supportive of it, and are only surpassed in opposition to it by the *Semi-Weekly Eagle*. In the December 17, 1850 issue of the *Middlebury Register*, Cobb addressed the need for the Habeas Corpus Law: “Had it never been passed, very likely Vermont would have stood better with some of her sister States, and beyond question, ALL HER CITIZENS, and the ‘STRANGER WITHIN HER GATES,’ would have been quite well off without it.”⁵¹

Like the other Whig editors, Cobb condemned the rescue of Shadrach. In the February 26, 1851 issue, under the heading “Mob Law” he wrote:

We have regretted certain features of the Fugitive Slave Law—but were every part of it not merely exceptionable but detestable, it would still be almost infinitely preferable to mob law. An unjust or offensive statute may be repealed. Even if it were not so, those affected by it know precisely what to expect, and can prepare themselves for the worst. But mob law is uncertain, violent, irresistible, (when once recognized or even tolerated) without reason, without measure, without remorse. IF this is democracy, give us rather the most absolute monarchy—the autocracy of Russia—military despotism—any form of open, regular, systematic oppression.

Later in the article Cobb wrote, “The Fugitive Slave Law, while it is a law, must be promptly sustained.”

G.H. Beamon was the editor of the *Rutland Herald* in 1850. Beamon had no competition in Vermont’s second largest city in 1850. The *Herald* is still in publication, continuous since the early 1790s. Beamon regularly addressed the Fugitive Slave Act and the Habeas Corpus Law, and posted items about fugitive slave cases as they were happening in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and other locales in 1850 and 1851. He used strong language to condemn the bill in the Sept. 19, 1850 issue: “In noticing passage of the ‘Fugitive Slave bill’ we hardly know language strong enough to express the disapprobation of all right minded northern men—and the detestation in which they will hold the traitors of the North who have betrayed them.”⁵²

Writing in defense of the Habeas Corpus Law in the January 9, 1851 issue, Beamon stated: “In all the abuse that has been heaped upon Vermont in regard to that matter, we have never seen any specific particular in which it violated, or in any way contravened the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, or the laws of Congress, or the decisions of Courts made in accordance therewith. We have understood that some of Vermont’s favorite sons, whom she has suckled, and is suckling her with her choicest milk have, as a

⁵⁰ J.H. Cobb, *Middlebury Register* (Middlebury, Vt. : 1850), Oct. 29, 1850, 2.

⁵¹ Cobb, Dec. 17, 1850, 2.

⁵² G.H. Beamon, *Rutland Herald* (Rutland, Vt. : 1850), Sept. 19, 1850, 2.

consequence of the passage of this law, hung down their heads for shame; but we could never learn that they or anybody else knew what they were ashamed of.”⁵³

In the February 27 issue, Beamon took a somewhat novel approach for editors in this study to the disturbance in Boston. He compared the outrage against mob law flying about everywhere to that in earlier cases where the voices and pens were not so quick to cry foul. Beamon compares an incident in Philadelphia where a largely African American gathering of abolitionists was attacked, some murdered, and the theater demolished, while the freeing of Shadrach involved comparatively few people and little property damage. Beamon wrote: “And yet this mob was thought comparatively little of even in Philadelphia; —and she has reaped the full consequences of her apathy on that occasion. We have no fears that Boston will rest thus securely under like circumstances—and no man we venture to say found guilty of any participation in the late riot there will escape justice.”⁵⁴

The Semi-Weekly Eagle was published in Brattleboro, in the far southeastern part of the state, on the Connecticut River. The *Eagle* was edited and published by B.D. Harris. Harris faced competition in Brattleboro from the *Windham County Democrat*, a paper published by this time by renowned women’s rights pioneer Clarina Nichols, and the *Vermont Phoenix*, also a Whig paper. The *Eagle* followed a course much like the *Caledonian* in that Harris published news items as they appeared, but offered little in the way of editorial opinion on the Fugitive Slave Act until December 12, 1850: “So far as any practical results are concerned, we regard the law of very little consequence.”⁵⁵ Harris followed the trend of minimizing the importance of the law.

Harris offered an opinion on the Habeas Corpus Law a few days later: “Some parts of it are well enough, but we are unable to see the necessity of such a law. Much less can we see the reason for passing a law the constitutionality of which is doubtful, and also directly in the face and eyes of the fugitive slave law passed at the last session of congress. [The law] is virtually saying to fugitive slaves—come here and the state will defend you at all hazards.”⁵⁶ He went on to say, “We should much like to see the *yeas* and *nays* on the Vermont fugitive slave law, for it would be gratifying to know who have and who have not made themselves ridiculous and disgraced the State, by placing it in a *nullifying* attitude towards the laws of the United States.”⁵⁷ Harris signed the column, “A Law Abiding Citizen.” Harris is the only Whig editor in this study that openly expressed opposition to the Habeas Corpus Law. He maintained this opposition until he departed the paper in January 1851, when he was replaced by Pliny H. White as Editor for the February 3, 1851 issue. White introduced himself as a supporter of Whig values, and then addressed slavery: “With especial indignation do we regard the latest triumph of tyranny, the fugitive slave law of the last session. For inhumanity, for reckless disregard of liberty, for base prostitution of law to the purposes of injustice, its parallel is to be found, if found at all, only in the barbarous codes of the Sultan and the Czar. Yet bad as that law is, we are compelled to believe that it is warranted by the constitution of the United States[.]”⁵⁸

⁵³ Beamon, Jan. 9, 1851, 2.

⁵⁴ Beamon, Feb. 27, 2851, 2.

⁵⁵ B.D. Harris, *Semi-Weekly Eagle (Brattleboro, Vt. : 1847)*, Dec. 12, 1850, 2.

⁵⁶ Harris, Dec. 16, 1850, 2.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Pliny H. White, *Semi-Weekly Eagle (Brattleboro, Vt. : 1847)*, Feb. 3, 1851, 2.

In the wake of Shadrach's rescue in Boston, White wrote:

While we are heartily glad that Shadrach has preserved his god-given liberty, we are as heartily sorry that his rescue was accomplished by unlawful means. The only palliation for the guilt of those who were immediately engaged in the riot is, that they were the tools and dupes of craftier men, of men who were willing who thrust them forward, where they dare not go themselves. We have charity for the 'cullered pussons' who aided their fellow fugitive to escape, but none for Elizur Wright, and those of his [kind], under whose tuition the negroes were educated to violate the law.⁵⁹

Not only does White conform to the Whig "anti-mob rule" sentiment, he also shows a clear disdain for African Americans. Implicit in this column is the idea that blacks could not engineer such a planned rescue *themselves*, but instead were led astray by "smarter" whites.

The good people of Springfield were thrown into a high state of excitement, on Friday, by the sudden appearance among them of U. S. Marshal Devans, for the purpose, as they supposed, of arresting fugitive slaves. It turned out, however, that his business was of quite a different nature, and so the tempest very soon subsided.— The execution of the Fugitive Slave law is creating great excitement in various parts of the country. It is a burning shame and disgrace to the nation.

An item from the Oct. 3, 1850 edition of the *Semi-Weekly Eagle*.

The *Vermont Watchman and State Journal* was published and edited by E.P. Walton in Vermont's capital Montpelier in the center of the state. Among other titles in publication in Montpelier at the time was the *Green Mountain Freeman*. Walton added another wrinkle to the reaction by Whig editors in the state. Throughout the fall of 1850, and even after the events in Boston in February 1851, Walton argued that the Habeas Corpus Law was perfectly constitutional. He reprinted at least one article that questioned the constitutionality of the federal law, and after reading the opinion of Attorney General Crittenden in late October, he continued to argue that the suspension of habeas corpus is unconstitutional in times of peace. Walton calls the Fugitive Slave Act "grossly defective,"⁶⁰ but never shouted with the bluster of some editors against the law. Instead, he wrote, "The Constitution is plain: fugitive slaves must be delivered up. We cannot get round it or over it. Unpalatable of unpopular though it may be, that is the plain requirement of the Constitution: and it is binding upon us, as

⁵⁹ White, Feb. 24, 1851, 2.

⁶⁰ E.P. Walton, Jr., *Vermont Watchman and State Journal (Montpelier, Vt.)*, Oct. 31, 1850, 2.

subjects of the government, or as politicians, if you please.”⁶¹ Walton was ahead of the Whig curve in his embrace of constitutional law over nullification.

E.B. Whiting had no competition in St. Albans for the *St. Albans Messenger*, as the upstart *St. Albans Democrat* would not arrive until the latter half of 1851. St. Albans is in the far northwest of the state, just miles from the Canadian border. Whiting largely avoided the topic, though he did reprint articles critical of the law in fall 1850. On October 17, Whiting gave his first opinion on the matter while discussing meetings held all over the north by free blacks, fugitive slaves, and white abolitionists:

Meetings like this are all wrong. The laws of the general government are put at defiance. They are encouraged and resolve to arm themselves and to kill the officers of the law in the discharge of their official business. —What right have they to peril the life and prosperity of all the citizens? What right have they to go armed? There is sympathy for the fugitive all over the North which is not abused, will rescue by peaceable means every one who is in danger of being returned to bondage. But if these fugitives show themselves to be lawless desperadoes, that sympathy will be destroyed, and the danger of the fugitive’s return will be greatly increased.⁶²

Whiting went on to argue that the law was unconstitutional because it suspended habeas corpus, the law encourages men to find men to be fugitives because it paid more, and blamed the Northern Democrats for its passage, who voted in significant numbers for it.

Whiting defended the Habeas Corpus Law as constitutional. He stated: “Vermonters are emphatically law abiding people. They will never uphold resistance to the law. If the acts of her Legislature are overruled by the Supreme Court of the United States as unconstitutional, she will acquiesce in the decision.”⁶³ Sadly, all but one of the 1851 issues of the *St. Albans Messenger* are lost. While Whiting’s opinions fall right in with the other Whig editors, it would be interesting to know what effect the events in Boston in February 1851 had on his opinions.

Thomas Hale published the *Vermont Journal* in Windsor, in the central southeast of Vermont. The title is one of the earliest in the state, commencing publication in 1783, and had no competitors in town in 1850-1851. Hale registered his opposition to the bill, stating “...its provisions are so stringent that they can not be enforced, and that it will thus prove practically a nullity.”⁶⁴ Hale published developments relating to the laws, but offered little opinion until Dec. 27, in a column entitled “Vermont ‘Fugitive Law’—Our True Position”: “[W]e must confess a clear and decided conviction that the State law is in conflict with the law of Congress.” Hale went on, “To say the least, the act was hasty, ill-timed, and uncalled for.” Hale repeated this sentiment in more columns and preached conformity with federal law.

The Spirit of the Age, edited by E.A. Kimball, was a Democratic newspaper from Woodstock, VT. The *Age* was in competition with the *Woodstock Mercury*. The available holdings of the *Spirit of the Age* contain numerous gaps in the period of this study. Kimball made it quite clear that the perspective of this paper is remarkably different than the Whig

⁶¹ Walton, Jr., Oct. 31, 1850, 2.

⁶² E.B. Whiting, *St. Albans Messenger (St. Albans, Vt. : 1843)*, Oct. 17, 1850, 2.

⁶³ Whiting, Dec. 26, 1850.

⁶⁴ Thomas Hale, *Vermont Journal (Windsor, Vt. : 1844)*, Sept. 27, 1850, 2.

titles. In the December 5, 1850 issue he attacked a series of resolutions crafted at a preachers meeting that were in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Act: “[L]et them be cautious how far they make themselves instrumental in committing a respectable religious denomination to doctrines that are most repulsive to every good citizen and fit only for disorganizers and disunionists.”⁶⁵

The Burlington Courier speaks a word in favor of Charles Sumner, as the Senator, to be, from Massachusetts. The Courier must have forgotten that gentleman's "Fourth of July Oration," delivered in Boston a few years since, or else its taste is entirely different from ours.— More outrageous, anti-republican, tory sentiments never came from the lips of the most virulent revilers of our country. We could forgive George Thompson and his coadjutors their infernal designs upon the Union sooner than the author of that production. God forbid that any democrat should ever aid in the elevation of such a man to an office under a government whose origin be so much reviled and abused, and we trust that we never shall be so old as to forget to despise the almost blasphemous traitor, whose name to us, sounds but a little better than that of Benedict Arnold.

An attack against Charles Sumner printed in the *Spirit of the Age*, Dec. 5, 1850.

The holdings for 1851 are woefully incomplete, but we find the *Age* still firing away in November 1851, in addressing the continued Whig control of the state: “Poor *habeas corpus* Vermont stands almost alone in its *glory*, and with its nullifying Governor, a fit companion of Southern secessionists, ‘long may it wave’ —a tallow candle in an unsafe corner to warn others against a too near approach.”⁶⁶

The *Green Mountain Freeman*, published by D.P. Thompson in Montpelier, was the most well-known abolitionist title in Vermont in 1850. Thompson addressed the Fugitive Slave Act on September 19, 1850:

The compromisers of human freedom, who could give ten millions of the money earned by the free North to a rebel State to buy her off from seizing the whole of another State to convert it into a land of slaves, after allowing her to take the best part of it, and who would, if they could, everywhere barter away

⁶⁵ E.A. Kimball, *Spirit of the Age* (Woodstock, Vt. : 1845), Dec. 5, 1850, 2.

⁶⁶ Kimball, Nov. 20, 1851.

the rights of their fellow men to ‘life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness,’ for a bale of cotton, are now, from Maine to Georgia, proclaiming with the most insulting exultations, that the question of slavery is settled, and the Free Soil agitation silenced forever! Is this so?—or is it *not* so?

If the people of this country are prepared to relinquish the right of free discussion and the freedom of the press—if freedom itself is henceforth to cease to be a leading idea of our institutions, and our government is to be no further bound to establish or defend it, where it has the power to do so—if all progress in that intelligence which has heretofore been regarded as the life of liberty, is to be cut short and ended, and this land of light, finding all its ideas of equal rights an impractical dream, is to sink back into the dismal gloom of the dark ages, where ignorance and slavish reverence of power were accounted the greatest virtue, and where rods and chains were held to be the right of the ruler and a blessing to the ruled—if the time has arrived for all this, then it may, indeed, be but too true, that the question of the toleration and extension of human slavery in this country *is* settled, and all agitation on this subject is ended.⁶⁷

The indignation expressed here is a continuous theme in the pages of the *Freeman*. Letters written to the editor decried the Fugitive Slave Act and demanded rejection of it. There was no debate in these pages about adherence to the Constitution, or whether it is proper to refute the law as Vermont did with the Habeas Corpus Law.

Thompson, while discussing how the Compromise of 1850 undermined the existing parties because of the unpopularity of the bills contained therein, showed remarkable prescience in his projection for the future: “We believe that even at this present moment, the foundations of the old parties are giving way for a new party of liberty and right, that within ten years shall control the destinies of this great country for its good and for its glory. We believe the events of the past year have done more than those of all preceding ones, to usher in the day of Freedom.”⁶⁸ Though these can be read as the wishful thinking of a man committed to the Abolitionist cause, Thompson predicted the dissolution of the Whig Party, the rise of the Republican Party, and the ascendance of the Republicans to control the country. His prediction of ten years for the rise of the Republican Party was spot on.

Unlike all of the other newspapers in this survey, the *Freeman* never used racial slurs in its articles, and promoted the appearances of fugitive slave lecturers traveling in the state.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ D.P. Thompson, *Green Mountain Freeman (Montpelier, Vt.)*, Sept. 19, 1850, 2.

⁶⁸ Thompson, Feb. 6, 1851, 2.

⁶⁹ See illustration from Feb. 13, 1851 issue for an example.

A Fugitive Slave Lecturer.
The Rev. Thomas James, a Fugitive Slave,
 now lecturing through this State, proposes to
 address the people of this Village at the Free
 Church, on the evening of the 12th inst.—at
 Northfield, Friday 14th—at Barre Lower Vil-
 lage, Monday evening 17th—at Plainfield on
 the 18th—at Waterbury 20,—on the subject of
 American wrongs to the African race. A friend
 of Windsor County writes us that his lectures
 in that section are much applauded. The friends
 of the cause are requested to make arrange-
 ments accordingly, and give notice of the same.

Announcement from the Feb. 13, 1851 issue of the *Green Mountain Freeman*.

In the wake of Shadrach's rescue in Boston, Thompson remarked on the failure of the press to raise a cry when an abolitionist speaker was mobbed in Springfield.⁷⁰ Thompson summed up the position of the Vermont Whig press in the March 20, 1851 issue: "Unless the tone of its presses has ceased to be a criterion for judging of the sentiments of a party, the Whig party of Vermont may now be considered as irrecoverably committed to sustain the schemes of the slave power, as the same party in Maryland or Kentucky. Nine or ten out of the thirteen Whig presses in Vermont either take open ground to support the compromise, and abide the new tests of the administration in its behalf, or indirectly signify their acquiescence in the views of the more frank, and therefore the more honorable exponents of their party."⁷¹

Though Thompson's condemnation of the Whigs was somewhat pejorative, the facts match the results of this study to a large extent. The Whig press in Vermont held varying degrees of opposition to the Fugitive Slave Act, some brusque, some matter of fact. Their thinking on the Habeas Corpus Law is where we see the greatest variance for party orthodoxy. The debate in the Whig press regarding the law—is it nullification? Is it socially acceptable? Is it an embarrassment to the state?—is fascinating.

It may be possible to posit some generalizations about the Whig press and their reactions to the two laws. The newspapers where there were no other competing titles tended to take the most conservative approach. One could assume that they were concerned about alienating readers not of their party who lived in their towns, and in order to avoid lost circulation, maintained as close to a middle of the road stance as possible. We see little of the inflammatory language of the *Burlington Free Press*, *Green Mountain Freeman*, or *Spirit of the Age* in the pages of these titles. Rather, they tend to be opposed to the Habeas Corpus Law, or argue that it is not unconstitutional and has little effect. All of the Whig titles tend to move from language attacking the Fugitive Slave Act in fall 1850 to a respect for law and order approach after the rescue of Shadrach. The *Rutland Herald* was a fascinating

⁷⁰ Thompson, Mar. 6, 1851.

⁷¹ Thompson, Mar. 20, 1851, 2.

exception, because editor Beamon's tone did not particularly change regarding the Habeas Corpus Law. He continued to state that the law was not a violation of law and order because it did not conflict with federal law.

The mix of opinions and vacillation of these editors was as much a symptom of Whig national politics as it was their own consciences regarding the law. The Whig Party was faltering as a national party as the Fugitive Slave Act brought slavery unmistakably to center stage as the question of the oncoming decade. These Whig editors attempted to hold a splintering party together as their own Vermont Legislature threw more powder on the flames. The clearly righteous prose in the *Green Mountain Freeman*, or even the consistent convictions of the Democratic *Spirit of the Age*, makes for a more appealing read than the Whig papers. Although it is difficult to extrapolate popular attitudes from the expressions of these editors, Vermonters voted with their feet in the coming decade. Most of these Whig titles would become Republican by the end of the 1850s and the Whig party was cast into the void.

*KEEP YOUR POWDER DRY: MOTION PICTURE PRODUCTION AND THE
PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN SOLDIERS DURING WORLD WAR II*

--
BRANDON MOBLO

On October 9, 1944, Lana Turner got her hair done. Hollywood hairdressers tried several styles on the actress's long blonde hair in preparation for her role as a member of the Women's Army Corps (WAC) in the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) film, *Keep Your Powder Dry*. MGM wanted to be sure that their star looked "beautiful and glamorous," but Lt. Louise V. White, a technical advisor from the WAC, was there to make sure the style was "the type of coiffure a girl could put up herself between reveille at 6 a.m. and breakfast at 6:30, with a shower, dressing and her share of the housekeeping to be done besides." The two compromised on a mixture of rolled braids that looked good, but fit Army regulations by being "off the collar."¹ When the film was released, critics were merciless and directed a portion of their ire on the actresses' hairstyles. Jesse Zunsler, from *Cue* magazine, wrote that, "Their reveille three-minute hairdos would do credit to Charles of the Ritz."² Thomas Pryor, from the *New York Times*, complained that the film's stars "perpetually appear[ed] as though they spent all their time in the beauty parlor."³ This compromise between the desires of the studio and the WAC was but one of the problems surrounding the production of *Keep Your Powder Dry*. These problems stemmed from the novelty of the WAC. The opinions of a large proportion of Americans ranged from uncertain to outright hostile when it came to women serving in the military.

During World War II, Hollywood produced a wide variety of films with war-related themes. Among these, were films covering virtually every branch and aspect of military service. The War Department, which enjoyed a mutually beneficial relationship with Hollywood, was eager to use these films as free publicity for the Armed Services. Hollywood studios would submit scripts with military themes to the War Department for approval, and in return for making the requested changes the studios would receive material support from the Armed Forces. *Keep Your Powder Dry* is an example of a film produced under this cooperation. However, the film dealt with the Women's Army Corps, a recent addition to the military. The presence of women in the military was a controversial issue for many members of both the Army and the American public, and the WAC consistently faced problems with self-promotion and recruitment. This complicated the production and release of the film. Hollywood studios were anxious to create a film around the WAC, hoping the novelty of the service would result in high returns at the box office, and the War Department was eager to take advantage of the free publicity the studios were providing for other military branches. The WAC, however, were protective of their public image and resisted the idea. In the end, the WAC relented and MGM produced *Keep Your Powder Dry* with War Department and WAC collaboration. The film, starring Lana Turner, Laraine Day, and Susan Peters as three

¹ "Lana Turner's Hair-Do Both GI and Glamorous," *Daily Boston Globe*, October 10, 1944, 15.

² Quoted in Irving Hoffman, "'Keep Your Powder Dry' Dampened by N.Y. reviews," *The Hollywood Reporter*, March 20, 1945, 8. Charles Jundt was a famous hairstylist at the Ritz-Carlton hotel in New York City who later developed his own line of cosmetics.

³ Thomas M. Pryor, "Ten That Failed: A Parting Shot at Those Big Berthas Which Exploded With Only a Ping," *New York Times*, December 30, 1945, X3.

women who join the WAC, was meant to be an entertaining vehicle for MGM's female stars and promote WAC recruitment. It was a failure on all levels. Savaged by critics, detested by the WAC, and unsuccessful at the box office, the film provides a glimpse into the process of producing military-themed films during World War II, and is a prime example of the difficulty in promoting the WAC to Americans adverse to the idea of women soldiers.

The relationship between the United States military and the motion picture industry began almost as soon as the medium was invented. Initially, after the Spanish-American War, the only military footage was in newsreels, and the armed forces worked with filmmakers solely in order to control information and censor sensitive images. However, the armed forces found that the footage in newsreels was useful in recruitment, and was therefore open to further interaction with the film industry. Motion picture producers soon expressed interest in using the military to create dramatic feature-length films. This required more in-depth involvement from the military. They no longer needed to only protect military secrets, but also its public image. In order to do this, the armed services developed guidelines and rules for filmmakers to follow. These were a form of soft censorship, where producers were required to adhere to the military's conditions in order to receive aid in the form of uniforms, extras, equipment, and materials. A mutually beneficial system of cooperation was largely in place by the First World War.⁴

After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, Hollywood studios quickly began to produce films related to the war effort. These films covered all aspects of the American wartime experience. In her analysis of the World War II combat film as a genre, Jeanine Basinger creates several categories of films that are related to the war, but which are not combat films. These categories provide useful classifications for Hollywood's war-related output. First were the combat films themselves. Second were wartime films that "demonstrate[d] the pressure of the war on the noncombat life." Third, military background films were usually musicals or comedies with a military background. Fourth, training camp films examined induction and training in the military without portraying combat, except perhaps, at the very end. Finally, military biographies followed a particular character and examined the personal effects of the war. Combat, when it was present, was usually featured as "a remembered event."⁵ This was just a part of Hollywood's greater contributions to the war effort, which included holding scrap and war bond drives, aiding the military in producing training and orientation films, and organizing star tours.⁶

Hollywood produced these films for several reasons, some quite obvious. First, the studios wished to capitalize on the war and make films which took advantage of the American public's interest in the conflict. Hence, many films early in the war were non-war films that had already been in production, with war-related dialogue or epilogues added on. Second, Hollywood was politically and socially engaged in the conflict, and had been since before the attack on Pearl Harbor. In fact, isolationists in Congress had held hearings accusing the studios of war mongering with such films as *Confessions of a Nazi Spy*.⁷ Third,

⁴ Lawrence, Suid, *Guts & Glory: The Making of the American Military Image in Film* (Lexington, Kentucky: University of Kentucky Press, 2002), 12-13.

⁵ Jeanine Basinger, *The World War II Combat Film: Anatomy of a Genre* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2003), 11-13.

⁶ *Movies at War*, vol. 1 (New York: War Activities Committee – Motion Picture Industry, 1942).

⁷ Thomas Schatz, *Boom and Bust: American Cinema in the 1940s* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1997), 39-40.

and most important for *Keep Your Powder Dry*, the Hollywood studios produced films at the instigation of the United States military.

Recruiting women for the Women's Army Corps presented a unique problem for the United States Army. Whereas conscription largely made male recruitment unnecessary, the idea of women in the military was relatively recent and met with resistance on several levels. This resistance culminated in the spring of 1943 with what became known as the "slander campaign." The "slander campaign" was a widespread eruption of gossip and private letters that percolated in the press, drawing the attention of the American public, congressmen, and military officials. Rumors circulated that the WAC had been created to work as prostitutes for male soldiers. Other rumors claimed that 50% of WACs were pregnant. Another protested that they were provided with contraceptives, which would encourage unsavory sexual activity. Yet another rumor claimed the WACs were infested with venereal disease.⁸ These accusations were symptoms of larger concerns over the social effects of the war. As during the First World War, the movement of men overseas for war required the shift of women from traditional female environments to the traditionally male environments of work. However, the presence of women in the military realm was new and therefore drew the focus of people's discontent and discomfort.

The Army and the WAC used several different methods to counteract criticisms and promote positive images of the WAC. These included magazine and newspaper advertisements, radio spots, and public addresses. They also hired a private advertising firm, Young & Rubicam, to help with the problem. However, the Army, the WAC, particularly Director Oveta Culp Hobby, and Young & Rubicam often disagreed over the proper way to portray the WAC to the American public. The advertising firm wanted to target women's self-interest and promote the WAC by focusing on the personal benefits of service, including job training, the attractiveness of the uniforms, and a sense of adventure. Director Hobby wanted to appeal to women's sense of duty; evoking the "tradition of pioneer women."⁹ The Army was split on the issue, with some generals agreeing with Young & Rubicam, and others siding with Hobby. In the end, a compromise was reached and a combination of the "duty" and "glamour" approaches was used. However, recruiting and public image remained a problem for the WAC throughout the war.

In light of these problems, many civilian critics advocated for the use of motion pictures as a public relations tool. This seemed like an obvious idea, since other branches of the military had enjoyed the benefits of Hollywood for years. However, the War Department was resistant. In response to a suggested musical comedy featuring the WACs, it argued that, "The WAC is a new thing in the lives of American people, and so being, is for the present on trial." The success of the WAC depended on not only the successful completion of its duties, but also on the "approval of the American people and their acceptance of the organization as necessary in the war effort."¹⁰ However resistant to dramatic films the Army was, they did attempt an Army-made recruitment film.

In 1942, Lt. Col. Betty Bandel met with director Frank Capra to discuss the film. She provided Capra with extensive notes on WAC life and policies. The plan was for Capra to

⁸ Michaela Hampf, *Release a Man for Combat: The Women's Army Corps during World War II* (Cologne, Germany: Böhlau, 2010), 120-134.

⁹ Hampf, 117.

¹⁰ Mattie E. Treadwell, *The Women's Army Corps* (Washington, DC : Office of the Chief of Military History, Dept. of the Army, 1953), 705.

give the report to his writers and then Bandel would go to Hollywood for a week to advise during filming.¹¹ However, Bandel was unable to act as technical adviser because Hobby needed her at WAC headquarters.¹² The resulting film, *Women at War*, was made in cooperation with the War Department's Bureau of Public Relations, but contained much misinformation due to the absence of a WAC advisor. The film shows several young women joining the WAC and experiencing the highs and lows of training. One character is the daughter of a general, who must earn her father's respect. At the completion of training, Director Hobby herself gives the commencement address. The film ends with a battle scene where the WACs rush in to operate the general's radio at the front lines. This had no basis in reality. The WACs were never stationed on the front lines. The WAC headquarters complained, however it was too expensive to change the film once it was completed. In the end, *Women at War* was delayed and the voiceover was changed to portray the final scene as a training maneuver: "a statement equally erroneous as to WAC participation, but less alarming to the public."¹³ This experience did little to convince the WAC that their organization could be properly portrayed on film. Yet pressures from both Hollywood and the War Department eventually won out, and it was agreed to allow production of a feature film featuring the WAC. This would eventually become *Keep Your Powder Dry*.

The working title for *Keep Your Powder Dry* was *Women's Army*. The plot concerns three women who join the WAC for different reasons. The main character, Valerie Parks, portrayed by Lana Turner, joins in order to prove herself worthy of an inheritance. According to the studio's synopsis, Valerie will join the WAC until her lawyer can gain access to her money, then "she will get out of the army on some pretext and enjoy her millions."¹⁴ Her rival, Leigh Rand, portrayed by Laraine Day, is the daughter of a general and joins in order to continue the family tradition. She "is military-minded, hard and brittle and absolutely determined to make good so her father will not regret the lack of a son."¹⁵ The third woman, who acts as the peacekeeper between the other two is Ann Darrison, portrayed by Susan Peters. She joins in order to do her part like her husband, a GI. Parks and Rand fight throughout the film as the three make their way through boot camp and officer candidate school. Their fighting almost gets them thrown out of officer candidate school, but the death of Ann's husband unites the three and causes the personal growth required to become good WACs. The script is similar to Capra's *Women at War* in many ways. Rand being the daughter of a general is the most obvious. In addition, several of the supporting characters are similar, and the original script contained a commencement speech by Colonel Hobby as in *Women at War*.

The production of *Keep Your Powder Dry* was plagued with delays. These were mostly related to the script, which went through several revisions. The WAC objected to the original script of *Women's Army*, but the BPR was in favor of approving it. Officials at the BPR were in fact irritated with the WAC's intrusion into their territory. Allyn Butterfield, Chief of the Feature Film Section wrote to Colonel Curtis Mitchell, Chief of the Pictorial Branch that, "If the WACs are to be associated with official review of motion picture scripts,

¹¹ Betty Bandel, *An Officer and a Lady: The World War II Letters of Lt. Col. Betty Bandel, Women's Army Corps*, ed. Sylvia J. Bugbee (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 2004), 63.

¹² Bandel, 198.

¹³ Treadwell, 706.

¹⁴ Film Synopsis, Apr. 29, 1944, Box 22, Script Review, "Women's Army," RG 107.

¹⁵ Film Synopsis, Apr. 29, 1944, Box 22, Script Review, "Women's Army," RG 107.

it seems to me that they should be instructed to be more constructive in their opinions.”¹⁶ The BPR informed Director Hobby that the film had been informally approved and requested a detailed report of the WAC’s objections.¹⁷ This was provided along with the recommendation that a WAC technical adviser be assigned to the set.¹⁸ The WAC had learned from the inaccuracies in *Women at War*. These revisions were sent to MGM, who made them, and then sent the script back for official approval. Hobby gave her approval, along with another list of revisions on December 15, 1943.¹⁹ The Motion Picture Board of Review officially approved the script on January 7, 1944.²⁰

The first major problem with the script concerned the reason for Valerie Parks joining the WAC. In the original script, she makes a drunken declaration in a nightclub and is then held to her word. However, MGM discovered that the same plot had been used in a comic strip, and wished to change it in order to avoid litigation.²¹ MGM created a new opening where Parks marries a foreigner and needs to join the WAC to prove her loyalty to the United States in order to receive an inheritance. This is declined by the BPR, as Parks could not join the WAC if she was married to a non-citizen.²² A few days later, the film’s producer tweaked the idea and make Park’s mother the one who marries a foreign citizen.²³ The BPR approved this plot point.²⁴ In the final film, however, the foreigner is nonexistent, and Parks joins the WAC in order to prove her maturity, since she is a “socialite playgirl,” to the trust which controls her inheritance.

Another problem with the script involved a swimming scene MGM wrote and attempted to add to the script. The scene was designed to “add greatly to the much needed comedy of the film,” and “give the producer an opportunity to show [the] girls out of uniform.”²⁵ The BPR objected to a part of the scene where it is revealed that the WACs have changed into their swimsuits under the watching eyes of camouflaged GIs. Stuart Palmer, Acting Chief of the Feature Film Section, suggested that the scene be changed so that the women had their bathing suits on under their uniforms. He wrote, “They hesitate a little at this idea so that we make it clear for the most old-maidish critic, that the girls are not the type who would be careless about taking such a chance, even in a supposedly secluded spot.”²⁶ The studio agreed. This scenario illustrates the competing interests of the Army and MGM. The studio wanted to make an entertaining film that fully utilized their beautiful stars. The Army wanted a film that promoted and maintained the dignity of the WAC. Some Americans were worried that women joining the military would become too masculine, but if they were

¹⁶ Allyn Butterfield to Curtis Mitchell, Oct. 23, 1943, Box 22, Script Review, “Women’s Army,” RG 107.

¹⁷ Allyn Butterfield to Oveta Culp Hobby, Oct. 30, 1943, Box 22, Script Review, “Women’s Army,” RG 107.

¹⁸ Ruth M. Thompson to Oveta Culp Hobby, Nov. 14, 1943, Box 22, Script Review, “Women’s Army,” RG 107.

¹⁹ Oveta Culp Hobby to Curtis Mitchell, Dec. 15, 1943, Box 22, Script Review, “Women’s Army,” RG 107.

²⁰ Curtis Mitchell to Carter Barron, Jan. 7, 1944, Box 22, Script Review, “Women’s Army,” RG 107.

²¹ Carter Barron to Curtis Mitchell, March 31, 1944, Box 22, Script Review, “Women’s Army,” RG 107.

²² Allyn Butterfield to Carter Barron, March 31, 1944, Box 22, Script Review, “Women’s Army,” RG 107.

²³ George Haight to Carter Barron, April 1, 1944, Box 22, Script Review, “Women’s Army,” RG 107.

²⁴ Allyn Butterfield to Carter Barron, April 19, 1944, Box 22, Script Review, “Women’s Army,” RG 107.

²⁵ Carter Barron to Stuart Palmer, May 3, 1944, Box 22, Script Review, “Women’s Army,” RG 107.

²⁶ Stuart Palmer to Carter Barron, May 8, 1944, Stuart Palmer to Lt. Col. Swasey, Nov. 16, 1944, Box 22, Script Review, “Women’s Army,” RG 107.

too feminine in the film, it would play into the rumors of prostitution and sexual delinquency that plagued the WAC.

These script revisions caused shooting to be delayed several times. The first announced start date was May 1, 1944.²⁷ By July 24, the most recent edition of the script was being approved, and MGM planned to start shooting shortly thereafter.²⁸ However, on August 10, it was announced that production would begin with the following two weeks.²⁹ These delays caused Lt. Louise V. White's orders to be extended several times. White was the WAC technical adviser for the film, and travelled from Chicago to Hollywood in April 1944. Her initial orders were for 90 days; however, she would remain in Hollywood until the December 15, 1944.³⁰

In addition to submitting the script to the Army's BPR, MGM also submitted it to the Office of War Information (OWI). The OWI was the United States' propaganda bureau and worked closely with Hollywood studios to make sure that the films produced best supported the war effort. The OWI even provided the studios with guidelines on how the war should be addressed in films. These suggestions were not mandatory, but the OWI had formed a relationship with the Office of Censorship and could deny offending films an export visa. Therefore, there was no direct censorship of films within the United States, but there was overseas.³¹ On August 8, 1944, MGM submitted the final script of *Women's Army* to the OWI's Bureau of Motion Pictures (BMP). The BMP objected to the negative portrayal of American civilians, particularly Valerie Park's socialite friends. The reviewer wrote, "The general presentation of these characters as only concerned at this time with money or liquor, without being counteracted by other civilian characters making positive contributions to the war effort, could project to overseas audiences a false picture of the American home front."³² The OWI was concerned that the focus on money and luxury "could be used to implement Nazi propaganda overseas to the effect that Americans are overly materialistic and money-mad." In regards to the depiction of WACs, the BMP left commenting to the authority of the War Department.³³ In the early years of the war, the OWI had tried to challenge the relationship between the War Department and Hollywood and lost. Therefore, all military issues were strictly the business of the War Department.³⁴

MGM screened the completed film for the first time on December 8, 1944. It had taken 16 months to make. Howard Strickling, Director of Studio Publicity called it "a swell film," and addressed the long production. "As happens in so many cases with MGM, we do not get pictures out as quickly as some other companies, but when they do come out, they are thorough."³⁵ MGM quickly informed the BPR of the successful showing and promised to

²⁷ Carter Barron to Curtis Mitchell, Mar. 31, 1944, Box 22, Script Review, "Women's Army," RG 107.

²⁸ Stuart Palmer to Curtis Mitchell, July 24, 1944, Box 22, Script Review, "Women's Army," RG 107.

²⁹ Screen News, "Metro to Make Film on Women's Army Corps," *New York Times*, August 11, 1944, p. 12.

³⁰ Russel Reynolds to Quartermaster General, Apr. 5, 1944, Box 22, Script Review, "Women's Army," RG 107.

³¹ Clayton R. Koppes and Gregory D. Black, *Hollywood Goes to War: How Politics and Propaganda Shaped World War II Movies* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1987), 113-120.

³² Feature Script Review, Aug. 8, 1944, Box 3512, Script Review, "Keep Your Powder Dry," RG 208.

³³ Gene Kern to Louis Chappelle, Aug. 10, 1944, Box 3512, Script Review, "Keep Your Powder Dry," RG 208.

³⁴ Koppes and Black, 121-125.

³⁵ Howard Strickling to Carter Barron, Dec. 9, 1944, Box 22, Script Review, "Women's Army," RG 107.

have a print to Washington in 7-10 days.³⁶ On January 16, 1945, Curtis Mitchell wrote to Carter Barron to inform him that the film had screened in Washington, and “everyone who viewed it expressed enthusiastic approval.” In addition, Mitchell saw it as fortuitous that the film had been delayed, because at that time promotional materials for the WAC were greatly needed. The Battle of the Bulge was sending an inordinate number of casualties back to the United States, and the current number of nurses was not sufficient. The WAC were about to begin a Hospital Technicians Recruitment Campaign to correct that deficiency. The BPR and the WAC were anxious to use *Keep Your Powder Dry* to increase recruitment. Mitchell wrote that, “It is hoped that the broad distribution of *Keep Your Powder Dry* will inspire the young women of this nation to assume a full load of responsibility in caring for the casualties of war.”³⁷ It seemed for MGM and the BPR that *Keep Your Powder Dry* was the right film at the right time.

The world premiere of the film was scheduled to take place in Chattanooga, Tennessee, near Ft. Oglethorpe, where some of the film had been shot.³⁸ A grand premiere was planned; however, none of the stars were available to attend.³⁹ Nevertheless, the WAC organized a premiere that included a band, a color guard, a drill team, and a “style show” where WAC uniforms could be modeled. In addition, displays for the film, including mannequins wearing WAC uniforms were set up in storefront windows.⁴⁰ The premiere was a success. The world premiere of *Keep Your Powder Dry* in Chattanooga was the highest grossing opener for MGM. It played for four days at the Tivoli Theater, then for three days at the State Theater.⁴¹

The Washington, DC premiere was scheduled for March 8, 1945 at the Capitol Theater. This premiere included appearances by government and military officials, celebrities, and others. A live radio broadcast carried interviews with attendees across the country. Lana Turner visited wounded soldiers in nearby Walter Reed Hospital during the day. Twenty-five “walking wounded” from the hospital were invited to attend the premiere as guests of the WAC. Each man was escorted by a member of the WAC. In addition, a WAC band and detachment were scheduled to march from the recruiting office to the theater prior to the showing.⁴² Also during the day, Lana Turner lunched at the Pentagon, followed by a cocktail party to which only the sixty highest-ranking military and government officials were invited.⁴³ Distinguished guests at the premiere included, Secretary of War Henry Stimson, General George C. Marshall, and Vice President Harry Truman. It was originally planned that Colonel Hobby host the cocktail party, speak over the radio, and give a short speech on recruitment during the premiere, however her presence was minimized to rising briefly and waving from the president’s box. According to Stuart Palmer, her cooperation

³⁶ Carter Barron to Curtis Mitchell, Jan. 3, 1945, Box 22, Script Review, “Women’s Army,” RG 107.

³⁷ Curtis Mitchell to Carter Barron, Jan. 16, 1945, Box 22, Script Review, “Women’s Army,” RG 107.

³⁸ Curtis Mitchell to Oveta Culp Hobby, Feb. 9, 1945, Box 22, Script Review, “Women’s Army,” RG 107.

³⁹ Stuart Palmer to Curtis Mitchell, Feb. 20, 1945, Box 22, Script Review, “Women’s Army,” RG 107.

⁴⁰ Detailed Plans for Premiere, Feb. 21, 1945, Box 22, Script Review, “Women’s Army,” RG 107.

⁴¹ “‘Powder,’ ‘Dorian Gray’ Premieres Set Records,” *The Film Daily*, March 5, 1945, p. 10.

⁴² John Carroll to Commanding General, Military District of Washington, Feb. 24, 1945, Box 22, Script Review, “Women’s Army,” RG 107.

⁴³ Curtis Mitchell to Deputy Director, Bureau of Public Relations, Mar. 1, 1945, Box 22, Script Review, “Women’s Army,” RG 107.

was “cut to an absolute minimum,” “in view of her feelings in the matter.”⁴⁴ It is unclear from this what Colonel Hobby’s views were. She was ill at this time and resigned shortly thereafter. The phrase “her feelings” could refer to her sickness, or she could have disapproved of the film or the way it was being marketed.

Based on the Washington premiere, MGM created a marketing guide for *Keep Your Powder Dry* that it sent theaters nationally. Although, the film had been produced to promote the WAC, MGM focused on the sex appeal of its stars and used a sensationalistic tone in its proposed advertisements. This was in direct opposition to the desires of the WAC and the BPR. Prior to the Washington premiere, Curtis Mitchell informed the Deputy Director of the BPR that MGM “is not planning this premiere as an exploitation stunt for the picture, but is most anxious to put it over as an aid to the Army and WAC recruitment and to make fullest use of the picture in creating a better understanding of the WAC on the part of the general public...”⁴⁵ These intentions were apparently dropped as soon as the premiere was over. The marketing guide lists as the top sales angle: “Feminine ‘Cat Fight’ between three gorgeous girls.” It then reassures theater owners that “Although WAC recruiting, etc. was tied in, we definitely did not submerge the entertainment and sex-appeal.”⁴⁶ After the premiere, the film spread across the country. On March 10, 1945, the *New York Times* announced that the film will open that day in New York at Loew’s Criterion.⁴⁷ The film was the top grosser opening the first weekend in April in Cincinnati.⁴⁸ Then on June 27, 1945, the film opened in Boston at the Modern Theater.⁴⁹ As it opened across the nation, the advertisements emphasizing the sex-appeal of the three stars proliferated.

A screen shot from the film appeared in the Sunday edition of the *New York Times* under the caption, “Snappy Salutes From Three Smart Girls.” Below the image, the caption refers to them as, “A trio of comely WAC mechanics.”⁵⁰ The film was advertised prominently in *The Boston Daily Globe* on May 22, 1945, the day before it opened at Loew’s State theater and the Orpheum. There was a portrait of Turner and a large ad for the film. The ad features three glamorous images of the three girls. At the top of the ad was a small picture of Turner slapping Day in the film with the large tagline, “The most hilarious catfight since ‘The Women!’” Below the tagline it reads, “These three cuddly kittens hiss and kiss and bawl and brawl—and the laughs fly faster than the fur!”⁵¹ [See Figure A] A similar catfight ad also appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*. This one has a small cartoon of three cats fighting, with “Psst!” and “M-Meow!” in big letters. The tagline reads, “Three battling beauties who go all out for a man named Sam! The uproarious low-down on the 3 luscious Lovelies who set their yes on the same prize!”⁵² [See Figure B]

⁴⁴ Stuart Palmer to Deputy Director, Bureau of Public Relations, Mar. 6, 1945, Box 22, Script Review, “Women’s Army,” RG 107.

⁴⁵ Curtis Mitchell to Deputy Director, Bureau of Public Relations, Mar. 1, 1945, Box 22, Script Review, “Women’s Army,” RG 107.

⁴⁶ Washington Premiere Campaign, Mar. 26, 1945, 1945, Box 22, Script Review, “Women’s Army,” RG 107.

⁴⁷ News of the Screen, “Of Local Origin,” *New York Times*, March 10, 1945, p. 14.

⁴⁸ “‘Powder’ Is Cincy’s Best In Holy Week,” *The Hollywood Reporter*, April 3, 1945, p. 12.

⁴⁹ “Modern Bill,” *The Boston Daily Globe*, June 27, 1945, p. 6.

⁵⁰ “A Snappy Salute From Three Smart Girls,” *New York Times*, March 11, 1945, p. X3.

⁵¹ Advertisement, *The Boston Daily Globe*, May 22, 1945, p. 6.

⁵² Advertisement, *Los Angeles Times*, August 9, 1945, p. 3.

The women are not featured in their uniforms in any of the advertisements, and the significance of the WAC to the story is minimally presented. The advertisements instead create a false love triangle (or quadrangle) that does not exist in the film or any versions of the script. This imagery is exactly why the WAC leadership was hesitant to allow Hollywood to base a film on their organization. Promoting the WAC to a public that was resistant to the idea of women in the military was not helped by the sexy, pinup imagery used by MGM. In fact, it fit more with the rumors spread during the slander campaign that women only joined the WAC to be near men and engage in illicit behavior.

Although the response to the film at the initial premieres was positive, it was resoundingly negative once the film opened nationally. The *Boston Daily Globe* review of the film said, “The success of ‘Keep Your Powder Dry’ at the State and Orpheum Theatres is highly problematic if it is used primarily to persuade young women of the advantage of being a WAC. Despite the eye appeal of Lana Turner and Laraine Day, one feels that the characters they portray are of the lightweight variety, and that life as a WAC must be somewhat similar to life at a boarding school for girls in their ‘teens.’”⁵³ Bosley Crowther wrote in the *New York Times* review of the film that:

If they do anything to people for maligning the Women’s Army Corps they will certainly do whatever it is to Metro for ‘Keep Your Powder Dry.’ For this manifest little indignity, which came to Loew’s Criterion on Saturday, makes distaff members of our Army look like cats in a Hollywood boarding school. Or rather, you might say it makes them look like well-advertised movie stars performing in a thoroughly foolish fiction, only dressed up in WAC uniforms... Miss Turner looks very come-onish in her ‘perfect 12’ uniforms and handles her neatly stacked torso in a plainly unmilitary way... Some real WACs appear in the background—on a meekly-remote process screen.⁵⁴

The Hollywood Reporter collected quotes from the New York reviews of the film under the headline, “‘Keep Your Powder Dry’ was riddled when it faced the firing squad of Reviewers Row.” Howard Barnes, of the *Tribune*, wrote, “The WACs can scarcely be too pleased with the silly salute they receive in ‘Keep Your Powder Dry.’ There is an over-all hurrah for women in uniform, but it is effected [sic] with a minimum of taste or imagination. The script is cluttered with clichés...” Alton Cook’s *World Telegram* review read, “It is unfortunate that the first picture about WAC training and activities missed its mark so badly. The picture could have been of great assistance in the current recruiting campaign and in acquainting the public with the work of the corps.” Eileen Creelman, of the *Sun*, wrote, “It has made the characters so petty, the episodes so trivial, the atmosphere so filled with bickering that, although audiences may well have a good time, WAC recruiting is not likely to be helped...” Jesse Zunsler, from *Cue*, a weekly, wrote, “The difficulties attendant upon the making of pictures about women in the Armed Forces must be very great indeed. Because, with no exception, such films in the past have been sappy, juvenile, sentimental hogwash—calculated if anything to discourage, rather than promote, enlistments. ‘KYPD’ is no better than the others. The WACs pictured are no different from a bunch of sorority girls whooping it up at a marshmallow roast at school. Their problems are minor and mushy, rather than military, and their reactions catty and coy.....with a particular obnoxious Bill

⁵³ Review, *The Boston Daily Globe*, May 24, 1945, p. 20.

⁵⁴ Bosley Crowther, “‘Keep Your Powder Dry’ Seen at Criterion,” *New York Times*, March 12, 1945, p. 22.

Johnson providing what is evidently intended to be a dashing male military note. It turned sour on screen.”⁵⁵ Thomas Pryor, at the *New York Times*, named the film one of the ten worst of 1945.⁵⁶ The consensus among critics was that the film was poorly written. They had no problem with the women in the military. The critics realized that the producers had relied on what had worked in films centered on female characters in the past, namely bickering and cattiness and were disappointed that MGM had not made a better film more deserving of the WAC.

The critics were not the only ones who disliked the film. The Motion Picture Division of the OWI did not find it appropriate either. In their review of the film, they noticed that MGM had removed the most offensive lines of dialogue that they had suggested in their review of the script, however, “the generally unfavorable presentation of the American home front remains. The little documentary value resulting from a panorama of the Women’s Army Corps is lost in the petty schoolboy bickering of the two leading characters.”⁵⁷ The OWI determined that *Keep Your Powder Dry* was unsuitable for distribution overseas. In their findings, the reviewers wrote, “Unsuitable because of unrealistic presentation of the Women’s Army Corps, which has been made to resemble a Powers Model School. All the WACs are beautiful, but none are very bright... This does not add up to a projection of the WAC as a serious military outfit.”⁵⁸ The OWI found that the portrayal of the WAC and civilians on the home front in *Keep Your Powder Dry* were too negative to be seen abroad. Critics in the United States also thought the film contributed little, neither to the benefit of the WAC or as pure entertainment.

The WACs themselves also detested the film. In the official military history of World War II, the volume devoted exclusively to the Women’s Army Corps addresses the problem of working with Hollywood and discusses *Keep Your Powder Dry* without mentioning it by name. The author, Mattie Treadwell, was Assistant to the Director, Colonel Oveta Culp Hobby. She writes:

Finally it was agreed to let a major company produce a WAC picture provided that the script was approved and a WAC adviser kept on the scene at all times. In spite of such precautions, the resulting effort was an embarrassment to WACs everywhere. One of Hollywood’s most glamorous stars was compressed, rather unsuccessfully, into a WAC uniform, and portrayed as receiving an officer’s commission after a writer’s idea of “feminine” behavior such as jealousy, tears, hysteria, and face-slapping on the drill field, which would have disqualified any real WAC officer candidate. Real WACs in the audience fled in tears, accompanied by the jeers of soldier-spectators. It was difficult to see what such productions added to public acceptance, other than

⁵⁵ Irving Hoffman, “‘Keep Your Powder Dry’ Dampened By N.Y. Reviews,” *The Hollywood Reporter*, March 20, 1945, p. 8.

⁵⁶ Thomas M. Pryor, “Ten That Failed: A Parting Shot at Those Big Berthas Which Exploded With Only a Ping,” *New York Times*, December 30, 1945, p. X3.

⁵⁷ Feature Viewing, Jan. 2, 1945, Box 3512, Script Review, “Keep Your Powder Dry,” RG 208.

⁵⁸ Motion Picture Review, June 25, 1945, Box 3512, Script Review, “Keep Your Powder Dry,” RG 208.

the idea that all WACs suffered from emotional instability but nevertheless were promptly made officers.⁵⁹

Written ten years after the release of the film, the anger over the portrayal of the WAC is still present. Interesting in her statement, is the claim that WACs fled from screenings of the film while being heckled by male soldiers. Treadwell claims to have witnessed this herself. It is supported by a collection of letters published by an American infantryman. On August 3, 1945, Robert Lynch, a member of the 3rd Infantry Division, wrote home to his brother while occupying Germany. “We are beginning to see more current movies nowadays. The last one was *Keep Your Powder Dry* with Lana Turner and Laraine Day. What a riot! I thought the theater would come tumbling down when Lana Turner was flashed on screen.”⁶⁰ While no mention is made of WACs in the audience, it is easy to see how WACs working hard to be taken seriously by their male counterparts would be upset by watching men catcall and hoot at a fictionalized version of their service.

Before concluding, it is interesting to examine another example of Hollywood films being used to recruit women for the military. *Here Come The Waves*, a film about the WAVES starring Bing Crosby received good reviews. The WAVES, or Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service, were the Women’s Reserve of the Navy. Unlike *Keep Your Powder Dry*, the film was a success. Most reviewers praised Crosby and also costar Betty Hutton. Otis L. Guernsey Jr., of the *New York Herald Tribune*, wrote, “The fact is that ‘Here Come the Waves’ is Crosby’s picture from start to finish; and when you remember that there isn’t a more reliable musical comedy star in America than Bing Crosby, you’ll know what to expect from the mere fact of his presence on the Paramount screen.” Irene Thirer, of the *New York Post*, wrote, “Mark Sandrich has given the picture the kind of swift direction which nets one guffaw after another, and often the current gag rates laughter which drowns out the next smooth line.” Bosley Crowther, of the *New York Times*, wrote “There are several scenes in the picture of Waves in training which are atmospherically good, and the settings contrived for the Wave show are well above regulation grade. Paramount, in short, has been generous to the service in every respect.” Lee Mortimer, of the *Daily Mirror*, called the film “Paramount’s newest laugh provoker,” and “one of the top amusement values of the year.” He wrote, “You’ve got to hold on to your seats for this one!” Eileen Creelman, of the *New York Sun*, called the film “jolly and completely frivolous amusement.”

However, despite the films commercial and popular success, its success as a recruiting tool was less certain. John T. McManus, at *PM*, wrote, “It is strictly within bounds to report that while oodles of school-free maids giggled their marry way through ‘Here Come the Waves’ at its holiday-week opening at the Paramount, there was no rush to sign up with the Waves when the show broke. In fact, I didn’t even see a Wave recruiting desk in the lobby, which is as big as a flight deck... The recruitment is covered largely by a Betty Hutton song which goes: ‘Do your doo, do your doo, do your doo-doo-dooty today.’ The rest of the film is one of the most contrived plots...”⁶¹ Therefore, the film was only successful from Hollywood’s perspective. In addition, the ads for “Here Come the Waves” play up the sexism

⁵⁹ Mattie E. Treadwell, *The Women’s Army Corps* (Washington, DC : Office of the Chief of Military History, Dept. of the Army, 1953), 707.

⁶⁰ Robert Lynch, *A Letter Marked Free: A Powerful and Gripping Account of a Combat Soldier in WWII*

⁶¹ Quoted in Irving Hoffman, “‘Waves’ Gets Raves In N.Y.; ‘Singing’ Also Pleases,” *The Hollywood Reporter*, January 2, 1945, p. 6.

as well, including lines like, “With Waves of Laughter, A Salvo of Songs, and Oceans of Ship-Shape Honeys!” Yet it gives top billing to star Bing Crosby and the songs.⁶² Paramount, the producers of *Here Come The Waves* knew that Crosby was their selling point, and used him to the full extent. Also, because the selling point of the film was a man, unlike *Keep Your Powder Dry*, whose selling point was Lana Turner, the appeal to sexual imagery was more limited.

In conclusion, the failure of *Keep Your Powder Dry* was symptomatic of a larger resistance to women in the military. Public relations and recruitment for the Women’s Army Corps were always difficult and faced opposition from the American public, interests groups, and within the Army itself. Many Americans were concerned about the effects that the war was having on society. With men fighting overseas, women were entering the workforce in large numbers. While Rosie the Riveter became an iconic image of this change, in reality the majority of women worked in traditionally feminine jobs. In addition, women were expected to work to support the war effort, but give up their new jobs once the men returned from overseas. Americans recognized that some norms needed to be upset in order to win the war, but only temporarily, and the less a job violated traditional roles the better. The WAC was the ultimate sign of the war’s effect on these roles, and many Americans resisted the change.⁶³

Hollywood and the War Department used their preexisting symbiotic relationship to create entertainment films that were meant to convince those who opposed women in the military. However, many within the War Department and the motion picture industry were also opposed. Those who were supportive did not know how to handle the subject with the proper finesse. Although the Army’s Bureau of Public Relations influenced scripts, assigned technical supervisors, and provided uniforms and equipment, they could not stop Hollywood from marketing a female-centric film in the way that they were accustomed to, by highlighting cat fights and sex appeal. In addition, the BPR was so eager to produce a film that would benefit the WAC that they allowed a subpar film to be produced over none at all. The production of *Keep Your Powder Dry* exemplifies this military environment of motion picture production during World War II. More importantly it allows an analysis of the difficulties faced by opinion-makers in marketing women soldiers to the American public.

⁶² Advertisement, *The Hollywood Reporter*, January 20, 1945, p. 8.

⁶³ Richard Polenberg, “The Good War? A Reappraisal of How World War II Affected American Society,” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 100, No. 3, The Home Front and Beyond: Virginians in the World War 2 Era (Jul., 1992), pp. 314-317.



THE MOST HILARIOUS CAT FIGHT SINCE "THE WOMEN"!

These three cuddly kittens hiss and kiss and bawl and brawl—and the laughs fly faster than the fur!



Lana
TURNER

Laraine
DAY

Susan
PETERS

Keep Your Powder Dry

AN **M-G-M** PICTURE

with **AGNES MOOREHEAD • BILL JOHNSON • NATALIE SCHAFER**
LEE PATRICK • JESS BARKER • JUNE LOCKHART

Original Screen Play by Mary C. McCall, Jr. and George Bruce • Directed by EDWARD BUZZELL
Produced by George Haight • A Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer Picture

Plus 2nd Big Feature Starts TOM'W

Thrills! Action! Romance!

Boston Blackie Booked on Suspicion

Chester Morris • Lynn Merrick
ALSO LATEST MGM NEWS

Loew's STATE & ORPHEUM

Doors Open ORPHEUM 9:15 — STATE 11:15

WAR BOND PREVIEW
"GERGE TRACY KATHARINE HEPBURN in MGM's "WITHOUT LOVE"
Lowe's State - Monday, May 22, at 8:30 P.M. FREE TICKETS with War Bond Purchase at State and Orpheum only.

TODAY LAST TIMES
VAD JOHNSON "BETWEEN TWO WOMEN" P.M. "THE POWER OF THE WHISTLER"

Figure A: The Boston Daily Globe May 22, 1945

TODAY
at **4 THEATRES**

PSST! M-MEOW!
THE MOST HILARIOUS CAT-FIGHT SINCE
"The WOMEN" CAME TO TOWN!

THREE BATTLING BEAUTIES
WHO GO ALL OUT FOR
A MAN NAMED SAM!
The uproarious low-down
on the 3 luscious
Lovelies who set their
eyes on the same PRIZE!

Lana **TURNER** Laraine **DAY** Susan **PETERS**

Keep Your Powder Dry

AGNES MOOREHEAD • BILL JOHNSON
NATALIE SCHAFER • LEE PATRICK
JESS BARKER • JUNE LOCKHART

Directed by Edward Buzzell
Produced by George Meigh

Original Screen Play by Mary C. McCall, Jr. and George Bruce

Plus
2nd Feature!
GALE STORM in
"GI HONEYMOON"
A MONOGRAM PICTURE

TODAY
in **4**
THEATRES!

Guild
6126 Holly d Blvd.
2 Block E. of Vine
Hl 2111

FOX WILSHIRE
Wilshire No. La Cinema
WYoming 3154

UNITED ARTISTS
Downtown - 9th & Bldg
REpublic 4111

4 STAR
Wilshire near La Brea
Cont Em 12 15 N. ...
FOK 8211

Figure B: Los Angeles Times August 9, 1945

THE STORMTROOPER: PARAMILITARY POLITICS AND THE RISE OF THE *STURMABTEILUNG*

--
MICHAEL ANDREW STURGES

Following the Great War, Germany faced the trauma of a protracted war, defeat, and revolution, all which deeply divided the politically ravaged and destabilized nation. With the fragmented sociopolitical structure of the newfound Weimar Republic, government-sanctioned paramilitary organizations emerged to protect German interests and augment the truncated postwar army. The formation of the *Freikorps*, freebooting armies that suppressed a Red revolution and later turned against the Republic itself, germinated the Weimar Republic with a widespread paramilitary subculture. The friction of divided, increasingly politically-motivated Combat Leagues challenged and subverted the Republic and its democratic principles, and acted as harbingers to the rise of Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Storm Troopers.

Against Germany's political and militaristic cultural backdrop, the National Socialist Party's Sturmabteilung (SA), the original paramilitary wing of the Nazi party, functioned through inherited ideologies and principles of the *Freikorps*. These political militants fought to protect and promote National Socialism throughout Germany by stylizing themselves around the legacy of the Great War and the postwar *Freikorps* units. Yet who were the SA as men and as political soldiers? How did they grow from a fringe, right-wing radical group into an organization of 700,000 men by Hitler's chancellery in 1933?¹ To understand the rise of and the power held by National Socialism, it is important to examine the postwar *Freikorps* soldiers as a vanguard formation, yet distinctly different from the later Nazi SA movement in the politically militant Weimar Republic.

Germany's defeat in World War I was disastrous to the increasingly fragmented nation. Abruptly abandoned by the Military Leadership, the appointed civilian Government was suddenly forced to arrange Germany's cessation of hostilities and surrender, engendering a myth that Germany had been "stabbed in the back" from the "inadequate support of the home front."² This rift occurred not only through widespread Army propaganda, but also through inept attempts at flattery in pamphlets by the new civilian government:

A New Germany Greets you...Perhaps you do not return as victors who have completely crushed the enemy to the ground...but neither do you return vanquished, for the war was stopped at the wishes of the leadership of the Reich...So you can hold your heads high.³

Traumatized soldiers increasingly felt dishonored as they interpreted these sentiments as discrediting their war experience and sacrifice. Besides begetting resentment in the returning soldiers against a new republic run by Trade Unionists, the massive demobilization of the army forced many back into an unwanted civilian life. Entire battalions were rapidly

¹ Otis Mitchell, *Hitler's Stormtroopers and the attack on the German Republic, 1919-1933* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2008), 123.

² Mitchell, *Hitler's Stormtroopers*, 14.

³ Robert Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism: the Free Corps Movement in postwar Germany 1918-1923* (New York: Norton, 1969), 31.

disbanded by the German military and postwar government to meet the Allied demands of an truncated army of 100,000 men.⁴ As the nation briefly flirted with civil war and revolution by naval mutinies, civil revolts, ‘Red Republics’ in industrial centers, the Spartacists, and encroachments in the East, the Republic quickly discovered that it was unable to defend itself effectively and called for the creation of volunteer paramilitary units in November 1918.⁵

These volunteer formations were rendered on the popular conception of World War I “Storm or Shock” formations, providing the prevailing spirit for both the Freikorps and later their successors, the Nazi *Sturmabteilungen*. Storm detachments had been developed in the war as “tactical level, compact, well-armed, highly mobile units”⁶ and they were increasingly viewed and publically idealized as the pinnacle of the elite German soldier. To cultivate this prestige during the war, storm troops were assigned different uniforms, often green with silver facings, while “some of them sported the infamous ‘Totenkopf’ (Death’s Head) emblem, originally worn by Blucher’s Hussars, later to become the badge of many Freikorps, and finally the symbol of Himmler’s SS.”⁷ Additionally they exemplified unique experiences of heightened camaraderie, special loyalty to single commanders, but most importantly they were prized for their battle-hardened ruthlessness. Championed by heroic German writers like Ernst Jünger, they represented the popular conception of the new man: “audacious, battle-proven, the man merciless both to himself and to others. This war is not the end. It is only to call to power. It is only the forge in which the world will be beaten into new shapes and new associations....power must be seized with a hard fist.”⁸

Outlined in the composition of wartime storm units, the formations of volunteer Freikorps units were strikingly similar in practice but attracted primarily two distinct types of volunteers: uprooted veterans and romantically idealistic young men. By the summer of 1919, an estimated 200,000 to 400,000 volunteers were directly involved in the movement, making the various Freikorps formations the “most important single power in Germany.”⁹ These disparate and individual units were organized around a young officer, usually a Lieutenant or Captain, who had hastily tasted the prestige and power of command during the war and was hesitant to surrender the newfound social standing and uniform.¹⁰ A Bavarian case study of 9,000 officers revealed that, “22.6 per cent of second lieutenants” and “27.6 per cent of first lieutenants,” elected to keep fighting in different Freikorps units, predominantly in leadership positions, after the war.¹¹ In short, young and idealistic officers—the *Freikorpsführer*—chose the varied military and paramilitary formations because they were theoretically outside of the chain of command, often in charge of battalion or regiment-strength units, and able to recruit, train, and equip their own men.¹²

The volunteers of the various Freikorps were principally veterans supplemented by right-wing students. Besides the more ambiguous and general appeals of German patriotism,

⁴ Mitchell, 11.

⁵ Nigel Jones, *A Brief History of the Birth of the Nazis: How the Freikorps Blazed a Trail for Hitler* (London: Robinson, 2004), 32.

⁶ Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism*, 21.

⁷ Jones, *A Brief History of the Birth of the Nazis*, 8.

⁸ Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism*, 28.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 38

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 45.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 48.

¹² *Ibid.*, 49.

economic factors were a significant incentive. Although wage conditions certainly varied, volunteers were guaranteed by local organizations or state governments, “30 to 50 marks a day” in addition to a “guaranteed 200 grams of meat and 75 grams of butter a day, service in the Free Corps counted towards worker’s and farmer’s pensions.”¹³ With the financial instability of the massively inflated Weimar mark, at 104 marks to the U.S. dollar, and the increasingly high unemployment rate, this became an attractive offer to uprooted frontline veterans.¹⁴

More importantly however, was the psychological effect that the war impressed upon many Freikorps volunteers who were unable to adjust back into civilian life. Germany’s successful wartime propaganda had convinced many of ultimate victory, so a relatively abrupt defeat in 1918 left a generation of traumatized men disorientated and embittered towards the feeble Republic. The paramilitary organizations offered a semblance of the wartime camaraderie and authority to which many men had grown accustomed. Freidrich Wilhelm Heinz, a volunteer of the Ehrhardt Brigade and later supreme SA Leader for Western Germany, reflected on the inability to demobilize emotionally:

People told us that the War was over. That made us laugh. We ourselves are the War. Its flame burns strongly in us. It envelops our whole being and fascinates us with the enticing urge to destroy. We obeyed...and marched onto the battlefields of the postwar world just as we had gone into battle on the Western Front.¹⁵

Although many ex-soldiers were able to return to normal civilian life, the paramilitary volunteers represented men hardened by their experiences in the trenches who were unable or unwilling to give up the war. Disgusted by peacetime society and the Republic, these men exercised their perceived “proper spirit of nationalism,” which manifested increasingly in the rampant “adventurism and criminality”¹⁶ of the freebooter attitude. In the words of a leading Nazi Party Minister, Hermann Göring, these postwar soldiers “could not become de-brutalized.”¹⁷

Besides the battle-tempered veterans, radical students were the other significant majority of Freikorps volunteers. Often too young to have participated in the war, they were raised in an atmosphere of German moral righteousness in the various German Youth Groups.¹⁸ These young idealists had formed highly nationalistic and romanticized conceptions of the warfront and sacrifice for Germany, where the “accident of age and what they felt as a traitorous armistice had cheated them of their right to fight for the Fatherland.”¹⁹ With the postwar economic hardships that pressured young students and

¹³ Ibid., 41.

¹⁴ Gerald Feldman, *The Great Disorder: Politics, Inflation, and Society in the German Inflation, 1914-1924* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 5.

¹⁵ Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism*, 42.

¹⁶ Jones, *A Brief History of the Birth of the Nazis*, 120.

¹⁷ Ibid., 122.

¹⁸ Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism*, 42.

¹⁹ Ibid., 42.

apprenticeships, many volunteered to support right wing, German nationalism against the threat of communism and later, what they perceived as a weak and liberal Republic.

Ultimately, the paramilitary Freikorps movement in postwar Germany represented a bourgeois movement of predominantly middle class supporters who were increasingly motivated to destroy the liberal bourgeois Republic. As evidenced by the Baltic Campaigns and later the abortive Kapp Putsch, the Weimar government had grown uneasy with the bucking power of the rebellious Freikorps, and repeatedly sought their dissolution. This only exacerbated the Freikorps' right-wing ideology; the Great War was internalized as a campaign of German moral righteousness and *Kultur*, which was ultimately, "stabbed in the back by the Government of the 'November Traitors'" of the Weimar Republic.²⁰ In this cultural context, the creation of the heroic "new man," the paramilitary formation of the Freikorps, and the increasingly challenged Weimar government, came together to form the foundations of violent, militant politics in Germany and led to the eventual rise of the Nazi SA.

Although the SA movement would rely mostly on younger generations, the cultural inheritance and impact of militarized political combat groups became extremely important in Weimar Germany. The romantic exploits of battle captured the imaginations of teenage boys, who sought to emulate the actions of their post-war heroes and the frontline "new man."²¹ The right-wing radical formations had obviously varied in ideologies, however they loosely represented a nationalistic, anti-republican, anti-bolshevist, and anti-Semitic reactionary movement.²² Despite concerted efforts, the Freikorps movement demonstrated that mass support was more effective than direct military action to incite a popular revolution in Germany. Furthermore, despite the generational gap, the leadership of the Nazi Party and SA detachments had been involved in many of the early Freikorps movements, including Ernst Röhm, Edmund Heines, Peter Von Heydebreck, Manfred Von Killinger, and Pfeffer and Ernst Von Salomon. Each held distinguished careers before joining the Nazi Party, which demonstrates a direct conduit from the 'front-line' Freikorps paramilitary organizations to the younger, politically militant SA ranks.

While the Nazis would have preferred the experience of the veterans in Freikorps, most had already become involved with paramilitary organizations and were unlikely to join a relatively fledgling political party.²³ Instead, in 1921, the innocent "Gymnastic and Sport Division,"²⁴ later renamed the SA Storm Troopers (Sturm Abteilung), discovered its base in loud, young, radicalized students.²⁵ However, the predominantly Bavarian-based SA was only one of many *volkisch* groups in the Pre-putsch era; Hitler's SA was built more as a monitor organization numbering 800 to 1000 men.²⁶ It was not until Hitler acquired an important political contact with Ernst Röhm, the "machine gun king of Bavaria" who

²⁰ Waite, *Vanguard of Nazism: the Free Corps Movement*, 55.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 208.

²² *Ibid.*, 210.

²³ Mitchell, *Hitler's Stormtroopers*, 51.

²⁴ Jones, *A Brief History of the Birth of the Nazis*, 240.

²⁵ Mitchell, 52.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 71.

claimed extensive paramilitary contacts on the far right, that the SA was able to distinguish itself from the other politically militant malaise.²⁷

It is therefore important to underscore the transformations that the SA underwent from its inception until Hitler's rise to power in 1933. During this period four major organizations emerged from the post-war malaise: "the revolutionary left or Communists, the republican Reichsbanner, the nationalist Stahlhelm, and the Nazi Stormtroopers, (SA)."²⁸ Emphasizing that the Nazis' political militancy did not exist in a vacuum, these organizations routinely attacked and disrupted rival meetings and rallies in an attempt to dissuade voters or attract supporters. This political atmosphere, where the German city streets served as the primary staging ground, denotes an evolutionary understanding to the rise of the SA through the destruction or cannibalization of its political opponents.

Hitler's SA movement underwent substantial transformations of character before his rise to power. These can be loosely organized around the pre-Putsch SA movement contrasted with the development of the post-Putsch SA movement, which was further augmented by Germany's deepening financial crisis during the Great Depression in the early 1930s. Accordingly, the paramilitary aspect of the early SA transformed into a politically militant association, where propaganda and projected influence became important dimensions of Hitler's Storm Troopers.

By March of 1923, the SA had undergone extensive militarization, due in part to Röhm's paramilitary connections.²⁹ The Munich SA unit had created a, "regimental band, a 'light artillery unit,' motorized sections and other" formations.³⁰ Yet for all this military posturing, every department only had a nominal existence and largely consisted of SA members' personal civilian equipment or vehicles. The SA had makeshift uniforms and suffered from organizational disparity. With Herman Goering acting as Oberkommando, buoyed by Röhm's support, veterans and Freikorps members were added to the ranks, increasing its apparent military capabilities. Similar to the Freikorps formations, the early SA was augmented by young men and radical students.

An openly hostile impression of German nationalism was evident, especially considering France's occupation of the Ruhr and Weimar's economic destitution, where the Papiermark in December had fallen to "4,200,000 against the US dollar."³¹ An ardent form of ideological "super patriotism" developed, wherein even slight political deviations were compared to Bolshevism.³² Despite the militaristic approach, Hitler's 1923 Beer Hall Putsch ultimately failed, drastically changing the nature of the future SA movement and of the Storm Trooper.

After the Bavarian government lifted the ban on the Nazi Party and subsequently the SA in 1925,³³ the recruitment for and organization of the Storm Troopers shifted significantly, now emphasizing political militancy over the pre-Putsch paramilitary formation. To underscore its role as a "Political Combat League" and to distance itself from

²⁷ Ibid., 71.

²⁸ Peter Merkl, *The Making of a Stormtrooper* (London: Princeton Univ. Press, 1980), 33.

²⁹ Mitchell, *Hitler's Stormtroopers*, 71.

³⁰ Ibid., 72.

³¹ Feldman, *The Great Disorder*, 5.

³² Mitchell, *Hitler's Stormtroopers*, 79.

³³ *ibid.*, 84.

its roots in the paramilitary *Wehrverband*, activity or collaboration with other organizations was prohibited.³⁴ Additionally, Hitler wanted the SA to be restructured as separate from other paramilitary organizations or military activity, instead focusing on partisan propaganda and protection details.³⁵ In Hitler's 1926 directive, only "Physical training [could] implant in the individual the conviction of his superiority and give him that self assurance which lies only in confidence of one's own strength."³⁶ Underscored by new training regimes based around boxing, wrestling, and judo, the SA shifted towards an emphasis on politically motivated street clashes.³⁷ Hitler envisioned an SA that was not, "a hundred or two hundred daring conspirators but hundreds and hundreds of thousands of fanatical fighters for our faith...to work with gigantic mass demonstrations... conquering the streets."³⁸ After the failures of the movement in the 1920s, the Nazi party avoided direct revolutionary violence to overthrow the Weimar government, and instead actively pursued an electoral victory as an overture to a dictatorship. Therefore, the various election results became an important "barometer of success" that was as vital to the SA and other paramilitary activists as it was for the electorate.³⁹ Ultimately the reformation of the SA following the failed putsch underscores the transition into a movement of political soldiers, who would soon be engaged in a "sort of permanent election campaign with terroristic methods."⁴⁰

The SA structure still retained military organization and elements of the idealized World War I Stormtrooper. The smallest SA unit was a *Schar*, a tightly knit group of three to twelve men, where several formed a *Trupp* or troop consisting of 20-60 men, next a *Sturm* or Storm of 200, and a *Sturmbann* of 600 formed a brigade.⁴¹ As the movement grew exponentially in the early 1930s, the SA was forced to adopt increasingly larger *Gruppe* formations of 30,000 men.⁴² Additionally, the "brown shirt" uniforms were provided from the leftovers purchased for the "East African Colonial troops" and "Sturm numbers, buttons, and insignia were given to these 'political soldiers.'"⁴³ With a new, more politically authoritarian image, the SA grew steadily from 1926 into the 1930s. Its high visibility and distinct uniforms, especially in population centers like Berlin, made it seem as an everyday part of normal German life.⁴⁴ The SA increased dramatically in size, especially following the economic collapse. By the fall of 1930, it counted "60,000, [then] it tripled to 170,000 in September 1931, and quadrupled by December 1931, when it was reported to be 250,000 SA men... by late summer of 1932, there was 470,000."⁴⁵

³⁴ James Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics in Weimar Germany* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), 278.

³⁵ Mitchell, 86.

³⁶ Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, *Nazism: 1919-1945*. Vol. 1 (New-York: Schocken, 2005), 56.

³⁷ Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics in Weimar Germany*, 278.

³⁸ Merkl, *The Making of a Stormtrooper*, 160.

³⁹ Conan Fischer, "The SA of the NSAP: Social Background and Ideology of the Rank and File in the Early 1930's," *Journal of Contemporary History* 17.4 (1982), 659, in JSTOR.PUT WEB ADDRESS HERE. 2 Dec. 2012.

⁴⁰ Diehl, 278.

⁴¹ Bruce Campbell, *The SA Generals and the Rise of Nazism* (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 2004), Appendix A.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Appendix A-2.

⁴³ Merkl, *The Making of a Stormtrooper*, 163.

⁴⁴ Mitchell, *Hitler's Stormtroopers*, 92.

⁴⁵ Merkl, 179.

The SA's function as a force of political soldiers was manifested in the tight ranks of the marching formations, giving rise to the description of the SA "brown phalanx." Designed to project images of a bold and heroic presence, SA formations marched to large staging areas and rallies to attract attention. As Captain Pfeffer explained the power of appearance:

The only way the SA address the public is in closed formation...one of the strongest forms of propaganda. The sight of a large number of... uniformed and disciplined men marching in step whose unconditional will to fight is clear to see, or to guess, will impress every German deeply and speak to his heart in a more convincing and moving way than any written or spoken logic ever can.⁴⁶

The German streets became political staging grounds where the SA functioned as an organized mass movement. Unlike the earlier Freikorps, military, or even the police, the SA viewed the city streets not as control points, but as party-political platforms for the bold and courageous SA men. As Pfeffer continues to emphasize the political weight and the legitimacy of the mass movement:

Calm bearing and matter-of-factness underscore the impression of power, the force of the marching columns and the cause for which they are marching. The inner force of the cause makes the Germans jump to conclusions about its righteousness...if whole groups of people in a planned fashion risk body, soul, and livelihood for a cause, it simply must be great and true.⁴⁷

The SA was incredibly effective at harnessing the publicity and assumed political legitimacy of the marching formations. They prescribed moral righteousness to the Nazi movement by appealing to the solidarity and German national identity of an organized mass movement centered on *Volksgemeinschaft*, a popular pre-War sentiment. The romanticized image of the Stormtrooper ready to fight and die for the cause was a powerful image, later demonstrated by the propagandized SA martyr, Horst Wessel.⁴⁸ However, the perceived bold and heroic nature of the "Brown Phalanx," the SA performed other more militant activities and street fighting to disrupt and discredit the so-called "internal enemies," comprised predominantly of the Communist Party of Germany, KPD,⁴⁹ The SA spearheaded the Nazi's drive to bludgeon the various political obstacles on the path to power.

Yet who made up the extensive rank-and-file of Hitler's SA and the "Brown Army?" The SA presence throughout a nation as socio-economically diverse as Germany has inherent and varied qualities based on regional demographics. Additionally, the records themselves posed a fundamental problem. Although the SA leadership left extensive records and accounts, an average SA fighter was less likely to autobiographically record his experiences; the chances for those records to survive were just as slim. The Abel collection of 581 Stormtroopers' autobiographical essay responses offered valuable insight, however it has inherent biases that must be taken into account. Many of their motivations for joining or fighting a volunteer movement were intertwined economically, ideologically, or socially, and may have retrospectively altered or amalgamated with post-war beliefs or audiences.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 166.

⁴⁷ Merkl, *Making of a Stormtrooper*, 166.

⁴⁸ Mitchell, *Hitler's Stormtroopers*, 121.

⁴⁹ Fischer, *The SA of the NSAP*, 659.

Nevertheless, information compiled by SA leadership, Weimar authorities, and political rivals provided additional insight into the SA ranks, where common traits and characteristics became more discernible.

The quintessential activities of the SA Stormtrooper during this period of propaganda predominantly involved marching, fighting, and proselytizing. Classified into distinct groups based on the Abel collection, the character of “rank and file” Nazi SA can be classified into three main roles : 4.7% were involved in marching, 44.3% in marching and fighting, and 33.4% actively marched, fought, and proselytized.⁵⁰ The exponential growth of the Nazi movement from 129,000 in September 1930 to 849,000 in January 1933⁵¹ underscores the effectiveness of the SA not only through electoral political activism but also as a vigorous and expansionary recruiting device. As the popular SA phrase went, “if he (or she) really believed in Hitler...he could go out and prove his missionary zeal every day.”⁵²

Accordingly, age and other demographics played heavily into the various prescribed SA roles. Demonstrators, rally-goers and marchers—constituting 14.7% according to the Abel responses—were, on average, young teenagers attracted by the spirit of camaraderie with the intention of fighting as they grew older.⁵³ Additionally, many sympathizers that were predominantly over 35 felt too old to fight or actively proselytize. They had often been enthusiastic soldiers in the war but had refrained from any extensive postwar military activity.⁵⁴ Subsequently they represented a passive form of political activism that contributed and bolstered the projected mass solidarity of the movement. Yet it was widely understood that mere marching was insufficient; a respected SA soldier had to be actively involved in the fighting as “over three-fourths of the Stormtroopers and over four-fifths of their leaders were.”⁵⁵

In comparison, the incredibly militant marcher-fighters of the SA were varied in age and background, but were known as the most violent and youthful of the movement. Although the ranks were complemented by some older “frontline” fighters, including Freikorps units and Combat league veterans, the Abel survey suggests that they were predominantly the youngest group and the most radical in “revolutionary consciousness.”⁵⁶ Many of their families were in social decline with large representations of “blue collar, (one-half) or white collar (one-fifth) workers.”⁵⁷ These violently idealistic fighters were attracted by similar spirits of camaraderie, hyper-patriotism, and the authority of the vanguard paramilitary and combat leagues, and joined because of the “free time [from] unemployment,” and lauded street conflicts with Communist KPD.⁵⁸ Many enjoyed the violence of the struggle and subscribed to the ideals of the Hitler-cult as well as the culturally romanticized violence from the war.⁵⁹ The cultivated combative attitude (*Kampf Stimmung*)

⁵⁰ Merkl, *The Making of a Stormtrooper*, 233.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 233.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 232.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 234.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 233.

⁵⁵ Merkl, *The Making of a Stormtrooper*, 233.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, 235.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, 234.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, 235.

⁵⁹ *ibid.*, 238.

inherited from earlier leagues, combined with the city-street arenas for the younger fighters, “bred a cult of street heroism (Strassenheldentum), which continually prompted members to distinguish themselves in street fights.”⁶⁰

The third and most effective group actively engaged in all three SA activities: marching, fighting and proselytizing. They were older than the general Stormtroopers and joined because the Nazi ideological emphasis as a right-wing movement matched their own preconceived, pre-SA notions. Many also had some level of commitment to the “Stahlhelm, Volkisch action groups and the Freecorps,”⁶¹ and it is logical to assume that many were politically active in the early Weimar years. In comparison to the violent street fighters, they enjoyed more upward mobility because they averaged a higher level of education but were equally comprised of blue or white-collar workers, especially involved in business and military civil-service.⁶² The all encompassing marcher, fighter, and proselytizer served as the idealized epitome of the SA Stormtrooper and political soldier.

The most significant characteristic of the SA movement was the overwhelmingly young age of the Stormtroopers. During this period nearly 75% involved in the SA were under thirty years of age.⁶³ The postwar generation, or those born after 1901, amounted to almost 48.7% of the Nazi party; however, the radical and combative youth born after 1905 comprised 35.6% of the party and were all Stormtroopers.⁶⁴ Additionally, by examining the age and population distribution of Germany in 1930, there is a striking prominence of fifteen-to-thirty-year old males, a product of lower birthrates during the war years (1914-1918) and the heavy wartime fatalities in the older generations.⁶⁵ This highlights the distance between the violent 1905-generation of Stormtroopers and the highly idealized Great War, as even the average SA Stormtrooper was only 13 or younger at the end of the First World War. Underscoring the intense cultural socialization of Germany’s post-war paramilitary experience on Weimar society. These children were increasingly distant from the war, but would have been subjected to all the paramilitary idealism and resentful nationalism that characterized the years after war. Unlike the earlier Freikorps movement or Combat leagues, the Nazi Stormtroopers were described as the, “second generation of political soldiers,” where “the streets of Germany had replaced the fields of Flanders.”⁶⁶

The economic destitution that devastated Germany during the Great Depression played a fundamental factor in the development of the SA movement. Between 1929 and 1933, unemployment was at its worst in Germany, where typical surveys place it as high as 70%, and SA records show a constant unemployment rate of 50- 80%.⁶⁷ For the German youth, instead of finding careers and forming meaningful relationships and political affiliations, unemployment and disenfranchisement was rampant.

According to German educational records and practices, most men had received an education and traditionally left the *Volksschule* at the age of 14 to continue vocational

⁶⁰ Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics in Weimar Germany*, 195.

⁶¹ Merkl, *The Making of a Stormtrooper*, 242.

⁶² Ibid. 241.

⁶³ Mitchell, *Hitler's Stormtroopers*, 125.

⁶⁴ Merkl, 185.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 185.

⁶⁶ Diehl, *Paramilitary Politics in Weimar Germany*, 285.

⁶⁷ Mitchell, *Hitler's Stormtroopers*, 125.

training or an apprenticeship at either the blue- or white-collar level.⁶⁸ The Abel collection reveals that almost 21.9% had a primary education and 43.4% had more extensive trade training.⁶⁹ Therefore it is reasonable to assume that most SA men had a basic education and many had an expectation of a relatively secure and well-paid future; indeed, many worked for brief periods in their chosen profession.⁷⁰ Among the SA Abel respondents, 38.5% were blue-collar workers and 21.3% were involved in white-collar professions.⁷¹ As the depression hit hardest among the younger workers, including business professionals, its victims tended to be highly mobile, urban, experienced with social decline, and poor.⁷²

Middle-class young people increasingly faced hopelessness, as schoolteachers, legal graduates, and other traditional bourgeois professionals were overabundant or no longer valued. It was a common sequence for young, unemployable salaried and skilled workers to briefly find semi-skilled or unskilled labor before finally ending up unemployed.⁷³ Although there may be no direct correlation between unemployment and politicization of Nazi ideology, joblessness certainly contributed to the “monomaniacal devotion by giving them free time otherwise committed to gainful employment.”⁷⁴ Younger generations with less work experience felt the brunt of economic hardship, while older, more established generations had relatively higher levels of experience and therefore security. Many of the jobless and relatively hopeless young German males found political action increasingly attractive.

In this context, the direct material benefits of the SA movement are important to consider, as immediate material suffering and destitution were significant concerns of the Depression. The SA operated the so-called “Storm homes,” SA *Heime*, supplemented by the SA *Lokale*—usually taverns—to provide a barracks or an outpost-like setting for unemployed or off-duty Stormtroopers to sleep and eat from a common stewpot.⁷⁵ By 1931, there were over 20 such places in Berlin, offering food and furnishings largely provided by sympathetic local businesses.⁷⁶ These “storm centers” usually existed in abandoned warehouses or second-story hostelries, and engendered an intense socialization of camaraderie and peer pressure by slightly older Storm leaders. They operated in a paramilitary fashion that included patrols, watches, and guard duty. The homes exerted an important ideologically radicalizing effect on SA men, as fatherless and rudderless young men displaced by circumstance found comradeship, substitute family structures, political identity, and ultimately a fighting purpose.

Ideologically, the SA is much harder to characterize by the rank-and-file. The SA leadership certainly had a strong grasp of Nazi ideology, in part because their generational experiences in the war or paramilitary formations, but also because their selection and

⁶⁸ Fischer, *The SA of the NSAP*, 657.

⁶⁹ Merkl, *The Making of a Stormtrooper*, 156.

⁷⁰ Fischer, *The SA of the NSAP*, 657.

⁷¹ Merkl, 155.

⁷² Merkl, *The Making of a Stormtrooper*, 192.

⁷³ Fischer, 658.

⁷⁴ Merkl, 191.

⁷⁵ Mitchell, *Hitler's Stormtroopers*, 119.

⁷⁶ Merkl, *The Making of a Stormtrooper*, 201.

training was partly based on their grasp of Nazism.⁷⁷ In contrast, the rank-and-file Stormtroopers had a striking lack of intellectual uniformity, evidenced by Ernst Röhm's sentiment in 1931:

Only those who are committed to a cause can fight unquestioningly for it. Therefore every SA man must understand the ideological foundations and aims of our movement. This understanding is still widely lacking, as can be gathered from many observations.⁷⁸

According to the Abel respondents, Nazi ideological concerns were largely secondary among Stormtroopers. Many had been inculcated or experienced some form of nationalist or militant action during their childhood, evidenced from the four-fifths of Abel Stormtroopers who had been in a combative youth group. The highest percentage—28.8%—were involved in quasi-military groups that represented a “way of peer life totally separated from the home...[where] they took on a new identity.”⁷⁹ In this post-war cultural context, the ideology of the post-1905 generation Stormtroopers focused around *Volksgemeinschaft*—super patriotism—the Hitler cult and revanchism, while the Party emphasized anti-Semitism and *volkisch* beliefs.⁸⁰

As the Abel responses evince anti-Communism and anti-Socialism were more superficial but provided the tactical “other” of oppositional ideology that was fundamental to the street violence. The SA remained a volunteer program, meaning that political desertion did occur between movements. The projection and perception of power, through the solidarity of mass rallies and uniformed marching, became fundamental to attract potential recruits and retain volunteers. The Communist KPD and SA drew from the same demographics of their recruits: young, unemployed, and increasingly resentful to the Republic. However, it was the opportunity for militant activism and the promise of immediate political results that made the Nazi party and the SA especially attractive. Between the KPD and the SA ranks, many commonalities existed, especially with lower class workers, as both consisted of “disappointed, hungry men who understood little of Nazism, but sought an escape from their misery and if possible, revenge for their suffering.”⁸¹ Additionally for the Stormtrooper, there was no reason to agonize over political direction; instead the SA offered undiluted activism for a cause whose increasing success was demonstrated in the continuous electoral victories of the party. Therefore, following the stagnation of a political group, shifting loyalties were common and did not involve any fundamental deviations in political allegiance, but “merely a transfer from an unsuccessful to a successful anti-parliamentarian paramilitary organization.”⁸² In 1932, when the Nazis failed to secure the majority vote, the SA declined from 455,279 in August to 427,692 in December, underscoring the foundation on SA electoral success.⁸³ This emphasizes that the SA rank and file was comprised of ideologically malleable recruits, especially from the working-class, that used the organization as a vehicle to canalize their frustrations about joblessness without deeply committing to Nazi ideology.

⁷⁷ Fischer, *The SA of the NSAP*, 655.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 656.

⁷⁹ Merkl, *The Making of a Stormtrooper*, 207.

⁸⁰ Merkl, *The Making of a Stormtrooper*, 221.

⁸¹ Fischer, *The SA of the NSAP*, 661.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 660.

In contrast, anti-Semitism was at the core of Nazi ideology and blatantly resounds in the SA movement as well. Immediately following the war, Abel respondents and older Storm troopers recalled a sudden outbreak of violent anti-Semitism that was fostered in the cultural shock of 1918.⁸⁴ The Nazi party encouraged and adroitly utilized anti-Semitism as a rallying cry, which was openly reflected in the S.A accounts as some recalled when they “beat up some Jews” and played “pranks on Jewish-looking passersby in the street.”⁸⁵ However the SA also diverged from the Nazi party in many aspects on anti-Semitism, where almost 37.7% of the SA shows hardly any evidence of prejudice. Additionally, the SA had higher levels of Jewish verbal abuse: 15.9% compared to the Party’s 10.5%. Finally, the SA had higher instances of paranoia over Jewish Conspiracy: 14.2% over the Party’s 11%.⁸⁶ This suggests that the SA had slightly more superficial anti-Semitism, which could have been inherited by the average Stormtrooper as a form of camaraderie or assumed socialization in the ranks from an older, paranoid SA leader. Although there was certainly violent anti-Semitism, the nature of the SA movement as a lower-middle-class organization demonstrated remarkably low levels of prejudice, underscored especially by those who had grown up in poverty and showed no predisposition to anti-Semitism.⁸⁷ While the Nazi party encouraged prejudice and open anti-Semitism, the SA expressed a more superficial and inculcated prejudice that was not the primary ideological attraction of the SA.

Class structure in the Weimar republic typically functioned in vaguely defined socio-political blocs. Nazism succeeded during the Depression in attracting the disgruntled lower-middle-class by playing on class fears of Marxist revolutionary activities. Many Germans assumed that they would lose their precarious perch and fall into the general proletariat, emphasizing the Nazis’ achievement at merging and attracting intermediate social segments like the lower-middle-class, blue- and white –collar workers. Functioning inside a vaguely defined “truly German Working order,” the SA was able to skirt class issues by insisting that the “workers of the fist” had ambiguously merged with “workers of the mind.”⁸⁸ In an attempt to appear as an “above-class” organization, the SA focused on the idea of a charismatic and distant leader to offset divisions in political theory.⁸⁹ Moreover, the “concept of the ‘master race’ was never fostered in the SA; which would have been quite contrary to reason, for the SA received its replacements from all strata.”⁹⁰ Therefore the SA was incredibly successful in attracting lower-middle-class elements to the party. Additionally, by taking a militant political approach against the KPD and the traditionally lower-class “proletarian” workers, the SA was able to appeal to the substantial German middle-class, thereby forming an ambiguous SA membership made up of lower middle class and some working-class elements.

The cultural inheritance of the Great War and the Freikorps’ paramilitarism was deeply rooted in the violent and youthfully idealized SA ranks. The violent historical atmosphere of the Weimar Republic conditioned the German people to hyper-nationalism

⁸⁴ Merkl, *The Making of a Stormtrooper*, 119.

⁸⁵ Theodore Abel and Thomas Childers. *Why Hitler Came into Power* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1986), 100.

⁸⁶ Merkl, 222.

⁸⁷ Merkl, *The Making of a Stormtrooper*, 84.

⁸⁸ Mitchell, *Hitler's Stormtroopers*, 127.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 127.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 124.

and aggressive right-wing politics. Fostered in the generational paramilitarization of German life, the level of violent activity simply increased during the Depression.⁹¹ The cultural idealization of the World War I Stormtrooper became a militant identity for many young men. Depressed by unemployment or lowly dull jobs, the SA uniform became a heroic and patriotic identity to many young men where, “marching and fighting in a closed formation, in particular, he felt powerful and masculine...longing for the heroics of World War I.”⁹² The idealization of the Stormtrooper, manifested in uniform and fighting, provided an intergenerational German identity that emphasized the machismo and warrior cult. As one Abel respondent stated, “we marched on and on, for Hitler, for Freedom, and for bread. There could be no turning back for us. Our only thought was to show ourselves worthy of our comrades of the Great War, as well as of those of our ranks who slept beneath the turf.”⁹³ The hyper-national, violent identity that was developed in post-war Weimar Germany with the Freikorps and the later combat leagues was fundamental to the political militancy and the rise of the Nazi Stormtroopers.

⁹¹ Mitchell, *Hitler's Stormtroopers*, 138.

⁹² Merkl, *The Making of a Stormtrooper*, 231.

⁹³ Abel and Childers, *Why Hitler Came into Power*, 100.

CONTINUITIES AND THEIR COMPLEXITIES: GERMAN CONQUEST AND GENOCIDE IN SOUTHWEST AFRICA AND EASTERN EUROPE

--
G. SCOTT WATERMAN

There are at least two senses in which historical events are not confined to the past. One is that they continue to undergo reinterpretation in the light of subsequent events and conceptual developments. Another is the effect they have as antecedents, if not causes, of those subsequent events and conceptual developments. This essay will examine the evidence for interpreting the relation between Germany's brief history as a colonial power during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and its subsequent policies and practices during the Nazi era in Eastern Europe, as one of continuity. To the extent that the evidence compels such an interpretation, this essay will address the nature of those continuities and the specific elements of the two historical periods in question to which such a conceptual framework may apply. The essay will begin by reviewing the historiographical context within which the topic of continuity between German colonialism during the *Kaiserreich* and Nazi policies in Eastern Europe arose. It will then describe some of the events of the two eras in German history that invite the continuity question, focusing on the ways historians, largely over the past decade, have conceived and interpreted them in juxtaposition to one another. The essay will conclude with a critical examination of the continuity framework, including its descriptive and explanatory gaps and questions about its wider implications for consideration of the evils it seeks to render more comprehensible.

As a prelude to an analysis of the origins, justifications, and plausibility of the continuity hypothesis, it is important to define the questions for which it potentially facilitates answers. Recent historiography on this topic can at least roughly be categorized as addressing continuity (or discontinuity) in one or more of the following ways:

1. Colonialism as a unifying construct: To what extent and in what ways did the German overseas colonial experience of the Second Reich and the aims and practices of the Third Reich in Eastern Europe share characteristics that are validly and usefully described as 'colonial'?
2. Earlier colonialism as an antecedent of later colonialism: To what extent and in what ways was Germany's participation in the era of European overseas colonial expansion causally relevant to its rapacious policies in the East during the Nazi period?
3. Direct line to the Holocaust: To what extent and in what ways was the Holocaust the denouement of an unbroken line of German imperialist longings and practices traceable to its late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century colonial forays overseas?

These species of continuity questions are not mutually exclusive and, in fact, may be conceived as representing a gradient from weaker to stronger with respect to the explanatory demands they place on continuity hypotheses. As one would expect, the strength of the evidence across these three overlapping domains of investigation is not uniform.

The horrors of the Nazi project – especially its war of annihilation against its eastern neighbors and its efforts to exterminate the Jews of Europe – make it unsurprising that

historiographical approaches to its comprehension are never fully satisfactory and therefore undergo periodic revision. As Langbehn and Salama describe in the introduction to their recently published edited volume, the historiography of the 1960s and 1970s tended to emphasize models of fascism or totalitarianism, shifting in the 1980s to topics such as anti-Semitism, modernity, technology, race, and eugenics. They go on to note that the past decade has witnessed the emergence of interest in globalization and comparative genocide, leading to a research focus on aspects of Nazism for which Germany's colonial past may be read as a precursor.¹ Investigation of continuities in German nineteenth- and twentieth-century imperialism extends back well over a decade, although the emphases of Smith's 1986 publication, *The Ideological Origins of Nazi Imperialism*, differ from those of more recent treatments; its index does not even include entries for 'genocide' or 'Holocaust'.² In her chapter in the 2011 collection edited by Langbehn and Salama, Birthe Kundrus indicates that the recent prominence of cultural and postcolonial studies, including transnational and global perspectives as integral pieces of national histories, has increased awareness about and interest in the colonial past. No longer is European colonialism something that happened to other people in other places; it is a part of European history that exerted effects at home.³ In his critical perspective on the continuity question, Grosse points out that while "National Socialism has been the historical watershed for Germany's collective memory and political culture" since 1945, its overseas colonial experience has until recently received very little attention and was largely dismissed as having little relevance. While noting that Marxist ideology saw strong ties between imperialism and the development of Nazism (or, more generically, fascism), he does not link the recent historiography of colonial-Nazi continuity to that heritage.⁴

On the other hand, there appears to be considerable agreement among contributors to this literature that its lineage traces to a rediscovery of aspects of Hannah Arendt's book *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, first published in 1951.⁵ A 2006 article by Grosse explains the sense in which "the *Origins* still offers the most insightful and synthetic framework for theorizing a linkage between the eras of European pre-World War I colonialism, both overseas and on the European continent itself, and National Socialism."⁶ That hypothesized connection relates to the purportedly corrosive effects of colonialism on the nation-state, which Arendt sees as a fundamentally liberal innovation whose most important task is enforcement of the rule of law and thus basic human rights. The European nation-state as a political and cultural entity was, in her view, undermined by imperialism, as colonizing countries attempted to incorporate alien parts of the world. That, in turn, necessitated

¹ Volker Langbehn and Mohammad Salama, "Introduction: Reconfiguring German Colonialism," in *German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany*, ed. Volker Langbehn and Mohammad Salama (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), ix.

² Woodruff D. Smith, *The Ideological Origins of Nazi Imperialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).

³ Birthe Kundrus, "German Colonialism: Some Reflections on Reassessments, Specificities, and Constellations," in *German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany*, ed. Volker Langbehn and Mohammad Salama (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 30–31.

⁴ Pascal Grosse, "What Does German Colonialism Have to Do with National Socialism? A Conceptual Framework," in *Germany's Colonial Pasts*, ed. Eric Ames, Marcia Klotz, and Lora Wildenthal (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 116–17.

⁵ Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973).

⁶ Pascal Grosse, "From Colonialism to National Socialism to Postcolonialism: Hannah Arendt's *Origins of Totalitarianism*," *Postcolonial Studies* 9, no. 1 (March 2006): 37.

invocation of racial categories for inclusion and exclusion, which contradicted prior bases on which membership in the nation-state was founded. Furthermore, as a consequence of the practices of governments and individuals in colonized regions, colonialism in Africa subverted previously existing standards of morality and human rights that the nation-state existed to guarantee. Arendt saw the consequently debased nation-state as the fertile ground on which expansionist longings, instantiated in the “pan” movements (pan-German, pan-Slavic), took root in Europe. Thus the conceptual scheme she advances anticipates the subsequent historiographical connection between late nineteenth-century colonialism and National Socialism. As Grosse summarizes, “Arendt’s account of the creation of racialized societies, the replacement of the rule of law by bureaucratic policies, and the option to physically annihilate based on racial boundaries has provided a compelling template for arguing that colonialism overseas represents the ideal precursor to the Nazi concentration camps.”⁷ Taking a step beyond viewing her work as having provided a conceptual framework, Furber credits Arendt with the insight that “Europe’s colonies served as a laboratory for states run on racist and authoritarian-bureaucratic lines that bid for total control over subject populations.”⁸

Tracing the historiographical lineage of the continuity question back to Hannah Arendt’s 1951 book leapfrogs two phenomena that require explication if recent scholarship is to be seen in its full context: the *Sonderweg* and *Historikerstreit* debates. Very briefly summarized, the *Sonderweg*, or “special path,” thesis held that Germany took a uniquely disastrous route to modernity, leading not directly to the successes of Western democracy (as exemplified by Great Britain), but instead following what became the catastrophic detour of National Socialism.⁹ Addressing in different ways the question of German historical uniqueness, the *Historikerstreit*, or “historians’ dispute,” centered around the question of whether Nazi policies and practices should be considered under the broader heading of totalitarianism and in the context of a struggle with the brutality of Soviet Communism, or, conversely, whether such a comparative formulation is a self-serving and invalid relativizing of Nazi criminality.¹⁰ It is against these backdrops that more recent developments in postcolonial studies and related disciplines have spawned interest and research into the potential continuities between attitudes and policies toward colonized peoples prior to the First World War and those that characterized the Third Reich’s later encounters with conquered Slavs and Jews. Before returning to the question of whether this most recent historiographical focus supplies a valid and useful framework within which to understand the catastrophe visited by the Nazis on their own continent, attention will now turn to the events in the Imperial German sphere from which the continuity hypothesis arises.

In a sense that should not be trivialized, the entirety of history may be read as a story of continuity, as antecedents to some events are themselves consequences of others. Thus, in her very recently published work on this topic, Baranowski traces German imperialist/expansionist aspirations, and simultaneous fears of dissolution, to the decline in the late middle ages of German settlements in eastern Slavic lands, the upheavals of the

⁷ Ibid., 41–45.

⁸ David Furber, “Near as Far in the Colonies: The Nazi Occupation of Poland,” *International History Review* 26, no. 3 (September 2004): 543.

⁹ Matthew P. Fitzpatrick, “The Pre-History of the Holocaust? The *Sonderweg* and *Historikerstreit* Debates and the Abject Colonial Past,” *Central European History* 41, no. 3 (September 1, 2008): 481.

¹⁰ Ibid., 482.

Reformation and disasters of the Thirty Years War, the disintegration of the Holy Roman Empire (the “First Reich”), and the “incomplete” unification after the Franco-Prussian War – as well as the defeat of the *Kaiserreich* and its consequences at the conclusion of the First World War.¹¹ As undoubtedly relevant as pre-colonial events were, the period with which this essay is primarily concerned began on April 24, 1884, when, in the first official act of German imperialism, Otto von Bismarck proclaimed “imperial protection” over territory in Southwest Africa.¹² Between that date and the end of the nineteenth century, Germany joined its European peers in the scramble for colonial possessions, ultimately amassing an extensive empire. It included German Southwest Africa (now Namibia) as well as Cameroon and Togo in western equatorial Africa and German East Africa (now Tanzania, Burundi, and Rwanda). In the closing years of the century Imperial Germany also acquired possessions in the South Pacific – the northeast quadrant of New Guinea, the Caroline, Marianas, and Marshall Islands, and Western Samoa – and even the port of Kiaochow in northern China. German colonies thus covered a broad geographic swath and served a range of purposes for their rulers. Among the African possessions, Cameroon became the largest plantation colony in western Africa, with cocoa being particularly profitable. Togo was a trading colony while German East Africa, the most populous of them, exported cotton and other agricultural products.¹³

In the context of the continuity question, the most important of Germany’s colonial holdings was Southwest Africa. Large and sparsely populated, it was intended by the German government to become a settler colony and by 1914 approximately 12,000 Germans lived there. The policies of its governor included expansion of the colonial bureaucracy to facilitate economic exploitation and confiscation of a majority of the territory for German settler-farmers. Africans became economically dependent on European (largely German) employers, and eventually their intolerable circumstances led to rebellion by the Herero people.¹⁴ Following five months of episodic fighting, Germans with weapons of then-modern warfare secured a decisive victory in the Battle of Waterberg. General Lothar von Trotha, indicating that he would “annihilate the rebelling tribes with rivers of blood,” then launched a program that killed 40,000 – 70,000 Herero and, following their subsequent uprising later in 1904, 6,000 – 8,000 Nama people. The campaigns waged by the Germans against the Herero and Nama are estimated to have reduced their populations by more than half,¹⁵ and are categorized by some, though not all, scholars as genocidal.¹⁶ The strongest case for considering the German colonial experience in Southwest Africa as a precursor to Nazi practices in Eastern Europe has been made by Benjamin Madley. His extensive argument, which points to the quest for living space (*Lebensraum*), consideration of

¹¹ Shelley Baranowski, *Nazi Empire: German Colonialism and Imperialism from Bismarck to Hitler* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 4.

¹² Susanne Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770-1870* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 1.

¹³ Sebastian Conrad, *German Colonialism: A Short History* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 36–58.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 38–41.

¹⁵ Benjamin Madley, “From Africa to Auschwitz: How German South West Africa Incubated Ideas and Methods Adopted and Developed by the Nazis in Eastern Europe,” *European History Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (July 2005): 430–31.

¹⁶ Langbehn and Salama, “Introduction: Reconfiguring German Colonialism,” x.

colonized people as sub-human, legally institutionalized racism, waging wars of annihilation (*Vernichtungskrieg*), and use of concentration camps as categories of continuity between the two eras,¹⁷ is outlined below.

Madley begins his study by noting that use of the term *Lebensraum* did not originate in the context of Nazi ideology. It was coined in 1897 by the geographer Friedrich Ratzel who theorized that geographic space, including a strong agricultural base, was obligatory to support a *Volk*, and that such space must expand – through migration, colonization, and/or conquest – to prevent a growing population from perishing. His theory included the notion that struggles for living space entailed battles between superior and inferior cultures. That formulation is shown by Madley to underlie the justification for expropriation of African land and other assets by settlers, as well as Nazi policies aimed at creating their “agricultural utopia” in the East. Furthermore, he points to reasons to believe that Ratzel had Southwest Africa in mind when developing his ideas, and that his theory—along with knowledge of specific elements of its instantiation in Southwest Africa—was appropriated by the Nazis for implementation in Eastern Europe. He supports those assertions with reference to Ratzel’s writing, the wide dissemination of his ideas in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Germany, and Hitler’s and other National Socialists’ undoubted knowledge and invocation of them.¹⁸

In support of his continuity argument, Madley deploys considerable evidence of shared attitudes and practices, transmitted across time, regarding race. The notions that superior Germans had conquered inferior Africans, and that as a consequence their relationship was ordained to be one of master and slave, brutalizer and brutalized, were conveyed to metropolitan Germans by a variety of means. Colonial literature and photographs from Southwest Africa portrayed subjugated people in ways that were later reflected in the language of Nazi leaders, such as Hans Frank’s proclamation that “the Poles will become the slaves of the Greater German Empire,” and Erich Koch’s references to Ukrainians as “white Negroes.” Racist attitudes and fears were enshrined into law in Southwest Africa in ways that both reflected and anticipated developments in Germany. The 1905 law banning race mixing became associated with a new expression that later gained wide currency in Nazi circles: *Rassenchande* (racial shame). And although attempts to enact a similar law in Germany failed (for the time being), constructs such as *die Mischlingsfrage* (the mixed-race question) had been irretrievably introduced into German discourse.¹⁹

In the use of the genocidal language that developed in the wake of the Herero uprising, Madley sees the roots of similar rhetoric – and the concepts behind it – of the Nazi period. Several well-chosen quotes make his point. In reference to the Southwest African Herero, a *Reichtag* member in 1904 suggested to his colleagues: “Do not apply too much humanity to bloodthirsty beasts in the form of humans.” Even more compelling as antecedents of later Nazi turns of phrase, a government geologist wrote that “the ‘final solution’ to the native question can only be to break the power of the natives totally and for all time,” and Commissioner for Settlement Paul Rohrbach speculated that, “To secure the peaceful white settlement against the bad, culturally inept and predatory native tribe, it is possible that its actual eradication may become necessary.” Beyond readily recognizable

¹⁷ Madley, “From Africa to Auschwitz.”

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 432–35.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 436–39.

rhetorical continuities, Madley elucidates themes common to the colonial campaigns against the indigenous people of Southwest Africa and Nazi practices in Eastern Europe. In both instances those in charge considered themselves engaged in a *Rassenkampf* (race war) and both pursued strategies of *Vernichtungskrieg* (war of annihilation) to achieve their aims. Thus, von Trotha's declaration that "no war may be conducted humanely against non-humans" and his Annihilation Order of October 2, 1904 may illuminatingly be juxtaposed to Hitler's statement that the Polish campaign was to be "a brutal racial war which would admit no legal restrictions" and his characterization of the war against the Soviet Union as "a battle of annihilation."²⁰

The concentration camp was neither a Nazi nor a German innovation, but was part of a system of repression, forced labor, and death in Southwest Africa long before it became a fixture of the Third Reich. Following the termination of the Annihilation Order, surrendering Herero and Nama were transported to camps whose structures and functions resembled in important ways those of the Nazi era. As during the Second World War, the camp system in colonial Southwest Africa included both those installations intended to extract work from prisoners (and in which conditions frequently led to death) and those for which death was the intended outcome. Although it did not employ methods that anticipated the mechanized killing of Nazi extermination camps, Madley sees Shark Island as the first death camp of the twentieth century. Conceding that both methods and scales differed considerably between the two cases, the intentions were purportedly identical. Given that approximately 3500 people were sent to Shark Island, of whom at least 2000 are estimated to have perished there, that conclusion appears likely justified. And like the Nazi labor camps that lay in the future, those in Southwest Africa claimed high mortality rates – estimated at 45% – among those whose labor they exploited. As with the other categories of putative continuity described above, Madley marshals evidence that a good deal of information about the concentration camps in Southwest Africa was available in the metropole (leading, in fact, to considerable debate and some reform) and was later appropriated by the Nazi regime.²¹ Taken together, the instances of apparent continuity described above make a compelling case that, while certainly not the only relevant precursor to Nazi policies in Eastern Europe, "Wilhelmine rule in German Southwest Africa...contributed ideas, methods, and a lexicon that Nazi leaders borrowed and expanded. Language, literature, media, institutional memory, and individual experiences all transmitted these concepts, methods and terms to the Nazis."²²

Having examined the putative African colonial antecedents of subsequent Nazi conquest in Eastern Europe, attention will now turn to developments in Germany – from before the unification to the *Kaiserreich*, through the Weimar period to the Third Reich – that may be read as evidence supportive of the application of the construct of colonialism across the space and time considered in this essay. Referring to German aspirations that long predate the Nazi era, historian David Blackbourn asserted, "The real German counterpart to India or Algeria was not Cameroon...it was *Mittleuropa*."²³ And although what Nelson refers to as the "salt water thesis" contends that "colonialism, properly speaking, involves both (sic) Western metropole, a colony, and a large body of water in between," he notes that

²⁰ Ibid., 440–45.

²¹ Ibid., 446–50.

²² Ibid., 430.

²³ quoted in Conrad, *German Colonialism*, 154.

such a definition may spuriously exclude people from the “borderlands,” among whom he counts the Welsh, Bretons, Tibetans, and Poles.²⁴

The history of German encounters with their eastern Slavic neighbors is indeed a long and fraught one. Following the three-way partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the late eighteenth century, a large Polish-speaking population was incorporated into Prussia, comprising a majority in its eastern provinces.²⁵ The ways by which the complex relationship that developed between Germans and Poles may validly be described as colonial are several and include both rhetoric and policy. Moreover, the evolution of that relationship over the period in question – culminating in a war of annihilation – reflects the radicalization of the conceptual underpinnings of colonialism itself.

The language used in descriptions of both the people and territory to the east, both within and beyond the Prussian border, bore unmistakable resemblance to that used in reference to coveted land and its occupants much further away. Poles (and other Slavs) were said to be socially and culturally backward, deprived, or underdeveloped. Early Prussian policies regarding its Poles were directed toward “improvement” and cultural “betterment” – which translated to “Germanification.” In the literary arena, a genre of novels of the eastern marches presented Prussian Poland as a “Wild East” frontier region, analogous to the “Wild West” of North America, purportedly empty and ripe for colonial conquest and settlement.²⁶ In her essay “Reinventing Poland as German Colonial Territory in the Nineteenth Century,” Kristin Kopp analyzes Gustav Freytag’s *Soll und Haben* (*Debit and Credit*, 1855) as an early but paradigmatic colonial novel, concluding that its “depiction of the Polish plains as a conceptual ‘Wild East’ was a nineteenth-century practice aiming to impute to the Eastern Territories the potential for manly adventure...[and] the concomitant site of national duty, set in distinct opposition to the wasteful and purposeless emigration to America.”²⁷

Contemporaneous with attempts to redirect emigration away from America and toward newly acquired overseas colonies (particularly Southwest Africa) the desire for “internal colonization” of Polish territories in the east arose in Germany. The ideological foundations of policies consistent with that goal included the felt need for *Lebensraum*, which underlay expansionist aspirations overseas as well as on the continent, along with fears of “loss of national energies” represented by emigration to the United States.²⁸ Those motivations mixed with concerns about the concentration of Poles in the eastern borderlands, prompting Bismarck’s *Kulturkampf* (battle for culture) against them (and “other enemies of the Reich”).²⁹ As groups such as the German Eastern Marches Society agitated for “Germanification of the soil,” the Imperial Prussian Settlement Commission was established

²⁴ Robert L. Nelson, “Colonialism in Europe? The Case against Salt Water,” in *Germans, Poland, and Colonial Expansion to the East: 1850 through the Present*, ed. Robert L. Nelson (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 1.

²⁵ Conrad, *German Colonialism*, 154.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 156.

²⁷ Kristin Kopp, “Reinventing Poland as German Colonial Territory in the Nineteenth Century: Gustav Freytag’s *Soll und Haben* as Colonial Novel,” in *Germans, Poland, and Colonial Expansion to the East: 1850 through the Present*, ed. Robert L. Nelson (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 30.

²⁸ Conrad, *German Colonialism*, 156–57.

²⁹ Shelley Baranowski, “Against ‘Human Diversity as Such’: Lebensraum and Genocide in the Third Reich,” in *German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany*, ed. Volker Langbehn and Mohammad Salama (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 53.

with the aim of buying land in the East on which German-speaking farmers could settle.³⁰ Scott Eddie's detailed examination of that organization and its activities demonstrates that the attempt to shift the demographic balance in the eastern provinces (West Prussia and Posen in particular) failed for economic reasons,³¹ though German designs on the land to its east certainly did not abate. In fact, Baranowski argues that Germany's successes on the eastern front during World War I and its (ultimately illusory) conviction that territorial gains there would be permanent served to heighten the importance of the region in the German imagination. Moreover, the combination of loss of territory as a result of the Versailles Treaty with the "stranding" of large populations of ethnic Germans within the borders of postwar successor states was of greater concern during the Weimar era than the loss of overseas colonial possessions.³² Reprising policies from the *Kaiserreich*, Social Democratic President Friedrich Ebert in 1919 appointed economist Max Sering, a force behind the founding of the Society for the Advancement of Inner Colonization years earlier, to write a new German Reich Settlement Law to foster inner colonization and prevent future loss of territory.³³

The continuities over time in the recognizably colonial character of German concepts and policies toward the Slavic East should not obscure the important changes that occurred in the manifestations of that putative colonialism, which were themselves reflective of shifts in its conceptual foundations. Kundrus recognizes the roots of that transition as early as the turn of the twentieth century in the essentialized and biologized understandings of racial and cultural differences that developed in the context of overseas colonial rule. That conceptual turn underlay "the upsurge of hierarchical and racially defined models of social order" that were displacing previous, more liberal colonial ideologies.³⁴ Unlike Africans, assimilation of Prussian Poles was for a time considered feasible and desirable, despite growing references to Slavs in racial terms and fears of miscegenation. Moreover, the threat of "Polonization" reflected both nationalist and racist concerns.³⁵ According to the formulations of a number of historians, the experience of World War I solidified the end of any consideration of the East as a site for colonial improvement and cultural betterment. Furber credits Isabel Hull with recognizing that "Prussian military logic," instantiated in the Southwest African genocides and later in an aggressive European war, constituted the inheritance that the Nazis applied in Eastern Europe.³⁶ Baranowski likewise sees Ludendorff's project "to create a vast German empire for exploitation and settlement in the East"³⁷ during the First World War – which entailed both a "Germanizing" mission and brutality – as a link between earlier colonial

³⁰ Conrad, *German Colonialism*, 156.

³¹ Scott M. Eddie, "The Prussian Settlement Commission and its Activities in the Land Market, 1886-1918," in *Germans, Poland, and Colonial Expansion to the East: 1850 through the Present*, ed. Robert L. Nelson (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 39–63.

³² Baranowski, "Against 'Human Diversity as Such': Lebensraum and Genocide in the Third Reich," 54–55.

³³ Robert L. Nelson, "The Archive for Inner Colonization, the German East, and World War I," in *Germans, Poland, and Colonial Expansion to the East: 1850 through the Present*, ed. Robert L. Nelson (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 85.

³⁴ Kundrus, "German Colonialism: Some Reflections on Reassessments, Specificities, and Constellations," 31.

³⁵ Conrad, *German Colonialism*, 157–59.

³⁶ Furber, "Near as Far in the Colonies," 544.

³⁷ Roderick Stackelberg, "Nazi Empire: German Colonialism and Imperialism from Bismarck to Hitler," *Central European History* (Cambridge University Press / UK) 44, no. 4 (December 2011): 736.

policies and the more malignant and overtly racist ones to come.³⁸ Liulevicius' analysis of the vocabulary of German administration and occupation in Eastern Europe during the two world wars reveals that, although considerable continuities in the language of colonialism may be identified, the earlier rhetoric of a "civilizing" objective became transformed into a language of racial hatred.³⁹ This crucial transition in colonial mentality, and the centrality of World War I in bringing it about, is summarized by Nelson: "[W]ith the bitter defeat, and subsequent loss of all that had been won in the East, a paradigmatic shift in mindset was put in motion: next time, the Germans wouldn't deal with notions of countries and peoples. Instead, the focus would be the more freeing concepts of Race and Space."⁴⁰

The foregoing demonstrates that the continuities in German aspirations and policies in the East coexisted with a shift in the ideology on which they were based. The next question to be addressed, then, is whether the fully racialized Nazi version of conquest and exploitation that emerged in the region during World War II may justifiably be considered under the heading of colonialism. Kopp argues persuasively in the affirmative, beginning with a frequently cited quotation from Hanns Johst, president of the Reich Chamber of Literature, whose tour of occupied Poland with his friend Heinrich Himmler in the winter of 1939-40 led him to conclude, "The Poles are not a state-building nation. They lack even the most elementary preconditions for it...A country that has so little feeling for systematic settlement, that cannot even deal with the style of a village, has no claim to any sort of independent political status within the European area. It is a colonial country." Kopp points out that the Nazi vision of a thoroughly reorganized Eastern European space for the creation of German settlement colonies was justified by such rhetoric, which cast the region as chaotic, underdeveloped, and pre-modern. Nazi rhetoric thus echoed the propaganda campaign that had been deployed in support of Bismarck's "inner colonization" program. Far more radical in scope than its nineteenth-century predecessor, Kopp sees the *Generalplan Ost* – the scheme (whose details are contested) to remove those who lived between the Oder and Dnieper Rivers and use the space so vacated for millions of German settlers – as part of a long and continuous history of German consideration of the East in colonial terms.⁴¹

In a detailed analysis of policies and practices in Eastern Europe (mainly but not exclusively Poland), Furber concludes that, notwithstanding their own official stance to the contrary, the Nazi occupation of the region was colonial. In building that case he claims that three features of colonialism are most relevant. The first is that colonizers intend their occupations to be permanent. Secondly, their local political structures depend on their home countries – they are rulers in foreign lands. Finally, colonizers and colonized are seen as distinguished from each other on parameters that include levels of development and civilization, race, and respectability. Application of those principles allows Furber to demonstrate that the German occupation of Eastern Europe was colonial, in contrast to its occupations of France, the Low Countries, Denmark, or Norway. In pursuit of their twin

³⁸ Baranowski, *Nazi Empire*, 67–115.

³⁹ Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius, "The Languages of Occupation: Vocabularies of German Rule in Eastern Europe in the World Wars," in *Germans, Poland, and Colonial Expansion to the East: 1850 through the Present*, ed. Robert L. Nelson (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 121–39.

⁴⁰ Nelson, "The Archive for Inner Colonization, the German East, and World War I," 87.

⁴¹ Kristin Kopp, "Arguing the Case for a Colonial Poland," in *German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany*, ed. Volker Langbehn and Mohammad Salama (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 146–63.

goals of settlement colonization and economic exploitation, the Nazis initially established five colonies in western and central Poland – four of which were annexed to the Reich (the Warthegau, Danzig-West Prussia, Zichenau, and East Upper Silesia), leaving the General Government as the fifth. More colonies, including the Reich Commissariat Ostland and the Reich Commissariat Ukraine, were fashioned from former Soviet territory conquered after June 1941. After reviewing aspects of administration, law, and everyday life in the German-occupied East, focusing on the Warthegau in particular, Furber avers, “Had these territories been separated from Germany by salt water, it would be difficult to prove that the Warthegau was *not* an instance of colonialism.”⁴²

While denying the validity of the “salt water thesis,” Furber addresses the implications of colonization of regions adjacent to the metropole – specifically the component of colonial mentality that depends on fundamental differences between colonizer and colonized. He catalogues methods employed by the Nazis to accentuate the “distance” between the ruling Germans and the ruled Slavs. In place of the exotic elements of Africa or the South Pacific, Nazi rhetoric emphasized disparities in economic development. Absent clear differences in appearance between Germans and Slavs, the rulers wore badges to identify themselves as such. Ironically, the need for these efforts to accentuate differences belied the foundations of Nazi radicalized racism that held that the purportedly vast cultural gulf between conqueror and conquered represented the self-evident chasm between genetically superior and inferior peoples. In those racial and cultural differences lay the justification for colonialism, including the particularly savage variant practiced by the Nazis in their eastern empire. That Hitler and other National Socialist leaders eschewed the label of colonialism is attributed by Furber to the widespread assumption that the category referred to overseas holdings, as well as to its nineteenth-century liberal “civilizing” connotations that the Nazis had long-since disavowed.⁴³

Conspicuously absent from the foregoing discussion of German policies and practices in the conquered East are the Jews. If the place of the Slavs in the new National Socialist Europe was unenviable, that of the Jews was nonexistent. To what extent does the category of colonialism contribute to an understanding of the Nazi attempt to exterminate the Jews of Europe? The most explicit argument for its applicability is advanced by Jurgen Zimmerer, who draws a connection from colonialism to expansion and murder via the constructs of race and space shared by European colonialism and Nazism.⁴⁴ As has been noted above, the perceived need of the racially defined German *Volk* for “living space” underwrote the recognizably colonial Nazi policies of expansion and domination in the purportedly undeveloped and uncivilized East. In that context, Zimmerer points to the “utter disposability of the indigenous population” in regions of settlement colonization, including Southwest Africa and Eastern Europe, in which genocides have occurred. He recognizes a range of consequences of policies of conquest and settlement founded on considerations of race and space, situating genocide as the most radical of them. Among the differences between prior “colonial” genocidal massacres and the Holocaust, Zimmerer discusses both intentions and methods. With respect to the first, he notes that across the approximately five

⁴² Furber, “Near as Far in the Colonies,” 547–58.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 558–79.

⁴⁴ Jurgen Zimmerer, “Colonialism and the Holocaust: Towards an Archeology of Genocide,” in *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous Children in Australian History*, ed. A. Dirk Moses (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005), 53.

centuries of European colonialism many cultures and peoples have been eradicated, though frequently as byproducts rather than explicit goals of colonization. Nevertheless, he cites several examples from the colonial past in which extermination of a racially or culturally defined people was clearly intended, including the Herero and Nama genocides. Regarding methods, two features of the Holocaust that potentially distinguish it from prior genocidal massacres are addressed: the involvement of the highest levels of government in formulating the Nazi policy of Judeocide, and the quasi-industrial nature of its implementation. Zimmerer points out, however, that the orders for the Herero and Nama genocides emanated from a high position of authority, while many elements of the Holocaust – particularly its earlier phases in the East – occurred as a result of “local initiatives.” Moreover, historicizing the development of central governmental structures and of technologies across the time periods in question arguably renders these contrasts less compelling as markers of fundamentally distinct phenomena.⁴⁵

Describing Germany’s war in Poland and the Soviet Union as “without doubt the largest colonial war of conquest in history,” Zimmerer sees continuity, based on the core concepts of race and space, between the European colonial tradition and Nazi policies of aggressive expansion, including genocide. He conceptualizes the Holocaust as the most radical end of a spectrum that historically included less bureaucratized and centrally organized colonial genocides, and during the Nazi era included the deliberate deaths through neglect of Soviet prisoners of war and massacres of “partisans.” While disavowing a monocausal theory of the Holocaust, Zimmerer finds in the logic of colonialism the prerequisite conditions for the Nazi program to kill the Jews.⁴⁶

Having outlined recent historiography on the topic of the relation between German overseas colonialism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and subsequent Nazi policies and practices in Europe – a body of work that sprang from a reconsideration of Hannah Arendt’s arguments in the context of a current focus on globalization and postcolonial studies – what conclusions may be drawn regarding the continuity thesis? Among the particular questions posed earlier in this essay that constitute this line of inquiry, the one whose answer appears most straightforward is that of the colonial nature of the Nazi project in Eastern Europe. It seems clear that German attitudes and policies toward Poland (an entity that was notional rather than actual at the start of the period under investigation) are validly described as colonial extending further back than the unification. And as also demonstrated above, with respect both to rhetoric and administration, Nazi practices are as well. Consistent with Furber’s taxonomy,⁴⁷ Sebastian Conrad points to the Nazi assumption that their domination of Poland (as well as formerly Soviet territories to its east) would be permanent, their plans to reshape those regions fundamentally for their own purposes, and their practice of ethnic segregation as collectively constituting colonialism.⁴⁸ Contrasting those features with Nazi behavior in Western and Northern Europe – as coercive and violent as it could be there as well – reinforces the point.

The major objections to conceptualizing the Nazi conquest and domination of lands and peoples to its east as an instance of colonialism are 1) the notion that expanding the

⁴⁵ Ibid., 57–67.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 49, 67–68.

⁴⁷ Furber, “Near as Far in the Colonies,” 547–48.

⁴⁸ Conrad, *German Colonialism*, 166.

category beyond the definition implied by the “salt-water thesis” dilutes it excessively and thus weakens its analytical utility, and 2) the concern that differences in the ideologies underlying earlier colonialism and the (putative) Nazi variant are too large to justify inclusion of both under a single heading. Showing that historical understanding renders the first of those objections unconvincing, Dirk Moses points out that “*Weltpolitik* (the acquisitions of extra-European colonies with a strong navy) and *Ostpolitik* (Eastern Europe as Germany’s imperial space: *Mitteleuropa*) represented flip sides of the same coin,” concluding that “[c]olonialism is an analytical category that can apply in both maritime and contiguous contexts.”⁴⁹ With respect to its conceptual underpinnings, while there is no doubt that “at its core, Nazi colonialism rejected the self-justifying ideology of European colonialism in favor of the worship of power,”⁵⁰ the disappearance of the (always ambivalent) “civilizing” humanitarian mission of European colonialism – which began well before the Nazi era – is insufficient cause to reject the applicability of ‘colonialism’ to the Nazi-Eastern European case.

The question of direct and causal continuities between the German overseas colonial experience and subsequent, recognizably colonial, developments and policies in the Nazi era is more complex. As Kundrus indicates, “Continuity is one of the most difficult theoretical and methodological problems in historiography. There is very little agreement on what the term actually means.”⁵¹ Showing that one event is chronologically prior to another is clearly insufficient to the task, while demonstrating that the earlier was both a necessary and sufficient condition for the later is an excessive and unrealizable expectation. In this vein, Grosse suggests that the construct of “correspondences” is a more useful one. The categories shared by the two versions of German colonialism noted above – the motivation of *Lebensraum*, racist attitudes and policies, wars of annihilation, concentration camps – were themselves underwritten, in Grosse’s view, by “a common biopolitical intellectual foundation – namely eugenicist ideas of racial selection, racial reproduction, and territorial expansion” which he labels the “racial order.”⁵² As has been demonstrated above, this sort of continuity or correspondence may be discerned not only between German overseas colonialism and later Nazi European expansionism, but between earlier and later Prussian and German continental expansionist aspirations and policies – albeit mixed with the radicalization of racial ideologies seen over that time period. Thus, the question of continuity appears best approached (particularly if an affirmative answer is sought) by broadening it to include developments in both overseas and continental colonial expansionism.

The principal gap in the continuity thesis – even the broadened one – relates to the question of German historical uniqueness, a problem toward which the *Sonderweg* and *Historikerstreit* debates were also directed, albeit in somewhat different contexts. Kundrus appears justified in denying that currently available evidence points to ways in which German overseas colonialism differed fundamentally from that of the other European

⁴⁹ A. Dirk Moses, “Hannah Arendt, Imperialisms, and the Holocaust,” in *German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany*, ed. Volker Langbehn and Mohammad Salama (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 74.

⁵⁰ Furber, “Near as Far in the Colonies,” 577.

⁵¹ Kundrus, “German Colonialism: Some Reflections on Reassessments, Specificities, and Constellations,” 33.

⁵² Grosse, “What Does German Colonialism Have to Do with National Socialism? A Conceptual Framework,” 118.

powers.⁵³ Despite his clear continuity commitments, Madley catalogues instances of non-German violent colonial racism from British Rhodesia and South Africa to the Belgian Congo and Italian Ethiopia.⁵⁴ More broadly, Grosse points out that while Arendt saw connections between colonialism overseas and German “*volkisch* expansionist aspirations in Central and Eastern Europe,” she failed to address the vastly different outcomes seen in Germany relative to other colonial powers such as Britain, France, and the Netherlands.⁵⁵ It seems clear that while its colonial past is causally relevant to Nazi policies of conquest and domination in Eastern Europe, additional factors were necessary to produce the specifically German results witnessed by history. Many historians locate those factors in the experience of World War I and its aftermath. As described above, German territorial ambitions in Eastern Europe were briefly realized, following which dispossession of both their continental and overseas possessions “left a complete vacuum in the sphere of expansionism exactly when expansionist aspirations had reached their height.”⁵⁶ This often-cited experience of “colonialism without colonies” both contributed to and interacted with the radicalized racial politics of the post-World War I era in which the Nazi version of adjacent continental colonialism developed.

The most problematic of the three continuity questions posed above is that of inclusion of the Holocaust in the narrative that begins in Southwest Africa and ends in Poland and regions further east. Evidence has already been reviewed that reveals important similarities, as well as differences, between the massacres of the Herero and Nama people and the Nazis’ attempt to exterminate the Jews of Europe. More broadly, the mentality of colonialism was shown to lend itself – via its emphasis on race and space and the instrumentality and thus disposability of indigenous people – to genocide. But continuity between prior colonial genocides and the Holocaust is not so easily concluded. The very basis of the relatively new discipline of comparative genocide is contentious, as historicization of the Holocaust is seen by some as an *a priori* denial of its putative uniqueness.⁵⁷ In her argument against the continuity thesis as regards the Holocaust, Millet expresses skepticism of “some scholars [who] subtend Nazi actions as evidence of a shared genocidal predisposition inherent in Western societies so that the specific actions directed at individual groups have become reducible to the signs of colonial aggression against the Other throughout human history;”⁵⁸ Moses, on the other hand, views the “Western Tradition” as supplying the historical foundations of the Holocaust, as opposed to the latter being the most glaring exception to the former. He argues that, by focusing recently on her continuity thesis, historians have misportrayed Arendt, who situated the origins of the Holocaust in the “pan” movements of Central and Eastern Europe and not in the purportedly more benign and less ideologically racist context of African colonialism. She thus (according to Moses) viewed

⁵³ Kundrus, “German Colonialism: Some Reflections on Reassessments, Specificities, and Constellations,” 36.

⁵⁴ Madley, “From Africa to Auschwitz,” 431–32.

⁵⁵ Grosse, “From Colonialism to National Socialism to Postcolonialism,” 45.

⁵⁶ Grosse, “What Does German Colonialism Have to Do with National Socialism? A Conceptual Framework,” 119.

⁵⁷ Steven T. Katz, *The Holocaust and Mass Death before the Modern Age*, vol. 1 of *The Holocaust in Historical Context* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 25.

⁵⁸ Kitty Millet, “Caesura, Continuity, and Myth: The Stakes of Tethering the Holocaust to German Colonial Theory,” in *German Colonialism: Race, the Holocaust, and Postwar Germany*, ed. Volker Langbehn and Mohammad Salama (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 111.

the Holocaust as unique, primarily as a consequence of considering past colonial genocidal massacres as having, at least to some extent, pragmatic motivations, in contrast to the entirely ideologically founded efforts at Judeocide. Moses counters that position identified with Arendt with the assertion that the Nazis considered their war against the Jews as one of self-defense, adding that liquidation of “internal enemies, real or imagined” is an extension (albeit a radical one) of the Western tradition. Moreover, he asserts that the delusional nature of the Nazi premise of a dire Jewish threat does not distinguish it from the motivations behind other historical cases of genocide.⁵⁹

Regardless of whether one foregrounds the similarities or the differences among the motivations, justifications, and methods of mass murder of culturally or racially defined groups through history, claims that the genocides of German Southwest Africa were the primary antecedents of the Holocaust are not fully convincing. Too many directly relevant historical, cultural, and ideological developments occurred during the intervening period to allow such a conclusion. Among the difficulties inherent in situating the Holocaust within the paradigm of colonialism is the inconvenient fact that the Nazis pursued the extermination of all Jews to which they had access, including those in Germany and in the countries whose conquest and occupation cannot in any meaningful sense be considered colonial. Nevertheless, what Conrad refers to as a shared “colonial archive” whose “most important ingredient... was the readiness to consign entire populations to annihilation,” was a fundamental arena of continuity between the European (including German) experience in the colonial era and subsequent events closer to home.⁶⁰ Thus, although the devastation of Eastern Europe and the horrors visited on its Slavic and Jewish people by the Nazis during the Second World War are unlikely ever to be considered fully comprehensible, the emphasis in recent historical scholarship on the relevance of Germany’s brief overseas colonial era offers a degree of illumination.

⁵⁹ Moses, “Hannah Arendt, Imperialisms, and the Holocaust,” 78–81.

⁶⁰ Conrad, *German Colonialism*.

TRANSFORMATIVE SLAVERY IN MADAGASCAR: FROM SMALL BEGINNINGS TO INDUSTRIAL CENTER

--
SAM VANDERWATER

Introduction

Madagascar is an island off the east coast of Africa and like many people across time and space; the Malagasy participated in the enslavement of other human beings. Islanders made conscience decisions about how to administer the institution of slavery with the hopes of growing their status in life. Embracing numerous influences, the traditional make up of the Malagasy morphed into a culture where slaves were suitably integrated into the family and community structure, the agricultural lifestyle and the customs that had been adopted over the centuries. The exportation of slavery was a crucial means of gaining an economic foothold among communities, larger regions and most notably, for the coming empires that would dominate the coastal trade. Through the combination of cultural and economic dominance, a select group of people obtained political control over geographic regions of Madagascar, building up influence in the form of protection or loot on raids. The large empires of the island used the mixture to create expansive borders that relied on slaves in multiple facets of the Malagasy lives. In this paper, I argue that the people of Madagascar were aware of the decisions they made when dealing with slaves and the institution of slavery. The changing conditions of the island, including the introduction of Islam to the early Malagasy culture and the increase of European presence in the Indian Ocean trade, caused the Malagasy to make the necessary changes to the institution of slavery; changes that helped facilitate the continued growth of an individual, community or empire. Investigating the case of Madagascar is important because the slaves were integrated into numerous aspects of Malagasy life. Many historians propose that slaves, and mostly female, were used in the interior of Africa for domestic purposes on farms and in houses. The Malagasy, however, exploited slave masses in the production of manufactured goods in factories. There are few accounts of African states that employed slaves to the same extent as the Malagasy. The Sokoto Caliphate, existing between 1808 and 1903, is one such example, as they provided goods to West Africa from its central locations. However, the productive capacity and technology that the Sokoto used never reached the same industrial level as it did in Madagascar.

While searching for other developed states, a piece by John Thornton examined the pre-colonial African industry. He argues that Africa was productive in textiles and other industries, but lacking the technology that Europe had.¹ The states still produced items that were sold on the international level, but they never industrialized to the extent that Madagascar achieved. While slavery in Africa was used mainly for production reasons, slaves in Madagascar were incorporated into all facets of life, including the family, economy, military and by the political administrations.

Slaves became an integrated part of the Malagasy lives and were used to help facilitate healthy growth from their exploitation. The Sakalava and Merina Empires provide

¹ Thornton, "Precolonial African Industry and the Atlantic Trade, 1500-1800", 1-19

great examples of how individuals-turned-monarchs exploited slaves and the institution of slavery to adapt to their needs. In addition, people of less stature still used slaves for domestic and productive reasons, allowing them to better their welfare. The growing population of the Malagasy deliberately manipulated slaves and slavery to develop their culture, economics and political positions in society.

Small Beginnings

Being traced through the Malagasy grammar and vocabulary, the first people who arrived on Madagascar, around 400 C.E. were of Austronesian origins they used the currents of the Indian Ocean to navigate the seas, leading them to the Maldives, Comoros and eventually Madagascar. By the 600s, C.E., settlements had been established on the northeastern coast of the island, an important development for the future economics of slavery². The Austronesians would slowly populate and descend down the island's western coast for the next two hundred years. A few centuries later, African travelers from Mozambique sailed to and penetrated the western coast of Madagascar, bringing their own ideas and techniques of survival to the island, including lineage patterns and pastoral methods. The two ethnicities synchronized into diverse Malagasy societies and with distinct identities by 1000 C.E.

Created from Austronesian Hindu beliefs, Islamic influence from the Indian Ocean Trade, and African traditions, the culture that developed was largely social and political. Farming characterized most peoples' lives with some maritime movement on the coasts. Building a lineage was important to establishing influence because it allowed people to form small communities and to sway that community opinion. Ancestry became the primary method to claim power and influence. Through claiming an extensive ancestry by possessing heirlooms, a family could have authority in their community. This structure of power would become critical for the growth of the Sakalava and Merina monarchies.

As the early settlements of Madagascar were widely dispersed, slavery was not extensively used as an instrument for expansion. Settlements were centered on the person who was most successful at growing their family and ensuring their safety and health. Compounds were built to keep the family close, and the land around the compound that was used for other purposes like farming, also came under the family's ownership. During this period, the existence of slaves only occurred in small villages or households, which used them for tasks such as agricultural work and domestic services. To obtain slaves, groups simply raided people they did not recognize as part of their respective community. Those who were captured were considered outsiders, and having no ancestors made them powerless to the demands of their new masters. The agricultural work slaves were required to perform included taking care of rice fields, an important food in the Malagasy diet, and bee keeping, producing wax³. The African ancestors of the Malagasy brought cattle over with them and began pastoral practices on the island, creating another demanding task for individuals. While many slaves were engaged in agriculture and pastoralism, some were assigned to domestic service, which included cleaning and cooking⁴. Here, the slave serves his first purpose for the economic development of the Malagasy on a personal level. Realizing the

² Brown, *Madagascar Rediscovered*, 21.

³ Kent, "Madagascar and Africa II. The Sakalava, Maroserana, Dady and Tromba before 1700", 327.

⁴ Kent, "Madagascar and Africa II. The Sakalava, Maroserana, Dady and Tromba before 1700", 528.

need for large ancestral lineages and surpluses to attain influence and power, individuals were using a readily available source of labor to grow their households. Owning and using a slave helped to create a surplus allowing the group to expand as did marrying slaves into the family to increase its size and power.

On the coast, growing towns had access to slaves from two extensive markets; an external market of slaves through the slave trade in Indian Ocean, and later by Europeans beginning mid-1600s. The Malagasy were keen on utilizing ocean trade for their own advantage and growth. The internal networks of Madagascar developed through trade and raiding of the interior, providing a market supply for labor, neighboring groups or families regularly raided each other for cattle and slaves. These plunders could be sold on the coast to feed the external slave trade, or used by the individuals for their personal advancement.

Indian Ocean Slave Trade

The Indian Ocean Slave Trade was a historical and dominant market in which the Malagasy could access slaves before the arrival of Europeans. The Muslim-dominated slave trade had been navigating around Madagascar for centuries, transmitting ideas and objects between the island and the world⁵. Soon, the slave trade had a growing impact on the settlements, leading to economic and administrative development. The northwest villages were most important in the early development of Malagasy societies because of their location with respect to the Muslim trade in the Indian Ocean.

During the twelfth century C.E., Arab traders recorded several occasions of the Malagasy's involvement in the slave trade. One early account states that Malagasy people were conducting raids in outriggers, similar to Austronesian boats, on the east coast of Africa. The slaves would later be exported to Muslim traders for income and commodities. A later chronicle verifies that numerous African slaves in Yemen were purchased from traders on Madagascar⁶. On another occasion, a witness noted the coast of the town he traded in was equipped with outriggers large enough to hold forty to fifty men, which would later be used by the growing Sakalava Empire to conduct sea-raids⁷. By selling slaves for items they needed such as weapons and comforts, the traders could increase their economic well-being. Slavery was alive and well in Madagascar.

The proximity of Madagascar to East Africa allowed the Muslim traders to incorporate the island and its people into the Indian Ocean network. Commodities such as food, metals, weapons and cloth were all trafficked between East Africa and Austronesian islands through the Indian Ocean trade. The people of Madagascar began to utilize this trade and soon exported commodities produced in Madagascar for continental and worldly goods such as beads, ceramics, cloth and precious metals.⁸ Using slaves, rice and cattle as means of personal development, the Malagasy were able to achieve income growth and attain power along the coast. The institution of slavery was permeating the island and its economic development. Slaves were used in the pastoral and agricultural activities of the island, creating a surplus of food that could be sold on the coast. Cattle and rice were commonly sold to mariners who need to land and obtain sustenance. In exchange, the Malagasy received

⁵ Wright, Henry. "Early Communities on the Island of Maore and the Coasts of Madagascar".

⁶ Randrianja et al., *Madagascar: A Short History*.

⁷ Kent, "Madagascar and Africa II. The Sakalava, Maroserana, Dady and Tromba before 1700", 544.

⁸ Randrianja et al., *Madagascar: A Short History*, 54.

compensation in goods that could not be made on the island. Even though the people and language of the Malagasy were strikingly similar, the islanders saw themselves as comprised of different cultures, which perpetuated frequent raids for slaves between language groups. Stronger communities did better economically and politically because of the income from slave exportation, achieved by invading the weaker groups.

The northern coasts of Madagascar were exposed to Islam through the trade with Muslim sailors. Islamic ideas continued to penetrate the Malagasy culture with the people of Madagascar shaping the Muslim beliefs to complement their indigenous traditions. Islam created a median between Muslim sailors and the natives of the island, which allowed the coastal powers to establish relationships with the traders. The idea of incorporating outsiders into the community, prophesized by Muhammad, was also adopted by the Malagasy. With these newly transformed values, slaves became a tool for Islamic Malagasy chiefs to expand their power. After raiding neighbors for slaves, chiefs were able to extend kinship to valuable slaves who could become an asset to the lineage and make an income on the rest⁹. This led to militaristic and cultural development as chieftains used this practice to spread their influence inland from the coast.

An example of this rising authority on the Northwestern coast was Tingimaro, ruler of the Sada group, one of the regional powers.¹⁰ He possessed powerful connections with Muslim traders. Increasing his wealth through maritime transactions, Tingimaro became a reliable slave merchant and conducted slave raids on neighboring groups to supply the Europeans with slaves, while also providing food. The foreign traders paid Tingimaro with goods, coins and weaponry, allowing him to conduct more effective raids. Because he was militarily superior to others in the region and had strong economic relationships with maritime traders, Tingimaro's power grew. This is important because slavery was beginning to be recognized as an instrument to increase income through the selling slaves. Income came in the acquisitions of foreign goods, large amounts of livestock and surplus grain, all having a relationship with slaves. Thus individuals could develop economically and militarily through exploiting slaves. Later, the Sakalava Empire would exploit slaves for its own expansion.

The combination of external and internal slave movement brought rise to small kingdoms that maintained power at the mouths of rivers, allowing them to trade strategically. The kingdoms used the slave trade to develop their influence, income and military power. Operating with the same techniques as other kingdoms surrounding it, the Sakalava began on the central-west coast of Madagascar.

Sakalava, the First Malagasy Empire

The Sakalava became the first major group on Madagascar to develop into an extensive empire. The previous groups of the island had conducted brief wars for individual development, selling the captives to Muslim traders on the coast. However, the Sakalava, rising to power around late seventeenth-early eighteenth century, began utilizing slavery and ocean trade for monarchial and political development, which defined them from other

⁹ Randrianja et al., *Madagascar: A Short History*, 66.

¹⁰ UNESCO edited by B.A. Ogot. *Africa from the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Century*, 861.

groups.¹¹ As the slave trade across the Indian Ocean began to decline, Europeans began increasing their demand for slaves from Madagascar, the Sakalava being quick to monopolize the west coast trade. A Malagasy culture had emerged from the mixture of multiple identities, with lineage at the center. Muslim traditions of honor, communal networking and acceptance of outsiders also shaped the existing culture. The Sakalava tailored the use of slaves to their beliefs by building their lineage and selling other slaves to dominate the human trafficking in their region. As these two factors developed, a political entity emerged that would encompass the west coast.

The first and most critical of these factors was the importance of “ancestral” lineage. Like many of the groups of Madagascar, lineage determined a person’s position in society. Maintaining a long ancestry made a man and his family more important in the community. With a history of twenty-seven generations, the Sakalava monarchy was the leading clan in the region.¹² This was key as the monarchy could attract families that needed protection and food, and thus continue to grow its empire. Adopted into the culture as commoners, they pledged loyalty to the kings, participating in cattle and slave raids against neighboring groups as well as supporting the king or queen in their decisions. As the borders grew, the monarchy gave some commoners rights to power in a region distant from the capital. An emerging class of nobles was created; nobles who would have economic and political advantages over commoners. The lowest class in the Sakalava Empire was that of outsiders, as they had no ancestors, hence no claim of influence or power. Unable to prove ancestry, the outsiders were seen as slaves by the Sakalava. Typically, family members could identify others in their clan and subsequently as people of the Sakalava society. Outsiders, however, had nobody in the community to vouch for them. Here we see how the exploitation of slaves was tailored to the Malagasy culture. The monarch would soon develop the Sakalava culture by extending the royal kinship to the kinless population, thus willingly allowing outsiders to adopt the royal identity.

Economically, the first kings of the empire exploited the Indian Ocean slave trade, as Madagascar was not an established route for the European trade.¹³ The earliest rulers moved from their central location on the west coast, northward, conquering important ports connected to the Indian Ocean trade. Slaves were the primary export of the early Sakalava, while cattle and rice always maintained relevance to Madagascar’s external commerce. This economic domination brought followers, who aided in the slave raids, creating a cycle of cultural and economic expansion.

Through this economic advantage in the region, the kings were able to import guns, powder and ammunition to militarily continue their growth. In the 1600s, Portuguese sailors witnessed the coastal people with simple weapons such as spears and bow-n-arrows. However, by the 1700s, the empire had a well-established army equipped with guns. Records even detail Europeans witnessing the skill of the islanders, who had mastered their foreign firearms.¹⁴ This military advantage allowed the early kings to dominate the region with force, effortlessly.

¹¹ Feeley-Harnik, *A Green Estate: Restoring Independence in Madagascar*, 26.

¹² Feeley-Harnik, “The King’s Men in Madagascar, Citizenship and Sakalava Monarchy”, 34.

¹³ Feeley Harnik, “The Kings Men”, 32.

¹⁴ Kent, “Madagascar and Africa II. The Sakalava, Maroserana, Dady and Tromba before 1700”, 544.

The Sakalava Empire grew from combination of ancestral kinship relations, economic domination and military superiority. Slaves were exploited in each faction of society and allowed for growth in multiple parts of Sakalava life. Each factor helped to develop and strengthen the empire. What is more interesting is that each factor fed into the others; connections occurring between culture and politics, economics and politics, and between culture and economics. Increasing the variable of one influence would gradually affect the others.

With these developments, the Sakalava Empire would rule the western coast of Madagascar and the ocean slave trade until the rise of Merina Empire during the late-eighteenth century. Slavery was not only exploited by the monarchy, but also by commoners who wanted to improve their welfare with individuals using slaves for the management of their pastures and rice fields. The government of the monarch used slaves to extend the lineage culture, maintain economic superiority, and build a well-equipped army. Slave labor was attractive because the government and individuals decided how the worker was treated and compensated, if at all. Furthermore, the Sakalava Empire built their wealth by not providing wages, but food for their workforce, allowing the owner to possess more goods.¹⁵

Individuals and their families, who identified as a Sakalava commoner or noble, had access to land and used slaves on their property. People and their families were allowed to live by whatever means they need to survive, which meant that cultivating and maintaining food had to have large labor inputs for growth. Since the institution of slavery had existed on the island for centuries, the Malagasy leaders turned to slaves, creating a workforce that did not need wages, thus economic independence from the King could be achieved to some extent.

Robert Drury, an Englishman who had to abandon ship on the southern coast of Madagascar, writes about his experience on the island and the people he encountered. The region of the island that Drury landed on suffered from constant war between the Sakalava and minor groups. He becomes a slave to a Malagasy man whose clan has been in conflict with their Sakalava neighbors, witnessing tragic events caused by both sides. Drury's experience gives a great account of how individuals used and treated their slaves. One of the most important roles that Drury was given was to take care of the cattle, a crucial source of sustenance. While his master had a number of slaves, the task was extremely dangerous. Because Drury was a white outsider and a person with no kin, it was deemed that a white man that could not offer anything but labor, therefore he was particularly expendable. Taking care of cattle could be a dangerous job for a slave, resulting in death or injury, which is why Drury's master is more willing to use Drury than younger slaves.¹⁶ Additional risk also lay in the fact that raids were conducted constantly, meaning an individual's wealth could easily disappear. Drury's experience highlights the economics of slavery in the Sakalava region, while giving a picture of the militaristic culture of the Malagasy.

With Madagascar being one of the largest producers of rice, cultivating rice fields was another labor-intensive undertaking. As the Sakalava expanded, some people would accept the new Sakalava identity and border they were being brought under. However, others fled the region causing a loss of labor to work the now abandoned fields. Slaves again

¹⁵ Brown, "Reclaiming Lost Ancestors and Acknowledging Slave Descent: Insights from Madagascar", 632.

¹⁶ Drury, *Madagascar: Or Robert Drury's Journal*, 158.

provided an avenue to survival and profit off of surplus.¹⁷ Individuals were able to develop the land with little costs and grow their lineages through the use of slaves. Through the exploitation of slaves, people managed newly acquired land and expanded their economic opportunities by growing their excess supplies.

Connections between the monarchy and the commoners pertaining to how they used their slaves were clearly evident at this time. The most notable similarity is the use of slaves to create an income, allowing the purchase of firearms, goods, and even more slaves. Individuals would travel from the interior of the empire to make trades on the coast to obtain goods and guns. With the Europeans developing small plantation islands around Africa and the Caribbean, slaves were becoming higher in demand as a cheap source of labor was needed. Individuals used slaves as a means of exchange for necessities like food and guns in addition to other foreign goods like textiles, trinkets and metals.¹⁸ It was through this trade that individuals and the monarchy supported their own development and growth.

The Europeans soon became the most frequent traders to the island, as the Muslim slave traders' presence in the Indian Ocean had declined. Europeans were more than happy to sell their manufactured and finished goods to the Sakalava, who provided an abundant amount of slaves. Colonizing the Mascarenes islands of Reunion and Mauritius, the French became a common visitor to Madagascar, creating a large plantation system that required slaves for labor. East of Madagascar, pirates ravaged the east coast of the massive Mascarenes Islands, leading the French to the Sakalava on the northwest coast.¹⁹ The increase in slave trade with the French, as well as English and Dutch traders, further allowed the Sakalava Empire to finance its expansion and maintenance.

The cultural development of the Sakalava was closely related to the use of slaves. The military strength and economic wealth of the state attracted immigrants, who were promised protection under the monarch in exchange for loyalty. The other important factor for the Sakalava growth was the importance and power of their 27- generation lineage, which religiously dictated the island's political and social structure. Through this configuration, the monarchs built up their lineage. Royal slaves or *sambarivo*, were considered both kinless and people of the Sakalava due to their connection to the monarch. Upon becoming a *sambarivo*, the slaves were adopted into the royal kinship. *Sambarivo* could be married into the monarch's lineage because of this relation, considered less taboo than marriage to a commoner.²⁰

The societal development of the monarchy through slaves is also apparent in the political structure of the Sakalava. The *sambarivo* were not only domestic and agricultural workers, but also administrators, advisors, soldiers, and held other governmental jobs. Required to live around the royal compound, they resided in smaller compounds called pens.²¹ Each pen was assigned jobs and they were not allowed to perform the tasks of any other group. As an extension of the monarchy, the *sambarivo* served dual roles – handling governmental responsibilities in close proximity to royalty while simultaneously widening the lineage keeping the same royalty secure and strengthening a strong monarchical culture.

¹⁷ Kent, "Madagascar and Africa II. The Sakalava, Maroserana, Dady and Tromba before 1700", 545.

¹⁸ Bialuschewski, "Anatomy of a Slave Insurrections: The Shipwreck of the Vautour on the West Coast of Madagascar in 1725", 90.

¹⁹ Brown, *Madagascar Rediscovered*, 22.

²⁰ Feeley-Harnik, "The King's Men", 38.

²¹ Feeley-Harnik, *The Green Estate*, 322.

This not only allowed the culture to grow, but for the political support in the region to develop.

The Sakalava monarchy used slaves for other political purposes, including delegation missions. Here we see how those in power consciously utilized and exploited slaves for their own benefit. In dealing with other clans and groups, the monarchy followed basic Malagasy rules and tradition regarding communications between royal or powerful leaders; it was taboo for rulers to be in the courts of others. For this reason, the royal Malagasy would send slaves to serve as liaisons between its monarchy and others.²² The slave was useful in for two reasons, both concerning the special status slaves had regarding kin. First, because the slaves were an extension of the monarch, he could represent Sakalava in the foreign court, providing the service of communication. Second, if the delegation failed, slaves were kinless and therefore more dispensable in the event of a violent response. Commoners had dead and living kin in the Sakalava Empire, giving them rights recognized by the monarch. Sending commoners on missions that were thought to be dangerous was considered taboo.

The Sakalava Empire had a monopoly on slave trading along the island's west coast between the mid-1600s to the late 1700s. Whether it was with the Muslims or Europeans, the Sakalava took major advantage of the trade; a clear sign that it knowingly used the institution of slavery to improve its position. Though the introduction of guns to the Madagascar people occurred in the late 1500s, the natives learned how to use them with European skill. The Merina power that rose to in the 1800s would even fear the Sakalava because of their amazing skills in firearms. Military development was able to sustain Sakalava power on the central-west coast until the French takeover of Madagascar at the end of the nineteenth century.

Slaves were seen in almost all aspects of Sakalava life, from agriculture to the military to expanding the royal monarchy. The monarch and his followers consciously manipulated the lives of slaves to create a better life for themselves. The Merina soon would threaten the Sakalava dominance by controlling the slave trade with the Europeans. Conquering former Sakalava domains, the Merina took control of vital slave ports in the east and northwest of Madagascar and began to economically rule the region.

Merina Consolidation

The Merina developed in the central highlands of Madagascar. Like the Sakalava, they followed many Malagasy traditions, including the importance of lineages, which gave them influence in the region. Possessing strong merchant powers and a long history of warriors, the clan would become the leading monarchy and would soon come to rule the region. The Merina did not use slaves to widen their lineage as the Sakalava did. However, they did exploit slavery, its trade and the institution to develop its power on the island.

Acknowledged as the first king and founder of the Merina Empire, eventually known by foreigners as the Kingdom of Madagascar, Andrianampoinimerina (*Imerina*) had created a small kingdom of conquered chieftaincies by 1810.²³ He manipulated the interior slave trade to his advantage, economically and militaristically gaining a foothold in Madagascar politics. The early structure of this kingdom relied on the slave trade to import food products, as the

²² Feeley-Harnik, "The King's Men", 45,

²³ Larson, *History and Memory in the Age of Enslavement: Becoming Merina in Highland Madagascar, 1770-1822*, 8.

highlands were not suitable for plantation development. Like the Sakalava, citizens used slaves for their own development. Commoners sold slaves to people in coastal ports and would return with foreign goods or cattle.²⁴ With slaves working the fields, a small amount of agriculture was able to grow, allowing people to sustain their families with surpluses.

Imerina began working on policies to make markets more efficient. His policies promoted the trade of goods, including slaves, and keeping markets free of corruption. He used royal slaves to monitor the market activity in major cities like the capital of Antananarivo.²⁵ This means that Imerina recognized a problem for his people in the market and used slaves as an answer. Individuals also used slaves in trades as mediators in the masters' absences, and in agricultural maintenance for the few men able to cultivate the land. Importing beef and rice was necessary for the growth of the state, thus slaves became the primary source of exchange at the market. With an expanding empire that cycled citizens through military expeditions, there were plenty of opportunities for the people to proliferate their wealth using slaves however they pleased.

The Merina Empire depended less on cultural development than the Sakalava and focused much of their time on economic and militaristic development. However, there were uses of slaves for some Merina-identity purposes. Since ancestors were an important aspect of people's lives, maintaining the remains and tombs was required. The maintenance of the royal compound, cemeteries and monuments required a slave's attention his entire life, although royal slaves slightly benefitted from the wealth and surplus of the monarch. When a monarch died, the slaves of the royal tomb would help with the ceremony procession by carrying items for the tomb and then closing it. The monarch and commoners also used slaves to build and upkeep tombs, allowing the free-person to devote time and resources to his economic pursuits.²⁶ Thus slaves were still used for some cultural rituals and needs. After Imerina died in 1810, his son Radama I would take over and expand the empire without the export of slaves for economic domination.

Between 1810 and 1820, Radama had extended the empire's borders to include the northwest and east coast, creating a near-monopoly on the island's slave trade. Requiring the use of Spanish coinage for transactions, Radama would garner revenues of up to 25,000 piastres.²⁷ After the king had made his personal trades, other merchants on the coast who traded in slaves were able to make profits and obtain commodities. This allowed for a semi-developed economy that relied on a regulated currency instead bartering, making trade more profitable and competitive.

Radama helped to further establish the Merina as a rising power when, in 1820, he overthrew the French rule of the major east coast port of Tamatave. While this was partially to form an alliance with the British to end the export of slaves from Madagascar, Radama also used the treaty to develop his political structure. The people's recognition of the Merina monarchs was through their economic and military strength and by the goods they obtained from their trade relationships. Radama was able to uphold political legitimacy through his negotiations with the British in ending slave exportation by receiving guns and luxury items.

²⁴ Campbell, "The Structure of Trade in Madagascar, 1750-1810", 124.

²⁵ Campbell, *Economic History of Imperial Madagascar, 1750-1895: The Rise and Fall of an Island Empire*, 44.

²⁶ Larson, *History and Memory in the Age of Enslavement: Becoming Merina in Highland Madagascar, 1770-1822*, 186.

²⁷ Campbell, "Madagascar and the Slave Trade: 1810 to 1895", 208.

This is critical because Radama used slavery, particularly the abolition of slave exportation, for political gains.²⁸ Radama willingly gave up the largest provider of his economic wealth with the intention of strengthening his political power. Through the elimination of slave exporting as a means to develop, he obtained desired goods and improved his military.

Due to the ban in slave exportation, Radama encouraged his citizens towards self-sufficiency and production to create an income. Through his campaigns, the empire would slowly turn towards slave labor to develop the country:

Let my subjects, them who have slaves, employ them in planting rice, and other provisions, and in taking care of their flocks-in collecting bees-wax and gums, and in manufacturing cloths and other articles which they can sell.²⁹

Through Radama's directive, the markets of the empire began to flourish, with substantive increases in all facets of production. The nation soon developed goods to be sold on the foreign market. Items such as silk and cotton textiles, tobacco, sugar and cattle flooded the market. These goods, however, would not produce the same income as the slave trade.

The slave population began to expand in the empire because of the export ban, constituting up to one third the population and while exporting had been forbidden, the importation of slaves continued.³⁰ Radama was able to harness the surplus of slaves to serve in his standing army. Eager to reach the levels of England and France, he pushed for policies of a trained standing army, arming the soldiers with muskets and other weapons that were bought from the Europeans. Again, Radama willingly exploited slaves, using them as a tool to grow his military and political power.

When the alliance with Britain was in its infant stages, Christianity had touched the island and Radama, himself, became a convert. Taking it one step further, he allowed the London Missionary Society (LMS) to enter Madagascar and convert its citizens. Education became important to the monarch, and Radama gave the LMS the opportunity to teach and recruit children as students. Opposition to Christianity caused people to claim that the LMS took children and sold them into slavery.³¹ Some families favored sending slaves in turn of their own children because the lineage was still important.³² Therefore, slaves were used as a tool for citizens to keep the size of their kinship from being curtailed. Under his rule, Radama used educated Merina citizens for advisory councils and for administrative jobs that the educated people were particularly trained to accomplish. This resulted in slaves entering the noble class without a lineage, but because of their loyalty to Radama. However, a new monarch would soon threaten the Christian missionaries.

Ranavalona and the Industrial Experience

²⁸ Larson, *History and Memory in the Age of Enslavement: Becoming Merina in Highland Madagascar, 1770-1822*, 228.

²⁹ Campbell, "An Industrial Experiment in Pre-Colonial Africa: The Case of Imperial Madagascar, 1825-1861.", 533.

³⁰ Brown, *Madagascar Rediscovered*, 216.

³¹ Brown, *Madagascar Rediscovered*, 157.

³² Campbell, *Child Slaves in the Modern World*, 56.

In 1829, after the death of her husband, Radama I, Ranavalona I ascended to the throne, and would lead Madagascar through one of pre-colonial Africa's only industrial experiences to reach European standards. Ranavalona was not a proponent of foreign influence and would eventually remove all outsiders by 1835, only allowing Europeans access to ports.³³ Slavery and a form of civil service called Fanompoana were utilized for the development of the government and economy during this period of autarky.

The economic policies that the monarchy pursued were the first of its kind in Africa's history. Technological change was encouraged by Radama and pursued by Ranavalona who witnessed the rise of factories around the capital. With the help of European-educated natives, who had spent years in Mauritius under artisan training, the queen set to work building a small industrial force. While the export on slaves was still banned under Ranavalona, the practice of slave importation slowly increased due to the industrialization.³⁴ Slaves who were skilled in construction were employed in developing European standard facilities that housed glass and metal smelting equipment. Falling under state ownership, the factories and were managed by nobles of the monarch. The state owned more than eight factories that produced large volumes of goods for future sales, including four gun manufacturing facilities and several cloth producers, one making up to 5,000 articles of clothing a year.³⁵ Slaves were the main workforce of these factories, performing the less skilled jobs and mass-producing various items. The productions that resulted from these machines were guns, cannons, powder and other textiles that could be fitted for the military and traded within the empire.³⁶ The same goods also made their way it to the coastal market where they were bought or exchanged for goods from India and Europe. Ranavalona recognized that slaves were critical in developing a manufacturing sector of the economy and supplying the labor to maintain its existence. Her recognition that the institution of slavery was a significant development tool is evident in how she chose to strengthen the empire.

When Ranavalona closed the island to external influences, slaves were assigned to the most costly jobs, enabling surpluses to grow from the low costs of labor. Because the island's resources were distributed between the different climates, moving supplies around the island was important for the growth of factories. Slaves became the main tool in transporting goods between regions and cities for the development of a modern industry.³⁷ The transportation costs that were eliminated by the use of slaves were critical for the development of industries that didn't have to invest revenues towards a high-wage, demanding engagement.

To keep an elite class happy, Ranavalona replaced the system by which they would be compensated for their loyalty. Prior to the ban of slave exportation, the wealthy class of raiders and merchants used slave sales to make their revenues, however the Queen turned to dispensed authority to facilitate nobles' loyalty that the autarkic economy endangered. Given the power to rule on periphery of the empire, the elite continued to raid the few pockets of resistance on the island kingdom for slaves that could be used in the factories or plantations that dominated the east coast labor market.

³³ Campbell, "An Industrial Experiment in Pre-Colonial Africa: The Case of Imperial Madagascar, 1825–1861.", 552.

³⁴ Campbell, "An Industrial Experiment in Pre-Colonial Africa: The Case of Imperial Madagascar, 1825–1861.", 533.

³⁵ Campbell, "An Industrial Experiment in Pre-Colonial Africa: The Case of Imperial Madagascar", 543.

³⁶ Campbell, "An Industrial Experiment in Pre-Colonial Africa: The Case of Imperial Madagascar", 525.

³⁷ Campbell, "An Industrial Experiment in Pre-Colonial Africa: The Case of Imperial Madagascar", 534.

The practice of Fanompoana, the recruitment of citizens in the place of taxes or tribute, was in full swing under Ranavalona's rule. While not a form of slavery, it features many similarities. Citizens were not paid for their work, and they were forced by the monarchy to assist in the industrial development of Madagascar.³⁸ Subjects were treated with disregard as they constructed massive state projects that would be operated by slaves. Examining the institution of Fanompoana is critical because this was a custom that had been transformed from loyalty traditions into a tool to build the empire.

When people were called on for Fanompoana, the work required revolved around infrastructure development. Building dams and canals, factories, roads and other infrastructural assignments were all deemed as important projects that would help grow the economy. The fact that slaves would prefer to remain in their servitude is symbolic of the slave-like conditions that citizens experienced under the isolationist policies.³⁹ Demanding assignments and projects caused many to abandon the empire and seek refuge in the far-reaching edges of the west and southwest coast.

The leaders that followed would lack the fervor to continue the territorial growth of the empire. The industrial fire that had begun with high expectations would die from harsh conditions of Fanompoana, causing citizens to flee from the empire. The markets in which Malagasy products could be sold were far too saturated with cheaper goods from Britain, to gain a foothold economically. Slavery exports continued to create a financial income for Madagascar for some time. With a small increase in economy due to less autarkic policies, the economy never saw the success that Radama I had achieved. However, the major world powers started to ban slavery and enforced the policy at sea, damaging the island's economy, which had failed to catch up in the industrialization race. The French, having pursued the island since their discovery, allied with the Sakalava to overthrow the Merina only to colonize the entire island in 1895. The Kingdom of Madagascar, possibly the only industrial state of pre-colonial Africa, and recognized by multiple powers including the United State, had vanished.⁴⁰

Conclusion

The institution of slavery was integrated into multiple facets of the Malagasy culture. Slaves could perform the agricultural and pastoral work that defined the island, connecting them to the economy. The Sakalava most notably used them to literally expand their kinship and ancestry, on which their power was based. A slave's life was dedicated to keeping the Merina tombs for the monarchy or to keep a child from being taken by the foreign missionaries. One cannot help but study Fanompoana and question whether the monarchs modeled their tribute in the form of slavery. The structure of Fanompoana, while not considered slavery, held strikingly similarities, deserving close examination.

The slave trade was exploited to gain economic dominance in multiple ways, most commonly, by selling slaves to traders in exchange for compensation. A remarkable use of the slave trade was Radama's elimination of slaves as an export. This was a deliberate change to how slavery functioned on the island, and slaves were quickly redistributed to other tasks.

³⁸ Campbell, "Slavery and Fanompoana: The Structure of Forced Labour in Imerina: 1790 – 1861", 478.

³⁹ Campbell, "An Industrial Experiment in Pre-Colonial Africa: The Case of Imperial Madagascar", 557.

⁴⁰ Randrianja et al., *Madagascar: A Short History*, 138.

Both empires exploited slaves to develop their political power; the Sakalava through kinship and the Merina through trade. The Sakalava attracted followers and through successful slave raids, were able to become a military power as well as culturally influential. The Merina similarly conducted slave raids to gain economic power, however they pushed for political dominance through trade on the international market. Even without slaves as an export, the Merina continued to export the items their slaves produced. The most critical part of the Merina Empire was their attempted industrialization. Ranavalona advanced further than many African leaders, even today, in her industrialization of the island. Commoners owned factories, built and run by slaves, producing cannons, glass and other manufactured goods that were sold to the world.

From the cultural explosion of the Sakalava to the economic and political dreams of the Merina, the Malagasy used slaves and slavery in numerous spheres of their lives. The cultural development of the Sakalava gives insight to how vital slaves were to the monarchy and its growth. People around the island exploited the slave trade to make profits and buy luxury commodities, thus building their power of influence and extending a family's lineage. The government used slaves for countless jobs, including civil and royal duties. Africa witnessed one of its first industrial states, producing weapons and luxuries that were comparable to world goods. Madagascar's growth revolved around the use of slaves and the institution, acting as a tool for development.

THE FAILURES OF NICARAGUAN SOCIALISM: HOW MISKITU
PARTICIPATION IN THE CONTRA WAR CONTRIBUTED TO THE FALL OF
THE SANDINISTAS

--
SAM MITCHELL

¿Cómo es posible que un pueblo tan dulce se vea obligado a la violencia?
(How is it possible that a nation of such gentle people sees itself obligated to
violence?)

—Julio Cortázar¹

In the slightly less than a hundred years from 1898 to 1994, the U.S.
government has intervened successfully to change governments in Latin
America at least 41 times.

—John H. Coatsworth²

The United States will never leave Nicaragua alone.

—William Walker³

Introduction

The twentieth century saw a fulfillment of the words of William Walker shown above, written over 150 years ago. U.S. intervention in Latin America was rather common during the twentieth century, with a successful intervention occurring an average of nearly every two years. (The number of unsuccessful interventions is much harder to determine and may never be known.) Specifically in Nicaragua, the U.S. government intervened several times, one result of which was the installment and subsequent support of a dynastic family of repressive dictators, the Somozas, in 1927. The Roosevelt Administration saw the Somoza regime as an acceptable and necessary evil; some attribute Franklin Delano Roosevelt to having said, “Somoza may be a son of a bitch, but he’s our son of a bitch.”⁴ National security, a term often stretched to fit current interests rather than strategic needs, has always ranked higher on the U.S. State Department’s agenda than the Wilsonian self-determination and support of democracy for which “The Land of the Free” claims to stand.

In 1979, the Sandinistas⁵ mobilized the Nicaraguan masses and overthrew the U.S.-backed dictator, Anastasio Somoza.⁶ However, the mass mobilization and people’s

¹ Carmén San José, “Ser niño en Nicaragua,” *El Ciervo* 34, no. 410 (April 1985): 28-29, at 28; translated by Sam Mitchell.

² Coatsworth, “United States Interventions,” 6.

³ Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *Blood on the Border: A Memoir of the Contra War* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2005), xi.

⁴ Franklin Delano Roosevelt, quoted in “Introduction,” LeoGrande, 16.

⁵ A Nicaraguan socialist revolutionary movement named after anti-imperialist guerrilla Augusto César Sandino.

empowerment turned out to be greater than the Sandinistas had expected. A few months after the Sandinistas rose to power, “a whole bunch of *really* pissed-off peasants” felt that the Sandinistas were not keeping their promises and fulfilling the needs for which they had originally fought, and throngs of “pissed-off peasants” revolted.⁷ The CIA funded, trained, and supported several groups of rebelling insurrectionist guerrillas in one of the final heated confrontations of the Cold War: the Contra War.

“The Contras” were not actually a single entity. In fact, there were several different antisandinista groups, each with its own agenda. The war was both a regional and an ethnic conflict. Several of the insurrectionist groups lived on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua, which is home to six different ethnic groups, one of which is mestizo,⁸ two of which are Afro-Caribbean—Creoles and Garifunas—and three of which are indigenous—Sumo-Mayangnas, Ramas, and Miskitus.⁹ This paper will examine, among several other topics, Miskitu participation during the war, analyzing whether the Miskitus’ role was decisive and how the war affected the Miskitus.

The duration of the war ensured the doom of the Sandinistas. As it continued, the Sandinista government had to shift its party line away from its original emphasis on working class and small farmer interests. Instead they employed a “war communism” strategy, devoting an unsustainably large sector of its struggling economy to the war effort, implementing poorly timed austerity measures during an economic recession, and mandating military service, among other unpopular measures.¹⁰ After many years of bloodshed, the Sandinistas eventually emerged militarily victorious. However, even though the Sandinistas had largely won the conflict by 1987, a variety of factors, including the degradation of their original party ideals, their inability to heal the wounds of war, trade interference by the U.S., and the Soviet Union’s inability to support their foundering economy due to its impending breakup, contributed to the Sandinistas’ loss of political power in the elections of 1990.¹¹ The end of the war did not bring about the changes for which the people had fought. The Sandinistas won the war but lost the election. The Revolution was defeated.

The war endured for more years than the small Nicaraguan economy, burdened by the aforementioned difficulties, could manage. It could be argued that additional sweeping reforms and redistribution of wealth could have saved the economy, but the FSLN¹² eventually saw such acts, common early in its administration, as unfeasible. The constant need to allocate resources to the war effort forestalled the completion of the promises that Nicaraguan socialism was supposed to bring the people, leaving them disillusioned. Although this point is largely debatable, Timothy C. Brown claims, “The Contra War was

⁶ In fact, in 1978, the U.S. government withdrew its support from Somoza and began to aid the Sandinistas. A few months after the Sandinista victory, however, the CIA began aiding insurgency forces. This shocking switch deserves its own paper and will not be analyzed here.

⁷ Brown, *Real Contra War*, 8.

⁸ *Mestizo* means “mixed” in Spanish, and the term refers to those of both European and indigenous ancestry.

⁹ There are a variety of spellings of the word “Miskitu” (e.g. Miskito, Mosquito, etc.) in both Spanish and English, but this author has chosen this particular spelling because it is the spelling used in the Miskitu language. Quotations containing another variation, however, will not be altered from their authors’ choices of spelling.

¹⁰ Waters, *Rise and Fall*, 178.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 25; Brown, *Real Contra War*, 204.

¹² Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional, “Sandinista National Liberation Front.”

caused by the Sandinistas themselves.”¹³ The Sandinistas did make a variety of mistakes that hindered their ability to maintain popular support, but they by no means were the sole authors of their own demise. The efforts of the various insurgency forces with CIA backing, including those with which the Miskitus were involved, forced the Sandinistas to enact policies that departed from their original party line and ultimately eliminated much of their popular support. By lengthening the war, the insurgent forces compelled the Sandinistas to enact unpopular policies that doomed them. As Miskitus composed approximately one quarter of the Contras,¹⁴ Miskitu participation in the conflict must be considered a decisive contribution to the fall of the Sandinista Revolution.

Why the Sandinistas Had Little Support on the Atlantic Coast

Until the end of the nineteenth century, Spanish was barely spoken on the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua. Costeños had political and economic ties with England, and it was not until Nicaraguan nationalists began an effort to unite “the nation,” an act which Costeños perceived as an invasion, that this situation began to change. From the end of the nineteenth century until the success of the Sandinista Revolution, U.S. companies operated on the Atlantic Coast. The historic affinity for one group (businessmen from the U.S.) and enmity for the other (Pacific Coast Nicaraguans) was exacerbated by the economic boom during the period in which U.S. companies operated on the coast (and by the subsequent recession when said companies fled as a result of the Sandinista Revolution). Enmity between communist mestizos from the Pacific Coast and capitalist imperialists from the U.S. led to Costeño resentment toward the former for causing the latter to leave.

In an attempt to unite the nation and in a genuine effort to better the lives of its citizens, the FSLN increased national control over the region and began social projects, including a literacy campaign. However, cultural misunderstandings and unintentionally discriminatory policies, such as a law mandating all schools to teach only in Spanish, which was not and still is not spoken by all Costeños, enraged Costeños. In the words of Deborah Robb Taylor, “the Sandinista administration [...] was a political failure in the Caribbean lowlands from the beginning.”¹⁵ Under the Somoza administration, the Atlantic Coast had prospered, and American imperialism had the positive effect of generating jobs in the region. However, under the Sandinista administration, “Subsistence agriculture, the traditional economic refuge of the Miskito when wage work was unavailable, became less secure as a result of growing land pressures.”¹⁶ Although both the Sandinista socialists and the Miskitus advocated collective land, they disagreed on who should be included among those with access to the land and on how it should be used.

When Costeños were dissatisfied with Sandinista policy, there was no easy solution, because the lack of representation in the Sandinista government left many Costeños dissatisfied: “The Sandinista revolution arrived in the east with a Mestizo face.”¹⁷ Costeños saw FSLN cadres sent to govern them as “arrogant and racist.”¹⁸ Some of this perception

¹³ Brown, *Real Contra War*, 204.

¹⁴ Bourgois, “Politicized Ethnicities,” 5.

¹⁵ Robb Taylor, *Times & Life*, 59.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 60.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 60.

¹⁸ Hooker, “Beloved Enemies,” 31.

surely stems from their unfamiliarity with Costeño culture, but the gravest error in this regard of the Sandinistas was not to assume that their ideology would be accepted on the Atlantic Coast, but to continue assuming this long after the conflict had escalated despite evidence to the contrary. Philippe Bourgois asserts,

The ethnic composition of the FSLN prior to the revolutionary triumph reflected the marginality of the Atlantic Coast in national politics. There were no FSLN members of Sumu, Rama or Garifuna descent, but a handful of Miskitu descent, only a slightly larger number of Creole revolutionaries, and not many Mestizo Costeño cadre. The Sandinistas, therefore, lacked representatives who spoke the same language as the ethnic minorities or who were familiar with the problems of the region.¹⁹

A lack of cultural understanding alone would have presented a problem, but the Sandinistas' "own ethnocentric, heavy-handed, and, on occasion, brutal exercise of power on the Caribbean coast fueled the anger that drove the rebellion."²⁰ It was not until the passing of the Autonomy Law in 1984 that reconciliation between the FSLN and the Costeños became a possibility. Until that point, "the Miskitu revolt reflected the Costeño resentment of 'Spanish' rule, of their own subordination within the ethnic hierarchy of the Caribbean region, and of the economic decline of the region."²¹ Caught between manifestations of capitalism and communism, it was only natural that the Miskitus would first side with the capitalists whom they had trusted in the past. This trust in the U.S. would eventually disappear in the eyes of many Miskitus, and for good reasons.

Why the Miskitus Fought

The mass mobilizations of the Sandinista Revolution provided the atmosphere in which the Miskito mobilization could begin.²² From the beginning, the Sandinista Revolution was a struggle for both national liberation and national creation.²³ It changed the nation and the way in which its people understood their relationship with their nation; it empowered the people, and the Miskitus were no exception. The war was a time during which the Miskitus came together and rose up in defense of their ethnic identity. They were persistent in a war against a much more numerous foe, fighting on until they had completed one of their principle war aims: achieving a greater degree of autonomy from the national government.

The war provided a scenario in which Miskitus could express long-held grievances that had been accentuated and exacerbated by recent circumstances. Charles R. Hale explains,

The ethnic militancy of the 1980s contained a perceptive critique of the dominant society, an eloquent series of insights into the structural and historical factors underlying Miskitu oppression. It entailed an understanding

¹⁹ Bourgois, "Politicized Ethnicity," 6.

²⁰ Robb Taylor, *Times & Life*, 61.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 61.

²² Bourgois, "Politicized Ethnicity," 8.

²³ Bataillon, "De Sandino aux contras", 654; citing Alain Touraine, *La parole et le sang* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 1988), 338.

of the workings of the system and gave rise both to profound feelings of empowerment and an explosive inclination for collective action.²⁴

At a time of hardship, it makes perfect sense that the community would mobilize against what they perceived to be their enemy. The Miskitos “aggressively asserted themselves in defiance of their oppression—an oppression that they now were able to attribute (albeit mistakenly [...]) to communism and Pacific Nicaraguan oppression, and not North American capitalism.”²⁵ As will be discussed in detail in another section, this mass mobilization had a profound affect on leadership within Miskitu culture as well. However, unlike their allies, the faults they saw in their enemy were less political or religious than ethnic. Bourgois explains, “their mobilization is most consistently articulated at the local level in manichean ethnic terms: ‘We...the Indians...the Good’ versus ‘Them...the Spaniards...the Evil!’”²⁶ Tension between the two coasts and the ethnicities living on each had existed centuries before those on one coast became socialists, but it was not until the Contra War that this tension was stretched to the breaking point.

This is not to say that the Miskitus always had a bloodthirsty desire to kill mestizos from the Pacific Coast. Age-old problems worsened, and political ideologies aside, “it must have seemed foolish not to support the side that had such a powerful ally.”²⁷ It is important to note, however, that the U.S. *did not* support the Miskitu cause politically. The CIA supported the Miskitus militarily to achieve the U.S. State Department’s own political aims with no regard to those of the Miskitus. In the words of a Miskitu that Hale interviewed, “They exploited us, but we didn’t feel it.”²⁸ Victory was probably not the primary goal of the U.S., or else the U.S. government would have made a more rigorous effort to win the hearts and minds of its populace to overcome the political constraints on a direct U.S. military intervention. A significant number of U.S. troops on the ground may have had a profound effect on the course of the war. Nonetheless, the role that the CIA played in provoking the Miskitus to act “can hardly be exaggerated.”²⁹ The ways in which the CIA gained converts to its cause and provoked the Miskitus to act will be discussed in the following section.

Efforts to Gain Civilian Support

The claims of human rights violations during the Contra War are contradictory; each party blames all others. What is indisputable is that atrocities were committed against innocent civilians, and no party involved in the conflict—the CIA, the FSLN, the FDN,³⁰

²⁴ Hale, *Resistance and Contradiction*, 82-83.

²⁵ Pineda, *Shipwrecked Identities*, 215; quoting Charles R. Hale, “Contradictory Consciousness: Miskitu Indians and the Nicaraguan State in Conflict and Reconciliation (1860–1987), PhD dissertation (Stanford University, 1990): 23.

²⁶ Bourgois, “Politicized Ethnicity,” 5.

²⁷ Hale, *Resistance and Contradiction*, 153.

²⁸ Pineda, *Shipwrecked Identities*, 215; quoting Charles R. Hale, “‘They Exploited Us, But We Didn’t Feel It’: Hegemony, Ethnic Militancy, and the Miskitu-Sandinista Conflict,” in *Decolonizing Anthropology: Moving Toward an Anthropology for Liberation*, Faye V. Harrison, ed. (Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association, 1991): 128.

²⁹ Hale, *Resistance and Contradiction*, 153.

³⁰ *Fuerza Democrática Nicaragüense*, “Nicaraguan Democratic Force,” the primary political opponent of the FSLN during the war.

MILPAS,³¹ MISURASATA³², MISURATA,³³ MISURA/KISAN, YATAMA,³⁴ or any other of the groups—kept its hands completely clean. Both sides used terror as a weapon to control civilian populations. Propaganda, looting, property destruction, forced displacement, and other forms of harsh treatment were rampant on both sides, and they used forced recruitment to fill their ranks.

CIA agents and affiliates from the Argentine government operated primarily out of Honduras. A CIA pamphlet was distributed to the Contras to instruct them on how best to achieve their aims in this conflict. On forced recruitment, the pamphlet reads,

The initial recruitment to the movement, if it is involuntary, will be carried out through several ‘private’ consultations with a cadre (without his knowing that he is talking to a member of ours). Then, the recruit will be informed that he or she is already inside the movement, and he will be exposed to the police of the regime if he or she does not cooperate. [...] If the target does not seem to be susceptible to voluntary recruitment, meetings can be arranged which seem casual with the guerrilla leaders or with the political cadres (unknown by the target until that moment). The meetings will be held so that ‘other persons’ know that the target is attending them [...]. The target, then, is faced with the fact of his participation in the insurrectional struggle and it will be indicated to him also that if he fails to cooperate or to carry out future orders, he will be subjected to reprisals by the police or soldiers of the regime.³⁵

Beginning one’s membership in an insurrectionist organization by discovering that said organization has already violated one’s trust does not seem like it would create a powerful force. Rather than ? on cooperation and positive growth, its membership remains out of fear of all other members.

The directions on the CIA’s pamphlet seem to have been followed. In the refugee camps of Honduras, stability in the Miskitu communities was threatened by “Misura’s forced recruitment of young men.”³⁶ Rumor of the troubles of war became mixed with true tales of woe, confusing and terrifying civilians. Dodds Davids notes,

Some refugees [...] left their villages after hearing rumors that Sandinista soldiers were digging mass graves in the event that villagers resisted relocation. [...] Young men left to avoid being conscripted into the Sandinista army. Refugees who did leave their native villages often described being chased by Sandinista airplanes and shot at by soldiers at the border.³⁷

³¹ *Milicias Populares Anti-Somocistas* (Anti-Somocista Popular Militias), groups of revolutionaries who aided the Sandinistas against Somoza but then revolted against the Sandinistas, changing the “S” in MILPAS to change their acronym to *Milicias Populares Anti-Sandinistas*.

³² Miskitu, Sumu, Rama, y Sandinista, *Asla Takana*, “working together.” Dennis, *Miskitu People*, 9.

³³ MISURASATA without the inclusion of Sandinistas, after the FSLN, suspicious of the organization’s request for indigenous land rights, jailed many of its prominent members.

³⁴ *Yapti Tsba Masraka Nanih Aslatakanka*, “Sons of Mother Earth,” a group of Miskitu guerrillas formed in part from the members of MISURASATA, MISURATA, and MISURA/KISAN.

³⁵ Kirkpatrick, “Psychological Operations.”

³⁶ Davids, “Miskito and Sumo Refugees.”

³⁷ *Ibid.*

When villages were occupied, people fled out of fear of being identified as having participated with one side or the other. Sometimes people were literally forced to leave as well.³⁸

Information was further obscured by propaganda, often in the subtle form of particular word choices. Baron L. Pineda explains,

Ardent pro-Contra groups commonly referred to the Contras as pro-Democracy rebels and even (to use the term disseminated by the propaganda machine of the Reagan Administration) ‘freedom fighters’ that were fighting for enlightened principles such as democracy and freedom. Costeño combatants, in contrast, were referred to as warriors and members of separate nations and ethnic groups who were fighting for ‘tribal rights.’ [...] Their behavior needed to be understood as a manifestation of deeply rooted identification with the land rather than abstract ideals. Whereas both sides predictably leveled accusations of military atrocities, the Reagan administration referred to atrocities allegedly committed on the Atlantic Coast as genocide.³⁹

By using this particular language, the Contra cause was elevated to a high moral ground, with its soldiers fighting for justifiable reasons (e.g. “Tribal rights”), while the FSLN were portrayed as evil murderers. The sad irony of this situation was that the rhetoric of the Contra propaganda lauded indigenous groups for fighting for their lands, but the U.S. did not actually support indigenous land rights politically. Doing so was simply a way to increase the popular support of a movement with overlapping interests with its own.

The FSLN’s actions should not in fact be considered genocide, as the Reagan administration called it, because eradicating the Caribbean cultures with which they clashed was by no means the Sandinistas’ intent. Sandinista atrocities against civilian populations were intended to break the Contras’ popular support and prevent the insurgent organizations from growing. Nonetheless, the FSLN’s methods were harsh. According to Scott Wallace,

The Sandinistas burned hamlets, machine-gunned cattle and rounded up Miskito youth they suspected of subversion. They herded the Indians by the thousands to resettlement camps deep inside Nicaragua. [...] They chopped down the coco palms; they butchered the cows, then sold what they couldn’t eat back to the owners. They rounded up a group of kids and hauled them off onto the plains. A search party found their bloated bodies days later under a bridge.”⁴⁰

The climate of fear and violence on both sides persisted, leaving both sides increasingly hardened and bitter.

The extent of the attacks on the civilian populations is difficult to determine due to the profusion of misinformation at the time (and since). John Correy says of the documentary *Nicaragua Was Our Home*,

³⁸ Bataillon, “De Sandino aux contras”, 682.

³⁹ Pineda, *Shipwrecked Identities*, 191-192.

⁴⁰ Wallace, “Guns Fall Silent,” 118.

[It] makes specific charges: 49 Miskito villages along the Coco River were burned down by Sandinista soldiers; 65 bombs were dropped on six villages in 11 days. Miskitos, speaking in translation, tell tales of horror: people hanged, machine-gunned and burned. [...] Consider now the possibility that the Miskitos are lying or exaggerating their oppression.⁴¹

Correy fails to also consider the possibility that rather than lying or exaggerating, many Miskitus could have been deceived by CIA propaganda and rumor, both of which abounded in the region at the time. Mary W. Helms claims, “Some forty Miskitu and Sumu communities were totally destroyed and their populations forced to flee in order to create a ‘sanitized’ zone.”⁴² It is from acts such as this that the Reagan administration got the idea to call the Sandinistas’ acts genocide.

The Contras generally did not have such large-scale targets in their sites as a solution for their lack of popular support. Their smaller numbers compelled them to destroy the Sandinistas’ ability to wage war by attacking smaller targets. Because the Contras’ were never able to fully establish themselves in a significant population center, “se trató de crear la imagen de una guerra civil y se siguió la orientación de destruir objetivos económicos y de realizar acciones punitivas contra la población” (“they tried to create the image of a civil war and continued destroying economic objectives and committing punitive actions against the population”).⁴³ To compensate, the Contras attacked strategic targets—be it industrial, economic, or political. This idea was encouraged by the CIA pamphlet many Contras received, which advises,

It is possible to neutralize carefully selected and planned targets [...]. For psychological purposes it is necessary to gather together the population affected, so that they will be present, take part in the act, and formulate accusations against the oppressor.⁴⁴

The inclusion of the populace so that “they will be present, take part in the act, and formulate accusations against the oppressor” was key to gaining popular support, and the success of this policy can be seen in the blaming of the FSLN for Contra acts of aggression towards the populace. Bourgeois elaborates one such example:

When one of the factions of the Miskitu armed opposition broke the June 1985 cease-fire and burned the motor which provides drinkable water to the population of Puerto Cabezas, many local residents claimed that this unpopular act - the entire community was without water for over a week - had been performed by the Sandinistas in order to blame it on the contra. Similarly, the following month, when a Mestizo faction of the contra burned the only public transport boat connecting Bluefields with the rest of the nation, rumour had it that the attack had been performed by Sandinistas dressed as contras. More impressively, on several occasions, when I

⁴¹ Correy, “On 13.”

⁴² Mary W. Helms, *Review of Resistance and Contradiction: Miskitu Indians and the Nicaraguan State 1894–1987* by Charles Hale, *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 1, no. 3: 658–659; quoted in Pineda, *Shipwrecked Identities*, 216.

⁴³ Guerra-Borges, “Reflexiones,” 83.

⁴⁴ Kirkpatrick, “Psychological Operations.”

questioned Miskitu civilians - ostensibly not members of opposition organizations - about a recently committed rape and killing of a Miskitu nurse by MISURA fighters they responded, '...she was probably an informer for state security.'⁴⁵

It was easier to blame their old enemies than to believe that the “warriors of the Atlantic Coast” would harm civilians in their own territory. The reality is that the horrors of civil war can confound soldiers and allow them to see supporting their comrades and cause as paramount, even if doing so costs their communities lives and much suffering.

Was Miskitu Participation Decisive?

The Sandinistas dwarfed all subgroups that revolted against it under the name of “Contras.” Although they comprised a minority of all Contra soldiers, the Miskitus were essential. Often times the Contras were on the brink of defeat even with the help of Miskitu warriors; the loss of a quarter of their forces—the approximate demographic that Miskitus filled—would have been devastating and surely would have made a rapid defeat and collapse of the guerrilla insurgency more plausible. Additionally, MISURATA, MISURA/KISAN, and YATAMA forces depended on the support of Miskitu civilians; without this popular support, their rebellion would have been impossible, and the Contra War could have swiftly ended.

Preferring to keep U.S. expenditures as low as possible while still accomplishing their goals, the Reagan administration aimed to turn the Nicaraguan people against their government to fight the war for themselves. The Reagan administration employed the standard U.S. strategy that Ernesto “Che” Guevara described in 1954, that the U.S. sustains “pequeñas guerras limitadas que le permiten mantener su industria armamentista sin pérdida de vidas” (small limited wars that allow it to maintain its armament industry without the loss of lives).⁴⁶ Seven times as many Nicaraguans died per year during the Contra War than Americans during the Vietnam War.⁴⁷

A high rate of Nicaraguan mortalities served the strategic interests of the U.S., as dead Nicaraguans were “dead communists.” To achieve this aim, the American strategists recommended that the Contras “open a broad front on the Atlantic Coast, forcing the Sandinistas to spread their forces and stretch supply lines beyond the breaking point.”⁴⁸ Miskitu participation kept the smaller, insurgent force alive by expanding its numbers, and it expanded the territory that the Sandinistas had to occupy, ultimately stretching the Sandinistas’ resources thinner than they could sustain. The number of combat zones and economic targets destroyed per year increased steadily from 1981 to 1985, complicating the Sandinistas’ efforts to maintain unity and control over the entire nation.⁴⁹ About a quarter of the Contras were Miskitu, and although some Miskitus were Sandinistas, “they represent the exception rather than the rule.”⁵⁰ This virtually unanimous political position would eventually change, but in the early stages of the war, it both filled the ranks of the insurgency

⁴⁵ Bourgois, “Politicized Ethnicity,” 8.

⁴⁶ Guevara, “La clase obrera de los Estados Unidos: ¿Amigas o enemigas?,” 125; translation by Sam Mitchell.

⁴⁷ Guerra-Borges, “Reflexiones,” 83; citing “La contrarrevolución nicaragüense,” *Diálogo Social* 184, 25.

⁴⁸ Wallace, “Guns Fall Silent,” 117.

⁴⁹ Guerra-Borges, “Reflexiones,” 83.

⁵⁰ Bourgois, “Politicized Ethnicity,” 5.

forces significantly, and fomented the connection between ethnic pride and political struggle among the Miskitu people.

The length of the war frustrated the FSLN leadership, increasing their willingness to heed Russian Soviet advisers rather than Cuban advisors, the former urging the formation of a large conventional army and the latter urging the expansion of a popular militia. The resources needed to form a large conventional army compelled the FSLN leadership to implement unpopular policies. In 1983, the FSLN implemented a mandatory draft for all Nicaraguans between 18 and 40, an act that had a significant impact on the economy, and further increased resentment towards the Sandinista regime. As a result, about 30 percent of the workforce was designated to the army and war production.⁵¹ The Nicaraguan economy could not support the strain of a sustained state of war:

Economic production in the 1980s had been devastated by war-caused disruption of plantings and harvests, the destruction of agricultural machinery and buildings, Washington's suspension of aid and 1985 cutoff of trade, U.S.-organized sabotage of port facilities and other infrastructure, and the death and maiming of tens of thousands of peasants and workers. By the latter half of 1987, the Sandinista government estimated that Nicaragua had suffered nearly \$700 million in direct costs of destroyed productive capacity and an overall economic toll of \$3.7 billion, including lost aid and trade.⁵²

As Nicaragua is a small country, these figures are devastating. To make matters worse, in 1987 the USSR stopped providing aid to Nicaragua, and Cuba could only afford to partially meet Nicaragua's vast demands. The already weak economy collapsed, and the bottom fell out from underneath the Sandinistas, forcing them to abandon strictly anticapitalist policies in an attempt to reanimate their moribund economy. Additionally, the union leadership structure of the FSLN deteriorated as the war wore on. Alice Waters explains,

The neighborhood, women's, and youth organizations, already weakened in the mid-1980s, degenerated into staff organizations [...]. The FSLN leadership pulled back from the fight for women's equality and from the struggle against racial discrimination and national oppression on the Atlantic Coast. As a result of these policies, the worker-peasant alliance that had formed the social foundation of the revolutionary government was undermined.⁵³

Without the popular support upon which it had risen to the top, the FSLN was doomed to come crashing down.

Although Miskitu participation was clearly decisive, the Contra cause would have stood a better chance if Miskitu interests had been taken more seriously. Wallace argues,

Had the FDN promised the Miskitos half of what the Sandinistas have ended up giving the Indians, and had the CIA been willing to recognize the indigenous fighters as equal partners in their project, the revolutionary government would be in far greater danger [...]. But taking the Miskitos

⁵¹ Guerra-Borges, "Reflexiones", 78.

⁵² Waters, *Rise and Fall*, 28.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 30-31.

seriously would have meant placing questions of autonomy and indigenous land rights on the Nicaraguan agenda, obviously far more than could have been hoped for from those formulating policy in Washington. Perhaps taking the Miskitos on their own terms is more than can be expected from any dominant 'Western' culture, including that of the Sandinistas.⁵⁴

While the Sandinistas' inability to respect indigenous rights created and worsened the Contra War, Washington's inability to do the same prevented a more rapid fall of Nicaraguan socialism. When they left the Contra cause, Uriel Vanegas, a Miskitu, explained, "The United States never showed an interest in the rights of the Indian people. Only the Sandinista Front has publically declared its support for autonomy."⁵⁵ By passing the Autonomy Law in 1984, the Sandinistas nearly saved themselves from political dissolution. If they had been able to fully implement it along with their other social programs, maybe the FSLN would have been able to maintain power throughout the 1990s.

How the War Affected the Miskitus

A victorious end to a bloody civil war can only be bittersweet, as few wounds of war run as deep as those caused by one's own nation. However, the victory achieved by the Costeños manifest in the Autonomy Law of 1984, failed to meet the expectations of those it would affect, for its implementation has yet to be completed. The Autonomy Law was passed as a means of ending the war, but once the war had ended and a new regime had come into power, its implementation no longer served the perceived interests of the federal government.⁵⁶

The limitations to the Autonomy Law and other laws respecting indigenous rights are complex and have no easy solution. According to Hooker,

Costeños themselves also bear some responsibility for the problems with the implementation of multicultural rights; regional politicians have displayed the same susceptibility to corruption, internal squabbling, and inefficiency as their counterparts at the national level. Yet, [...] official nationalist discourses that deny or obscure the existence of black and indigenous Costeños continue to justify mestizo political power and thereby delegitimize the very basis of multicultural citizenship rights and impede their implementation.⁵⁷

Tragically, although Costeño resistance achieved the Autonomy Law, the fruits of this victory are yet to be tasted, in part, because the extended length of the war undermined the Sandinistas' political efficacy and forced them to stray from their original promises and commitments to all of the peoples of Nicaragua. The original Sandinista party line supported Costeño interests:

The Sandinista people's revolution [...] will end the unjust exploitation the Atlantic Coast has suffered throughout its history by foreign monopolies, especially U.S. imperialism. [...] It will encourage and promote local cultural

⁵⁴ Wallace, "Guns Fall Silent," 113.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 122.

⁵⁶ Hooker, "Beloved Enemies," 33.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 33.

values that flow from specific aspects of the region's tradition. [...] It will wipe out the odious discrimination to which the indigenous Miskitos, Sumos, Zambos, and Blacks of this region are subjected.⁵⁸

Yet, the Sandinistas' party line changed over time, prioritizing its struggle against U.S. imperialism and domination of all regions within Nicaragua's borders over the interests of the people living within all of said regions. Once the war began to subside, repairing the damage and stimulating the economy—on the Pacific Coast—took preference over autonomy and indigenous rights. By fighting and thus prolonging the conflict, Costeños unwittingly contributed to the failure of implementing the Autonomy Law that they had achieved by the very same fighting.

At the time, Miskitu resistance to the Sandinistas seemed perfectly legitimate, even logical. U.S. intervention, CIA propaganda and rumor, the historic relationships with the U.S. (of positive economic and political partnership for some and exploitation and foreign imperialism for others) and with the Pacific Coast (of enmity and tension, invasion and resistance) made them more inclined to trust U.S. allies, especially when said allies seemed to represent the very interests that the Sandinistas threatened.

The ethnic pride stirred up by indigenous counterinsurgency groups had a profound impact on Miskitu culture. The war “witnessed the rise of Indian self-identification,”⁵⁹ and today Miskitu pride is more prevalent than ever. The war had an impact on understandings of leadership among the Miskitu. According to Bourgois,

Since the accentuation of the fighting, local Mestizo and Creole residents no longer dare to make derogatory remarks about the Miskitu as frequently as they used to in public. [...] Formerly [Miskitu] was referred to as a dialect and it was rarely spoken outside the Miskitu communities. Since 1983 the Miskitu language dominates in Puerto Cabezas. Partially this is the fruit of a deliberate Sandinista policy to foment respect for Amerindian culture. [...] The absolute number of Miskitu has increased since the beginning of the fighting since individuals who formerly ‘passed’ as Creoles or Mestizos no longer hide their Amerindian identity whether they are FSLN cadre or contra sympathizers. Even pro-Sandinista Miskitu hostile to the contra sometimes reveal a sense of pride at the determination and power of their brethren tragically mobilized into armed struggle against them.⁶⁰

The Autonomy Law of 1984 was a “deliberate Sandinista policy to foment respect for Amerindian culture”. The effect of the war on Miskitu identity and pride is a fundamental change that has continued to the present. Although Miskitus represent a minority in Nicaragua, the vast majority of the residents of Puerto Cabezas can claim at least partial Miskitu heritage.

The Contra War also created demographical changes in the region. The number of Miskitus living in Puerto Cabezas increased during the war, providing them with greater political clout. Additionally, a new “fear of Miskitos from the communities [felt by those in

⁵⁸ Carlos Fonseca, “The Historic Program of the FSLN,” in *The Rise and Fall of the Nicaraguan Revolution*, Mary-Alice Waters, ed. (New York: New International, 1994): 129-140, at 136.

⁵⁹ Pineda, *Shipwrecked Identities*, 153.

⁶⁰ Bourgois, “Politicized Ethnicity,” 7.

the region who live outside of urban centers] represents a new popular perception of Miskitos that undoubtedly resulted from the Contra War.”⁶¹ Fear and resentment toward many different groups is to be expected as a result of the trauma of war, especially from one filled with so much misinformation, propaganda, confusion, and chaos. Much of the Contra War remains murky and may always remain so.

Conclusion

In 1984, the CIA tried to unify the various Contra factions, which Guerra-Borges cites as prolonging and exacerbating the war, thus increasing the death toll and destruction. Without the support of the CIA, the contributions of none of the anti-Sandinista groups would have been able to have a significant impact on the Contra cause. According to Bourgois,

If MISURASATA and especially MISURA had not been provided with sophisticated military hardware, intensive military training and millions of dollars of spending money, there would never have been a protracted armed struggle. There would have been serious conflicts between the ethnic minorities and the Sandinistas, and there may have been some bloodshed, but it would not have degenerated into a prolonged, bloody, fratricidal civil war; it probably could have been resolved through a tensely charged - but largely non-violent – process of dialogue, confrontation and compromise.⁶²

Such a dialogue may have allowed the Miskitus, and all Nicaraguans, to be in a better position than the one that they currently enjoy.

Despite the claims of genocide, the best interests of the indigenous people being killed was not at the heart of the U.S. State Department. As Bourgois astutely points out, “In the particular case of Nicaragua, the real fear of the CIA and the US State Department, therefore, is not that the Sandinistas might mistreat their ethnic minorities, but rather the opposite.”⁶³ The CIA and the U.S. State Department in fact feared that the Sandinistas would be able to incorporate them into their socialist paradigm, which, if possible, may have made their socialist experiment a success.

⁶¹ Pineda, *Shipwrecked Identities*, 166.

⁶² Bourgois, “Politicized Ethnicity,” 8.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 8.

DEPARTMENT NEWS

--

THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT WOULD LIKE TO HIGHLIGHT THREE PROMOTIONS IN 2012-2013:

Ian Grimmer, specializing in Modern European Intellectual History, has been with UVM since 2003 and will be advancing to the position of Senior Lecturer. Dr. Grimmer has participated in numerous conferences and public discussions over the past several years and in 2010 was the recipient of the Kroepsch-Maurice Excellence in Teaching Award.

Nicole Phelps, with a focus on US diplomatic history, Habsburg Central Europe, and transnational history, has been with the University of Vermont since Fall 2007 and will be tenured this year. Dr. Phelps's dissertation, "Sovereignty, Citizenship, and the New Liberal Order: US-Habsburg Relations and the Transformation of International Politics, 1880-1924," won the Austrian Cultural Forum Dissertation Prize and the University of Minnesota's Best Dissertation Prize in the Arts and Humanities and will be publishing her first monograph, *U.S.-Habsburg Relations from 1815 to the Paris Peace Conference: Sovereignty Transformed*, in June 2013. Dr. Phelps has also published numerous journal articles, essays, and book chapters.

Frank Zelko, Australian native and environmental historian, joined the UVM History Department in 2007 and will be tenured in 2013. Dr. Zelko has published an abundance of scholarly articles as well as his monograph *Make It a Green Peace!: The Rise of Countercultural Environmentalism* (Oxford University Press). He is currently on sabbatical in Munich under a nine-month fellowship provided by the Rachel Carson Center for Environment and Society.

THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT LOOKS FORWARD TO WELCOMING ITS NEWEST TENURE TRACK PROFESSOR:

Sarah Osten will be joining the UVM History Department after serving as a visiting professor at Northwestern University. She is a historian of Latin America, with a focus on modern Mexico. Her research interests include campaigns and elections, political violence and peace processes, the formulation of citizenship and rights, and the relationships between governments and opposition movements.

THE UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT HISTORY DEPARTMENT FACULTY MAINTAINED ITS ACCUSTOMED LEVEL OF PUBLICATION AND RESEARCH ACTIVITY. HIGHLIGHTS FROM 2012-2013 INCLUDE:

Andy Buchanan's manuscript, "America's Grand Strategy in the Mediterranean during World War II," has been accepted for publication by Cambridge University Press, and should be available by next spring.

Charlie Briggs published “History, Story, and Community: Representing the Past in Latin Christendom, 1050-1400” in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, Volume 2: 400-1400*, ed. Sarah Foot and Chase F. Robinson, pp. 391-413 Oxford University Press, 2012.

Paul Deslandes, In addition to continuing work on his new monograph, entitled *The Culture of Male Beauty in Britain*, Professor Deslandes is completing a two-volume textbook (co-authored with Mary Lynn Rampolla) for Bedford/St. Martin's Press titled *Doing History: Sources of Western Civilization* (forthcoming in 2014). His recent scholarly activities include giving a keynote address (titled “Physique Models, Cinema Idols, and Porn Stars: Selling the Beautiful Man in Britain, 1954-1980”) at the Milton Plesur Graduate History Conference at SUNY-Buffalo and the publication of a chapter titled “Exposing, Adorning, and Dressing the Body in the Modern Era”, which appears in Kate Fisher and Sarah Toulalan, eds., *The Routledge History of Sex and the Body in the West, 1500 to the Present* (2013). In 2012, Professor was named Chief Reader Designate for the College Board's AP European History Program. In this capacity he will, from 2013 until 2017, oversee the scoring of the AP European History examination.

Sean Field, in the second half of 2012 and early 2013, published articles in *Mediaeval Studies*, *The Journal of Medieval Religious Cultures*, *Franciscana*, and *Magistra*. Together with Larry Field (Western New England University) and Cecilia Gaposchkin (Dartmouth College), he completed a translation project entitled *The Sanctity of Louis IX: Early Lives of Saint Louis by Geoffrey of Beaulieu and William of Chartres*, which is due out with Cornell University Press later this year. He has also completed another short study and translation of *The Rules of Isabelle of France*, under contract with The Franciscan Institute Press as well as a volume of essays on *Marguerite Porete and The Mirror of Simple Souls*, co-edited with Sylvain Piron and Robert E. Lerner, which is due to come out with the Parisian publisher Vrin later this year. This summer he is looking forward to diving into a new project about Templars arrested and questioned in Normandy in 1307.

Abigail McGowan has two articles being published in 2013, the first is “Convict Carpets: Jails and the Revival of Historic Carpet Design in Colonial India”, for the *Journal of Asian Studies*. Her second article, published in the journal *South Asia*, is titled “Ahmedabad’s Home Remedies: Housing in the Remaking of an Industrial City, 1920-1960.”

Nicole Phelps published *U.S.-Habsburg Relations from 1815 to the Paris Peace Conference: Sovereignty Transformed*. The book, published by Cambridge University Press, will be available in June. She is next turning her attention to a new project on the history of the U.S. Consular Service from 1789 to 1924.

Denise J. Youngblood has just published "Mark Donskoi's 'Gorky Trilogy' and the Stalinist Biopic," in Robert A. Rosenstone and Constantin Parvelescu, eds., *A Companion to the Historical Film* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2013). She is working on a book about Sergei Bondarchuk's film adaptation of *War and Peace*.

Steven Zdatny published two articles in 2012, “The French Hygiene Offensive of the 1950s: A Critical Moment in the History of Manners,” *The Journal of Modern History* 84:4

(December 2012): 897-932 and Review of Olivier Dard et Gilles Richard, dirs., *Les droites et l'économie en France au XXe siècle*, in *la Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 59:3 (January 2013), 198-200.

Frank Zelko has published "*Make It a Green Peace*": *The Rise of Countercultural Environmentalism* through Oxford University Press on May 3, 2013. Currently he is editing a volume on the environmental history of the world's oceans.

ABOUT THE EDITORS

--

Kayleigh Carreño is a second year graduate student studying the Cherokee and slavery. Her academic interests include early America, race, slavery, and Native American history. She lives with her husband and cat, Zelda, in Winooski, VT.

Alix Heintzman is a second year history graduate student, studying the representation of jungle in British children's literature. Alix presented her research at the 2013 American Society for Environmental History Conference. After graduation, she hopes to teach history at the community college level and raise goats.

Alanna Freedman Mahnke is from San Diego, California and currently a sophomore at UVM. She is a history major specifically interested in Tudor England and pre-Revolutionary France, as well as incorporating the study of history with fashion. She will be attending London College of Fashion for her junior year.

Patrick Maguire Patrick is studying history and political science. He enjoys all kinds of music, as well as burritos, cookies, and antiques.

Sam Turner Mitchell graduated in December 2012 as a Spanish and History double major with a focus on the Americas. His Senior Honors Thesis was a literary analysis of the poetry of the Miskito people of the Caribbean Coast of Nicaragua. He is currently teaching English in Brazil and intends to apply to PhD programs in Latin American history during the fall of 2013, focusing on U.S. military involvement in Latin America during the twentieth century.

Derek Salisbury is a second year history graduate student focusing on labor and working class visual culture and how it is mediated and contested within popular culture. Following graduation he will be attending University of Maryland College Park as a doctoral candidate. Derek is currently in talks with SequArt to publishing portions of his thesis for an upcoming anthology of essays about the working class influences on American sequential art.

Sarah Virginia Wilds, a junior history major, is currently abroad in Lithuania for the semester before returning to UVM for her senior year. After which she plans on going on to grad school for a MA in history. Some day, she would like to rule the world- work for the United Nations.

Clayton Willets is a graduate student finishing his last semester in the Master of Arts in teaching program. He intends to obtain his secondary-education teaching certificate this spring to teach high school Social Studies in New England. He hopes to one day pursue a PhD in colonial American history and ultimately teach the subject as a college professor.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

--

Matt Lauro is graduating from the University of Vermont with a degree in History, with an eye towards an additional degree in the near future. Ideally, future historical research would also involve baseball, one of his most favorite obsessions.

Brandon Moblo is graduating from UVM with an MA in History. He will spend the summer turning his thesis, "Two-Hour Furloughs: The Overseas Motion Picture Service and Military Consumerism in World War II", into an article for publication and looking for a teaching job.

Jim Osborn is a member of the 2013 graduating class, completing his undergraduate degree with a double major in History and Spanish. His independent studies focus on urban development in Latin America, specifically the imposition of foreign urban planning models into strategies of Latin American modernization. His undergraduate thesis was a substantial expansion of the article included in the *Review*, entitled *Planificación urbana e ideología de la modernización en Venezuela, 1870 - 1888*.

M. Andrew Sturges is graduating this spring with a double major in History and English, with an eye towards Law school in the near future.

Erik Wallenberg is currently completing his MA in history at UVM and will begin work on his PhD this fall at CUNY Graduate Center. He studies twentieth century U.S. social movements and environmental history. He is a contributor to *101 Changemakers: Rebels and Radicals Who Changed U.S. History* and *The International Socialist Review*. Erik also presented a portion of his thesis on the intersection of the anti-war and environmental performance of Bread and Puppet Theater at the 2013 American Society for Environmental History Conference.

G. Scott Waterman graduated from Harvard University and the University of Michigan Medical School, and is currently Professor of Psychiatry Emeritus at the University of Vermont College of Medicine. His historical interests include modern European extremist political ideologies and the Holocaust.

2012 INDUCTEES TO THE UVM CHAPTER OF PHI ALPHA THETA

James Lane Alford
William C. Andreyak
Hannah Ausmann
Skyler Baldwin Bailey
Dillon M. Baker
Robert F. Benner
Gabriel Kallet Blodgett
Mary Elizabeth Conroy
Jonathan Paul Deangelis
Christopher W. Donelan
Michael Ruslan Edmondson
Natasha Elana Fee

Rubin Bennet Goldberg
Carl J. Greer
Shelby Layne Gregoire
Craig Matthew Guild
John Sanford Hart
Alexander Wade Jones
Patrick O'Donnell Maguire
Emma Norman Mallon
Kyle Obenauer
Karley Elizabeth Reising
Anna Louise Schmitt
Sophia Ava Trigg